

# Untitled Treatise on Revelation (section 1.4)

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< insertion from between the lines >

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< text from f 1r resumes > 2 at the sounding of this Trumpet it is said that the Kingdoms of this world are become the Kingdoms of our Lord & of his Christ & he shall reign for ever & ever: & this cannot well be applied to any christian Kingdom which hath been hitherto or is like to be before the end of the world because they neither shall last for ever & ever nor have been or are like to be so much the Kingdom of Christ as they were in the Apostles times: unless we will take measure rather by the external pomp then integrity of worship For the purity of religion (according to what the Apostles prophesied of the latter times) hath ever since decreased, & is {illeg} still to decrease more & more to the end, insomuch that {however} {illeg} the question: When the son of man cometh shall he {find faith on the earth} {illeg}. This must the {illeg} <2r> of: See Luke 19.11, 12 & Dan 7.26, 27. But of this more hereafter

3 After the greatest decay of religion there is to be an universal preaching of the Gospel immediately before the seventh Trumpet Prop . But this is not yet fulfilled; there has been nothing done in the world like it, & therefore it is to come.

4 At the end of the sixt Trumpet the Angel sware that there should be time no longer, but at the voice of the seventh Angel when he shall begin to sound the mystery of God should be finished as he hath declared to his servants the Prophets. Now here is a direct assertion of the end of the world in these words that there shall be time no longer, & this further character of it, that the Mystery of God shall then be finished: By which mystery I see not what can well be meant if not the resurrection of the saints & accomplishment of their happiness in Christ's Kingdom, which according to the Prophets is to commence at his second coming.

5 Yea this is positively asserted (Chap 11.18) in these words. Thy wrath is come (viz: at the 7<sup>th</sup> Trumpet) & the time of the dead that they should be judged, & that thou shouldst give reward unto thy servants the Prophets & to the saints & them that fear thy name small & great & shouldst destroy them which destroy the Earth Compare this with chap 22.12 Behold I come quickly & my reward is with me to give every man as his work shall be

6 A little before the pouring out of the 7<sup>th</sup> Vial (which is coincident with the 7<sup>th</sup> Trumpet Posit 2) there is warning given of our Saviours coming in these words. Behold I come as a Thief blessed is he that watcheth. A phrase which is very particularly applied to our saviour's second coming as you may see in Rev 3.3. 2 Pet 3.10 Matt 24.43. And then as soon as the 7<sup>th</sup> Vial is poured out there came a great voice out of the Temple of heaven from the Throne saying It is done: which expression must denote the sudden accomplishment of some very extraordinary thing, such as is the coming of our Saviour & the change to be wrought in the world at his coming. And what els, think you, should be meant by calling {illeg} (in the {illeg})

7 In the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> chapter (which in Prop 12.7, I shewed to end at the very beginning of the seventh Trumpet) you have <3r> the end of the world at large described by a harvest & Vintage. First it is said that the harvest of the earth is ripe & one like the son of man thrust in his sickle & the earth was reaped, & then another Angel thrust in his sickle into the earth & gathered the Vine of the Earth & cast it into the wine press of the wrath of God &c. The Parable is sufficiently perspicuous, & yet if you desire the interpretation you have that also in the preface to it, which runs thus: Blessed are the dead which dy in the Lord from henceforth &c. viz: the time of their reward being come that they should enter into God's rest. Heb 4.

8. Saint Paul tells us that the Lord shall consume the man of Sin by the spirit of his mouth & destroy him by the brightness of his coming 2 Thes. 2.8. Wherefore since the fals Prophet is the same with the Man of Sin the world must end when he is destroyed & this is at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> Trumpet.

9 We have shown the little horn in Daniel to be the same with the two hornd beast or fals Prophet & consequently to be destroyed at the beginning of the seventh Trumpet. But the destruction of this horn Daniel describes to be at the day of judgment in these words. I beheld till the thrones were cast down & the ancient of days did sit – his throne was like the fiery flames – & ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, & the books were opened. I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake. I beheld even till the Beast was slain & his body destroyed & given to the burning flame.  
chap 7

And to the same sense it is that the Beast & fals Prophet are <4r> at this time according to Saint Iohn cast into the Lake of fire chap 19. ffor this is the same Lake with that into which the Devil & all the damned are cast at the universall judgment ch 20.10, 14. If you compare these two places & further consider that he who leads on the heavenly armies to this battel wherein the Beast & fals Prophet are taken is the son of man himself in person who in Daniel is said at this slaughter of the Beast to come in the clouds unto the Ancient of days to receive a Kingdom &c: I see not how there can be left any room of doubting.

Having thus proved the assertion I shall for a conclusion desire you to consider whither the last Trumpet at which the dead are raised Matt 24.31: 1 Thes 4.16. 1 Cor 15.52, is not the very same with this seventh Trumpet which is to sound to the Battel of the great day.

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< insertion from f 4v >

### **Position.**

#### **The Subject of this Prophecy is the Roman Empire signified by the Dragon & Beast.**

Next after the compas of time we may consider that of place within which the things conteined in this Prophecy are to be done & this is the Roman Empire [by the consent of all Interpreters whose testimony | opinion is established by these two reasons.]

ffirst because the Prophecy was writ within it & concerns the Church which was & is seated within & diffused through it : I mean now not only the present European Empire but the greatest compas into which the Empire was at any time dilated.

Secondly becaus the subject of the seales & Trumpets is the Kingdom represented by the Dragon & Beast & this Kingdom is the Roman Empire.

That the Dragon & Beast signify one & the same Kingdom in different forms I shewed in Posit: 10, & that this Kingdome is the Roman Empire all Antiquity & all kinds of Interpreters are agreed upon & these reasons evince.

1 It is coextended to all the Seales & Trumpets & so must last from Saint Iohn's time to the end of the world –

< text from f 5r resumes >

1 Becaus it is coextended to all the seales & Trumpets & so must last from Saint Iohn's time to the end of the world; & the Roman is the onely Kingdom of that continuance which can come into consideration.

2 It is an highly universal Kingdom consisting of all Kindreds Tongues & Nations, insomuch as to be called all the Earth & all the world chap 13.3, 7, 8 &c: & the Roman Empire one time with another hath been the most notable & universal Kingdom in all ages: at least within the Christian world.

3 It is a Kingdom to be subdivided in the latter ages of it into ten actuall Kingdoms: & such a Kingdom is the Roman as I shall shew hereafter

4 The Kingdom which the Dragon signifies is that which in the first ages of Christianity was at enmity with the Church represented here by the Woman: & this can be no other then the old Roman Empire through which shee was diffused & by which persecuted for allmost 300 years together. And by consequence the Beast must signify the latter ages of the same Empire.

But least any should think I mean in these latter ages the German Empire onely; let it suffice to signify here once for all that as by Daniel's third universall Kingdom or Empire was understood not onely the Macedonian but all the Kingdoms into which that Empire was rent at the death of Alexander: so since the Kingdom represented by the Dragon & Beast was to be rent into 10 Kingdoms, by the <6r> Roman Kingdom or Empire in the latter ages of it I understand not any particular Monarchy, but the aggregate of all the Kingdoms into which this Empire hath been rent.

5 The last argument I shall add is that this Kingdom (by Prop 11 ) is the same with Daniel's fourth Kingdom, by which all ages from the Apostles have understood the Roman.

But yet as there is no tradition so generall as to want exception, so this (in our age especially) hath found some who not well attending to the analogy of things have with Porphyrius indeavoured to apply that Kingdom to the successors of Alexander the great: & therefore, though I might content my self with having shown that it is the same with that in the Apocalyps & so later then that of Alexander's successors, yet for their sakes I shall say something more against that opinion, becaus the analogy between Daniel & Saint Iohn is the fountain of interpretation & therefore we must not suffer them to be divided.

ffirst then they should consider that Daniel puts the horns of a Beast to signify, not the persons of Kings but the Dynasties or number of Kingdoms of which the Beast consists. ffor he puts no new horns where there are no new Kingdoms, but makes the same horn signify the whole series of Kings in each Kingdom so long as that Kingdom continues the same; yea & some times makes a horn still signify the Kingdom after the Kings are ceased. All this you may learn out of the vision of the Ram & Goat where all the Kings of the Medes & Persians are signified by no more then two horns & the Medes after they became subject to the Persians are still signified by their own horn. And the like is to be observed of the horns of the Goat. By this we may see therefore how much they err from the mind of Daniel who by the ten horns of the Beast understand any thing els <7r> {then} ten actuall Kingdoms or Dynasties in the Beast: as they do who apply them to the persons of the ten first Kings succeeding one another in the two Kingdoms of Syria & Egypt.

2. If the successors of Alexander are included in the third Kingdom then they cannot be the fourth; but they are included in the third, ffor the four heads & four wings of the Leopard do signify a fourfold division of the Beast such as happened not till after Alexander's death. Compare this with the vision of the Goat & with the interpretation of its four horns, & you will better see the force of it.

3 The fourth Kingdom, (2) in chap 7 is described above the other three exceeding dreadfull terrible & strong, having great iron teeth with which it devoured (i.e. conquered) & brake in pieces & stamp the residue with its feet (i.e. with its Armies)<sup>[1]</sup> & is said to devour the whole earth & to tread it down & break it in pieces. And (1) in chap 2 it is represented by leggs of iron, & said to be strong as iron, & as iron breaketh & subdueth all things, so that, like iron, should break all things in pieces & subdue them. And all this agrees well to the Roman Kingdom but holds no proportion with the successors of Alexander. ffor they neither devoured nor brake in pieces any thing but one another they enlarged not their dominion but inherited onely what Alexander left them or rather but a part of it, & were much inferior to him in terrour & strength, And as for Antiochus, his kingdom was smaller & weaker then in the time of his Ancestors. He acted more by

treachery then strength & deserved so little the name of an universal Monarch, that he was tributary to the Romans (2 Mac 8.10,) & awed at their pleasure.

Nor is it onely in history but in Daniel his own Propheties that these Kingdoms are spoken of with diminution. For in chap 8 he saith: The rough Goat is the King of Grece, & the great horn between his eyes is the first King; & whereas that being broken off, four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out <8r> of the nation but not in his power. And again in Chap 11 when he had said that the King of Grece should rule with great dominion & do according to his will, he adds that his kingdom should be divided toward the four winds but not according to his dominion wherewith he ruled, for it should be pluckt up even for others beside those. This is Daniel's estimation of these Kingdoms comparitively to Alexander's & therefore to interpret the fourth Beast of them is to set Daniel at odds not onely with history but with himself.

4 You may further consider the expression that this Kingdom should be divers from all the rest, that is of a kind differing from them more then they from one another. And this expression is repeated three or four times that it may be taken notice of & further inculcated by the shape of the beast, he being like none of the other Beasts but a strange Monster. And such was the Roman Kingdom which in the time of heathenism differed notably in its constitution from all the former Kingdoms, & much more since it hath been turned into an ecclesiasticall Empire. But as for the successors of Alexander they differ not so much from his kingdom as he from the former. What difference there is, it consists in the plurality of their kingdoms. But that could not make the fourth Beast so monstrous above the rest since the third was represented with four heads & four wings which is the greatest deformity that the plurality of Kingdoms could add to the fourth.

As for Antiochus's persecution of the Iews, I see not what great difference that can make, any more then the wickedness of Nero could make the Roman Empire differ from what it was at other times. Nor does that action deserve that stir that is made about it, being far short of what has been done even by the Iews themselves Witness Manasseth who set up the Abomination in the Temple as well as Antiochus & shed innocent blood very much <9r> till he had filled Ierusalem from one end to another & made his sons pass through the fire & used enchantments, & dealt with familiar spirits & wizzards, for which I never heard Antiochus accused. Antiochus was a heathen & what he did was but in promoting his own religion, but the other was of the church & did these Abominations contrary to his religion, & that to such a height as to transcend the heathens themselves. Which think you therefore was the fitter type of Antichrist? But if Antiochus must be so much celebrated for his persecution which was onely of the Iewish Nation & lasted but for three years; what fame deserves the Roman Empire which for almost 300 years together with all kinds of cruelty persecuted the Christians of so many nations

5 The fourth Kingdom cannot be that which ended before the Kingdom of heaven began to be set up, for it is said that in the days of these Kings shall God set up a Kingdom &c chap 2.44, that is, at some time within the compass of their days. But the Kingdoms which succeeded Alexander were all at an end before the appearance of our Saviour which is the soonest that can be reckoned for the setting up of his kingdom, & therefore they cannot be the fourth, but the lot must fall to the Roman.

To the same purpose it is that Nebuchadnezzar's image is said to be broken by the stone which was cut out of the <10r> mountains & fell upon its feet. ffor since it fell upon the feet it must be cut out before the Kingdoms signified by the Image were at an end.

6. If the successors of Alexander be the fourth Kingdom then is Antiochus Epiphanes the little horn. But he cannot be that horn for that horn made war with the saints & prevailed against them untill the ancient of days came & judgment was given to the saints of the most high & the time came that the saints possessed the Kingdom ch 7.9, 22, 26. This horn therefore continues & prevails until the time come that the saints take possession of the kingdom. But Antiochus continued not so long; ffor the soonest you can reckon for the saints possessing the kingdom is the appearance of our Saviour & this was not till about 200 years after Antiochus. This horn therefore must be Antichrist himself, the man of Sin, of whome Saint Paul alluding to this place of Daniel saith that the Lord should destroy him with the brightness of his coming. And consequently the Beast whose horn this is must last till the day of judgment, & so can be no other then the Roman Kingdom.

To these considerations I might add that after the fourth Kingdom there is to be no more temporall Kingdoms. ffor the Kingdom of heaven is to be a Kingdom which shall consume & break in pieces all the former Kingdoms & not be left to other people. But we see these temporall Kingdoms are not yet broken to pieces but the Roman Kingdom has succeeded the Grecian as much as any of the former Kingdoms succeeded one another. Yea the holy Ghost himself accounts the world yet under these temporall Dominions. ffor such is the Beast in the Apocalyps whom all the world should worship & wonder after, & the great Antichrist who should exalt himself above every thing that is called God.

Moreover the instrument of breaking these temporall Kingdoms was to be the Kingdom of heaven which should be set up For the Image was broken by the stone cut out of the moun <11r> tain. And this stone is not the person of Christ as some would have it, but his Kingdom; for so it's growing to a – mountain implies & so Daniel himself interprets it; adding that it shall break & consume all the former Kingdoms. Wherefore if the successors of Alexander be the fourth Kingdom then of necessity must the Roman Kingdom be the stone, since it was that & not Christianity which brake in pieces & consumed the former As for Christianity there hath no kingdom been hitherto broken by that; but what we may expect here after is not difficult to collect from the things to happen between the resurrection of the witnesses & the seventh Trumpet. For the Stone is the Palm-bearing multitude which shall be cut out of the mountain at the resurrection of the witnesses & that without the hands of soldiers by which other kingdoms are erected, & soon after shall upon the end of the fourth kingdom, the feet of the Image, & break in pieces all the nations which were the substance of the four kingdoms.

I may add also that the universality & greatness of the dominion is in no wise reconcilable with the preent state of the Church. That is to be a kingdom of Saints this is a mixture of good & bad wherein wickedness prevails more then goodness. In that the Kingdom & dominion & greatness of the Kingdom under the whole heaven is to be given to the Saints. Their Kingdom is to be that which all Dominions shall serve & obey, & which shall not be left to other people: whereas in this the saints are on the contrary left to serve & obey all nations & to suffer that great deliquium exprest by the woman in the wilderness & by the death of the Witnesses, which is a greater then ever any temporall Kingdom suffered under their conquerors. The whole aggregate of Christians good & bad together are but a small part of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, & that perhaps will dwindle into a very moderate Kingdom if you reject all that you count heretiques, & I leave you to conjecture what portion the saints may have in the remainder.

<12r>

To conclude, this kingdom cannot be meant of any state in this life, for they are those that overcome & keep his works unto the end, to whome Christ will give power over the nations to rule them with a rod of iron Rev 2.26. And moreover the beginning of this Kingdom is to be when the Ancient of days sits in judgment, & the son of man comes in the clouds to receive of him the Kingdom: which to interpret of any thing els then the day of judgment & the second coming of our Saviour is very dangerous. ffor the last overthrows the faith of the Iewish Church concerning the day of judgment, which they grounded on this place; & both together will justify any man that shall allegorise all the like descriptions of those things in the new Testament & so turn all to a fable which God forbid.

Having thus shown that Daniel's four Kingdoms are a Calender of all times to the end of the world, whereof the 4<sup>th</sup> falls to the Roman Empire; I shall desire you now to consider whither it is not this fourth or last Kingdom of the world which Saint Paul meant by the end of the world when he said: These things are written for our admonition upon whom the ends of the world are come 1 Cor 10.11 In the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. Heb 9.26.

### **Prop 26**

**The sixt Seale falls in with the time between the beginning of the reign of Constantine the great, & the death of Theodosius.**

This I demonstrate by those arguments.

Arg 1. The sixt Seale is a description of the universal ruin of Idolatry. And the ruin thereof happened in the age between Constantine & Theodosius.

The first assertion is manifest by what I said in Def 64 & 65 & in Prop 10.4 to which I refer you. And <13r> the second is to be met with in all histories. Who knows not that Constantine was the first that began to suppress Idolatry? But yet he completed not the conquest. The Idols {he} caused to be thrown down & some of the Idol Temples , & all the rest to be shut up he took away the revenues for their worship & his sons continued to prosecute heathenism much more then he till the reign of Iulian the Apostate who renewed the worship, but Gratian & Theodosius caused it to cease without relaps

Arg 2. The sixt seal is the time at which the Dragon was cast out of heaven by Michael. And this was performed in the age between Constantine & Theodosius

The first assertion is manifest by what I said in Prop 10.4 & the second may appear by these considerations 1 That the casting out the Dragon out of heaven is the abolishing the Idolatry of the Kingdom represented by the Dragon. 2 That this Idolatry is abolished by the prevailing of Christianity, 3 That the Kingdom represented by the Dragon is the old Roman Empire. The 3<sup>d</sup> is manifest by Prop 25 & the two first by what was said in Prop 10.4 or even by these two sentences alone: The great Dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the Devill & Sathan which deceiveth the whole world vers 9. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb & by the word of their testimony vers 11. For these are a notable interpretation of the whole Prophecy. Now joyning all the three considerations, the result is that the casting out of the Dragon was the universall abolishing of the Idolatry of the Roman Empire by the prevailing of Christianity. And this as I said, every one knows to have happened in the age which began with the reign of Constantine.

Arg. 3. The sixt Seale is the time which immediately succeeded the greatest persecution of the Church under the heathen Emperors. But the age from Constantine to Theodosius immediately succeeded that persecution.

The first assertion is manifest, as well becaus the sixt <14r> Trumpet immediately succeeds the fift wherein the persecution is represented by the souls under the Altar, as becaus the casting out the Dragon immediately succeeds the war between him & Michael wherein the soldiers of Michael got the victory by the word of their testimony & loved not their lives unto the death. How both these represent a very great persecution you may see at large explained in Prop 10.4. And no doubt it was notably great above all others, for it is not likely that the holy Ghost would take so much notice of a small persecution & slip over a great one.

The second assertion is manifest out of History which informs us that the tenth or last of the heathen persecutions, which was begun by the edict of Dioclesian & after ten years made to cease by the victories of Constantine, was notably sharp & great above all the former, & seems comparable to them all put together, . ffor amongst those that of Decius is accounted the greatest being much more sharp & universal then the rest, & yet that lasted but <sup>a[2]</sup> one year & three months whereas this continued ten with as great or greater violence & universality. Omnibus ferè auteactis, saith Orosius, diuturnior et immanior fuit, nam per decem annos incendijs Ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentium, cædibus martyrum incessabiliter acta est. In the beginning of it within the compas of 30 days seventeen thousand are said to have been slain.<sup>[3]</sup> Nor was the fury of the persecutors mitigated by the progress of time In Egypt alone (a very small portion of the Empire) were slain, saith Ignatius of Antioch, a hundred & fourty four thousand , & seventy thousand banished: whence the Æra of Dioclesian, amongst the Egyptians was called also the Æra of Martyrs. And if you peruse the description which Eusebius gives of it, you will find it was no milder in other Provinces unless the region on this side the Alps be excepted. What think you then was done throughout the whole Roman world? Omnis ferè sacro Martyrum cruore orbis infestus est saith Sulpitius Severus. And again Nullis unquam bellis mundus sanguine magis ex <15r> haustus est neque majori unquam triumpho Ecclesia viciät quam cùm decem annorum stragibus vinci non potuit

And this I take to be the ten years tribulation predicted to the Church in Rev 2.10. ffor although that be spoken to the Church of Smyrna yet it excludes not the rest of the Churches but rather includes them, becaus it is not likely that this persecution should be any other then the greatest which they were to suffer, & it is less likely that the greatest persecution should happen to them without affecting their neighbours.

I hope I need not now put you in mind of the relation between this persecution & the conversion of the Empire to Christianity; namely how the one is represented by a battel & the other by a victory which the saints obtained over the Dragon by the blood of the Lamb & by the word of testimony: ffor it is sufficiently apparent that this <sup>\*[4]</sup> persecution was the means whereby Heathenism was overthrown; the blood of Martyrs

ever proving the seed of the Church. But that which I would here note is the mystery of the child-bearing woman, how much that adds to the force of these two last arguments. And to that end I desire you to consider these things: first That as soon as the woman has brought forth & her child is caught up to the throne of God, she flies into the Wilderness, chap. 12.6. Secondly that her flight into the wilderness begins not till after the Dragon is cast down, vers 13 & 14; & therefore her childbearing & the exaltation of her child which immediately precedes this will fall in with the war & victory over the Dragon. Thirdly that since this Woman is the Church, the pains of her childbearing described something emphatically in vers 2, must be a great persecution of the church, & by consequence the very same with that exprest by the battle between Michael & the Dragon. fourthly because the woman does not represent a single person but the whole body of the Church, therefore by the analogy, her child must not represent any single person alone but some great body of men. for as a woman & a man are of the same <16r> kind, & differ only in sex, so the things represented by the woman & her man-child must have no other difference. Compare this place of Iohn with Isa 66 {to} which it is related & {I sup}pose it will put {the matter} out of doubt. The {words} of Isaiah are: Before {her} pain came she was delivered of a man child – shall a nation be born at once? {For} as soon as Zion travailed she brought forth {her} children. fifthly since the feminine nature of the woman consists in this that she is an Ecclesiastical body, the masculine nature of her child must consist in this that he is a civil body. for these are opposites: Polity & Religion, Magistrates & Priests, State & Church; & are generally considered as male & female. The man Child must therefore be a body of Magistrates or a temporall Kingdom. Yea this you have exprest in vers 5, And she brought forth a man-child which was to rule all nations with a rod of iron, & her child was caught up to God & to his throne. Lastly since the same persecution of the Church is both the war by which the Dragon was vanquished, & the pains by which the Woman brought forth this child, therefore the birth of this child & its exaltation up to God & to his throne will fall in with the casting out the Dragon out of heaven; as being the opposite effects of that persecution. And consequently since the Dragon is the heathen Empire, the man Child by opposition must be the Christian Empire, whereof the one is dethroned & the other at the same time exalted into the Throne. This must be the result of the war between Michael & the Dragon; & therefore so soon as the Dragon is cast down you have the exaltation of the man child to the Throne celebrated by a voice from heaven saying: Now is come salvation & strength, & the Kingdom of our God & the power of his Christ.

And that you may be sure this is no other then the Christian Roman Empire & more especially its body of Magistrates you have both the religion & the universality of it described together in vers 5. The Woman brought forth a manchild who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron. For here the rod of iron is a singular phrase for the scepter of a Christian Kingdom <17r>

Arg: 5. The sixth seale is the time which a little preceded the final division of the Roman Empire & the wars wherein the Western part of it was divided into ten Kingdoms. But the time between Constantine & Theodosius a little preceded that division & those wars.

The first assertion is manifest from Posit for there twas shown that the Empire at the rise of the Beast (which began imperfectly in the sixth Seale & was perfected at the beginning of the Trumpets) was divided into two branches the Beast & the Dragon, & that the horns of the Beast rose at or soon after the beginning of the Trumpets

The second assertion is manifest out of history. for 10 years after Theodosius his death the Empire continued always under the sole dominion of Rome till the building of Constantinople & then became divided between those two cities. It was first divided at the death of Constantine between his sons A.C. 336 & then reunited by Constantius's conquest of the west A.C. 353, & after the death of Iovian A.C. 364 divided again imperfectly & at length perfectly & for ever at the death of Theodosius A.C. 395 & within 15 years after the western part of it was rent by vehement wars into ten Kingdoms which could never since be reunited, of which I shall hereafter give you the catalogue.

Hence it is easy to collect that the western part of the Empire is the Beast which rose out of the Sea at the death of Constantine & that by the Dragon's giving him his old seat Rome, & a little after was slain by the sword of Constantius & ceased to be till the death of Iovian & then was healed & revived by the new division of the Empire between Valentinian & Valens with their successors, & began his plenary reign (the reign of his eighth head) at Theodosius's death when the final division & the wars which set up the horns began. But of this hereafter.



Thus you see the time of this seal is bounded every way by demonstrative characters; for such I account these five Arguments becaus there is no other time to which any one of them can be applied. And these things being premised, I come now to interpret the series of the seals & Trumpets.

### **Prop 27**

**The four first seales agree to the time between Saint Iohn & the beginning of the tenth Persecution: the second seal beginning with <18r> Trajan, the third with Severus, & the fourth with Maximinus.**

The whole time of these Seales is defined by Prop 20 & 26 & so it remains onely that we show how it is to be distributed among them. . Now this is in great measure determined by the qualities of the horsmen in each seal; but becaus all those qualities do not always run through the whole time of the seal, therefore God has applied a further character of them by introducing every Horsman with a Beast saying Come & see. Wherefore before we explain the seales it is necessary that we first show what is meant by the four Beasts. And this depends upon the form of the heavenly Court or Theater described in chap 4: which being a representation of Gods dwelling in the midst of his church, is to be learnt from the manner of the Iews incamping in the Wilderness. For it alludes to that, as you may perceive by the analogy.

Know therefore that in the midst of the Camp was placed the Tabernacle called in this Prophecy the Temple of the Tabernacle ch 15.5 or barely the Temple vers 6, 8, &c. And within this, as I conceive, in the veil was the door opened in heaven to let Saint Iohn in to the sight of the Throne of God ch 4.1, which Throne you must conceive to be over the Mercy Seat between the Cherubins, for it was within the Temple ch 15.8, & 16.17. And about this Throne you must imagin the seven lamps ch 4.5, & the Laver, here called a Sea of glass ver 6, & the golden Altar ch 8.3, & the Altar of Sacrifice ch 6.9, & the Arc of the Testament ch 11.19 to be so placed as they were in the Wilderness about the mercy Seat whither they were within or without the veil. Exod 40.

Next about the Tabernacle incamped the Priests & Levites answering here to the 24 Elders; that is, of each order twelve. And about them at a distance were placed the twelve tribes in four squadrons toward the four quarters of heaven every squadron with its own standard: & these you have expresed by the four Beasts, which represent a multitude of people by their eyes, & are situate in the middle coasts <19r> of the throne & round about the throne, that is over against the midst of every side of the throne round about it. This form of incamping you have described in Num 1 & 2 onely the signes of the standards are not there recorded, But yet the Rabbies inform us by tradition from their Ancestors, that in the eastern standard was a Lyon in the western an Ox in the southern a man & in the northern an Eagle. Our Ancestors, saith Aben Ezra in 2 Num, delivered that in the standard of Reuben was the figure of a man becaus (as he supposes) of the mandrakes in the standard of Iudah the figure of a Lyon becaus Iacob so compared him;<sup>[5]</sup> in the standard of Ephraim the figure of an Ox according to his being called the firstling of an Ox,<sup>[6]</sup> & in the standard of Dan the figure of an Eagle. The same hath bar Nachman here, & Chazkuni in Num 3.

And this is not a little confirmed by Ezekiel's vision of the four-faced (not four headed) Cherubins who looking northward saw them each with the face of a man in the front & with the face of a Lyon toward the right hand, & with the face of an Ox toward the left hand, & the fourth face which was the face of an Eagle must therefore be Northward. And these as if there was some mystery in their position went every one streight forwards & turned not about when they went. Ezek 1.4, 9, 10. I suppose it was, as in the Apocalyptic vision, to represent God, (whose glory appeared in the midst of them) to be the Lord of the four quarters of Israel.

Having thus framed a conception of the heavenly Court, you may further consider that the Beasts as they are a type drawn from the nation of the Iews, so they may be applied to typify the people of any other nation. As they worship God they must signify saints but when they are applied to characterise the horsmen in the seales, they may in that respect typify such societies of men as are agreable to those horsmen. Considering therefore that the horsmen are the four first of the seven Kings according to which (as I signified in Prop ) the Dragon is <20r> divided into seven heads: each horsman with his Beast will represent a King with his people, or a King with an Army & their standard. And what more significant type of the Roman Emperors then this?

### **The first Seale opened.**



But yet the first of these horsmen we must except from their number. ffor the colour of his hors discovers him to be the same with that Rider in chap 19.11, who had on his Thigh a name written King of Kings & Lord of Lords. Here he goes forth conquering & ἵνα νικήσῃ that he might conquer, & there he appears again to finish the conquest which he had begun. And thus he is the Alpha & Omega of the Prophecy. The first fruits of his Conquests were the great spreading of the gospel in the Apostles days, & the silencing of the heathen Oracles: & his further success you have signified by his Bow Def . His Army & standard is represented by the first Beast which is a Lyon towards the East, & this proclaims him an Eastern Prince & the Lyon of the Tribe of Iudah; & his dignity you may further learn by the Crown which is given to none but him.

This first King therefore is to be interpreted of our Saviour a single person: but as he is equivalent to a series of many so the other three Kings must be applied each to a series of many. ffor this great number of Emperors to be distributed among them requires;

### **The second Seal opened.**

The second King is introduced by the second Beast which is an Ox situate to the west & this whilst in the Vision it <21r> bids Saint Iohn look towards it informs us that this Seal must begin with Trajan the spaniard, an Emperour out of the west. Trajan a Spaniard, saith Dion, was neither an Italian nor of Italy: before him no man of another nation had obtained the Empire. In the former Seal it was in the family of Cæsar, & to the end of this it continues in his family

To this Horsman it was given to take peace from the earth (i.e. from his neighbours by invading them) & that they & that they (he & his neighbours or his own subjects by civil wars) should kill one another . This killing one another you have further expressed by the Ox which is a Beast appointed to the slaughter & represents his armies & other people of his kingdom, yet the great sword which was given him is an Emblem of victoriousness as the Bow was of the first rider. \*\*\*

< insertion from f 20v >

\*\*\* Now for the victoriousnes of this Rider, I need onely tell you that after the empire was almost dissolved by seditions & defections in Nero's reign & somthing repaired by Vespasian & again made to totter by Domitian: Trajan not only settled it but enlarged it exceedingly, conquering wherever he went & heaping victories upon victories more then ever did any other Emperor since our Savior's days ⊕ inso- < insertion from higher up f 20v > [- days: ⊕ insomuch that historians reckon the ἄκμῃ of the Empire to have been in the reign of this Emperor.] < text from lower down f 20v resumes > ⊕ < insertion from f 21v > ⊕ : Trajanus saith Sextus Rufus, post Augustum Romanæ reip. novit lacertos, Armeniam recepit a Parthis: sublato diademate Regi Armenia majoris regnum ademit: Albanis regem dedit: Iberos, Bosphorianos, Colchos, Corduenos & Marcomedos obtinuit: Anthemusiam optimam Persidis regionem, Seleuciamque & Ctesiphontem ac Babyloniam accepit & tenuit: usque Mesopotamiam & Assyriam, & quæ inter Tigridem & Euphratem sita irriguis amnibus instar Ægypti fæcundantur. So Eutropius: Romani Imperij, quod post Augustum — < text from f 20v resumes > Romani Imperij, saith Eutropius, quod post Augustum defensum magis fuerat quam nobiliter ampliatur, Trajanus fines longe latèque diffudit: urbes trans Rhenum in Germania reparavit: Daciam Decibalo victo subegit, Provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris quos nunc Thaphali tenent et Victophali & Theruingi. Ea Provincia decies centena millia in circuitu tenuit Armeniam quam occupaverant Parthi recepit, Sarmato Rege occiso qui eam tenebat. Albanis regem dedit. Iberorum Regem & Sauromatarum & Bosphoranorum & Arabum et Osdroenorum & Cochorum in fidem accepit. Adiabenos, Marchomodes occupavit; et Antemusium, magnam Persidis regionem, Seleuciam, et Ctesiphontem, Babylonem et Edessios vicit, ac tenuit: usque ad Indiæ fines et mare rubrum accessit, atque ibi tres Provincias fecit ⊕ < insertion from higher up f 20v > ⊕ [fecit ⊕ Armeniam Assyriam et Mesopotamiam cum his gentibus quæ Madenam attingunt. Arabiam postea &c -] < text from lower down f 20v resumes > Arabiam postea in Provinciæ formam redegit. In \*[7] mari rubro classem instituit ut per eam Indiæ fines vastaret. † < insertion from f 21v > † De Indis enim, saith Dion, cogitare cœpit ac de rebus ejus gentis curiosè quærere, tum Alexandrum beatum dicere, nonnunquam tamen asserere se longiùs progressurum esse: idque scripsit ad Senatum: cum tamen ea quæ cœperat tueri non posset. Cujus rei causa Senatus præter alia multa decrevit ut triumphos quotquot vellet ageret. Nam cum Trajanus tot gentes a se superatas esse scriberet, Senatus eas neque cognoscere neque nominare satis poterat. Itaque cum alia multa tum arcum triumphalem in foro ipsius ædificari jussit. Parabant cives redeunti longius obviam procedere, sed is nunquam in urbem

reversus est neque ut extrema principijs responderent efficere potuit, ea enim quæ subegerat amisit. Dum enim navigat Oceanum atque inde revelitur ea quæ ceperat omnia tumultu defecerunt præsidij quæ apud eas gentes reliquerat, dejectis cæsisque. Atque hæc ad Trajanum dum esset in navi præferuntur – Igitur cognita defectione Lucium & Maximum contra rebelles mittit. Masimus prælio superatus obiit. Lucius præclare se gessit, recuperavitque Nisibin, Edessam expugnavit direptamque incendit. Seleucia ab Erycio Claro & Iulio Alexandro capta & incensa est. Trajanus metuens ne Parthi quoque aliquid molirentur, – ijs regem Parthamaspatem designat, eique diadema imponit. Inde profectus in Arabiam adoritur Agarenos qui et ipsi defecerant &c. His wars with Decibalus you may see at large described in the same Dion epitomised by Zi; the greatness of which you may learn from this passage in Eutropius: Hadrianum Daciam relinquere conatum amici deterruerunt ne multi cives Romani – < text from f 20v resumes > Iactabat subinde | De Indis enim, saith Dion, se ultra quam Alexander penetrasset progressurum, id quod Senatui per Epistolam significavit, subjungens ægre posse eas gentis quas devicisset in fide et officio continere aut a vi et injuria defendere: quanquam non cessaret quotidie Orientis populos armis agitare & debellare. Nomina præterea victarum a se gentium Senatui nuntiavit, quarum numerus tautus erat ut vix recenseri aut nominari possent. – Imo verò præ tædio bellorum & magnitudine curarum coactus aliqua ex parte gentes quas subegisset, liberas facere. ♦ The greatness of his – < insertion from lower down f 20v > ♦ The greatness of his wars with Decibalus you may learn from this passage in Eutropius Hadrianum Daciam relinquere conatum amia deterruerunt ne multi cives Romani Barbaris traderentur propterea quod Trajanus, victa Dacia, ex toto orbe Romano infinitas {eo} copias transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendus. Dacia enim diuturno bello Decibali fu{illeg} Eutrop l 8. <21v>

Thus did this Emperor | Rider wield the great sword & take peace from the earth & at the revolting of the conquered nations they also killed one another. But yet this killing one another was more notable in the broiles between the Jews & his other subjects . Incredibili motu, saith Orosius, sub uno –

< text from higher up f 20v resumes >

< text from f 21r resumes >

Incredibili, (saith Orosius) motu sub uno tempore Iudæi quasi rabie efferati per universas terrarum partes exarserunt. Nam et per totam Lybiam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt: quæ adeò tunc interfectis cultoribus desolata est ut nisi postea Hadrianus Imperator collectas illuc aliunde colonias deduxisset vacua penitus abraso habitatore mansisset. Qui circa Cyrenem habitabant (saith Dion) Andrea quodam duce, Romanos pariter atque Græcos concidunt, vescuntur eorum carnibus, eduntque viscera; tum oblinuntur eorum sanguine et pellibus induuntur. Multos a vertice serris discidere medios, multos objicere bestiis, multos etiam certare inter se coegerunt; ita ut interierint hominum ducenta viginti millia. — Præterea in Ægypto consimilis cœdes facta est <22r> et in Cypro, Artemione duce; ubi etiam perierunt ducenta quadraginta millia. Salaminem urbem Cyri, interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt. [Oros. Euseb.] In Alexandria autem commisso prælio victi & attriti sunt. [Oros.] Tandem et ab alijs, & maxime a Lysio quem Trajanus miserat, subacti sunt. In Mesopotamia quoque rebellantibus, jussu Imperatoris bellum illatum est. [Oros. Euseb.] Atque ita multa millia eorum vastâ cæde deleta sunt.

This was in Trajans time, but that which followed under Hadrian by the rebellion of Barchocheb was more notable. Cum Hadrianus, saith Dion, in Urbem Hierosolymam coloniam deduxisset, ac quo loco Dei Templum fuerat, alterum Iovi Capitolino ædificari curavisset; magnum et diuturnum bellum indè moveri cæptum, totam Iudæam commoveri, Iudæos, omnes ubique Gentium tumultuari, multa damna occultè aperteque Romanis inferre, cumque ijs complures alias gentes lucri cupiditate conjungi atque ea de re omnem ferè orbem terrarum commotum esse. — Hos Hadrianus optimis quibusque ducibus adversus eos missis, sed (multitudine eorum et desperatione cognita) non nisi singulatim eos adoriri ausis, sero tandem oppressit fregitque; cæsis in excursionibus præliisque non minùs quingentis et octoginta millibus. Eorum autem qui fame morbo & igne interiire tanta fuit multitudo ut numerus indagari non potuit. Tot ex Romanis quoque in eo bello periere, ut Hadrianus, cum scriberet ad Senatum, non est usus illo exordio quo uti Imperatores consueverunt, Si vos liberique vestri valetis bene est, ego quidem et exercitus valemus.

The estimation which the Jews give of their own loss is no less then this, for one saith that Hadrian slew twice as many Jews in this war as came out of Egypt; & another that Hadrian afflicted them more then either Nebuchadnezzar or Titus<sup>[8]</sup>. And this falling upon Gods own people, & being the accomplishment of their so much threatned dispersion into all nations, could deserve no less then to be taken notice of in this Prophecy.

< insertion from between the lines >

Next after Hadrian reigned Antoninus Pius & Marcus Antoninus the most illustrious potent & victorious Emperors of all those that followed to the reign of Dioclesian & Constantine. The Emperor Marcus together with Iulius <22v> Cæsar, Octavius, Trajan & Constantine, were by the Emperor Iulian chosen out as the 5 gallantest among the Roman Emperors to compare with Alexander the great in a Dialogue intituled Cæsaris where all these are introduced pleading with one another the greatness of their actions Cæsar, Octavius & Trajan he calls πολεμικωτέρων bellicosiores, but yet accounts Marcus considering all things, the completest Hero. And therefore Marcus ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ may deservedly be reckoned with Trajan for a wielder of the great sword. Nor does Antoninus Pius fall much short of Marcus, excepting in this that he performed his wars by Delegates.

Antoninus Pius, saith Iulius Capitolinus, per Legatos suos plurima bella gessit. Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum Legatum vicit, alio muro cespititio submotis barbaris ducto: et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit: & Germanos et Dacos & multas gentes atque Iudæos rebellantes contudit per præsides ac legatos. In Achaia etiam et Ægypto rebelliones repressit. Alanos molientes sæpe refrenavit — Tantum sane autoritatis apud exterarum gentes nemo habuit.

Imperator Marcus Antoninus multis adversum se nascentibus bellis sæpe ipse intererat, sæpe duces nobilissimos destinabat [Euseb. Chron.] Contra Germanos (Cattos scil. in Germania et Rhetia) res feliciter gessit, speciale ipse bellum Marcomannicum sed quantum nulla unquam memoria fuit tum virtute tum etiam felicitate transegit. — Marcomannos in ipso transitu Danubij delevit & prædam provincialibus reddidit. Gentes omnes ab Ilyrici limite usque Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Narisci, Hermunduri, et Quadi, Suevi, Sarmatæ, Latringes, & Buri: hi aliæque cum Victoalis Sosibes, Sicobotes, Rhoxolani, Bastarnæ, Alani, Peucini, Costoboci. Imminebat et Parthicum bellum & Britannicum. Magno igitur labore etiam suo gentes esperrimas vicit. — Voluit Marcomanniam Provinciam voluit etiam Sarmatiam facere et fecisset nisi Avidius Cassius rebellasset in Oriente — Relicto ergo Sarmatico Marcomannicoque bello contra Cassium profectus est. — Deinde ad conficiendum bellum conversus est. — Triennio bellum postea cum Marcomannis Hermunduris Sarmatis Quadis etiam egit: et si anno uno superfuisset Provincias ex his fecisset. — Duces autem confecerunt Parthicum bellum Statius Priscus et Avidius Cassius & Martius Verus per quadrennium ita ut Babylonem et Mediam pervenirent & Armeniam vendicarent. Iul. Capitolinus in vitis Marci et Veri. The remainder of the Marcomannic war was prosecuted & successfully finished by the delegates of the next Emperor Commodus who ends this Seal.

### **The third Seal opened.**

< text from f 22r resumes >

### **The third Seal opened**

The third King is introduced by the third Beast which is a man situated to the south. And this points out Septimius Severus <23r> an Emperour from the South, of whom Eutropius saith that he being by nation an African of the Province of Tripolis & town Leptis was the onely Emperor known either before or after to be out of Afric.

And this King is described rigorously just. ffor the Ballance signifies Iustice by Def & the blackness of his hors the severity thereof: which agrees well with the human shape of the Beast as beeing the fountain & chief of moral virtues wherein humanity consists Now how this was fulfilled by Severus & Alexander another Emperor soon after succeeding him, you may perceive by the following sentences gathered out of Aurelius & Lampridius & here joyned together.

Severo, saith Aurelius, præclarior in republica fuit nemo, legum conditore longè æquabilium. Implacabilis delictis, strenuum quemque præmijs extollebat. Nulli in dominatu suo permisit honores venundari. Ne parva quidem latrocinia impunèta patiebatur, in suos animadvertens magis, quod vitio ducum aut etiam Præfectorem fieri vix experiens intelligeret. So Spartian calls him implacabilem delictis & latronum ubique hostem. And by all this you may perceive he was a Prince every way suitable to his Standard, but yet as to Iustice he is much out done by Alexander who from his wonderfull stricktness therein acquired also the name of Severus. Is, saith Lampridius, leges de jure populi et fisci moderatas et infinitas sanxit, neque ullam

constitutionem sacrauit sine viginti Iurisperitis. Severissimus Iudex contra fures, appellans eosdem quotidianorum scelerum reos, et damnans acerrimè; ac solos hostes inimicosque reipublicæ vocans, jussit (I suppose he means thieving or corrupt Iudges) in civitatibus nunquam videri, et si essent visi deportari per rectores Provinciarum. Referebat Eucolpius pergit (quo ille familiarissimè usus est) illum si unquam furem judicem vidisset, paratum habuisse digitum ut illi oculum erueret. Addit Septimius, qui vitam ejus non mediocriter executus est tanti stomachi fuisse Alexandrum in eos Iudices qui furorum fama laborassent, etiamsi damnati non essent, ut si eos casu aliquo videret commotione animi stomachi choleram evomeret, toto vultu exardescerete, ut nihil possit loqui. Iussit imò per Præconem edici ut nemo saluaret Principem qui se furem esse <24r> nosset, ne aliquando detectus capitali supplicio subderetur. Si quis militum de via in alicujus possessionem deflexisset, pro qualitate loci, aut fustibus subiciebatur in conspectu ejus, aut virgis, aut condemnationi; aut, si hæc omnia transiret dignitas hominis, gravissimis contumelijs; cùm diceret Visne in agro tuo fieri quod alteri facis? Clamabatque sæpius, quod a quibusdam sive Iudæis sive Christianis audierat et tenebat, idque per Præconem, cum aliquem emendaret, dici jubebat Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. Quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit ut et in Palatio et in publicis operibus præscribi juberet. \*<sup>[9]</sup> Such an unparalleled instance of Iustice as this is & that in a Heathen it's no wonder that the Holy Ghost in this seal should have respect unto.

But besides their justice the frugality of these two Emperors joyned with bounty was very remarkable. †<sup>[10]</sup> Rei frumentariæ saith Spartianus, quam minimam repererat, ita consuluit ut excedens ipse vita septem annorum canonem populo Romano relinqueret ita ut quotidiana septuagena quinque millia modiorum expendi possent. Populo Romano diurnum oleum gratuitum (primus) donavit; ejus verò tantum reliquit ut per quinquennium non solùm urbis usibus, sed et totius Italiæ, quæ oleo egeret, sufficeret. And of Alexander Lampridius saith: Commeatum populi Romani sic adjuvit, ut cum frumenta Heliogabulus evertisset, vicem de propria pecunia loco suo reponeret. — Oleum quoque quod Severus populo dederat, quodque Heliogabulus imminuerat integrum restituit, addidit et oleum luminibus Thermanum. And this affords a further & perhaps a more perfect exposition of the voice saying: A measure of wheat for a peny & three measures of barley for a peny; & see thou hurt not the oyle & the wine: the first part of which expresses the selling of corn to the people out of the Emperors Storehouses, & the last part an injunction to them not to misspend what he gave them freely

\* < insertion from f 23v > \* Some have thought that this seal is to be interpreted of a famin. But besides what was said of the signification of a Ballance in Def: I see not what agreement there can be between a famin & the human shape of the third Beast which is the ensigne of this King. Nor is it so likely that one of the qualities of the fourth seale should be made the principal subject of this, becaus the design of these seales is to describe & distinguish successive times by incommunicable characters.

< text from f 24r resumes >

### **The fourth Seal opened.**

The Præco to the fourth seal is the fourth Beast situated towards the North & this directs us to begin with an Emperor from <25r> that coast, that is with Maximinus the Thracian who succeeded Alexander. Of him Iulius Capitolinus saith, Maximinus de vico Thraciæ vicino Barbaris, Barbaro etiam patre et matre genitus.

Now this King is accompanied with a fourfold desolation; the sword, hunger, death, & wild beasts; that is, slaughter, famin, pestilence, & invasion: For the Greeks use θάνατος death for the pestilence, & the rapine of wild is a prophetique emblem of invasion & captivity as you may see in Def in the notes upon Ier 15.2, 3, where the very same quaternary of calamities is threatned to the Iews. Compare the places for they plainly illustrate one another. This is therefore the combination of calamities, & they are further represented by the Eagle, a bird of prey feeding upon carcasses & notably aggravated by the name of this King Death, by the colour of his hors a pale one & by his ghastly attendant Hell. Nor is the event inferior to the Prophesy.

### **Of the sword.**

Of the first of these calamities you may make estimation by the civil wars & slaughter of the great ones, ffor between Maximinus & Dioclesian, (that is within the compas of 48 years,) of about thirty legitimate Emperors & Cæsars **{illeg}** {sight or name} tyranicall {end} **{illeg}** who perished all by the sword there died,

onely Licinian & Claudian by the Pestilence & Marcus either of the Pestilence or some other distemper, & Carus by lightning, & three more were slain by the publick enemy & all the rest fell by the sword of their own soldiers or of one another or by their own hands out of desperation. And besides all these, within the reign of one Gallienus, there were no less then 29 or 30 others proclaimed Emperors by the Soldiers in divers parts of the Empire; all which fell by the sword, excepting 3 or 4 <26r> who had their lives given them by the mercy of their conquerors. ⊗ < insertion from f 25v > ⊗ These were the principal Tyrants some of which might vie with the Emperor himself for greatness, but you shall presently hear their number made up to six hundred. And to make these times yet more bloody – < text from f 26r resumes > And to make these times yet more bloody the Emperor himself Gallienus was one of the most cruel Beasts that ever lived. Pollio in. lib. de 30 Tyrannis, saith of him. Occiso Ingenuo qui a Mæsiacis legionibus Imperator est dictus, in omnes Mæsiacos tam milites quàm cives asperrimè sæviit, nec quenquam suæ crudelitatis exortem reliquit: usque adeo asper et truculentus ut plerasque civitates vacuas a virili sexu relinqueret. \* < insertion from the right margin > \* There also he records a letter of Gallienus to one of his Captains which runs thus. < insertion from f 25v > virili sexu relinqueret. \* Extat sanè Epistola Gallieni (pergit) quam ad Celerem Verianum scripsit, qua ejus nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur. Gallienus Veriano: Non mihi satisfacies si tantum armatos occideris quos et sors belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus < text from the right margin resumes > Non mihi satisfacies si tantum armatos occideris quos et sors belli interimere potuisset; perimendus est omnis sexus virilis si et senes atque impuberes sine reprehensione nostra occidi possint. Occidendus est quicumque malè voluit, occidendus est quicumque malè dixit contra me — lacera, occide concî{de:} animum meum intelligere potes, mea mente irascere, qui hæc manu mea scripsi. < text from f 26r resumes > And in the life of Gallienus he saith: Scythis in Cappadociam pervadentibus, milites iterum de novo Imperatore faciendo cogitaverant, quos omnes Gallienus more suo occidit. And in the end he adds: ffuit nimie crudelitatis in milites: nam et terna millia et quaterna militum singulis diebus occidit. And in another place; Nequid mali dasset Gallieni temporibus, Byzantinorum civitas, clara navalibus bellis et claustrum Ponticum per Gallieni milites ita omnis vastata est ut prorsus nemo superesset. Quorum cladi ulciscendæ, Gallienus vicissim Byzantio receptus, omnes milites inermes armatorum corona circumdatos, interemit, fracto fœdere quod promiserat. This was the cruelty of this Emperor & his soldiers; & yet he seems to fall short of Maximinus, the Emperor which begins this seal, who was such a Butcher ut illum (saith Iulius Capitolinus) alij Cyclopem, alij Busiridem, alij Scironem, nonnulli Phalarin, multi Typhonem vel Gygam nominarent. Senatus eum tantum timuit ut vota in Templis publice privatimque, mulieres etiam cum suis liberis, facerent, ne ille unquam urbem Romam videret. Audiebant enim alios in crucem sublatos, alios animalibus huper occisis inclusos, alios feris objectos, alios fustibus elisos; atque omnia hæc sine delictu dignitatis — Ignobilitatis tegendæ causa omnes conscios generis sui interemit; nonnullos etiam amicos qui ei sæpe misericordiæ et pietatis causa pleraque donaverant; neque enim fuit crudelius animal in terris; &c.

< insertion from f 25v >

By the cruelty of these Emperors, & of some others perhaps not much inferior to these; but chiefly by the unparalleled raging of the civil wars which must necessarily have been between so many Tyrants & Emperors & those almost all slaughtered: you may now guess what havock the sword made among the soldiers & people.

< text from f 26r resumes >

### Of the Wild Beasts

Hitherto you have heard onely of intestine slaughters, which I suppose was the meaning of the first calamity. But the invasion & tearing of the Empire by wild Beasts, that is by forreign armies, is a calamity still more notable. This began in the reign of Phi <27r> lippus Arabs, by the incursion of the Scythians, & continued for about thirty yeares with very great violence, one invasion following upon the neck of another. The greatest heat of it was in the reign of Gallienus. Gallieno (saith Eusebius<sup>[11]</sup>) in omnem lasciviam dissoluto, Germani Ravennam usque venerunt; Alemanni vastatis Gallijs in Italiam transiere; Græcia, Macedonia, Pontus, Asiæ depopulatæ per Gothos; Quadi et Sarmatæ Pannonias occupaverunt; Germanis <sup>[12]</sup> Hispanias obtinentibus Tarracon expugnata est; Parthi Mesopotamiam tenentes Syriam incursaverunt. By these Beasts the Empire was so universally torn & wasted, ut nulla (saith Zosimus) Romanæ ditionis Gens ab ijs libera permansêrit; omnia ferè oppida mænibus destituta, et ijsdem destitutorum maxima pars capta fuerint. \* < insertion from f 26v > \* The greatness of the desolations you may further guess at by the greatness of the Roman victories in



expelling the Barbarians: of which take these two instances out of the letters of the Emperors Claudius & Probus reporting their own successes. The first to Iunius Brochus who then guarded Illyricum, runs thus. Claudius Brocho: Delevimus trecenta et viginti millia Gotthorum, duo millia navium mersimus. Tecta sunt flumina scutis, spatia et lanceolis omnia littera opperiantur. Campi ossibus latent tecti, nullum iter purum est, ingens Carrago deserta est. Tantum mulierum cepimus ut binas et ternas mulieres victor sibi miles possit adjungere. Et utinam Gallienum non esset passa respublica: Vtinam sexcentos tyrannos non pertulisset. Salvis militibus quos praelia sustulerunt: salvis legionibus quos Gallienus male victor occidit, quantum esset additum reipublicae. To this letter Trebellius Pollio (who records it) subjoins: Pugnatum est enim apud Maesios & multa praelia fuerunt apud Martianopolim, multi naufragio perierunt: plerique capti reges: captae diversarum gentium nobiles feminae — Pugnatum est in diversis regionibus, et ubique auspicijs Claudianis victi sunt Gothi. <sup>[13]</sup> The other letter is of Probus to the Senate concerning his victories over the Franks & Alemans.: Ago diis immortalibus gratias P.C. quia vestra in me iudicia comprobarunt. Subacta est omnis qua lenditur late Germania. Novem reges gentium diversarum ad meos pedes imò ad vestros supplices, stratique jacuerunt. Omnes jam barbari vobis arant, vobis jam serunt, et contra interiores Gentes militant. Supplicationes igitur vestro more decernite. Nam et quadringenta millia hostium caesa sunt, & sececim millia armatorum nobis oblata & septuaginta urbes nobilissimae captivitate hostium vindicatae, et omnes penitus Galliae liberatae — pascuntur ad nostram alimoniam gentium pecora diversarum — frumento barbarico plena sunt horrea. — nos omnia eorum possidemus. This letter is recorded by Vopiscus who adds that Probus after this suppress the Sarmatae & other nations in Illyricum, the Goths Vandals & Gepidae in Thrace, & the Parthians & others in the East. The victories of Aurelian also who reigned between these two Emperors, were very great. Antequam factus est Imperator Aurelianus (saith Carion in Chron.) pugnavit cum Francis ad Moguntiam ubi triginta Millia Francorum trucidata esse scribitur. Postquam autem successit Claudio, terribilis expeditio Marcomannorum & Suevorum retraxit eum in Italiam qui jam Mediolanum ceperant et terrorem urbi Romae similem Cimbrico incusserant. Munito igitur limine Imperij, properans in Italiam, apud Placentiam delevit Marcomannos, & Suevos, sed magna clade Romani exercitus prius accepta.

< text from f 27r resumes >

### Of the Famin & Pestilence

Now amidst so much depopulation & continual harasing of the people how could it otherwise happen then that the fields should be forsaken & tillage neglected, & the old store of provisions wasted? And from hence we might presume that there was a Famin though it had not been recorded. <28r> And as for the Plague, there is nothing more notorious. Zonaras delivers (& others are not silent) that under the Emperors Gallus & Volusian, it began from Æthiopia & went through all the Roman Provinces, exhausting them wonderfully for fifteen years together. Nec alia unquam major lues mihi lecta (saith Lipsius de Constant 2.23) spatio temporum sive terrarum.

Of both these together Saint Cyprian makes mention in his Apology to Demetrianus. Since you say (saith he) that many complain that it is to be imputed to us that wars do arise more frequently, that the Plague & Famin does rage, & that showers & rain have been long withheld, we cannot be silent any longer &c. So Dionysius Alexandrinus in his Epistle to the brethren<sup>[15]</sup> After this, saith he, (that is after the persecution under Decius) there followed both war & famin which we suffered together with the heathens. — But when both we & they had breathed a little, that Plague invaded us which was more terrible then any terror & more lamentable then any calamity, but to us an exercise & tryall inferior to none of the rest.

<29r>

Thus you see how punctually this age suits with this seale. And if you now take a view of all the ages from the foundation of the Empire to this present time, you will not meet with any other concours of all these calamities so universall & stupendious; & therefore by the Rule none but this can be the age intended by this the most dismal Seal.

I have hitherto taken notice only of the times before Dioclesian, because in them the concours of Calamities was greatest; but yet in the time of this Emperor untill the beginning of the persecution they were considerably great through new invasions & Seditions springing up in severall places, insomuch that Dioclesian finding the presence of an Emperor necessary in more places then one, was forced <sup>d[16]</sup> first to

associate Maximianus & afterwards they two to associate <sup>a[17]</sup> two more. And these four were almost continually employed in war. Intra viginti duos annos ab initio Dioclesiani ad initium Constantini magni (saith Carion<sup>[18]</sup>) in toto genere humano horrendam lanienam adversus cives et hostes & inter sese exercuerunt Imperatores (i.e. legitimi et tyrannici simul). But yet by this multiplication of wars they at length not onely expelled the Barbarians & settled the Empire but very much <sup>b[19]</sup> enlarged it before the great persecution began.

And from this differing extent of the dition of the Empire we have another character of these times. ffor by the fourth part of the Earth whereon the plagues of this seal are inflicted, & by the third part of the stars of heaven which the Dragon drew with his tail while the woman cried travailling in birth ch 12.4 (that is, by the third part of the princes of the world which the empire drew into subjection with its armies during the persecution of the fift seal) we are to understand the extent of the Empire in respect of the whole habitable world known to men in those ages: namely that it was but the fourth part thereof during the calamities of the fourth seal, but from that time so much enlarged as to be the third part thereof in the time of the great persecution. And such is the event. <30r> <sup>[23]</sup> For Galerius Maximianus in that very year before the persecution began confirmed to the Empire Mesopotamia & Armenia which were then in dispute & added all Assyria & five other new Provinces . <sup>Θ[24]</sup> Galerius totam Assyriam expugnata Ctesiphonte cœpit et quinque Provincias transtigritanas quæ statim redeunte ad nos Trajano defecerant, subegit, et imperio adjunxit – Et ictum est fœdus ut Persæ ab Armenijs Mesopotamia Assyria et quinque novis Provincijs abstinerent. Pomponius Lætus in Vita Diocles. Ab ortu usque ad Indos propagati Imperij fines. Ibid. Galerius Maximianus pulso Narseo castra ejus diripuit, uxores sorores liberos cœpit, infinitam extrinsecus Persarum nobilitatem, gazam persicam copiosissimam. Ipsum in ultimas regionis solitudines egit. Eutrop l. 9. \*\* < insertion from f 29v >

\*\* What was the just extent of these five Provinces I cannot say, but I imagin them to be that large tract of ground which lies on the North of Adiabene or Assyria between Armenia & the river Choaspes, & that by Indi are only meant the Adiabenians, for the Romans accounted that an Indian region (Niceph. Hist. Eccl. l 9. c 18.) & the great arm of Tigris which compasses it on the north & east & is called <sup>\*[25]</sup> Indus Cydnus Gindnus & Gihon. Now although these be put the limits of his conquests yet the whole will amount to the 4<sup>th</sup> part of the Empire; at least if some further allowance be made for the restitution of the limits in other places: & therefore supposing the whole Empire in this largest extent < text from f 30r resumes > , & therefore supposing the whole Empire in this largest extent to be about the third part of the habitable world known to the old Romans, it will be but about the fourth part thereof during the calamities of the fourth seal.

This I take to be a very singular character of these times, becaus I find not any other time since the age of Saint Iohn to which it can be applied. ffor there was no other time since the conquests of Trajan in which the limits of the Empire were on a sudden enlarged in so great a proportion.

### **Prop.**

#### **The fift seale begins with the tenth Persecution: that is with the year 303.**

Since there are no more horsmen we are not any longer to be guided by the succession of Emperors but must limit the three remaining seales by the succession of such other things as are <31> exprest in them, so as to begin every seal where the things therein begin to be fulfilled, & end it where they end, or where those of the next begin, without regarding whither that period be the beginning or end of the reign of any Emperor.

Now I have shewn how Dioclesian & his colleagues by their conquests at length put a full end to the plagues of the fourth seal, making the Empire then more glorious & formidable then perhaps it ever was before unless in Trajans reign. And immediately after this followed the tenth persecution. For Eusebius in his Chronicle records it thus.

Ann: Olymp: 270.1. Veturius Magister militiæ Christianos milites persequitur, paulatim ex illo jam tempore persecutione adversum nos incipiente. This is but the præludium after 40 years respite.

An. Ol. 270.2. Galerius Maximianus superato Narseo et uxoribus et liberis sororibusque ejus captis, a Dioclesiano ingenti honore suscipitur. Dioclesianusque et Maximianus Augusti insigni pompa Romæ



triumpharunt, antecedentibus currum eorum Narsei conjuge sororibus liberis & omni præda qua Parthos spoliaverant.

### Decima Persecutio

An. Ol. 270.3. Decimo nono anno Dioclesiani Mense Martio in diebus Paschæ,<sup>b[26]</sup> Ecclesiæ subversæ sunt.

An. Ol. 270.4. Secundo anno Persecutionis Dioclesianus Nicomediæ Maximianus Mediolani purpuram deposuerunt. &c

Wherefore since this persecution, which as I shewed in Prop Arg is the subject of the fift seal, begins where the plagues of the fourth seale end, that common period must be the common period of the fourth & fift seal.

This limitation is also manifest by the enlargement of the Empire at this time from a fourth part to a third part of the habitable world then known.

### Prop

#### The sixt seale begins at the victory of Constantine over Maxentius. A.D. 312.

ffor this <sup>c[27]</sup> victory put an end to the <sup>a[28]</sup> ten years persecution <sup>b</sup> & was the first & most fatall blow to heathenism, being <32r> that victory wherein Constantine, newly converted, had that singular incouragement from heaven by a vision of the cross with this inscription  $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\ \nu\iota\kappa\alpha$ . Constantinus saith Eusebius ubi Maxentium superaverat, conspirante secum Licinio, legem statuunt in qua deum Christianorum plenissimis laudibus prosequuntur, et ipsum sibi autorem totius virtutis atque operis profitentur, ipsumque de tyranno præstitisse victoriam, et ideo ab universis huic venerationem cultumque deferendum. Hanc legem etiam ad Maximinum qui tunc orientis partibus dominabatur, emittunt. At ille ingentibus Imperatorum rebus gestis perterritus, tametsi quæ scribebantur contraria sibi & aliena mentis suæ proposito viderentur, tamen quoniam resistere non audebat, statuit velut ex suo arbitrio atque autoritate legem pro Christianis similis sententiæ promulgare: in qua asseveraret majoribus quidem suis prioribus Augustis visum fuisse Christianorum gentem tanquam deorum cultui adversam, penitus esse delendam: se quoque aliquamdiu ratum simili debere uti sententia. Sed quoniam eo magis gens ista propagetur et crescat quo maximè putatur inhiberi, velle se potius ut siquidem blandis quis ad deorum cultum persuasionibus acquiescat, recipiatur: nullus verò cogatur invitus sed habeat in arbitrio suo quisque velit ritu colere deum: neque pro hoc commotionem ullam vel perturbationem provincialibus inferendam. Eccl. Hist. l 9. c 9. Interpr. Ruff. Thus you see by this one victory an universal peace was restored to the church. And from hence foreward Christianity triumphed over Paganism. ffor about ten years after when Licinius began to fall off from the Christians & make new troubles in the Church Constantine <sup>a[29]</sup> overcame him also, & after eight years more (that is in the <sup>b[30]</sup> 25<sup>t</sup> yeare of his reign) he caused the heathen worship to cease throwing down their Idols, demolishing some of their Temples, & shutting up all the rest: which Eusebius thus describes.  $\diamond$  < insertion from f 31v >  $\diamond$  describes. Quorundam delubrorum vestibula ejus mandato in quoque civitate nudata, portæque dirutæ. Aliorum tectum cum laquearibus, tegulis ablatis deturbatum. Aliorum insignia monumenta ex ære fabricata in foro Constantinopoleos omnibus palam proposita ut intuentium oculis pro turpi spectaculo subjicerentur. Hic Pythius, illic Sminthius, in ipso Circo Tripodes Delphici, Helconides Musæ in palatio. Quinetiam Constantinopolis tota simulachris quæ erant apud quasque gentis Dijs consecrata & ex ære artificiosè elaborata passim referta fuit. Euseb. in vita Constantini lib 3. cap 52. Afterwards he describes the demolishing of two of the most famous temples, that of Venus in Phœnicia & that of Æsculapius in Cilicia; & then adds: Cùm itaque Gentiles Delubrorum suorum & statuarum ubique vastitatem reipsa intuerentur: alij ad salutare Dei verbum se totos conferre, alij licet non illud ipsum agerent, patriam tamen et avitam inscitiam improbare & quos olim deos existimaverant risu et ludibrio insectari cœperunt. cap 55. And of the Temples not overthrown he further adds. Omnino omnibus Imperio subjectis Gentibus & Legionibus, Idololatriæ fores clausæ erant, repressumque quodvis Idolis sacrificandi genus lib 4. cap 23. The same writes Sozomenes transcribing these passages of Eusebius. And so Ierome in Chron: Pacatiano et Hilariano Coss: Edicto, inquit, Constantini Gentilium Tempia subversa sunt. And Eunapius in Ædesio: Constantinus τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιφανέστατα κατέστρεψε fana toto orbe celeberrima evertibat.

Besides all this Constantine took away the revenues for maintaining the heathen worship, & his sons, especially Constantius, prosecuted Heathenism much more then he, as their successor Iulian & the Orator Libanius another Heathen & Chron: Alexandr. inform us. ¶ < insertion from f 32v > ¶ Eodem anno (Constantini 20<sup>mo</sup>) Constantinus Imperator totius Imperij Romani solus, omnia ubique Idola dejecit, & pecunias omnes omnesque opes illis detractas ad Ecclesias Christi ornandas & Christianos transtulit. (Chron. Alexandr.) Vbique rerum — < text from f 31v resumes > Vique rerum omnium [regnante scil: Constantio] inerat fœda perturbatio. Paterna liberi templa demoliebantur ab ipso quidam patre, ante contempta ac donarijs spoliata: quæ cùm alij plerique tum majores illius præcipue dedicaverant. — Iuvenis autem <32v> [Iulianus scilicet qui de seipso per Parabolam loquitur] cum innumera illa mala vidisset quæ propinquis suis & patruelibus illata fuerant, nihil propius fuerat quàm ut calamitatum magnitudine percussus in inferos sese præcipitem daret. &c. Iulianus Imp. Orat 7 ad Heraclium. Constantius est atque illius regnum qui acceptas a patre malorum scintillas, ad incendium magnum provexit opus: ille enim opulentiâ Deos spoliavit; hic etiam templa funditus evertit, & omni lege sacra abrogata, dedit se quibus scimus. Libanius in Orat. Apolog. < text from f 32r resumes > <33r>

<34r> <35r> < insertion from f 33v > And the same did Valens in the eastern parts, ffor Theodorit: lib 5 cap 21 writes thus of him: Constantinus Gentilium templa <sup>a[38]</sup> nequaquam destruxerat sed occludi tantum præceperat. Ejus quoque filij paternis institerunt vestigijs. At Iulianus impietatem renovavit. Iovianus denuò prohibuit Valentinianus deinde major <sup>b[39]</sup> ijsdem usus legibus Europam gebernavit Valens vero alijs quidem omnibus permisit colere ut vellent, ijsque quos colerent observantiam exhibere: solis orthodoxis bellum inferens. Itaque quamdiu ille Imperium tenuit, et in aris incendebantur thura: & libamenta ac sacrificia simulachris suis offerebant Pagani, & publicas epulas in for celebrabant. Et Bacchi sachris initiati cum caprinis pellibus cursitabant, canes discerpentes, furentesque & bacchantes & alia peragentes quibus magistris ipsorum festus dies indicatur. Quæ omnia cùm fieri reperisset fidelissimus Imperator Theodosius, funditus sustulit, & perpetua oblivione textit. The like practises of the heathens permitted by Valens when he resided for some time at Antioch, he describes also in lib 4 cap 24. And in Baronius his Annals Ann 377 sect 1 you may see more of this Emperor to the same purpose. Cedrenus also writes Septimo sui anno Valens Græcis licentiam dedit sacrificandi & festos dies agendi.

Before the end of these Emperors therefore —

Before the end of these Emperors therefore we cannot account the sixt Seal accomplished, but in the beginning of the next Emperors Gratian & Theodosius we may. For Gratian (who began A.C. 375) set himself to restrain the heathen worship from the beginning of his reign as is manifest by the demolishing of Idols even at Rome it self by Gracchus in the time of his Vrbane Prefecture <sup>a[40]</sup> A.C. 376 & 377 which Ierome in Epist. 7 thus mentions: Ante annos paucos propinquus vester Gracchus nobilitatem patriciam sonans nomine, cùm Præfecturam gereret urbanam, nonne specum Mithræ & omnia portentosa simulachra, quibus Corax, Niphus <34v> Miles, Leo, Perses, Helios, Bromius pater initiantur, subvertit, fregit, excussit; & his quasi obsidibus ante præmissis, impetravit baptismum Christi. Solitudinem patitur et in Vrbe Gentilitas. Dij quondam Nationum cum bubonibus & noctuis in solis culminibus remanserunt. Vexilla militum Crucis insignia sunt. So Prudentius adversus Symmachum lib 1.

Iam quid Plebicolas percurram nomine Gracchos  
Iure potestatis fultos, & in arce Senatus  
Præcipuos, simulachra Deûm jussisse revelli,  
Cumque suis pariter lictoribus omnipotenti  
Suppliciter Christo se consecrasset regendos?

And as Gratian did in the west, so did Theodosius soon after in the east. For in Chron. Alexandr. its written Indat. 7. Ausonio et Olybrio Coss. Theodosius Imperator reddidit Templa Catholicis ubique repurgata — Fana vero Paganorum ab usque fundamentis evertit. Constantinus clausit tantum, Theodosius hic etiam diruit. And Theodosius in the 3<sup>d</sup> year of his reign put forth this Edict: Siquis se vetitis — < text from f 35r resumes > ffor in the 3<sup>d</sup> year of his reign he put forth this Edict. <sup>[41]</sup> Siquis se vetitis sacrificijs diuturnis nocturnisque velut vesanus et sacrilegus incertorum consultorum immerserit, fanumque sibi aut templum ad hujusmodi sceleris excusationem assumendum crediderit vel puteverit adeundum; proscriptione se noverit subjugandum; cum

nos justa institutione moneamus castis Deum precibus excolendum non diris carminibus profanandum. Dat 13 Kal. Ian. Constantinop. Eucherio & Syagrio Coss. <sup>a[42]</sup> < insertion from f 34v > <sup>a[42]</sup> And the next year there was another edict superscribed: Imppp. Gratianus Valentinianus & Theodosius AAA, Palladio Duci Osdroenæ; which concludes thus — ne illic (sc. in templis) prohibitorum usus sacrificiorum hujus occasione aditus permissus esse credatur. Dat. prid. Kal. Decemb. Constantinop. Antonio et Syagrio Coss. These were in the years 381 & 382 but the words vetita sacrificia imply one or more former edicts of the same kind; & Zosimus (lib 4) describing the actions of Theodosius in the last year of the triennial Gothic war (A.C. 380) subjoynes: Deum quoque simulachra per omnes urbes & agros oppugnabat: adeoque periculum cunctis – < text from f 35r resumes > This mission of Vitalian was that which ended the Gothic war; as you shall hear presently, & therefore this acting of Theodosius happened in the year 380, & we may most probably suppose that it began in the time of his sicknes at Thessalonica when he was baptized & began to concern himself about religion, for till then he was so much taken up in Gothic war that he had little or no time to turn himself to any other business.

The year 380 we may therefore account the last year of the heathen worship tollerated & consequently the end of the sixt seal. ffor that worship was never to any considerable degree restored again, but from thence foreward lost all hopes of reviving. For now & not till now <sup>a[43]</sup> the revenues for the Sacrifices & the stipends of the Priests were all taken away & <sup>b[44]</sup> Gratian, (& after his example I suppose Theodosius also) rejected the very title of Pontifex Maximus which it was the custome of the heathen Priests to present the Emperors with in the beginning of their reign, & all former Emperors, even Constantine the great & his Son Constantius had accepted of & retained. And though there were <sup>c[45]</sup> Embassies —

< text from f 35r resumes >

And though there were <sup>c[48]</sup> Embassies from the Senate to the Emperors for the Altar of Victory, & that petition ( was granted by Maximus for a year & after two denyals) by Eugenius for two years yet all could not recover their abolished worship: neither were Maximus <sup>r[49]</sup> Eugenius or <sup>s[50]</sup> Orosius heathens as some have thought, The Temples indeed were not unviuersally demolished untill <sup>d[51]</sup> the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Arcatius & Honorius & some time after or rather not then, the most of them being converted to the use of Christians —. But its enough that they were all or almost all shut up & so their use taken away from the year 380: ffor I reccon not the demolishing of mere wood & stone after the worship was ceased, but the last universal ceasing of the worship to be the accomplishment of the casting out the Dragon out of heaven & consequently the conclusion of the sixt Seal. For the better understanding of which < insertion from the right margin > I desire you would consider the import of the last words of this seale which run thus: {And the kings of the} <35v> earth & the great men & the rich men & the chief Captains & the mighty men & every bond man & every free man hid themselves in the Dens & in the Rocks of the Mountains & said to the Mountains & rocks: Fall on us & hide us &c. [That is; All the Idols of every sort & condition hid themselves within the cavities & walls of their Temples & said to the walls; fall on us & hide us.] In this parable the passive Idols for the elegancy of the figure are represented active by transferring the actions of men to them. Detract therefore the actions from them that they may remain passive, & then the sense will be this; that the Idols of every sort & condition were hid within the cavities & walls of their Temples & it was said to the walls, fall on them: that is the Idol Temples were shut up, & the sentence past that they should be thrown down. Wherefore since it is not here said that they did fall but only that their fall was prounounced or wished: we must end this seale with the last universall shutting up of the Temples & leave the consequent demolishing of them to the times of the next; interpreting the precedent falling of the stars & removing of the mountains & Islands out of their places & the departure of the heavens, to be meant of Constantine's & his son's throwing down Idols & taking away their Altars [whither high like mountains or low like Islands] & demolishing the whole fabric of many Temples & the porches & roofs & other ornaments of others in every City; & this hiding of men in Dens & Rocks of mountains to be meant chiefly of that final shutting up of the Temples by Gratian & Theodosius which was the preparation to their throwing down by Theodosius & his sons.

< text from f 35r resumes >

This is one character of the end of the sixt Seal & <36r> consequently of the beginning of the seventh. Another we have from the half howers silence, that is peace, & holding the four winds which were to hurt the

earth & the sea: that is restraining those wars which were already begun, & when the restraint was taken of should break forth again to hurt the nations signified by the earth & the sea. ffor the holding of the winds presupposes winds (that is wars) before they were held, for how could that be held or restrained which never was in being. We are therefore, since these winds were to be loosed again to hurt the earth & sea, to begin the seventh seale at the restraint of those wars which after a while brake forth again to the great hurt of the Empire.

Now I shewed above how Dioclesian expelled all the Barbarians & reduced the empire to a very splendid & formidable condition before the fift seal. In this glory it continued during the reign of Constantine & his sons ⚔ < insertion from f 35v > ⚔ Some wars Constantius had with the Persians & Alemans, but not great & rather with advantage & glory then danger to the Empire, insomuch that his empire rather exceeded then came short of his ffathers: as you may learn out of Gregory Nazianzen's 1<sup>st</sup> Oration adversus Iulianum writen immediately after Iulian's death where he thus expostulates with Constantius for making Iulian Emperor. Quodnam hoc consilium suscepisti qui omnes non tuæ solum sed etiam superioris memoriæ Imperatores animi solertia et acumine longe antecellebas? Qui barbaras nationes per gyrum repurgabas, tyrannosque intestinos ditioni tuæ partim sermonibus partim armis subiciebas, & quidem utrumque ita dextrè et egregiè, quasi ab altero nihil molestiæ tibi exhiberetur: cujus cum magna et eximia trophæa armis et prælio quæsita, tum majora et illustriora sine ulla cruoris profusione parta: ad quem legationes et supplicationes undecunque confluebant: cui nationes omnes partim jam dicto audientes erant, partim jamjam futuræ erant; ut in eadem causa essent omnes ij quorum expugnatio in {spe} posita erat, ac si jam domiti atque in potestatem redacti essent: &c.

<36v>

Hoc modo res Romanorum florûere sub Constantio, sed successoris ejus Iuliani præcipitantia Imperium bello Persico primò minutum fuit, & mox innumeris bellis ingruentibus vehementer concussum ad usque imperium Theodosij & tantum non subversum: ita ut hunc primum fuisse gradum ad ruinam Imperij <sup>†</sup>[52] Medus noster statuerit, & nemo certe non viderit. Sed bella audiamus, ea intio Imperij Valentiniani et Valentis sic coorta esse tradit Ammianus. Hoc tempore, inquit , < text from f 36r resumes > Hoc tempore, saith Ammianus,[53] velut per universum orbem Romanum bellicum canentibus buccinis, excitæ gentes sævissimæ limites sibi proximos persultabant: Gallias Retiasque simul Alemanni populabantur, Sarmatæ Pannonias et Quadi: Picti Saxones et Scoti et Attacotti Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis: Austoriani Mauricæque aliæ gentes Africam solito acrius incursabant; Thracias diripiebant prædatorij globi Gotthorum: Persarum Rex manus Armenijs injectabat. And whilst Valentinian & his brother were buisied in repulsing these enemies,[54] the Hunns from beyond the Lake Mæotis breaking through the intermediate regions of the Alans [which were seated upon the river Tanais between them & the Goths;] & forcing many of that people along with them; they invade the Goths [a great & ancient nation seated beyond the Danube on the north of Thrace,] & expell them out of their <37r> seats: who fleeing from them in two parts to the side of the Danube, the one part supplicated Valens to receive them into his Dominions & protection, promising obedience. But being admitted into Thrace, the next year through famin & oppression they were provoked to rebell & spoil the country & under the conduct of Fritigern put to flight the Roman forces which came to suppress them. In the mean time the other part also passed the Danube without leave under the conduct of Alatheus & Saphraces, & sided with the other Goths against the Romans, many of the Hunns & Alans also being invited to joyne with them.

When Valens heard of these troubles he made peace with the Persians & led his army against this new enemy but was <sup>a</sup>[55] overthrown by them neare Hadrianople with a <sup>b</sup>[56] very great slaughter scarce the third part of his Army escaping & himself being burnt in a Cottage whether he fled for safety. And after this they raged up & down Thrace & Mæsia & the neighbouring Provinces <sup>a</sup> from the very walls of Constantinople to the roots of the Iulian Alps; harassing & spoiling all places & captivating or killing many of the inhabitants. This was in the year 378: But the next year Theodosius being made Emperor instead of Valens, set upon them & repulsed them in severall battels with very great slaughter. But then falling sick at Thessalonica, the Barbarians again brake into the neighbouring regions depopulating all places as before: which Gratian hearing of <sup>c</sup>[57] sent Baudo, Arbogastes & Vitalian against them, whereof Baudo & Arbogastes expelled those which had invaded Macedon & Thessaly, & Vitalian repress Fritigern in Achaia & Epire & Alatheus & Saphraces in Pannonia Theodosius also after his recovery appearing again in the feild. Thus after divers

victories the war was finished towards the end of the <sup>d[58]</sup> year 380 the Emperor then making peace with the Barbarians, & upon conditions granting them Thrace to inhabit as before.

This I have described the more particularly because it was the irruption which historians account to have been the cause of the dissolution of the Empire. Sub mortem Valentiniani in Orientis regno Gothorum Gens sedibus suis pulsa per omnes se Thracias infudit armisque urbes et agros vastare feraliter <38r> cœpit: et Valens ab hostibus circumventus in prælio quo ex bello trepidus confugerat exustus est: quæ pugna initium mali Romano Imperio tunc et deinceps fuit. Ruffin: in calce Eusebij l 11. c 13. Hunnos Gothi transito Danubio fugientes a Valente sine ulla fœderis pactione suscepti sunt, qui tribuit eis terras Thraciarum ad habitandum, arbitratus præparatum solatium ab eis habere contra omnes barbaros: hac pro re milites de cætero negligebat, et eos qui dudum contra hostes elaboraverant Imperator despiciebat. – Hoc ergo fuit initium ut in illo tempore Romana Respublica calamitatibus subderetur. Barbari namque cum Thracias tenuissent, licenter Romanorum vastabant Provincias &c. P. Diaconus Hist. Miscel. l 12. c14. Sic et Platina cladem et interitum Valentis referens: Hæc, inquit, clades Romani Imperij ac totius Italiæ exitium fuit. Platin. in vit. Syricij

The war of the Goths Idatius in his ffastus consulares describes thus. Valente 5 & Valentiniano Coss. (i.e. A.C. 376) victi et expulsi sunt Gothi a gente Hunnorum & suscepti a Romanis. Proximo anno rebellarunt, annoque tertio 5 Id. August. Valens vincitur a Gothis & toto anno per diœcesim Thraciarum & Scythiæ & Mœsiæ Gothi habitarunt, simul et eas prædaverunt, deinde usque ad portas urbis Constantinopolitanæ venerunt. Tunc Ausonio et Olybrio Coss: (A.C. 379) Theodosius fit Augustus 14 Kal. Feb. Ipsoque anno multa bella Romani cum Gothis commiscuerunt. Deinde victoriæ nunciatae sunt adversus Gothos Alanos atque Hunnos 15 Kal. Decemb. Proximo anno (A.C. 380) Gratiano 5 & Theodosio Aug. Coss. victoriæ nunciatae sunt amborum Augustorum. Et ipso anno ingressus est Theodosius Constantinopolin 18 Kal. Decemb. Deinde Antonio et Syagrio Coss (A.C. 382) universa gens Gothorum cum Rege in Romaniam se <sup>d[59]</sup> tradiderunt, 5 Non: Octob. [Nempe biennio post initam pacem.] To the same purpose speake Ierome, Prosper, Marcelline & Victor, lamenting the war of Valens & expressing how Theodosius overcame the Goths Huns & Alans in many & great Victories. † < insertion from f 37v > † Also Gregory Nazianzen who lived then in Constantinople, speaking of Theodosius's return thither from these wars, thus hints his victories.

\*<sup>[60]</sup> En Imperator advenit nobis repens

Terra ex Macedna, Marte domitis Barbaris,

Stimularat ingens quos manus & ingens furor

But Gregory the Presbyter in the life of Gregory Nazianzen describes these victories more fully. Cùm autem, inquit, bellum illud quod cum Occidentalibus Barbaris gestum fuerat, sopitum atque Imperatori ex animi sententia confectum fuisset, ab iisque ille, quas eorum adacia merebatur pœnas expetisset, captivosque cœpisset, & victis tributa imposuisset; ad Augustam urbem adfuit triumphis elatus & gestiens. Ac tum pontificem Gregorium honorificè excipiens – Ecclesiam & Thronum Episcopalem ei tradidit. Zosimus when he had newly – < text from f 38r resumes > And Zosimus when he had newly described the same war, adds: Eodem tempore (scilicet quo Gothi a Vitalione reprimerentur) Theodosio quidam <sup>a[61]</sup> alij quoque prosperi casus accidere. Nam Scyros & Carpodacos permistos Hunnis ultus est & prælio superatos Istrum trajicere suasque <39r> sedes repetere compulit. Hinc igitur militibus animorum fiducia redire, paululumque videri de rebus adversis superiorum temporum respirare Princeps, & agricolis exercendarum operarum suarum jumentis ac pecoribus liberi pastus copia fieri, ac Theodosius quidem Imperator in hunc modum acceptis detrimentis mederi visus est. Zos. l 4. To the same purpose writes Claudian de 4<sup>to</sup> Consulatu Honorij. \*\*

< insertion from f 38v >

\*\* Nam cum Barbaries penitus commota gementem

Irrueret Rhodopen, & mixto turbine gentes;

Cùm deserta suas in nos transfuderat arctos,

Danubij totæ vomerent cùm prælia ripæ,

Gum Geticis ingens premeretur Mœsia plaustris,

Flavaque Bistonios operirent agmina campos:

Omnibus afflictis & vel labentibus ictu,



Vel prope casuris, unus tot funera contra  
Restitit, extinxitque faces, agrisque colonos  
Reddidit, & leti rapuit de faucibus urbes.

This was the change which Theodosius on a sudden wrought in the Empire which was so great that Claudian in the next words subjoynes

Nulla relictæ foret Romani nominis umbra

< text from f 39r resumes >

Nulla relictæ foret Romani nominis umbra  
Ni pater ille tuus jamjam ruitura subisset  
Pondera, turbatamque ratem, certâque levasset  
Naufragium commune manu &c.

So Orosius:<sup>[62]</sup> Cùm Gratianus afflictum ac penè collapsum reipublicæ statum videret, eadem provisione qua quondam legerat Nerva Hispanum virum Trajanum per quem respublica reparata est, legit et ipse Theodosium æquè Hispanum virum et restituendæ reip. necessitate apud Syrmium purpuram induit. Orientisque et Thraciæ simul præfecit Imperio. – Itaque Theodosius Alanos Hunnos et Gothos incunctanter aggressus magnis multisque prælijs vicit. Urbem Constantinopolim victor intravit et ne parvam ipsam Romani exercitus manum assiduè bellando deterreret, fœdus cum Athanarico rege Gothorum percussit. Athanaricus autem continuò ad Constantinopolim venit, diem obiit. Vniuersæ Gothorum gentes Rege defuncto, aspicientes virtutem benignitatemque Theodosij Romano sese Imperio dediderunt. < insertion from inline > Zosimus further adds: Theodosius, tantam sepulturæ regis Athanarici magni fidentiam adhibebat, ut — Scythæ non amplius Romanos infestarent, bonitatem Principis admirandi: Quotquot autem cum Rege vita defuncto venerant, custodiendæ ripæ fluminis intenti, diu quo minus Romani vexarentur incursionibus, impedirent. Zos l 4.

Of the Persians also Orosius in his next words writes thus: In iisdem – < text from f 39r resumes > In iisdem etiam diebus, Persæ qui Iuliano interfecto alijsque Imperatoribus sæpe victis, nunc etiam Valente in fugam acto, recentissimæ victoriæ satietatem cruda insultatione ructabant ultro Constantinopolim ad Theodosium misere Legatos pacemque supplices poposcerunt. Ictumque tunc fœdus est quo universus Oricus usque ad nunc tranquillissimè fruitur. This Orosius wrote in the year 417 as is manifest by his last chapter: whence it appears that the Empire was quiet from the Persians during the reign of Theodosius & for a good while after.

Whilst these things were doing in the Eastern parts, Gratian <40r> (who lately succeeded his father Valentinian) was employed in defending Gallia from the incursion of the Alemans. Of these he slew about thirty thousand in battel with their King A.C. 377,<sup>[63]</sup> & made them supplicate for peace. But then hastning eastward with his Army with intention to have assisted Valens against the Goths: in his absence the Alemans make a new irruption. Whereupon creating Theodosius Emperor & sending him against the Goths, he returned back into Gallia & spent the two next years in war with the Alemans, which he concluded victoriously about the same time that peace was made with the Goths. Gratiano 5 & Theodosio Aug. Coss. (i.e. A.C. 380) victoriæ nunciatae sunt amborum Augustorum. Idatij Fast. Sub hoc tempore Gratianus, Alemannis Galatas (Gallos scilicet) occidentales adhuc infestantibus, ad paternam Imperij sortem reversus est quam ipsi fratrique ipsius gubernandam reliquerat: cùm priùs Illyricos et Orientis Imperium Theodosio commisisset. Res autem illi ex voto contra Alemannos ut et Theodosio contra Istrum acconentes Barbaros confecta est. Illos quidem bello subegit hos in amicitiam pouli Romani supplices recepit: a quibus acceptis obsidibus firmata pace Thessalonicam venit [ubi scilicet Theodosius tunc scilicet Theodosius tunc ægrotans commoratus erat] Sozom l 7. c 4. This was so difficult a war, Vt Valentinianus, saith Ammian,<sup>[64]</sup> versando sententias multiformes anxia sollicitudine stringebatur reputans multa & circumspectans quibus commentis Alemannorum & Macriani regis frangeret fastus sine fine vel modo rem Romanam inquietis motibus confundentis. Being thus at his wits end he first<sup>[65]</sup> solicited the Burgundians to his aid, & then<sup>[66]</sup> attempted to take away the life of Macrianus by treachery & afterwards plotted to raise civil wars among the Alemans by setting up another king among them against Macrianus: all which practises were far from the custome of the Romans. But yet at length his son Gratian as was now said brought things to a happy issue by conquering the enemy.

For the history of the wars with the Scots in Brittain, with the <41r> Moors & Austorians in Afric & Cyrenaica,<sup>[67]</sup> with the Isauri in Asia & with the Sarmatæ & Quadi in Pannonia (all which were concluded before the year 380,) I refer you to Ammianus . And besides these you may see in Iornandes mention made of an incursion of the Vandals into Gallia: against whome Gratian went forth from Rome & repulsed them This was when Theodosius lay sick at Thessalonica.

To these I may add also a commotion threatned by the Burgundians <sup>a[68]</sup> who in the year 370 being invited by Valentinian against the Alemans & disobliged by breach of covenant, went back in anger & after three years returned again <sup>d[69]</sup> with about eighty thousand to the side of the Rhene with intention to have invaded the Empire. But Valentinian <sup>b[70]</sup> sending Gratian against them, their incursion was stayed for the present. Yet they returned not home but seated themselves by the river untill the appointed time. <sup>b[71]</sup> Ierome expresses the action thus. Anno 374 Burgundionum octoginta fermè millia, quot nunquam ante ad Rhenum descenderunt. And this I thought fit to mention here becaus though not an actual war yet it is a preparation to those wars that are hereafter to break forth, & therefore may be reccond among the winds that are at present checked.

I have now shown you how the winds rose after the death of Constantine & blew more & more upon the Empire from every quarter till they indangered its overturning, but then were checked every where by the Angels & so the Empire reduced again to an universal tranquility: which commencing neare the end of the year 380 shows that we must date the seventh seale from thence. And this being established you shall hear in the next Position how the winds are again let loos in order to blow upon the empire till they consume it. Only I shal here for a confirmation of all that has been said add one more testimony, by which you will further see not only how violent the winds were before they were held but also with what a strong hand they were held afterward. The passage is out of Pacatus his Panegyric which he spake to the Emperor Theodosius himself a little <42r> <sup>f[72]</sup> Moors & Austorians in Afric & Cyrenaica, with the Isauri in Asia & with the Sarmatæ & Quadi in Pannonia (all which were concluded before the year 380) I refer you to Ammian Marcellus And besides these you may see in Iornandes mention made of an incursion of the Vandals out of Pannonia into Gallia: which Vandals, as the same Iornandes relates, had been received into Pannonina by Constantine, 7 lived there in perfect obedience to the Roman laws like other subjects for about 40 years before this commotion. And now they were soon repulsed by Gratian & forced to return to their obedience again in Pannonia. This was when Theodosius lay sick at Thessalonica.

To these I may add also a commotion threatned by the Burgundians, <sup>a[73]</sup> who in the year 370 being invited by Valentinian against the Alemans & disobliged by breach of covenant, went back in anger & after three years returned again with almost eighty thousand to the side of the Rhene with intention to have invaded the Empire. But Valentinian <sup>b[74]</sup> sending Gratian against them, their incursion was stayed for the present, Yet they returned not home, but seated themselves by the river untill the appointed time. Ierome at the end of Eusebius's Chronicle expresses the action thus. Anno 374 Burgundionum octoginta fermè millia, quot nunquam ante ad Rhenum descenderunt. And this I thought fit to mention here becaus though not an actual war yet it is a preparation to those wars that are hereafter to break forth, & therefore may be reconned among the winds that are at present checked.

I have now shown you how the winds rose after the death of Constantine, & blew more & more upon the Empire from every quarter till they indangered its overturning, but then were checked every where by the Angels & so the Empire reduced to an universall tranquility & silence: which commencing at the year 380 shows that we must date the seventh seale from thence. And this being established, you shall hear in the next Proposition how the winds are again let loos in order to blow upon the Empire till they consume it.

There is a third argument of the beginning of this seal {which is the} <42v> change of religion in the end of the year 380, which of all changes that ever were wrought in the Christian Religion was the most notable both in regard of the nature of the thing it being the foundation & root of all following Apostacy, & in regard of the unnatural quick & universal propagation, it be wrought by force on a sudden over all the Empire; whereas all other corruptions that I can at present think of have crept in & spread themselves by amost insensible degrees. To those that understand the religion of the ancient Christians this will prove a most certain



demonstration of the <sup>[75]</sup> beginning of this seal, but I shall not here prosecute the argument because I would not now engage myself in a dispute about religion. I proceed therefore to the contents of the Seal.

<43r>

### **Prop.**

**The first Trumpet begins with the invasions of the eastern regions A.C. 395. The second with the invasion of Gallia & Spain A.C. 408. The third with the invasion of Afric A.C. 427. And the fourth with the wars in Italy A.C. 536.**

### **Of the loosing of the Winds**

As the four first Seales were introduced by the four Beasts which stood about the four quarters of the throne: so these four Trumpets are introduced by the four Angels which stand at the four corners of the earth. Now whereas these hold the four winds which were to blow in those quarters we are thereby (as was said) to understand their preserving the four quarters of the earth in peace by restraining for a time the four wars which were to infest them, & therefore by the four winds we must understand so many wars which were to be in the four quarters of the earth, & those successive because, as I signified above, they are the wars of the four first Trumpets. As for the order of their succession we may learn it from their analogy with the four Beasts: namely the first an east wind, the second a west wind, the third a south wind, & the fourth a north wind; for in this order the Beasts succeed one another. And because the Roman Empire is the scene of this Prophecy, we must reckon the center of that Empire, that is its Metropolis Rome to be the center of the winds.

### **Of the time of holy Rites.**

Having premised these things of the winds, I should now proceed to describe the wars of the Trumpets which they signify. But first there are some other wars between them & the half hours silence to be taken notice of. For the fire of the Altar which the Angel with his Censer cast on the earth (Def Psal ) & the consequent voices & thundrings & lightnings & shaking (Def are <44r> all expressions of war. Now this war has these four characters. First it is the war which puts an end to the time of silence. 2 Because the wars of the Trumpets are expressed by winds which lie still during this war, therefore this war must be of a different kind. Suppose the difference be that this is of Romans with one another & the other with Barbarians; for winds blowing upon an Empire are the most proper representative of wars made by invaders. 3 This is to be such a war as is accompanied with the overthrow of some dominion. For so the shaking signifies by Def . 4 It is to be in a time which has a very great affinity with the time of silence, so that both those times together may make one uniform revolution, excepting so far as they are discriminated by this war in the latter part of it. And the reason of this is because both together make up the whole time expressed by the performance of divine rites in chap 8, & by the sealing of the saints in chap 7.

These are the characters of the war which is to precede the Trumpets, & they lead us to the memorable civil wars of Theodosius with Maximus & Eugenius. For those put an end to the peace signified by the half hours silence, & were purely civile, & overthrew the Dominions of Maximus & Eugenius, & together with the time of silence made up that singular & pretty uniform period of time during the reign of Theodosius which ended with the division of the Empire & new irruptions of the Barbarians.

Now these wars I reckon to begin about May or June A.C. 388, for between that & the year 380 I cannot meet with so much as one battle fought within the Empire. ~ ~ ~ ~ <45r>

Gratian indeed in the year 383 when Maximus first rebelled led his army against him, but having formerly disobliged his soldiers <sup>a[77]</sup> they fell off from him to Maximus, insomuch that after the armies had been only five days within sight of one another, he fled out of despair without giving battle & in his flight was <sup>b[78]</sup> slain singly at Leiden by the treachery of Andragatius: & Maximus succeeded in his part of the Empire residing at Trevirs, & ruling over Gallia Spain & Brittain by the consent of Theodosius & Valentinian.

\* < insertion from f 44v > \* There was also something to do with the Alemans, for they were not so far conquered by Gratian as wholly to submit but kept themselves in a posture ready for further action, which made Gratian watch them continually with his sword in his hand. What further attempts they made in the time of Gratian I know not: I read not of any. But soon after his death, taking advantage I suppose of his

diversion by Maximus, the <sup>a[79]</sup> Iugunthians (one <sup>b[80]</sup> sort of the Alemans) made an inrode into Rhætia, but were soon reduced, not by the Roman Legions but by the Huns whom Valentinian thereupon hired to invade Alemannia. And this proved such a firm restraint to this wind for the future that it did not so much as breath any more upon the Empire untill the generall irruptions hereafter to be described. And as for the present inrode though that may be compared to a blast of wind, yet it being only upon the skirts of the Empire & in so small a portion thereof & so short a time & proceeding only to pillaging the country without any battel within the Empire consequent thereupon that I read of, & in a word so inconsiderable that although done in a time of universal peace yet historians used to pass it by in silence, no Authors that I know mentioning it expresly besides Ambrose in Epist 27: it may in comparison of the wars before & after be accounted as a very gentle blast or breathing to a fierce wind, & to loud voices & thundring a soft murmuring or whispering such as you may imagin to be made by the prayers of the saints in this time of silence. The end of this time of silence it cannot be becaus this time is to end in thundrings & lightnings & a shaking, that is in battels & the overthrow of some dominion.

< text from f 45r resumes >

After this there came in the year 386 a great hand of Theuringians under the conduct of Odotheus from remote northern regions to the side of the Danube, but Theodosius hearing beforehand of their coming met them there, & getting intelligence of their council about passing the river, <sup>c[81]</sup> set upon them unawares in their passage with such ships as he had in readiness & destroyed most of them upon the river. This indeed was a battel, but not within the Empire, nor did the enemy otherwise then captivated come within the bounds of it to disturb its tranquility: & therefore we are not to look upon this as an interruption of the time of silence. We may rather esteem it a wind checked in tis first indeavour then suffered to blow.

The next year Maximus being desirous to enlarge his dominion into Italy; whilst he pretended peace led his army secretly over the Alps: & Valentinian surprised by the suddenness of the action left his dominions to the invader, & fled by sea to Theodosius. Whereupon Theodosius prepared for war & the next year advancing towards Italy <sup>d[82]</sup> <sup>[83]</sup> first met with Maximus at Sciscia in Pannonia & in a set battel beat him there, & then pursuing <46r> after his victory over Maximus A.C. 388. Ille, inquit, felicitatis publicæ auspex dies qui te primus inauguravit Imperio, – Iacebat innumerabilibus malis ægra vel potiùs dixerim exanimata Respublica barbaris nationibus Romano nomini velut quodam diluvio superfusis. Sed par causa replicare causas & placatum ulcus offendere. Nam cum per se vivax sit recordatio calamitatum tum mihi metus hanc gaudiorum præsentium lucem tristium commemoratione fuscare. And a little after he thus introduces the Commonwealth perswading Theodosius upon a demur he made at Gratian's offer, to accept of the Imperial dignity. Parum ne me Theodosi hactenus distulere fata ut insuper tentes moras augere fatorum? an nescis rem tuam per momenta consumi? Nescis me tibi tuisque decrescere? Quidquid aufert Alanus id olim desiderebit Arcadius. Perdidisti infortunata Pannonias: Lugeo funus Illyrici: specto excidium Galliarum. Principum senior in tanta bella non sufficit: alter etsi futurus sit aliquando fortissimus adhuc tamen parvus est. Tu dubitas excipere collapsam et ut nihil differas serò reparandam? &c. And afterward describing the flourishing state of the Empire which followed upon his victories, adds. Miremur ne in urbibus tuis & a populis tuis te videri, quem fere nulla in <sup>a[84]</sup> solo suo natio externa non vidit, idque ita crebro ut pene tam notus sit barbaris vultus iste quàm nobis: nec frustra cùm æstates omnes foris hiemes domi ducens civibus hostibusque pari sorte anni spatia divideris: et siqui forte sunt Barbarorum qui nondum virtutis tuæ fulmen exceperint, nominis terrore perculsi & velut afflati quiescant. Tua enim Imperator auspicia non hæ tantum gentes tremunt quas ab orbe nostro sylvarum intervalla vel flumina montesve distinguunt: sed quas æternis ardoribus inaccessas aut continua hieme separatas aut interfusis æquoribus abjunctas natura disternat. Non Oceano Indus, non frigore Bosphoranus, non Arabs medio sole securus est. Et quo vix peroenerat nomen ante Romanum, accedit Imperium. Dicamne ergo receptos ad servitium Gothos, castris tuis militem, terris sufficere cultorem? Dicam a rebellibus Saracenis pœnas polluti fœderis expetitas? Dicam interdictum Scythis Tanaim? & imbelles arcus esse fugientis Albani? Quæcunque natio Barbarorum robore, ferocia, numero gravis unquam nobis fuit, aut boni consulit, aut quiescit, aut læta <47r> tur, quasi amica si serviat. Persis ipsa Reip. nostra retro æmula et multis Romanorum Ducum famosa funeribus, quicquid unquam in Principes nostros inclementius fecit excusat obsequio. Denique ipse ille Rex ejus, dedignatus antea confiteri hominem jam fatetur timorem, & in his te colit templis in quibus colitur, tum legatione mittenda, gemmis sericoque præbendo, ad hoc triumphalibus belluis in tua esseda suggerendis, &c. Nec tamen Imp. existimes cuncta me ad aurium gratiam locuturum: triumphis tuis Gallicis (stupeas licebit) irascimur. Dum in remota terrarum vincendo procedis,

dum ultra terminos rerum metasque naturæ regna Orientis extendis, dum ad illos primæ lucis indigenas; invenit \*<sup>[85]</sup> Tyrannus ad sclera secretum. &c. Afterward speaking of the expedition against Maximus, he signifies the subjection of the Huns & Alans that had invaded the Empire as well as of the Goths. Ibat, inquit, sub ducibus vexillisque Romanis hostis aliquando Romanus, & signa contra quæ steterat sequebatur: urbesque Pannoniæ, quas inimica dudum populatione vacuerat miles impleverat. Gothus ille et Hunnus et Alanus respondebat ad nomen & alternabat excubias & notari infrequens ferebat, &c.

There is a third argument of the beginning of this seale. ffor in Posit we shewed that this Seale was to contain | the times of the great Apostacy, the Beast ascending out of the bottomles pit towards the end of the former seal & in the beginning of this overspreading the world with that infernal religion which he brought up with him so that those whose names were not written in the book of life should then begin every where to worship him & his Image. And thus it happend at this time: ffor in Constantius's reign the Church being reduced to peace & the whole Empire united under one Emperour & one religion, after his & Iulian's death the western Empire (which as I shew elsewhere is the Beast) revived & by degrees receded from that religion it was of under Constantius & by the working of the Pope & his agents became of a new one. ⊕ < insertion from the right margin > ⊕ one. Not that which the council of Nice set up, but under colour of that a new one which Athanasius first broached in the reign of Iovian A.C 363, & the Pope embracing made more deformed by translating it out of Greek into Latin. When this new doctrine was broached, the Nicene innovation was gone the way of former heresies, & those few professors of it that remained were divided (saith Nazienzen) into six hundred opinions, there being no end of error division & confusion amongst those that are once out of the way. And the Nicene building being thus rased giving occasion occasion to <47v> Athanasius to lay a new foundation which the western Bishops made hast to build upon. < text from f 47r resumes > In the meane time the east which was two third parts of the whole continued untainted, all but Egypt & those of the west also which persevered injoyed their liberty till the year 380. But then the Emperors Gratian & Theodosius taking upon them the patronage of the western Apostacy set themselves in the end of that year to spread it over the world by their edicts, & the next year turned out all Bishops & Priests in the whole Empire that would not embrace it. Arriani pulsi Gratiano 5 & Theodosio 1 Coss: <48r> anno ex quo ecclesias occupaverant quadragesimo Sozom. l 7 c 5. Idem habet Socr l c A.C 380 Gratiano 5 & Theod. Coss. Theodosius magnus postquam de scythis et Getis triumphavit, expulsis continuo ab Orthodoxorum Ecclesijs Arrianis qui jam ferè per 40 annos eas sub Arrianis Imperatoribus tenuerant, nostris Catholicis orthodoxis restituit Imperator mense Decembris. Marcellin: Chron. Anno quinto \*<sup>[86]</sup> Theodosij, Arriani qui totum pene Orientem atque Occidentem commaculaverant, edicto glorios principis Ecclesijs spoliantur quæ Catholicis deputatæ sunt. Prosper apud Euseb. l 1.

In the beginning of this year Theodosius lying sick at Thessalonica & beginning then to take religion into consideration, the emperors put forth this edict. <sup>[87]</sup> Impppp. Gratian. Valentin. & Theodos. AAA. ad populum urbis Constantinopolitanæ. Cunctos populos quos clementiæ nostræ regit temperamentum in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum Petrum Apostolum tradidisse Romanis, religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat, quamque Pontificem Damasum sequi claret et Petrum Alexandriæ Episcopum. Hoc est ut Patris & filij & Spiritus sancti unam Deitatem sub parili majestate & sub pia Trinitate credamus. — Dat 3 Kal. Mart. Thessaloniciæ Gratiano 5 & Theod: 1 Coss. But this not being backt with the Emperors presence had no effect. till the end of the year. And then Theodosius coming to Constantinople first turned out Demophilus the Bishop of that City; & put in Gregory Nazienzen to which action, as the beginning of the change in which the above cited places of Marcellin Socr. Sozom. & Prosper refer. And then to cause the like to be done in other places he put out another edict, which begins thus. <sup>[88]</sup> Impppp Gratian. Valentin. & Theodos. AAA. Eutropio P.F.P. Nullus hæreticis mysteriorum locus nulla ad exercendi animi obstinatoris dementiam pateat occasio. And then naming the parties to be expeld (in which he joyns corpora viva mortuis) & describing his own faith of the triunity, adds. Qui verò ijsdem (viz: fidei de triunitate articulis) non inserviunt — ab omnium summoti ecclesiarum limine penitus arceantur: cum omnes hæreticos illicitas agere intra oppida congregationes vetemus. Ac siquid erectio factiosa tentaverit ab ipsis etiam urbium mœnibus exterminato furore propelli jubemus ut cunctis orthodoxis episcopis qui Nicænam fidem tenent Catholicæ Ecclesiæ toto orbe reddantur. Dat 4 Id. Ian. C.P. Eucherio et Syagrio Coss. Hoc est Ian 9. A.C. 381. But to <49r> bring this change about there were wanting these two things, ecclesiastical Iudges to examin who should be turned out & to ordain others in their room & a Council to put a colour upon these proceedings least they should be thought tyrannicall arbitrary & besides the Ecclesiastical custom, & to put a colour also upon their doctriens, for as yet the doctrines of the equality of the divine persons & triunity, & of a soule in our

Saviour besides the λογος or Son & of his Hypostatical union with that soule instead of a true incarnation in the body, & that the Soul only and not the Son became subject to human infirmities & suffered for us on the cross, these doctrens being but newly broached by the Homoüsians had been ratified only by provincial counsels of the western Bishops. The Emperor therefore by their advice & instigation forthwith indicts a Counsel of his <sup>r[89]</sup> own Bishops only, and in <sup>r</sup> May they convene at Constantinople. This is that commonly called second general Counsel: in which when they had ratified their doctrens, anathematized dissenters, <sup>s[90]</sup> decreed them to be deposed, & appointed & authorized Bishops of the principal cities to oversee determin & dispose of the Bishoprics of the other cities round about them, the Emperors put their decrees in execution by this edict put forth <sup>a[91]</sup> when the Counsel was dissolved & the Bishops returning to their seats. <sup>[92]</sup> Impppp. Gratian. Valentin. & Theod. AAA. ad Auxonium Proc. Asiæ. Episcopis tradi omnes Ecclesias mox jubemus qui unius Majestatis atque virtutis Patrem & ffilium & Spiritum Sanctum confitentur, ejusdem gloriæ claritatis unius; nihil dissonum profana divisione facientes sed Trinitatis ordinem, Personarum assertionem & divinitatis unitatem. Quos constabit communione Nectarij Episcopi Constantinopolitanæ, <sup>\*[93]</sup> Timothei nec non intra Ægyptum Alexandriae urbis Episcopi esse sociatos: Quos etiam in Orientis partibus Pelagio Episcopo Laodicensi, & Diodoro Episcopo Tarcensi: <sup>\*[94]</sup> In Asia nec non Proconsulari atque Asiana Diœcesi Amphilocio Episcopo Iconiensi & Optimo Episcopo Antiocheno: In Pontica Diœcesi Helladio Episcopo Cæsariensi & Otreio Militeno & Gregorio Nyseno: Terennio Episcopo Scythiæ, Marmanno Episcopo Marcianopo communicare constiterit: Hos ad obtinendas Ecclesias Catholicas ex communione et consortio probabilium Sacerdotum oportebit admitti. Omnes autem qui ab eorum quos commemoratio specialis expressit fidei communione dissentiant ut manifestos hæreticos ab ecclesijs expelli neque his penitus posthac obtinendarum Eccle <50r> siarum Pontificium facultatemque permitti ut veræ ac Nicænæ fidei sacerdotia casta permaneant nec post evidentem præcepti nostri formam malignæ locus detur astutiæ. Dat. 3 Kal Aug. Heracleæ, Eucherio et Syagrio Coss.<sup>[95]</sup> By this Edict the within named Bishops which were the Patriarchs under whom this counsel had then divided the Church hitherto free, into Ecclesiastical Kingdoms or Patriarchates. quickly turned out all the true clergy & delivered the Churches to the upstarts: ffor <sup>b[96]</sup> the next year A.C. 382 some of the new Bishops convening at Constantinople wrote thus to the Pope. <sup>[97]</sup> Etsi videamur persecutionis asperitate penitus liberati & Ecclesias diu ab Hæreticis occupatas modò recuperasse, tamen lupi nobis multum facessunt molestiæ: atque licet ab ovilibus abacti sint, in sylvis tamen greges diripere, conventus contrarios nobis audacter opponere, populi seditiones concitare non cessant. The year 381 is therefore without all controversy that in which this strange religion of the west which has reigned ever since first overspread the world, & so the earth with them that dwell therein began to worship the Beast & his Image, that is the church of the western Empire & the afforesaid Constantinopolitan Counsel its representative for that counsel is the Image as I shall explain in another place.

Besides all this I may recon this the year in which the worship of Saints & reliques & other abominable superstitions & Monkery the mother of them all overspread the world. ffor the Clergy which they oppressed was stifly against all these, but the Clergy which they introduced, brought in every where together with themselves all these abominations into the Churches. Thus did the Emperors begin to fulfill that of Daniel: After him [Antiochus Epiphanes] arms [the Roman Empire] shal stand up, & they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength & change the daily worship. And that of Saint Iohn. The Dragon persecuted the Woman which brought forth the Manchild & to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle that she might fly into the wilderness.

This yeare therefore in all respects was the first of the general Apostacy & consequently the beginning of this seale: which having determined, I shall now explain the contents of it & first so far as they precede the Trumpets.

### The holding of the winds.

At Theodosius's death the Barbarians were again let loose *like a storm* into the Empire, but till then I think it will easily be granted me that the winds were held: ffor as he restored tranquility to the Empire in the beginning of his reign & continued it by his yearly expeditions into the Barbarian territories, so he left it in perfect tranquillity at his death. <51r> Theodosius composita tranquillataque republica apud Mediolanum constitutus diem obiit: Oros l 5. c 35. Omnibus inimicis Theodosius superatis in pace rebus humanis Mediolanum excessit: Iornandes de Regn. success. Theodosius filijs Imperium nullis seditionibus turbatum (ἁστασίαστον βασιλείαν) transmisit. Philostorg l 11. c 2. In pace, rebus humanis, annum agens



quingagesimum apud Mediolanum excessit; utramque Rempublicam utrique, id est Arcadio et Honorio quietam relinquens. S. {Aurel}. Victor.

✦ < insertion from f 50v > ✦ But yet this is not so to be understood as if there were no indeavours to commotion in his reign: ffor the Angels are represented not only giving the winds a check at first but holding them continually while the saints are sealing, & this implies that the winds had a continuall indeavour to blow but were always actively & forcibly restrained, that is, that the Barbarians should not cease to endeavour to invade the emire but yet be always curbed. And thus it happend: for as you heard out of Pacatus that Theodosius curbed the Saracens & made yearly expeditions into the barbarian territories, so in the West the Alemans were not so far conquered by Gratian but that the Iugunthians (one sort of the Alemans) upon his diversion by Maximus made an inrode into Rhætia < text from f 51r resumes > The <sup>a[98]</sup> Iuguntians (one <sup>b[99]</sup> sort of the Alemans) upon Gratian's death made an inrode into Rhætia but were soon reduced, by the Huns whom Valentinian thereupon hired to invade Alemannia. After this there came A.C. 386 a great hand of Thuringians under the conduct of Odotheus from remote northern regions to the side of the Danube. But Theodosius met them there & with such ships as he had in readiness <sup>c[100]</sup> set upon them unawares in tehir passage over the river, & suffered them not otherwise then captivated, to come within the bounds of the Empire to disturb its tranquility. Then the Franks A.C. 388 while Maximus was ingaged with Theodosius made an inrode into Gallia, but were expelld by Theodosius Capitains so soon as Maximus was beaten. The worst of this action was that some of the Romans pursuing them over the Rhene were there circumvented & cut off: but this happend without the Empire. Thus were the winds upon every occasion ready to break forth & checkt in every endeavour, & if any of them (as the Franks & Alemans) happend to transgres their limits yet it was so inconsiderably & with so sudden a check that they were at most but gentle short & particular breathings in comparison of fierce lasting & general winds.

Besides these attempts there were within the Empire actual & notable wars of Maximus & Eugenius with Theodosius, but these were not against the Empire to wast & destroy it but only for the Imperial dignity, & therefore have different representation to be presently explained.

### **Of the sealing & numbring the saints.**

The sealing & numbring the saints in this time that the winds are <52r> held signifies that it was a time of tryall & examination of the Church to distinguish those that were worthy to be sealed from the rest: a time in which the saints had need of God's seal, his singular care & protection of them in the right way: a time of separation between the good & bad, the one to worship God the other to worship the beast & his Image; the one sealed & numbred for God's servants the other left to receive the mark & number of the Beast. To seale is to discriminate by a mark, & therefore sealing is a plain emblem of discrimination; & so is numbring too. ffor as when a shepherd would mark & count the best sheep of his flock he must separate them from the rest, so here this sealing & numbring the saints must be an emblem of a separation then made in the church between them & the unfaithfull. But the context puts the matter out of doubt: Hurt not the earth nor the sea nor the trees till we have sealed the servants of our God. That is hurt not the nations represented by the earth Sea & Trees till we have discriminated the servants of our God that they may not be hurt with the rest: Now this discrimination was by the falling away of the unfaithful & that was caused by the violence of the Emperors assisted by the working of the Monks. By the violence of the Emperors the Church was dissolved as to its outward form & the Monkish Clergy brought into their room & Monkery every where encouraged & Hypocrites drawn to that party. And by the overspreading of Monkery, the Monks got the opportunity to delude through their feigned stories, lying miracles, garrulity, & formality of godlines, those that had conscience without knowledge. And these means wrought so fast that Socrates writes <sup>[101]</sup> Merobaude 2, et Saturnio Coss: mense Iunio. Hæreticorum Antistites ab Imperatore cum mærore dimissi, scriptis ad suos litteris eos consolati sunt; monentes ne ob id molestia afficerentur quod multi ab ipsorum partibus deficientes ad consubstantialis fidem accederent: Quippe multos quidem vocatos paucos autem electos. This was in the 3<sup>d</sup> year of the persecutioin A.C. 383. What think you then was done before the end of Theodosius's reign, the tryal growing greater & greater by the severity of the Emperor & the multitude of the Churches adversaries daily increasing. But yet God turned it to their good; for the severity of the Emperor being <53r> such that they were not suffered to meet any where to worship God without confiscation of the place where they met, nor any of their Clergy to do any thing that belonged to the office of a Clergyman without heavy mulcts: the devoutest of them who loved the service of God more then the world fled the Empire to enjoy that liberty in

other places which they could not have at home & so scaped the ensuing storms Yea, and as many as had zeale enough to go to any religious exercises or ~~{bilt}~~ **{illeg}** their faith were driven out of all cities & towns (as you shal hear) & interdicted all society & commerce in the Empire to shift for themselves among themselves in fields & desarts, & so forced to repair to the next barbarian territories for sustenance & habitations. And those that stayed behind (if any good stayed) could not but fare the better for this; for the Gospel could not but be further propagated among the Barbarians by those that fled & the affections of the Barbarians stirred up to favour & patronise those of their own religion & use the persecutors more sharply. That the Visigoths who began the ensuing invasion favoured them is beyond dispute. That the Ostrogoths too which soon after overran Thrace & Asia favoured them, is plain by this that their leader Gainas <sup>a[102]</sup> interceded for a Church for them in Constantinople & upon denyal began that war. That the great Army of Radagaisus, though their leader was a heathen, favoured them is thus recorded by Prosper. <sup>[103]</sup> Anno 10<sup>mo</sup> Honorij Radagaisus Rex Gothorum Italiæ limitem vastaturus transgreditur. Ex hoc Arriani qui Romano procul fuerant orbe fugati, Barbararum nationum ad quas se contulere, præsidio erigi cœpere. By which passage it appears also that not only this Army but the barbarous nations in general were their Patrons & refuge. & that they were at this time (not ~~{a few of}~~ them) fled out of the Empire to those nations where they lived securely while their persecutors lay under the torment of invasions. But yet so soon as the Barbarians fixed in the Empire they came in again & flourished so much that Prosper tells us <sup>[104]</sup> Anno primo Martiani (i.e. A.C. 450) Hac tempestate valde miserabilis reip. status apparuit, quum ne una quidem sit absque barbaro cultore Provincia: & infanda Arianorum Hæresis quæ se nationibus barbaris miscuit catholicæ nomen fidei toto orbe diffusa præsumat. You see therefore how God when he thought fit to punish the world for their wickedness exempted his Church, purged them, awakened their devotion; & turned the punishment of the rest to their preservation & advantage. The Christian world by its prosperity under Constantine & his successors was grown so full of hypocrites & so cold in devotion that the Empire deserved the plague of those wars which God inflicted on it in the reign of Valentinian & Gratian: but then least all should be punished promiscuously, the winds were held for a season that the saints might be examined by persecution to establish them & increase their reward in heaven & secure them (in good measure at least on earth from the corruption of their manners which began to be tain~~{ted}~~ by the convers~~{ation}~~ of the wicked & from the storms which were to hurt the rest of the world for their wickednes so soon as these were numbred out, & secured. by the divine seale. The winds need not have ben held at all could <53v> the sealing have been done while they blew, & therefore the sealing must be something which required their holding, that is times of peace to do it in, & such is a persecution; for this the Emperors could have had no leisure to prosecute in times of war, nor durst have then attempted it for fear of putting the Empire into more confusion. And indeed this Seale adequately conteining the great Apostacy what els should we look for in the beginning of it but a persecution to overthrow the Church & set up the Apostacy in its stead.

<54r>

This I think is a full explication of the Angels holding the winds that they should not hurt the earth & sea till the saints were sealed. But yet it is to be noted that though this sealing was performed in the reign of Theodosius, yet not only the saints that lived when the discrimination was made, but their posterity also, so long as the discrimination continues are to be numbred amongst the sealed because all together make but one & the same church which was then as it were sealed or by a seale discriminated from the Apostacy & has ever since continued so.

But it may be inquired: If this discrimination & protection be the full meaning of sealing & numbring why are the names of the Tribes recounted? what need of that superfluity? would it not have sufficed to have said in generall that their number was 144000 of each tribe 120? And further, why are the Tribes recond in such an order as is no where els in scripture to be met with: sons of the Mistresses & handmaids confusedly intermixed; no regard had to the order of their birth or habitation; & besides, Dan & Ephraim omitted & for them Levi & Ioseph inserted? There must be therefore some mystery both in the names & their order: & the mystery I take to be in the signification of the words which together make up the following sentence.

Iudah – –	Confitetur	
Reuben – –	intuendo filium	ffidelium
Gad – – –	Cœtus	cultus

Aser — — —	benedictus	
Nephthalim —	Luctantur [cum]	
Manasses — —	obliviscentibus	Lucta
Simeon — — —	obedientiam.	
Levi — — — —	Adhærentibus [scil. fidei]	
Issachar — — —	mercedem	
Zabulon — —	habitaculi [sc. æterni]	Præmium.
Ioseph — — — —	adjiciet	
Benjamin	filius dextrae	

This is so plain & apposite that it needs no comment.

### Of the time of holy rites.

This same time wherein the winds cease & the saints are sealed is in the next chapter celebrated by the performance of holy rites according to the Jewish manner whose custome it was for the people to keep silence & pray without while the Priest offerd incense in the temple. But these rites are here prophetical types, for the silence <55r> signifies stillness & quietness from wars: Heaven in which this silence is signifies the Imperial Court or Throne. The Prayers of the Saints ascending up with the incense before God: such a state of the Church in which her members send up their prayers to God with extraordinary fervency & frequency, as it were but one act of devotion continued through all that time represented by the performance of holy rites: & this is as much as to say, a state of extreme affliction. And lastly a<sup>[105]</sup> fire cast on Earth & ensuing b<sup>[106]</sup> voices & thundrings & lightnings & shaking that is the noises & commotions by which the half howers silence should have an end, signify a violent war, & not any kind of war but war in heaven, that is in the Imperial Throne, or between those that are in the Roman Throne or Court: & such a war too as should be quick & vehement like thunder & lightning & end with the overthrow of some dominion, for e<sup>[107]</sup> σεισμός signifies such a shaking as overthrows what is shaken.

Now the time of Silence I reckon to continue to the wars between Theodosius & Maximinus. Maximus indeed began to designe his rebellion a<sup>[108]</sup> in the year 381, & A.C. 383 when Maximus advanced out of Britain Gratian led his army against him: but having formerly disoblged his soldiers b<sup>[109]</sup> they fell off from him to Maximus, insomuch that after the armies had been only five days within sight of one another he fled out of despair without giving battel, & in his flight was c<sup>[110]</sup> slain singly at Leiden by the treachery of Andragathius, & Maximus succeeded in his part of the Empire residing at Trevirs, & ruling over Gallia Spain & Britain by the consent of Theodosius & Valentinian. Afterwards A.C. 387 Maximus being desirous to enlarge his dominion into Italy, whilst he pretended peace led his army secretly over the Alps, & Valentinian surprised by the suddenness of the action left his dominions to the invader without making resistance & fled by sea to Theodosius: whereupon Theodosius prepared for war. Hitherto things were transacted without actual wars that is silently, but now brake out into voices & Thunders & lightnings & a shaking. ffor the next year Theodosius advancing toward Maximus, d<sup>[111]</sup> first met him at Sciscia in Pannonia & in a set battel beat him there. Then pursuing him met & beat his Brother Marcelline at Petavio in another battel. After which he went to Aquileia whither Maximus was fled & besieged him there, & sent Arbogastes into Gallia against his son whom he had created Cæsar & left at Trevirs; & within a while both of them were slain, the soldiers of Maximus delivering him <56r> bound to Theodosius, & the Franks & Saxons (who at this time made the above mentioned inrode into Gallia concurring to the ruin of his son. Of these wars Ambrose (in lib 5 Epist 29) speaking of a bad act of Maximus takes occasion thence to add this short mention Ille igitur statim a Francis & a Saxonum Gente in a<sup>[112]</sup> Sicilia, Siciæ Petavione ubique denique terrarum victus est. And Ierom (in Epist. 3) calls Valentinian's part of the Empire recovered by this war, Recuperatum multo sanguine



Imperium. But the greatnes of the war you may easily guess by this, that the whole force of both Empires were ingaged, Theodosius not contenting himself with the forces by which he conquered the Barbarians but adding to them the forces of the Goths Huns & Alans which he had conquered. And the war with Eugenius was like this, only <sup>b[113]</sup> more bloody

Thus you see the silence ended in great wars in the Roman heaven, which overthrew the dominion of two potent Emperors: but there remains to be considered the duration of the silence, why it is represented by half an hower. Now for determining this if we take a prophetic day for a year, an hower will be 15 naturall days, but half this is too short a time to be distinguished or considered as an intermission of wars, & therefore we must repeat the figure & take these 15 days for philosophic days that is for fiteen years. And to this the event answers: for I suppose this seal began at the change of religion which Theodosius began to work in December or as Socrates writes in November 26 A.C. 380. And the actual war between Theodosius & Maximus began about theend of Iune A.C. 388, Theodosius in his March through Macedonia towards Maximus passing by the towns Stobi & Scupi in the <sup>[114]</sup> middest of Iune, & after the battels at Siscia & Petavion & the siege of Aquileia slaying Maximus <sup>e[115]</sup> Aug 27 following. Count now the time from the end of November A.C. 380 to the end of Iune or beginning of Iuly A.C. 388. & you will find it, ὥς ἡμιώριον, about seven years & a half.

If you ask why these  $7\frac{1}{2}$  years were not called a week or seven days & a half, putting days for years according to the tenour of the Prophecy, but by a reiteration of the figure contracted to half an hower, I answer 'twas done for the property of the type, half an hower being a fit length of time for the divine service of prayer & incense.

As to the prayers of the Saints offered in the time of these rites, those are easily to be collected from the persecutions they were under at this time. Yet for the better conception of them I shall give <57r> you an instance of them in their beginning by which you may guess at the rest. Gregory Nazianzen writing his own life in meter & therein telling how Theodosius came to Constantinople, turned out the old Bishop Demophilus & ordered part of his soldiers to keep the Church while another part brought Gregory thither, he thus proceeds in the narration

Iam tempus aderat, militum et vis maxima

Templum obtinebat, bellicos enses gerens.  
Faciebat omnis impetum contra tumens  
Populus, arena ut, nix vel, aut fluctibus maris  
Vtens et ira, precibus et blandis simul,  
Iratus in nos, Principi supplex. Erant  
Plenæ viæ, dromique, pleni omnes loci,  
Plenæ domusque tum viris tum fæminis  
Ætate quassis, parvulis, spectantibus:  
Gemitus, dolores, lachrymæ, clamor gravis,  
Imago capti bellico insultu oppidi.  
Ego vero fortis ille dux ac strenuus  
(Ægro tametsi corpore essem ac debili)  
Inter ducem medius et inter milites  
Ibam bona spe fultus, & sursam videns  
In æde donec collocor.

Afterward he proceeds to describe how as he was going to take possession of the Church, the day which was splendid before, became suddenly dark like night till between prayers & sermon: which struck his party with secret grief during the darkness & made the others triumph at the miracle.

Quidnam ergo miri contigit? narra liber:  
Ignota ne sit posteris hæc gratia.  
Diluxerat ante: jam nox at urbem totam presserat,  
Subeunte Phœbi circulum nube horrida:  
Aliena certe tempori quæ res erat.  
Nil namque fœsti sic amant cœtus, dies

Vt claritate præditos. Hinc hostibus  
 Mens læta tanquam grata non esset Deo  
 Res cœpta: nobis abditus contra dolor.  
 Princeps ut autem, nosque, cancellos sacros  
 Intravimus, cunctique summi numinis  
 Cœpere laudes canere, voce et maxima  
 Tensisque palmis ipsius opem exposcere:  
 Tantum repente splenduit Solis jubar  
 Iussu Tonantis nube prærupta, illico

<58r>

Vt ante tristis ac velut mærens, domus  
 ffulgare visus omnium perstringeret  
 Imaginemque veteris arcæ sumerent  
 Omnes, egebat quam Dei ingens claritas.  
 Spectata quæ res cum piam plebem metu  
 Solvisset, altis vocibus me postulat  
 Hoc præter, ut (si tiempori nil deforet)  
 Primum hoc Principis munus foret: i.e. habita Oratione. Panegy.

By the people's being so much dazzled at the returning light that they in the Church took the splendor for a miracle, you may guess how great the darknes was before, & in how cleare a day it happened. But it's well the Trinitarians had so little Philosophy as not to consider how much the weak light of a Candle only dazzels those that come out of darkness, & so to take the returning light for a miracle: ffor otherwise we should scarce have known that God signalized the first hower of the Churches eclips or flight into the wilderness (which is the very beginning of this seale) with so extraordinary & significant a miracle not unlike that at the death of his Son.

But to return to the prayers of the Saints: You heard how Gregory compared them for their sighs teares groanes & crying to a city broken up in war by an enemy. This was the face of the city at his installment, but with what inward greif they bare it afterward, he tells you thus.

— Civitas autem licet

Æde occupata prstinam ferociam  
 Liquisset, imo pectore gemebat tamen,  
 Gigasque ut ille pressus Ætneis rogis,  
 Ructabat imis partibus fumum gravem  
 Ignemque.

By the greatness of their agony you may guess at the more then ordinary fervour & constancy of their secret prayers. Nor was it a wonder this change should afflict them so considering how much they abominated the religion of the invaders for they looked upon them coequal trinity <sup>a[116]</sup> as a doctrin of many Gods, as indeed it is in reality especially according to the language of the Greeks.

Now if at the spoiling them of their Churches only they were thus afflicted, what think you was their grief afterward when their worship even in private houses was interdicted, the places where they met confiscated & their Clergy which were found to do any thing that belonged to their functions or so much as dispute about religion punished with banishment & othe heavy mulcts. <59r> Theodosius Imp. (saith Sozomen<sup>[117]</sup>) lege lata præcepit ne hæretici collectas agerent neve de fide docerent, neve Episcopos aut alios ordinarent: utque alij quidem urbibus & agris pellerentur: alij verò notarentur infamia, nec jus æquum civitatis cum reliquis civibus possiderent. Et graves quidem pœnas legibus suis ascripsit. Sozomen endeavours to mitigate the business by adding that the Emperor scarce put these laws in execution; but its natural for persecutors to deny in the next age what they did in the age before, & Baronius himself corrects him for this as too plain a lye.

Of the Emperor's laws one of the first was this

**Imppp. Grat. Valent. & Theod. ad Clicherium Com. Orientis.**

[118] Nullum Eunomianorum & Arianorum vel ex dogmate Aëtij in civitatibus vel agris fabricandarum ecclesiarum copiam habere præcipimus. Quod si temere ab aliquo id præsumptum sit, domus eadem ubi hæc constructa fuerint quæ construi prohibentur, fundus etiam vel privata possessio protinus fisci nostri viribus vindicetur: atque omnia loca fiscalia statim fiant quæ sacrilega hujus dogmatis vel sedem receperint vel ministros. Dat. 14 Kal. Aug. CP. Eucherio & Syagrio Coss [381]

After two years more, they being hitherto permitted to meet in private houses, the Emperor became further exasperated against them by the perswasion of Amphilochius Bishop of Iconium, & put forth this edict.

**Imppp. Grat. Valent. & Theod. AAA. Posthumiano PF. P.**

[119] Omnes omninò quoscunque diversarum hæresum error exagitat (id est, Eunomiani, Ariani, Macedoniani, Pneumatomachi &c) nullis circulis coeant, nullam colligant multitudinem, nullum ad se populum trahant, nec ad imaginem ecclesiarum parietes privatos ostendant. Nihil vel publicè vel privatim quod Catholicæ sanctitati officere possit, exercent. Ac si quis extiterit qui tam evidenter vetita transcendat, permissa omnibus facultate, quos rectæ observantiæ cultus & pulchritudo delectat, communi omnium bonorum conspiratione pellatur. Dat. 8 Kal. <60r> Aug. CP. Merobaude 2 & Saturnino Coss. [383].

And this was pesently backt with another edict more severe.

**Imppp. Grat. Valent. & Theod. Posthumiano P F. P.**

[120] Vitiorum institutio, Deo atque hominibus exosa, Eunomiana scilicet, Arriana, Macedoniana, Apollinariana cætatarumque sectarum quas veræ religionis venerabili cultu Catholicæ observantiæ fides sincera condemnat, neque publicis neque privatis aditionibus, intra urbium atque agrorum ac villarum loca, aut colligendarum congregationum, aut constituendarum Ecclesiarum copiam præsumat, nec celebritatem perfidiæ suæ vel solemnitatem diræ communionis exercent. Neque ullas creandorum sacerdotum usurpet atque habeat ordinationes. Eædem quoque domus seu in urbibus seu in agris, in quibus passim professorum ac ministrorum talium colliguntur, fisci nostri dominio juriq; subdantur: Ita ut hi qui vel doctrinam vel mysteria conventionum talium exercere consueverunt perquisiti ab omnibus urbibus ac locis propositæ legis vigore constricti expellantur a cætibus & ad proprias unde oriundi sunt terras redire jubeantur: ne quis eorum aut commeandi ad quælibet alia loca aut evagandi ad urbes habeat potestatem. Quod si negligentius ea quæ serenitas nostra constituit impleantur, Officia provincialium Iudicum & Principales urbium in quibus coitio vetitæ congregationis reperta monstrabitur, sententiæ damnationique subdantur. Dat 3 Non. Sept. CP. Merobaude 2 & Saturnino Coss. [383.]

How this & the other edict for confiscating places publick & private dedicated to God's service can be excused from gross & open sacrilege I know not. And as for persecution I think these & the following Edicts easily shew that this Emperor with his ecclesiastical Counsellours were as much better skild in the art of persecuting then Iulian the Apostate as he was then the other Heathen Emperors.

The next year there was another edict<sup>[121]</sup> for seeking out by a strickt inquisition & expelling all their Clergy without exception or favour from Constantinople. But about two years after they had a little favour procured by Valentinian which lasted almost two years more, & then Theodosius upon his expedition against Maximus as if he thought to merit good success thereby set himself again to oppress them with more severity Valentinian also joyning with him: & then they put forth these edicts.

**Imppp. Valentin. Theod. & Arcad. AAA Cynegio P F. P.**

[122] Apollinarios cæterosque diversarum hæresum sectatores ab omnibus locis jubemus inhiberi, a mœnibus urbium, a congressu honestorum, a communione sanctorum: instituendorum Clericorum non habeant potestatem: colligendarum congregationum vel in publicis vel in privatis ecclesijs careant facultate: nulla ijs Episcoporum faciendorum præbeatur auctoritas: ipsi quoque Episcopi nomine destituto appellationem hujus <61r> dignitatis amittant: Adeant loca quæ hos potissimùm quasi valle quodammodo ab humana communione secludant. Hinc etiam illud rectimus, ut supra memoratis omnibus adeundi atque interpellandi Serenitatem nostram aditus denegetur. Dat 6 Id Mart. Thessal. Theodosio A 2 & Cynegio Coss. [388.]

**Imppp. Valentin. Theod. & Arcad AAA Trifolio PF. P.**

[123] Omnes diversarum perfidarumque sectarum, quos in deum miseræ vesania conspirationis exercet, nullum usquam sinantur habere conventum, non inire tractatus, non cœtus agere secretos, non nefariæ prævaricationis altaria, manus impiæ officijs impudenter adtollere, & mysteriorum simulationem ad injuriam veræ religionis aptare: Quod ut congruum sortiatur effectum, in specula Sublimitas tua fidelissimos quosque constituat, qui & cohibere hos possint & deprehensos offerre judicijs: severissimum, secundum præteritas sanctiones & Dei supplicium daturus & legibus. Dat 18 Kal Iul. Stobis, Theod. A. 2 & Cynegio Coss.

The sanctions wherein the penalties here referred to were exprest, are lost; unless the former be one wherein was appointed banishment from humane communion. In that which follows the punishment was arbitrary.

**Imppp. Valentin. Theod. & Arcad. AAA. Tatiano PF. P.**

[124] Nulli egresso ad publicum, vel disputandi de religione, vel tractandi, consilij aliquid deferendi pateat occasio. Et si quis posthac ausu gravi atque damnabili contra hujusmodi legem veniendum esse crediderit, vel insistere motu pestiferæ perseverationis, audebit, competenti pœna & digno supplicio coerceatur. Dat 16 Kal Iul. Stobis Theod A 2 & Cynegio Coss. [388]

But afterward Banishment was appointed for this.

**Imppp. Val. Th. & Arc. AAA. Potamio PF. Augustali**

[125] Deportatione dignus est, qui nec generali lege admonitus, nec competenti sententia emendatus & fidem Catholicam turbat & populum. Dat 15 Kal. Aug. CP. Arcad A. 2 & Rufino Coss. [392.]

And for the former a mulct of 10 pouns or beating with clubs & banishment.

**Imppp. Val. Th. & Arc. AAA. Tatiano PF. P.**

[126] In hæreticis erroribus, quoscunque constiterit vel ordinasse Clericos vel suscepisse officium clericorum denis libris auri viritim multandos esse censemus: Locum sanè in quo vetita temptantur si conniventia domini patuerit, fisci nostri viribus aggregari. Quod si possessorem (quippe clariculum gestum) ignorasse constiterit, conductorem ejus fundi si ingenuus est decem auri libras fisco nostro inferre præcipimus: si servili fæce descendens paupertate sui pœnam damni ac vilitate contemnit, cæsus fustibus deportatione damnabitur. Tum illud specialiter præcavimus ut si villa dominica fuerit, seu cujuslibet publici juris & conductor & procurator licentiam dederit colligendi, denis libris auri proposita condemnatione multentur. Verum si quos talibus. repertos obsecundare mysterijs, ac sibi usurpare nomina clericorum jam nunc proditum fuerit, denas libras uri exigi singulos & inferre præcipimus. Dat. 17 Kal. Iul. CP. Arcad 2 & Rufino Coss. [392.] Where note that you are not † to < insertion from f 61v > † to think this mulct was 10 pounds of our money, but must compute it after the Roman account reconning a denarius or drachm of silver worth about 7<sup>d</sup> ob of our money, & 96 denarij (or according to the Attics an 100) for a pound & one pound of gold worth 10 of Silver; that is the ten pounds of Gold equal to 300<sup>lb</sup> of our money, but yet in those days of greater value.

< text from f 62br resumes >

In another <sup>a</sup>[127] edict dated A.C. 389 the Eunomians were made incapable of giving or receiving any thing by legacy but all such estates to be confiscated, & <sup>b</sup>[128] that they should be interdicted the use & benefit of the Law & have nothing common with others. And divers other severe edicts there were: for <sup>c</sup>[129] Arcadius in an Edict put out two months after his father's death calls his father's laws against Hæretics innumeras | innumeras. But those which have been produced (especially seing there were for their full execution <sup>d</sup>[130] inquisitors set up to find out hæretics, & <sup>e</sup>[131] mulcts appointed for Iudges which favoured the accused,) are enough to shew the extreme affliction of the Church & by consequence their fervent prayers to God, & those more especially in the time of the preparation to the war against Maximus when the persecution which had been a little mitigated brake out again with more violence then before. Also the discrimination & purgation of

the Church from Hypocrites & her flight to the Barbarians for her preservation (of which I spake above) is hence more fully manifested.

### **The Introduction to the Vials of Wrath. Chap: 15.**

The introduction to the Trumpets being thus explained, I should now proceed to explain the Trumpets themselves: but because they & the Vials of wrath are collateral & both together make up one complete prophesy, the one supplying what is sometimes wanting in the other I shall consider them joyntly & therefore desire you here to consider the analogy of their introductions, that is of the sealing the saints & offering their prayers on the Altar, with the victory & song of those that stand on the Sea of Glass mingled with fire. The glas I suppose is an emblem of their purity: the fire of their <sup>a[132]</sup> war with the Beast or persecution by him their getting the Victory over the Beast & over his Image & over his mark & over the number of his name, that of the world's beginning now to worship & receive these things, & that it was a very difficult matter to get the victory over them seing those that could do it are here accounted Saints: & their song is a declaration of the religion for which they were persecuted; for worshippers of the Beast were to deny the father to be the one only Lord God Almighty & make the Lamb & holy Ghost his equals, the saints are here represented singing this song of prais & glory to the Lord God Almighty, & the song is called the Song of <63> the Lamb to shew that tis his ffather & not a triform God which the Saints sing this glory to & that his ffather is his Lord God Almighty as well as ours & worshipped by him as well as by us & so rightly believed to be greater then he. ffurther whereas in this song the victors celebrate the justnes of God's ways & the manifestation of his judgments, & after this vision of the Victors singing this song immediately follows the powring forth the Vials of God's wrath; it shews that these Vials are God's judgments upon the Churches enemies so soon as they had apostatized from her made war upon her by oppressing her overspread the world, & also that the main struggling of the Church with these her adversaries was to precede the Vials, but yet not so but that there should be some in all following ages so long as the Beast reigns which should get the victory over him, though not so many by far as at this first grapple. Lastly in that it is added that one of the four Beasts (that is one of the four ensignes <sup>a[133]</sup> denoting the Roman Empire) gave the seven Angels these seven Vials of God's wrath; by this Beast you may understand the Eagle, that being the proper ensigne of the Empire which by persecuting & overthrowing the Church & overspreading all by this its wicked apostacy provoked God's wrath & as it were put into the hands of his ministers these seven judgments to be immediately powred forth upon the world. And thus much of the times of this seal which precede the Trumpets.

#### **Of the trumpets in general.**

< insertion from f 62v >

#### **times of the Trumpets in general.**

\*\*\* < insertion from higher up f 62v > \*\*\* **Position**

**The times of the Trumpets began at the death of Theodosius the great. A.C. 395.**

< text from lower down f 62v resumes >

The times of the Trumpets have these two principal conditions, their great wickedness & their heavy punishment: their wickednes in that they are the times of the <sup>a[134]</sup> eighth or last head which is specially called the beast which was & is not; their punishment in that they are a series of seven great <sup>b[135]</sup> courses of war in the Empire to succeed one upon the neck of another, which for their greatness are called the seven last plagues wherein the wrath of God is fulfilled. And according to both these states they begin immediately after the death of Theodosius. As they are a state of war they are to begin with the wind which blows next after the calmness wherewith this seale began, that is the first great & lasting invasions of the Empire which brake forth after the year 380 & these began within a month or two after Theodosius's death, but I shall reserve the discourse of these for the next position. As they are the state of the beasts eighth head or wicked reign their beginning has a double character, being evidenced both from the religious & from the temporal state of the Empire: from the temporal state — [see below ☙

< text from p 63 resumes >



✦ both from the religious & from the temporal state of the Empire: from the temporal state in that the beast's reign was to begin at the division of the Empire, & this division is sufficiently known to have been accomplished at the death of Theodosius: from the religious state in that it was to begin so soon as his worshippers had overthrown the Church & overspread the Roman world. He rose in the sixth head or seale & made war upon the Church in the seventh & having conquered her reigned in the eighth: for his reign is to be dated not from his first rise or beginning to make war but from his conquest of the state which he was to succeed, & the holy ghost has plainly signified that the eighth head is the time of this his reign by saying: The Beast which was & is not he is the eighth. The time there <66r> fore that the Church was vanquished being known we have the beginning of the eighth head & consequently of the Trumpets. And this time I compute thus.

In the beginning of the conflict A.C. 381 though the Churches were taken from them yet they still enjoyed their Bishops & Clergy & public worship in other places which they prepared & adorned like churches for that end. After two years Theodosius began to proceed further against them, but within a while relented a little by means of Valentinian who sided with them & by an edict made it death for any that should dare to disturb their Assemblies. Hitherto therefore the victory was undecided But then Valentinian being expelled the west by Maximus, Theodosius began (A.C. 388) to persecute afresh. † < insertion from f 65v > † & that in the west as well as in the east for he drew Valentinian to his opinion & after the conquest of Maximus staid three years in the west with him, & in the year 391 this <sup>a[142]</sup> edict was dated from Rome. *Hæreticorum polluta contagia pelli urbibus* <sup>b,[143]</sup> *vicis proturbari, ac nullis penitus jubemus patere conventibus: ne quoquam sacrilega cohors talium hominum colligatur. Nulla eorum perversitati vel publica conventicula vel latiora erroribus secreta tribuantur. Dat 14 Kal Iun. Romæ, Taliano & Symmachio Coss.* < text from f 66r resumes > This was a second step & a very great one to her vanquishment but her numbers & resolution were too great to be easily conquered, & therefore the Emperor (A.C. 392) in his expedition against Eugenius doubled his severity by many fresh edicts & severer punishments, such as could not but soon destroy her outward form of government & make her cease to have the face of a church. ffor to name no other laws, how wast possible for the Church to continue in any visible form of government or discipline after that sanction came forth whereby every one that owned the name of a clergiman or did any thing that betrayed him to be of that profession, wherever he was found, payed (toties quoties) ten Roman pounds of Gold, which is about 300<sup>lb</sup> of our money, & every place was confiscated where the ordination of a clergiman or any thing sacred was done which the Emperor interdicted, & <sup>d[144]</sup> the Iudges too were quickend to put this & the rest of the laws in strict execution? I shall recon therefore that the period of the Roman visible church when Eugenius (under whom she had some respite) was conquered & the laws of Theodosius took place in the whole Empire; & this was in the very end of his reign, for he conquerd & slew Eugenius <sup>e[145]</sup> Sept 6 A.C. 394 & died <sup>e[146]</sup> Ian 17 following

✦ < insertion from f 65v > ✦ I mean not that the Church then ceased out of the world but only from among the Romans, being at this time (as to her state of visibility) translated thence to the Barbarians: for her clergy being so severely fined, some persons beat with clubs & banisht, some sorts made out-laws, all that disputed openly for their religion banisht, & all that were at any time found convening in religious Assemblies driven out of the cities & Villages to shift for themselves among themselves as unworthy of human society: how could it be but that they must have now quitted the Empire & fled to barbarous nations as many as had zeale & sincerity enough to profess their religion. <sup>a[147]</sup> Baronius quoting some passages out of Salvian to shew into how stupendious a degree of wickednes the Roman church was then degenerated, adds this to the rest. *Sed non prætermittendum est quod firmiter asseverat, adeo excrevisse magistratuum iniquitatem in Romano Imperio ut optabiles visi sunt barbari venientes imò et complures eos prævenerint ad ipsos confugiendo: Nam (in lib 5) ait Interea vastantur pauperes, viduæ gemunt orphani proculcantur, in tantum ut multi eorum & non obscuris natalibus orti & liberaliter instituti ad hostes fugiant ne persecutionis publicæ afflictione moriantur, quærentes scilicet apud Barbaros Romanam humanitatem qui apud Romanos Barbaram immanitatem ferre non possunt. – Itaque passim vel ad Gothos vel ad Bagandas vel ad alios ubique dominantes Barbaros migrant & commigrasse non pœnitet. Malunt enim sub specie captivitatis vivere liberi quàm sub specie libertatis esse captivi. Itaque nomen civium Romanorum aliquando non solum magno æstimatum sed magno emptum, nunc ultro repudiatur ac fugitur: nec vile tantum, sed etiam abominabile pene habetur. Et quod esse*

majus testimonium Romanæ ini <66v> quitatis potest, quam quod plerique et honesti & nobiles, & quibus Romanus status summo et splendori esse debuit et honori, ad hoc tamen Romanæ iniquitatis crudelitate compulsi sunt ut nolint esse Romani? Hæc et alia plura Salvianus, qui et parvo negotio, inquit Baronius, palam fecit & definit, longè præstantioribus moribus enituisse his temporibus Barbaros quam Romanos. The times which Salvian here speaks of were those which immediately succeeded the death of Theodosius, but Zosimus further tells us that Theodosius also, while he lived himself in that profuse prodigality & luxury by which he contracted the dropsy he died of, oppressed his subjects by intollerable exactions above what any had done before him, & therefore we may reckon Theodosius's reign the beginning of these times of oppression. Now if the burthen of the great ones was so heavy upon their own people as to cause many of them to fly to the barbarians, what think you would they not do against those whom they hated with a perfect hatred & thought it religion to oppress? How was't possible for them to stay whom the whole bent of such a tyrannical Empire was to expell? Yea Prosper in the above cited place tells us that de facto it was so. Radagaiso, inquit, Italiæ limitem transgresso, Arriani qui Romano procul fuerant orbe fugati, Barbararum nationum ad quas se contulere, præsidio erigi cœpere.

As for the time of this transmigration I suppose it began by degrees from the year 388, & that many (those especially who had not so much zeal as to expose themselves by a public confession) staid till after Theodosius death & by degrees closed with the Barbarians at their coming. But the chief period was the last four months of Theodosius when he first extended together with his dominion those irresistible laws over the whole empire which caused this transmigration & made those that stayed behind cease to have the use or appearance of a clergy & consequently the face of a church. This was the Churches lowest ebb, for presently after his death she began to be raised again by the Barbarian invasions. Before this time she was but little diffused among the barbarians & had her main body among the Romans, but after this her visible body was among the Barbarians & only some scattered members without the outward face of a Church among the Romans; & if she obtained at any time liberty of worship among the Romans (as it happened <sup>[148]</sup> at Constantinople when Gainas who had an army of Barbarians, became Master of the horse & foot to Arcadius) this was only for a time by the influence of the Barbarians, & not by the free clemency of the Emperors, for they persisted in their father's rigour enforcing his laws by new edicts & making severer of their own to extinguish continually what was apt to be revived by the Barbarian invasions.

< text from f 66r resumes >

D. Augustine tells us <sup>[149]</sup> that one of the heathen Oracles gave out that the Christian religion (by vertue forsooth of Peter's incantation) should last three hundred & sixty five years & so soon as that time was run out be at an end. On this prediction many of the gentiles relied (as the same D. Augustine relates & would not be gotten to turn Christians till the time was run out, but then finding their hopes frustrate increased <67r> the Church considerably by their access. The Devil therefore plaid a cunning game keeping the Heathens from conversion whilst Christianity retained its purity, & making them flock to it so soon as Christians were degenerated below heathens: the first by their false hope, the last by an imagined disappointment, & both through misinterpretation. They expected that the very name of Christianity should be rooted out by such heathens as themselves were, but the Oracle certainly intended nothing less. For the Devil could not but know (if not otherwise yet) by the sacred propheties that the Church was to fall by an Apostacy of her members & not otherwise; & yet not totally to perish but only to disappear to the world, as was to be learnt by the woman's going into the wilderness & by our Saviour's words that the gates of hell should not prevail against her. He knew also that these Apostates were called Idolaters Rev 9.20, Blasphemers & spiritual fornicators ch 13 & 17 & Gentiles ch 11.2, & consequently that they should be such in reality though Christians in shew, & by their representation in Daniel & the Apocalyps & their religion's being called the mystery of iniquity & Antichristianism, & their being cast into hell (as many of 'em as deserve it) before the rest of the world Rev 20.10, 15, he knew that they were to be above all others the most wicked wretched sort of people. And this was enough for him to say that the Christian religion should cease (suppose in the Roman world to which he spake,) & for us to be assured that he meant nothing else but the fall of it by the great Apostacy. Count now 365 years from the beginning of Christianity that is from our Saviour's Baptism Jan 6 A.C. 30 & you will fall upon Jan 6 A.C. 395 the end of Theodosius's reign.

Thus you have the consent of Propheties both sacred & prophane to assigne to this nick of time the end of the Church & beginning of the Beast's wicked reign, & the consent of the event also to confirm these propheties. But I know they who stand accused hereby will still contend they are the orthodox Church & the Barbarians



hereticks, & therefore the Oracle was a lye & my application of these things to them rash & uncharitable. To convince these men of their Heresies would be a vain attempt, it being the nature of hereticks to <68r> be inconsiderate & therefore confident & obstinate. What I write of that kind I write not to them, but to make such as already know their backsliding understand how these Prophecies are fulfilled in them. Yet for the sake of these men I shall add something to shame 'em at least if not convince 'em but chiefly becaus it is my designe to treat here of the state of religion in the times of the Trumpets: They'l contend the Triunity is no denying the father & son, the Hypostatical union & impassibility of the Son no denying that Iesus Christ came in the flesh & suffered for us, the worshipping of saints & reliques no Idolatry; but what will they say of whoredom, murder, stealing lying, perjury, perfidy, drunkenness, gluttony, oppression, pride, voluptuousness, blasphemies, strifes. Any of these are enough to damn a man as well as Antichristianity & Idolatry, & therefore make a man as much a fals Christian & a Church of such Christians as much a fals Church: & if the generation I speak of were not notoriously guilty of these crimes, if they were not more guilty then Heathens themselves yea then the Barbarian Heathens, if they were not apparently the most wicked kingdom, the worst sort of men that ever reigned upon the face of the earth till that same time, then let the Oracle be a lye & my accusation rash & uncharitable. My Author is Salvian one of their own Bishops who after above 40 years observation wrote with a weeping heart a tract to convince the Roman world that they were the most dissolute depraved sort of men, that they cloathd themselves in the title of Christians, & were the wors for being of that profession, it being an aggravation of their lapsed state & that they were even so exceeding bad that their wickednes provoked the divine vengeance to execute upon them those severe judgments of the Barbarian invasions which you shall hear described in the Trumpets. But to waken your attention to this Author I shall ‡ < insertion from f 67v > first give you a passage out of Ierom written a little after Theodosius's death when Salvian was but a youth & the Roman world but in the heat of it's declining to wickedness; & another out of Isidorus Peleusiota written about the same time, & then I shall add the judgment of the great Cardinal Baronius, a man unwilling to confess any thing to the scandal of his Church which he can decline. That of Ierom is only this general confession. *Scribere, inquit, disposui ab adventu Salvatoris usque ad nostram ætatem id est ab Apostolis usque ad nostri temporis fæcem, quomodo & per quos Christi Ecclesia nata sit & adulta, persecutoribus crevit, martyriis coronata sit. Et postquam ad Christianos Principes venit, potentia quidem et divitijs major, sed virtutibus minor facta sit &c Hieron. Epist 52 De vita Malchi That of Isidorus: Pacis quidem nomen ubique est; res autem nusquam. Verum ecclesia fæminæ cuidam quæ ex antiqua felicitate excidit, ac signa tantum habet similis est. Ornamentorum enim suorum thecas & arculas habet opibus autem spoliata est. Isid. Pelus. lib. 3 Epist 408. Baronius verò de hac ætate sic loquitur. Quàm soluta esset — — < text from f 68r resumes >*

Quam soluta esset, inquit Baronius,<sup>[150]</sup> in Gallijs magna ex parte Ecclesiastica disciplina, corruptisque moribus, exundantibus ubique vitijs, eadem provinciæ meruerint tradi Barbaris devastandæ, Salvianus Massiliensis Episcopus pluribus docet: Vivebat ipse temporibus his ob oculos habens quæ ab oculis excuterent jugiter lachrymas; novus planè sui temporis Hieremias. And in another place.<sup>[151]</sup> Magna quidem dei vindicta contigit hoc seculo, universum fere Romanum Imperium {debe} Barbaris incursandum deprædandum ac cæde hominum devastandum: cujus quidem divini judicij pondus etsi grave videri possit, si tamen ubique <69r> delinquentium scelera in alteram libræ lancem conjicias nihil est quod mireris sed potius cum Propheta occinas: Iustus es Domine et rectum judicium tuum. Hæc autem ut apertè percipias provoco te ad octo libros hoc argumento hoc ipso tempore, hac etiam ex causa a Salviano Episcopo Massiliensi conscriptos: a quo imprimis sicut generatim ita ista summatim accipe. Ipsa a<sup>[152]</sup>, inquit, Dei Ecclesia quæ in omnibus debet esse placatrix Dei quid est aliud quàm exacerbatrice Dei? Aut præter paucissimos quosdam qui mala confugiunt, quid est aliud omnis cœtus Christianorum quam sentina vitiorum? Quotum enim quemque invenies in Ecclesia aut non ebriosum, aut non helluonem aut adulterum aut fornicatorem aut raptorem aut ganeonem, aut latronem, aut homicidam? et quod his omnibus pejus est præter hac, cuncta sine fine. Interrogo enim Christianorum omnium conscientiam: ex his vel flagitijs vel sceleribus quæ nunc diximus quotusquisque hominum non aliquid est eorum? at quotusquisque non totum? ffacilius quippe invenies qui totum sit quàm qui nihil. Et quod diximus, nihil, nimis fortasse gravius videatur esse censuræ, plus multò dicam. Facilius invenias reos malorum omnium quàm non omnium; facilius majorum criminum quam minorum, id est, facilius qui et majora crimina cum minoribus quam qui minora tantum sine majoribus perpetravit. In hanc enim probrositatem morum prope omnis Ecclesiæ plebs redacta est ut in cuncto populo Christiano genus quoddam sanctitatis sit minus esse vitiosum. — — In templa autem (pergit Salvianus) vel potius in Altaria atque in sacraria Dei passim omnes sordidi ac flagitiosi sine ulla penitus reverentia sacri honoris irrumpunt. Non quia non omnes ad exorandum Deum currere debeant sed quia ingreditur ad

placandum non debet egredi ad exacerbandum. Novum siquidem monstri genus est: eadem pene omnes jugiter faciunt quæ fecisse se plangunt. Et qui intrant ecclesiasticam domum ut mala aliqua defleant, exeunt, et quid dico exeunt? in ipsis pene hoc orationibus suis ac supplicationibus moliuntur. Aliud quippe ora hominum aliud corda agunt. Et dum verbis præterita mala plangunt sensu futuræ meditantur: ac sic Oratio eorum rixa est magis criminum quam exoratrix: ut vere illa in ejs scripturæ maledictio compleatur; <sup>[153]</sup> ut de oratione ipsa exeant condemnati & oratio eorum fiat in peccatum. Denique si vult quispiam hominum scire quid in templo hujusmodi homines cogitaverint, videat quid sequatur. Siquidem consummatis so <70r> lemnibus sacris, statim ad consuetudinaria omnes studia discurrunt alij scilicet ut furentur, alij ut inebrientur, alij ut fornicentur, alij ut latrocinentur: ut evidenter appareat hoc eos esse meditados dum intra templum sunt quod postquam egressi fuerint exequuntur. Sed videlicet hæc mala et omnem vitiorum probrositatem quam supra dixi, ad servos fortasse quidam et ad abjectissimos quosque homines referendam putant: cæterum nomen ingenuum hac flagitiorum non pollui. Quid autem aliud est cunctorum negotiantum vita quàm fraus atque perjurium? Quid aliud curialium, quam iniquitas? quid aliud officialium quàm calumnia? Quid aliud omnium militantium quam rapina? Sed putas forsitan quod hoc etiam de personis istiusmodi ferri possit. Hic est enim inquis eorum actus quæ et professio, ac per hoc nihil mirum est si agunt quod profitentur. Quasi verò aut agere ullum Deus res malas velit aut profiteri. – Sed omnis inquis nobilitas ab his sceleribus immunis est. Parum est id quidem: quia non aliud videtur nobilitas in omni mundo quam unus homo in grandi populo. – Sed quis est vel dives omninò vel nobilis aut innocentiam servans aut a cunctis sceleribus manus abstinens? quanquam superfluè a cunctis dixerim utinam vel a maximis: quia volunt sibi id forte majores quasi privilegium vindicare ut jure suo crimina vel minora committant. Itaque de peccatis facilioribus nihil dico. Videamus si vel a duobus illis quasi capitalibus malis ullus immunis est, id est ab homicidio vel a stupro. Quis enim est aut humano sanguine non cruentus aut cænosa impuritate non sordidus? unum quidem ex his ad pœnam æternam sufficit, sed prope nullus divitum non utrumque commisit. Sed cogitat forte aliquis de hoc numero Ego jam ista non facio. Laudo si non facis, sed tamen forte ante fecisti, & non est nunquam omninò fecisse, facere cessasse. Quod si ita esset, quid proderat tamen unum a scelere desistere & multos in scelere permanere? non sufficit ad placandum Deum quod unus peccata deserit quem universitas totius humani generis offendit. Loquens Deus de populo peccatore, sic dicit. <sup>[154]</sup> Si fuerint tres viri in medio ejus, Noe et Daniel et Iob, non liberabunt filios et filias ipsi soli salvi erunt. Neminem reor tam impudentem fore qui se his talibus viris audeat se comparare. Ac per hoc sublata est omnis spes falsæ opinionis qua credamus innumeram perditorum hominum multitudinem suffragio paucorum bonorum a præsentibus malis posse defendi. Cum enim nullus illis quos supra <71r> diximus parsit, quæ esse spes ullis potest quod liberari, et extranei et innumeri et mali a paucissimis bonis possint? Cùm illi familiarissimi Deo sancti ne hoc quidem a Domino promeruerint ut in filijs suis vel sua membra salvarent: & rectè. Nam licet omnes admodum filij membra parentum esse videantur, non putandi sunt tamen membra eorum a quibus affectu cœperint discrepare: quia morum degenerantium pravitate pereunt in talibus beneficia naturæ. Quo fit ut etiam nos qui nos christianos esse dicimus perdamus vim tanti nominis vitio pravitatis. Omninò nihil prodest nomen sanctum habere sine moribus. Vnde cùm pene nullam Christianorum omnium partem, pene nullum ecclesiarum omnium angulum non plenum omni offensione et omni letalium peccatorum labe videamus, quid est in quo nobis de Christiano nomine blandiamur? Cum utique hoc ipso magis per nomen sacratissimum rei simus qui a sancto nomine discrepamus. Nam et ideò plus sub religionis titulo Deum ludimus, quia positi in religione peccamus. This in the 3<sup>d</sup> book. In the 4<sup>th</sup> because the great ones were ready to complain of their servants for lying stealing gluttony & running away, he expostulates with them & shows them to be the worser sort of people, & among other things has these. <sup>[155]</sup> ~ ~ Homicidia in servis rara sunt terrore et metu mortis, in divitibus assidua spe ac fiducia impunitatis – illi cum occidunt servulos suos jus putant esse non crimen. Nec hoc solum, sed eodem privilegio etiam in exercendo impudiciæ cæno abutuntur. Quotus enim quisque est divitum quem non libidinis furor rapiat in præceps? cui non domus ac familia sua scortum sit? et qui non in quamcunque personam cupiditatis improbæ calor traxerit mentis sequatur insania? De concubinis quippiam dici forsitan injustum esse videatur, quia hoc in comparatione supradictorum flagitiorum quasi genus est castitatis uxoribus paucis esse contentum et intra certum conjugum numerum frenos libidinum continere. Conjugum dixi quia ad tantam res impudentiam venit, ut ancillas suas multi uxores putent, atque utinam sicut putantur esse quasi conjuges ita solæ haberentur uxores. Illud magis tetrum ac detestabile quod quidam matrimonia honorata sortiti alias sibi rursum servilis status conjuges sumunt deformantes sancti connubij honorem per degeneris connubij vilitatem. – Ab his sceleribus prope omnis servorum numerus immunis est. Nunquid enim <72r> aliquis ex servis turbas concubinarum habet? nunquid multarum uxorum labe polluitur: ut canum vel suum more tantas putet conjuges suas esse quantas poterit libidini subjugare? Sed respondebis quod facere servis ista non liceat: Nam profectò facerent si liceret. Credo, sed quæ fieri non

video quasi facta habere non possum. Malos esse servos ac detestabiles satis certum est: sed hoc utique ingenui ac nobiles magis execrandi si in statu honestiore pejores sunt. He proceeds to accuse the great ones also for their vast oppressions taking from themselves the old impositions & laying new ones upon the people | denuendo sibi vetera vectigalia et istis addendo nova. ♦ < insertion from f 71v > people ♦ Vpon this he insists much But because I cite him to this purpose in other places I shall rather here give you the words of another Author. Quod tam facilè ait Aventinus <sup>[156]</sup> Romanæ Provinciæ Cæsaribus, licet ambobus Christianis eripiebantur a Germanis ethnicis tres potissimùm refert causas Sidonius Apollinaris Avernorum Episcopus & Gener Augustorum qui sensit has calamitates (quippe eo tempore vixit:) ignaviam Cæsarum, magnitudinem tributorum, avaritiam ac superbiam Præsidentum et Episcoporum. Sed Sidonij verba referam. <sup>[157]</sup> Romana Respublica in extrema hæc miseriarum defluxit quod studiosos sui nunquam remuneretur. Natio ac tribus fæneratorum non solum inciviler Romanas vires administrant verum etiam funditus a fundamento eruunt. Nobilium virorum militariumque præter spem atque opinionem adversæ partes bellicoso non tam facta quam præmia desunt. Parum quoque in commune consulunt Episcopi quibus tranctanda a Principe committuntur. Cum in Consilium veniunt non tam curæ publicæ mederi quàm privatis student fortunis. Præsides præfecti Provinciarum Romanos opprimunt; fidis reipublicæ insultant, cum hostibus paciscuntur. Illis tamen Codicilli a Quæstoribus, ab Imperatoribus patricius honor defertur. Nullæ reipublicæ opes, nulla præsidia, nullæ opes Romani Principis. Ego atque cætera Nobilitas <72v> cogimur aut patriam dimittere aut capillos. < text from f 72r resumes > The whole Roman Christian world also, nobles & plebeians, some very few persons excepted Salvian charges with other great crimes, as [their intollerably partial censoriousnes,] their blasphemies, their swearing, their greedy following worldly pleasures their having the wicked most in honour, & despising those they had once in honour when they begin to have any shew of religiousnes & which is most of all, that stupendious abomination of Sodomy he expresses to have been too publick. ♦

< insertion from f 71v >

♦ Of their open contemning all shew of piety he says. Iam verò illud quale, quam sanctum, quòd siquis ex nobilibus converti ad Deum cœperit statim honorem nobilitatis amittit: aut quantus in Christiano populo honor Christi est ubi religio ignobilem facit? Statim enim ut quis melior esse tentaverit deterioris abiectione calcatur: ac per hoc omnes quodammodo mali esse coguntur ne viles habeantur. Et ideo non sine causa Apostolus clamat: Seculum totum in malo positum est: <sup>[158]</sup> Et verum est. Merito enim totum in malo esse dicitur ubi boni locum habere non possunt. Siquidem ita totum iniquitatibus plenum est ut aut mali sint qui sunt: aut qui boni sunt multorum persecutione crucientur. Itaque sicut diximus si honoratior quispiam religioni se applicuerit, illico honoratus esse desistit. Vbi enim quis mutaverit vestem, mutat protinus dignitatem. Si fuerit sublimis fit despicibilis. Si fuerit splendidissimus fit vilissimus si fuerit totus honoris fit totus injuriæ. Et mirantur mundani quidam infideles si offensam Dei aut iracundiam perferunt ubi Deum in sanctis omnibus persequuntur. Perversa enim sunt et in diversum cuncta mutata.

< text from f 72r resumes >

[Of their partiality he says: Hinc ergo cognosci potest quam iniqui et pravi sumus: alijs severissimi sumus, nobis indulgentissimi: alijs asperi nobis remissi. In eodem crimine punimus alios, nos absolvimus. Intollerabiles prorsus et contumaciæ & præsumptionis: nec agnoscere volumus in nobis reatum & audemus de alijs usurpare iudicium. Quid esse injustius nobis, aut quid perversius potest? Id ipsum scelus in nobis probabile esse ducimus quod in alijs severissimè vindicamus. Et ideo non sine causa ad nos Apostolus clamat: Propter quod inexcusabilis es ô homo omnis qui iudicas. In quo enim alium iudicas, teipsum iudicas. Eadem enim agis quæ iudicas. lib 4.]

Of their blasphemies he says. <sup>[159]</sup> Peccatis veteribus nova addimus: nec solum nova sed quædam pagana ac prodigiosa, et in Ecclesijs Dei ante non visa, jactantes scilicet profanas in Deum voces & contumelias, blasphemantes, dicentes Deum non intendentem, Deum negligentem, Deum non gubernantem, & per hoc et immisericordem et impræstablem, inhumanum asperum durum. – O cæcam impudentiam! ô sacrilegam temeritatem! Non sufficit enim nobis quod peccatis innumerabilibus involuti, rei in omnibus Deo sumus, nisi et accusatores Dei simus. Et quæ rogo hominum spes erit qui ipsum accusat iudicem iudicandus? Si ergo, inquiunt, respicit res humanas <73r> Deus, si curat, si diligit, si gubernata; cur nos infirmiores omnibus gentibus, et miserores esse permittit? Cur vinci a Barbaris patimur? Cur juri hostium subjugari? Brevissime,

ut jam dixi, ideò nos perferre hæc mala patitur quia meremur ut ista patiamur. Respiciamus enim ad turpitudines &c

Of their swearing & forswearing: [160] Quis est, inquit, omninò secularium hominum præter paucos qui non semper Christi nomen in ore habeat ut pejeret? Vnde etiam pervulgatum hoc ferè & apud nobiles & apud ignobiles sacramentum est, per Christum: per Christum, quia hoc facio. Per Christum quia nihil aliud dicturus sum. Et quid plura? In id penitus deducta res est ut sicut de Paganis Barbaris prius diximus, Christi nomen non videatur jam sacramentum esse sed sermo. Nam intantum apud plurimos nomen hoc parvi penditur ut nunquam minùs cogitent quippiam facere quam cum se jurant per Christum esse facturos. Et cum scriptum sit, non nominabis nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum, in id reverentia Christi decidit ut inter cæteras seculi vanitates nihil jam pene vanius quàm Christi nomen esse videatur. Denique multi non otiosas tantummodo res et aniles, sed etiam scelera quædam se jurant per Christi nomen esse facturos. Hic enim loquendi usus est talibus: Per Christum quia tollo illud: Per Christum quia cædo illum: Per Christum quia occido illum. Ad hoc res cecidit ut cum per Christi nomen juraverint, putent se scelera etiam religiosè esse facturos. &c

Of their voluptuousness: [162] In Theatris, ait, et concupiscentijs animus & auditu aures & aspectu oculi polluntur. Quæ quidem omnia tam flagitiosa sunt ut etiam explicare ea quispiam atque eloqui salvo pudore non valeat. Quis enim integro verecundiæ statu dicere queat illas rerum turpium imitationes, illas vocum et verborum obscenitates illas motuum turpitudines, illas gestuum fœditates? quæ quanti sint criminis vel hinc intelligi potest quod et relationem sui interdicunt. — Alia quoque omnia mala agentes polluunt, non videntes vel audientes. Siquidem etsi blasphemum quempiam audias, sacrilegio non pollueris quia mente dissentis. Et si intervenias latrocinio non inquinaris actu qui abhorres animo. Solæ spectaculorum impuritates sunt quæ unum admo <74r> dum faciunt et agentium & aspicientium crimen. Nam dum spectantes hæc comprobant ac libenter vident, omnes ea visu atque assensu agunt, ut verè in eos Apostolicum id peculiariter eadat: [163] quia digni sunt morte non solum qui faciunt ea sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus. Itaque in illis imaginibus fornicationum omnis omninò plebs animo fornicatur, & qui forte ad spectaculum puri veniunt, de theatro adulteri revertuntur. Non enim tunc tantummodo quando redeunt, sed etiam quando veniunt fornicantur: nam hoc ipso quod aliquis rem obscænam cupit dum ad immunda properat immundus est. Quæ cum ita sint ecce qualia aut omnes aut pene omnes Romani agunt. Et cum hæc ita sint, qui talia agimus negligi nos a divinitate causamur, relinqui nos a Domino nostro dicimus cum ipsi dominum relinquamus. Fingamus enim quod respicere nos Dominus noster velit, etiam non merentes videamus si potest. Ecce innumera Christianorum millia in spectaculis quotidie rerum turpium commorantur. Potest ergo illos Deus respicere qui tales sunt? Potest eos respicere qui bacchantur in circis, qui mechantur in Theatris? — An forte in morem veterum Paganorum, Theatrorum et Circorum nos Deum habere arbitramur? Faciebant enim hæc illi quondam quia has Idolorum suorum delicias esse credebant. Nos quomodo hæc facimus qui odisse Deum nostrum hæ certi sumus? Si in conscientia nostra hoc est, quod Deus horret, quod execratur, quod sicut in his sit pastos Diaboli ita offensio Dei: quomodo nos in Ecclesia Dei colere Deum dicimus qui in obscenitate ludorum semper Diabolo deservimus, & hæc gnari, ac scientes, de consilio et industria?

And again. Dum in Theatris et Circis ludimus, deperimus secundum illud: [164] Stultus per risum operatur scelus. Per turpitudines criminosas æterna illic salus Christianæ plebis exstinguitur, per sacrilegas superstitiones majestas divina violatur. Dubium enim non est quod lædunt Deum, utpote Idolis consecratæ. Colitur namque et honoratur Minerva in Gymnasijs, Venus in Theatris, Neptunus in Circis, Mars in arenis, Mercurius in Palæstris, et ideo pro qualitate auctorum cultus est superstitionum. Quicquid immundiciarum est hoc exercetur in Theatris; quicquid luxuriarum in Palæstris; quicquid immoderationis in Circis; quicquid furoris in Caveis. Alibi est impudentiæ, alibi <75r> lascivia, alibi intemperantiæ, alibi insania: Vbique dæmon; imò per singula ludicrorum loca, universa dæmonum monstra: præsidet enim sedibus suo cultui dedicatis.

And again. Nos Ecclesijs Dei ludicra anteponimus, nos altaria spernimus et Theatra honoramus. Omnia denique amamus, omnia colimus, solus nobis in comparatione omnium Deus vilis est. Denique præter alia quæ id probant indicat hoc etiam res ipsa quam dico. Siquando enim venerit, quod scilicet sæpe evenit ut eodem die et festivitas ecclesiastica et ludi publici agantur quæro ab omnium conscientia quis locus majores Christianorum virorum copias habeat, caveane ludi publici, an atrium Dei? et Templum omnes magis sectentur an theatrum? dicta evangeliorum magis diligunt an Thymelicorum? verba vitæ an verba mortis? verba Christi an verba mimi? non dubium est quin illud magis amemus quod magis anteponimus. Omni enim



feralium ludicrorum die si quaelibet Ecclesiæ festa fuerint, non solum ad Ecclesiam non veniunt qui Christianos se esse dicunt, sed siqui inscij forte venerint, dum in ipsa ecclesia sunt, si ludos agi audiunt, ecclesiam derelinquunt. Spernitur Dei templum ut concurratur ad Theatrum. Ecclesia vacuatur, Circus impletur. Christum in Altario dimittimus ut adulterantes visu impurissimo oculos ludicrorum turpium fornicatione pascamus. Et ideo rectissime ad nos Deus dicit <sup>[165]</sup> Propter spurcitiam exterminati estis exterminio. ☩

< insertion from f 74v >

☩ Lastly their Sodomy he instances in Carthage the second City of the Empire where he represents this wickednes at such a height that some men like harlots made an open profession of prostituting themselves. And this being publicly known & consented to he makes the crime of the whole Empire. Sed forte vel id occultum quod loquimur erat, aut saltem hoc providebant Procuratores, ne publicæ passim disciplinæ oculos civitatis scelera propalata polluerent. Quod si factum utique fuisset quamvis si multi extitissent opere ipso sordidi, non omnes tamen fuerant visu atque animo sordidati: & solet res flagitiosa quando agitur occultè, fidem facinoris non mereri. Supra omne autem monstruosi piaculi execrationem est, scelus summum admittere & pudorem sceleris non habere. Quid rogo fieri illic prodigiosus potuit? in urbe Christiana, in urbe Ecclesiastica – viri in semetipsis fæminas profitebantur & hoc sine pudoris umbraculo sine ullo verecundiæ amictu: ac quasi parum piaculi esset si malo illo malorum tantum inquinarentur autores, per publicam sceleris professionem fiebat etiam scelus integræ civitatis. Videbat, quippe hoc universa urbs et patiebatur: videbant Iudices & acquiescebant: populus videbat & applaudebat; ac sic diffuso per totam urbem dedecoris scelerisque consortio, etsi hoc commune omnibus non faciebant actus, commune omnibus faciebat assensus. Sed finis aliquando forsitan mali aut emendatio aliqua labes istis fuit. Quis credere aut etiam audire possit convertisse in muliebrem tolerantiam viros, non usum suum tantum atque naturam sed etiam vultum incessum habitum & totum penitus quicquid aut in sexu est, aut in usu viri. – Sed paucorum hoc inquis dedecus fuit. – At Apostolus: nescitis, inquit, quia modicum frumentum totam massam corrumpit. – Sicut enim una meretrix multos fornicatores facit; sic plurimam populi partem inquinat paucorum effæminatorum abominanda permixtio. Et nescio qui eorum ante Deum deteriores sint, cùm æquali in scriptis sacris sorte damnentur. Neque molles enim inquit, <sup>[166]</sup> neque masculorum concubitores regnum Dei possidebunt. Illud ergo magis inge <75v> miscendum atque lugendum est quod tale hoc scelus crimen etiam totius Reipublicæ videbatur. Et universa Romani nominis dignitas facinoris prodigiosi inurebatur infamia &c.

< text from f 75r resumes >

When Baronius had quoted some of the foregoing passages he adds: <sup>[167]</sup> Sed hæc generatim ad omnes, ut diximus, spectant quæ hujus temporis inspector et scriptor vir sanctissimus posteris tradidit. Verum quod peculiariter ad Gallias pertinet quas hoc anno (412) Gothus, ante Burgundio Wandalus Francus Hunnus et reliqua barbarorum colluvies ad radices usque depasta est: quales Gallorum horum temporum mores fuerint, idem autor Galliarum accola pluribus prosecutus est: atque imprimis suorum Aquitanorum in quos primò barbaricus furor irrupit, de quibus ipse: In omnibus quippe Gallijs sicut divitijs primi fuere, sic et vitijs. Nusquam enim improbior voluptas nusquam improbior vita; nusquam corruptior disciplina. – An forte falsum est, et odiosè potius quam vere ista dicuntur? Non oratoria probatione qua uti alij in causis solent, utar, ut producam quoscunque ad probandum, aut paucos aut extraneos aut minus <76r> idoneos testes: Ipsos interrogemus a quibus acta sunt. Falsum sit quod diximus si negarint; fatentur enim et quidem (quod est gravius) sic fatentur ut in ipsa confessione non doleant: idem enim nunc est animus in fatentibus qui in agentibus fuit: sicut tunc non puduit flagitia committere, sic nunc omninò non pænitet flagitia fecisse. Exceptis tantum perpauca sanctis atque insignibus viris qui (ut quidam de numero ipsorum ait) sparsim redimerunt crimina nummis. Exceptis, in quam his quos loquor, utique etiam in illa tunc generali admodum colluvione vitiorum, recte minorum criminum reos fuisse credimus qui corrigi a divinitate meruerunt. Cæteri autem et plurimi ferme ac nobilissimi, prope idem omnes, pene unus gurgis omnium gula, pene unum lupanar omnium vita. Et quid dicam de lupanaribus? minoris enim criminis lupanar puto: meretrices enim quæ illic sunt fœdus connubiale non norunt: impudicitia enim piaculo sunt obnoxia sed reatu tamen adulterij non tenentur. Adde huic quod et pauca ferme sunt lupanaria, & paucæ quæ in his vitam infelicissimam damnare meretrices. Apud Aquitanos vero, quæ civitas in locupletissima & nobilissima sui parte non quasi lupanar fuit? quis potentum ac divitum non in luto libidinis vixit? quis non se barathro sordida colluvionis immersit? quis conjugij fidem reddidit? imò quantum ad passivitatem libidinis pertinet quis non conjugem in numerum ancillarum redegit, & ad hoc venerabilis connubij sacramenta dejecit, ut nulla in domo ejus vilior



videretur in maritali despectione quàm quæ erat princeps matrimonij dignitate? — Quis autem Aquitanorum divitum non hoc fuit quem non sibi ancillæ impudicissimæ aut adulterum aut maritum jure dixerunt? Equi emissarij, ut scriptura ait, in fæminas facti sunt: Vnusquisque ad uxorem proximi sui inhiabat. Addit (pergit Baronius) et plura alia: at exhorrescit stylus jam ac resilit atque refugit ulterius in turpitudinum cloacam intingi.

Afterwards he proceeds to other nations & shows the Spanish nations to be rather worse than the Gallic, & the African to be worst of all. ¶ < insertion from f 75v > ¶ Quod Wandali, inquit, ad Africam transierunt non est divinæ severitati sed Afrorum sceleri deputandum. Gravi enim eos antequam illuc pergerent, ac longa iniquitate traxerunt. Et ideo intelligere debemus quia pietatis divinæ fuit quod pœnam diu debitam distulit. — In Afros omnia simul improbitatum atque impuritatum genera confluxerunt. Cæteri enim homines etsi nonnullis flagitiorum vitij obligati sunt quibusdam tamen non implicantur: etsi vinolentia non cavent malevolentia cerent: etsi libidine æstuant, rapacitate non sæviunt: multos <76v> denique etsi accusat incontinentia corporum simplicitas commendat animorum In Afris verò pene omnibus nihil horum est quod ad utramque pertineat, id est bonum æque ac malum: quia totum admodum malum. Adeo eclusa naturæ originalis synceritate, aliam quodammodo in his naturam vitia fecerunt. — Quid piaculorum < text from f 76r resumes > Quid, piaculorum est non illic semper admissum? ne de omnibus dicam, quia et enormia fere sunt et sciri & dici tanta non possunt; de sola vel maximè obscœnitate impuritatum loquor <77r> et quod est gravius, sacrilegiorum. Prætermitto in aliquo rabidem cupiditatis, vitium totius generis humani. Prætereo avaritiæ inhumanitatem, proprium est Romanorum pene omnium malum. Relinquatur ebrietas, nobilibus ignobilibusque communis. Taceatur superbia et tumor, tam peculiare hoc divitum regnum est, ut aliquid forsitan de jure suo se putent perdere si hinc sibi alius quicquam voluerit vindicare. Transeat denique prope omne fraudum, falsitatum, perjuriorum, nefas: nulla unquam his malis Romana civitas caruit, & specialius hoc scelus Afronem omnium fuit. Nam sicut in sentinam profundæ navis colluviones omnium sordium; sic in mores eorum quasi ex omni mundo, vitia fluxerunt. Nullam enim improbitatem scio, quæ illic non redundaverit: cum utique etiam paganæ ac ferinæ gentes, etsi habeant specialiter mala propria, non sint tamen in his omnia execratione digna. Gothorum gens perfida sed pudica est: Alemannorum impudica sed minus perfida: Franci mendaces, sed hospitales: Saxones crudelitate efferi sed castitate mirandi. Omnes denique gentes habent sicut peculiaria mala, ita etiam quædam bona. In Afris pene omnibus nescio quid non malum. Si accusanda est inhumanitas inhumani sunt. Si ebriositas ebriosi sunt. Si falsitas fallacissimi. Si dolus fraudulentissimi. Si cupiditas cupidissimi. Si perfidia perfidissimi. Impuritas eorum atque blasphemia his omnibus admiscenda non sunt: quia illis quæ supra diximus malis aliorum gentium vitia, his autem etiam sua ipsa vicerunt. Ac primum ut de impuritate dicamus, quis nescit Africam totam obscœnis libidinum tædis semper arsisse: non ut terram ac sedem hominum sed ut Æthnam putes impudicarum fuisse flammaram. Nec volo in hac re assertionibus meis credi testimonium requiratur generis humani. Quis non omnes omninò Afros generaliter sciat impudicos, nisi forte ad Deum conversos, id est fide ac religione mutatos. Sed hoc tam rarum est ac novum, quam rarum videri potest quemlibet Gavionem non esse Gavionem aut quemcunque Sævúm non esse Sævúm. Tam infrequens enim est hoc et inusitatum impudicum non esse Afrum quàm novum et inauditum Afrum non esse Afrum. Ita enim generale in eis malum impuritatis est, ut quicumque ex eis impudicus esse desierit, <78r> Afer non esse videatur. Nec discurram per loca singula, aut cunctas discutiam civitates, ne studiosè videar quærere atque investigare quæ dicam: una tantum universarum illic urbium principe & quasi matre contentus sum: Carthaginem dico, alteram in Africano orbe quasi Romam: quæ mihi ideo in exemplum ac testimonium sola sufficit; quia universa penitus quibus in toto mundo disciplina Reipublicæ vel procuratur vel regitur, in se habuit, &c. Then adding a heavy accusation he says Video scaturientem vitij civitatem, alios rapacitate, alios impuritate certantes, alios vino languidos, alios cruditate distentos, hos sertis redimitos, illos unguento oblitos, cunctos vario luxus marcore perditos. Populos putares non sani status, non sui sensus; non animo incolumes, non gradu; quasi in morem bacchantium crapulæ catervatim inservientes. — Fœtebant, ut ita dixerim, cuncti urbis illius cives cæno libidinis, spurcum sibimetipsis mutuò impudiciæ nidorem inhalantes. Sed horri eis tamen horrida ista non erant quia idem omnes horror infecerat. Vnam enim putes illic fuisse libidinum fornicationumque sentinam, cænum quasi ex omni platearum & cloacarum labe collectam. Et quæ illic spes esse poterat, ubi præter id quod in Domini templo erat, nihil videri penitus nisi sordidum non licebat. Quanquam quid dicam in Dei templo? hoc quippe totum ad sacerdotes tantum & clerum pertinet, quos non discutio, quia Domini mei ministerio reverentiam servo, & quos ita solos puros arbitror fuisse in Altario sicut pereuntibus Sodomis solum Loth fuisse legimus in monte Cæterum quantum ad plebem pertinet, quis in illo numero tam innumero castus fuit? Castum dico? Quis non fornicarius, non adulter, & hoc sine cessatione sine termino? Rursum clamitem itaque necesse est. Quæ spes in illo populo esse poterat, ubi cum unus interdum adulter plebem Ecclesiasticum polluat, ibi inter

tot millia si diligentissimè quæreret, castum vel in Ecclesia invenire vix posses. Plus multo dicam, utinam hæc essent sola quæ diximus, & contenta illic virorum impuritas fuisset solis sordidarum mulierum fornicationibus inquinari. Illud gravius et scelestius, quod illa de quibus beatus Apostolus Paulus cum summa animi lamentatione conquæritur, in Afris pene omnia fuerunt: [168] scilicet quia masculi relicto naturali usu fæminæ, exarserunt in desiderijs suis in invicem, masculi in mas <79r> culos turpitudinem exercentes, & mercedem quam oportuit erroris sui in semetipsos recipientes. Et sicut non probaverunt Deum habere in notitia, tradidit illos in reprobum sensum, ut faciant quæ non convenit.

Hee proceeds further to tell how some men went about the streets in weomens apparel, known to the City & connived at by the Magistrates. But what has been produc't is enough to cause teares & astonishment, & almost too much to be believed And yet such are the circumstances, that Baronius mentioning these things confesses he dealt favorably with the accused. [169] Cæterùm, inquit, quod ad Salvianum spectat: ne putes eum dum pravos mores Africanorum sugillat ex parvis magna componere, quasi eloquentiæ arte amplificationibus rem exaggerans, ex paucis multa vel ex minimis maxima reddere sit conatus: sed parcius dicas egisse dum his non leviora intacta penitus prætermisit &c. Then he speaks of the strange fury of the Donatists, & afterward adds. Sed et idem S. Augustinus paucis his diebus quibus capta a Vandalis Africa supervixit, cum cladem Barbaricam non nisi ex undante peccatorum copia ipsos pati testetur, jam in profundum illud scelus eos pervenisse demonstrat quod a Divina Scriptura verbis illis significatur: Impius cum in profundum venerit peccatorum contemnit. Hinc illæ lachrymæ cum ista gemens: Inter tantas, inquit, [170] angustias, & in ipso fine rerum posita est universa provincia & quotidie frequentantur spectacula. Sanguis hominum quotidie funditur in mundo & insanientium voces crepitant in Circo. O planctus omni mæstitia acceptior! O planctus omni mæstitia affligens cor! Libet flere. Plangimus dilectissimi et illos et nos, quia et nos digni sumus qui cum talibus meritò flagellemur.

In the same discourse Austin hints several other things very conformable to Salvian. And amongst the rest this is remarkable that he strove to think the best of men. ffor he tells us that there were divers who lamented the sinful state of the people, & yet by his discours these lamenters were worldlings & consequently but Pharisaical censurers. Multi sunt, inquit, qui gemunt et dolent, ob iniquitates quæ fiunt in medio eorum, volentes resistere sed timore secularium rerum non audentes, quas adhuc vel adipisci desiderat humana fragilitas vel amittere formidat infirmitas. – Quod rem non timendam timent, omnes <80r> declinarunt, simul omnes inutiles facti sunt: quia plus æstimatur timor hominis quam timor Dei, & præferunt homines res quas acciperunt a Deo ipsi Deo. – Cum alios accusamus omnes declinavimus prorsus omnes. — Prædicamus et non facimus, auditis et facere non curatis. Merito omnes sub flagello conterimur, & doctor et factor, & auditor et contemptor. Studemus invicem reprehendere & non studemus opera nostra discutere. Detrahit proximus proximo, detrahit clericus clerico, detrahit laicus laico. Video quidem seinvicem accusantes, sed neminem video justè se excusantem. — Interroget se unaquæque anima ut videat si injuste patitur: proferatur statera justitiæ, appendetur amor mundi cum amore Dei, vide quemadmodum præponderet amor mundi. – Dominus jussit: Qui amat filium aut filiam plusquam me non est me dignus. Nec illos odire præcepit sed se non minus diligere. Verè filios diligeres si in ipso diligeres. An ideo eos videris diligere qui eorum voluptatibus faves? audis blasphemantes et patienter fers? vides frequentare spectacula et non revocas? vides luxuriantes et non verberas? &c. And afterward. Quid dicam de tribus pueris qui cum nollent imaginem regiam adorare ignes riserunt. Quid tale dilectissimi fecimus, imò e contrario quæ mala non fecimus? Illi nec minis nec tormentis conventi, dæmonijs sacrificaverunt. An non sacrificavit qui imagines Idolorum per noctem ludentes quod Nocturnum vocant, libentissimè spectavit? Sacrificavit prorsus sacrificavit: et quod est peus, non tauri vel cujuslibet pecoris aliquam victimam, sed ipsam animam hominis pretiosam. In hoc tam nefando sacrificio non unus vel pauci accusantur, tota hoc civitas fecit quæ tota consensit: nec ab hostibus nec a barbaris sed a semetipso omnis homo in animo se intus occidit videndo, consentiendo, non prohibendo, omnes remansimus rei. ✠ < insertion from f 79v > rei. ✠ To this last reproof of Saint Austin a passage in Salvian is very agreeable <sup>[171]</sup> Quia de impuritate Afrorum, ait, jam multa diximus, nunc de blasphemijs saltem pauca dicamus. Professæ enim illic jugiter plurimorum paganitas fuit. Habebant quippe intra muros patrios intestinum scelus, Cælestem illum scilicet Afrorum dæmonem dico, cui ideò ut reor veteres Pagani tam speciosum titulum dederunt ut quia in eo non erat numen vel nomen esset. Quis ergo illi idolo non initiatus, quis non a stirpe ipsa forsitan et nativitate devotus? Quis non dæmoniacorum sacrificiorum nidore plenus divinæ domus limen introijt, & cum fœtore ipsorum dæmonum Christi altare conscendit? Et non tam immanis criminis fuisset ad templum domini non venire, quàm sic venire: quia Christianus qui ad Ecclesiam non venit negligentia reus est: qui autem sic venit, sacrilegij. Minoris enim piaculi res est si honor Deo non deferatur

quàm si irrogetur injuria. – Ecce quæ Afrorum et maximè nobilissimorum fides, quæ religio, quæ Christianitas fuit: <80v> dicebantur Christiani ad contumeliam. Christi cum Apostolus declamet: [172] Non potestis Calicem Domini bibere & Calicem Dæmoniorum. Non potestis mensæ domini participare & mensæ dæmoniorum &c < text from f 80r resumes > By all this you may see what a general intoxication had seized all, even those that spake against others for sin, as well as those against whome they spake. So that Austin had but little ground for his good opinion of the censurers & might perhaps have applied it with more colour to the Pharisee in Luke 18.10.

But to return to Salvian, he not only describes the Roman manners in general & then those of their several provinces in particular, but proceeds a step higher & shews that they were so hardned & senseles that no one portion of the Empire ever mended by God's judgments but constantly grew wors <81r> & wors. [173] Nunquid, inquit, populi civitatum qui impudici rebus prosperis fuerant asperis casti esse cœperunt? Nunquid ebrietas quæ in tranquillitate abundantia creverat hostili saltem depopulatione cessavit? Vastata est Italia tot jam cladibus ergo Itolorum vitia destiterunt? Obsessa est urbs Roma et expugnata; ergo destiterunt blasphemi ac furiosi esse Romani? Inundarunt Gallias gentes barbaræ; ergo quantum ad mores perditos spectat non eadem sunt Gallorum crimina quæ fuerunt? Transcenderunt in Hispaniæ terras populi Wandalorum, mutata quidem est sors Hispaniæ sed non mutata vitiositas. Ecquid ingressis gentibus barbaris Africam, forsitan vel metu vitia cessarunt, aut sicut corrigi ad præsens etiam nequissimi servorum solent modestiam saltem ac disciplinam terror extorsit? Quis æstimare hoc malum potest? Circumsonabant armis muro Cirtæ Carthagenis populi Barbarorum et ecclesia Carthaginensis insaniebat in Circis, luxuriabat in Theatris. Alij foris jugulabantur alij intus fornicabantur. — Frigor, ut ita dixerim, extra muros, et intra muros præliorum & ludicrorum confundebatur: vox morientium voxque bacchantium, ac vix discerni forsitan poterat plebis ejulatio quæ cadebat in bello et sonus populi qui clamabat in Circo. — Sed ego loquor de longe positus, cum sciam etiam in solo patrio atque in civitatibus Gallicanis omnes fermè præcelsiores viros calamitatibus suis factos fuisse pejores. — Lugubre est referre quæ in Treviris vidimus, senes honoratos, decrepitos Christianos, imminente admodum excidio civitatis gulæ ac lasciviæ servientes. Quid primum accusandum est? quod honorati an quod senes, an quod Christiani an quod periclitantes? Quis enim hoc fieri posse credat vel in securitate a senibus vel in discrimine a pueris vel unquam a Christianis? Iacebant in convivijis oblitum honoris, oblitum ætatis, oblitum professionis oblitum nominis sui. Principes Civitatis cibo conferti, vinolentia dissoluti, clamoribus rabidi, bacchatione furiosi. — Sed cùm hæc ita essent, plus multo est quod dicturus sum: finem perditioni huic nec civitatum excidia fecerunt. Denique expugnata est quater urbs Gallorum ex Treviris opulentissima. Promptum est de quo dicam. Sufficere utique debuerat emendationi prima captivitas, ut instauratio peccatorum non instaurasset excidium. Sed quid plura? Incredibile est quod loquor, assiduitas illic calamitatum augmentum criminum <82r> fuit. Sicut enim anguinum illud monstrum ut fabulæ ferunt, quod multiplicabat occisio, ita etiam in Gallorum excellentissima urbe ijs ipsis quibus coercerantur scelera plagis crescebant, ut putares pœnam ipsorum criminum quasi matrem esse vitiorum. Et quid plura? Ad hoc quotidie malorum pullulantium multiplicatione perventum est, ut facilius esset urbem illam sine habitatore quam ullum pene habitatorem esse sine crimine. Igitur hoc in illa. Quid in alia non longe sed ejusdem prope magnificentiæ civitate? nonne eadem et rerum ruina pariter et morum? Nam præter cætera cum duobus illic præcipuis ac generalibus malis avaritia et ebrietate omnia concidissent, ad hoc postremò rabida vini aviditate perventum est, ut principes urbis ipsius ne tunc quidem de convivijis surgerant cum jam hostis urbem intraret. — Vidi ego illic res lachrymabiles, nihil scilicet inter pueros differre at senes. Vna erat scurrilitas, una levitas, simul omnia luxus, potationes, perditiones, cuncta omnes pariter agebant: ludebant, inebriabantur, enecabantur, lasciviebant in convivijis — Totum incuria & segnitie, totum negligentia et gula, totum ebrietas & somnolentia, secundum illud quod de talibus scriptum est: Quia sopor domini irruerat super eos. — Sed hæc hactenus. Satis enim, ut arbitror, quod proposui evidenter ostendi, ne in summo quidem rerum discrimine cessasse unquam vitia vicium, usque ad excidia civitatum. Atque hæc fuerunt fortasse, jam non sunt, aut unquam esse cessabunt? Videlicet siqua adhuc hodiè aut civitas aut Provincia vel plagis cælestibus vel hostili populatione vastatur; humiliatur, convertitur, emendatur? Et non cunctos fermè Romani nominis populos prius est interire quam corrigi: non prius ipsos, quam in ipsis vitia non esse? Denique id breviter probari potest. Excisa ter continuis eversionibus summa urbs Gallorum, cum omnis civitas bustum esset, malis et post excidia crescentibus. Then he describes the lamentable desolation of the city in so much that even the neighbouring cities were annoyed with the stink of their carcasses, & adds. Et quid post hæc, inquam, quid post hæc omnia? Quis æstimare hoc amentiae genus possit? Pauci nobiles, qui excidio superfuerant quasi pro summo deletæ urbis remedio Circenses ab Imperatoribus postulabant. Vellem mihi hoc <83r> loco ad exequendam rerum indignitatem parem negotio eloquentiam dari: scilicet ut tantum virtutis esset in

querimonia quantum doloris in causa. Quis enim existimare possit, quid primum in his de quibus diximus, accusandum sit, irreligiositas, an stultitia an luxuria an amentia, totum quippe in illis est. Quid enim aut irreligiosius quàm petere aliquid in injuriam Dei; aut quid stultitius quam quid petas non considerare: aut quid tam perdit luxuriam quàm in luctu res desiderare luxuriæ: aut quid amentius quàm in malis esse et malorum intelligentiam non habere? — Putabam vos in excidijs rem tantum atque substantiam, nesciendum etiam sensum atque intelligentiam perdidisse Theatra igitur (post cladem post sanguinem post supplicia post captivitatem post tot eversæ urbis excidia) quæritis, circum a Principibus postulatis? Theatra igitur quæritis, circum a Principibus postulatis: quæso cui statui, cui populo, cui civitati? Vrbi exustæ ac perditæ, plebi captivæ & interemptæ, quæ aut perit, aut luget. De qua etiam siquid superest totum calamitatis est: quæ cuncta aut mæstitudine est anxia aut lachrymis exhausta aut orbitate prostrata: in qua nescias pene cujus sit sors pejor ac durior interfectorum aut viventium. Tantæ enim sunt miseriæ superstitum ut infelicitatem vicerint mortuorum. Ludicra ergo publica. Trevir petis: ubi quæso exercenda? an super busta et cineres super ossa et sanguinem peremptorum? Quas enim urbis pars his mulis omnibus vacat, ubi non strata corpora, ubi non concisorum membra lacerata? Vbique facies captæ urbis, ubique terror captivitatis, ubique imago mortis. Nigra est incendio civitas & tu vultum fæstivitatis usurpas. Lugent cuncta, tu lætus es. Insuper etiam illecebris flagitiosissimis Deum provocas, & superstitionibus  $\text{Θ}$  < insertion from f 82v > nibus  $\text{Θ}$  pessimis iram divinitatis irritas. Non miror plane, non miror tibi evenisse mala quæ consecuta sunt. Nam quia te tria excidia non correxerunt quarto perire meruisti. < text from f 83r resumes >

Such another instance of stupendous hard heartedness as this last was the city Rome it self affords, as Baronius thus relates: <sup>[174]</sup> "Expugnatione Romæ, Romani sunt conterriti non prostrati. Etenim id professus est post discessionem Alarici populus ille: qui, inquit Orosius, <sup>[175]</sup> adeò parvo quodam & levi motu hæritasse erga se parumper consuetudinem voluptatum indubitatiſsimè contestatus est, ut liberè conclamaret, si reciperet Circum, nihil esse sibi factum: hoc est, nihil egisse Romæ Gothorum enses, si concedatur Romanis spectare Circenses. Adeo ut illud propheticum de his fuerit occinendum: <sup>[176]</sup> Percussi eos et non doluerunt."

Seing therefore this was the sencelesnes of the head Cities, the patterns of manners & discipline, well might Salvian conclude of the whole: <sup>[177]</sup> Omnia quæ pertulimus, non improvidentia nos Dei atque neglectu, sed justitia, sed judicio sed æquissima dispensatione & dignissima retributione tolerasse: Neque ullam penitus Romani orbis <84r> aut Romani nominus portionem, quamlibet graviter plagis cælestibus cæsam unquam fuisse correctam.

Salvian proceeds further to show that God's blessings had as little influence upon them as his judgments: but what has been said is more then enough to show their stupendous wickedness. But you will say Salvian speaks of the people: might not the Clergy be better? Tis true he favours the Clergy but he says he did it ob reverentiam Domini sui: which intimates that it was not for their deserts & therefore they might be bad enough. And that they were so is demonstrated from the wickednes of the people, for how came the sheep to wander so much but for want of good shepherds. Yea they must have been more guilty sinners then any, & that first because their sins were a precedent or example to the peoples & not the people's to their's. Secondly they were sinners against a greater degree of knowledge & so more pervers. Thirdly they had some sins peculiar to themselves & those of the greatest guilt: namely their changing the nature of things, calling good evil & evil good: I mean their changing the doctrins of the Church into fables & the worship into a heap of superstitions & making persecution to have the name of piety: sins of which the best of that party were most guilty. Lastly besides their own sins they are liable to answer for the sins of the people also; according to that of Ezekiel. <sup>[178]</sup> Son of man I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel Therefore thou shalt heare the word of my mouth & warn them from me. When I say unto the wicked: O wicked man thou shalt surely dy: if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall dy in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thy hand. This is a heavy charge, & yet without this or the former aggravations their wickednes was very great, & that even from their infancy. ffor they were born in perfidy & perjury. ffor their birth was by that schism which the western Bishops began to make presently after the reign of Iovian contrary to their faith given under their hands & upon <sup>a</sup><sup>[179]</sup> Oath in the Counsel of Ariminum. Almost all their Bishops at that time <85r> were of this kind: men that had twice changed their religion turning to & fro according to the temporal state of things, a levity of such a scandalous reputation that it caused Lucifer one of the hottest of them & his followers to forsake their communion & detest them so much that <sup>b</sup><sup>[180]</sup> Ierom in a dispute with Helladius one of the Luciferans, about this matter says of him: Asserebat universum mundum

esse diaboli, & ut jam familiare est eis dicere, factum de Ecclesia Lupanar. And what good think you could be expected in a Church set up governed by a combination of bishops that were so great a scandal to it? what a clergy<sup>2</sup> what successors<sup>1</sup> were such as these like to leave.

But what a clergy they left is best to be collected from the election of unapproved persons into it which began now to be an epidemical distemper. [181] Multi, saith Ierom, eliguntur non amore sui, sed alterius odio. Nonnunquam errat plebis vulgique iudicium & in sacerdotibus comprobandis unusquisque suis moribus favet ut non tam bonum quam sui similem quærat propositum. Dicam aliquid quod forsitan cum multorum offensa dicturus sum, sed boni mihi non irascentur quia eos peccati conscientia non remordebit. Interdum hoc et Pontificum vitio accidit qui non meliores sed argutiores in clerum allegunt, & simpliciores quosque atque innocentes inhabiles putant; vel affinibus & cognatis quasi terrenæ militiæ officia largiuntur, sive divitum obediunt jussioni: Quodque his pejus est, illis clericatus donant gradum quorum sunt obsequijs delimiti. And in another place [182] where a question about the marriage of Priests put him upon commenting on Saint Paul's instruction to Timothy: upon these words: [183] Non Neophytum, ne in superbiam elatus in iudicium incidat diaboli: he adds, Mirari satis non queo quæ hominum tanta sit cæcitas, de uxoribus disputare, cum tam apertum evidensque præceptum nemo custodiat. Heri catechumenus, hodie Pontifex: heri in Amphitheatro, hodie in ecclesia: vespere in circo, manè in altario: dudum fautor histrionum, nunc virginum consecrator. Num ignorabat Apostolus tergiversationes nostras, & argumentorum inneptias nesciebat? Qui dixit unius uxoris virum, ipse <86r> mandavit irreprehensibilem, sobrium, prudentem, ornatum, hospitalem, doctorem, modestum; non vinolentum, non percussorem, non litigiosum, non avarum, non neophytum. Ad hæc omnia claudimus oculos, solas videmus uxores. Quod autem ait: ne in superbiam elatus incidat in iudicium diaboli, quis non exemplo verum probet? Ignorat momentaneus sacerdos humilitatem et mansuetudinem rusticorum: ignorat blanditias Christianas, nescit seipsum contemnere: de dignitate transfertur ad dignitatem: non jejunavit, non flevit, non mores suos sæpe reprehendit, & assidua meditatione correxit: non substantiam pauperibus erogavit. De cathedra quodammodo ducitur in Cathedram, id est de superbia in superbiam. Iudicium autem et ruina diaboli nulli dubium quin arrogantia sit. Incidunt in eam qui in puncto horæ, necdum discipuli jam magistri sunt. [184] Oportet autem eum & testimonium habere bonum ab his qui foris sunt. Alieni et extra Ecclesiam sunt Iudæi hæretici atque Gentiles. Talis ergo sit Pontifex Christi ut qui {religionem} detrahunt vitæ ejus detrahere non audeant. At nunc plerosque cernimus, vel favorem populi in aurigarum morem precio redimere: vel tanto omnium hominum odio vivere, ut non extorqueant pecunia quod mimi impetrant gestibus. Hæc fili Oceane, sollicito timore perquirere hæc magistri Ecclesiæ custodire debebunt, hos in sacerdotibus eligendis canones observare: non juxta propria odia, & privatas simultates, carpentemque semper autorem suum invidiam, legem Christi interpretari.

Of the vices of the Clergy Ierom has divers other passages: & in this Epistle these. Sunt quidam [Clerici scil.] ignorantes mensuram suam et tantæ stoliditatis ac vecordiae ut et in motu & in incessu & in habitu & in sermone communi risum spectantibus præbeant: & quasi intelligentes quid sit ornatus, comunt se vestibus & munditijs corporis & lautioris mensæ epulas parant: cum omnis istiusmodi ornatus & cultus sordibus fædior sit. Et paulo post in hæc S. Pauli ad Timotheum verba; non litigiosum non avarum: addit. Nihil enim impudentius arrogantia rusticorum, qui garrulitatem auctoritatem putant: & parati semper ad lites in subjectum sibi gregem tumidis sermonibus tonant. In his Tract against Helvidius he writes: Quod ais <87r> quasdam esse virgines tabernarias: ego tibi plus dico, esse in his et adulteras, & (quo magis mireris) clericos esse caupones & monachos impudicos. [185] To Eustochius he writes Clerici ipsi quos et magisterio esse oportuerat & timori, osculantur capita matronarum, & extenta manu, ut benedicere eos putes velle, si nescias, pretia accipiunt salutandi. Illæ interim, quæ sacerdotes suo viderint indigere præsidio, eriguntur in superbiam; & quia maritorum expertæ dominatum, viduitatis præferunt libertatem. & post multa: Sunt alij (de mei ordinis hominibus loquor) qui ideo Presbyterium & Diaconatum ambiunt ut mulieres licentius videant. Omnis his cura de vestibus si bene oleant: si pes laxa pelle non folleat. Crines calamistri vestigio rotantur: digiti de annulis radiant: & ne plantas humidior via spargat vix imprimunt summa vestigia. Tales cum videris sponso magis existimato quam clericos. Quidam in hoc omne studium vitamque posuerunt ut matronarum nomina domos moresque cognoscant. Ex quibus unum qui hujus artis est princeps breviter strictimque describam quo facilius magistro cognito discipulos recognoscas. Cum sole festinus exurgit, salutandi ei ordo disponitur, viarum compendia requiruntur, & pene usque ad cubacula dormientium senex importunus ingreditur. Si pulvillum viderit, si mantile elegans si aliquid domesticæ supellectilis, laudat, miratur, attractat, & se his indigere conquerens non tam impetrat quàm extorquet: quia singulæ metuunt Veredarium urbis offendere. Huic inimica castitas, inimica jejunia, prandium nidoribus probat. Os barbatum Procax et in convitia semper



armatum. Quicquid novi insonuerit, aut autor aut exaggerator est famæ. So to Heliodorus: [186] Alij, inquit, nummum addant nummo, & in marsupium suffocantes matronarum opes veniunt obsequijs: sint ditiores monachi quàm fuerant sæculares: possideant opes sub Christo paupere quas sub locuplete diabolo non habuerant: et suspiret eos Ecclesia divites quos tenuit mundus ante mendicos. &c. To Nepotianus also: [187]  $\Theta$  < insertion from f 86v >  $\Theta$  also.  $\Theta$  Gloria inquit, Episcopi est pauperum operibus providere. Ignominia omnium sacerdotum est, proprijs studere divitijs. Natus in paupere domo & turgio rusticano, qui vix mellio et cibario pane, rugientem saturare ventrem <sup>a</sup>[188] poteram; nunc similam et mella fastidio. Novi et genera et nomina piscium, in quo littore concha lecta sit calleo: saporibus avium discerno provincias, & ciborum meritas, ac novissimè damna ipsa delectant. Audio præterea in senes — < text from f 87r resumes > Audio præterea in senes et anus absque liberis quorundam turpe servitium. Ipsi apponunt matulam, <88r> obsident lectum: purulentiam stomachi & flegmata pulmonis manu propria suscipiunt: pavent ad introitum medici: tremantibusque labijs an commodius habeant sciscitantur: & si paulum senex vegetior fuerit, periclitantur: simulataque lætitia mens intrinsecus avare torquetur: timent enim ne perdant ministerium, & vivacem senem Methusalem annis comparant. O quanta apud Deum merces, si in præsentis pretium non sperarent! quantis sudoribus hæreditas cassa expetitur! minori pretio margarita Christi emi poterat. This of the inferior Clergy. In his comment on Michea upon these words: [189] Duces populi mei projicientur de domibus deliciarum suarum: he adds this of the Bishops. Sed et Ecclesiæ quoque principes qui delicijs affluunt & inter epulas atque lascivias pudicitiam servare se credunt: propheticus sermo describit qui ejiciendi sunt de spacijs domibus lautisque convivjs & multo labore epulis conquisitis: & ejiciendi propter malas cogitationes & opera sua. Et si vis scire quo ejiciendi sint Evangelium lege: In tenebras scilicet exteriores, ubi erit fletus et stridor dentium. An non confusio et ignominia est, Iesum crucifixum, magistrum pauperem atque esurientem farsis prædicare corporibus: jejuniorumque doctrinam, rubentes buccas tumentiaque ora proferre? Si in Apostolorum loco sumus, non solum sermonem eorum imitemur, sed conversationem quoque & abstinentiam amplectamur. Sanctum utique est et Apostolicum ministerium viduis et pauperibus ministrare. Non oportet, inquiunt, dimisso verbo Dei ministrare nos mensis. At nunc non dico pauperes, non dico fratres, & qui rursum invitare non possunt, ex quibus excepta gratia nihil aliud Episcopalis speret manus: sed militantes & accinctos gladio, & judices excubantibus ante fores suas centurionibus & turmis militum, Christi sacerdos invitat ad prandium. Tota clerici urbe discursant, quærunt exhibere iudicibus quæ illi in prætorijs suis aut invenire non possunt, aut certè inventa non cœmunt. To the same purpose writes Ammianus a heathen historian but yet a very faithful one, & one that speaks honourably of the Christians where they deserve it. [190] Damasus, inquit, et Vrsicinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendum Episcopalem sedem ardentes scissis studijs asperrimè conflictabantur, ad usque mortis vulnorumque <89r> discrimina adjumentis utriusque progressis, quæ nec corrigere sufficiens Viventius [Vrbis Præfectus] nec mollire, vi magna coactus secessit in suburbanum: et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quæ ei favebat instante. Constatque in Basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum, efferatamque diu plebem postea delimitam. Neque ego abnuo, ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidus ob impetrandum quod appetunt omni contentione laterum jurgari debere; cùm id adepti, futuri sint ita securi ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis in sedentes circumspicere vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeò ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas: qui esse poterant beati revera, si magnitudine urbis despecta quam vitijs opponunt, ad imitationem Antistitum quorundam Provincialium viverent, quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissimè, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo numini verisque ejus cultoribus ut puros commendant et verecundos. This of the Bishop of Rome him self: which with what candour towards Christianity it was spoken may be guesst by the good character he gives other Provincial Bishops. But who were those think you? Not the Bishop of Alexandria I'm sure, for of him Ammian gives this character. [191] Athanasium Episcopum eo tempore apud Alexandriam ultra professionem altius se efferentem, sciscitarique conatum externa, ut prodidere rumores assidui, cœtus in unum quæsitus ejusdem loci multorum (synodus ut appellant) removit a sacramento quod obtinebat. Nor could they be any other monkish Bishops: for those had at that time got footing no where but in Egypt. And as for the rest of this party it's plain out of Ierom that too many of them followed the Bishop of Rome's example. Had they detested pride as a certain sign of gracelessness they would not have broken their oaths & made a schism in the Church to go a whoring after a new religion set up & headed by two such Lucifer's as the Bishops of Rome & Alexandria. Simile gaudet simili, & Regis ad exemplum take place in eccle <90r> siastical as well as civil bodies; & therefore Ammian deserved the thanks of the Orthodox Bishops for acquainting posterity that while the two head Bishops of the adverse party thus elevated themselves, there were in the Empire Provincial Bishops which demeaned themselves so soberly & humbly as to deserve that good report from without which he gives of them.

† De Episc.

< insertion from f 89v >

† De Episcopatu Romano et Alexandrino simile testimonium præbet Socrates, qui utrumque αὐτὸ πέρα της ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ultra Sacerdotij fines progressum tunc olim (i.e. diu ante Papam Cælestinum de quo specialim loquitur) in dominatum externum degenerasse. Socr. l. 7. c. 11.

Sed et magno Basilio ὁφρὺς δυτικῇ (sic enim <sup>b[193]</sup> appellat) Occidentale supercilium, usque adeò displicuit; ut de Romanâ Ecclesia severam hanc & gravem dixerit sententiam: <sup>c[194]</sup> Odi fastum illius ecclesiæ

But to proceed — < text from f 90r resumes > But to proceed in the description of the wickedness of this clergy: you heard how they insinuated themselves into simple people to enrich themselves by their donations, as Saint Paul prophesied of them, they crept into houses & led captive silly weomen laden with sins, led away with divers lusts. Now these diabolical practises even before the year 370 were grown so common & grievous to the Empire that the Emperor Valentinian was fain to check them & the Monks by this strickt Edict which he sent to their ringleader the Bishop of Rome to be read in the Churches.

**[195] Imppp. Valentinianus, Valens & Gratianus AAA. ad Damasum Episc Urbis Romæ.**

Ecclesiastici, aut <sup>a[196]</sup> ex Ecclesiasticis, vel qui <sup>b[197]</sup> Continentium se volunt nomine nuncupari, viduarum ac pupillarum domos non adeant: sed publicis exterminentur judicijs, si posthac eos ad fines earum vel propinqui putaverint deferendos. Censemus etiam ut memorati nihil de ejus mulieris, qui se privatim sub prætextu religionis adjunxerint, liberalitate quacunque vel extremo judicio, possint adipisci: & omne in tantum inefficax sit quod alicui horum ab his fuerit derelictum, ut nec per subjectam personam valeant aliquid vel donatione vel testamento percipere. Quin etiam si forte post admonitionem legis nostræ aliquid hisdem eæ fæminæ vel donatione, vel extremo judicio, putaverint relinquendum, id fiscus usurpet. &c. Lecta in ecclesijs Rom. 4 Kal. Aug. Valentiniano & Valente 3. AA. Coss. [370] How great must the enormities of the monks & clergy have been that deserved such a curb as this; & yet this law was so just & necessary that Ierom could confess <sup>[198]</sup> Putet dicere Sacerdotes Idolorum Mimi et Aurigæ & Scorta hæreditates capiunt, Solis Clericis ac Monachis hac lege prohibetur: & non prohibetur a Persecutoribus sed a Principibus Christianis. Nec de lege conqueror sed doleo cur meruimus hanc legem. Cauterium bonum est; sed quo mihi vulnus ut indigeam cauterio? Provida severaque legis cautio: & tamen nec sic refrænatur avaritia. Per fidei commissa legibus illudimus: <91r> & quasi majora sint Imperatorem scita quam Christi leges timemus & Evangelia contemnimus. Sit hæres, sed mater filiorum, id est gregis sui, Ecclesia, quæ illos genuit nutrit & pavit. Quid nos inserimus inter matrem & liberos?

This was their covetousnes; & their pride & insolence too was so enormous as in some cases to require laws to curb it: Of which kind was their standing up against Magistrates to exempt criminals from justice. In this they grew to such a degree of insolence that Theodosius himself put forth <sup>a[199]</sup> more laws then one agianst them, & yet they would not desist but provoked his sons to put forth <sup>b[200]</sup> this

**Impp. Arcad. & Honor. AA Eutichiano PF. P.**

Addictos supplicio & pro criminum immanitate damnatos, nulli Clericorum vel Monachorum (eorum etiam quos cænobitas vocant) per vim atque usurpationem vindicare liceat ac tenere. — Reos ad locum pœnæ sub prosecutione pergentes nullus aut teneat aut defendat: Sed sciat se Cognitor 30 librarum auri multâ, Primates officij capitali esse sententia feriendos, nisi usurpatio ista aut protinus vindicetur: Aut si tanta Clericorum ac Monachorum audacia est ut bellum potius quàm judicium futurum esse existimetur, ad Clementiam nostram commissa referantur, ut nostro mox severior ultio procedat arbitrio. Ad Episcoporum sanè culpam (ut cætera) redundabit siquid forte in ea parte regionis in qua ipsi populo Christianæ religionis, doctrinæ insinuatione moderantur, ex his quæ fieri hac lege prohibemus a Monachis perpetratum esse cognoverint, nec vindicaverint. — Dat. 7 Kal. Aug. Meyzo, Honorio 4, & Eutychiano Coss. [398]

So debtors they began now to protect very magisterially as is plain by this law

Publicos debitores si confugiendum ad Ecclesias crediderint, aut illico extrahi de latebris oportebit, aut pro his ipsos qui eos occultare probantur Episcopos exigi. Sciat igitur præcellens Auctoritas tua neminem debitorum posthac a Clericis defendendum: aut per eos ejus quam defendendum esse crediderint debitum esse solvendum. Dat. 15 Kal. Nov. Co. Arcad. 2 & Rufino Coss. [392]. Vpon which law Gothofredus notes. Ius Ecclesiastici Asyli seu immunitatis Ecclesiarum indies magis magisque invaluit: sic ut nullorum quoque <92r> non criminum rei, publicique debitores eò confugerent: ad eò ut his sese Episcopi et Clerici intercessores præberent, imò & latebras. Nempe hæc illa tempora sunt Theodosij & Arcadij, quibus Episcoporum & Clericorum intercessio, intercessionis jam fines egrediebatur, atque ad speciem quandam violentiæprocedebat in liberandis quos vellent reis, etiam criminum, etiam ad supplicium ductorum: – nec jam intercessores ampliùs verùm vi admotâ Reos imminenti pœnæ & iudicio subducere fas putabant: quibus ideò occursum legibus.

It's plain therefore that not a few irregular persons, but the whole clergy began at this time to be puffed up, to set their hearts upon power & greatness more than upon piety & equity, to transgress their Pastoral office & exalt themselves above the civil magistrate; not regarding how they came by prærogatives or of what ill nature or consequence they were, so they were but prærogatives, nor knowing any bounds to their ambition but impossibility & the Imperial edicts. Had the better part of this clergy but disliked & condemned these bold & wicked incroachments, had they not on the contrary applauded them & coloured them over with a shew of charity & mercy, the rest would have abstained from them out of shame. This being made a ruler & governour, one would have thought they should have learnt from our Saviors example to refuse, & yet so general was the itch after it, that their great <sup>a</sup> [202] Saint Austin himself ventured against the Emperors edict to patronize one Fastius a debtor & so after some contention was forced to pay the debt himself.

By these two sins which I have chiefly insisted on, covetousnes & ambition, seing they invaded the Clergy so much in the reign of Valentinian Gratian & Theodosius & soon grew to that enormity that Sidonius as you heard reckons them in the Bishops to be one of the main causes of the Empires ruin: by these sins I say which are the fertile root of all others, you may guess at the rest. And yet least your imagination should fall short of the truth I cannot forbear to give you a specimen of it in the British clergy out of Gildas surnamed the wise (another Salvian) who in his tract De excidio Britanniae makes the Scotch & Saxon wars which began about A.C. 445 to be a judgment upon the Britains for the extreame wickedness they were fallen into before. But to his description of their wickednes I shall joyn the confession of Baronius: who mentioning these wars out of <93r> him, subjoyns. <sup>a</sup>[203] Sed unde tot mala? non aliunde quidem quàm ex erumpente scaturigine peccatorum: quod pluribus ac vehementius idem Gildas deplorans, ista subinfert de Britannis non tantum omni genere sordium inquinatis, sed odio & irâ (quod desperatorum est) adversus optimos exardescuntibus:

Siquis, <sup>b</sup>[204] inquit, eorum mitior & veritati aliquatenus propior videretur, in hunc quasi Britanniae subversorum, omnium odia, telaque sine respectu contorquebantur; & omnia, quæ displicuerint, Deoque placuerint, æquali saltem lance pendebantur. ac paulo post: Et non solùm hæc sæculares viri sed et ipse grex domini, ejusque pastores, qui exemplo esse omni plebe debuerint, ebrietate quamplurimi, quæ vino madidi torpebant resoluti, & animositatum tumore, jurgiorum contentione, invidiæ rapacibus unguis, indiscreta boni malique iudicio carpebantur, &c. pluribus prosequitur eorundem scelera: nec sibi satis eo commentario miscere cum luctu querelas, sed privatam conscripsit adversus clericos invectivam quam ejusmodi notavit titulo: In Ecclesiasticum ordinem acris correctio. cujus hic saltem reddemus exordium, ex quo cætera mediteris. Britannia habet Sacerdotes, sed nonnullos insipientes: quamplurimos ministros, sed multos impudentes: clericos, sed quosdam raptos et subdolos: pastores (ut dicuntur) sed occisioni animarum lupos paratos: quippe non commoda plebi providentes, sed proprij plenitudinem ventris quærentes: Ecclesiæ domos habentes sed turpis lucri gratia eas adeuntes: populos docentes, sed præbendo interdum pessima exempla, vitia, malosque mores; rarò sacrificantes, ac raro puro corde inter altaria stantes: plebem ob peccata non corripientes; nimirum eadem agentes: præcepta Christi spernantes, & suas libidines votis omnibus implere curantes: sedem Petri Apostoli immundis pedibus aliquos usurpantes, sed meritò cupiditatis in Iudæ traditoris pestilentem cathedram desidentes: sæpius detrahentes, rarò vera dicentes, veritatem pro inimico odientes, ac mendacijs ac si carissimis fratribus faventes: justos, inopes, inanes, quasi angues torvis vultibus conspicientes, & sceleratos divites absque ullo verecundiæ respectu sicut cælestes Angelos venerantes: egenis eliëmosynam esse dandam summis labijs prædicantes, sed ipsi vel obolum non dantes: nefanda populi scelera tacentes, & suas injurias quasi Christo irrogatas amplificantes: religiosam forte matrem, seu sorores domo pellentes, &

externas veluti secretiori ministerio familiares indecenter accipientes, &c. addit de inexplebi eorum appetitu gloriæ <94r> & ambitione, de avaritia, simonijs, præposterisque ordinationibus. Sed omittamus vertere sentinam putredinum & cloacam turpitudinum penetrare: ut planè manibus sit contrectare justum libratumque æqua lance Dei iudicium, cur incolæ scelerati dati sint gladio.

Thus far Baronius. For the rest I refer you to Gildas: only I shall add something of what he says at the end of this reproof concerning the universality of the wickednes. where making the objection: Sed forsitan aliquis dicat: Non ita omnes Episcopi vel Presbyteri, &c. He answers it thus Quid profuit Heli Sacerdoti quod solus non violaverit præcepta Domini, rapiendo in fuscinulis antequam adeps domino offerretur ex ollis carnes, dum eâdem mortis irâ quâ filij multatur? Quis perosus est consilium malignantium et, cum impijs non sedit, ita ut de eo veridicè quasi de Enoch diceretur: Ambulavit Enoch cum Deo et non inveniebatur. – Quis vestrum qui torpetis potius quam sedetis legitimè in sacerdotali sede ejectus de consilia impiorum post diversarum plagas virgarum, ut sancti Apostoli, dignus habitus est pro Christo vero Deo contumeliam pati? And a litte after upon these words of our Saviour <sup>[205]</sup> Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, & magnificent patrem vestrum qui in cælis est: He adds: Quis eorum istud uno saltem die potest implere? Quin potius densissima quædam eorum nebula, atraque peccaminum omni insulæ ita incubuit nox, ut omnes pene a via recta avertat, ac per invios impeditosque scelerum calles errare faciat. quorum non modò pater cælestis non laudatur sed etiam intollerabiliter blasphematur. And a little after Posset quidem levior fieri increpatio, sed quid prodest vulnus tantum manu palpare, unguetore ungere, quod tumore jam vel fœtore sibi horrescens, cauterio et publico ignis medicamine eget. Si tamen ullo modo sanari possit, ægro nequaquam medelam quærente, & ob hoc modico longiùs recedente. O inimici Dei et non sacerdotes! O licitatores malorum et non Pontifices: traditores & non sanctorum Apostolorum successores, impugnatores et non Christi ministri! &c. Gildas has much more to the same purpose <95r> but this is enough to manifest that almost all the Bishops & Clergy were openly & extreemly wicked, & that the fear that had a form of Godlines had so little of the power of it that they let the wicked go on without reproof & so by connivence consented to their wickedness.

Thus have I shown how all sorts of men in the Roman Church from the reign of Theodosius downward grew wicked all over the western Empire, & that so notoriously that perhaps by this time you may be inclined to beleive the other part of my charge that they were wors livers than even the Barbarous nations themselves which they accounted either Heathens or Hereticks. At least let Salvian be heard in this case too, as he deserves, seeing he had no reason to speak better of the Barbarians or wors of the Romans then they deserved. And he is so expres, that it was the designe of his book to prove it. For the Romans were swoln to that degree of insolence as not onely to persecute with disdainful reproaches & actual violence all but their own party (not to say one another too), but to reproach & blaspheme even heaven it self for not prospering them; saying, Where is God's Providence? does he see, does he govern, does he regard what becomes of the world? & this forsooth because they conceited themselves a much better people then the Barbarians to whome they were delivered up. Nor was this blasphemous question agitated by a few or in secret but commonly & openly, & propounded not unfrequently to <sup>a</sup>[207] Divines for a resolution. Whereupon Salvian, (whilst others I fear, carried away with the stream of vain conceit, used to mince the matter & flatter their party,) wrote this tract De Gubernatione Dei to convince them of their crimes & make them see that they were manifestly wors then the Barbarians they so much despised, & so deserved to have the Dominion with which God rewarded the virtue of their Ancestors, now taken from them & given for a reward to those Barbarians. <sup>[208]</sup> Quia non ferendum, inquit, quidam existimant ut deteriores, aut non multo etiam meliores Barbaris judicemur, videamus aut quomodo meliores simus, aut quibus Barbaris. Duo enim genera in omni gente omnium Barbaro <96r> rum sunt, id est, aut hæreticorum aut Paganorum. His ergo omnibus, quantum ad legem divinam pertinet, dico nos sine comparatione meliores: quantum autem ad vitam ac actus doleo ac plango esse peiores. — Præter religiosos et nonnullos etiam seculares religiosi pares, cæteros aut omnes aut pene omnes majoris reatus dico et criminiosioris vitæ esse quam Barbaros. Irasceris forsitan qui hæc legis & condemnas insuper quæ legis. Non refugio censuram tuam: condemna si mentior, condemna si non probavero.

For what he says of the heathen Barbarians I refer you to him, & shall only cite his comparison of the Romans with the Christian Barbarians which he esteemed Heretics, that it may appear whether of the two were most Christian & deserved best the name of the Church. ♦ < insertion from f 95v > ♦ <sup>[209]</sup> ffirst then concerning their faith he saith. Barbari homines Romanæ imò potiùs humanæ eruditionis expertes, qui nihil omninò sciunt nisi quod a doctoribus suis audiunt, quod audiunt hoc sequuntur. — Itaque eis traditio



magistrorum suorum et doctrina inveterata, quasi lex est; qui hoc sciunt quod docentur. Hæretici ergo sunt sed non scientes. Denique apud nos sunt hæretici, apud se non sunt. Nam in tantum se Catholicos esse judicant ut nos ipsos titulo hæreticæ appellationis infament. Quod ergo illi nobis sunt, et hoc nos illis. Nos eos injuriam divinæ generationi facere certi sumus quod minorem patre filium dicant. Illi nos injuriosos patri existimant, quia æquales esse credamus. Veritas apud nos est sed illi apud se esse præsumunt. Honor Dei apud nos est sed illi hoc arbitrantur honorem divinitatis esse quod credunt. Inofficiosi sunt, sed illis hoc summum religionis officium. Impij sunt sed hoc putant veram esse pietatem. Errant ergo sed bono animo errant, non odio sed affectu Dei, honorare se Dominum atque amare credentes. Quamvis non habent rectam fidem illi tamen hoc perfectam Dei æstimant charitatem. Qualiter pro hoc ipso falsæ opinionis errore in die judicij puniendi sunt, nullus potest scire nisi Iudex. Interim idcirco eis, ut reor, patientiam Deus commodat, quia videt eos si non rectè credere, affectu tamen piæ opinionis errare: maximè cùm sciat eos ea facere quæ nesciunt, nostros autem negligere quod credunt: ac per hoc illos magistrorum peccare vitio, nostros suo; illos ignorantes, nostros scientes; illos id facere quod putent rectum, nostros quod sciant esse perversum. – [210] Non ergo miremur quod multis cædimur, quia non inscientia sed rebellione peccamus. Thus he absolves the Barbarians from perversnes, which really makes a hæretic, & at the same time charges it upon the minds of his own party.

But further proceeding to compare their manners he thus instances in the Goths & Vandals, the principal of the Barbarian Christians. Porro autem quantum — < text from f 96r resumes > [211] Porro autem quantum ad conversationem Gothorum aut Vandalorum pertinet: quid est in quo eis aut præponere nos aut etiam comparare possimus? Ac primum ut de affectu et charitate dicam quam præcipuam dominus docet esse virtutem & quam non solum per omnes scripturas sacras sed etiam per se ipse commendat, dicens: [212] In hoc sciatur quod discipuli mei estis si vos invicem diligatis. Omnes se fere Barbari, qui modò sunt unius gentis et regis, mutuò amant. Omnes pene Romani se persequuntur. Quis enim civis non invidet civi? Atque utinam hoc sit pessimum malum, utinam cives tantum atque vicini: illud est gravissimum quod nec propinqui quidem propinquitatis jura conservant. Quis tam propinquus corde quam sanguine in quo non lucidus malevolentiae zelus ardet, cujus non sensum livor invasit, cui non prosperitas aliena supplicium est? Quis non bonum alterius malum suum credit? Novum et inæstimabile nunc in plurimis malum est. Parùm alicui est si ipse sit felix nisi alter fuerit infelix. Iam verò illud quale, quàm sævum, quàm ex hac ipsa impietate descendens, quam alienum a Barbaris quam familiare Romanis, quod se invicem exactione proscribunt. &c. Then describing at large the intollerable Roman exactions & oppressions, <97r> (of which you heard much above) he adds Vbi enim aut in quibus sunt nisi in Romanis tantum hæc mala? quorum injustitia tanta nisi nostra? a[213] Franci enim hoc scelus nesciunt. Hunni ab his sceleribus immunes sunt. Nihil horum est apud Wandalos, nihil horum apud Gothos. Tam longe enim est ut hæc inter Gothos barbari tolerant ut ne Romani quidem qui inter eos vivant ista patiantur. Itaque unum illic Romanorum omnium votum est; ne unquam eos necesse sit in jus transire Romanorum. Una et consentiens illic Romanæ plebis oratio, ut liceat eis vitam quam agunt, agere cum Barbaris. Et miramur si non vincantur a nostris partibus Gothi cum malint apud eos esse quam apud nos Romani. Itaque non solum transfugere ab eis ad nos fratres nostri omnino nolunt; sed ut ad eos confugiant, nos relinquunt. Et quidem mirari possim, quod hoc non omnes omnino facerent tributarij pauperes & egestuosi: nisi quod una causa tantum est qua non faciunt, quia transferre illuc resculas atque habitatiunculas suas familiasque non possunt. Nam cum plerique eorum agellos ac tabernacula sua deserant ut vim exactionis evadant: quomodo non quæ compelluntur deserere vellent, sed secum si possibilitas pateretur auferrent? &c.

Afterwards [214] speaking much of the Roman Theaters & Circi he shews that the Barbarians were addicted to none of those vanities nor suffered them in the Roman cities which came into their power: And then passes on thus to compare them in respect of Chastity. [215] Sed forsitan cum de ludicris ac foeditatibus diutissimè dixerimus, in hoc tantum quis deteriores esse nos putet Barbaris quia illi hæc non agunt nos agimus: cæterum ipso carnalis libidinis scelere & fornicationis funestæ cæno non ita pollui. Comparemus, si placet, cæteris nationibus etiam in hac parte Romanos. Then describing at large the Roman impurities he <98r> adds. Sed quid accidit insuper ad mala nostra? Inter pudicos Barbaros impudici sumus. Plus adhuc dico, offendunt Barbari ipsi impuritibus nostris. Esse inter Gothos non licet Scortatorem Gothum, soli inter eos præjudicio nationis ac nominis permittuntur impuri esse Romani. Et quæ nobis rogo spes ante Deum est? impudicitiam nos diligimus, Gothi execrantur. Puritatem nos fugimus, illi amant: fornicatio apud illos crimen atque discrimen est, apud nos decus. Et putamus nos ante Deum posse consistere? Putamus nos posse salvos esse quando omne impuritatis scelus, omnis impudiciæ turpitudine a Romanis admittitur & a Barbaris vindicatur.



Hic nunc illos quæro qui meliores nos putant esse quàm barbaros: dicant quid horum vel paucissimè Gothi faciunt, vel quid non horum Romani omnes vel pene omnes. Et miramur si terræ vel Aquitanorum vel nostrorum omnium a Deo Barbaris datæ sunt; cùm eas quas Romani polluerant fornicatione nunc mudent Barbari castitate.

Then he insists much upon Spain one of the impurest countries being given up to the Vandals the chastest of Barbarians, & afterwards passes to the Africans whose prodigious wickednes he describes first & then proceeds thus to compare them too with the same invading Vandals. Videamus quid simile a Vandalis factum sit? & certè Barbari elatione tumidi, victoria superbi, divitiarum ac delitiarum affluentia dissoluti, qui profecto etiamsi continentissimi & castissimi semper fuissent, mutari tamen tanta rerum obsecundantium felicitate potuerunt; ingressi scilicet ut divinis literis scriptum est, terram lacte & melle manantem, fæcundam, opulentissimam, omnium deliciarum copijs quasi ebriam. In qua utique minimè mirum fuerat si luxuriasset gens barbara, ubi similis quodammodo luxurianti erat ipsa natura. <99r> Ingressos hæc loca Wandalos, quis non putet omni se vitiorum atque impuritatum cœno immersisse, aut, ut levissimè dicam, saltem illa fecisse quæ ab Afris jugiter facta fuerant in quorum jura migrarant? & certè ob ea tantum continentissimi ac modestissimi judicandi erant, quos non fecit corruptiores ipsa felicitas. Quotus enim quisque sapientum est, quem secunda non mutant, cui non crescat cum prosperitate vitiositas? Ac per hoc temperatissimos fuisse Wandalos certum est si quales illi fuerunt qui capti ac subjugati sunt tales illi fuere victores. Igitur in tant affluentia rerum atque luxuria nullus eorum mollis effectus est – nullus vel qui Romanorum illic mollium pollueretur incestu. And then describing the Sodomy of the Romans he adds: Hæc ergo impuritas in Romanis et ante Christi Evangelium esse cœpit, & quod est gravius, nec post evangelia cessavit. Et quis post hæc non admiretur populos Wandalorum qui ingressi urbes opulentissimas ubi hæc omnia passim agebantur, ita delicias corruptorum hominum indepti sunt, ut corruptelas morum repudiarent et usum bonarum rerum possiderent, malarum inquinamenta vitantes. Sufficere igitur ad laudem eorum hæc possunt talia, etiamsi alia non dicam: abominati enim sunt virorum impuritates. Plus adhuc addo, abominati etiam fæminarum, horruerunt lustra ac lupanaria, horruerunt concubitus contactusque meretricum. Nunquid hoc credibile ullis videri potest Romanos hæc admisisse, barbaros horruisse: aut nunquid est post ista quæ diximus quod dici posse videatur? Sed est tamen et multo plus est. Nam quod vitasse eos res fœdas minus est. Potest enim quis inhonesta horrere, non tollere: illud magni ac singularis est meriti non solum ipsum labe non pollui sed providere etiam ne alij unquam polluantur. Pro <100r> curator enim est quodammodo salutis humanæ qui non tantum id agit ut ipse bonus sit, sed efficere et hoc nititur ut alij mali esse desistant. grande est profecto quod dicimus, grande et supereminens. Quis credat Wandalos in civitatibus Romanis ista fecisse? Remota quippe est ab illis omnis carnis impuritas. At quomodo remota? Non sicut removeri aliquid a Romanis solet, qui statuunt non adulterandum et primi adulterant: statuunt non furandum et furantur; quamvis enim non possim dicere quod furentur: non enim sunt quæ agunt furta sed latrocinia. Punit enim Iudex in alia peculationem cum sit ipse peculator punit rapinam cum ipse sit raptor: punit sicarium cum ipse sit gladiator: punit effractores claustrorum & ostiorum cùm ipse sit eversor urbium: punit exspoliatores domorum cum ipse sit exspoliator Provinciarum. — Non tales ergo isti de quibus loquimur Barbari ad emendandam nostrarum turpitudinum labemextiterunt. Abstulerunt enim de omni Africa sordes virorum mollium, cogitationes etiam horruerunt meretricum nec horruerunt tantum, aut temporariè summovertunt sed penitus jam non esse fecerunt. O pie Domine, O Salvator bone! quantum efficiunt per te studia disciplinæ, per quæ mutari possunt vitia naturæ, sicut ab illis scilicet immutata sunt. At quomodo immutata? Interest enim non solum effectus rerum sed etiam effectuum causas dicere. Difficile est quippe impudicitiam verbo aut jussione tolli nisi fuerit ablata: & difficile pudicitiam verbo exigi nisi fuerit exacta. Quod illi utique scientes, sic impudicitiam summovertunt, quod impudicas conservarent non interficientes mulierculas infelices: ne vitiorum curam crudelitate respergerent; & dum peccata auferre cuperent, ipsi in peccatorum resecatione peccarent: sed ita errantes emendaverunt ut factum eorum medicina esset, pœna non esset. Iusserunt siquidem et compulerunt omnes ad maritalem thorum <101> transire meretrices. Scorta in connubia verterunt implentes scilicet Apostoli dictum ut <sup>[216]</sup> unaquæque mulier Virum haberet suum & unusquisque vir conjugem suam: ut quia cohiberi incontinentia sine hac carnalis usus permixtione non posset, ita legitimum usum calor corporalis acciperet, ut peccatum incontinentia non haberet. — Addiderunt quoque hoc ad libidinem comprimendam severas pudicitiae sanctiones decretorum gladio impudicitiam coercentes ut puritatem scilicet utriusque sexûs, & domi connubio reservaret affectus & in publico metus legum: ac sic duplici præsidio castimonia niteretur cùm et intus esset quod amaretur et foris quod timeretur. Leges autem ipsæ nequaquam illis sunt legibus consentaneæ quæ ita partem improbitatis removent ut partem obscœnitatis admittant: aut ut Romana illa decreta quæ scortatores quidem ab alienis uxoribus removerunt, ad omnes autem solitarias passim admiserunt, adulteria vetantes lupanaria ædificantes. — At non ita isti de quibus loquimur, qui sic inhibuerunt

scorta ut adulteria, – leges suas scilicet ad divinæ legis regulam dirigentes: ut nihil sibi in hac re crederent licere quod Deus voluit non licere. Et ideo non putaverunt a se ulli homini permittendum nisi quod fuisset omnibus a divinitate permissum. Scio quia intollerabilia videantur ista quæ diximus: sed ratione rerum agendum est non libidine. – Et quæ esse rogo Romano statui spes potest quando castiores ac puriores Barbari, quàm Romani sunt? Parum est quod dicimus. Quæ nobis rogo aut vitæ esse aut veniæ spes potest; quando castitatem in barbaris cernimus & nos sic casti sumus? Erubescamus quæso et confundamur. Iam apud Gothos impudici non sunt nisi Romani: jam apud Wandalos nec Romani. Tantum apud illos profecit studium castimonie tantum severitas disciplinæ. Non solum quod ipsi casti sunt, sed ut rem dicamus novam, rem incredibilem, rem pene etiam inauditam, castos etiam Romanos fecerunt. Si infirmitas id humana pateretur, ex- <102r> clamare super vires meas superem, ut toto orbe resonarem. Pudeat nos Romani ubique populi, pudeat vitæ nostræ: nisi illæ tantum in quibus barbari esse cœperunt. Et miramur si miseri qui tam impuri sumus, miramur si ab hoste viribus vincimur, qui honestate superamur? Miramur si bona nostra possident qui mala nostra execrantur? Nec illos naturale robur corporum facit vincere nec nos naturæ infirmitas vinci. Nemo sibi aliud persuadeat, nemo aliud arbitretur; sola nos morum nostrorum vitia vicerunt.

Thus far of the almost incredible difference of the Barbarians & Romans in those principal Christian virtues, Charity, abstinence from pleasures, & Chastity: Let us see now out of the same Salvian how much they differ in piety & devotion towards God. [217] Dicit Deus [218] Ne gloriatur contra me Israel & dicat: Meis viribus liberatus sum. Audiant omnes contraria et blasphema jactantes, audiant hæc spem suam in homine ponentes, loqui universos adversum se Deus dicit qui liberari se viribus suis posse præsumunt. Quis autem est Romanorum non ita dicens? Quis est non ita sentiens? Quis nostræ partis non prope jugiter in hac parte blasphemat Nullas esse jam reip. vires, omnium conscientie est, & ne sic quidem agnoscimus, cujus hoc beneficijs quod adhuc vivimus, debeamus. Si quando enim nobis prosperi aliquid præter spem nostram & meritum Deus tribuit, alius ascribit hoc fortunæ, alius eventui, alius ordinationi ducum, alius consilio, alius magistro, alius patrocínio, nullus Deo. Et miramur si nobis cælestis manus aliqua non præstet cui quicquid præstiterit derogamus. Quid enim aliud facimus cum bona quæ præstat, nos vel eventibus casuum, vel virtutibus Ducum, vel quibuscunque alijs rebus frivolis deputamus? — At non ita Gothi non ita Wandali, malis licet doctoribus instituti, meliores tamen in hac parte quam nostri. Offendi quamvis quosdam suspicer his quæ dicimus; sed quia veritas magis quam offensio cogitanda est, dicam et sæpius dicam: non ita Gothi non ita Wandali, qui et in discrimine positi opem a Deo postulant & prosperitates suas munus divinitatis appellant. Denique probavit hoc bello proximo infelicitas nostra. Cum enim Gothi metuerent, præsumpsimus nos in Hunnis spem ponere, illi in Deo: pax ab <103r> illis postularetur a nobis negaretur: illi episcopos mitterent, nos repelleremus: illi etiam in alienis sacerdotibus Deum honorarent, nos etiam in nostris contemneremus: prout actus utriusque partis ita et rerum terminus fuit; illis data est in summo timore palma, nobis in summa elatione confusio.— Itaque agnovit hoc ille Dux nostræ partis qui eandem urbem hostium, quam eodem die victorem se intraturum se esse præsumpsit, captivus intravit. — Et cur hoc? cur absque dubio, nisi quia, ut jam dixi, illi Deo humiles, nos rebelles: illi crediderunt in manu Dei esse victoriam nos in manu nostra imò in sacrilega atque impia, quod est pejus nocentiusque quàm nostra. Denique ipse Rex hostium quantum resprodidit atque probavit usque ad diem pugnæ stratus cilicio preces fudit, ante bellum in oratione jacuit, ad bellum de oratione surrexit. Priusquam pugnam manu capesseret supplicatione pugnavit, & ideo fidens processit ad pugnam quia jam meruerat in oratione victoriam. Non dissimiliter autem illud etiam apud Wandalos, ad quos cum in Hispania sitos nostra pars pergeret, tantamque ad debellandos eos præsumptionis fiduciam ferret, quantam etiam proxime ad Gothos, pari superbiæ fastu, pari exitu corruerunt. Venitque super exercitum nostrum illud prophetæ dictum: Obruet dominus confidentiam tuam & nihil habebis prosperum Confidebamus enim in sapientia nostra et fortitudine, contra Dei mandata dicentis: Non gloriatur sapiens in sapientia sua nec fortis in fortitudine sua sed in hoc gloriatur qui gloriatur, scire et nosse me, quia ego sum Dominus. Non immerito itaque victi sumus, ad meliora enim se illi subsidia contulere quam nostri nam cum armis nos atque auxilijs superbiremus, a parte hostium nobis Liber Divinæ Legis occurrit. Ad hanc enim præcipue opem timor et perturbatio tunc Wandalica confugit ut seriem nobis cælestis eloquij opponeret, & adversum advenientes æmulos suo sacri voluminis scripta quasi ipsa quodammodo divinitatis ora reseraret. Hic nunc requiro, quis hoc unquam a nostris patribus fecerit aut quis non irrisus fuerit si putasset esse faciendum? irrisus utique sicut a nostris omnia fermè religiosa ridentur. Et ideò quid prodesse nobis prærogativa illa religiosi nominis potest quod nos Catholicos dicimus quod fideles esse jactamus: quod Gothos et Wandalos hæretici nominis exprobratione despiciamus cùm ipsi <104r> hæretica pravitate vivamus.

Judge now whether were the more Christian, the Romans who scarce retained so much as a form of Godlines, or the Barbarians who had not yet lost the power of it. And how senceless are all they therefore that without considering or going about to inform themselves of what they speak, condemn for hereticks those who lived like true Christians which hereticks never used to do, & cry up for the Church a degenerate sort of men which lived with hæretical pravity, giving the best Christians to the Devil & the worst to God, & never considering our Saviour's doctrin which he gave for a rule to posterity whereby to know the true sheep from heresies in sheep's clothing. Ye shal know them saith he by their fruits: A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Mat. 7.15. However they that will have the barbarians to be hereticks must confess the Romans were wors then heretics, which is as much as I propounded here to prove.

To summ up all therefore, it has been shewn that after Athanasius presented his new doctrin to Iovian, & the western Bishops brake their words & oaths given at the Consel of Ariminum & made a schism in the Church to follow him, & together with their novel faith brought in an abominably superstitious & idolatrous worship: the Clergy degenerated conspicuously in their manners also, with the Clergy the people too all the reign of Valentinian & Valens Gratian & Theodosius; & then having by a severe persecution overcome & thrown out the Church to the Barbarous nations, they propagated their manners as well as their religion all over the Empire so that in the judgment of the soberer men of their own party it became from thenceforward sensibly more corrupt & vitious then the Barbarous nations themselves & thereby heavily provoked God to send in the Barbarians to invade & ruin it but yet was so little mended by those judgments that it grew still more & more vitious. This was the violent <105r> & filthy original of the present Roman Church: & whether it be yet mended let the world judge.

And these things being so, I now appeal to you whether the Oracle above cited, for the fall of Christianity in the Empire after 365 years was not justly fulfilled.

But seing I have mentioned one Oracle, I shall for a close give you another to the same purpose but of more unexceptionable authority, being of a sort much respected & credited by the Christians of the first ages & still extant in the words of the Oracle it self. And this is out of one of the Sibyls; who having described the chief Empires down to the Macedonian, passes thus on to the Romans.

[219] Ἀυτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄλλης βασιλίδος ἔσσεται ἀρχή,  
Αευκή καὶ πολύκρανος, ἀφ' ἑσπερίου τε θαλάσσης,  
Ἦ πολλὺς γαίης ἄρξει. —  
— μετὰ δ' ἔσσεται ἀνδράσι κείνοις  
Πτόμαθ' ὅταν ἄρξων τ' ὑπερηφανίης ἀδίκοιο  
Αυτικά δ' ἐν τούτοις ἀσεβείας ἔσσειτ' ἀνάγκη,  
Ἀρσης δ' ἄρσενι πλησιάσει, &c.

Which the Latines translated thus.

Poshæc Imperium regni succedet alius,  
Excellens, ducibus multis, ex occiduique  
Parte maris, multis quod terris imperitabit.  
— tandemque existet eorum  
Causa ut injusto incipient turgescere fastu.  
Continuoque in eis scelerum vis magna vigebit,  
Masque mari se junget, statuentque pudendis  
In lustris pueros, & erit tunc temporis ingens  
Inter mortales angustia, cunctaque turbans,  
Cunctaque contundens, & replens cuncta malorum,  
Turpis avaritiæ, injustarum divitiarum,  
Inprimisque Macedonijs in finibus, atque  
In multis alijs, odiumque ciebit, et omnis  
Illis procedet fallacia: donec adusque  
Ventum sit dicimum regnum, vigeatque potestas

<106r>

Ægypti regis Græco de sanguine nati.

Tum demum surget magni præclara Dei gens

Qua duce mortales omnes benè vivere discent.

Here you see the fall of the Empire (which in all men's esteem began at the siege & sacking of Rome by the Goths) is made the consequent of the Romans beginning to swell with unjust arrogance: & immediately upon its falling it is represented to grow on to an extreme degree of wickedness (further specified in Sodomy, Covetousnes, injustice, hatred, deceit,) & to continue in this state till the 10<sup>th</sup> Kingdom, that is till some Kingdoms after the Roman should rise & fall, & consequently for a long time; yea till Ægypt should have a king of the Greek stock, & the Jews be converted; neither of which we see yet come to pass. And in this wicked state they are not compared with former Christians as if only wors then them, but with the former part of the same Empire, as if this last state were a notable laps even from the slender perfections of the very Heathens. And therefore seing the beginning of this wicked state is connected with the fall of the Empire as an immediate forerunner & occasion thereof, & that fall in the estimation of all men began with the western invasions wherein Rome was besieged & taken, which happened between 12 & 16 years after Theodosius's death: this prophesy is a most plain & exact prediction of the times we are speaking of, & egregiously agrees with all we have been citing out of Ierom Salvian & others.

Seing therefore by what has been said, the true Roman Church was to cease about the time that Theodosius's reign ended, & did so; & a most abominably wicked generation was to reign & hath reigned ever since in her stead: these must be the last times of the world predicted by Daniel & the Apostles, & represented in the Apocalyps by the reign of the Beast which was & is not, on <107r> whom the plagues of the Trumpets & Vials of wrath were to be inflicted: which reign beginning with his 8<sup>th</sup> head, & the Trumpets being coextended to that head, it followsalso that these are the times of the Trumpets.

#### Position

**The first Trumpet began with the invasions of the Eastern regions A.C. 395. The second with the invasion of the western A.C. 408. The third with the invasion of Afric A.C. 427. And thefourth with the wars in Italy A.C. 536.**

#### Of these four Trumpets in general.

As the four first seales were introduced by the Beasts which stood about the four quarters of the Throne, so these four Trumpets are introduced by the four Angels which stand at the four corners of the earth. Now whereas these hold the four winds which were to blow in those quarters we are thereby, (as was said,) to understand their preserving the four quarters of the earth in peace by restraining for a time the four wars which were to infest them, & therefore by the four winds we must understand so many wars which were to be in the four quarters of the earth, & those successive because, as I signified above they are the wars of the first four Trumpets. As for the order of their succession we may learn it from their analogy with the four Beasts, namely the first an east wind, the second a west wind, the third a south wind & the fourth a north wind; for in this order the Beasts succeeded one another. And because the Roman Empire is the scene of this prophesy, we must recon the political center of the Empire, that is it's Metropolis Rome, to be the center of the winds.

Thus is determined the seat of the wars, but for the <108r> fuller understanding them we are further to know what is meant by the earth & sea which the winds blow upon & hurt. Now by these <sup>a[220]</sup> I shewed above we are to understand two sorts of peple, & <sup>b[221]</sup> I intimated that the winds which blow upon & hurt them are wars between them whereby they are mutually hurt, & therefore seing the wars (as you shall hear) were between the Romans & Barbarians, one of these must be the earth & the other the sea: namely the Romans the Sea & the Barbarians the earth; ffor the people of the Empire are signified by the watry element, as by the <sup>c[222]</sup> waters which the Dragon cast out of his mouth by the <sup>d[223]</sup> many waters where the whore sitteth, & by the <sup>e[224]</sup> sea out of which the ten horned Beast arose; & the earth is that people which <sup>f[225]</sup> takes part with the woman against the Dragon at length swallowing up the waters which the Dragon cast out of his mouth after her, & consequently is at enmity with the Dragon, that is with the Roman Empire. Conceive therefore that the compas or dition of the Empire with it's people is this political sea, & that the nations round about it are the earth which bounds & comprehends it as the natural earth does an inland Sea, for this similitude I suppose was the ground of the figure.

There is one circumstance more to be here observed; which is the putting the sea between the earth & the trees which appurtein to it, & this repeated to inculcate it chap . 7.1, 3. But this is to shew that the winds are to blow on them all together, it being the method of the Holy Ghost to signify the Synchronism of things by interweaving them, as I shewed above by divers instances. Had they not been here interwoven we might have thought that the earth only was to be hurt in the first Trumpet & the Sea only in the second, but this interweaving acquaints us that both are hurt together from the beginning, the sea in the first Trumpet as well as the earth, only the earth after the manner <109r> expressed [226]

<110r>

< insertion from f 109v > <110av>

< text from f 110r resumes >

<110bv> expressed there, & the earth in the second Trumpet as well as the Sea, only the Sea after the manner expressed there: & so in the third & fourth Trumpet where their hurting is exprest by smiting other parts of the world. And thus much of the Trumpets in general.

### **The first Trumpet.**

The wars of the first Trumpet have therefore these conditions. 1 They are to be the first fresh breaking out of those storms which blew on the Empire before the reign of Theodosius. 2<sup>ly</sup> They are to begin presently after Theodosius's death. 3<sup>ly</sup> They are to be an eastern wind, that is a war in the regions eastward of Rome. 4<sup>ly</sup> This war is to be pernicious both to the Barbarians & to the Romans. And 5<sup>ly</sup> in this war the Barbarians are to suffer most by battels, for by ffig the hail & fire mingled with blood signify great battels & their being cast on the earth denotes the overthrow of that side. Now these conditions were fulfilled thus.

So soon as Theodosius was dead, Ruffin to whom Theodosius left the tuition of Arcadius thinking to get the Empire to himself called in the nations of the North. [234] And first Alaric with a great army of Goths & other barbarians, the very same yeare, brake out of Thrace into Macedon — <111r> sparing neither towns nor men, & going thence by Thessaly into Achaia he rased almost the whole country & amongst other Cities Thebes & Athens Then rushing into Peloponnesus he laid wast Corinth, Argos, & Sparta with many other cities, & from thence/there betook himself into Epire where he continued the same depopulations. And the next year going out of Epire he overran Achaia, & for four years together continued to wast it & Epire & the neighbouring Provinces with fire & sword & rapine

In the same year that Alaric began these devastations, there brake into Thrace & Pannonia from beyond the Danube by the invitation of Ruffin a great hand of Huns, Alans, Ostrogoths, Sarmatans, Quades, & Marcomans, who harassed those & the adjacent regions for some years together but chiefly Thrace. And in the same year also by the invitation of Ruffin there flowed another great inundation of Huns from the regions of Tanais & Mæotis into both Armenias, Syria, Cappadocia & Cilicia. And besides al this a[235] Thrace & b[236] Asia smarted very much under the depopulations caused by Gainas a Goth who being one of Arcadius's Generalls: & turning Traitor b[237] called into the Empire from beyond Ister great numbers of Ostrogoths & conspired with Tribigildus (or Targibilus) another Goth who being set over some bands of Barbarians in Asia, withdrew his obedience & fell to depopulate Phrygia, Pamphylia, Lydia & the adjacent regions. And after them the Isauri from the recesses of the mountain Taurus overspread first Armenia Cilicia Mesopotamia & both Syrias & then all the lesser Asia to the very Hellespont, together with the Island Cyprus: dividing themselves into many little troops that they might, by overrunning all at once, do the more mischief whence they were compared to thieves. Nor did Egypt Libya Cyrenaisa Pentapolis & the neighbouring parts of Afric suffer less by the invading Mazaces & Auxorians Austurians or Saturians, whose incursions begun A.C. 396 were at the height about 7 years after &

In the mean while when Alaric had for 5 years together harassed theregions of the Greeks he de <112r> termined to invade the western Empire, & passing out of Macedon into Dalmatia Illyricam & Pannonia k[238] A.C. 400 depopulated also those regions & then brake through Noricum, into Rhætia & from thence came over the Alps into Vetetia & Tuscia & in a short time made himself master of those cities & besieged the



Emperor Honorius at Hasta, so that every one began to think of leaving their seats in Italy. But Stilico the next Spring c<sup>[239]</sup> 403 beat him first at Pollentia with a difficult but notable victory, & then again at Verona,

Whilst these things were doing Radagaisus a Pagan & King of another Dynasty of the Goths prepared a far greater army than that of Alaric, consisting of Goths Sarmatans & Germans to the number of four hundred thousand if we may beleive Zosimus, or according to the least accounts e<sup>[241]</sup> of two hundred thousand & f<sup>[242]</sup> upward. With these he passed the Iulian Alps & the regions of Venetia, & having wasted many cities in the way, beseiged Florence: in which seige when Stilico understood that he was intangled & hedged in with mountains on all hands so that he had no room to dilate & draw up his army to battell, & that his army lay divided into three parts; he with Huldin & Sarus two confederate Princes of the Huns & Goths unawares set upon g<sup>[243]</sup> one of the three parts of his Army with so great success that without any considerable loss of his own soldiers he slew h<sup>[244]</sup> above an hundred thousand of the Enemy. Whereupon Radagaisus terrified with so great a slaughter betook himself with the remains of his Army from these valleys to the hill Fæsula. But Stilico pursued & beseiged him there suffering none to escape nor any thing for sustenance to be carried thither. Wherefore seing he could neither fight by reason of the straitness of the place nor subsist long there for want of sustenance he fled privately from his Army, but was taken & slain, & then almost all the Barbarians prest with famin yeilded themselves captive. <113r> But let us see the descriptions which Authors give of these things.

The grassation of Alaric in Greece is thus described by Zosimus. <sup>[246]</sup> Alaricus e Thracia discedebat & in Macedoniam Thessaliamque progrediebatur interjecta cuncta diruens. — Dein aditu per Thermopylas in \* <sup>[247]</sup> Græciam concesso, Barbari mox ad expeditam agrorum direptionem & universum oppidorum excidium progrediebantur, viros quidam cujusvis ætatis interrimentes, pueros autem & mulierculas gregatim una cum opibus inversis ceu partam prædam abigentes. Ac Boætia quidem tota cæteræque Græcæ nationes, quascunque post occupatum aditum illum Thermopylarum transibant Barbari, planè jacebant; & eversionem suam hodièque spectatoribus intuendam exhibent, solis Thebis, partim ob urbis munitionem conservatis, partim quod Alaricus Athenas capere properans, earum obsidioni non inhæsisset. — Sed Atheniensium civitas hoc tempore in extremum coniecta periculum evasit. Alaricus autem Attica tota vastationis expertè relicta, in Megaridem transibat, & oppido primo impetu capto, Peloponnesum itinere continenti petebat obstaculum nullum expertus. Cumque Gerontius Isthmi transeundi copiam ei fecisset omnes ab eo deinceps urbes citra laborem et pugnam capi poterant quod nullis essent munitæ mœnibus propter eam securitatem et defensionem quam Isthmus eis præstabat. Itaque confestim prima Corinthus cum finitimis oppidis vi capiebantur, & secundum hanc Argos una cum ijs locis quæ inter hanc et Lacedæmonem interjacerent. Ipsa quoque in societatem captæ Græciæ Sparta veniebat.

Zosimus here writes that Attica & the cities Thebes & Athens escaped these flames, but Baronius<sup>[248]</sup> out of Ierome Claudian & Eunapius proves the contrary. The passage of Claudian is this

<sup>[249]</sup> Si tunc his animis acies collata fuisset,  
Prodita non tantas vidisset Græcia clades,

<114r>

Oppida semota Pelopeia Marte vigerent,  
Starent Arcadiæ, starent Lacedæmonis arces,  
Non mare fumasset geminum flagrante Corinthus,  
Nec fera <sup>[250]</sup> Cecropias traxissent vincula matres.

In the passage of Eunapius besides other things are these words: Infinitæ & inexplicabiles clades non multo post exundarunt (quas in historiæ spatiosis campis diffusius narravimus —) quando Alaricus cum Barbaris per Thermopylarum fauces pervasit, non secus quàm per apertum stadium aut campum liberum & equorum cursui patentem. To which I may add this passage of Synesius in Epist 135 Ad Fratrem: Nihil jam Athenæ splendidum habent præter celeberrima locorum nomina. Ac velut ex hostiâ consumptâ sola pellis superest, animalis, quod olim aliquando fuerat, indicium: sic inde deducta Philosophia restat ut oberrando Academiam ac Lycæum mireris. — Athenæ quondam civitas fuit, domicilium Philosophorum; nunc eam mellatores celebrant.

\*\* < insertion from f 113v > \*\* The following depopulations of the west by the same Alaric is thus hinted by Socrates:<sup>[251]</sup> Alaricus – Constantinopoli discedens ad Occidentis partes transgressus est, cumque in Illyricum pervenisset latè cuncta vastare cœpit. Porro transeunti obstiterunt Thessali circa ostia Peni fluminis – commissaque pugna tria circiter millia ex ejus exercitu perimerunt. Posthæc Barbari qui cum illo erant quicquid obvium fuit igni ferroque vastarunt. † < insertion from higher up f 113v > † And Claudian somewhere

– Vastator Achivæ  
Gentis, et Epirum nuper populatus inultam  
Præsidet Illyrico: Iam quos obsedit amicus  
Ingreditur muros, illis responsa daturus  
Quorum conjugibus potitur natosque peremit.  
< text from lower down f 113v resumes >

But of this more in other places.

Nor were these regions depopulated by Alaric only but by other Barbarians before him, as is to be collected out of Claudian's Poem de bello Gildonico written A.C. 398. where he speaks thus of the western empire.

Nam quæ jam regio restat si dedita Mauris  
Regibus, Illyricis accesserit Africa damnis? &c.

Where note that Illyricum is to be taken not in a strict sense for Dalmatia & Liburnia only, but extended to Pannonia & Noricum: for so largely was the word then used as you may see in Notitia Imperij Romani; & by Ierome's information. Pannonia suffered in this storm as well as Dalmatia, & probably more sharply being nearer the barbarians.

Again Vindelicia & Noricum after they had ♦ < insertion from lower down f 113v > ♦ Again Vindelicia & Noricum after they had felt the fury of Alaric were invaded by another Army of Barbarians from beyond the Danube whilst Alaric was harasing Italy: of which Claudian

– Iam fœdera gentes  
Exuerant Latijque audita clade feroces  
Vindelicos saltus & Norica rura tenebant. Claudian. de Bello Getico.  
< text from higher up f 113v resumes >

Also after the repuls of Alaric these region suffered further desolations by Radagaisus & others, all which Saint Ierom in another place written when the wars of this Trumpet were in a manner ceased & those of the next newly begun, has thus indeavoured to express. Vastatis, ait, urbibus, hominibusque interfectis solitudinem & raritatem bestiarum quoque fieri & volatiliū pisciumque. Testis Illyricus est, testis Thracia, testis in quo ortus sum solum (i.e. Dalmatia:) ubi præter cælum et terram & crescentes vepres & condensa sylvarum, cuncta perierunt. Iram quippe Dei opt. Max. etiam bruta sentiunt animalia. Quid multis opus, verbis? Romanus corrui Orbis: Occidens in Germaniam translatus est. Apud Annalis Boiorum l 2. p 127.

< text from f 114r resumes >

The irruption of the Huns into Armenia & the adjacent Provinces Ierome who was then in the east, describes thus in Epist 30. Quærentibus, ait, nobis dignum Fabiolæ habitaculum — ecce subito discurrentibus nuncijs Oriens totus intremuit. Ab ultima Mæotide inter glaciale Tanaim et Massgetarum immanes populos ubi Caucasi rupibus feras gentes Alexandri claustra cohibent, erupisse Hunnorum examina quæ pernicipibus equis huc illucque volitantia cædis pariter ac terroris cuncta complerent. Aberat tunc Romanus exercitus et bellis civilibus in Italia tenebatur. Insperanti ubique aderant & famam celeritate vincetantes non religioni non dignitatibus non ætati parcebant, non vagientis miserebantur infantia. Cogebantur mori qui nondum vivere cœperant, & nescientes malum suum inter hostium manus ac tela ridebant. Consonus inter omnes rumor petere eos Hierosolymam, & ob nimiam auri cupiditatem ad hanc urbem percurrere. Muri neglecti pacis incuria sartiebantur. Antiochia obsidebatur. Tyrus se volens a terra abrumpere insulam quærebat antiquam. Tunc et nos compulsi sumus parare naves, esse in littore, adventum hostium <115r> præcavere, et sævientibus ventis magis barbaros metuere quam naufragium. Erat in illo tempore quædam apud nos

dissentio, & Barbarorum pugnam domestica bella superabant. Nos in Oriente tenuerunt jam fixæ sedes et inveteratum locorum sanctorum desiderium.

And in his third Epistle written I suppose in the third year of the irruption (AC 397) the same Ierome describes & laments the afflicted estate of the Empire on both sides the Hellespont. Horret, inquit, animus temporum nostrorum ruinas persequi. Viginti et eo amplius anni sunt cum inter Constantinopolim & Alpes Iulias quotidie Romanus sanguis effunditur. Scythiam, Thraciam, Macedoniam, Dardanium, Daciam, Thessaliam, Achaïam, Epiros, Dalmatiam, cunctasque Pannonias, Gothus, Sarmata, Quadus, Alanus, Hunni, Vandali, Marcomanni vastant, trahunt, rapiunt. Quot matronæ, quot virgines Dei et ingenua nobiliaque corpora his belluis fuere ludibrio? Capti Episcopi, interfecti Presbyteri, et diversorum officia clericorum: eversæ Ecclesiæ, et ad Altaria Christi stabulati equi; Martyrum effossæ reliquiæ: Vbique luctus, ubique genitus, & plurima mortis imago. Romanus Orbis ruit, et tamen cervix nostra non flectitur. Quid putas animi nunc habere Corinthios, Athenienses, Lacedæmonios, Arcadas, cunctamque Græciam quibus imperant Barbari? Et ecce paucas urbes nominavi in quibus olim fuere regna non modica. Immunis ab his malis videbatur Oriens et tantum nuncijs consternatus. Ecce tibi anno præterrito ex ultimis Caucasi rupibus immissi in nos non jam Arabiæ sed septentrionis Lupi tartas brevi Provincias percurrerunt. Quot monasteria capta? Quantæ fluviorum aquæ humano cruore mutatæ sunt? Obsessa Antiochia, et urbes reliquæ quas Halys Cydnus Orontes Eufratesque præterfluunt. Tracti greges captivorum. Arabia, Phœnice, Palestina, Ægyptus timore captivæ. Non mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum; fferrea vox; Omnia pœnarum percurrere nomina possim. Neque enim historiam proposui scribere sed nostras breviter flere miseras. And a little after he adds: Et quasi non hæc suffi <116r> cerent cladibus, plus pene bella civilia quam hostilis macro communis sit. — Xerxes cum de sublimi loco innumeratione vidisset exercitum, flesse dicitur quod post centum annos nullus eo superfuturus est. O si possimus in talem ascendere speculam de qua universam & < insertion from f 115v > versam & terram sub nostris pedibus cerneremus: jam tibi ostenderem totius orbis ruinas, gentes gentibus & regnis regna collisa, alios torqueri, alios necari, alios absorberi fluctibus, alios ad servitutem trahi — & non Xerxis tantum exercitum, sed totius mundi homines qui nunc vivunt in brevi spatio defuturos. Vincitur sermo rei magnitudine, & minus est omne quod dicimus.

< text from f 116r resumes >

Claudian also<sup>[252]</sup> who was equally an eye witness & sufferer in this tempest, describes it very elegantly in a Poem written at the same time (viz about the year 398 or soon after) comparing it to the relaxation of a wind as if he meant to be an interpreter

— Ventis veluti si fræna remittat

Æolus abrupto gentes sic obice <sup>[253]</sup> fudit  
Laxavitque viam bellis. Et nequa maneret  
Immunis regio, cladem divisit, in orbem  
Disposuitque nefas. Alij per terga ferocis  
Danubij solidata ruunt, expertaque remos  
ffrangunt stagna rotis. Alij per Caspia claustra  
Armeniasque nives inopino tramite ducti  
Invadunt Orientis opes. Iam pascua fumant  
Cappadocum, voluirumque parens Argæus Equorum.  
Iam rubet altus Halys, nec se defendit iniquo  
Monte Cilix. Syriaë tractus vastantur amœni  
Assuetumque choris & læta plebe canorum  
Proterit imbellem sonipes hostilis Orontem.  
Hinc planctus Asiæ; Geticis Europa catervis  
Ludibrio prædæque datur, frondentis ad usque  
Delmatiaë fines; Omnis qua mobile Ponti  
Æquor et Hadriacas tellus interjacet undas,  
Squalet inops pecudum nullis habitata colonis  
Instar anhelantis Libyæ, quæ torrida semper  
Solibus, humano nescit mansuescere cultu.  
Thessalus ardet ager, reticet pastore fugato  
Pelion, Emathias ignis populatur aristas.

Iam plaga Pannoniæ, miserandaque mœnia Thracum,  
 Arvaque Mysorum, jam nulli flebile damnum  
 Sed cursus solennis erat: campusque furori  
 Expositus, sensumque malis detraxerat usus.  
 Eheu quam brevibus pereunt ingentia causis  
 Imperium tanto quæsitum sanguine, tanto  
 servatum; quod mille Ducum peperere labores,  
 Quod tantis Romana manus contextuit annis.  
 Proditor unus iners angusto tempore vertit. &c.

<117r>

[254] The beginning of these miseries on this side the Hellespont the Poet a little before describes more particularly, speaking thus of the **{illeg}** Ruffin

Ille avidus prædo jam non per singula sævit  
 Sed scæptris inferre minas, omnique perempto  
 Milite, Romanas audet prosternere vires.  
 Iam gentes Istrumque movet, Scythiamque receptat  
 Auxilio, traditque suas hostilibus armis  
 Reliquias: mixtis descendit Sarmata Dacis,  
 Et qui cornipedes in pocula vulnerat audax  
 Massagetes, patriamque bibens Mæotim Alanus,  
 Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus:  
 Ruffino collecta manus; vestat ille domari,  
 Innectitque moras, et congrua tempora differt.  
 Nam \*[255] tua cum Geticas stravisset dextera turmas  
 Vlta \*[256] Ducis Socij letum, parsque una maneret  
 Debilior facilisque capi: tunc impius ille  
 Proditor Imperij, conjuratusque Getarum  
 Distulit instantes illuso Principe pugas,  
 Hunnorum laturus opem, quos affore bello  
 Norat, et invisus mox se conjungere castris.

And a little after

Aspice barbaricis jaceant quot mœnia flammis  
 Quas mihi Riffinus clades quantumque cruoris  
 Præbeat et quantis epulentur cædibus Hydri.

The grassation of Tribigildus you have thus described in Zosimus: [257] Tribigildus non turmis Romanis sed barbaris in Phrygia subsistere jussis præerat. — Assumptis autem barbaris in quos habebat imperium, quicquid erat in medio situm invadebat, nec aut virorum aut mulierum aut puerorum cædibus abstinens & obvia quæque diripiens perexiguo tempore tantam coegit multitudinem Mancipiorum aliarumque vilium personarum ut Asiam totam in extremum periculum conjiceret. Nam et Lydia plena variæ perturbationis erat, omnibus propè dixerim ad loca maritima confugientibus, cumque suis universis ad insulas aliove navigantibus. Et Asia mari finitima periculum se quantum alias nunquam accidisset in proclivi conspecturam verebatur. — Tribigildus dein omni vastata Phrygia, Pisidas adortus est — et factum <118r> ut obsistente nemine quævis oppida per vim caperentur, omnes illorum incolæ cum ipsis militibus interficerentur, nemo denique barbarus Romanis amicus esset. After this the historian declares how when the forces of Tribigildus were diminished & his confederate Gainas sent him new supplies, he raged more then before for a time, & consumed one of the Roman armies which was sent against him. But let us hear Claudian's description of these desolations composed in the time of the action A.C. 399.

[258]

— Ostrogothis colitur mixtisque Gothunnis

Phrix ager — — — — —

Iam vaga pallentem densis terroribus aulam  
Fama quatit, stratas acies, deleta canebat  
Agmina, Mæonios fœdari cædibus agros,  
Pamphylios Pisidasque rapi; metuendus ab omni  
Targibilus regione tonat; modò tendere cursum  
In Galatas, modo Bythinis incumbere fertur;  
Sunt qui correptis ratibus, terraque marique  
Adventare ferant. Geminantur vera pavoris  
Ingenio, longè spectari puppibus urbes  
Accensas, lucere fretum, ventoque citatas  
Omnibus in pelago velis hædere favillas.

Gainas too † < insertion from f 117v > † Gainas too who secretly set Tribigildus on work at first, pretending then to go against him, when he came there committed the same depopulations: Of which \*[259] Socrates: Gaina Gothus Magister utriusque militiæ factus, \*[260] Gothorum gentem universam ex sedibus suis accivit. Et contra Tribigildum Phrygiam vastantem profectus est ducens secum Gothorum Barbarorum maximam multitudinem. Qui cum Phrygiam esset ingressus, cuncta cœpit subvertere. Romanis verò gravis subito invasit trepidatio tum ob ingentem numerum Barbarorum qui cum Gaina erant, tum quod opulentissimis Orientis Provincijs ad omnia opportunis grave periculum imminabat

< text from f 118r resumes >

The incursions of the Isauri are expressed briefly in Marcelline's Chronicle thus: Indic 3. Stilicone 3 & Anthemio Coss: (i.e. A.C. 405) Isauri per montem Tauri discursantes ingens dispendium Reip. importarunt. And in Nicephorus thus: Hunni Istrum transgressi Thraciam vastantes percurrerunt Huldam ducem habentes. Et Isauri quidam prædones perquam feri ingenti coacta multitudine Phœniciam atque Cariam & quæ in medio sitæ sunt urbes excursionibus extremisque cladibus vexarunt. ‡ < insertion from f 117v > ‡ Hieronymus itidem in †[261] epistola ad Theophilum Alexandrinum rem breviter attingit: Ne {illeg} quoquam tardius, inquit, beatitudini tuæ latino sermone translatus librum tuum remitterem multa in medio impedimenta fecerunt; Isaurorum repentina irruptio Phœnices Galilææque vastitas, terror Palestinæ præcipuæ urbis Hierosolymæ et nequaquam librorum sed murorum extructio. < text from f 118r resumes > So Chrysostome in Epist 14 written in his journey into banishment A.C. 404: Cùm, ait, in hoc statu res nostræ essent, subdito ad nos affertur Isauros cum infinita hominum manu Cæsariensem regionem populari ac ingens quoddam oppidum incendisse atque omni belliclade pervastasse. And in Epist 61 written afterwards from Armenia: Omnia hic cædibus, tumultibus, cruore atque incendijs plena sunt, Isauris nimirum cuncta ferro atque igne populantibus. And again in Epist 69 <119r> Nos nuper quidem asperrima hieme loca subinde commutantes nunc in urbibus nunc in terræ faucibus & sylvis commorati sumus, ab Isauris in nos impetum facientibus omni ex parte vexati & exagitati, — & præter id quod singulos in dies, ut ita dicam, pro foribus nostris mors est, Isauris videlicet omnia invadentibus, atque igne et ferro tum corpora tum ædificia delentibus, famem etiam, quam loci angustia & eorum qui huc confugiunt multitudo minatur, pertimescimus. Sub Arcadio, saith Gothofredus, [262] multa de Isauris Iohannes Chrysostomus quæritur ante quadrennium, cùm in exilium iret (A.C 404) Cæsariæque esset, mox et exilij sui Cucusi in Tauro in Cilicia tempore: Nempe ad Olympiadem Ep 13 & 14, ad Diogenem ep 114 & ad Gemellum, & ep ad Theodoretum ex Consularibus; & Ep. ad Theodotum Lectorem, et ep. ad Theodotum Diaconum & alijs multis: quibus locis ostendit quàm formidabiles illi fuerint & quot mala perpetraverint. Videndus etiam Theoderetus, ubi de Iacobo Anachoretâ, de vita sanct. patrum, in Iacobo c 21. Sed et Synesius non una Epistola hoc ipso tempore, et Zosimus superiore anno 404 lib 5 Isauros eo tempore in Pamphyliam incursasse prolixè narrat, & ad hos comprimendos missum ducem Arbazacium (cujus meminit etiam Synesius in Ep 234 ad Fratrem ubi Artabazacus vocatur) in Pamphyliam qui Isauros latrones fuga dilapsos intra montes persecutus fuerit, complures eorum victos caperit virorum multitudinem non exiguam interfecerit. Thus far Gothofredus. The narration of Zosimus is this: Dum familiares Principis de vastatis [Constantinopoleos] ædificijs instaurandis cogitabant, allatus est Aulicis nuncius magnam Isaurorum multitudinem quæ supra Pamphyliam Ciliciamque posita semper in asperrimis et inaccessis Tauri montibus degit, in latronum manipulos divisam, regionem subjectam invadere. Acoppida quidem munita tentare non poterant, vicos autem mœnibus destitutos & obvia quævis irruendo vexabant: quos incursus id ipsis faciliores reddebat quod isthæc regio paulo ante fuisset ab hostibus capta, Tribigildo cum barbaris suis



rebellionem molito. His nunciatis Arbazacius Dux mittitur qui laborantibus Pamphyliae rebus succurreret, &c. Zosimus here mentions their incursions only into Pamphylia & Cilicia: but out of Philostorgius who lived in those times it appears that they were of much greater <120r> extent.

Further the lapsed state of Phœnicia, Cælosyria, & Egypt, & the declining condition of Libya, Synesius then Bishop of Cyrene, in Epist 73 ad Troilum thus hints. Quî fit ut Phœnicibus quidem Phœnices non imperent, nec Cælosyri Cælosyris, Ægyptij itidem omnibus potius Provincijs quàm patriæ, \*[263] Afri autem soli patriæ præficientur? Soline Afri fortissimi sunt, ac legibus opponere sese constitutum habent? Quibus cùm plura adversus violatores supplicia apposita fuerint, tam depravata ingenia impetu in eas graviore præcipitant. Necesse est perire funditus Pentapolim quæ Cyrene adjacet: sed fames & bellum nondum quantum satis est consumpserunt, at moram faciunt & paulatim disperdunt. Afterward in Epist 103 ad Olymum he thus speaks of the desolation of Cyrene: Si philosophiam, inquit, idoneam esse dicam ad civitates erigendas ipsa me Cyrene arguet, quæ magis quàm ulla Ponti civitas jacet. And in many other epistles (as Epist 57, 78, 93 122, 124, 125) he deplores the lamentable state of Libya Cyrenaica under the invading Ausurians, but chiefly in his Catastasis a discours written in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the invasion when the enemy after some conflicts with the Roman soldiers had mastered all opposition & newly rased Pentapolis. Equidem nescio, inquit, quid de calamitatibus dici oporteat quæ in oculis omnium versantur: — Pentapolitanæ res heri ac nudius tertius in Romanorum potestate manserant, qui deinceps amissa ea gente in recensendis Præfecturis suis illam præteribunt. Prorsus nunc de Pentapoli actum est; funditus inquam illa concidit: quæ varijs quidem ærumnis annum jam septimum conflictari cœperat. Sed quemadmodum animal quoddam ægre moriens sic illa spiritus sui reliquias cogebat atque contrahebat. Felix sit Anysij memoria: Is enim annum ad illius tempus adjecit, cum clypeis quidem omnium, Vnegardorum verò manibus opportunè uteretur. Itaque nonnihil dilata calamitas est. Neque enim confertis copijs regionem pervagati sunt; ad latrocinia sese converterunt, fugientes idem itidem atque irrumpentes. Posteaquam verò ter instructa acie præliati consilium mutarunt, nunc campos longè latèque omnes eques obtinet, nunc intra mœnia conclusi milites tenentur, alij aliò dissipati, quod Cerealis tempore <121r> malum accidit, nec utiles sibi invicem esse possunt quod non collecti in unum atque coacti sunt. Quamobrem hostium res luculentæ & prosperæ sunt. Nunc postquam Pagorum muros everterunt, oppida ipsa justo exercitu circumdant. Quid enim non illis successit? Ausuriani Thracum equitum loricas induerunt, non quod ijs opus habent sed ut ornatum atque habitum irriderent. Posthæc Marcomannorum clypeis usi sunt. Ad velites atque expeditos Romanorum legio redacta est quiquidem miseratione hostium salutem consecuti sunt. — O veteres illos Romanorum spiritus! qui ubique omnia debellare solebant, qui dissitas continentes trophæis suis conjunxerunt: nunc ab infælici dispersaque gente eò redacti sunt ut periculum sit ne præter Græcas urbes etiam Africanas, ipsamque adeò quæ in Ægypto est Alexandriam amittant. — Prô audaciam illam quâ freti velut retibus universam Provinciam amplexi sunt! Nullus ijs accessu mons arduus, nullum satis munitum castellum fuit, Regionem omnem pervagati, omnem perscrutati sunt, ætatemque omnem in servitutem redigerunt. Olim ex Historicorum numero ita scribentem nescio quem audio Fæminas & puerulos excidiorum ac subversionum argumento relinquebant. Sed longè aliud Pentapoli contigit. Quæ enim Ausuriano possessio commodior muliercula & infantulo? — Quibusnam illi sacris, quibus religiosis locis pepercerunt? Nonne in multis agri Barcæi locis sepulchra recentia effoderunt? Nonne ab iisdem ipsis per universam Ampelitidem, quæ quidem sub nostra potestate est, Ecclesiæ omnes succensæ sunt atque in rudera et ruinas redactæ? Non sacras mensas perinde ac profanas ad dividendas carnes apposuerunt? Mystica porro vasa quibus ad publicas sacrasque libationes utebamur nonne ad obeundas dæmonum cæremonias in hostilem regionem translata sunt? Quidnam horum religiosis auribus tollerabile est? Nam qui commemorare velit quot castella demoliti sint, quantum utensilium ac supellectilis avexerint, boves item ovesque omnes, quæquidem e Barbarorum præda servatæ reliquiæ in præruptis montium & cavernis abditæ fuerant: is in tantis malis, non sine vitio aliquo minútis persequendis nimium anxius videatur, quanquam quinque Camelorum millibus prædam avexisse dicuntur, numero autem triplo majore redeunt, accessione <122r> captivorum tanto plures effecti. Periere extinctæ sunt Pentapolitanæ res, ad exitum venerunt, confectæ sunt, occiderunt: neque nobis omninò ampliùs neque Imperatori supersunt. Neque enim Imperatoris ea possessio dici potest, e qua nihil utilitatis reportet. Ecquis verò fructus ex deserto colligere ullus possit? Neque mihi patria super est quam deseram, sola enim navis inopia facit ut nondum in alto navigem et ad insulam aliquam appellam. Nam Ægypto diffido propterea quod eo quoque Camelus pervenire potest Ausurianum militem gestans. In Insulis itaque degam, inops ex divite, inquilinus, Cythereo cive ignobilior &c.

\*\*\* < insertion from f 121v > \*\*\* By this you may guess at the lamentable estate of the Lybians in this & the following years, but before this even in the first year of the Ausurian irruption their afflictions were great enough. ffor Synesius in the inscription to his Catastasis calls that first irruption ἡ μεγίστη των βαρβάρων ἔφοδος ηγεμοζευοντος Γενναδίου † < insertion from higher up f 121v > † the greatest inrode of the Barbarians when Gennadius was Augustal Præfect that is A.C. 396 as is manifest out of 14 Cod. Theodos. Tit 27, Lex. 1 De Alexandr. plebi primat. < text from lower down f 121v resumes > & in his 129<sup>th</sup> epistle written that year to Symplicius † < insertion from higher up f 121v > † ( Master of the horse (as Gothofredus well observes) < text from lower down f 121v resumes > he thus laments the first effects of it: Heu juventutem malè a nobis amissam! Heu frugum a nobis frustra speratos proventus! Hostilibus flammis agros consevimus. Plærisque nostrum divitiæ in pecore erant, in armentis Camelorum, in gregalibus equis: periire omnia, omnia abacta. Sentio me præ dolore non esse mei compotem, virum ignosce quæso: mœnibus enim septus sum, & obsessus hæc scribo. — Equorum ungulis pulsantur omnia, omnemque latè regionem hostes obtinent. But of this enough.

The commotion raised by Gildo — < text from f 122r resumes >

[264]

The irruption of the Huns Goths & other Barbarians from beyond the Danube soon after the death of Theodosius you had described above out of Ierome & Claudian, but after this there was another very great irruption of the Huns under the conduct of Huldin, which Sozomenes conjoyns with the banishment of Chrysostom & grassation of the Isauri. [266] Eodem, inquit, tempore (hoc est, quo Chrysostomus in exilium missus fuit) – Hunni trajecto Istro Thraciam vastarunt. Latrones quoque Isauri coacta ingenti multitudine urbes omnes quæ inter Cariam & Phœnicen interjacent una cum vicis populati sunt. And a little after [267] Vldis Barbarorum qui circa Danubium erant Regulus cum ingenti exercitu amnem transgressus in finibus Thraciæ castramentatus fuerat, cumque urbem Mæsiæ quæ castra Martis dicitur proditio <123r> ne cœpisset inde in reliquam Thraciam excursiones faciebat. Nec fœdus cum Romanis facere præ superbia dignabatur. Et cùm aliquando Magister militum Thraciæ cum illo verba faceret de pace, illa solem orientem demonstrans facile sibi esse dixit universam quam ille radijs suis collustret terram subigere si vellet.

Lastly the terrible invasion of Radagaisus is thus mentioned . Eversis in Vrbe Roma omnibus simulachris, Radagaisus Rex Gothorum cum ingenti exercitu, multò numerosiore quàm Alarici fuit, venit D. Augustin. Serm 29 in Luc. Radagaisus omnium antiquorum præsentiumque hostium longè immanissimus repentino impetu totam inundavit Italiam. Nam fuisse in populo ejus plusquam ducenta millia Gothorum, ferunt. Hic supra hanc incredibilem multitudinem indomitamque virtutem Paganus et Scythia erat: qui (ut mos est barbaris hujusmodi gentibus) omnem Romani generis sanguinem Dijs suis propinare devoverat. Oros. l 7. c 37. Anno decimo Arcadij et Honorij sæva Italiæ barbarici motus tempestas incubuit: siquidem Radagaisus Rex Gothorum Italiæ limitem vastaterus transgreditur. Anno undecimo a[268] (i.e. A.C 405) multis ante vastatis urbibus Radagaisus occubuit. Prosper apud Euseb. Chron. l 1.

Having run over the particulars I shall now for a conclusion add the description which Philostorgius an other eye witness has given us of these times, as a compendium of what we have hitherto collected out of various Authors. This Photius has thus contracted [269] Ait Philostorgius Hunnos qui Scythiæ sunt intra Istrum, cùm priùs multum terræ occupassent devastassentque, transito postea fluvio gelu constricto, confertim Romanum Imperium adortos, perque totam Thraciam diffusos totam Europam deprædatos. Qui verò ad Solem Orientem sunt fluvio Tanæi transito & in Orientem effusi per Armeniam majorem in Melitenam, quæ votatur, irruerunt: exinde Euphratensi incubuerunt, & ad Syriam Cælem usque deprædati sunt, Ciliciamque percurrentes cædam hominum incredibilem operati sunt. Neque hi solum sed et Mazaces & \*[270] Auxoriani (hi verò inter Libyam & Afros habitant) juxta orientalem eorum plagam Libyam incursarunt, neque exiguum Ægypti partem simul vastarunt. Afros vero incursantes juxta solem occidentem vicina populati sunt. Adhæc Tribigildus vir Scythia – manum barbaricam habens & in \*[271] Nacolia <124r> Phrygiæ considens, Comitisque honorem gerens ex amicitia in inimicitiam Romanorum versus, ab ipsa Nacolia exorsus plurimas Phrygiæ civitates occupavit magnamque hominum cædem patravit. Adversus quem Gainas dux missus, qui et ipse barbarus erat, victoriam prodidit, paria et ipse adversus Romanos agere cogitans. Exinde Tribigildus quasi Gainam fugiens Pisidiam & Pamphyliam invadens deprædatus est. Postea multis et ipsæ tum miserijs tum Isauricis pugnis attritus vires suas in Hellespontum servavit & in Thraciam transfretens, non multò post

interfectus fuit. Gainas verò post prodicionem, Ducis habitu Constantinopolim reversus, eam sibi subijcere in animum induxit. <sup>a[272]</sup> Cælestis verò vis quædam armata visa ijs qui eam capere cogitabant in ipso actu terrefactis, urbem quidem incendio liberavit, illos verò deprehensos humano judicio dedit, multaque cædes eorum fluxit. Gainas vero in tantum metum conjectus fuit uti — fugeret urbe. Quoniam verò Thracia vastata erat neque necessarium quicquam præbere poterat neque aliam labem ferre, Gainas Chersonnesum transfretavit ratibus cogitans in Asiam trajicere, &c. — Præter dicta mala et Isaurorum Gens varias clades intulit: ad solem quippe orientem Ciliciam percursarunt & conterminam Syriam non Cælem modo sed et alteram ad Persas tendentem. Post patrata autem ibi incredunda et Thraciam & Pamphyliam aggressi sunt, & Lycios vastarunt, Cyprum insulam everterunt, Lycaonas & Pisidas in captivitatem abduxerunt & Cappadocas Pontum usque aggressi, pessimaque quæ ab alijs barbaris fieri solent, erga captivos hi fecerunt. — Ait etiam Philostorgius<sup>[273]</sup> quod circa prædicta tempora Alaricus Gothus genere, circa superiores Thraciæ partes vires colligens Græciam ingressus sit, & Athenas tenuerit, & Macedonas & finitimos Dalmatas deprædatus sit, ingressus sit et Illyricum, Alpibusque transcensis Italiam irruperit. Hæc Photius e Philostorgio

Before I proceed further it will not be amiss to examin the chronology of these wars that we may see how they fall within the times of this Trumpet. Those mentioned by Philostorgius in his 8<sup>th</sup> chapter newly cited, the learned Gothofredus in <125r> his comment on that place, comprehends within the 10 years next after the death of Theodosius. De varijs, ait, Barbarorum, Rebellionum seu Antartarum & Isaurorum sub Arcadio (intra decennium ab A.C. 395 ad A.C. 405) per Orientem motibus, turbatoque adeò plurimum Orientis statu, servato temporum & annorum ordine, hoc capite simul & semel agit Philostorgius, &c. But let us run over the particulars.

The occasion & time of Alaric's irruption you have thus set down in Marcelline's chronicle. Indic 9. Olybrio & Probrino Coss (i.e. A.C. 395) Theodosius apud Mediolanum vita decessit. Ruffinus clam Arcadio Principi insidias tendens, Alaricum Gothorum Regem missis ei clam pecunijs infestum Reipublicæ fecit, & in Græciam misit. Porro detecto dolo suo Ruffinus ab Italicis militibus trucidatus est.

The irruption of the Huns Goths & other barbarians from beyond the Danube was also in the same year. ffor it is manifest out of Claudian that it was by the invitation & before the death of Ruffin, & he died in the latter end of this year as Prosper thus records. Anno primo Arcadij, Ruffinus Bosphoritanus cum ad summum militiæ pervenisset, præferri sibi Stiliconem non ferens ab eodem interficitur, Hunnorum quo fulciebatur præsidio superato. Socrates puts his death in 5 Cal: Decemb: of this year. See also Zosim l 6. Oros: l 7, c 36. Sozom l 8 c 1. & Chron Alexandr. Out of the same Claudian it is manifest also that the irruption was in winter when the Danube was hard frozen. Nam, Alij, inquit, per terga ferocis Danubij solidata ruunt, expertaque remos, frangunt stagna rotis. And to the same purpose speaks Philostorgius. Wherefore it must have been in the beginning of the year soon after the death of Theodosius.

The irruption of the Huns into Armenia was also in the same year. ffor they were invited at the same time by Ruffin & Socrates affirms that they entred before his death. His words are Ad 5 Cal: Decembris exercitus [ex bello adversus Eugenium gesto reversus, Constantinopolim] adventavit. Vbi igitur Imperator Arcadius ad portas civitatis exercitui obviam processit ibi tum Ruffinum legatum Imperatoris obruncant. Nam in suspicionem venerat occupandæ tyrannidis, & opinio de eo erat concepta quod Hunnos gentem barbaram in agrum Romanum advocaverat. Etenim eodem tempore Armeniam et alias quasdam partes Orientales vastaverant. Yet by what was quoted out of Ierome's epistles it should seem that the year was almost spent when they entred the empire, so that they could not proceed far before next spring, but <126r> only send before them a rumor of their coming.

In the next year A.C. 396 began the incursion of the Austurians into Lybia: for Synesius in the inscription to his Catastasis puts it γεμονέουτος Γενναδίου, when Gennadius was Augustal Præfect; & this happened A.C. 396 as is manifest out of 14 Cod: Theodos: Tit: 27, Lex 1 De Alexandr. pleb: Primat. Synesius also in his 130<sup>th</sup> Epistle laments much the commotions newly broke forth which Epistle (as Gothofredus well conjectures) was written to Symplicius when he was Master of the Hors; that is A.C 396 as is manifest out of 8 Cod: Theod: Tit: 5, Lex 56 De cursu publico & 6 Cod: Theod: tit 4, L 28 De Prætoribus. Hence it is manifest that the desolation of Pentapolis so much lamented by Synesius in Catastasis happened A.C. 402: & the intermediate actions which he informs us of between the Barbarians & Roman Soldiers agree well to an Edict of Arcadius dated Theodoro Coss (i.e. A.C. 399) which begins thus: <sup>a[274]</sup> Saturianorum conjurationem

armis sumus ut oportuit, persecuti: Sed aliquoties imminentis pœnæ evitatione ad diversa semet latibula contulerunt &c.

\*\*

< insertion from f 125v >  
< text from f 126r resumes >

The commotion of Tribigildus & Gainas was begun in the year 398 Honorio 4 & Eutich: Coss: as Gothofredus (in Chron: Cod: Theodos:) collects out of divers constitutions of Arcadius dated this year. In the year 400 was the naval battel of Gainas, & in the beginning of the year 401 he was slain by Huldin beyond the Danube. Marcell: Chron. & Chron: Alexandr.

The invasion of the East by the Isauri began whilst Tribigildus was harassing Asia, as is manifest out of the place of Philostorgius cited above; & that in the year 399 or before: for Claudian speaking of the eastern expedition of Eutropius in his Consulship this year, thus describes the outrages done at the same time either by them or by the Huns & Goths & them together.

[275]

– Incendia funant,  
Muris nulla fides. Squalent populatibus agri  
Et medio spes sola mari. Trans Phasin aguntur  
Cappadocum matres, stabulisque abducta paternis  
Caucasias captiva bibunt armenta pruinas,  
Et Scythicis mutant Argei pabula silvis  
Extra Cimmerias Taurorum claustra paludes  
Flos Syriæ servit. Spolijs nec sufficit arrox

<127r>

Barbarus, in cædem vertiti fastidia prædæ.  
a[276] Ille tamen (quid enim servum, mollemque pudebit)  
Pro victore redit.

When these Isauri had long wasted the East, they made an inrode into Asia, the news of which was brought to Constantinople when the Emperor was consulting about repairing the ruins of the City newly made by fire at the banishment of Chrysostome A.C. 404 (Zosim: supra.) But the next year they were repulsed by Narbazacius & forced to return home (Marcelline Chron:)

The times of the rest are expressed in other places.

It is manifest therefore that the whole Empire from Rome & the regions on both sides of it to the utmost bounds of the east, was at once, as it were at the sounding of an Alarm, involved in wars prodigiously destructive, & continued in this deplorable estate for 10 or 11 years together, the invaders proceeding not like generous conquerors but setting themselves as it were maliciously to spoile & lay wast all places like ffuries sent in by the wrath of God to scourge the Romans. And this fulfilling the three first conditions of this Trumpet, viz: that these wars were to be the first loosening of the winds, to begin at Theodosius's death & to be b[277] eastward of Rome: it remains in the next place that we explain the two last, how this wind hurt the earth as well as the sea & how the haile & fire mingled with blood which followed at the sounding of this Trumpet were cast on the earth; that is, the storms of the Battels in this war on the heads of the Barbarians. △ < insertion from f 126v > △ & how in this storm the third part of the trees & a[278] all green herbs were burnt up: that is the third part of the Barbarians which invaded the Empire; for b[279] trees & herbs signify men of several degrees & here by reason of their relation to the earth, as growing on it, they must denote Barbarians: not all the Barbarians in the world, but only those which came within the compas of the Empire, the limits of this Prophesy. Now dividing into thre equall parts the regions which the barbarians invaded in this Trumpet, one part may be the European regions (Italy, Noricum, Pannonia Illyricum, Thrace, Macedon & Grece) & the other two parts the Asian regions (Asia Minor, Armenia minor & Syria) & the African (Egypt, Cyrenaica & Libya) as you may perceive by the Maps: & upon examination we shall find the European part to be that where the trees were burnt up. In Asia & Afric the Barbarians returning home with their booty suffered not

any overthrows considerable either for number or greatness. Yet the Isauri were expelled with much damage by Narbaziacus a Roman Capitain but I read not that they gave him battle & I am apt to think they did not because they invaded the Empire not in one great body but dispersed into many little bands like thieves. Further, the army of Tribigildus in Asia Minor was set upon in strait passages by the country people & much wasted, but to make recompence he destroyed & dissipated the Roman army which led against him. Also in Afric there were some skirmishes between the Romans & Austurians, but I read not of any memorable battles there besides that between the brothers Gildo & Mascezil which comes not into compute here, both parties being Romans. This was all the fighting that I read of in Asia & Afric, but in Europe the battles were many & great & always (so far as I read) with loss to the barbarians, no barbarous nation there escaping an overthrow.

The Army of Gainas in attempting to pass the Hellespont, was notably — < text from f 127r resumes >

<127Ar> in attempting to pass the Hellespont, was notably overthrown in a naval battle in which great numbers of the Goths perished; & soon after the reliques of their forces were either slain or dissipated by Huldin. (Philostorg. Zosim. Marcelline)

The Austurians as you heard out of Synesius & the edict of Arcadius were at first beaten by the Roman forces; but how they were expelled after that great prevailing A.C. 402 I read not; nor how the Huns were expelled Syria & Armenia, though it's certain they were soon expelled. But of the actions done in other places we have better records.

The Huns & Goths as you heard above were beaten in Thrace — gens tota datur. Vide infra

< insertion from f 129r >

[284] [Besides this the Goths & Huns, as you heard above, were also beaten in Thrace towards the beginning of these wars; & that oftner then once with slaughters sufficiently great as you may learn by these verses out of the same Claudian.

[285]

Vos Hæmi gelidæ valles quas sæpe cruentis  
Stragibus æquavit Stilico, vos Thracia testor  
Flumina quæ largo mutastis sanguine fluctus:  
Dicite Bisaltæ, vel qui Pangæa juvencis  
Scinditis, offenso quantæ sub somere putres  
Dissiliant glebis galeæ, vel qualia rastris  
Ossa premporum resonent immania regum.

About the same time the whole nation of the Bastarnæ, as the same Claudian relates, were also consumed at one bout by Stilico

[286]

— Quis Mysos in plaustra feroces

Reppulit? aut sæva Promoti cæde tumentes  
Bastarnas una potuit delere ruina?

And a little after.

— Non vanam corpus meditaris in unum  
Sævitiæ, turmas equitum, peditumque catervas,  
Hostilesque globos tumulo prosternis amici:  
Inferijs gens tota datur.]

< text from f 127Ar resumes >



The army of Alaric was often beaten: As in Arcadia, which Claudian thus remembers speaking to Alaric concerning Stilico

[287]

— Scis ipse perosus

Arcadiæ quam densa jugis cumulaverit ossa  
Sanguine quàm largo Graios calefecerit amnes:

<128r>

Extinctusque fores ni si sub nomine legum  
Proditio regnumque favor texisset Eoi.

Afterwards at Pollentia, which Prosper thus remembers. Theodos: & Rumorod: Coss: (A.C. 403) Adversum Gothos vehementer utriusque partis clade Pollentiæ pugnatum. But Claudian who wrote of it in the time of the action gives us this information.

†[288]

< insertion from f 127Av >

† Altiùs haud unquam toto descendimus ense  
In jugulum Scythiæ: tanta nec clade superbum  
Contudimus Tanaim, vel cornua ferigimus Istri.

And a little after – Vnoque die Romana rependit –

< text from f 128r resumes >

— Vnoque die Romana rependit

Quicquid ter deus toties amissimus annis.  
O celebranda mihi cunctis Pollentia seclis,  
O meritum nomen, felicibus apta triumphis,  
Virtutis fatale solum, memorabile bustum  
Barbariæ &c.

And in another Poem

[289]

Iam Pollentini tenuatus funere campi,  
Concessaque sibi (rerum sic admonet usus)  
Luce, tot amissis socijs, atque omnibus una  
Direptis opibus, Latio discedere jussus  
Hostis, et immensi revolutus culmine fati  
Turpe retexit iter —

Afterwards he adds

———— Advolat una

Naidum resoluta comam, complexaque \*[290] patrem,  
En Alaricus ait non qualem nuper ovantem  
Vidimus: exangues Genitor mirabere vultus.  
Percensere manum tantaque ex gente juvabit  
Reliquias numerasse breves.

And a little after speaking of the battel at Verona

Tu quoque non parvum Getico Verona triumpho  
Adjungis cumulum: nec plus Pollentia rebus  
Contulit Ausonijs, aut mœnia vindicis Astæ.

Afterwards he brings in Alaricus thus lamenting his losses

Heu quibus insidijs, qua me circumdedit arte  
Fatalis semper Stilico: Dum parcere fingit  
Rettulit hostiles animos, bellumque renenso  
Evaluit transferre Pado. Proh fœdera sævo  
Deteriora jugo, tunc vis extincta Getarum;  
Tunc mihi tunc lethum pepegit violentior armis  
Omnibus, &c

<129r>

Hence it appears that between these two battels there was a league made beteen Alaric & Stilico. And Orosius accuses Stilico as if he often reserved Alaric out of treacherous designs: [291] Taceo, inquit, de Alarico Rege cum suis sæpe victo, sæpe concluso, semperque dimisso. So that Alaric's thred was spun out not by his own strength but by the treacherous favour of Stilico.

\*\* < insertion from f 128v > \*\* To these passages of Claudian wee may add the testimony of Prudentius also, who lived & wrote at the same time. And he describes this revolution thus.

[292]

Tentavit Geticus nuper delere tyrannus  
Italiam, patrio veniens juratus ab Istro;  
Has arces æquare solo, tecta aures flammis  
Solvere, mastrugis procures vestire logatos.  
Iamque ruens, Venetos turmis protriverat agros  
Et Ligurum vastarat opes, & amœna profund  
Rura Padi, Thuscumque solum victo amne presuebat.

Depulit hos nimbos equitum non pervigil anser,

Sed vis cruda virum, præfractaque concredientum  
Pectora. – Erat Stilico dux agminis imperijque.

Illic ter denis Gens exitiabilis annis

Pannoniæ pœnas tandem deleta pependit.

Corpora famosis olim ditata rapinis

In cumulos coniecta jacent: mirabere seris

Posteritas seclis inhumata cadavera latè

Quæ Pollentinos texerunt ossibus agros.

After Alaric by these battels at Pollentia & Verona had lost almost all his Army, he fled to his nation in the a[293] borders of Pannonia & Dalmatia where he stayed some time to recruit himself, & then having submitted himself again to the Empire he was by the procurement of Stilico <sup>a</sup>honoured by Honorius with a military Præfecture & a[294] sent into Epire to take <sup>c</sup>[295] Illyricum from Arcadius: For which end Stilico had d[296] given him 40 fresh centenaries of his own & promised to follow soon after himself to his assistance: but was stayed by Honorius.

< text from f 129r resumes >

<130r>

In the mean time ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ happened that notable expedition of Radagaisus; of which Prosper gives us this account. Anno undecimo Arcadij et Honorij, multis ante vastatis urbibus Radagaisus occubuit; cujus in tres partes per diversos Principes divisus exercitus, aliquam repugnandi Romanis apperuit facultatem. Insigni triumpho exercitum tertiæ partis hostium circumactis Hunnorum auxiliaribus Stilico usque ad internecionem delevit. And Augustine this: [299] Cùm Radagaisus agmine ingenti et immani jam in urbis vicino constitutus Romanis cervicibus immineret, uno die tanta celeritate sic victus est ut ne uno quidam non dicam extincto sed

nec vulnerato Romanorum multò amplius quàm centum millium prosternerentur ejus exercitus, atque ipse cum filiis mox captus pœna debita necaretur. These two places compared together seem to confirm the number of the army set down by Zosimus. † < insertion from f 129v > † Yea & out of Olympiodorus a writer of that time, it seems rather to have exceeded then faln short of that number. Ille enim (referente Photio) Gothorum qui cum Radagaiso erant primarios viros [τους κεφαλαιώτας,] Optimatos appellatos ait duodecim fere millium numero. But whereas Austine says — < text from f 130r resumes > But whereas D. Augustine says that none of the Romans were wounded, that is scarce to be understood without an Hyperbole. Yet this may be said: that the Romans came not in to the slaughter till Huldin & Sarus with their Huns & Goths had put the enemy to confusion: for Huldin & Sarus were hired by the Romans against them, & Marcelline writes: Huldin et Sarus Hunnorum Gothorumque Reges Radagaisum continuò confecerunt.

I told you how the rest of Radagaisus's great Army after this battel betook themselves to the hill Fæsula, & for want of sustenance there, were all forced to yeild themselves captives. [300] Tanta verò multitudo captivarum fuisse fertur, saith Orosius, ut vilissimarum pecudum modo singulis aureis passim \*[301] greges hominum venderentur. Sed nihil superesse Deus de eodem populo sivit, nam illicò cunctis qui emebantur morientibus, quod improbi emptores eorum non impenderunt turpiter pretijs, expenderunt misericorditer sepulturis. The cause of their death was probably their being famished in the mountain & then filling their bellies too suddenly. And thus was all this vast Army consumed as <131r> it were in a moment

About the same time ( viz: a little before Alaric besieged Rome) the Army of Huldin also submitted to the common law. Namque minas dum ille intonat & Romanis tributum quantum ipse vellet imperat, — plurimi e Barbaris ad Romaos sponte deficiunt. — Vlides igitur vix tandem in ulteriorem fluvij ripam incolumis evasit cum ex suis multos amisisset: omnino autem illos quos Scirros vocant. Gens erat hæc satis populosa antequam in hanc calamitatem incidisset. Nam cùm hi in fuga posteriores essent, alij ex ipsis interfecti alij captivi et vincti Constantinopolim transmissi sunt. &c. Sozom: lib 9. cap 5.

< insertion from f 130v >

Lastly if it may be proper to mix with armies overthrown by figurative storms such as were overthrown by real ones, I may add that great Army of Roilus which about the same time or soon after, namely in the beginning of Theodosius junior, was wholly consumed by lightning & fiery whirlwinds, & another of the Persians curbed about the same time by exessive rains & Hail: both which Theodorite thus relates. a[302] Cum Roilus Scytharum hac illac vagantium Regulus, Istrum cum innumerabili exercitu transgressus Thraciam vastaret, ipsamque urbem regiam obsessurum et funditus eversurum esse minitaretur, fulminibus et igneis turbinibus cælitus immissis Deus illum exussit & universas ejus copias delevit. Nec absimile quiddam bello etiam Persico præstitit. Cùm enim Persæ Romanos alibi occupatos cernentes, rupto pacis fœdere in vicinas sibi Provincias cum erupissent, nec ullus adesset qui auxilium ferret: pacis enim fœdere confisus Imperator, & duces & milites ad alia bella miserat: Deus misso imbore vehementissimo & ingenti grandine, ulterius eos progredi vetuit & equorum cursum inhibuit – donec tandem Duces advenere. Sed hæc ex abundanti.

< text from f 131r resumes >

You see therefore the Prophecy made good that the storm of haile & fire should fall on the earth: & consume the third part of the trees. And thus

<132r>

<133r>

Having explained this Trumpet it remains now that I say something of the correspondent Vial: to which end it is first to be noted that the pouring out of a Vial is taken in a double sence signifying sometimes the execution of a plague on that thing whereon it is poured & sometimes the incitement & invigoration of that thing as it were by a contagious virtue of the medicament to execute the plague on another thing. This first sence is used in the second third & fift Vial, & the second sence, or rather the first & second together in the first fourth & sixt. ffor the effect of pouring the 4<sup>th</sup> Vial upon the sun was to give him power to scorch men

with fire, & that of pouring the sixth upon Euphrates was to make way for the kings of the east to come & do that execution described in the sixth Trumpet. And so I suppose the pouring out the first Vial upon the earth was not only to plague the Earth but also to invigorate it with a power of inflicting the noisome sore upon men: which for the better imagination of the figure you may conceive to be effected by raising out of the earth such malignant fumes as should ulcerate men; interpreting those fumes to be the multitudes of barbarians which invaded the Empire. For I suppose the noisome sore to be the affliction of men under that invasion; & that in both Empires. For though the western Empire be the Beast in a strict sense & so more expressly pointed at, yet the subjects of the eastern Empire <134r> have also the mark of the Beast & worship his Image (as we shall explain hereafter) & so are equally comprehended in this plague.

The plague itself has been at large described out of Authors, & by the description it seems to have been a sore so wonderfully grievous that what Claudian wrote through the sense of it in the first year, may almost without an Hyperbole be applied to all the 10 years following if abstracted from Ruffin

[306]

Non notos egisse sat est extinguere cives  
Funditus, & nomen gentis delere \*[307] laborat.  
Nec perennit celeri leto: crudelibus ante  
Supplicij fruitur: cruciatus, vincla, tenebras  
Dilato mucrone parat; proh savior ense  
Parcendi rabies concessaque vita dolori.

– Quis prodere tanta relatu

Funera? Quis cædes posset deflere nefandas?  
Quid tale immanes unquam gessisse feruntur?  
Vel Sinis Istmiaca pinu? Vel rupe profunda  
Scyron? vel Phalaris Tauro? vel carcere Sylla?  
O mites Diomedis equi! Busiridis aræ  
Clementes! Iam Cinna pius, jam Sparthace lenis  
Ruffino collatus eris. Dejecerat omnes  
Occultis odijs terror, tacitique sepultos  
Suspirant gemitus, indignariquæ verentur. Claud. in Ruffin lib 1.

Hitherto I have spoken of nothing but war, that being the only plague in the Trumpet. But this Vial may be of a larger extent, for the sore which fell upon men is of an unlimited signification & may as well comprehend any other kinds of affliction as the pestilence, or famine, or undue seasons, or turbulent meteors. And though we extend it to them all yet the event will fully answer to the interpretation. Let us hear Claudian who brings in Rome thus supplicating Iuppiter.

[308]

Advenio supplex non ut proculcet Araxem  
Consul ovans, nostræque premant pharetrata secures  
Susa, nec ut rubris Aquilas figamus arenis.

<135r>

Hæc nobis, hæc ante dabas. Nunc pabula tantum  
Roma precor. Miserere tuæ pater optime gentis  
Extremam defende famem: satiavimus iram  
Siqua fuit. Lugenda Getis et flenda Suevis  
Hausimus, ipsa meos horreret Parthia casus.  
Quid referam morbo lue, tumulosque repletos  
Stragibus & crebras corrupto sidere mortes?  
An fluvium per tecta vagum, summisque minantem  
Collibus? ingentes vexi submersa carinas,  
Remorumque sonos, & Pyrrhæ secula sensi.  
Hei mihi, quò Latiae vires, urbisque potestas  
Decidit? in qualem paulatim fluximus umbram?

The like plagues on the other side the Mediterranean the Poet a little after thus briefly hints: Hinc hominum pecudumque lues; hinc pestifer aer Sævit, et exclusis regnant Aquilonibus Austri. So Synesius in Epist 58 — Synesius in Epist: 58 Ad Episcopos : Ἀνδρόνικος Πενταπόλεως ἑσκάτη πληγὴ μετα σεισμον, μετὰ ἀκρίδα, μετὰ λιμὸν, μετὰ πυρ, μετὰ πόλεμον ἐπεξελθὼν ἀκριβῶς τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκαταλείμμασιν. Andronicus – Pentapoleos extrema plaga fuit post terræ motum, post locustam, post pestilentiam, post incendium, post bellum illorum omnium reliquias diligenter persequens. Philostorgius also<sup>[309]</sup> acquaints us with these & other unusuall plagues prodigiously calamitous all the Roman world over. Ait, inquit Photius, quod sua tempestate tanta hominum mortalitas incesserit quantam nulla ætas ab omni seculo cognovit: & hanc verò \*<sup>[310]</sup> Xiphian astrum portendisse. Neque enim militares tantum sicut olim superioribus bellis, interiere, neque intra unam aliquam terræ partem mala hæc constitere, verùm omnia hominum genera periire, omnis verò perijt Europa, Asiæ haud exigua portio simul attrita fuit, sed et Libyæ pars magna, & maxime quæcunque Romanis paret: Nam et barbaricus ensis magnum numerum confecit & pestes famesque, & ferarum greges incubuerunt, terræ motus frequentes urbes domosque a fundamentis evertentes in immensum exitium dedête & hiatus terræ alicubi sub habitatoribus ruptæ sepultura erat præsentanea. Illuviones item aquarum ex aëre <136r> et alibi spicula flammea. Est et ubi a<sup>[311]</sup> turbines ignei immissi variam et intollerabilem labem intulere. Imò et grando manuali lapide major plurimum terræ vastavit, ad octo quippe librarum quas vocant ponderis usque visa fuit ingruens. Nivium quoque vis, b<sup>[312]</sup> frigorisque immanitas, quos alia plaga non corripuit hos corripuens vitæ privavit. Et hæc manifestè divinam nunciarunt iram quam sigillatim recensere supra humanam vim fuerit. To this we add Gothofredus's pertinent comment thereon: De varijs, inquit, Philostorgij tempestate (sub Arcadio et Theodosio jun. scil.) casibus majoribus divinæque iræ signis quæ Xiphian astrum [anno 390 visum] portendisse ait Philostorgius, est hoc caput. Quod quidem excribit Nicephorus lib 13 c 36 ubi ingentem hominum ubique mortalitatem terræque vastitatem memorat, tum a Barbaris, tum a peste fameque, terræ motibus, hiatibus terræ, illuvionibus aquarum, spiculis flammeis, turbinibus igneis, grandine, nivibus, frigore. Quæ omnia vera sunt et apud alios scriptores passim occurrunt: in Marcellini Chronico, et Chronico Alexandrino, ubi casus hi per singulos pene annos sub Arcadio et Theodosio jun. memorantur: vide ann: 394 [nempe sub finem,] 396, 401, 402 404, 408, 417, 419, 422, 423. De grandine inter alia inusitatæ magnitudinis Constantinopoli prid. Kal. Octob. an 404 vide et Socratem lib 6. c 17 & prædictum Chronicon Alexandrinum: ubi dicitur magnitudine nucum eam fuisse, ἕως τύπον μεγήθει καρύων. Noster ait manuli lapide majorem, usque ad octo libras ingruisse.

It is not worth the while to buisy my self in gleaning the few accidentally recorded instances of those plagues which Philostorgius informs us were so abundant as to exceed the power of man to recount them particularly, But yet one thing c<sup>[313]</sup> which happened in the very beginning of this Trumpet I cannot forbear to mention as a conspicuous instance fo the hand of God in these judgments, so that referring all to that we may with Philostorgius discern more clearly the manifest wrath of God upon this age. The thing is thus recorded by Augustine: <sup>[314]</sup> <137r> Nonne ante paucos annos, Arcadio Imperatore Constantinopoli (quod dico audierunt nonnulli, & forsitan noverunt, & sunt in populo qui illic præsentés fuerunt) volens Deus terrere civitatem & terendo emendare, terendo convertere, terende mundare, terendo mutare: servo cuidam suo fideli viro (ut dicitur) militari venit in revelatione & dixit ei civitatem venturo de cælo igne perituram. Eumque admonuit ut Episcopo diceret. Non contempsit Episcopus, & allocutus est populum. Conversa est civitas in luctum pænitiæ, quemadmodum quondam illa antiqua Ninive. Tamen ne putarent homines illum qui dixerat, vel falsitate deceptum vel fallaciter decepisse: venit dies quem Deus fuerat comminatus. Intentis omnibus et exitum cum timore magno expectantibus, noctis initio, tenebrante jam mundo, visa est ignea nubes ab Oriente, primo parva, deinde paulatim ut accedebat supra civitatem ita crescebat donec toti urbi ingens terribiliter immineret. Videbatur horrenda flamma pendere nec odor sulphuris deerat. Omnes ad Ecclesiam confugiebant nec capiebat multitudinem locus. Baptismum extorquebat quisque a quo poterat; non solum in ecclesia sed etiam per domos, per vicos, ac plateas salus sacramenti exigebatur, ut fugeretur ira non præsens utique sed futura. Attamen post magnam illam tribulationem, ubi exhibuit Deus fidem verbis suis & revelationi servi sui: cœpit, ut creverat nimui nubes, paulatimque consumpta est. Populus securus paululum factus iterum audivit omnino esse migrandum, quod civitas esset proximo sabbato peritura. Migravit cum Imperatore tota civitas: nemo in domo remansit: nemo domum clausit, longe recedens a mœnibus: & dulcia tecta respiciens, relictis carissimis sedibus voce miserabili calefecit. Et aliquot millibus tantæ illa multitudo progressa, uno tamen loco fundendis ad Deum orationibus congregata, magnum fumum subitò vidit, & vocem magnam emisit ad Deum. Tandemque tranquillitate conspecta, missis qui renunciarent, sollicita quæ prædicta fuerat hora transacta; & renunciantibus quod salvæ universa mœnia & tecta consisterent: omnes cum ingenti gratulatione redierunt. Nemo de domo sua quicquam perdidit patente: Omnis homo sicut dimisit



invenit. <138r> Quid dicemus? utrum ista ira Dei? an potius misericordia fuit? Quis dubitat misericordissimum patrem corrigere voluisse terendo, non perdendo punire, quando nihil hominum, nihil domorum, nihil mœnium tanta impendens præsentia calamitatis læsit? Prorsus sicut solet manus erigi ad feriendum, & consternato illo qui feriendus erat, miseratione revocari: ita factum est illi civitate. &c. Hactenus Augustinus.

### The second Trumpet

The next Trumpet hath these main characters: 1 That the wars to which it sounds are to be a western wind, that is in the regions westward of Rome. 2 That they are to be the next great wars which break out after those of the former Trumpet. 3 During these wars a great Mountain burning with fire is to be cast into the sea; that is a great <sup>a[315]</sup> city <sup>b[316]</sup> consuming by war to be cast down & sink in the midst of that <sup>c[317]</sup> people signified by the sea, & by its fall to disturb the waters & its Citizens which survived, to be dispersed by flight or captivity, as it were dashed assunder by the shock, & dissipated every way into the waters. And no doubt this City is Rome the Metropolis of the western Empire, & its casting down the first sacking of it: for it is this City which is every where in the Apocalyps called the great City, & this Empire (as I shewed above) which is to be understood by the third part of the Sea which became bloody at the fall of this mountain or City, & the first sacking of this city which is its most eminent casting down, yea & the only casting down from the height of its greatness, the following sackings being only plungings of it deeper in the sea into which it was cast before. Tis this City which is the new Babylon, & the figure of the burning mountain is apparently taken from Ieremies description of the sacking Babylon by the Medes, which he expresses by its being rolled down & made a burnt mountain (Ier. 51.25) & sinking (vers 63): Yea the same figure of perishing by burning & being thrown into the Sea (as a further {ground} of interpreting it) is expressly applied to new Babylon also in Apoc 18.8, 9, 21 so far is our interpretation beyond {exception.}

Now by the first of these characters we are directed to the first notable wars which brake forth in the west, & these began in the year 408: for till that time the west continued in absolute peace. The Francks indeed immediately after the death of Theodosius began to threaten some troubles in Gallia, but were suddenly checked by Stilico & that without war, & all those regions established in firm peace as <139r> Claudian thus informs us.

[318]

Miramur rapidis hostem succumbere bellis  
Cùm solo terrore ruant; non classica Francis  
Intulimus, jacuere tamen: non Marte Suevos  
Contudimus queis jura damus: quis credere possit  
Ante tubam nobis audax Germania servit.  
Cedant Druse tui, cedant Trajane labores,  
Vestra manus dubio quicquid discrimine gessit  
Transcurrens egit Stilico, totidemque diebus  
Edomuit Rhenum quot vos potuistis in annis.

And a little after.

Omne quod Oceanum fontemque interjacet Istri  
Vnius incursu tremuit, sine cæde subactus.  
Servitio Boreas, exarmatique Triones.  
Temporè tam parvo, tot prælia sanguine nulla  
Perficis, & Luna nuper nascente profectus  
Ante redis quàm plena fuit. Rhenumque minacem  
Cornibus infractis adeò mitescere cogis  
Vt Salius jam rura colat, flexosque Sicambri  
In falcem curvent gladios, geminasque viator  
Cùm videat ripas quæ sit Romana requirat.  
Vt jam trans fluvium non indignante Cyaco  
Pascat Belga pecus, mediumque ingressa per Albim  
Gallica Francorum montes armenta pererrent.

Vt procul Hercyniæ per vasta silentia sylvæ  
Venari tutò liceat, lucosque vetusta  
Religione truces, & robora numinis instar  
Barbarici, nostræ feriant impune bipennes.  
Vltro quinetiam devota mente tuentur,  
Victorique favent. Quoties sociare catervas  
Oravit, jungique tuis Alemannia signis?  
Nec doluit contempta tamen, spretoque recessit  
Auxilio, laudata fides, Provincia missos

<140r>

Expellit citius fasces quàm Francia Reges  
Quos dederis feriat, nec jam pulsare rebelles,  
Sed vinclis punire licet, sub iudice nostro  
Regia Romanus disquirat crimina carcer.

And in another Poem he describes the security of the west even at that time when Stilico had laid it open by calling into Italy the forces of Gallia, Rhætia & other Provinces to the Battel at Pollentia with Alaric A.C. 403

— Germania quondam ❖

< insertion from f 139v >

[319] ❖ Germania quondam

Illa ferox populis, qua vix instantibus olim  
Principibus tota poterat cum mole teneri,  
Iam sese placidam præbet Stiliconis habenis;  
Vt nec præsijs nudato limite tentet  
Expositum calcare solum, nec transeat amnem,  
Incustoditam, metuens attingere ripam.

Nor was Britain less secure: for the same Poet makes her speak thus of Stilico.

Illius effectum curis ne bella timerem  
Scotica, nec Pictum tremere nec littore toto  
Prospicerem dubijs venientem Saxona ventis.

And in another place

— domito quod Saxona Thetis

Mitior, aut fracto secura Britannia Picto.

< text from f 140r resumes >

This was the security of the western regions while the east wind blew, till in the beginning of the year 408 it was interrupted by that great & fatal invasion of Gallia by the northern nations, which soon overspread the whole west: & therefore with this invasion we must begin the west wind or second Trumpet.

And this is confirmed by the second character. for at the breaking forth of these wars those of the first Trumpet ceased: the eastern Empire after the expulsion of the Isauri & the overthrows of Alaric & Radagaisus & Huldin being almost quieted & within a year or two more reduced to an universal serenity, as is manifest by what Sozomen writes of Theodosius junior at his coming to the Empire A.C. 408. [320] Bella, inquit, quæcunque adversus illum conflata erant, sua sponte discutiebantur. Etenim per id tempus Persæ cum ad bellum prorupissent centum annorum inducias cum Romanis pepigere. And a little after when he had newly described the flight of Huldin he adds: [321] Orientis itaque Imperium hostibus liberatum & summo cum decore gubernatum fuit præter omnium expectationem, utpote cum juvenis adhuc esset Imperator. At verò Occidens in perturbatione erat, cum multi tyranni insurgerent. Nam eodem tempore post Stiliconem interemptum Alaricus Gothorum Dux, cum pace ab Honorio petita frustratus esset urbem obsidione cinctam oppugnat &c. Nor was the east quieted for a year or two only but henceforth enjoyed a durable serenity. For Sozomen after he had brought down his history to the short reign & death of Constantius A.C. 421, subjoyns also to that, Per id tempus Orientis Imperium hostibus penitus vacuum erat & præter omnium expectationem

summo cum decore respublica illic gerebatur.<sup>[322]</sup> The eastern wind therefore ceased at the breaking forth of the western perturbations & consequently these as well because they {immediatly} as well because they immediatly succeed the wars of the first Trumpet as because they are in the western quarter & since the time of silence the first considerable wars in that quarter, must be the wars of the second Trumpet.

The same is also firmly established by the third character: for the first siege & taking of Rome since the foundation of the Empire happened in the years 408 409 & 410, as is famous in history. And having thus determined the time of this Trumpet, let us now take a view <141r> of the contents.

First then in the beginning of the <sup>a[323]</sup> [324] year 408 the Vandals Alans, Burgundians, & Alemans with great multitudes of other barbarous nations out of Germany (invited as was supposed by Stilico as the eastern Barbarians were before by Ruffin) & after them the Franks all at once passed the Rhene at Ments & began to overflow Gallia wasting it with fire & sword & rapine: which desolations Ierome in his eleventh Epistle Ad Gerontiam hath thus partly expressed & partly hinted. — Verum quid ago? fracta navi de mercibus disputo. Qui tenebat de medio fit & non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare. Innumerabiles & ferocissimæ nationes universas Gallias occuparunt, quicquid inter Alpes & Pyrenæum est quod Oceano & Rheno includitur Quadus, Vandalus, Sarmata, Alani, Gepides, Heruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, Alemanni, & (O lugenda Respublica!) hostes Pannonij vastarunt. Etenim Assur venit cum illis. Maguntiacum capta atque subversa est, & in Ecclesia multa hominum millia trucidata. Vangiones longa obsidione deleti, Rhenorum urbs præpotens, Ambiani, Attrebates, extremique hominum Morini, Tornacus, Nemete, Argentoratus, translati in Germaniam; Aquitanæ novemque populorum Lugdunensis & Narbonensis Provinciæ præter paucas urbes populata sunt cuncta, quas et ipsas foris gladius, intus vastat fames. Non possum absque lachrymis Tolosæ facere mentionem, quæ ut hucusque non rueret sancti Episcopi Exuperij merita præstiterunt. Ipsæ Hispaniæ jam jamque petituræ quotidie contremescunt recordantes irruptionis Cimbricæ, & quicquid alij semel passi sunt illi semper timore patiuntur. And a little after: Quis hoc credet? Quæ digno sermone historiæ comprehendent? Romam in gremio suo non pro gloria sed pro salute pugnare, imò ne pugnare quidem sed auro & cuncta supellectile vitam redimere? The manner & universality of this inundation is thus further exprest by Salvian. Iudicamur, inquit, præsentem etiam iudicio a Deo, et ideo excitata est in perniciam ac dedecus nostram {illeg} < insertion from f 141v > quæ de loco in locum pergens de orbe in orbem transiens universa vastaret. Ac primum a solo patrio effusa est in Germaniam primam nomine barbaram ditione Romanam post cujus primum exitium arsit regio Belgarum, deinde opes Aquitanorum luxuriantium. Et post hoc corpus omnium Galliarum, sed paulatim id ipsum tamen ut dum pars clade cæditur pars exemplo emendaretur. Salvian De Gubern Dei l 7. And the sharpness of it you may understand by what he writes as an eye witness of the desolations about Trevirs the Metropolis of Gallia. Excisâ, inquit, ter continuis eversionibus summâ urbe Gallorum, cum omnis civitas bustum esset, malis et post excidia crescentibus. Nam quos hostis in excidio non occiderat post excidium calamitas obruebat: cum id quod excidio evaserat morti, post excidium non superesset calamitati. Alios enim impressa altius vulnera longis mortibus necabant, alios ambustos hostium flammis, etiam post flammam pœna torquebat. Alij interibunt fame, alij nuditate, alij tabescentes, alij rigentes: ac sic in unum exitum mortis per diversa moriendi genera corruebant. Et quid plura? excidio unius urbis affligebantur quoque aliæ civitates. Iacebant siquidem passim, quod ipse vidi atque sustinui, utriusque senûs cadavera nuda, lacerata, urbis oculos incestantia, avibus canibusque laniata: lues erat viventium, fœtor funereus mortuorum, mors de morte exhalabatur; ac sic etiam qui excidijs supradictæ urbis non interfuerant, mala alieni excidij perferebant. Salvian De Gub. Dei l 6.

In the third year of this invasion, the Vandals & Suevians with part of the Alans, leaving the rest of the Barbarians in the heat of their grassations in Gallia, passed into Spain & overran that country also with the like desolations, which Isidorus in his Wandalic history thus touches upon. Wandali Alani et Suevi Spanias occupantes, necesse vastationesque cruentis decursibus faciunt, urbes incendunt, substantiam direptam exhauriunt, ita ut humanæ carnes vi famis devorantur a populis: edebant filios suos matres, bestię quoque morientium gladio fame ac peste cadaveribus aduetæ, etiam in vivorum efferebantur interritum: atque ita quatuor plagis per omnem Spaniam sævientibus Divinæ iracundiæ per prophetas inscripta olim prænuntiatio adimpletur. To the same purpose writes Idacius an earlier author, only he extends these four plagues not only to all Spain but to all the world: meaning I suppose the occidental world; for as we shewed, the Eastern empire began now to recover.

< insertion from f 140v >

fol. sequ. ✠ At the same time, that no part of the west might be free the Picts & Scots <sup>a[325]</sup> perceiving that Constantine had carried away the flower & strength of Brittain away with him into Gallia, invaded the Island; & <sup>b</sup> the distressed Britains imploring the Emperor for aid were bid to look to their own concerns & defend them selves: <sup>b[326]</sup> whereupon they took up arms & grappled as well as they could with the invaders; but were at length so much overpoured that they were fain to apply themselves again with tears to the Emperor; & <sup>c[327]</sup> then they prevailed with him once & again to send a Legion to their aid, which was done about the years 420 & 423, but those auxiliaries being both times soon recalled, <sup>c[328]</sup> the enemy renewed their invasions as before.

Also the <sup>d[329]</sup> Southern Barbarians about 3 or 4 years before the year 411 made an inrode into Mauritania the western part of Afric.

And whilst this torrent

< text from f 141v resumes >

And whilst this torrent –

< text from f 141r resumes >

<142r>

And whilst this torrent overwhelmed the west, Alaric with his Goths <sup>b[332]</sup> A.C. 408 being disappointed of Stilico's promised aid came <sup>[333]</sup> out of <sup>b[334]</sup> Epire into Noricum, leaving Pannonia to the Huns, & soon after Stilico being slain, in revenge of his death he invaded Italy, <sup>c[335]</sup> inviting his brother out of Pannonia with a hand of Goths & Huns to his assistance, & besieged Rome, & <sup>d[336]</sup> though at first bought off yet renewing the siege he took it once & again in the years 409 & <sup>e[337]</sup> 410 when it had been first so much wasted by famin & pestilence that Ierome in Epist 16 saith: Fame perit antequam gladio & vix pauci qui caperentur inventi sunt. Ad nefandos cibos erupit esurientium rabies, & sua invicem membra laniarunt: dum mater non parcit lactanti infanti & suo recipit utero quem paulo ante effuderat. Hence it became a proverb: Pone pretium humanis carnibus, as Zosimus<sup>[338]</sup> relates, who also adds: Famem (ceu consentaneum erat) pestis comitabatur, omniaque plena cadaveribus erant. Cùmque non possent extra urbem sepeliri cadavera quod omnem exitum hostes observarent, urbs ipsa mortuorum sepulchrum erat: adeò quidem ut alioqui etiam solitudo in urbe foret; siqua nulla fuisset alimentorum penuria, vel exhalans e cadaveribus odor ad interficienda corrumpendaque corpora suffecisset. ✠

< insertion from f 141v >

✠ Nor did they escape that survived, but were captivated & dispersed over the world: as Ierom who lived then in a Monastery in Palæstine thus informs us: Proh nefas! Orbis terrarum ruit, in nobis peccata non ruunt. Vrbs inclyta et Romani Imperij caput uno haussa est incendio. Nulla est regio quæ non exules Romanos habeat. Hieron ad Gaudentium. Epist 12. Quis crederet ut totius Orbis exstructa victorijs Roma corruerat, ut ipsa suis populis et mater fieret et sepulchrum, ut tota Orientis Ægypti Africæ littora olim dominatricis urbis servorum & ancillarum <142v> numero complerentur, ut quotidie sancta Bethlehem, nobiles quondam utriusque sexûs atque omnibus divitijs affluentes susciperent mendicantes? Quibus quoniam opem ferre non possumus condolemus & lachrymas lachrymis jungimus. Hieron. Proæm in Ezek: 3. And in Proæm in Ezek 7 speaking of the west in general. Occidentalium fuga et sanctorum locorum constipatio nuditate atque vulneribus indigentium, rabiem præferat barbarorum quos absque lachrymis et gemitu videre non possumus

The history of the sieges of Rome Philostorgius —

< text from f 142r resumes >

The history of these sieges Philostorgius sets down as follows: <sup>[339]</sup> Stilicone sublato collecti Barbari filium ejus [Eucherium] exci <143r> pientes celerrimè reversi sunt Romanique appropinquantes hunc quidem permiserunt in quoddam templi asylum confugere: et ipsi quæ circa urbem erant depopulati sunt hi quidem Stiliconem vindicantes, alij verò fame pressi. Vbi autem ad Honorij literas asylo potiores, sublatus est Eucherius, propter hæc Barbari Alarico juncti ad bellum adversus Romanos cum impetu progressi sunt: Hic verò statim portum occupavit – in quo annona publica omnis juxta veterem morem condebatur, deinde – et frumenti inopia & alijs machinis obsessam Romam <sup>a[340]</sup> vi cepit, Romanisque decernentibus (id enim eis Alarichus concesserat) Attalum eis Imperatorem inauguravit.<sup>[341]</sup> – Iste verò reliquis post inaugurationem reliquijs quas fames ipsa & suimet ipsorum commestio reliquas fecerat, annonam sibi ex portu convehere permisit. Deinde Attalo assumpto, Ducisque munus ei præstans, Ravennam adversus Honorium exercitum movit, mandavitque Attalus Honorio ut privatam vitam deligeret, corporisque extremitatum abscissione totius salutem redimeret. Sarus verò qui post Stilichonem militarem potestatem Honorij timore correpti habebat, cum Alaricho congressus prælio superior evasit, Ravennaque propulit. Hic verò [Alaricus]<sup>[342]</sup> Portu [quodam inter Ravennam et Ariminum] occupato Attalum [extra Ariminum urbem] Imperio exuit. – Posthæc Alarichus Ravennam reversus fœdera que ostentans a prædicto Saro repulsam passus est, dicente: Eum qui pœnas ausorum debeat, dignum non esse ut inter amicos connumeretur. Inde Alaricus iratus, post annum prioris ad Portum accessûs velut hostilem invasit Romam: et inde tantæ gloriæ magnitudinem potentiæque famam externus <sup>d[343]</sup> ignis et <sup>e[344]</sup> gladius hostilis & captivitas Barbarica pessundedit. Iacente vero in ruderibus urbe, Alarichus <144r> <sup>r[345]</sup> Campaniam deprædatus est, ibique morbo occubuit.

A little after he adds: posthæc vero [hoc est, post mortem Adaulphi et restitutionem Placidie A.C. 416,] Roma a multis malis miraris rursum incoli cœpit, & Imperator cùm ad eam venisset, et manu et lingua inhabitationem firmavit. This entrance of the Emperour into Rome Prosper refers to the year 418 Gothofredus to the year 417; but yet the inhabitants began to increas before, I suppose from the time that the Goths were expelled Italy ffor Olympiodorus informs us that Albinus when he was Præfect of the City, seeing the City return to its former state writ to the Emperor that it was so much increased that the allowance of corn would not suffice & as an argument of its increas added that in one day the new comers were computed fourteen thousand: and his Præfecture happened A.C. 414 as Gothofredus in his comment on this place of Philostorgius determins out of Lex ult. Cod. Theod. de navicul. inscribed to Albinus P.V. Constantio & Constante Coss.

After the sacking of the city Alaric spoiled not only Campania but <sup>a[346]</sup> Lucania & the Brutij, & then attempted to <sup>b[347]</sup> sail from Rhegium (the Metropolis of the Brutij) into Sicily with intention to have seated his nation in Afric. But being Shipwrackt he made a league with Honorius & in <sup>c[348]</sup> the end of the year died at Consentia. The next year Honorius sent his capitains into Gallia against the Barbarians & Tyrants which engaging them successfully recovered a good part of it & the year following they beat the Goths also & forced them to retire out of Italy into A Aquitain a Province of Gallia <sup>d[350]</sup> much vexed at that time by the Franks & Burgundians. Whereupon ensued various fresh wars in Gallia & Spain of Romans with Barbarians & Barbarians with one another, not so pernicious as in the 4 preceding wars but yet almost without intermission untill the year 427 when <sup>e[351]</sup> peace was concluded between the Goths & Romans, & the Vandals having that same year slain <sup>f[352]</sup> almost twenty thousand Romans in battel, <sup>f[353]</sup> passed into Afric: the <sup>g[354]</sup> Kingdom of the Alans being ruined in those wars about eight years before.

Such was the severity of these wars that <sup>h[355]</sup> it made the Roman Christians (as they called themselves) murmur against heaven it self & call Gods providence & government of the world in question, as you may see in D. Austin's Epistle to Victorinus, Cassians sixt Collation, Salvian De Providentia Dei & this lamentation of Prosper.

— Felix

Quem non concutiat vicina strage ruina

Intrepidum flammas inter & inter aquas

<145r>

Nos autem tanta sub tempestate malorum



Invalidi passim cædimur & cadimus.

Cumque animum patriæ subijt fumantis imago

Et stetit ante oculos quicquid ubique perit:

Frangimur immodicis & pluribus ora rigamus

Dumque pios agimus vertimur in quærulos.

\*\*\*\*\* < insertion from f 144v > \*\*\*\*\*

– quærulos

Nec parcunt quidem turbatam incessere mentem,

Linguarum et jaculis saucia corda petunt

Dic (aiunt) causas, qui rerum hominumque labores

Arbitrio credis stare, regique Dei:

Quo scelere admisso, pariter periere tot urbes:

Tot loca, tot populi, quid meruere mali?

Si totus Gallos sese effudisset in agros

Oceanus, vastis plus superesset aquis.

Quod sane desunt pecudes quod semina frugum,

Quodque locus non est vitibus aut oleis:

Quod fundorum ædes vis abstulit ignis, et imbris,

Quarum stare aliquas tristius est vacuas

Si toleranda mali labes heu cæde decenni,

Wandalicis gladijs sternimur et Geticis.

< text from f 145r resumes >

– Heu, cæde <sup>a[356]</sup> decenni

Wandalicis gladijs sternimur & Geticis.

Non castella petris, non oppida montibus altis

Imposita, aut urbes annibus æquoreis

Barbarici superare dolos atque arma furoris

Evalutare omnes: ultima pertulimus. &c.

< insertion from f 144v >

– pertulimus

Nec quærat extinctam nullo discrimine plebem

Mors quoque primorum cesset ab invidiâ.

Majores anni me forte et nequior ætas,  
Offenso tulerint quæ meruere Deo:  
Quid pueri insontes? quid commisere puellæ,  
Nulla quibus dederat crimina vita brevis?  
Quare templa Dei licuit popularier igni?  
Cur violenta sacri vasa ministerij?  
Non honor innuptas devotæ virginitatis,  
Nec texit viduas religionis amor.  
Ipsi desertis qui vitam ducere in antris  
Suerant laudantes nocte dieque Deum,  
Non aliam subière necem quam quisque prophanis:  
Idem turbo bonos sustulit atque malos.  
Nulla sacerdotes reverentia nominis almi  
Discrevit miseri supplicijs populi:  
Sic duris cæsi flagris, sic igne perusti,  
Inclusæ vinclis sic gemuere manus.  
In his Epigram De cohibenda ira he writes ☚

< insertion from f 145v >

In his epigram also de cohibenda ira he writes thus of these times

Non idem status est agris, non urbibus ullis,  
Omniaque in finem præcipitata ruunt.  
Ferro, peste, fame, vinclis, algore, calore  
Mille modis miseros mors rapit una homines.  
Vndique bella fremunt, omnes furor excitat armis,  
Incumbunt reges regibus innumeris.  
Impia confuso sævit discordia mundo,  
Pax abiit terris, ultima quæque vides.

< text from f 144v resumes >

The most miserable state into which this invasion reduced the Empire is also every where inculcated by Salvian. I shall trouble you with but one place. Omnia, ait, quæ fuerant aut ablata aut immutata sunt, sola tantum vitia creverunt Nihil nobis de pace et prosperitate pristina reliquum est, nisi sola omnino crimina quæ prosperitatem non esse fecerunt. Vbi namque sunt anitquæ Romanorum opes ac dignitates? Fortissimi

quondam Romani erant nunc sine viribus. Tenebantur Romani veteres nos timemus: rectigalia illis solvebant populi barbarorum, nos rectigales barbaris sumus. Vendunt nobis hostes lucis usu <145v> ram. Tota admodum salus nostra commercium est. O infelicitates nostras, ad quid devenimus? & pro hoc gratias barbaris agimus a quibus nos ipsos pretio comparamus. Quid potest esse nobis vel abjectius vel miserius & vivere nos post ista credimus quibus vita sic constat? Insuper etiam ridiculos ipsi nos esse facimus: aurum quod pendimus, munera vocamus. Dicimus donum esse quod precium est, & quidem precium conditionis durissimæ ac miserrimæ. Omnes quippe captivi cum semel, redempti fuerint, libertate potiuntur: nos semper redimimur et nunquam liberi sumus. Illorum more dominorum nobiscum barbari agunt, qui mancipia obsequijs suis non necessaria mercedibus dependendis locante. Similiter enim non unquam ab hac sumus liberi functione quam pendemus. Ad hoc quippe mercedes jugiter solvimus, ut sine cessatione solvamus. Salvian de Gub. Dei lib 6.

< text from f 145r resumes >

These are the accounts of the wars of this Trumpet so far as the short records we have of these times, have discovered them to us; for the accounts we have of them are imperfect, as you may gather by this that though the Romans used not to let Barbarians invade them without making resistance yet we have no account of what forces were sent against them or of any one Battel the Romans lost except that of Castinus {in [Sozom]}:

Having given you the history of the wars, which fulfill the characters of this Trumpet: it remains now that I take notice of the other concomitants, which are these three.

1. That the third part of the sea became blood. ♠ pag. vers < insertion from f 145v > ♠ that is the third part of the whole Roman Empire. To compute this you may reckon the Eastern & western Empires equall, as they seem by the Mapp, & that if the western be Divided into three equal parts, Afric which escaped these plagues will be one third part, & the European portion on which they fell, two third parts that is a third part of the whole Sea. Now whereas this third part became blood, or (as is exprest in the first vial) as the blood of a dead man: by blood – < text from f 145r resumes > . By blood we are to understand the staining of the waters chiefly by the effusion of much blood in these wars, & then by any other kind of violent deaths whatever. ffor blood is used figuratively to signify any kind of death as you may see in Ezek 14.19, & 3.18, 20, & 18.13: & thus it will comprehend that sad mortality by famin & pestilence at the siege of Rome which doubtles swept away many hundred thousands, & raged not only there but in the whole European part of the western Empire, & chiefly in Spain as Idatius in his Chronicle thus relates. Anno 16<sup>mo</sup> Imperij Hono <146r> rij & Arcadij, debacchantibus per Hispanias Barbaris, {( & særiense } pestilentia malo, fames dira grassatur ita ut humanæ carnes ab humano genere fame fuerint devoratae: matres quoque necatis et coctis natorum suorum sint pastæ corporibus. Bestiæ occisorum Gladio, famae, pestilentia cadaveribus adeustæ, quosque hominum fortiores interrimerunt, eorumque carnibus paste passim in humani generis efferantur interritum. Et ita quatuor plagas ferri famis pestilentia & bestiarum ubique in toto orbe sævientibus, prædictæ a domino per Prophetas suos adnuntiationes adimplebantur. So Sigonius AC. 410 Pestis non Romam tantum sed totam Italiam afflixit siquidem scribit Ruffinus ad Chromatium tum Aqueleienssem Episcopum: Per ruptis ab Alarico Duce Gothorum Italiae claustris morbum se pestiferum infudisse & agros armenta viros longè latèque vastasse. Sigon. de Occid. Imp. l 10. And Prosper. Anno Honorij 20, Ingens in Gallia Fames. But this ex abundantia the prophesy being sufficiently fulfilled by blood shed in war.

2 The second concomitant is that the third part of the creatures which were in the sea & had life died that is the creatures in the aforesaid third part of the sea And here by death I understand not the natural death of men (for that was sufficiently exprest before by blood,) but their political death. For death is used to signify the destruction of bodies politique as well as of naturall bodies, Amos 2.2. And that in these Trumpets it is to be understood of bodies politique you may easily collect from the fift Trumpet, where although without doubt multitudes of men were slain by the Locusts, yet becaus they destroyed not their kingdom they are said not to kill them. Reason also will dictate the same: for no man I suppose can be so fond as to think that the intention of thesecond Vial is that all the men in a whole kingdom should really dy; but that they may all dy a politicall death is of no harsh conception. I suppose therefore that this death is thepoliticall death of the invaded European part of the western Empire, as if it were slain by the invasion of its territories & the fall of its metropolis like an animal beheaded & torn in pieces. For Pannonia was rent <147r> from it by the Hunns, Brittain first by Tyrants & then by the natives, all Gallia & Spain by the Franks, Burgundians, Alemans,

Alans, Vandals & divers Tyrants till the expedition of Constantius into Gallia, who recovered part of those regions. Also [<sup>d[357]</sup> Afric made a defection for a year or two under Heraclinus] & Italy laboured under the invasion of Alaric & the usurpation of a new Emperour, Honorius being reduced to so great straits that he had nothing left but Afric to confide in & began to think of quitting all & flying into the East <sup>e[358]</sup> Et had ships in readines < insertion from f 146v > < text from f 147r resumes > to flie in case Afric had then made a defection & failed him with the rest. Thus all the European part of the west died for a time & the death was made more full & complete by cutting of that city whose dominion was the ratio formalis or life thereof. For at the taking of that city, to use Saint Ierom's words written upon the news of it, [<sup>360</sup>] Clarissimum terrarum omnium lumen extinctum est, imo Romani Imperij truncatum caput, & (ut veriùs dicam) una urbe totus orbis interijt. The siege of this city was also the nick of time in which this part of the Empire was for ever slain, as to as to its monarchical form of government, & in its stead a body of ten new kingdoms substituted of which I shall hereafter give you the catalogue.

3. This overthrow of the Empire is further expressed by a shipwrack. The third part of the ships, (<sup>[361]</sup> that is the towns & cities of the European part of the Empire whose houses are analogous to ships) were destroyed in this tempest; sinking as it were (like the great mountain) by being reduced into the power of the enemy. But this is so plain a similitude that Historians & men in common talk are wont to allude to it in describing much less desolations then those we speak of.

### **The third Trumpet.**

The western Empire being now rent into many kingdomes, & those pretty well settled under their new lords:

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the second is to be met with in all histories. Who knows not that Constantine was the first that suppressed Idolatry? But yet he completed not the conquest. The Idols he caused to be thrown down & some of the Idol Temples, & the rest to be shut up, & took away the revenues for their worship, & his sons continued to persecute heathenism much more then he till the reign of Iulian the Apostate who renewed the worship, but Gratian & Theodosius caused it to cease without relaps.

Arg 2. The sixt seale is the time which immediately succeeded the greatest persecution of the Church under the heathen Emperors. But the age from Constantine to Theodosius immediately succeeded that persecution.

The first assertion is manifest, becaus the sixt seale immediately succeeds the fift wherein the persecution is represented by the souls under the Altar.

The second is plain out of history which informs us that the 10<sup>th</sup> or last of the heathen persecutions which was begun by the edict of Dioclesian & after ten years made to cease by Constantine was notably sharp & great above all the former & seemd to have exceeded them all put together, <149r>

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Arg 3. The sixt seale is the time which immediately preceded the general & perpetual Apostacy, & that Apostacy overspread the world in the reign of Theodosius. Ergo.

The first assertion is manifest by what was said in Posit The second we shall have hereafter a more convenient occasion to discours of at large. At present let this suffice, that all but the Apostates themselves grant that they began to overspread & cloud the church with errors soon after Theodosius's death.

Arg. 4. The Parable of the Dragon & childbearing woman in chap 12 to vers 14 is coincident with the fift sixt & beginning of the seventh seale. But this Parable expresses Dioclesian's Persecution, the conversion of the Empire to christianity, & the hiding or disappearing of the true church through the rise of the great Apostacy.

This Argument comprehends & strengthens the former three by the coincidence of the three last Seales with this vision of the woman & Dragon: a Parable so plain that it scarce needs an interpreter. I account it the key of the Apocalyps & therefore desire you would consider it attentively: the force of which you may apprehend

by these particulars. 1. The woman in travail is the true Church Posit 2 The Dragon is the old Roman heathen Empire Posit 3 The pains of the Woman in Travail described something emphatically in vers 2 must be a notably great affliction or persecution of the Church. ffig 4 The war of the Dragon with Michael denotes also a very great persecution of the Church. This we explained at large in Posit & even these words <150v> alone evince it: They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb & by the word of their testimony & loved not their lives unto the death. vers 11. 5 The pains of the woman & war of the Dragon denote one & the same persecution. ffor they both immediately precede the flight of the woman into the wilderness; (the delivery of the woman vers 5 & 6, & the victory over the Dragon vers 13 & 14;) & therefore are coincident. 6 By this persecution Christianity conquered heathenism, as is plain by the word: And the great Dragon was cast out that old Serpent called the Devil & Satan which deceiveth the whole world; he was cast out into the earth & his angels were cast out with him. – And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb & by the word of their testimony. 7 This persecution therefore must necessarily be the 10 years persecution begun by Dioclesian. ffor as that was the greatest so it was that & none other by which Christianity got the victory over Heathenism ffor that multiplying the Church by the blood of Martyrs, gave occasion to & ended in the conversion wars & victories of Constantine by which heathenism fell, & the Empire became Christian. † < insertion from the left margin > † The Woman was barren in the times of the Law, conceived by our Saviour's preaching, had her Infant formed by the preaching of the Apostles, was after the manner of weomen often ill & discomposed by smaller persecutions & troubles under the heathens, & at length travailed in this persecution of Dioclesian: ffor I count, according to the usual time of Weomen, 40 prophetique weeks or weeks of years from our Saviours baptism (the time of her conception) to find the time of her travail, & her count will end in the year of our Lord 309 neare the middle of that persecution. < text from f 150v resumes > 8 Becaus the Woman does not represent a single person but thewhole body of the Church, therefore by the analogy her child must not represent any single person alone but some great body of men. For as a woman & a man are of the same kind & differ only in sex so the things represented by the woman & her manchild must have no other difference. Compare this place of Saint Iohn with Isa 66.7, 8 to which it is related & I suppose it will put the matter out of doubt. The words of Isaiah are: Before her pain came she was delivered of a man child — shall a nation be born at once? ffor as soon as Zion travailed she brought forth her children. 9 Since the feminine nature of the woman consists in this <151r> that she is an Ecclesiastical body, the m{ascul}ine nature of her child must consist in this that he is a civil body. ffor these are opposites: Polity & Religion, Magistrates & Priests, State & Church; & are generally considered as male & female. The man-Child must therefore be a body of Magistrates, or a temporal kingdom. Yea and this you have exprest in vers 5; And she brought forth a man child which was to rule all nations with a rod of iron, & her child was caught up to God & to his throne. 10 Since the same persecution of the Church is both the war by which the Dragon was vanquished & the pains by which the woman brought forth this child, therefore the birth of this child & its exaltation up to God & to his throne must fall in with the casting out the Dragon out of heaven; as being opposite effects of that persecution. And consequently since the Dragon is the heathen Empire, the man Child by opposition must be the Christian Empire, whereof the one is dethroned & theother at the same time exalted into the throne. This must be the result of the war between Michael & the Dragon; & therefore so soon as the Dragon is cast down you have the exaltation of the manchild to the Throne celebrated by a voice from heaven saying: Now is come salvation & strength & the Kingdom of our God & the power of his Christ. And that you may be sure this is no other then the Christian Roman Empire or more strictly its body of Magistrates, you have both the religion & the universality of it described together in vers 5: The woman brought forth a man-child who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron. For here the rod of iron is a singular phrase for the scepter of a Christian Kingdom. (See chap 2.27, & 19.15 & Psal 2.9.) & all nations can import no less dominion then the Roman, & both these together can agree to none but the age between Constantine & Theodosius becaus the Empire was not Christian before Constantine nor universal in a Monar <151v> chical form after Theodosius. 11 Next after the of the Dragon & exaltation of the manchild follows the per{secution} of the woman by the Dragon & her flight into the wilderness. The Dragon was not slain but only cast out of heaven. His worshippers were cast out from the Roman th{rone} & he himself was cast out as to the antique manner of worshipping him in Idols placed aloft in stately temples as it were in heaven but yet he was not destroyed but cast out into theEarth to be worshipped in Sepulchers & subterraneous places where dead men's bones & other reliques of martyrs supplied the place of his lately demolished Idols. The first step to this kind of Idolatry seems to have been the silencing of the Oracle at Antioch in Iulian's reign A.C. 360 by the virtue of the Martyr Babylas's bones the devil pretending when the Emperor Iulian offered so many sacrifices to make him speak that he could not speak till they were removed. And from this time he being let loos to deceive the world & begin that strong delusion predicted by Saint Paul in 2 Thes. 2. great multitudes of miracles were cryed up every where to be done by the reliques of Martyrs: whereby the worship of them &



Ghosts quickly overspread the Empire so as in the reign of Theodosius & his sons to have become universall as it hath continued ever since. Thus the Dragon only changing his state from that above to that below, came down among the inhabitants of the Earth & Sea having great wrath becaus he knew he was to have but a short time: & this was the beginning of the great Apostacy. But of these things more hereafter.

This Parable therefore of the Woman & Dragon to vers 14 belongs indubitably to the times between Dioclesian & Theodosius: & therefore since by what was said in Posit the fift sixt & beginning of the seventh seal fall in with this Parable, they must agree to the same times.

Arg 5.

<152r>

Arg. 5. The sixt seal is the time which a little preceded the final division of the Roman Empire, & the wars wherein the western part of it was divided into ten Kingdoms But the time between Constantine & Theodosius was that which a little preceded that division & those wars.

The first assertion is manifest from Posit . ffor there 'twas shown that the Empire at the rise of the Beast (which began imperfectly in the sixt seale & was perfected at the beginning of the Trumpets,) was divided into two branches, the Beast & the Dragon; & that the horns of the Beast rose at or soon after the beginning of the Trumpets.

The second assertion is manifest out of history. ffor the Empire continued always under the sole dominion of Rome till the building of Constantinople, & then became divided between these two Cities. It was first divided at the death of Constantine between his sons A.C. 336, & then reunited by Constantius's conquest of the west A.C. 353, & after the death of Iovian A.C. 364 divided again imperfectly, & at length perfectly & for ever at the death of Theodosius A.C. 395, & within 15 years after, the western part of it was rent by vehement wars into ten Kingdoms which could never since be reunited, of which I shall hereafter give you the catalogue.

Thus you see the time of this seale bounded every way by demonstrative characters: for such I account these five Arguments because there is no other time to which any one of them can be applied. And these things being premised, I come now to interpret the series of the seales & Trumpets.

#### Posit

**The four first Seales agree to the time between the first preaching of Christianity , & the beginning of the tenth <153r> Persecution: the first Seale beginning with the Ascention or Pentecost A.C. 33 the second with Trajan A.C. 98, the third with Severus A.C. 193, & the fourth with Decius A.C. 251.**

The whole time of these Seales is defined by Posit & so it remains only that we show how it is to be distributed among them. Now this is in some measure determined by the qualities of the Horsmen in each Seale: but because those qualities do not always run through the whole time of the Seale, therefore God has applied a further character of them by introducing every Horsman with a Beast saying, Come & see. Wherefore before we explain the seales it is necessary that we first show what is meant by the four Beasts. And this depends upon the form of the heavenly Court or Theater described in Chap. 4. which being a representation of God's dwelling in the midst of his Church, is to be learnt from the manner of the Iews incamping in the wildernes. For it alludes to that, as you may perceive by the analogy.

#### Of the Heavenly Court.

Know therefore that in the midst of the Camp was placed the Tabernacle called in this Prophecy the Temple of the Tabernacle chap. 15.5, or barely the Temple vers. 6, 8, &c. And within this, as I conceive, in the veil was the door opened in heaven to let Saint Iohn in to the sight of the Throne of God ch. 4.1; which Throne you must conceive to be over the Mercy Seat between the Cherubins, for it was within the Temple ch: 15.8, & 16.17. And about this Throne you must imagin the seven Lamps ch. 4.5, & the Laver here called a Sea of glas vers 6, & the golden Altar ch. 8.3, & the Altar of Sacrifice ch. 6.9, & the Arc of the testament ch. 11.19 to be so placed as they were in the wildernes about the mercy seat, whether <154r> they were within or without the veil. Exod. 40.

Next about the Tabernacle incamped the Priests & Levites answering here to the 24 Elders; that is of each order twelve. And about them at a distance were placed the twelve Tribes in four Squadrons toward the four quarters of Heaven, every Squadron with its own Standart: & these you have expressed by the four Beasts, which represent a multitude of people by their eyes, & are situate in the middle coasts of the Throne & round about the Throne, that is over against the midst of every side of the throne round about it. This form of incamping you have described in Num: 1, & 2; only the Signes of the Standarts are not there recorded. But yet the Rabbies inform us by tradition from their Ancestors that in the eastern Standart was a Lyon in the western an Ox in the southern a man & in the northern an eagle. Our Ancestors, saith Aben Ezra in 2 Num. delivered that in the Standart of Reuben was the figure of a man becaus (as he supposes) of the Mandrakes; in the Standart of Iudah the figure of a Lyon because Iacob so compared him;<sup>[370]</sup> in the Standart of Ephraim the figure of an Ox, according to his being called the firstling of a Ox;<sup>[371]</sup> & in the Standart of Dan the figure of an eagle. The same hath Bar Nachman here, & Chazkuni in Num. 3.

And this is not a little confirmed by Ezekiel's vision of the fourfac'd (not four headed) Cherubins, who looking Northward saw them each with the face of a Man in the front & with the face of a Lyon toward the right hand, & with the face of an Ox toward the left hand, & the fourth face, which was the face of an Eagle, must therefore be northward. And these, as if there was some mystery in their position, went every one streight forwards & turned not about when they went. Ezek. 1.4, 9, 10. I suppose it was, as in the Apocalyptic vision, to <155r> represent God (whose glory appeared in the midst of them) to be the Lord of the four quarters of Israel.

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### **Of the Lambs taking the Book.**

Having thus framed a conception of the heavenly court, you are in the next place to consider what was done there by way of preparation to these visions: & this was the Lamb's taking a sealed book out of the hand of him that sat on the throne, which none in heaven or earth or under the earth besides the Lamb was found worthy to open & read; & upon his doing this he is celebrated for his worthines, first by a double commemoration of it as if he became worthy by the merits of his death, & then by a doxology hereupon given him together with him that sat on the Throne, & this is followed with a higher degree of worship given to him only which sate upon the throne.

The Book you may conceive rolled up & sealed in such a manner that the opening of every seale may undoe some of the leaves so that more & more of the book may be opened by steps till the whole be open. And the contents of it you must conceive of so transcendent excellency that they were fit to be communicated to none but the Lamb. You are not to imagin that this is the book of the Apocalyps written by Saint Iohn, but rather a book representing that plenary revelation which the great God imparted to our Saviour after his resurrection & to none but him. For first it was a book written within & on the backside, that is a book containing the knowledge of things past as well as to come whereas the Apocalyps contained only things to come, Apoc. 1.1, 3 & 22.6, 10; & accordingly the visions thereof were represented concomitant to the opening of the seales for the Lamb to look on the inside after he had viewed the backside, as you may conceive. Secondly there is nothing in the Apocalyps which can be pretended to be a transcript of this book: for there is nothing set down there but certain visions which Saint Iohn saw concomitant to the opening of the Seales, & those too such as by the motions of some & voices of others, & also by Saint Iohn's being called by the four beasts to go from place to place to see them, were ma <157r> nifestly no flat pictures in the book, but appearances to the life, such as (like those made to Daniel in his visions) had the full proportions, dimensions & gestures of the things they were a shew of, as if they had been those real things. And Thirdly it is expresly said, not only that none but the Lamb was worthy to take & open the book, but also that none but he were worthy to read it or to look thereon: & if so, then Saint Iohn himself was not worthy to reade it, & much less was the world worthy to whom the full contents of this book should be made publick to be read by all, bad as well as good. I might add also, that the great emphasis laid upon this book, first by the solemn declaration with a loud voice that none in heaven nor in earth nor under the earth were found worthy to open it, so as to make Saint Iohn weep thereat; & then by the following celebrations of the Lamb for his worthiness to receive wisdom & all other perfections, after he appeared to take & open it: is an intimation plain enough that this book signifies one of the greatest treasures that he who sat upon the Throne ever conferred upon the Lamb, & consequently nothing less then all that fulnes of knowledg of things past & to come which God gave him after his

resurrection. This is certain, that it signifies such knowledge as the Lamb had not received before the Apocalyps it self being a new revelation to him Apoc. 1.1: & why it should signify less then all that knowledge communicated to him at that time when he received this knowledge, I see no reason. ¶ But further this book – < insertion from f 156v > ¶ This book is an emblem of the Revelation as it was made by God to the Lamb, & it cannot be thought that God would give him a revelation in obscure types & figures such as the Apocalyps consists of. The Apocalyps is called indeed the revelation of Iesus Christ which God gave him: but it is not to be supposed that it is all the revelation which God gave him, or that God gave it him in those obscure terms in which we have it, but rather that God gave him a full & clear revelation, & that he gave us only so much of that revelation as was fit for us to have, & that too wrapt up in obscurity. Wherefore since the sealed book signifies the revelation as it was given by God to the Lamb, & not as it was given by the Lamb to us (for God gave it to the Lamb but the Lamb gave it not to Saint Iohn) it must signify a full & perspicuous revelation, such an one as eminently contains the revelation made to us. And therefore you are to conceive that the Lamb opened the book for his own perusal only & that the concomitant visions which appeared to Saint Iohn were but general & dark emblems of what was particularly & perspicuously revealed to the Lamb in this book.

< text from f 157r resumes >

But then you will say: why were we told of this book <158r> {if} it contained a revelation for the Lamb only, & not for us? To which I answer that it was done in prosecution of the main design of the Apocalyps, which was to describe & obviate the great Apostacy. That Apostacy was to begin by corrupting the truth about the relation of the Son to the Father in putting them equal, & therefore God began this prophesy with a demonstration of the true relation: shewing the Son's subordination, & that by an essential character, his having the knowledge of futurities only so far as the father communicates it to him. And least you should think he had this knowledge given him from all eternity, the book was represented in the hand of God alone sealed at first. Yea it was represented sealed in his hand when there were beings in heaven & earth which could not open it, that is after the creation of the world: & consequently was not given to the Lamb at his first generation but since his resurrection; he meriting it by his obedience to death: which you need not wonder at if you consider his declaration which he made before his death concerning the day of judgment Of that day & hower knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father Mark 13.32. – but the Father only, Matth. 24.36. Yea here, upon the Lamb's taking the book he is celebrated by this song of the Saints. Thou art worthy to take the book & to open the seales thereof: for thou wast slain & hast redeemed us to God by thy blood. which is as much as to say that he merited this dignity by his death to take & read the book & consequently that the book continued sealed up in the hand of the father till after his resurrection. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ And to inculcate this further there immediately follows another song of angels & saints together, saying: worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power & riches & wisdom & strength & honour & glory & blessing. which is as much <159r> as to say, the Lamb which was slain became worthy thereby to receive at the hand of the father, not only the wisdom of this book but power & honour & other perfections. And to this purpose speak other places of scripture also. To the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever – thou hast loved righteousness & hated iniquity, therefore, a[372] O God, thy God hath annointed thee with the oyle of gladnes above thy fellows. Heb. 1.8, 9. We see Iesus who was made a little lower then the Angels, for the suffering of death crowned with glory & honour: ffor it became him for whom are all things & by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings. Heb. 2.9. Let us run with patience the race that is set before us; looking unto Iesus the Author & finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, & is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. Heb. 12.2. He emptied himself & took on him the form of a servant & was made in the likenes of men, & being found in fashion as a man he humbled himself & became obedient to death even the death of the cross; wherefore God hath highly exalted him, & given him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Iesus every knee should bow of things in heaven & things in earth & things under the earth, & that every tongue should confess that Iesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father Philip 2.8, 9. See also Acts 2.36. Rom 8.17. Heb 5.8, 9. Apoc. 3.21.

But further becaus the Apostates were to deceive themselves with a sophistical distinction, saying that these things were spoken of the Lamb in respect of his humane nature & not as he was God: there is also care taken in this vision to obviate this distinction & that by a threefold insinuation: ffirst by representing the book in his hand ¶ < insertion from f 160r > ¶ ffirst by representing the book in his hand alone that sate upon the throne, with a solemn declaration added that there was none in heaven or earth or under the earth besidethe

Lamb worthy to take & open it or to looke thereon. Here was an universal assembly of all beings from the great God that sate upon the throne down to the lowest of the creatures, & in this assembly the two supreme (who were therefore afterward worshiped together by all the rest,) were God that gave the book & the Lamb that received it; & the Lamb till he received it was as absolutely represented without it as any of the other beings: whereas if the λογὸς had known it before, the Lamb was as much a possessor of the <161ar> book from the beginning as he was that sate upon the Throne, & ought to have been represented so, & not to have received it from another, but only the humane nature to have received it from the divine. For to what purpose was the humane soule hypostatically united to the Λογὸς if the Λογὸς communicated not with it but left it to receive knowledge from another hand? Or how could the Lamb as he was the Lamb (which is as much as to say, the Λογὸς incarnate) be represented at first without this book & afterward receiving it, if the Λογὸς had it from the beginning? And also since the communication of the wisdom of this book is called unsealing it, & consequently it's being sealed in his hand only who sate upon the Throne must denote its being shut up in his breast till then uncommunicated, how could it be properly represented sealed in his hand if he had communicated it to the Son or any other person before? We must therefore, unless we will do violence to the vision, affirm that this was the first communication of this book by the Father, & that he communicated it to the Lamb absolutely & properly socalled without any ambiguity, that is, to the Λογὸς incarnate. And indeed what els can we affirm if we consider our Saviour's own confession which he made concerning the day of judgment which he made before this book was given him. Of that day & hower knoweth d[373] none, no, not the Angels in heaven nor the Son, but the ffather. He first asserts in general, d[374] none but the father; & then to take away all suspicion of further exception, he instances in the chief of those none, the Angels & the Son.

Secondly the said distinction is obviated by making the Lamb, as he was worthy to take & open the book. &c. < text from f 159r resumes > by making the Lamb, as he was worthy to take & open the book to be the object of worship. ffor he is here worshipped both alone & together with him that sate upon the throne: the first by the four beasts & 24 Elders, falling down before him & singing a new song saying thou art worthy to take the Book & to open the seals thereof for thou was slain & hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred & tongue & people & nation: the last by the whole creation saying, Blessing <160r> & honour & glory & power to him that sitteth upon the throne & unto the Lamb for ever & ever. Now this worship was given to the Lamb as he was a God without all doubt, Divinity & worship being relative terms, & yet it was given to him as he was worthy to take & open the Book for at the falling down of the four Beasts & 24 Elders before him to worship him, the very act of their worship was to celebrate him for his worthines to take & open the book. The Lamb therefore as he was a God was worshipped for his worthines to take & open the book & therefore took & opened the Book as he was the object of worship, that is a God. But to make all this plainer you may compare it with Philip: 2.9 where tis expresly said, that for his obedience to death God gave him a name above every name that at the name of Iesus every knee should bow &c. that is that all the creation should worship him which is as much as to say that he should be ισα θεω as a God over the creation: for Deity & worship are relative terms & infer one another.

<161br>

Thirdly the said distinction whereby Christ is made equal to the ffather as he is God though inferior as <162r> man, is obviated by the difference put between God & the Lamb in their worship & that in a double respect: first in that the Lamb, while he was celebrated together with the great God in a Doxology by the whole creation, did not sit upon a Throne as God did but only stood a[375] by the Throne which God sate upon; for what els is meant by his sitting upon the Throne but to signify that he was king over all that did not sit upon the throne & consequently over the Lamb too who as a God was worshipped together with him: And secondly in that after the Doxology given to God & the Lamb together, there followed a higher degree of worship given to God alone without the Lamb. I call it a higher degree of worship, for so I gather it to be first by the falling down of the worshippers which it is not said they did in saying the doxology: secondly by the gradation in worship which began with a celebration peculiar to the Lamb, & then proceeded higher to a Doxology common to the Lamb & God, & ended in the worship of God alone: Thirdly by calling this last absolutely worship, as if it were an act distinct from those that went before, to which the name of worship specially belongs. But further to make the stronger impression of this difference of worship, you may see it repeated in the seventh chapter, where there is also first a doxology given to God & the Lamb together by a multitude standing, & then the Angels fall down before the Throne & worship only God. Now why the Lamb should not be joyned with God in this supreme worship as well as in the precedent Doxology, I think there

can be no reason given but this, that it was a worship peculiar to God: for otherwise he could not have been omitted seeing he as well as God was in the middle before the worshippers & the designe of the vision here was to celebrate him As the solemnity began with the celebration of the Lamb for his worthines to receive the book & other blessings at the hand of God, which was too low a worship for God & therefore given to the Lamb alone; & then proceeded to a Doxology which agreed both to God & the Lamb & therefore was given to both together: so ascending <163r> still higher to the supreme worship, worship properly & absolutely so called, it argues that this agreed to none but God because given only to him; & consequently the Lamb must be a God inferior to the great God that sate upon the throne. For a close I might produce the whole strain of scripture to confirm this, but doing that in another place I shall content my self here with the first Chapter to the Hebrews: where you may see the son all along described by things agreeable only to the Λογὸς, as the worlds being made by him, his upholding all things, his being worshipped by the Angels, his being called God, & his founding the earth & making the heavens: & yet in the midst of this career, even in the same sentence where he is once at least if not twice called God, he is said to have a God above him & to be annointed by this his God with the oyle of gladness above his fellows, & that because he loved righteousness & hated iniquity.

You have now had a view of the Preamble to the Prophetic visions, & by what has been said, I hope you conceive this is no insignificant ceremony but a very weighty passage, a system of the Christian religion, showing the relation of the Father & Son, & how they are to be worshipped in a general Assembly of the Church & of the whole creation. The Father the supreme King upon the Throne, the fountain of prescience & of all perfections. The Lamb the next in dignity, the only being worthy to receive full communications at the hand of the Father. No Holy Ghost, no Angels, no Saints worshipped here: none worshipped but God & the Lamb, & these worshipped by all the rest. None but God upon the Throne worshipped with the supreme worship; none with any other degree of worship but the Lamb; & he worshipped not on the account of what he had by nature, but as he was slain, as he became thereby worthy to be exalted & indowed with perfections by the Father. This was the religion to be corrupted by the Apostacy This therefore was very pertinently shadowed out in the ex <164r> ordium to the Prophecy of that Apostacy. Which having explained, I proceed now to consider the Prophecy it self, & first the four Horsmen which appeared at the opening of the first four seales.

### **Of the four Horsmen in general.**

Now since riding denotes reigning,<sup>[376]</sup> these Horsmen must signify Rulers or Kings, & their horses the people they reign over: for by the visions of Daniel we learn that Beasts in general & consequently horses as well as other beasts denote Kingdoms; & the crown given to the first Rider & great sword to the second whereby he was to take peace from the earth, argue that the Riders were no less Rulers then Kings.

Moreover since each of the four Beasts in order ushered in a horsman with this voice, Come & see, & appeared as we said together with the Horsman at a distance from all other parts of the vision: these Beasts too may during the apparition of the horsmen be referred to the Horsmen as types of something that belong to them. And what they typify is obvious. For being types drawn from the armies of Israel incamped in four Squadrons, each under their ensign, they typify any other armies according to the circumstances they are in. When they are described worshiping God they must signify armies of Saints: but while they stand related to the Horsmen they must signify such armies as agree to those Horsmen. Each Rider therefore upon his Horse with the Beast by his side, represents a King reigning over a kingdom & leading an Army, & the shape of the Beast the Standart of his Army: & what more complete & proper emblem of the Roman Emperors then this.

Seeing therefore it was shewn above that the Roman Empire is the subject of this Prophecy, it remains that we shew how these four Horsmen are to be applyed to the Emperors thereof: & for this end we are next to consider <165r> the quarters in which the Horsmen appeared. For Saint Iohn's looking toward those quarters at the call of every Beast, in expectation to see the Horsmen appear<sup>a[377]</sup> from thence, & their appearing thereupon in those quarters, are plain indications that we are likewise to look toward those quarters from the Roman Throne for the Emperors which these Horsmen signify. The first therefore is to be an Emperor, or series of Emperors from some region eastward of Rome or Italy the Throne & political center of the Empire, the second from the west, the third from the South, & the fourth from the north thereof.



Now according to these regions if we take a survey of the Emperors during the heathen state of the Empire that is of all those from Iulius Cæsar down to Constantine the great, which by what we have shewn is the utmost extent of these four seales; we shall find they consisted of these four ranks.

ffirst Italians from Iulius Cæsar down to Trajan.

Secondly Emperors from the West; & they were Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus, Marcus, & Commodus. Trajanus, homo Hispanus nec Italus erat nec Italicus; ante eum nemo alterius nationis Imperium Romanum obtinuerat (Dion) natus Italica in Hispania (Victor De Cæsar Hadriani origo posterior ab Hispaniensibus manat, ejus Pater Ælius Hadrianus consobrinus Trajani Imperatoris, mater Gadibus orta: (Spartian:) etiam natus Italicæ in Hispania (Eutrop. & Euseb Eln) < insertion from f 164v > – mater Gadibus orta [Spartian in Hadriano] Ipse Trajani municeps et Nepos [Spartian in Severo] natus Italicæ in Hispania [Victor et Euseb: Chron] ἦν μὴν γὰρ πολίτης αὐτοῦ [Τραιάνου], καὶ ἐτραπέυθη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, γένους θ’ οἱ ἐκοι νώνει, καὶ ἀδελφίδην αὐτοῦ ἐγεγαμήκει, τό τε σύμπαν συνην αὐτῷ, καὶ συνδιηται. Dion. Hispaniæ Principum mater est; hæc Trajanum hæc deinceps Hadrianum misit Imperio. Pacatus Paneg. ad Theodos. < text from f 165r resumes > Antoninus Pius cui paternum genus e Gallia transalpina, Naumasense scilicet: (Capitolinus). : Ab Adriano in filium adoptatus cujus gener fuerat (S. Aur. Victor. Epitome) ea tamen lege ut is Marcum fratris uxoris suæ filium similiter adoptaret (Capitolin). Marcus Antonini gener (Eutrop) & filius per adoptionem (Euseb. Hist l 4. c 14 & Capitolin) ejus amita Galeria Faustina Antonini uxor, Proavus paternus Annii Verus ex Succubitano Mancipio ex Hispania factus Senator (Capitolin). Commodus Marci filius, (Capitolin, alique) ultimus Trajanidum.

Thirdly Emperors from the South, & they were Severus, Antoninus Caracalla, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, Alexander, the three Gordians, & Philip. < insertion from f 164v > Marcus Hadriani consanguineus (Dion in Hildriano) & Antonini gener (Eutrop) filius per adoptionem (Dion. Capitolin. Euseb: Hist l 4, c 14.) Ipse Adrianum vocat avum suum, & Trajanum proavum [apud Spartian in Piscen. Nigro] Ejus Amita Galeria Faustina Antonini uxor Proavus paternus Annii Verus ex Succubitano Mancipio ex Hispania factus Senator. (Capitolin.) Vide <sup>a[378]</sup> Themistius Theodosium ex Hispania Imperatorem alloquens vocat Trajanum et <sup>b[379]</sup> Marcum et <sup>b[380]</sup> Antoninum πολέτας καὶ ἀρχηγέτας αὐτοῦ populares & majores ejus. < text from f 165r resumes > Severus oriundus ex Africa, Provincia Tripolitana, oppido Lepti, solus omni memoria et ante et post ex Africa Imperator fuit (Eutrop) nativitate scili <166r> cet genere proximo. Ipse cano capite & crispo Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans (Spartianus.) Caracalla Severi filius (Spartian.). Macrinus natione Maurus e Cæsarea Sitifensi obscuris natus est parentibus, habuit enim, præter cætera, alteram aurem perforatam ut est Maurorum consuetudo, (Dion.). Sub sub Commodo relegatus in Africam, ubi ut infamiam damnationis tegeret fertur lectioni operam dedisse, egisse causulas, declamasse, <sup>a[381]</sup> jus postremò dixisse; deinceps advocatum fuisse fisci, ex quo officio ad amplissima quæque pervenit: (Capitolinus). Heliogabalus Caracallæ filius (S. Aur: Victor. Euseb: Chron), & Alexander consobrinus ejus quem ex familia Severi etiam prognatum dicit Zosimus lib. 1. Nempe Iulia Severi conjux sororem habuit Mæsam cui duæ erant filiæ Soænis & Mammæa. Hæc Alexandrum, illa a Caracalla compressa Heliogabalum edidit. Ambo nati in Arcena vel Arca, oppido Phœnicia, septem fere gradibus australion quam Roma: Et Heliogabalus Imperium adeptus mox Alexandrum Cæsarem constituit: De quibus consule Lampridium. Occiso Alexandro Maximinus Thracia ad orientem ferè sitâ oriundus, ex corpore militari primus ad Imperium accessit sola militum voluntate cùm nulla Senatus intercessisset autoritas nec ipse Senator esset (Eutrop. Capitolin. Euseb. Oros.)) Hunc itaque inter Tyrannos adnumero. Contra eum Gordianus pater Proconsul Africae una cum filio Gordiano in Africa salutati Imperatores & a Senatu confirmati, damnato Maximino ut hoste reipublicæ: Iamque Gordianum Africanum appellarunt (Capitolin. Herodian. Zosimus.) idque, ut quidam aiunt, non quod in Africa imperare cœpisset, sed quod de Scipionum familia originem traheret (Capitolin.) Post annum & dimidium in Africa transactum Carthagini periit una cum filio, & mox tertius Gordianus (sive ex filio, sive ex filia Gordiani senioris natus) in imperium a senatu sufficitur, & Maximinus deinde post triennium invasæ tyrannidis occiditur (Capitolin.) Gordiano tertio successit Philippus Arabs, Vostris Arabiae urbe obscuris parentibus natus (Pompon. Læt.) ultimus Imperatorum in hac Australi serie.

Fourthly Emperors from the North: & they were, <167r> Decius, Gallus with his son Volusian, Valerian with his son Gallienus, Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Carus with his sons Numerian & Carinus, Dioclesian with his partner Maximianus, & Galerius with his partner Constantius. the father of Constantine the great. Decius e Pannonia inferiore Bubulæ natus ( Aurel. Victor alijque) in Pannonia etiam Imperator factus (Zosimus)

Gallus juxta Tanaim fluvium Imperator factus (Zosim.) sed qua gente oriundus non inveni. Valerianus Romæ, sed in Rhætia et Norico agens factus est Imperator, (Euseb. Eutrop. Iornand) Claudius Dalmatiâ oriundus (Treb. Polljo) Aurelianus ortus Sirmij in Pannonia inferiore parentibus obscuris: ut nonnulli Dana ripensi (Vopisc.) Inter Aurelianus et Carum imperavit Tacitus, qui cum Italus fuerit, ad plagam quamlibet referri potest; sed is imperavit menses tantum sex. Carus aut Naronæ in Illyrico ( Aur. Victor, & Cerilianus apud Vopiscum) aut Romæ sed Illyricanis parentibus natus (Onesimus apud Vopiscum.) Dioclesiano & Maximiano Augustis, Galerique & Constantio Cæsaribus, his omnibus Illyricum patria fuit ( Victor De Cæsar.) Et quidem Dioclesianus natus est Diocleæ in Dalmatia, Maximianus juxta Sirmium in Pannonia, & Galerius in Dacia ripensi haud longe a Sardica ( Victoris Epit. Euseb. Eutrop. ) & Constantius Claudij Imp. nepos. in Dardanis Illyrijs (Treb Pollio)

ffuere et alij nonnulli Imperatores hisce contemporanei, sed qui vel horum consanguinei, vel Tyranni, vel spatio brevissimo imperarunt: adeò ut in horum serie rarius annumerentur.

Now the whole race of heathen Emperors thus signally resolving it self into these four series: it's plain by the coats of the series that the fourth seal must begin with Decius, the third with Severus, the second with Trajan, & consequently the first fall in with the Emperors preceding Trajan.

### **The first Seal opened.**

But these of the first being all Italians, & so of no quarter themselves but indifferently referrible to any; we are to look <168r> into the East to see if there arose not in the time of these some other Prince within the Empire from whence this quarter may be denominated. / < insertion from f 167v > Pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum literis continere eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens profectique Iudæa rerum potirentur. Quæ ambages Vespasianum et Titum prædixerunt sed vulgus more humanæ cupiditatis sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Tacitus Hist. l. 5. Quod eos ad bellum maxime excitaverat responsum erat ambiguum itidem in sacris libris inventum, quod eo tempore quidem esset ex eorum finibus orbis terræ habiturus Imperium. Id enim illi quidem quasi proprium acciperunt, multique sapientes interpretatione decepti sunt. Hoc autem planè responso Vespasiani designabatur Imperium, qui apud Iudæam creatus est Imperator Iosephus de bello Iud. l 7. c 12 in fine. Author est Iulius Marathus ante paucos quam Augustus nasceretur: menses, prodigium Romæ factum publicè, quo denunciabatur Regem populo Romano Naturam parturire: Senaturn exterritum censuisse, ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur. Eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quo ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne senatus consultum ad Ærarium deferetur [ie. ne sanciretur] Sueton in Octav. p 253. Edit. Lug. Bat. < text from f 168r resumes > Vpon the coming of Vespasian to the Empire †<sup>[382]</sup> Suetonius tells us: Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatiis, ut eo tempore Iudæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano, quantum eventu postea patuit, prædictum, Iudæi ad se strahente srebellarunt: cæsoque Præposito, Legatum insuper Syriæ Consularem suppetias ferrentem, rapta Aquila fugaverunt &c. This Prophecy which had for some time put the oriental nations in continual expectation of a temporal Potentate out of Iudæa, & which the Iews understood of the Messiah with that confidence of temporal dominion as to rebell against the Romans & begin that war which caused their ruin: the Heathens thus applied to Vespasian for his being saluted Emperor in Iudæa; but the Christians know it was meant of Christ: for this rumor (arising I suppose from the expiring of Daniels weeks which was to bring in Messiah the Prince) began a little before our Saviour's appearance & lasted till the dissolution of the Iewish polity so as to cause the appearance of fals Christs during all that time. Considering therefore that this Prophecy began with the Lamb's receiving the book, even the fulnes of Prophetic knowledge, at the hand of the Father, & that this was after his death, but could not be long after the time that he ascended to be glorified at the right hand the ffather, & consequently that the first horsman ought to begin to go forth conquering at or presently after this time: I shall interpret this Horsman of our Lord I shall interpret this Horsman of our Lord, the Prince Messiah, the King of Kings; his Army of the Apostles & other propagaters of Christianity which he sent abroad to conquer; & his hors of the Christian part of the Roman Empire which they subdued to his kingdom & beginning from the Pentecost. By the white colour of his hors (the colour appropriated to the saints throughout this Prophecy) you may learn the purity of his subjects; by his Standart that he is the Lyon of the Tribe of Iudah; by the Crown which is given to none but him that he is a greater king then any of the rest, & by his Bow that he is to be eminently victorious. Here he goes forth νικων καὶ ἴνα νικήσῃ, conquering & that he should conquer, conquering in this seal & that he should conquer afterward, & accordingly you may see him appear again in <169r> chap 19. still riding on the white hors, & deciphered by the name on his thigh,

King of Kings & Lord of Lords & followed by the armies in heaven against the Beast & the Kings of the earth & their Armies, to complete his conquests by the universal & final overthrow of all those his enemies. Thus he is the Alpha & Omega of the Prophecy as it was fit he should be.

### The second Seale opened.

The Kingdom of our Lord being propagated into all nations, & the age of the Apostolic warfare run out & the purity of the Church denoted by the white colour of the hors beginning to abate: there appears a Rider from the west, Trajan the founder of the western race of Emperors. Now the quality of this Rider is that he should be a very great & victorious invader of his neighbours: a great invader, for it was given to him to take peace from the earth; & a victorious one, for the great sword which was given him is an emblem of victoriousnes as the Bow was of the first Rider's. / < insertion from f 168v > Quam bene vero hæc prima nostri religionis tempora ad usque Imperi Trajani tribuuntur huic albi equi inessori, dixcite ex Hegesippo Historiæ Christianæ scriptore nobilissimo, & eorum quæ hic afferrimus teste oculari. floruit enim sub Hadriano successore Trajani. Ille autem refert quomodo ecclesia ad usque persecutionem quam Trajanus initio regni sui excitabit gubernata fuit per cætue virorum Apostolicorum per Symeonem nempe, senem centum et viginti annorum, & Servatoris consanguineum qui communi Apostolorum consensu dudum constitutus fuerat Episcopus Hierosolymorum; & per filios Iudæ, Domini itidem consanguineos, quos ait toti etiam Ecclesiæ præsidisse; & una cum Symeone in hac persecutione Martyrio affectos fuisse; (addo et Ioannem Apostolum, præidentem Ecclesijs Asiæ ad usque initium Trajani, licet non participem persecutionis;) et posthæc subjungit Ecclesiam ad hæc usque tempora instar cujusdam virginis integram atque incorruptam permansisse: adhuc in obscuro recessu delitescens quicunque rectam prædicationis Evangelicæ regulam depravare interetur. Sed postquam sacer Apostolorum cætus vario mortis genere extinctus est, effluxeratque jam ætas hominum illorum, qui divinam ipsam sapientiam suis auribus auscultare inervuerant, tunc demum exorta sit impij erroris conspiratio fraude et malitia falsorum doctorum. Qui utpote wallo amplius ex Apostolis superstite, posthæc nudo, quod aiunt, capite adversus prædicationem veritatis ad alterinam doctrinam obtrudere aggressi sunt. Hæc Hegesippus †<sup>[383]</sup> Eusebio citante. Igitur equo hujus inoris ad usque tempora Trajani color albus merito assignatur. < text from f 169r resumes > And thus it was. ffor after the Empire was almost dissolved by seditions & defections in Nero's reign, & something repaired by Vespasian, & again made to totter by Domitian; Trajan not only settled it but enlarged it by forreign conquests more then ever did any other Emperor: insomuch that Historians reccon the ἀκμή of the Empire to have been in his reign; & the Emperor Iulian in his Dialogue called Cæsares, singling out Iulius Cæsar, Octavius, Trajan, Marcus & Constantine, as the five gallantest of all the Roman Emperors, to compare with Alexander the great, calls Iulius, Octavius & Trajan πολεμικώτερος bellicosiores, & in the final sentence allots Trajan alone to keep company with Alexander. But let us take a view of his conquests.

✦ < insertion from f 168v > Trajanus Persarum Imperium subvertit, Armeniosque Romanorum fræno subiecit, et Scythicas nationes sceptro suo parere compulit. Theodoretus de Curand. Græc. Affect. serm 9.

✦ Trajanus in Gallia factus Imperator, mox Germaniam trans Rhenum in pristinum statum reduxit: trans Danubiam multas gentes subegit: regiones autem trans Euphratem & Tigrim sitas provincias fecit: Seleusiam et Ctesiphontem & Babylonem occupavit. Oros. So victor: Trajano agre clarior domi — < text from f 169r resumes > Trajano, saith Victor, <sup>[384]</sup> ægrè clarior domi seu militiæ reperietur. Quippe primus, aut solus etiam vires Romanas <170r> {trans} Istrum propagavit, domitis in provinciam Dacorum pilentis Sacisque nationibus, Decibalo Rege, ac Sardonijs: simul ad ortum Solis cunctæ gentis quæ inter Indum et Eufratem amnes inclytos sunt concussæ bello, atque imperiali obsides Persarum regi, nomine Cosdrei; & inter ea iter conditum per feras gentes quo facilè ab usque Pontico Mari in Galliam permeatur. His wars with Decibalus, which were double, you have more at large described in Dion: the greatnes of them you may learn from this passage in Eutropius: <sup>[385]</sup> Hadrianum Daciam relinquere conatum amici deterruerunt ne multi cives Romani Barbaris traderentur, propterea quod Trajanus, victa Dacia, ex toto orbe Romano infinitas eo copias transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendas. Dacia enim diuturno bello Decibali fuerat exhausta. In the east he was the first that extended the Empire beyond Eufrates. His conquests there are thus particularised. Trajanus, saith Sextus Rufus, qui post Augustum Romanæ Reip. movit lacertos, Armeniam recepit a Parthis: sublato Diademate Regi Armeniæ majoris regnum ademit: Albanis regem dedit: Iberos, Bosporianos, Colchos, in fidem Romanæ ditionis accepit: Saracenorum loca & Arabum occupavit: Corduenos et Marcomedos obtinuit: Anthemusiam optimam Persidis regionem, Seleuciamque & Ctesiphontem ac Babyloniam accepit & tenuit: usque ad Indiæ fines post Alexandrum accessit: Provincias fecit Armeniam, Mesopotamiam et Assyriam, &

quæ inter Tigridem et Eufratem sita irriguis amnibus instar Ægypti fæcundantur. So Eutropius: Romani Imperij quod post Augustum defensum magis fuerat quam nobiliter ampliatur, Trajanus fines longe lateque diffudit: urbes trans Rhenum in Germania reparavit: Daciam Decibalo victo subegit — Armeniam quam occuparant Parthi recepit, Sarmato rege occiso qui eam tenebat. Albanis regem dedit. Iberorum regem, & Sauromatarum & Bosphoranorum & Arabum & Osdroenorum & Colchorum in <171r> fidem accepit. Adiabenos, Marchomedes occupavit; & Anthemusium magnam Persidis regionem, Seleuciam & Ctesiphontem, Babylonem et Edessios vicit ac tenuit: Vsque ad Indiæ fines & mare rubrum accessit, atque ibi tras Provincias fecit Armeniam Assyriam et Mesopotamiam cum his gentibus quæ Madenam attingunt. Arabiam postea in Provinciæ formam redegit. In mari <sup>a[386]</sup> rubro classem instituit ut per eam Indiæ fines vastaret. De Indis enim, saith Dion, cogitare cœpit, ac de rebus ejus gentis curiosè quærere, tum Alexandrum beatum dicere, nonnunquam tamen asserere se longiùs progressurum esse: idquæ scripsit ad Senatum: cùm tamen ea quæ cœperat tueri non posset. Cujus rei causa Senatus præter alia multa decrevit ut triumphos de quocunque gentibus vellet ageret. Nam propter multitudinem earum quas ijs semper per epistolas retulit, Senatus eas neque cognoscere neque nominare satis poterat. Itaque cum alia multa tum arcum triumphalem in foro ipsius ædificari jussit.

Thus eminently did this Emperor weild the great sword & take peace from the earth: but there follows another fate allotted to his reign, namely that they should kill one another. Let us see therefore how this was made good. Parabant {cloes}, pergit Dion, redeunti longius obviam procedere sed is nunquam in urbem reversurus erat nec dignum potuit efficere aliquid rebus ante gestis editurus, imò illa ipsa amisurus. Dum enim navigat Oceanum atque inde revehitur, ea quæ cœperat omnia tumultu defecerunt, præsidij quæ apud eas gentes reliquerat dejectis cæsisque. Atque hæc ad Trajanum dum esset in navi præferuntur. — Igitur cognita defectione Lucium et Maximum contra rebelles mittit. Maximus prælio superatus obijt. Lucius cùm alia præclarè gessit tum Nisibin recuperavit, Edessam expugnavit direptamque incendit. Seleucia ab Euricio Claro & Iulio Alexandro capta et incensa est. Trajanus <172r> {illeg} quoque aliquo nolirentur, — ijs regem Parthamaspatem designat, eique diadema imponit. Inde profectus in Arabiam adoritur Agarenos qui et ipsi defecerant — sed cum damno repulsus, ipse etiam pene vulneratus, re infecta inde decessit (Dion) Defecerunt etiam Cyrenenses Iudæi & Romanis et Græcis trucidatis. Idem et Ægyptiaci & Cyprij imitati sunt: sed hos misso exercitu domuit (Zonaras).

Of the killing one another by the defection of the new conquered nations we have no particular account: but that of the Jews is thus related. <sup>a[387]</sup> Incredibili motu, inquit Orosius, sub uno tempore Iudæi quasi rabie efferati per universas terrarum partes exarserunt. Nam et per totam Libyam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt: quæ adeò tunc interfectis cultoribus desolata est, ut nisi postea Hadrianus Imperator collectas illuc aliunde colonias deduxisset, vacua penitus abraso habitatore mansisset [Oros.]. Ægyptum vero totam & Cyrenem & Thebaida magnam cruentis seditionibus turbaverunt. <sup>b[388]</sup> Salaminem urbem Cypri interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt In Alexandria autem commisso prælio victi et attriti sunt. In Mesopotamia quoque Iudæis rebellantibus præcepit Imperator Trajanus Lybiæ Quietio ut eos provincia exterminaret: adversum quos Quietus aciem instruens infinita millia eorum delevit. [Euseb: Chron. Oros] vastâ cæde [Oros] What happened in Cyrene & Cyprus is more fully described by Dion. Iudæi qui circa Cyrenem habitabant, Andrea quodam duce, Romanos pariter atque græcos concidunt, vescuntur eorum carnibus, eduntque viscera; tum oblinuntur eorum sanguine, & pellibus induuntur. Multos a vertice serris discidère medios, multos objicere bestiis, multos etiam certare inter se coegerunt, ita ut interierint hominum ducenta viginti millia. Præterea in Ægypto con similis cædes facta est. Nec minore clade Cyprij affecti fuêre, siquidem Artemione duce, conspirantes Iudæi <173r> circiter ducenta quadraginta capitum millia trucidarunt: ex quo fit quod Iudæo in Cyprum venire non licent. Etiam si forte vi tempestatis in Insulam appulerit, intreficitur. Sed inulta cædes non mansit: nam Trajanus misso cum exercitu Lucio, tum antecedentibus alijs ducibus, Iudæos qui per universum ferè terrarum orbem tantum cædis ediderant, profligavit [Ziphilinus & Alexandrinus ex Dione]. This war with them, Eusebius describes more at large. Anno Trajani <sup>a[389]</sup> decimo octavo ingens Iudæorum multitudo e medio sublata est. Siquidem non Alexandria solum, & in reliquis Ægypti partibus, verum apud Cyrenem etiam complures tanquam atroci quodam et seditioso spiritu exagitati, primò simul commanentibus vicinisque gentibus inferunt certamina. Dein seditione minem in modum exardescente, sequente anno, Lupo Ægypti præfecturam gerente, bellum publicum non exiguum illud quidem et leve moverunt. Ac in prima dimicatione illi a Gentibus victoriam forte consecuti sunt: ac propterea Gentes Alexandriam properè confugientes Iudæos qui in ea civitate commorabantur subito captos oppressosque interficiunt. Iudæi ergo qui incolebant Cyrenem, sociorum auxilio qui Alexandria habitabant, penitus jam destituti, Duce Lucua,



Ægyptum depopulari, prædas agere, agros illius vastare aggressi sunt. Adversus quos Imperator Martium Turbonem cum pedestribus equestribus & navalibus etiam copijs, misit. Hic multis prælijs commissis, belloque contra eos non exiguo tempore continuato, infinitas copias Iudæorum, non solum qui a Cyrene, sed etiam qui ab Ægypto ad auxilium Lucuæ ferendum se contulerant, trucidavit. Imperator igitur eos etiam qui apud Mesopotamiam Iudæos ratus similia ausuros, Q. Lucia præcepit ut e Provincia funditus tolleretur deleretque. Qui quidem facta illuc expeditione, immensam Iudæorum multitudinem, qui ibi domicilia rerum suarum collocaverant occidit. Cujus <174r> **{illeg}** causa tam prospere gessæ Pæfectus **{illeg}** ab Imperatore declaratus est. Istam etiam Gentiles scriptores qui illorum temporum res gestas literis mandarunt, eisdem fere verbis posteris prodiderunt. Euseb. Hist l. 4. c. 2.

Search now the Roman histories, & though you may meet with greater & more lasting wars, such as shook the Empire more & more universally; yet for horrid killing one another I know not where you will meet with such another instance, unless the remainder of the Jewish wars which followed in Hadrian's reign may be compared to it. Very significantly therefore was the colour of this Rider's hors put a sanguinary one & his standart an Ox a Beast appointed to the slaughter.

### **The third Seale opened.**

The third Rider has a pair of Ballances in his hand & this denotes him to be a Iudge; And to this his Standart with the face of a man is very agreeable : for fighting & killing & dying of famine & pestiencies or the like, are common to men & Beasts, but judicature is peculiar to man.

This therefore we are to apply to <sup>a[391]</sup> Severus the founder of the third race of Emperors, & it fits him so well that I know not where such another instance can be found or what more singular character of his reign could have been pitched upon. ffor he had anatural affection to judicature from a child, was so expert a Lawyer that at the age of 32 yeares the Emperor Marcus designed him Prætor & that more then among the candidates, after he came to the Empire heard causes dayly all the morning, was very severe against criminals, left <175r> his deputy Iudge when war required him to lead the Army; instituted his sons in the Law, & from him that study took such encouragement that I know not any other age of the Empire where a greater number of famous Lawyers are recorded then that which followed his reign, most of w were the auditors of Papinian his special favorite.

In prima pueritia priusquam Latinis Græcisque literis imbueretur, quibus eruditissimus fuit, nullum alium inter pueros ludum nisi ad iudices exercuit, quum ipse prælatis fascibus: ac securibus, ordine puerorum circumstante sederet ac iudicaret. — Prætor designatus a Marco est <sup>\*[392]</sup> non in candida sed in competitorum grege anno ætatis XXXII. — Imperator factus causas plurimas audivit [Spartian.] Aliquid semper agebat sub diluculum, post deambulabat dicens audiensque quæ ad Imperij utilitatem pertinerent: dein jus dicebat nisi celeberrimus festus esset, agebatque in eo optimè nam et litigantibus aquam quantum satis erat suppeditabat & nobis una iudicantibus magnam libertatem in dicendis sententijs largitus erat. Iudicabat autem ad meridiem usque [Dion ἄυτοπτης & ex eo Zonaras.] Vbi Plautianum occiderat plurimum in suburbanis aut circum maritimas Campaniæ oras agitabat, jus dicens, & civilibus negotijs intentus. — In Britannia contra hostem profecturus juniorem filium Getam nomine in parte Insulæ Romanis subjecta reliquit ut iuridicundo rebusque civilibus administrandis præesset, [Herodian l. 3] Quamque Antoninum filium designasset Imperatorem, moriturus, ipsi, Getæque alteri filio imperij hæredibus institutis, Tutorem Papinianum reliquit, virum justissimum, & qui tam cognitione quam expositione legum omnes ante pariter et post se Romanos jurisconsultos superavit [Zosimus l. 1] filijque deinceps imperium adepti solebant etiam jus dicere [Herodian l 4] licet non ita sedulò neque satis sincerè.

This of him as he was a Iudge: in the next place wee <175v> may consider the black colour of his hors, & this being the known emblem of mourning, must signify death as well as the red colour of the second hors & the pale one of the fourth: not the death of the people in generall as those colours do, but the death of great men, such whose funerals used & still use to be solemnized in this mourning colour. Now for the slaughter of such the reign of Severus was so infamous as much to transcend even that of the worst Tyrants Nero Domitian or Commodus, he being more highly provoked & doing his will, they cut off in their designs: so that had not his other heroick vertues of temperance prudence fortitude & justice together with the prosperity of his reign palliated this infamy, without doubt he had been numbred by posterity among the worst of princes.



He was established in the Empire by a tripple conquest the first over Didius Iulianus which was easy & almost without blood, the second over Piscenius Niger in Syria where he shewed more cruelty, by which & the austerity of his manner (for he was not only severely just, but by nature inclined to cruelty, & against his enemies very cruel & inexorable) the Senate & Citizens of Rome became so disaffected to him as in his third war (which was with Albinus) privately to favour the Tyrant his enemy: whereupon he put to death great multitudes, first in Spain & Gallia where Albinus reigned & was conquered, & then in Italy at his return thither, & amongst the rest he slew very many of the Senators, the letters which he found with Albinus betraying many. *Interfectis innumeris Albini partium viris* —

In the margent write: <sup>a</sup> Although the ballance denotes not Iustice but judgment in general, which accordingly as the Ballance is true or fals, sincere or bruised, may be either just or unjust, yet it may not be amiss to note here something of the austere Iustice & other qualities of Severus which fitted him for the office of a Iudge or otherwise rendred him worthy to be taken notice of. Severus genere Afer, vehemens homo negocijs gerendis <176r> Severus genere Afer, vehemens homo negocijs gerendis, ac ferox, vitæque insuetus duræ & asperæ, promptus excogitandis, acer exequendis rebus [Herodian. l. 2] Acer ingenio; ad omnia quæ intendisset, in finem perseverans [Aurel. Victor] Imperator Constantissimus [Tertullian ] Idem cùm implacabilis delictis tum ad eligendos industrios iudicij singularis. Lugdunensem Provinciam Legatione Proconsulari regens, a Gallis ob severitatem & honorificentiam & abstinentiam tantum quantum nemo dilectus est. [Spartian.] Severo præclarior in republica fuit nemo. Legum conditore longe æquabilium. Implacabilis delictis strenuum quemque præmijs extollebat. Nulli in dominatu suo permisit honores venundari. Ne parva quidam latrocinia impunitæ patiebatur, in <sup>\*[393]</sup> suos animadvertens magis: quod vitio Ducum aut etiam Præfectorum fierè, vix experiens intelligeret [Aurel: Victor.] Accusatos a provincialibus Iudices, probatis rebus, graviter punivit. Latronum ubique hostis [Spartian]. Erat erga delinquentes inexorabilis, eorumque bona qui flagitiorum rei peragibantur, publicabat [Zosimus l. 1.] Criminari solebat incontinentes, ob eamque causam legem de mœchis tulit ex quibus quamplurimæ cædes factæ sunt. Ego quidem cum Consul essem inveni scriptum in tabulis tria millia mœchorum morte fuisse mulctata. Sed cum jam multi mortales in hanc pœnam inciderent, cœpit de his quærere negligentius <sup>\*[394]</sup> Dion] In honorem Pertinacis se quoque Pertinacem vocari jussit; quod ad pertinaciam ejus in ultionibus persequendis accommodarunt plerique cum dicerent eum <177r> Imperatorem esse, verè Pertinacem, verè Severum. [Pezelij Mellif: Hist. & Spartian.] <sup>[395]</sup> Eum Patres, quanquam exacta ætate mortuum, justicio elogioque lugendum sanxere, astruentes illum justum nasci aut emori minemè convenisse. Scilicet quod corrigendis moribus nimium; postquam ad veterum innocentiam, quasi mentium sanitatem, pervenissent, clementem habuere. Ita honestas, quæ principio anxia habetur; ubi contigerit voluptati luxuriæque est [Victor de Cæsar.]

⚔ < insertion from f 176v > ⚔ his enemy. *Interfectis innumeris Albini partium viris* inter quos multi principes civitatis, multæ fæminæ illustres fuerunt, omnium bona publicata sunt, Derariumque auxerunt. Tum Hispanorum ac Gallorum procures multi occisi sunt. Denique militibus tantum stipendiorum quantum nemo Principum dedit. Filijs etiam suis ex hac præscriptione tantum reliquit quantum nullus Imperatorum. Multi sanè post Albinum fidem ei servantes bello superati sunt. Vltus igitur graviter Albinianam defectionem, interfectis plurimis, genere quoque ejus extincto, iratus populo & Senatoribus Romam venit. [Spartian in Severo] Innumeros Senatores interemit, & ab alijs Syllæ Punici ab alijs Marij nomen accepit. [Spart in Piscen. Nigro] Ex Senatoribus Spartianus nominatim recenset quadraginta et unum quos — — — Pertinax, verè Severus. Multos insuper quasi Chaldæos aut Vates de sua Salute consulissent interemit: præcipuè suspectans unumquemque idoneum imperio [Spart. in Severo] Neque <sup>a[396]</sup> hoc anno quievit Severus a ciuium cæde sed novis detectis Imperij perduellibus in sequentem usque annum Romanorum civium ipsa Vrbs Roma cædibus maduit. [Baron ann 200. § 1 ex Tertulliano] Infinita multorum cæde crudelior habitus [Spartian] ‡ < insertion from the bottom of f 176v > ‡ omnes Senatus Principes et singularum Provinciarum nobilissimos & ditissimos quosque interfecit. Auri enim avidissimus fuit, ut fortitudinem vinceret avaritia. Suidas in Severo. < text from f 176v resumes > Cædibus illustrium virorum adeò infamis ut Punicas clades in togâ cæsorum civium Romanorum sanguine rependerit [Egnatius in Severo.] Tell me now whether for all these funeralls of the Senators & chief Nobility happening principally at once, the hors of this Rider, that is the people of the Empire deserved not to be thus represented in a mourning colour. In the former seale where the bloodshed was of the commons, very copious, & in a tumultuary way, so as either not to require or not to be capable of funerall solemnities, it was most properly exprest by the colour of blood: but here where not so much the quantity as the nobility of the blood spilt was to be remarkable, no colour was so proper to express it as that of mourning. < text from f 177r resumes > Victo Albino innumeros Senatores interemit Severus, &

ab alijs Syllæ Punici, ab alijs Marij nomen accepit [Spartian. in Piscen. Nigro] Ex his Spartianus nominatim recenset 41 Senatores quos sine causæ dictione occidit, dein subjungit: Horum igitur tantorum ac tam illustrium virorum (nam multi in his Consulares, multi prætorij, omnes certe summi viri fuere) interfector, ab Afris ut Deus habetur. Multos præterea obscuri loci homines interemit, præter eos quos jus prælij absumpsit. Damnabantur autem plerique cur jociati essent, alij cur tacuissent, alij cur pleraque figurate dixissent ut quod esset Imperator verè sui nominis, verè Pertinax, vere Severus. <178r>

Hitherto of the Ballance & black colour of the hors. But there remains still to be considered the voice saying: A Chænix of wheat for a peny &c. For the understanding of which it may be considered: ffirst that a peny was the daily wages of the soldiers, & of other labourers also as may be learnt out of Matt 20. & so it may be taken in general for a days wages or a dayly stipend. Secondly that a Chænix was not an usual measure for the world to buy & sell by, but a measure conteining so much as was allowed for the maintenance of a poor man for a day, demensum diurnum, ἡμεροτροφίς, a days wages or dayly allowance in corn be it more or less: for the Chænix<sup>[397]</sup> seems to have been various according to the conditions of countries cities & men one Chænix for the Soldier, another for this Labourer another for that,. A chænix for a peny therefore is as much as to say: A days maintenance in corn for a days wages or a daily Stipend. Thirdly we may note that the voice proclaiming a Chænix of wheat for a peny &c came from the midst of the four beasts that is from the center of the four quarters of the Empire, the city Rome; & so concerns the provisions of that city. Now Budæus tell's us that the measure by which the corn was dispensed out of the publick storehouses there for the dayly sustenance of the people was chænicaria: whence b<sup>[398]</sup> Casaubon out of Spartian who assigns 75000 Roman Bushels to be dayly distributed, collects by reconning eight Chænixes to a bushel, that there were 600000 persons in the turba frumentaria of that city. I shall not doubt therefore to apply the voice to these storehouses as well as to the granaries of particular citizens, as a proclamation to the people that there was corn there to be dispensed to them, either one Chænix of wheat, or three of Barley, dayly for their maintenance: that is that there was abundance of corn there for that end: ffor a proclamation of any commodity to be sold or dispensed denotes abundance of it & here it is as much as to say that the rich choose to give the poor rather corn than money for their daily peny: & besides the price for the Chænix is not so great, nor the <179r> Chænix for a dayly allowance so little as to agree with great scarcity; the first being but a days hire of the poorest people & the c<sup>[399]</sup> last about two sextaries or three of our quarts: & if scarcity be not here signified plenty must, a meane being nothing remarkable. In like manner I suppose the latter part of the voice Hurt not (μὴ ἀδικήσης, be not injurious to, abuse not, mispend not) the oyle & the wine, denotes the affluence of those commodities: men being most lavishing in affluence & needing no admonition to good husbandry where there is a want of things. Let us see therefore how this came to pass.

Frumenti summam, saith Herodian of Severus, primus adauxit. Populo <sup>a[400]</sup> Romano, saith Spartian, diurnum oleum gratuitum & fæcundissimum in æternum agrum donavit. The feild I suppose was for vines & the oyle I take to be the first that was given to the publick towards a <sup>b[401]</sup> constant stock, for I read not of any they had before, & Lampridius refers all the stock of oyle to Severus when he tells us Oleum quod Severus populo dederat, quodque Heliogabalus imminuerat, Alexander integrum restituit. The Reign of Severus was therefore remarkable for the increase of the Roman provisions above what other Emperors had done. But let us see a little further whether it was so remarkable a character of his reign as to deserve to be taken notice of in the Prophesy.

When Severus had newly conquered Albinus: in writing an angry letter to the Senate he tells them thus what he had done for them. Ego frumenta reip. detuli, ego multa bella pro rep. gessi, ego populo Romano tantum olei detuli quantum rerum natura vix habuit. Ego interfecto P. Nigro vos a malis tyrannis liberavi. Magnam sane mihi reddidistis vicem, magnam gratiam. &c. Capitol: in Albino. Then this I know not what more could be said of the oyle, & for both the oyle & corn if what he had done therein had not been very extraordinary, its not he would have thus joyned them <180r> with his greatest deeds & upbraided the Senate with them. Yet this was but in the sixth year of his reign & what followed could not but be considerably greater. ffor having now settled the Empire which he found in a turbulent condition, there followed great tranquillity & plenty : whence this of Tertullian written as <sup>a[402]</sup> Barronius shows toward the end of Severus reign. Principes semper Africæ, Viri Carthaginenses, vetustate nobiles, novitate felices; gaudeo vos tam prosperos temporum (cum ita vacat et juvat) habitus denotare pacis. Hæc et annona et ocia ab Imperio et a Cælo. Benè est. And afterward. Quantum reformavit Orbis seculum istud? quantum urbium aut produxit aut auxit aut reddidit præsentis Imperij triplex virtus, Deo <sup>b[403]</sup> tot Augustis in unum favente? quot census transcripti?

quot populi propagati? quot ordines illustrati? quot Barbari exclusi? Revera Orbis cultissimum hujus Imperij rus est, eradicato omni aconito hostilitatis, & cacto et rubo subdolæ familiaritatis, consitum & amœnum super Alcinoi pometum & Midæ rosetum. Tertull. de Pallio. Quibus sanè verbis non nisi tranquillissimum Imperij Severi tempus designat. Baron. Ann. 197. § 3. By Severus's Medals also found with this inscription FELICITAS Baronius<sup>[404]</sup> further collects the flourishing state of these times. And Severus himself exprest as much in his last words, saying,<sup>[405]</sup> Turbatam Remp. ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo. Seing therefore he reigned in this happy tranquillity & affluence 12 years after his conquest of Albinus, the Roman stores could not but be very much increased by him. And to give you the summ in short. Rei frumentariæ quam minimam repererat, ita ut consuluit, ut excedens vita septem annorum Canonem populo Romano relinqueret, ita ut quotidiana septuagena quina millia modiorum expendi possent: olei verò tantum, ut per quinquennium non solùm urbis usibus, sed et totius Italiæ, quæ oleo egeret, sufficeret. Spartian.

<181r>

### **The fourth Seal opened.**

The fourth horsman appears with a follower, & of him & his follower together are the things of this seal spoken: which is as much as to say that we are to apply the things of this seal not only to Decius the first Emperor of the fourth series, but also to the times immediately following him. And hence it was that I learnt that the horsmen signify only single persons, the first emperors of each series, & so that the things spoken of the second & third horsmen were to be applied only to Trajan & Severus: for if those horsmen had been meant of the whole series, there would have been no need of representing this 4<sup>th</sup> horsman with a follower.

Now the contents of this seale are that the name of this Rider was death, & that it was Hell that followed him, & that to them (Death from whome he took his name & Hell which followed him power was given over the 4<sup>th</sup> part of the earth to kill with the sword & with hunger & with death & with the beasts of the earth, that is with civil wars, famin, pestilence, & invasion. ffor the Greeks use θάνατος Death for the pestilence; & the rapine of wild beasts is an emblem of invasion & captivity, as you may see in Fig in the notes upon Ier: 15.2, 3, where the very same quaternary of calamities is threatned to the Iews. Compare the places for they plainly illustrate one another. Further because the deaths here were not to be by bloodshed only as in y<sup>e</sup> second Seal, nor to happen to the great men above the rest as in the third, but to <182r> be of all kinds & happen alike to all persons, therefore this hors is neither red nor in mourning as in those seales, but pale, a colour which equally expresses all sorts of deaths & the deaths of all sorts of persons. Lastly to all this the standart of this Rider is very agreeable, being an eagle, a Bird of prey which feeds on carcasses.

### **Of the Riders name, Death.**

This being the tenour of the prophesy, let us see now how it was fulfilled. And first to let you know how well the Rider deserved the name of death, I shall tell you the history of Decius out of Zosimus. Rebus, inquit, sub Philippi secordiam ubique perturbatione refertis, Scythæ sub initio Decij Tanaim transgressi vicina Thraciæ loca prædis agendis infestabant. Quos aggressus Decius, & omnibus prælijs superior, præda quoque recepta qua potiti fuerant, quo minùs domum reverterentur abutum eis intercludere conabatur, & universos ad internecionem delere cogitabat, ne denuò coactis copijs irruerent. Quumque Gallum ad Tanaidis ripam satis magnis cum copijs collocasset, ipse cum reliquis ad hostem propius accedebat. At Gallus ad moliendum res novas conversus, legatis ad Barbaros missis, ut in societatem adversus Decium venirent, hortabatur. Barbari igitur trifariam divisi quodam in loco primam aciem instructam collocabant, quem locum palus quædam a fronte muniebat. Vbi multos ex eis Decius interemisset, acies secunda supervenit, qua ipsa quoque in fugam acta, pauci quidam ex acie tertia propter paludem conspecti sunt. Ibi cùm Gallus per indicia Decio significasset ut eos per ipsam paludem invaderet, imprudenter ob locorum ignorantiam progressus, et cum copijs quas secum ducebat in medio defixus, & a Barbaris undique telis petitus, una cum <183r> ijs quos propter se habebat, nemine prorsus evadendi facultatem nancto, perijt. To the same purpose writes Pomponius Laetus & Zonaras also, < insertion from f 182v > \* Zonaras writes quod Decius barbaros persequens cum filio et magna multitudine in paludem incidit, ubi omnes perierunt ut nec corpora eorum invenirentur cæno obruta. And Pomponius Lætus: Deciani difficillimè præliabantur luto palustri afferente cladem, & loco et fato adversantibus pereunt. So Egnatius: Decius cæsus cum toto exercitu, & Constantinus M. (in Orat. ad Sanct. cæt. c. 24) ratefies it, saying. < text from f 183r resumes > & Constantine the great (in Orat. ad Sanctorum Cæt. c. 24) ratefies the perishing of his whole army, saying Decius in agris Scythicis una cum omnibus copijs

prostratus, Imperium Romanum omnium ore celebratum Getis ludibrio et despectui objecit. This being so, what could more deserve the name of death, or how could Decius have been better characterised then by that name? for if you search all the Roman story you will not find such another instance.

### Of the succeeding quaternion of plagues.

The short reign of Decius<sup>[406]</sup> making him remarkable for nothing but his fate, the Holy Ghost tells you only that his name was death & then passes on to his follower Hell the executioner of the 4 plagues. Now here, some perhaps might think that as Death which joyned with Hell in executing these plagues, is a name borrowed from the perishing of Decius in the Lake; so Hell may be a name borrowed from the Lake in which he perished: but however in that it signifies the region of the dead, that & the name death put together lay the greater emphasis upon the mortality of the Plagues. And further whereas Death is said to follow μετ' αὐτου with the Rider, it may imply that the plagues were to follow him not at a distance of time but close at the heels. And so they did, for they all began together in the reign of his successor Gallus who reigned but a little more than three years. Let us run over them in order: And first of the Invasions.

### Of the Wild Beasts.

From Trajan to Commodus the Empire flourished very much, & from thence forward till now moderately well. Yet in the reign of Marcus the northern Barbarians made a general attempt: which as it was the first great attempt they made, so withbeing stoutly repulsed, they continued from thence forward pretty quiet till now. But now taking occasion <184r> from the blow which the Empire received by the fate of Decius, they all, as it were at a watchword set upon the Empire together: of which take this account out of Zosimus. <sup>[407]</sup> Quum primum Gallus ad Imperium pervenisset, tantumque non clamaret Decium cum exercitu suis insidijs perditum, prosperæ Barbarorum res incrementum cœperunt. Non enim cum præda tantum Gallus eis, ut suos intra fines redirent permisit: rerum etiam quotannis certam pecuniæ summam dare promisit, & ex captivis nobilissimum quemque per vim abduci passus est, quorum plerique capta Thraciæ Philippopoli hostium in potestatem venerant. Deinde cum negligenter Imperium Gallus administraret, primum quidem Scythæ nationibus sibi vicinis terrorem incutiebant deinde paulatim progressi ad ipsum usque mare sitas regiones populabantur: adeo quidem ut nulla gens Romanæ ditionis ab ijs non vastata relinqueretur: sed omnia prope dixerim oppida non munita mœnibus, & munitorum magna pars caperentur. Nec minùs bello ab omnibus partibus ingruente lues etiam pestilens in oppidis atque vicis subsecuta, quicquid erat humani generis reliquum absumpsit; quæ sanè nunquam superioribus sæculis tantam hominum stragem dederat. Rebus in hunc modum comparatis, cum <sup>[408]</sup> Imperatores remp. defendere non possent, & omnia extra Romam posita negligenter, rursus Gothi & Borani, & Vrugundi & Carpi civitates & Europa diripiebant; quicquid eis supererat sibi auferentes: Persæ verò Asiam invadebant Mesopotamiam occupantes & in ipsam progressi Syriam ad Urbem Antiochenam usque, donec et illam totius Orientis Metropolin caperent & incolis ejus partim cæsis partim in Captivitatem abductis infinita cum præda domum discederent, omnibus tam privatis quàm publicis civitatis ædificijs, nullo prorsus resistente dirutis. Scythis autem, quotquot erant in Europa, securè de- <185r> gentibus & jam in Asiam quoque transgressis omniaque ad Cappadociam & Pessinuntem & Ephesum usque depopulatis: Æmilianus ordinum Pannonicorum dux (militibus suis qui parùm habebant animi ad resistendum prosperæ barbarorum fortunæ, quanto poterat opere confirmatis) improvisus Barbaros in ijs locis repertos aggressus est; magnam eorum partem occidit, & præter omnem denique spem imperio Romano subjectos, illorum furore liberavit.

All this was in the three year's reign of Gallus, & this act of Æmilian did but make way for new invasions: ffor in the beginning of Valerians reign the Scythians brake in again & vext all Greece, & the Marcomans also & others invaded other places: which Zosimus having mentioned, proceeds on thus. Valerianus animadverso periculo quod Imperio Romano cunctis ex partibus immineret, Gallienum fillium Imperij consortem facit & rebus undique urgentibus ipse versus Orientem movet ut Persis resisteret, Europæos exercitus filio tradit, cohortatus eum ut cum ijs copijs irruentes undique Barbaros oppugnaret. Gallienus videns Germanicas gentes cæteris infestiores esse, quæ accolas Rheni Gallicas nationes acrius vexarent, hanc partem sibi propugnandam ab hostibus sumebat; alijs qui per Italiam Illyricum Græciamque prædis agendis intenti essent, duces cum eorum locorum exercitibus bellum facere jussit. – Sed quod ingenti cum multitudine, perexiguas ipse copias habens, bellum gereret, in angustum jam coactæ res ipsius erant. – Baroni verò et Gotti et Carpi et Vrugundi (natorum hæc nomina propter Istrum sedes habentium) nullam nec Italiæ nec Illyrici partem a continuis vexationibus immunem relinquebant, omnia nemine resistente diripientes. Et



quidem Borani in Asiam quoque semel at iterum trajiciebant – et præter alia damna Trapezuntem obsidebant, urbem amplam et po <186r> pulosam, quæque præter consuetos milites alios decies mille receperat, eaque expugnata ineffabilem Barbari opum captivorumque copiam adepti sunt secum in Barbaricam abduxerunt, nam finitimi omnes in eam veluti locum munitum confluerant. — Dein horum prospero successu excitati Scythæ etiam in Asiam trajiciunt et similia patrantur Nicomediam et Nicæam incendentes. – Cumque pestis invasisset exercitus Romano in Oriente eorumque majorem partem sustulissent, Sapoꝛes Orientem aggressus in ditionem omnia redigebat et capit Valerianum. – Quumque hic rerum per Orientem status esset, omnia confusa pariter et indefensa jacebant. Et Scythæ conjunctis animis ex universa gente nationeque sua in unum congressi parte quadam copiarum suarum Illyricum agebant, ferebant; alij civitates ejusdem vastabant, alij denique Italiam ingressi ad ipsam quoque Romani pergebant. At Gallieno transalpinis in locis hærente, Germanisque bellis intento, Senatus Urbem in summum malum conjectam videns armatis quotquot erant in ea militibus, et ijs præterea qui valentiores ex plebeis erant: exercitum Barbarico majorem coegit, quem hostes veriti, Romam illi quidem relinquebant, sed Italiam prope dixerim universam excursionibus affligebant. Itidem quum per Illyricum res ob Scytharum irruptiones in extremo versarentur, & totum Romanum Imperium sic fluctuaret, nihil ut reliquum esset: tanta pestis in oppidis exorta, quanta nunquam prius ullo tempore extiterat, calamitates a Barbaris illatas leviores reddebat, efficiebatque ut morbo correpti beatos se ducerent, et civitates occupatas, in quibus omnino virorum solitudo esse occeperat.

You have now heard the state of the Empire till the death of Valerian: but that which followed was still heavier: for from hence forward Gallienus grew negligent <187r> & dissolute & in the time of his negligence is reckoned to have been the height of these afflictions: as you may perceive by Eusebius, who passes by what was done in the reign of Gallus & Valerian as being of less moment & sets down under Gallienus only this note <sup>a[409]</sup> Gallieno, inquit, in omnem lasciviam dissolutus, Germani Ravennam usque venerunt; Alemanni <sup>b[410]</sup> vastatis Gallijs in Italiam transiêre; Græcia, Macedonia, Pontus, Asiæ depopulatæ per Gothos; Quadi et Sarmatæ Pannonias occupaverunt; Germanis <sup>[411]</sup> Hispanias obtinentibus Tarracon expugnata est; Parthi Mesopotamiam tenentes, Syriam incursaverunt. And Orosius l. 7. c 22 transcribing this of Eusebius adds. Extant adhuc per diversas provincias in magnarum urbium ruinis parvæ & < insertion from f 186v > parvæ & pauperes ædes, signa miseriarum et nominum indicia servantes. And the Barbarians that invaded Spain, Victor (de Cæsar) tells us invaded Afric also. Francorum gentes, inquit, direpta Gallia Hispaniam possiderunt, vastato ac pene direpto Tarraconensium oppido; nactisque in tempore navigijs, pars in usque Africam permeavit.

< text from f 187r resumes >

The greatness of these desolations I shall leave you to guess at by the greatness of the Roman victories in expelling the Barbarians: of which take these two instances out of the letters of the Emperors Claudius & Probus reporting their own successes. The first to Iunius Brochus who then guarded Illyricum runs thus. Claudius Brocho: Delevimus <sup>d[412]</sup> trecenta et viginti millia Gothorum, <sup>d[413]</sup> duo millia navium mersimus. Tecta sunt flumina seutis, spatibus & lanceolis omnia littora opperiuntur. Campi ossibus latent tecti, nullum iter purum est, ingens Carrago deserta est. Tantum mulierum cœpimus ut binas et ternas mulieres victor sibi miles possit adjungere. To this letter Trebellius Pollio (who records it,) subjoins. Et utinam Pallienum non esset passa respublica: Utinam sexcentos Tyrannos non pertulisset. Salvis militibus quos prælia sustulerunt: salvis legionibus quos Gallienus malè victor occidit, quantum esset additum reipublicæ. Pugnatum est enim apud Mæsos, & multa prælia fuerunt apud Martianopolim, multi naufragio perierunt, plerique capti reges: captæ diversarum gentium nobiles fæminæ impletæ barbaris servis, senibus cultoribus Romanæ Provinciæ. Pugnatum est apud Byzantos & apud Thessalonicenses — Pugnatum est in diversis regionibus & ubique auspicijs Claudianis victi sunt Gothi. So Iornandes: <sup>[414]</sup> Claudius Gothos jam per quindecim annos Illyricum Macedoniamque vastantes bello adortus incredibili <188r> strage delevit. The other letter is of Probus to the Senate concerning his victories over the Franks & Alemans. Ago Dijs immortalibus gratias P.C. quia vestra in me judicia comprobarunt. Subjecta est omnis qua tenditur latè Germania. Novem Reges gentium diversarum ad meos pedes imò ad vestros supplices, stratique jacuerunt. Omnes jam barbari vobis avant, vobis jam serunt, & contra interiores Gentes militant. Supplicationes igitur vestro more decernite. Nam et quadringenta millia hostium cæsa sunt, & sedecim millia armatorum nobis oblata, & septuaginta urbes nobilissimæ captivitate hostium vindicatæ, et omnes penitus Galliæ liberatæ, – pascuntur ad nostram alimoniam gentium pecora diversarum – frumento barbarico plena sunt horrea – nos omnia eorum possidemus. This letter is recorded by Vopiscus: who adds that Probus after this suppress the Sarmatæ & other nations in Illyricum, the



Goths Vandals & Gepidæ in Thrace, & the Parthians & others in the East. The victories of Aurelian also who reigned between these two Emperors, were very great. Antequam factus est Imperator, (saith Carion, in Chron.) pugnavit cum Francis ad Moguntiam ubi triginta millia Francorum trucidata esse scribitur. Postquam autem successit Claudio, terribilis expeditio Marcomannorum & Suevorum retraxit eum in Italiam qui jam Mediolanum cœpærant, & terrorem urbi Romæ Similem Cimbrico incusserant. Munito igitur limine Imperij, properans in Italiam, apud Placentiam delevit Marcomannos & Suevos, sed magna clade Romani exercitus prius acceptâ.

### Of the sword.

While the empire laboured thus under foreign enemies, the government being almost dissolved, every one strove to make himself master of what he could: which filled the empire as full of factions as of foreign <189r> enemies, & probably (as it uses to happen in civil wars) caused much more bloodshed: every party being more inclined to promote their own interest against one another than the Commonwealth's interest the common enemy. To insist upon particulars here would be too tedious: you may make an estimation of y<sup>e</sup> whole by the multitude of Emperors & Tyrants that rose up at this time, & those almost all slain by the sword. For between Decius & Dioclesian (that is within the compas of 33 years) of <sup>a[415]</sup> about one & twenty legitimate Emperors & Cæsars (besides seven tyrannical ones who perished all by the sword,) there died only Licinian & Claudius by the Pestelence, & Carus by lightning, & three more were slain by the publick enemy, & all the rest fell by the sword of one another or of their own soldiers. And besides all these within the 15 years reign of Gallienus, who was one of the one & twenty, there arose no less then 29 or 30 other Tyrannical Emperors, some of which were as powerful as Gallienus himself: & all these also fell by the sword excepting three or four who had their lives given them by the mercy of their conquerors. Can all the histories in the world afford such a scene of tumults & civil wars? And yet to make these times still more bloody, the Emperor himself Gallienus was one of the most cruel beasts that ever lived. Pollio (in lib. de 30 Tyrannis) saith of him: Occiso Ingenuo qui a Mœsiacis Legionibus Imperator est dictus, in omnes Mœsiacos tam milites quàm cives asperrimè sævijt, nec quenquam suæ crudelitatis exortem reliquit: usque adeò asper & truculentus ut plerasque civitates vacuas a virili sexu relinquere. Extat sanè epistola Gallieni (pergit) quam ad <190r> Celerem Verianum scripsit, qua ejus nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur. Gallienus Veriano: Non mihi satisfacies si tantum armatos occideris quos et sors belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si et senes atque impuberes sine reprehensione nostra occîdi possint. Occidendus est quicumque malè voluit. Occidendus est quicumque malè dixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot Principum patrem & fratrem Ingenius factus est Imperator. Lacera, occîde, concîde: animum meum intelligere potes, mea mente irascere qui hæc manu mea scripsi. < insertion from f 189v > Thus Orosius (l 7. c 22) when he had mentioned the troubles of Gallienus reign by invasions, adds: Et nequid forte Romani corporis ab hac dilaceratione cessaret, conspirant intrinsecus Tyranni, consurgunt bella civilia, funditur ubique plurimus sanguis Romanorum Romanis Barbarisque sæventibus. < text from f 190r resumes > Also in the life of Gallienus he says: Scythis in Cappadociam pervadentibus, milites iterum de novo Imperatore faciendo cogitaverant, quos omnes Gallienus more suo occîdit. And at the end he adds: fuit nimie crudelitatis in milites: nam et terna millia et quaterna militum singulis diebus occîdit. And in another place: Nequid mali deesset Gallieni temporibus, Byzantinorum civitas, clara navalibus bellis, et claustrum Ponticum per Gallieni milites ita omnis vastata est, ut prorsus nemo superesset. Quorum cladi ulciscendæ Gallienus vicissim Byzantio receptus omnes milites inermes armatorum corona circumdatos, interemit, fracto fœdere quod promiserat. This last is an instance of the ferity of the soldiers as well as of the Emperor: & indeed how could such things not happen where the whole world was in such an unparalleled confusion

### Of the Famin.

Now amidst so much depopulation & continual harassing of the people both by civil & foreign wars, how could it otherwise <191r> happen then that the feilds should be forsaken & tillage neglected, & the old stores of provisions wasted? And from hence we might presume that there was a famin though it had not been recorded. But yet Authors are not silent. In Gallus's reign Dionysius Alexandrinus makes this mention of it in his <sup>a[416]</sup> epistle to the brethren. Post hæc, inquit id est Persecutionem quæ sub Decio fuit (nam eam intelligit quæ præcessit Pestem) & <sup>b[417]</sup> bellum et fames secuta sunt quæ una cum Ethnicis pertulimus. Et paucis interjectis: At ubi, inquit, cùm nos tum ipsi respiraveramus invasit Lues ista; res illis quovis terrore terribilior & calamitate quacumque lamentabilior, nobis verò exercitatio & exploratio nullis reliquis inferior. In

Valerian's reign Saint Cyprian wrote thus of it more generally in his Apollogy to Demetrianus. Cùm dicas inquit, plurimos conqueri quod bella crebrius surgant quod Lues quod ffames sæviant, quodque imbres & pluviae serena longa suspendant, nobis imputari, tacere ultra non oportet, &c. In Claudius's reign also its raging may be gathered from these two instances Quotquot ex pugna Claudij & Scytharum ad Naisum superstites erant Barbari, curribus sese munientes in Macedoniam contendebant; & ob inopiam commeatus fame pressi, tam ipsi quàm eorum jumenta peribant Zosim: lib: 1. Pugnatum est apud Byzantios & apud Thessalonicenses, & in diversis regionibus, & ubique auspicijs Claudianis victi sunt Gothi. – Dein Atticiano et Orphito Coss. auspicia Claudiana favor divinus adjuvit. Nam quùm se in <sup>a[418]</sup> Hæmimontum multitudo Barbararum gentium quæ superfuerant contulisset, illic ita fame ac pestilentia laborarunt, ut jam Claudius dedignaretur et vincere. Trebell: Pollio in Claudio. Lastly of the famin in Aurelian's reign also I find this instance Aurelianus confirmato Imperio – Pannonicas ad nationes <192r> accessit quas **{illeg}** Scytharum propemodum experturas cognoverat. Quumque misisset ad eos exploratores qui nunciarent ut annonas & jumenta & quicquid aliud hostibus usui futurum esset, in oppida conveherent: hac ratione famem quæ hostes urgebat, adaugere cogitabat. Zosim: l: 1.

### Of the Pestilence.

Lastly, as for the Plague there is nothing more notorious. You have heard of it already out of Zosimus, Dionysius & Cyprian, & <sup>a[419]</sup> others are not silent. In a word Orosius & Eutropius tell us Gallus's reign was famous for nothing but the raging of this sickness in it, & Zonaras that in Gallus's reign it began from Æthiopia & went through all the Roman Provinces exhausting them wonderfully for fifteen years together. Vbique saith Lætus maximam partem incolentium exhaustit; pleraque loca inhabitata reliquit. And Orosius Per omnia Romam regni ab oriente in occidentem spacia, cum omne propemodum genus hominum & pecudum neci dedit, tum etiam corripuit lacus et infecit pabula tabo. Oros. l **{illeg}** c 27. Nec alia unquam major lues mihi lecta (saith a late famous <sup>b[420]</sup> Author) spatio temporum sive terrarum. Eusebius (in Chron) refers the beginning of it to the first year of Gallus, & Pollio informs us that it raged at the time of Claudius's death: which was 16 or 17 years after.

I should here conclude the discours of these four plagues, but that I have not yet told you of Saint Cyprian's tract De Mortalitate, a book written in the midst of these troubles to incourage Christians to bear up against them. It begins thus. Etsi apud plurimos vestrum, fratres dilectissimi, mens solida est, & fides firma quæ ad præsentis mortalitatis copiam non movetur, sed tanquam petra fortis et stabilis turbidos impetus mundi & violento sæculi fluctus frangit potiùs ipsa nec frangitur, & tentationibus non vincitur sed probatur: tamen quia animadverto in plebe quosdam — minùs stave fortiter; dissimulanda res non fuit nec tacenda. — Agnoscere enim se debet qui deo militat, ut procellas et turbines mundi trepidatio nulla sit in nobis, quando hac vintura prædixerit dominus, providæ vocis hortatu instruens et docens, & præparans atque corroborans Ecclesiæ suæ po <193r> pulum ad omnem tolerantiam futurorum, bella et ffames, & <sup>[421]</sup> terræ motus, & pestilentias per loca singula exurgere prænunciavit & docuit. Et ne inopinatus nos et novus rerum instantium metus quateret, magis et magis novissimis temporibus adversa crebescere ante præmonuit. ffiunt ecce quæ dicta sunt, & quando fiunt quæ ante prædicta sunt, sequentur et quæcunque promissa sunt, Domino ipso pollicente et dicente: Cùm autem videritis hæc omnia fieri, scitote quoniam in proximo est regnum Dei. And afterward among other things he saies: Contra tot impetus vastationis & mortis, inconcussis animi virtutibus congregi quantæ pectoris magnitudo est? & quanta sublimitas inter ruinas generis humani stare erectum? And again exhorting to receive death courageously: Corruente jam mundo & malorum infestantium turbinibus obsesso — lucrum maximum computemus, si isthinc velocius recedamus. Si in habitaculo tuo parietis vetustate nutarent, tecta desuper tremerent, domus jam fatigata, jam lassa, ædificijs senectute labentibus ruinam proximam minaretur; nonne omni celeritate migrares? Si navigante te turbida et procellosa tempestas fluctibus velocius excitatis, prænunciaret futura naufragia, nonne portum velociter peteres? Mundus ecce nutat et labitur, & ruinam sui jam non senectute rerum, sed <sup>d[422]</sup> fine testatur: et tu non Deo gratias agis, non tibi gratularis, quod exitu maturiore subtractus ruinis et naufragijs et plagis imminentibus exuoris? This was the sence which this ffather had of these times, & yet Afric where he lived seems to have been affected with these plagues the least of all the Roman Provinces: & when he wrote this these plagues were not grown to the height for he was martyred in <sup>a[423]</sup> Valerian's reign Fusco et Basso Coss. A.C. 259 & <194r> & by his life written by Pontius it should have been written a little before his banishment which happened the year before

The violence of the four plagues being spent, the Empire was not presently settled but tottered still by new invasions & seditions in divers places in so much that <sup>a[424]</sup> Dioclesian finding the presence of an Emperor necessary in more places then one, was forced first to associate Maximianus & <sup>b[425]</sup> afterwards they two to associate two more, & these four were almost continually employed in war till the 18<sup>th</sup> year of Dioclesian when having quieted all enemies & restored the Empire to its pristine glory, they forthwith set themselves to persecute the Church, as the only enemy that remained to be conquered: which puts an end to this seale & begins the next. Nor did they only settle the Empire by these wars but enlarge it very much. In the time of the four plagues, all beyond Euphrates was first under the Persians & then under the Palmyrenians governed in quiet, & after the violence of the plagues was over it continued in dispute between the Romans & Persians till the end of this Seale. But then (even the year before the persecution began) Galerius by a very famous victory over the Persians in Armenia established to the Empire Armenia & Mesopotamia which were in dispute & added all Assyria & the five transtigritane Provinces. Galerius Maximianus pulso Narseo castra ejus diripuit, uxores sorores liberos cœpit, infinitam extrinsecus Persarum nobilitatem, gazam Persicam copiosissimam, ipsum in ultimas regionis solitudines egit. Eutrop: l. 9. Maximiano Rex Persiæ Mesopotamiam cum Transtigritanis quinque regionibus reddidit. s. Rufi Breviar. Galerius totam Assyriam expugnata Ctesiphonte cœpit & quinque provincias transtigritanas quæ statim redeunte ad nos Trajano defecerant, subegit, & imperio adjunxit – & ictum est fœdus ut Persæ ab Armenijs Mesopotamia Assyria & <195r> quinque novis Provincijs abstinerent Pompon. Læt in Dioclesiano. Ab ortu usque ad Indos propagati Imperij fines. Ib. What was the extent of these five Provinces I cannot say, but Ammianus l 25 tells us their names were Arranena, Moxoena, Zaodicena Rehimena & Corduena, & that the Persians recovered them in Iovian's reign. I suppose they lay in the regions about Ctesiphon & that by the Indians hereare only meant the people next beyond them & Assyria. for that great <sup>a[426]</sup> river which bounds Assyria on the North & East is called Cydnus Gindus Indus, & even Adiabene which is a part of Assyria <sup>[427]</sup> some reccon an Indian region

Besides what was done in these eastern regions it may be presumed also that the Empire was restored from the incroachments of the barbarians & enlarged in some other places, as perhaps in Rhætia & the adjoining Gallicane limits, & on the south of Afric. Of their victories in general let it suffice to note these two or three passages: Constantius 60 ferè millia Alemannorum cæcidit. Maximianus quoque Augustus bellum in Africa profligavit domitis Quinquegentianis Dioclesianus Ægyptum sedavit. Galerius cum Narseo in Armenia majori pugnavit successu ingenti. Varia <sup>c[428]</sup> deinceps simul et viritim bella gesserunt, Carpis et Bastarnis subactis, Sarmatis victis, quarum nationum ingentes copias in Romanis finibus locaverunt. Eutrop. l 9. Ex barbaris multi adducti captivi qui non fuere securi cæsi sed post triumphum in Romani Imperij finibus positi ut una cum veteribus incolis habitarent. Regiones enim assiduis incursionibus vastatæ, ferè in solitudinem ierant. Rediere ex diversis partibus orbis ad urbem principes seniores quorum auspicijs limites Imperij Romani longiùs producti atque prolati. Ab ortu usque ad Indos propagati Imperij fines non Euphrates non Tigris vetuere, non superbæ Regum Persarum minæ. A meridie Æthiopes per Legatos accessare. Ab Aquilone barbaræ feræque nationes Sarmatarum domitæ. Ab occasu Gessoriacus Oceanus admirabilis victoriæ testis est simul et Britannicus. Igitur toto terrarum orbe undique Romana arma illustres victorias assecuta socijs lætitiâ præbuere, rebellibus metum terroremque pugnare cupientibus. Hæc Pomponius Lætus, de Triumpho Dioclesiani quæ sub initio Persecutionis, <196r> anno Imperij 18<sup>vo</sup> sermonem faciens. So Zonaras writing of the victory of Galerius against the Persians, adds, Alijs quoque multis bellis Dioclesianus & Maximianus partim per se, partim per Cæsares & duces prosperè confectis, imperij fines amplificaverunt. Quibus victorijs ilatus Dioclesianus, se non amplius a Senatu salutari, sed adorari voluit.

Now these things I mention partly that you might see that the Empire was fully recovered of all the plagues of this seale the year before the Persecution began, & not till then; but chiefly that you may compare the different extent of the Empire in this & the next seale, & thence learn why the plagues in this fell but on the 4<sup>th</sup> part of the Earth, & yet in the time of the next seale the Dragon which stood before the woman in travel, is said to draw the 3<sup>d</sup> part of the stars of heaven with his tayle. ffor this is as much as to say that the Empire in the 4<sup>th</sup> seale (or at least so much of it as the plagues invaded if they invaded not the whole) was but the fourth part of the habitable world then known: but before the fift seale became so much enlarged as to be the third part thereof.

You have now the intire interpretation of these four Seals: & I perswade my self the right one. ffor I have neither forced the prophesy to history nor history to the prophesy but taken every thing in their natural order

according to the four series of Emperors. & in this order they so exactly fit that as there is nothing in the Prophecy which has not to a tittle been fulfilled in history, so the Prophecy has omitted nothing remarkable enough to be a convenient character of the things designed to be characterised, ffor what was there in Trajan's reign very singular beside his victories & the ensuing killing one another? what in Severus's beside his acting the Iudge, killing the Senators & great men, & augmenting the City provisions? What in Decius's but his perishing with his whole army? And what in the times immediately following him worth being taken notice of in comparison of the four plagues? I say what was there singular? ffor as for Trajan's humanity, Severus's wars, & the like, they were things common <197r> to them with divers other Emperors: whereas the Prophecy (as was fit) takes notice of nothing but what is the most remarkable in the kind. You may find other conquerors besides Trajan, other killing one another beside that in the Iewish war, other Iudges killers of great men, & heapers up of provisions beside Severus, & others perishing fatally beside Decius, but all the Roman history will not afford others so eminent in the kind as these nor wch are combined with one another after this manner; & as for the quaternary of plagues I know nothing like it. So that all things considered, perhaps you may at length clearly discern, not only that the prophecy & history fit, but also that they were not to be otherwise fitted.

#### **Posit.**

**The fift Seale begins with Dioclesian's Persecution A.C. 303: The sixt with Constantine's throwing down of Idols A.C. 330.**

The four horsmen you are to conceive but as so many steps to lead us through the times of the heathen Empire till the affairs of the Church should begin to be considered. ffor during the reign of the heathen Emperors the Church continued in a pretty eaven state increasing silently under frequent persecutions without any very remarkable change or revolution in her either as to her inward or outward state, so that hitherto besides her birth & propagation delineated in the first seale, there has been no sufficient occasion of saying any thing of her. But now the times of the heathen Empire being run out, she began to be the subject <198r> of very great revolutions, each of those for the expressing of which this Prophecy was written: & thereupon the Holy Ghost converts himself now to prophesy of her beginning at that spiritual war which wrought the overthrow of the Heathen Emperors & exalted her into their Throne.

Now since there are no more Horsmen, we are not any longer to be guided by the succession of Emperors, but must limit the three remaining seales by the succession of such other things as are described in them, so as to begin each seale where the things therein begin to be fulfilled, & end it where they end, or where those of the next begin, without regarding whether that period be the beginning or end of the reign of any Emperor.

#### **The fift Seale opened.**

< insertion from f 197v >

#### **The fift Seale opened.**

Seing therefore the vision that appeared at the opening of this seale was the soules (or rather the bodies) of martyrs under the Altar, & these denote a great persecution, we are to begin this seale with the next great persecution, & consequently with Dioclesian's. For this as it was the next, so it was notably sharp & great above all the former — < text from f 198r resumes > it was notably sharp & great above all the rest, & seems to have exceeded them all put together the Empire being larger, Christians more numerous, the Emperors more resolute & the **{illeg}** the only persecution that was universal: so that in respect of this the former deserve but little to be considered. Amongst the former, that of Decius is accounted the greatest, being much more sharp & gene <199r> rall then the rest; & yet that d[432] was not universal nor lasted above e[433] one year & three months: whereas this continued with † < insertion from f 198v > † with unexpressible violence for 10 years together. It was ushered in with a persecution of the Soldiers of which many were cashiered & some slain as Eusebius thus relates. Multi admodum qui veri regni Christi milites erant, nulla mora interposita, fidei in eum confessionem falsæ et adumbratæ gloriæ quæ in mundo fruerentur sine ulla dubitatione prætulerunt. Inter quos jam licèt numerus perexiguus (quandoquidem Dux cui cura exequendi Decretum Dioclesiani in milites commissa leniùs et moderatiùs adhuc in nos tendebat insidias & paucorum admodum sanguinem fundere aggrediebatur: propterea quod multitudo Christianorum illum (ut erat verisimile) deterruit, & animum ejus ne bellum contra omnes simul concitaret, retarduit:) licèt, inquam,



numerus perexiguus, unus tamen et alter non modò dignitatem amittere, sed mortem etiam pro veræ pietatis defensione oppetere voluerunt. At postquam apertiùs rem erat aggressus, nulla oratione aut dicendi vi explicari potest quot et quàm insignes Christi Martyres, his qui Civitates quasque et regiones incoluerunt, oculis cernere licuisset. Euseb. l. 8. c 4.

Among the Soldiers that suffered before this open violence began, there is <sup>a[434]</sup> mention made of one Mauritius with a Christian Legion most of which were slain at Agaunum in Gallia after two decimations, & the rest escaping to the number of 660 or 700, were taken & slain at three other towns. But what happened to y<sup>e</sup> Soldiers was accounted so inconsiderable in respect of what followed, that Historians reckon it only as a preparation to the persecution it self & not a part thereof. That they date but from the overthrowing of the churches which followed this of the Soldiers & began the general affliction of the Church. For then it was that her ten years sufferings commenced which so much outdid all that had been before, lasting with unexpressible violence <sup>f[435]</sup> almost two years over all the Empire & eight years more over the better half of it. – < text from f 199r resumes > unexpressible violence <sup>f[436]</sup> almost two years over all the Empire, & eight years more over the better half of it. Omnibus ferè anteactis, saith Orosius, diuturnior et immanior fuit, nam per decem annos incendijs Ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentium, cædibus Martyrum {incerabiliter} acta est. And again: Per annos decem eversæ sunt ecclesiæ, dilacerati cruciatibus, exinaniti mortibus toto orbe Christiani. Tenemus evidens testimonium, nullam superiorem persecutionem adeò vel gravem vel diuturnam fuisse. Oros l 7. c 26. Persecutio erat, inquit Nazianzenus, et quidem persecutionum omnium atrocissima maximeque horrenda. Iis loquor quibus Maximini persecutio nota est, qui cum post multos qui paulo ante extiterant, ingruisset, hoc effecit ut omnes humani ac faciles fuisse viderentur, ingenti nimirum ipse audacia furens, atque impietatis principatum consequi summo studio contendens. Greg. Naz. Orat 20 in laud. Basilij.

Concerning the first year, Baronius, after he had described the sufferings of the church in some Provinces, speaks thus: Hoc primo persecutionis anno non tantum in memoratis Provincijs sed in alijs ubique gentium sub Romano Imperio constitutis in Christianos crudeliter sævitum esse aliundè scimus. Quibus autem exagitatae fuerint cladibus Ecclesiæ Galliarum atque Hispaniarum nemo puto pro dignitate assequi aliquando poterit oratione: ut jam poeticum illud, at non poeticè quidem liceat usurpare.

Non mihi si linguæ centum sint oraque centum  
Ferrea vox, omnes scelerum comprehendere formas  
Omnia pœnarum percurrere nomina possim. Æneid. 6.

Rerum quidem immensitas fermè superat omnem Hyperbolem. Quandoquidem cùm universum Romanum Imperium refertum esset cultoribus Christi & tota vis Imperatorum in hoc posita ut Christianam religionem radicitus extirparat penitusque convelleret: non Provincia, non civitas oppidum vicus prædium hortus vel casa fuit, in quibus de Christianis non fuerit habita diligens inquisitio et animadversio. Hæc Baronius ad Ann. 302. §116, 117. So Eutychius Patriarch of Alexandria:<sup>[437]</sup> Maximianus inquit Christianos occidi jussit, & ne professionis ejus quispiam in Imperio ipsius relinqueretur, neve urbem aut oppidum incolere sineretur, sed penitus extirparentur. Interfecti sunt ergo e Christianis, quæ viri, quæ fæminæ, quæ pueri, <200r> plures quam qui numerari possint, adeo ut præ occisorum multitudine plaustri delati in Mare & in deserta projicerentur. In like manner Zonaras ☐ < insertion from f 199v > ☐ In like manner Zonaras: Dioclesianus inquit & Maximianus persecutionem contra Christianos instituerunt superioribus omnibus vehementiorem & immaniolem. Summo enim studio, ac potius furore, Dei nostri Iesu Christi salutare nomen in omnibus delere terris sunt conati. Quo tempore tanta eorum qui pro Christi confessione in omnibus civitatibus et provincijs fortiter occubuerunt multitudo fuit, ut eorum iniri numerus ægrè possit. Hanc enim carnificinam cæteris rebus omnibus antevertendam esse putabant.

< text from f 200r resumes >

Towards the beginning of the Persecution, <sup>g[438]</sup> within the compass of 30 days seventeen thousand are said to have been slain, & yet so far was it from ceasing that in the <sup>h[439]</sup> second year it grew more violent than in the first, insomuch that the Heathens then thought Christianity had been extirpated, & in Spain <sup>k[440]</sup> set up monuments expressing this the year of it's deletion. △ < insertion from f 199v > △ Of its heat in Gallia Bucher (In Belg. Rom. lib. 7, c. 8) writes thus. Satis constat inquit, hac persecutione licet biennali duntaxat



martyrum sanguine redundasse, præcipuumque certaminis hujusce campum Treviros extitisse, ubi Galliarum iste Præses Rictius Varus plerumque degere consueverat. Quorum omnium numerum Ecclesia cum inire non posset eos unica commemoratione conjuxit in hæc verba: Treviris commemoratio innumerabilium pæne martyrum qui in persecutione Dioclesiani, sub Rictio Varo Præsede ob Christi fidem vario mortis genere necati sunt. So the Author **{illeg}** Trevirim pene Totam martyrizatam per Rictio va < insertion from the right margin of f 200r > \* rum. And a little before: In Anglia pene tota fides exterminata est. Nuerat præterea idem auctor plusquam 67000 martyres & alios addit infinitos numero passos fuisse.

< text from f 199v resumes >

Now though after two years it ceased in the west < text from f 200r resumes > And though in the end of the second year it ceased in the western half of the Empire, yet to make amends it was at the same time notably <sup>[442]</sup> increased all over the east by the new Tyrant Maximinus, & did not begin to grow milder before the end of the seventh year. So violent was it that \* < insertion from f 199v > In Phrygia <sup>†[444]</sup> a whole city with the inhabitants men weomen & children for refusing to sacrifice was surrounded by soldiers & burnt. At Nicomedia there suffered <sup>b[445]</sup> twenty thousand. &. In Egypt alone – – < text from f 200r resumes > in Phrygia <sup>†[446]</sup> a whole city perished at once & in Egypt alone ( a small portion of the Empire) were slain saith <sup>m[447]</sup> Ignatius of Antioch, an hundred & forty four thousand & seventy thousand banished: whence the Æra of Dioclesian amongst the Egyptians was called the Æra of martyrs. And if you peruse the description which Eusebius gives of it you will scarce find it milder in other Provinces. What think you then was done throughout the whole Roman world? Quæ per totum Orbem singuli Rectores gesserint enarrare impossibile est: quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita tam varia genera crudelitatis? Accepta enim potestate, pro suis moribus quisque sævit. Alij præ nimia timiditate plus ausi sunt quàm jubebantur: alij suo proprio adversus justos odio: quidam naturali mentis feritate: nonnulli ut placerent, & hoc officio viam sibi ad altiora munierent: alij ad occidendum præcipientes extiterunt; sicut unus in Phrygia, qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo concremavit. — Itaque dici non potest hujusmodi Iudices quanta et quàm Talis fuit persecutio contra nos concitata quæ ab Ecclesiarum eversione & vastitate initium sumpsit; quæque propterea quod Imperatores varijs temporibus eandem renovabant, indies magis magisque accrevit; unde innumerabilis extitit martyrorum multitudo in singulis provincijs quæ a Libya per universam Ægyptum & Syriam & partes versus Orientem & undique ad oras usque Illyrici [inclusivè] pertinent. Nam ea loca quæ illis jam demonstratis adjacent, ut Italia tota, Sicilia, Gallia, & quæ ad solem occidentem vergunt & ad Hispaniam Mauritaniam et Africam se porrigunt, ubi non duobus primis annis integris impetum persecutionis sustinuerant, celerrimè pacis tranquillitatem consecuti. Euseb. l. 8. c. 25. <201r> gravia tormentorum genera excogitaverint, ut ad effectum propositi sui pervenirent, &c. Lactantius <sup>ὑποπίης</sup> l. 5. c. 11. – Complures exusti, plures in mare sparsi quòd carnificum vires ad tantam ac tam innumeram (martyrum) copiam conficiendam deficerent. Chron Alexandr. Magnorum Dioclesianus et Maximianus Christianis calamitatum, & tristitiæ diurnæ, cruciatuumque gravium ac persecutionis duræ authores fuerunt, adeò ut majora sint quàm quæ exprimi possunt mala quæ illis intulerunt, quæ cæde, qua bonorum publicatione: interfectis ex ipsis quorum a nemine excepto Deo numerus inveniri potest, ac martyrium eorum tempore passis millenis martyrum millibus. Euty chius in Annal. Nec ullis unquam bellis mundus sanguine magis exhaustus est, neque majori unquam triumpho Ecclesia vicit quàm cùm decem annorum stragibus vinci non potuit. Sulpit: Severus. Nam per annos decem omni genere hominum exhaustis Provincias. Oros. l. 7. c 28.

This Persecution began in March Ann. Olymp 270. a<sup>[448]</sup> finiente, (Euseb. Chron) Dioclesiano 8 & Maximiano 7 Coss (Idat) that is A.C. 303, & ended ten years after by an edict of Maximinus which Constantine & Licinius procured a little after the overthrow of Maxentius (Baron: An 313. § ) And this I take to be the ten days tribulation predicted in Apoc. 2.10. ffor although that be spoken to the Church of Smyrna yet it excludes not the rest of the Churches, but rather includes them, because it is not likely that this persecution should be any other then the greatest they were to suffer, & it is less likely that the greatest should happen to them without affecting their neighbours.

Now considering the greatnes of this Persecution, & that before this the Church had respite for above 40 years together, even from the reign of Valerian without any considerable trouble intervening; I have therefore dated this seale from the beginning of this persecution; & that the rather because the full recovery of the Empire from all the plagues of the former seale, & it's great enlargement, (I suppose from a quarter to a 3<sup>d</sup> part of the habitable world then known,) <sup>b[449]</sup> conspired with that period: but yet this Quis Dioclesiani

Maximiani Maxentij Maximini Licinijque contra Christianam pietatem furor fuerit, quis ignorat? Neque enim singulos isti binosve aut ternos e Christianis impetebant sed plurimos gregatim, et millenos simul et decies millenos trucidabant. Quibusdam etiam in urbibus plenas viris et fæminis & pueris Ecclesias incenderunt. Theodoretus de Curandi Græc. Affect. serm 9.

<202r> Seale concludes not with this ten years persecution but extends down much further. ffor Licinius, though at first he joyned with Constantine in favouring the Christians, yet about <sup>c[450]</sup> seven years after (the whole Empire being then divided between him & Constantine) he renewed the persecution & that with <sup>d[451]</sup> sharpnes enough; commanding that all should be imprisoned that would not sacrifice, & that neither meat nor drink should be given them in prison, whereupon multitudes died of hunger: Many also were put to death by divers kinds of torments: So that the persecutions of this seal must at least extend to Licinius's overthrow by Constantine, which happened <sup>e[452]</sup> 14 Kal. Octob. A.C. 323. Nor did they end here: for Constantine had no sooner subdued the heathen persecutors but he became a persecutor himself, siding with erroneous Christians to oppress the Church for not admitting new language into their faith, & continued to do so till the year 328, or 330.

### **The sixt Seal opened.**

The whole scope of the next seale is to express the destruction of Idolatry, as we shewed: & therefore must begin where the demolishing of Idolatry began, that is in the year 331, for till then Constantine let the heathens enjoy their worship. In the year 319 he put forth <sup>a[453]</sup> two edicts wherein he forbad Aurspicine in secret, but tolerated it in public. The last of them is this

### **Constantinus A. ad Populum.**

Auruspices & Sacerdotes et eos qui huic ritui adsolent ministrare ad privatam domum prohibemus accedere, & sub prætextu amicitiae limen alterius ingredi: pœna contra eos proposita si contempserint legem. Qui verò id vobis existimatis conducere, adite aras publicas atque delubra, et consuetudinis vestræ celebrate solemnia. Nec enim prohibemus præteritæ usurpationis officia libera luce tractari. Dat. Id. Maij, Constantino Aug. 5 & Liciniano Cæs. Coss.

<203r>

Again in the year 321 he put forth this edict

### **Imp. Constantinus A. ad Maximum.**

[454] Siquid de Palatio nostro aut cæteris operibus publicis <sup>\*[455]</sup> degustatum fulgore esse constiterit; retento more veteris observantiæ, quid portendat ab Aurspicibus requiratur, & diligentissimè scriptura collecta, ad nostram scientiam referatur. Cæteris etiam sacrificijs domesticis abstineant, quæ specialiter prohibita sunt. Eam autem denunciationem adque interpretationem quæ de tactu Amphitheatri scripta est, de qua ad Heraclianum Tribunum & Magistrum Officiorum scripseras, ad nos scias esse perlatum. Dat 16 Kal. Ian. Serdicæ. Accept. 8 Id. Mart. Crispo 2, & Constantino 2, CC Coss.

By this one might think (with Baronius & some others) that Constantine himself was at this time become a Pagan; but Gothofredus well excuses him: However his indulging the Heathens in their worship so far encouraged them that they were not content to sacrifice themselves only, but proceeded to compell the Christians to their sacrifices as in the times of the late persecutors: whereupon Constantine was constrained to curb them by the following Edict

### **Imp. Constantinus A. ad Helpidium.**

[456] Quoniam comperimus quosdam Ecclesiasticos & cæteros Catholicæ sectæ servientes, e diversarum religionum hominibus ad lustrorum sacrificia celebranda compelli: hac sanctione sancimus: Siquis ad ritum alienæ superstitionis cogendos esse crediderit eos qui sanctissimæ legi serviunt, si conditio patitur, fustibus verberetur: si verò honoris ratio talem ab eo repellat injuriam, condemnationem sustineat damni gravissimi quod rebus publicis vindicabitur. Dat. 8 Kal. Iun. Sirmij, Severo et Ruffino Coss. [A.C. 323.]

Hitherto therefore the Heathens were permitted their worship freely: & out of Zosimus we learn that Constantine continued this his compliance with them till the falling out between him & the city of Rome, which as <sup>d[457]</sup> Gothofredus shews happened A.C. 326. And then beginning to discourage Heathenism openly, he put forth an <sup>e[458]</sup> Edict forbidding to erect Sta <204r> tues or to use divinations or to sacrifice. < insertion from f 203v > *Lege sanxit ne quisquam statuâs erigere vel curiosas divinationes moliri vel denique sanctificare liceret.* Euseb. in *Vita Const.* l. 2. c. 44. < text from f 204r resumes > But this was not put in execution: for fearing it would cause tumults, he soon after published another letter in a perswasive way, wherein he discoursed at large in favour of Chriatianity, but declared against compulsion to it, & granted liberty to all, saying: <sup>f[459]</sup> *Nemo alteri exhibeat molestiam: quod cujusque animus vult, hoc quisque transigat.* And at length he concludes thus. *Hæc pluribus persecutus sum, tum quod veram fidem occultare nolueram; tum maximè omnium quod jam nonnullis (ut audio) in ore est templorum ritus sublatos & (ut ego loquor) potestatem tenebrarum: Quod sanè omnibus persuasissem nisi quod violentus perversi erroris impetus ad reip. evertendæ periculum præter modum in quorundam animis penitus inhæserit.* Still therefore the heathens injoyed their worship, & this their injoyment of it Orosius informs us continued till after the building of Constantinople. <sup>[460]</sup> Constantinus, inquit, nomine suo Romanorum Regum vel primus vel solus instituit: quæ sola expers Idolorum, ad hoc brevissimo tempore condita a Christiano Imperatore provecta est, ut sola Romæ, tot seculis miserijsque provectæ, forma et potentia merito posset æquari. Tum deinde primus Constantinus justo ordine et pio vicem vertit edicto, siquidem statuit citra ullam hominum cædem paganorum templa claudi. By this passage the prohibition of Idolatry should scarce be sooner then the year 333, for Constantinople <sup>a[461]</sup> had its foundations laid Novemb 26. A.C. 328, was dedicated May 11 A.C. 330, & began to be perfected so as to have public provisions made for the inhabitants A.C. 333. With Orosius Eusebius agrees, for he describes how when the Idols were thrown down, they were brought from all regions to Constantinople & set up there to be derided; which could not be till the city was built. Ierome (in Chron) refers the edict for doing these things, to the year after the dedication of Constantinople; & Cedrenus the doing of them to the 26 & 27<sup>th</sup> years of Constantine's reign: so that by their accounts it must have begun in the years 331 or 332, which makes no great difference. But yet I have rather referred it to the year 333 with Gothofredus, because <205r> Constans in another <sup>a[462]</sup> edict put forth a little after, expresly refers the beginning of the violation of Sepulchers to the Consulship of Delmatius & Zenophilus. ffor they were Consuls A.C. 333 & there's no doubt but that the spoiling of the Heathen Tombs & Temples began together

Referring therefore Constantines edict to this year, let us now hear how authors describe the effects of it. Constantinus Imperator totius Imperij Romani solus omnia ubique Idola dejecit, & pecunias omnes omnesque opes illis detractas ad ecclesias Christi orandas & Christianos transtulit. (Chron. Alexandr.) Ὁυτος καθειλε τους βωμοὺς, ἔκλεισε τὰ τεμένη, destruxit aras, clausit templa, (Syrus Monachus.) Quorundam delubrorum vestibula ejus mandato in quaque civitate nudata, portæque dirutæ. Aliorum tectum cum laquearibus, tegulis ablatis, deturbatum. Aliorum insignia monumenta ex ære fabricata in foro Constantinopoleos omnibus palam proposita, ut intuentium oculis pro turpi spectaculo subjicerentur. Hic Pythius, illic Sminthius, in ipso Circo Tripodes Delphici, Heliconides Musæ in Palatio. Quinetiam Constantinopolis tota simulachris quæ erant apud quasque gentes Dijs consecrata, & ex ære artificiosè elaborata passim referta fuit. Euseb. in *Vit. Constant.* l. 3. c. 52. Afterwards the same Eusebius describes the demolishing of two of the most famous temples, that of Venus in Phœnicia & that of Æsculapius in Cilicia; & then adds: *Cùm itaque Gentiles Delubrorum suorum & statuarum ubique vastitatem reipsa intuerentur: alij ad salutare Dei Verbum se totos conferre, alij licèt non illud ipsum agerent, patriam tamen et avitam inscitiam improbare & quos olim Deos existimaverant risu et ludibrio insectari cœperunt.* cap 55. And of the Temples not overthrown he further adds: *Omninò omnibus Imperio subjectis Gentibus & Regionibus, Idololatriæ fores clausæ erant, repressumque quodvis Idolis sacrificandi genus.* l. 4. c. 23.

And as Constantine began so his sons held on as Theodoret l. 5, c 21 affirms, & these their Edicts which the presumption of the heathens drew from them, testify.

<205Ar>

#### **Imp. Constans. A. ad Maditianum.**

<sup>[463]</sup> Cesset superstitio sacrificiorum, aboleatur insania. Nam quicumque contra legem Divi parentis nostri, et hanc nostræ mansuetudinis jussionem, ausus fuerit sacrificia celebrare, competens in eum vindicta, et

præsens sententia exeratur. Accept. Marcellino & Proino Coss [A.C. 341.]

### **Imp. Constantius A. ad Taurum. PF.P**

[464] Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus universis claudi protenus templa, et accessu vetitis omnibus, licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos sacrificijs abstinere. Quod si quis aliqui fortè huiusmodi perpetraverit, gladio ultore sternatur. Facultates etiam perempti fisco decernimus vindicari: et similiter adfligi Rectores Provinciarum si facinora vindicare neglexerint. Dat Kal Decemb. Constantio IV & Constante II AA. Coss. [rectiùs Constantio VI & Constantio Cæs II Coss. A.C. 353 ut observat Gothofredus. Nam eo anno cœpit Taurus esse Præfectus \* < insertion from f 204v > \* Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ et hæc Lex (ut et sequens) ad abolendam licentiam a Magnentio permissam data est.

< text from f 205Ar resumes >

### **Imp. Constantius A. ad Cerealem. P.V.**

[465] Aboleantur sacrificia nocturna, Magnentio autore permissa, & nefaria deinceps licentia repellatur &c. Dat 9 Kal Decemb. Constantio A. 6. & Constante Cæs. 2. Coss [A.C 353]

### **Imp. Constantius A. & Iulianus Cæs.**

[466] Pœna capitis subjugari præcipimus eos quos operam sacrificijs dare, vel colere simulachra constiterit. Dat. 11. Kal. Mart. Med. Constantio A. 8, & Iuliano Cæs. Coss. [A.C. 356.]

Some to extoll what Theodosius did, would perswade us that Constantine only shut up the Temples but demolished them not: And indeed he destroyed not many but some he did destroy & those of the chief. ffor besides what you heard out of Eusebius, Cedrenus tells us Constantinus 26 & 27 annis Imperij sui simulachris eorumque fanis evertendis operam dedit. And Ierome in Chron: Edicto Constantini gentilium templa subversa sunt. And Eunapius Ædesio Constantinus τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιφανέστατα κατέστρεψε, fana toto orbe celeberrima evertibat. This of Constantine: & his sons (Constantius at least) did much more then he. The Apostate Emperor Iulian their successor speaking of their reign, <206r> us, [467] Vbique rerum omnium inerat **{illeg}** perturbatio. Paterna libere templa demoliebantur, a**{illeg}**dem patre **{illeg}**contempta ac donarijs spoliata: quasdem alij plerique cum majores illius præcipuè dedicaverant.

The pulling down some in Constans's part of the Empire in the beginning of his reign though scarce by his order may be conjectured by this edict, given I suppose by the suggestion of those heathens which he being a[468] a sensual corrupt Prince, b[469] kept in honour about him.

### **Imp. Constans A. ad Catullinum P.V.**

[470] Quanquam omnis superstitio penitus eruenda sit, tamen volumus ut ædes templorum, quæ extra muros sunt positæ intactæ incorruptæque consistent. Nam cum ex nonnullis vel Ludorum, vel Circensium, vel Agonum origo fuerit exorta, non convenit ea convelli ex quibus populo Romano præbeatur priscarum solemnitas voluptatum. Dt. Kal. Nov. Constantio 4 & Constante 3 AA. Coss. [rectiùs Constantio 3 & Constante 2 Coss. A.C. 342 ut ostendit Gothofredus.]

Thus indeed did Constans degenerate, but Constantius's zeale made amends. ffor Libanius (in a[471] Orat. pro Templis) pleading to Theodosius against the Monks throwing down Temples without order, introduces them defending themselves by the example of Constantius. Quoniam, inquit, de Constantio loquuntur & quomodo templa destruxit, non minùs laboris in ijs destruendis impendentibus destructoribus, quàm in ædificandis, extructoribus; adeò operosum fuit lapides ab invicem divellere vinculis validissimis constrictos: Quoniam, inquam, hujus meminerunt, majus quid ipse addam, quod ille templa circa se constitutis dono dedit haud aliter atque equum aut mancipium vel canem vel phialam auream. < insertion from f 205v > Et Oratione funebri in Iulianum, de Constantio verba texens; Is devi, ait, vobis bello illato ac vehementi et indesinenti, extinxit planè ignem sacrum. inhibuit autem hostiarum suavitatem, sed et aras permisit calcibus everti; templa vero et delubra partim clausit, partim defodit, partim profana renuncians, meretriculis habitandum concessit. < text from f 206r resumes > Et in Orat Apolog. Constantiusest atque illius regnum qui acceptas a patre

malorum scintillas, ad incendium magnum provexit opus: ille enim opulentia deos spoliavit, hic etiam templa funditus evertit, & omni lege sacrâ ab <207r> rogata, dedit se quibus scimus **{illeg}** By the crying out of the heathens you may see who it was that hurt them most. But yet after Constantius had thus humbled them, his successor & sequ. † < insertion from f 206v > ¶ Vnde ab eodem **{illeg}** apud Chrysostomum Orat. 2. in S. Babylam, **{illeg}** statio Gen**{illeg}** sub Constantio dicitur πολ**{illeg}**ῆς καὶ τοῦ κατακλυσ**{illeg}**σμος ingen**{illeg}** diluvium. < text from f 207r resumes > Iulian A.C. 361 restored their worship again, & the succeeding Christian Emperors <sup>a[472]</sup> Iovian, Valentinian & <sup>b[473]</sup> Valens, permitted them freely to continue their restored worship for almost thirty years together, ¶ **{illeg}** sequ. < insertion from f 209v > ¶ And then Gratian & his brother interdicted sacrificing in the western part of the empire towards the beginning of their reign, & the same did Theodosius soon after in the east detracting at the same time the <sup>r[474]</sup> revenues for the worship & rejecting the title of Pontifex Maximus, but let the temples stand open still with their Idols in them & permitted the Heathens Thurification & any other acts of worship but sacrificing. But though the Emperors connived at this liberty, the Monks swarming up & down in troops began now to destroy the Temples every where: for which at length the Heathens complained of them to the Emperor, as you may perceive by Libanius's his Oration Pro Templis written on this occasion to Theodosius about the year 390: in which he gives us this short relation of the state of Gentilism from the reign of Constantine till that time. Cùm pueri adhuc essemus Constantinus Licinium deturbavit — — — torrentes. † < insertion from f 207v > † cum pueri adhuc essemus Constantinus Lucinium deturbabat, qui quidem congressj sunt <sup>a[475]</sup> deos primum precati; viro autem jam potitus, rabes sibi conducere <sup>b[476]</sup> alium quendam Olum habere in ædificanda quidem urbe cui studuit, <sup>c[477]</sup> sacris pecunijs usus est, nihil verò de cultu solemnī immutavit: verùm penuria quidem in templis erat: atēnim omnia alia impleta videre erat. At filius-eo inductus fuit ut nē sacrificia porrò essent. Hæc patrueis [Iulianus] reduxit Eoque mortuo apud Persas, mansit certè sacrificiorum usus ad tempus aliquod. Novatoribus autem quibusdam exortis, a duobus equidem fratribus [Gratiano et Valentiniano jum:] prohibitus fuit, at non et turificatio: quin et hoc ipsum lex tua [Theodosi] firmavit: sic ut non magis indoleamus ijs quibus privati sumus, quam gratiam ob concessa habeamus. Tu igitur neque Tempia occludi neque ullum aditum arceri iussisti, neque ignem neque turificationem neque alios fumigationum honores templis arisque ejecisti □ < insertion from f 208v > □ pag. 2 pri. templis arisque ejecisti. Atenim <sup>a[478]</sup> pullati hi, plura quàm Elephantēs comedentes, & negotium facessentes multitudine potūs ijs qui in cantūs vicem potum mittunt, occultantes verò hæc pallore per artem ipsis quæsito; manente, o Imperator, atque obtinente Lege tua, currunt ad Tempia, ligna ferentes & lapides & ferrum; pars verò sine his, manus et pedes. Inde Mysorum præda, dejectis tectis, dirutis muris, deturbatis simulachris, excisis æris: sacerdotes verò vel tacere oportet vel mori: primisque dejectis curritur ad secunda tertiaque, & tropæa tropæis legi adversa cumulantur. Idque patrat quidem etiam in urbibus, <sup>c[479]</sup> ut plurimùm verò in agris, multique in singulis hostes. Post innumera verò mala dispersi hi rursum colliguntur, rationemque factorum invicem deposcunt, pudorique est nisi maxima mala quis patravit. Peragrant igitur agros sicut torrentes &c.

< text from f 207v resumes >

While Theodosius continued thus resupine —

< text from f 209v resumes >

In this Oration Libanius also heavily accuses the Monks for the misdemeanours they committed under colour of pulling down Temples making that but a pretext to plunder the poor country people: And no doubt other heathens (who were hitherto in <sup>e[480]</sup> great favour with Theodosius) seconded Libanius's accusation adding perhaps their interrupting judicature with other crimes to the charge: for they so far wrought on Theodosius that he thereupon curbed the Monks by this Edict

### **Imp. Valentin. Theod. & Arcad. AAA. Tatiano PF. P.**

Quicunque sub professione Monachi reperiuntur, deserta loca & vastas solitudines sequi, adque habitare jubeantur. Dat. III Non. Sept Veronæ, Valentiniano IV & Neotherio Coss. [A. 390.]

But the favourers of the Monks, being hereby stirred up, wrought with Theodosius to put forth the next year two <sup>p[481]</sup> Edicts against the heathens more severe then he had done formerly & the year after to <sup>q[482]</sup>



revoke his edict against the Monks, & q[483] interdict the heathens all kinds of worship, & even access to their Temples. ffrom which time I suppose the Monks being encouraged by authority became more earnest in demolishing the Temples then before: Yet in the west Eugenius (such another r[485] Christian as Iovian) indulged the heathens for a year or two & afterward Honorius would have the Temples spared as being public ornaments. But what the Homoüsians spared the h[486] Barbarians at their invading the Empire eradicated. < text from f 208ar resumes > And then Theodosius & Gratian A.C. 380 or 381 took away the re

<207v>

a. Hæc probat Gothofredus, Comment. in L. 7 de Pagan. Cod. Theod. Nempe Themistius Orat 12 ad Iovianum A.C. 364 habita, de Christianis sub Constantio religionem gentilem cohibentibus sermonem faciens, ait: Non ita tu, divinissime Imperator, fecisti, sed cum in cæteris Imperator et esses et perpetuò sis futurus, quod ad religionem cultumque numinis pertineret, in cujuslibet esse arbitrio tua lege constituisti, &c. Idem Themistius orat 17 ad Valentem Imp. (edit. Petavij) eandem licentiam a Valente lege sancitam g[493] commemorat; & utrumque Imperatorem eo nomine laudat: et Valentem hâc de causa graviter accusat Theodoretus l. 4. c. 24, & l. 5. c. 21. Porro de Valentiniano Ammianus l 29 scribit — — — — ipse servebat. Quinetiam Libanius (Orat pro Templis) ad Constantium alludens, ait quo Valentinianus melior extitit, parcendo templis etiam hostiùm, pro domesticis verò templis magno labore et tempore hominumque multitudine, multisque talentis excitatis, periculum etiam adire dignatus est. Et Baronius an. 371. §130 131 ex legibus ejus docet cum Sacerdotes paganos privilegijs & honoribus prosecutum: adeo ut hunc esse novum Ieroboam haud malè dixeris

Hactenus itaque post Iulianum licentia Gentilitati concessa. Quod et Symmachus in relatione ad Valentinianum jun. testatur, dum ait: Si numerentur hi Principes utriusque sectæ utriusquè sententiæ, \*[494] prior eorum numerus [i. omnes ante Constantinum] ceremonias patrum coluit, recentior [i. omnes post Iulianum ad usque edictum Gratiani de quo abrogando hic agit Symmachus] non removit. Dissimulationem ideò et conniventiam horum posteriorum Principum Symmachus laudat; memorat et Ambrosius l. 1 et 2 adversus Symmachum, fatendo quod cum essent Christiani decreta tamen Gentilium minimè removerunt. Sic et Liba <208v> nius (Orat. pro Templis) ait, quod mortuo Iuliano mansit sacrificiorum usus ad tempus aliquod.

<208br>

This is the history; & now for the application of it to the Prophecy: By the great shaking you may understand the overthrowing of the Idol kingdom; by the Sun the Dragon that old serpent the infernal King: by it's blackness the obscuration of the Dragon's kingdom: by the Moon the Heathen church (as I may call it) or the body of heathen worshippers, & more especially that of the Priests: by her becoming as blood the prohibition of their worship by sanguinary laws: By the stars falling as the figgs of a shaken figtree, the tumbling down of Idols in Constantine's reign. By the heaven's departing as a scroll, the taking away the roofs of many Temples which Eusebius mentions. And by every mountain & Island's being moved out of their places, the demolishing the altars & a good part of the temples, & removing the rest from their dignity & use.

<209r>

All this was fulfilled in the reign of Constantine & Constantius, but further by the hiding of all sorts of men in the dens & rocks of the mountains, you may understand the stealing of all sorts of Idols into the temples again in [495] Iulian's reign: they flying thither as it were to withdraw & hide themselves from the face of the world & from the publick shame & reproach they were exposed to in the reign of Constantine & Constantius. And lastly by their saying to the mountains & rocks, ffall on us & hide us, &c: you may understand the sentence which by the empire's becoming Christian again, past on them for the finall overthrow of the Idols & Temples together: not of the Idols alone as in Constantine's reign, but of all together: neither the overthrow it self, but the effectual sentencing them as it were to that overthrow, by reducing things to such a state that of course they must be shortly overthrown; for it is not said that the mountains & rocks did fall but only that their fall was wished, & the sentence pronounced, Who shall be able to stand? that is, as I interpret, they were reduced in the time of this seale to a state of feare, a state that denounced their fall at hand, but left the execution of the sentence to the time following. And such a state I reckon they were reduced to so soon as the

Emperors became christian again: ffor though they tolerated Gentilism for a while, yet their very being Christians brought over the hypocritical heathens to the profesion of Christianity so fast, that †<sup>[496]</sup> Orosius A.C. 417 called the residue of the Heathens paucissimos very few. ◇ < insertion from f 208v > ◇ And before this, Symmachus having upon Gratian's death pleaded to Valentinian II in the name of the Senate for Gentilism, Prudentius in confuting him wrote thus first of the Senate & then of the people.<sup>[497]</sup>

Respice ad illustrem, lux est ubi publica, cellam,

Vix pauca invenies gentilibus obsita nugis  
Ingenia, &c

Posthinc ad populum converte oculos, quis in urbe est

Qui Iovis infectam sanie non despuat aram? &c

Et dubitamus adhuc Romam tibi Christe dicatam

In leges transisse tuas? omnique volentem  
Cum populo & summis cum civibus, ardua magni  
Iam super astra poli terrenum extendere regnum?  
Nec moveor quod pars hominum rarissima clausos  
Non aperit sub luce oculos, gressibus errat.

This was written between the battel at Pollentia & expedition of Radagaisus that is about the year 404, but c<sup>[498]</sup> Symmachus wrote d<sup>[499]</sup> A.C. 384 & d even then Ambrose wrote thus against him: Absit ut hoc Senatus petisse dicatur. Pauci Gentiles communi utuntur nomine. Nam et ante biennium fermè cùm hoc petere tentarent, misit ad me Sanctus Damasus Romanæ Ecclesiæ sacerdos, libellum quem Christiani Senatores dederunt, et quidem innumeri, postulantes nihil se tale mandasse, non congruere gentilium istiusmodi petitionibus, non præbere consensum; quæsti etiam publicè privatimque se non conventuros ad Curiam si tale aliquid decerneretur. ‡ < insertion from f 209r > ‡ And before this in Iulian's reign Titus (Episcopus Bostrensis) libellum ad Iulianum misit: testatusque est Christianos (ibi) plebem gentilium numero adæquare, quiescere tamen illos &c. Sozom. l. 5, c. 15. Seing therefore in Iulian's reign about half were christians, & even the greater half of the senate it self, before – < text from f 208v resumes > Seing therefore the greater half of the Senate it self were become christian before the 4<sup>th</sup> year of <209v> Theodosius's reign, & that within ten year's after his death, the remnant of the Gentiles were vix pauci, pars hominum rarissima; it's plain that their strength was consumed before Theodosius began to demolish their Temples: so that what he & his sons did, (which the Homoüsians keep such a stir about) was — < text from f 209r resumes > so that what Theodosius & his son's did (which the Homoüsian Historians keep such a clatter about) was but to cut in pieces the carcas of the dying Beast which Constantine & Constantius had set upon in it's full vigour & wounded mortally, & therefore no wonder the Holy Ghost dwells so much on that, & leaves this battle with stone walls as a thing of course to be done in the next seale.

<210r>

**The seventh seale began with the peace made with the Goths & the delivery of the Churches to the Homoüsians, Decemb. A.C. 380.**

ffor determining the beginning of this seale, the heathen, the political, & the Christian state of the Empire all concurr.

By the heathen state we are to begin it when the Idols restored to their Temples by Iulian, were ready together with their temples to receive their final overthrow. And therefore because the spoiling the Temples by Gratian & Theodosius & their Edicts against sacrificing gave occasion to the Monks then swarming up & down the east, to begin to throw down the temples soon after, we begin this seale about the time of those edicts. Now in the year 381 Theodosius put forth this Edict. <sup>[500]</sup> Siquis se vetitis sacrificijs diuturnis nocturnisque velut vesanus et sacrilegus incertorum conciliorum immerserit, fanumque sibi aut templum ad hujusmodi sceleris excusationem assumendum crediderit, vel putaverit adeundum; proscriptioni se noverit subjugandum; cùm

nos justa institutione moneamus castis Deum precibus excolendum non diris carminibus profanandum. Dat 13 Kal. Ian. Constantinop. Eucherio et Syagrio Coss. But by the words vetita sacrificia one might suspect there was a former Edict to which this relates. And Zosimus (lib 4) describing the actions of Theodosius in the last year of the triennial Gothic war (i. A.C. 380) subjoyns: Deum quoque Simulachra per omnes urbes & agros oppugnabat: adeoque periculum cunctis imminebat qui esse Deos putabant vel in cælum omninò suspiciebant & quæ in eo conspiciuntur adorabant. Dumque hæc Theodosius ageret Gratianus Imperator ad Legiones Illyrici Prætorem mittit Vitalianum &c. This mission of Vitalian was that which ended the Gothic war, as you shall hear presently, & therefore this acting of Theodosius happened in the year 380; & we may most probably suppose that it began in the time of his sickness at Thessa <210v> Ionica when he was baptized & began to concern himself about religion: for till then he was so much taken up in the Gothic war that he had little or no time to turn himself to any other business. But then as he began to be concerned for the Homousian religion so it's most likely he began to oppose the Gentile. And accordingly the Chron: Alexandrin: conjoyns these actions, referring to Theodosius the fact of the Monks: Indict. 7, Ausonio et Olybrio Coss: Theodosius Imperator reddidit Templâ Catholicis ubique repurgata. — Fama verò Paganorum ab usque fundamentis evertit. Seing therefore this giving the churches to the homoüsians began (as you shall hear) in the end of the year 380, we may suppose that to be the time also in which the Gentile religion received the change which set the Monks a working for the final overthrow of the Temples. And therefore since the former seale, as we shewed extended to the sentencing their overthrow but left the execution of the sentence to the times following: we may most properly begin this seale at the period here assigned.

This may be one character of it's beginning: another, & that a more express one we have from the temporal state of the Empire exprest by the silence, that is peace, for half an hower & by the holding of the four winds which were to hurt the earth & the Sea, that is restraining the wars –

[1] Def

[2] a Baron: Annal: An 253, sect 48.

[3] b

[4] \* Maximinus one of the Persecuting Emperors his edict for restraining it in the East at the end of the ten years, runs thus. Prioribus Augustis Christianorum gentem tanquam deorum cultui adversam penitus esse delendam, se quoque aliquamdiu ratum simili debere uti sententia: Sed quomiam eo magis gens ista propagetur et crescat quo maximè putetur inhiberi, velle se potius ut siquidem blandis quis ad deorum cultum persuasionibus acquiescat recipiatur, nullus verò cogatur invitus. Euseb. Hist. l 9.9

[5] Gen 49.9

[6] Deutr 33.17

[7] \* sc. Persico

[8] Lib. Iuchasin Lib. מלכי רובי

[9] \* Hæc mandata (saith Carion) tribunis militum dedit: Si vís Tribunus esse, imò si vivere vis, manus militum contine: nemo segetes atterat: nemo salem oleum ligna auferat: nemo ovem alterius rapiat: an nona sua miles contentus sit; ex prælio hostium, non ex lachrymis provincialibus habeat.

[10] † Frumenti summam, saith Herodia of Severus, primus adauxit. Rei frumentariæ, saith Spartianus, quam minima repererat —

[11] Euseb: Chron. et Eutrop l. 9.

[12] \* Hispania duodecim annis fere sub Barbaris laboravit regnante Gallieno. Oros l 7. c 41.

[13] ♦ So Iornandes l. 1, de Regn. success. Claudius Gothos jam per quindecim annos Illyricum Macedoniamque vastantes bello adortus incredibili strage delevit.

[14] Apud Euseb. Hist l 7. c 17.

[15] Apud Euseb. Hist l 7 c 17.

[16] d Dioclesianus animadvertens consortem Imperij opus esse ut citius pacem ubique redderet Maximianum legit. Pomponius Lætus

[17] a Cum per omnem orbem terrarum res turbatae essent & Carausius in Britannijs rebellaret Achillisus in Oriente, Africam Quinquegentiani infestarent, Narseus Orienti bellum inferret, Dioclesianus Maximianum Herculeum ex Cæsare fecit Augustum, Constantium et Maximianum Cæsares. Eutrop. l 9

[18] Chron. in vita Diocl.

[19]

b Ex barbaris multi adducti captivi qui non fuere securi caesi sed post triumphum in Romani Imperij finibus positi ut una cum veteribus incolis habitarent. Regiones enim assiduis incursionibus vastatae, ferè in solitudinem ierant. Rediere ex diversis partibus orbis ad urbem principes seniores quorum auspicijs limites Imperij Romani longius producti atque prolati: Ab ortu usque ad Indos propagati Imperij fines: Non Euphrates non Tigris vetuere, non superbæ Regum persarum minæ. A meridie Æthiopes per Legatos accersere. Ab Aquilonc barbaræ feræque nationes Sarmatarum domitæ. Ab occasu Gessoriacus oceanus admirabilis victoriæ testis est simul et Brittanicus. Igitur toto terrarum orbe undique Romana arma illustres victorias assecuta socijs lætitiâ præbuere, rebellibus metum terrorenque pugnare cupientibus. Hæc Pomponius Lætus de Triumpho Dioclesiani quæ sub initio Persecutionis celebrata est, anno Imperij 18<sup>vo</sup>.

Constantius propè sexaginta millia Alemannorum cædit, ea victoria liberatae Galliæ, attritæ Germaniæ suae vires amisere quas reparare non ausi sunt Alemanni. Pomp. Læt.

Constantius 60 ferè millia Alemannorum cæcidit. Maximianus quoque Augustus bellum in Africa profligavit domitis Quinquegentianis, et ad pacem redactis. Dioclesianus obsessum Alexandriae Achilleum octavo ferè mense superavit eumque interfecit. Victoria acerbè usus est. Totam Ægyptum gravibus proscriptionibus cædibus fœdavit — Galerius cum Narsea, in Armenia majori pugnavit successu ingenti Varia \*[20] deinceps simul et viritim bella gesserunt Carpi et Bastarnis subactis, Sarmatis victis, quarum nationum ingentes copias in Romanis finibus locaverunt. Eutrop l 9.

[20] [\* Nota. Bella quæ ponit posteriora, cæteris præcesseri Malo ordine hæc

[21]

Sub Gallieno Dacia quæ a Trajano ultra Danubium fuerat adjecta amissa est. Eutrop. l. 9.

[22] Carus in Persas profectus Mesopotamia recepta Ctesiphontem pervenit Pomp. Læt. & Vopiscus. Note that Britain was lost for 10 years between the recovery of Mesopotamia by Carus & the full settling of it by Galerius.

[23] Euseb. Chron.

[24] ⊕ Maximiano Rex Persiæ Mesopotamiam cum Transtigritanis quinque regionibus reddidit. Sexti Rufi Breviarium.

[25] \* See the Discours of the Terrestrial Paradise

[26] b Idatius puts the beginning of it Diocles: 8 & Maximiano 7 Coss. Hoc est A.C. 303. Quod convenit cum Eusebio.

[27] c. Ingentem hanc tribus prælips. victoriam sic breviter describit Eusebius: Cum Maxentius machinis præstigiis confusus omnem locum agrum et civitatem etiam quæ ipsius subiciebatur imperio, ingenti armorum multitudine & infinitis copijs munivisset: Imperator Constantinus Dei auxilio nixus primam secundam et tertiam tyranni aciem adoritur & omnibus primo impetu facillè subactis universam prope Italarum peragrat regionem. Euseb

in vita Constant. l 1, c. 31. Tanta hostium et tam ampla cædes, tam felix et incruenta victoria fuit, ut credas non bello ancipiti dimicatum sed solas impiorum pœnas expetitas. Nazarius in Panegy. Constant. Vide plura apud Baronium Ann 312 sec 38 & sequ.

[28]

a. Eusebius (in Chron:) puts this Victory in the 10<sup>th</sup> year of the Persecution: Anno Olymp. 272.4. Idatius puts it in the Consulship of Constantine 2 & Licinius 2. And Socrates in the seventh year of Constantine who began his reign in the fourth year of the persecution July 27 Anno Olymp 271.1 finiente vel 271.2 incipiente. (Hist trip l 1.) Constantio 6 & Maximiano 6 Coss: (Idatius.) Moreover this victory happened 8 Kal.Octob. <31v> to Sigonius de Occid. Imp. l 2 (See also Petavius de doct temp. l 11. c 37) And therefore the persecution ceased about the end of the year 312.

NB: In ultimo Licinij cum Constantino prælio, Constantinus tantam cædem edidit ut de centum & triginta millium numero vix triginta millia evaderent. Zosim l 2.

[29] a Tantam exercitûs Liciniani cædem edidit Constantinus ut de centum et triginta millium numero vix triginta millia evaderent. Zosim. l 2.

[30] Hieronymus & Cedrenus .

[31]

a Hieronym. Epist 61 Baron. Annal. An 364, sec 19

[32] a l 9. de Malefic. & mathemat. Cod. Theod.

[33] b. Baron. Annal. an 371. sec 130

[34] c. Baron An 371. s 131

[35] Ammianus l 30. Socrates in Hist. trip. l. 9. c. 5.

[36] Hist. trip. l2. c 18.

[37] Baron. an. 376 sec 3. & an 377 sec 1.

[38] a. Infide. Nam Constantinus nonnulla Constantius, quamplurima passim destruxit.

[39] b Suæ religionis Imperatorem, etsi autorem (ut videtur) {Au} Valens {illeg} tollere penitus tamen absolvere non erubuit et interea Valentis crimen ore aperto prosequi.

[40]

a. Vide Gothofredum in Chronologia necnon in Prosopographia Codicis Theodosiani.

[41] l 7. de pagan. Cod. Theod.

[42] l 8. de pagan Cod. Theod.

[43] a. Symmachus lib. Relationis. & Baron an 382 sec 46, & an 383 sec 5.

[44] b. Zosim l 4.

[45] c. Baron an 382 sec 46.

[46] a. Symmachus lib. Relationis. & Baron an 382 sec 46, & an 383 sec 5.

[47] b. Zosim l 4.



[48] c. Baron an 382 sec 46.

[49] r Ambros. ep. 15 ad Eugenium. Baron: an 395. s 37.

[50] s Paulin in Vita S. Ambrosij.

[51] d Prosper Baron an 399 sec 54, 55, 56.

[52] † Medus in Apostasia novissimorum temporum lib 3. c 14.

[53] Amm. l 26

[54] Ammian l 31

Iornandes

Sigonius de Occid. Imp.

[55] a Ammian lib 31

[56]

b Nec ulla Annalibus præter Cannneusem pugnam, ita ad internecionem res legitur gesta. Ammian: ib

[57]

c. Zosimus l 4. Sigonius de Occ. Imp.

[58] d Zosim Prosper. Sigonius de Occid. Imp.

[59] d. Nempe biennio post initam pacem De qua supra.

[60] \* Gr. Naz. in Vita sua.

[61] a. Ijsdem temporibus divina quadam providentia barbaræ Gentes sub illius [Theodosij] ditionem redactæ sunt. Et inter alios Atha{na}ricus Gothorum rex cum universo pop{ulo} sese ei dedit. Socr. l. 5.c 10.

[62] Oros. l 7. c 34

[63] Ammian l 38. Hieronym. Chron.

[64] Ammian. l. 28.

[65] Ib. l 28.

[66] Ib. l 29.

[67] {illeg} Firmus frater Gildonis qui postea gentes Mauricas in Africa similiter commovit. Ammian lib 29.

[68] a Ammian l. 28.

[69] d Oros. l. 7. c. 32 Hieron Chron. Casidor.

[70] b Hieron. Chron:

[71] b Hieron. Chron:

[72] {illeg} Maurorum {illeg} Firmus frater Gildonis qui postea gentes Mauricas in Africa similiter commovit. Ammian l 29

[73] a Ammian

[74] b Iornand. Regn. Success.

[75] \* Prop

[76] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[77] a. Zosim l 4.

[78] b. Gratianus ab exercitu suo proditus et ab obvijs urbibus non receptus ludibrio hosti fuit, cruentæque manus vestigia parietes tui Lugdune testantur. Hieronymus Epist 3. How he was slain you may see in Socrates l 5. c 11.

[79] a. Ambrose. Epist 17

[80] Ammian. lib. 17

[81] c. Zos. l 4. Claudian de primo Consulatu Honorij.

[82] pag vers

[83]

a Ambrose in lib 5 Ep 29 speaking of a bad act of Maximus in the beginning of the expedition adds: Ille igitur statim a Francis & a Saxonum gente, in Sicilia Siciæ, Petavione ubique denique terrarum victus est.

Theodosius contra Maximum profectus, mense Iunio transit per Macedoniam, dein emensa Pannonia duobus prælijs, in Norico uno Sisciæ, altero Petavione, Maximum vincit, deinde in Italiam contendit tandemque apud Aquileiam superat et capite truncat, 5 Kal. Sept. vel 5 Kal. Aug. Ambros l 5 ep 29. Pacatus in Panegyrico. Sulpitius Alexander l 3 Hist αυτοπτης ipse. Claudian. Ausonius in Aquileia. Hæc apud Gothofridum in Chron. Cod. Theod.

Superatus Eugenius 8 Id Sept. Arcad 3 & Honor 2 Coss. Dein post quatuor Menses obit Theodosius Ian 17 Olybrio et Probrino Coss An 1 Olymp 294. Socr l 5 c 25 & 26.

[84] a Victis itaque Gothis quæ cum barbaris bella secuta sunt, non in orbe Romano, foro Prophetiæ, sed barbaro solo gerebantur.

[85] \* Maximus

[86] \* Gratiani

[87] Lex 2 de fid. Cath. Cod. Theod.

[88] Lex 6 De Hær. C. Theod.

[89] r Socr

[90] s Baron an 381

[91] a Confer hoc edictum cum Sozom. l 7. c 9.

[92] Lex 3 de fide Cath. Cod. Theod.

[93] \* Timothei nec non [pro] intra — — — & Timothei intra

[94] \* In Asia nec non [pro] proconsulari — — — Et in Asia Proconsulari.

- [95] a Socr l 5. c 8
- [96] b Theod. l 5, c. 8
- [97] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*
- [98] a Ambros Epist 27.
- [99] b Ammian lib 17.
- [100] c Zosim. l 4. Claudian de primo Consolatu Honorij.
- [101] Socr l 5. c 10.
- [102] a Sozom l 8, c 4
- [103] Prosper apud Euseb Chron. l 1.
- [104] Prosper apud Euseb lib 1.
- [105] a Fig.
- [106] b Fig.
- [107] e Fig.
- [108] a Prosper in Euseb l 1.
- [109] b Zosim lib 4.
- [110] c Gratianus ab exercitu suo proditus & ab obvijs urbibus non receptus ludibrio hosti fuit, cruentæque manus vestigia parietes tui Lugdune testantur. Hieronymus, Epist 3. How he was slain you may see in Socrates, l 5.c 11.
- [111] d For the history of these wars consult Zosimus lib 4. Pacatus his Panegyric. Sulpitius Alexander an eye witnes (apud Greg. Turon.)
- [112] a Non insula erat hæc Sicilia sed locus Germaniæ super. juxta Moguntiacum ubi Severus Imp. interfectus erat. Lamprid. Aventinus in Annal: Boi.
- [113] b. Iohannes qui primam de Maximo victoriam prædixerat incruentam (ex parte Theodosij scil.) etiam hanc de Eugenio licet non absque plurima utriusque sanguine inundatione promittit. Ruffin l 2. c 32.
- [114] d Sic docet Gothofridum in Chron Cod. Theod. e legibus scil: quas Thodosius tunc dedit Stobis et mox Scupis.
- [115] Socr. l 5. c 14
- [116] a Greg. Naz: in vita sua, supra. & Baron ad Ann 378. sec 59.
- [117] Sozom. l 7. c 12
- [118] 16 Cod. Theod. lex 8, Tit. 5 De Hæret.
- [119] 16 Cod. Theod. l 11 Tit 5 de Hæret.
- [120] 16 Cod. Th. l 12 Tit 5 de Hæreticis.

[121] 16 Cod. Th. l 13 tit 5 de Hæret.

[122] 16. C. Theod. l 14. tit 5 de Hæret

[123] 16 C. Theod. l. 15 tit 5 de Hæret.

[124] 16 C. Theod tit 4 de his qui super religione contendunt lex 2

[125] 16. C. Theod. lex 3. De his qui super religione contendunt.

[126] 16 Cod. Theodos. Lex 21 de Hæret De hac lege meminit Augustinus epist 50 ad Bonifacium: Quâ, inquit, Theodosius pijssimæ memoriæ promulgavit ut quisquis hæreticorum Episcopus vel clericus ubi {li}bet esset inventus, decem libris auri mulctetur &c. De eadem quoque meminit ad Ianuarium Epist 68 & in disp. con{tra} Cre{sconium} <62ar> Cresconium l 3. c 47. Atque hæc, inquit Baronius, erant arma quibus se munivit Theodosius contra Eugenium profecturus Baron. an 392, s. 27.

[127] a Lex 17. De Hæret. C. Theod

[128] b Vide Comment. Gothofredi in hanc Legem.

[129] c. Lex 26. De Hæret. C. Theod

[130] d Vide Leges 9, 13, 15, 31, 32, 35, & 52. D Hæret. C. Theod.

[131] e Vide {16} C. Theod Leg. 12 & 24 & 46 & 65 De Hæret & Leg: 13 De Paganis. & leg 4 Ne sanctum Baptisma iteretur.

[132] a Def.

[133] a Vide supra pag

[134] a Postit 5. § 3.

[135] b Posit 2.

[136] a

[137] b

[138] c Apoc 12.15

[139] d Apoc 17.1, 15.

[140] e Apoc 13.1.

[141] f Apoc 12.16.

[142] a. Lex. 20 de Hæret. C. Theod.

[143] b. Legi solet: pelli urbibus vicinis, proturbari,

[144] d L de Hæret dat A.C. 394. &c

[145] e Socr. l 5. c 25, 26

[146] e Socr. l 5. c 25, 26

[147] a Baron. an 412.

[148] a

[149] De Civitate Dei l. 18, c. 53, & 54.

[150] Baron. ann 406. § 54.

[151] Baron. ann. 412. § 32

[152] a Salvian. De Gubernatione Dei lib. 3.

[153] Psal. 109.7

[154] Ezek 14

[155] lib 4

[156] Aventin. Annal. Boi. in Anthemis

[157]

[158] Ioan 5.

[159] lib 4

[160] lib. 4.

[161] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[162] lib {8}

[163] Rom 1

[164] Prov 10

[165] Isa 16.

[166] 1 Cor. 6.

[167] Baron. ann. 412

[168] Rom 1

[169] Baron. An. 428. 7

[170] Augustin. serm. de temp. Barbar.

[171] r Salvian. lib 8.

[172] 2 Cor 10

[173] Salvian lib 6.



- [174] Baron ann 410. § 44.
- [175] Oros. l. 1 c. 6.
- [176] Hier. 5.
- [177] Salv: lib: 6.
- [178] Ezek. 33.7. & 2.17.
- [179] a
- [180] Hieron. contra Luciferanos.
- [181] Hieron. adv. Iovinianum lib 1.
- [182] Hieron. Oceano Epist 46 Tom 2.
- [183] 1 Tim 3.6.
- [184] 1 Tim 3.7
- [185] Hieron Epist 22
- [186] Hieron ep. 3.
- [187] Hieron Epist 2.
- [188] a De alijs in sua persona loquitur.
- [189] Mich. 2
- [190] Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 27.
- [191] Amm. lib 15.
- [192] a Apud Hilarium contra Auxentium Et Baron. a. 369. § 15.
- [193] b Basil: Epist. 10
- [194] c Baron. a 372. § 25 & sequ.
- [195] Lex 20. De Episc Eccles. & Cler. C. Theodos.
- [196] a. i.e. ex Ecclesiasticis nati.
- [197] b Monachi.
- [198] Hieron. Ad Nepotianum Epist 2.
- [199] a L. 15. de Pœnis, & L 31 Quorum appellationes non recipiantur. Cod. Theod.
- [200] b. L 16 De Pœnis Cod. Theod.
- [201] L. 1. De his qui confugiunt ad Ecclesias. Cod. Theod.

[202] a Augustin. Epist 215. & Baron ann 392. § 29.

[203] a Baron. 446. § 3.

[204] b Gildas de excidio Brit. Extat apud Bibl. S. Patrum.

[205] Matt 5.

[206] Act 1

[207] a. Consule Epistolam Augustini ad Victorinum; Cassiani sextam Collationem, & Propserum in Prolog. lib. de Provid. Dei.

[208] Salvian. lib. 4.

[209] Salv. lib. 4.)

[210] Luc. 12.)

[211] Salvian. lib. 5.

[212] Ioan.

[213] a Franci Pagani erant, & Hunni Paganorum incultissimi.

[214] lib. 6.

[215] lib. 6.

[216] 1. Cor. 7.

[217] Salv. De Gub. Dei lib 7.

[218] Iudges 7.2

[219] Orac. Sibyll. lib. 3, apud Heroldi Monumenta Patrum.

[220] a

[221] b

[222] c. Apoc. 12.15.

[223] d. Apoc. 17.1, 15.

[224] e. Apoc. 13.1.

[225] f Apoc. 12.16.

[226] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

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[228] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[229] a Apoc. 12.16.

[230] b. Apoc 12.15.

[231] c. Apoc 17. 1, 15.

[232] d. Apoc. 13.1.

[233] Sigonius de Occid Imperio.

[234] Sigon. de Occid. Imperio.

[235] a. Theodoret. l 5 c 32 & 33.

[236] b. Sozom. l 8. c 4 Socrat. l 6. c 6.

[237] b. Sozom. l 8. c 4 Socrat. l 6. c 6.

[238] k. Iornandes Getius ponit hunc transitum in Pannoniam Stilicone et Aureliano Coss.

[239] c. Baron: Annal. An: 403 sec 50 & 52 Gothofredus in Chron. Cod. Theod

[240] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[241] e Marcelline

[242] f. Oros. l 7. c 37.

[243] g Prosper. Chron

[244] h. Augustin. de Civ: Dei. l. 5.

[245] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[246] Zosim. l. 5.

[247] \* i.e. Achaia.

[248] Baron. Annal. Ad. ann. 395 sec 16 & 17.

[249] Claud. in Ruffin. l 2

[250] \* i.e. Athenienses

[251] Socr. l 7. c 10.

[252] Claud: in Ruffin. lib 2.

[253] \* Ruffinus scil:

- [254] Claud. de Ruffin lib 1.
- [255] \* Ad Stiliconem de Ostrogothis loquitur.
- [256] \* Promoti.
- [257] Zosim. l 5.
- [258] Claud in Eutropium lib 2.
- [259] \* Socr. Hist l 6. c 6.
- [260] \* i.e. Ostrogothorum
- [261] † In Bib. S. Patr.
- [262] Gothofr. Comment. in 9 Cod. Theodos. Tit. 35.
- [263] \* Αἰβυες
- [264] Claud. de Laudibus Stiliconis lib 1. scripto A.C. 440 circiter
- [265] \* Stiliconem alloquitur.
- [266] Sozom. l 8. c 2{illeg}
- [267] Sozom. l 9. c 5
- [268] a Marcellinus in chron. refert ad sequentem annum, quem sequitur Gothofredus, conspirantibus etiam nonnullis Imperatorum edictis, quod est character certissimus.
- [269] Philostorg. lib 11 cap 8.
- [270] \* i.e. Austuriani
- [271] \* Natolia.
- [272] a. Vide Socratem lib 6, cap 6. Et Sozom. lib 8, c 4.
- [273] Philostorgius Lib 12. cap 2.
- [274] a. Saturiani, Austuriani, Ausuriani & Auxoriani iidem sunt ut probat Gothofredus Commentar in hanc Legem.
- [275] Claud. in Eutropium lib 1.
- [276] a Eutropius.
- [277] b. De serenitate Occidentis hac tempestate vide postea sub initio Tubæ sequentis.
- [278] a πᾶς χορτος omne genus herbæ, ad trientem scilicet.
- [279] b Fig
- [280] Def

[281] c. Orosius l 7 c 36 Marcelline

[282] Zosim. l 5.

[283] \* Gildonem apud Zosimum.

[284] (omnia hoc inserendum supra.

[285] Claud: in laudes Stilic. lib. 1.

[286] Claud. in laudes Stilic. lib. 1.

[287] Claud: de Bello Getico. Carmen A.C. 403 compositum.

[288] Claud. De Bello Getico.

[289] Claud: in 6 Cons: Honorij.

[290] \* Eridanum

[291] Oros l 7. c 37

[292] Prudentius in Symmachum lib: 2.

[293] a Sozom l 8. c 25

[294] b

[295] c, Orientale scilicet hoc est, Daciam et Macedoniam, ut e Notitia Imperij Romani discimus.

[296] d. Olympiodorus apud Photium.

[297] Freculphi Chron. Tom: 2, l 5, c 2.

[298] a Idem fortè ac Roas confers Octans in Imperio Hunnorum.

[299] D. Augustin. de Civit. Dei lib 5. c 23

[300] Oros. l 7. c 37

[301] \* NB. Non singuli homines sed greges hominum totidem aureis vendelantes

[302] [<sup>a</sup> Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l: 5, c: 37. Et Freculphus in Chron. Tom 2, lib 5, cap 2.]

[303] a. πᾶς χόρτος omne genus herbæ, ad trientem scilicet.

[304] b Def

[305]

a. Consule Notitiam Imperij Romani, ubi regnes et subordinatæ Provinciæ ad Imperium utrumque regnante Honorio pertinentes sigillatim recensentur.

Quo autem melius Imperia ab invicem distinguas nota quod sub Illyrico orientale eo tempore continebantur hæ Provinciæ, Achaia, Macedonia, Creta, Thessalia, Epirus uterque Macedonia salutaris Dacia Mediterranea, Dacia



ripensis, Ma~~illeg~~a occidentalior, Dardania & Prævalitana; et hæ sub Illyrico occidentali, Pannonia utraque, Noricum utrumque, & Salvia Dalmatiarum.

[306] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[307] \* Ruffinus

[308] Claudian. de bello Gildonico.

[309] Philostorg. lib 11. c 7.

[310] \* i.e. Ensiforme

[311] a Instantiam habes in exercitu Roili fulgure & igneis turbinibus perduto.

[312] b.

[313]

c. Hoc Prosper in calc lib 1 Euseb. Chron refert. ad A.C. 395 his verbis: Anno primo Arcadij et Honorij Constantinopolis eminentem iram Dei igne super nubem terribiliter fulgente formidans toto ad pœnitentiam animo conversa subterfugit.

[314] Augustinus de excidio Vrbis cap 5.

[315] a Def

[316] b Def

[317] c Def

[318] Claud. in laudes Stiliconis lib 1.

[319] Claudian de Bello Getico.

[320] Sozom. l. 9. c 4.

[321] Sozom l 9. c 6.

[322] Sozom. l 9. c 16.

[323] Anni hujus determinationem vide infra in Commentario de 10 cornibus, p

[324]

[325] Vide Cambden Britan

[326] b Zosim lib. 6.

[327] c Gildas. Beda. Hist: Miscell.

[328] c Gildas. Beda. Hist: Miscell.

[329] d Vide Baron. an 410. § 56, 57.

[330] r. Vide Baronium ad Ann. 410. § 56, 57.

[331] a. Gildas Ethelwedus edit. Londin. f 474. b.

[332] b Basso et Philippo Coss

[333] Zosim l 5

[334] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[335] c Zos: l: 5.

[336] d Sozom l 9. c 6

[337] e Marcellin. Chron.

[338] Zos: lib. 5.

[339] Philostorg. lib 12. c 3.

[340] a Cum Orosius, Sozomenes, Socrates Olympiodorus cæteresque omnes non nisi de unica Vrbis per Alaricum expugnatione loquantur; hæc non de expugnatione sed de deditione urbis ex compacto, civibus ad id coactis, intelligenda videntur.

[341] Vel potiùs jusserat. Zosim. Sozom. Procop.

[342] Vide Comment. Gothofredi.

[343] d. De Vrbis incendio meminerunt etiam alij. Alaricus, Varano Coss. Vrbem Romam invasit partemque ejus cremavit incendio. Marcellin Chron. Barbari qui cum Ala < insertion from f 143v > Alaricho erant quicquid obviam fuit igni ferroque vastantes, ad extremum Romam quoque ipsam occuparunt, maximamque partem admirandorum illic operum incendio conumpserunt. Socr l. 7 cap 10. ◇ Tertia < insertion from lower down f 143v > ◇ Tertia die barbari, quam ingressi urbem fuerant sponte discedunt facto quidam aliquantarum ædium incendio. Et ne quisquam forte dubitaret ad correptionem superbæ lasciviæ & blasphemie civitatis, hostibus fuisse permissum, eodem tempore clarissima urbis loca fulminibus dirutæ sunt quæ inflammari ab hostibus nequi verunt Oros l 7. c 39. < text from higher up f 143v resumes > ¶ Vrbs ~ < insertion from lower down f 143v > ¶ Vrbs inclyta et Romani Imperij caput uno hausta est incendio. Nulla est regio quæ non exules Romanos habeat. In cineres & favillas sacræ quondam Ecclesiæ conciderunt. Hieronymus ad Gaudentium Epist 12. Cæterum de Ecclesijs hæc Hieronymus pro more Monachorum malitiosè dixisse videtur. Nam Alarichus omnia sacra in tanto honore habuit ut non tantum {peperietit} confugientibus ad Ecclesias, sed et spolijs ecclesiarum etsi ditissimis & in medium prolatis abstinendum esse jussit, dicens se non cum Apostolis sed cum Romanis bellum gerere. Oros: l 7. c 39. Potuere tamen incendia aliarum ædium & fulmina de quibus loquitur Orosius nonnullas Ecclesias corripere. < text from higher up f 143v resumes > < text from f 143r resumes >

[344]

e Sic de cæde: Alarico, inquit Idatius, Romam ingresso, cùm intra et extra urbem cædes agerent, omnibus indultum est qui ad sanctorum limina confugerunt.

Cæterum Alarici clementia quod confugientibus ad Ecclesias, secus quàm solent urbium expugnatores barbari peperuit, ab omnibus plurimum laudatur. Vide D. Augustinum De civ. Dei l 1. c 1

[345] r De hac Campani deprædatione vide etiam Iornandem Geticis Cap. 30. P. Diac. Historiam miscellam lib: 13. Palladium dialog: 13

[346] a Palladius dialogo 13. Iornandes Get: c 30. Hist: miscel lib 13.

[347] b. Olympiodorus apud Photium & Hist miscel: lib 13.

[348] c Idatius in Chron refert obitum ejus ad eundem annum quo Romam cœpit. Isidorus dicit mox post captam Romam.

[349] X. Cassiodor: Chron. Prosper.

[350] d Iornand: Get.

[351] e Sigonius de Occ. Imp.

[352] f Prosper

[353] f Prosper

[354] g Idatius

[355] Prosper in Prolog. lib. de Provid. Dei.

[356] a scriptum puto circa finem 416 .

[357] d. Oros: l: 7, c: 42. Heraclinus cum 703 navibus armatis ad urbem Romam depredandam venit contra quem Marius comes egressus sic eum parterrit ut tantum cum una navi Carthaginem fugeret: ubi mox ingressus interfectus est. Iornand. Regn. success.

[358] e Sozom l 9. c 8.

[359] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[360] Hieron. Præf. in lib. 1. comment. in Ezek.

[361] Def.

[362] b Oros

[363] c. Baron: ad An: 253 sect 48

[364] d Euseb. Hist. l 8 c 25.

[365] e

[366] f Euseb. Hist. l 8. c 13.

[367] g. Baron ad Ann 304 sect 8

[368] g. Baron ad Ann 304 sect 8

[369] h. Euseb. Hist l 8. c 14.

[370] Gen. 49.9.

[371] Deutr. 33.17.

[372] a

[373] d It is not No man but in general οὐδεὶς none

[374] d It is not No man but in general οὐδεὶς none

[375] a ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου I suppose is, in or by the {midst} of the foreside, before him that sate upon the throne: for the same Phrase was used a little before to expres the position of the 4 Beasts over against the midst of the sides of the Throne.

[376] Fig.

[377] a Secundus equus exire dicitur: sed de quibus cane cellis non dicitur: Putem ego de longinquis quibusdam Nam Insessores de longinquo ad Aulam illam cælestem accessio meliùs denota exaltationem Imperatorum de inferiori statu ad solium Imperiale quam si de medio exeunt, Thronum Dei sacrum et summum a tergo derelinquerent.

[378] a Themist Orat. 5 ad Theodos.

[379] b ffortè Marcum Antoninum: nam Antoninus Pius potiùs Gallus erat quam Hispanus.

[380] b ffortè Marcum Antoninum: nam Antoninus Pius potiùs Gallus erat quam Hispanus.

[381] a Hunc etiam Herodianus (l. 4) vocat in foro versatum et legum consultissimum.

[382] † Suet. Vespas. Idem refert Tacitus l. 5. p 965 & Iosephus de bello Iud. l 7 c 12 in fine.

[383] † lib 3 Hist. c 32.

[384] Victor de Cæsar. In Epitome autem sic eum laudat. Iste talem se publicæ præbuit: qualem vix ægreque exprimere {valuere} summorum scriptorum miranda ingenia, — per multos atque atroces tyrannos perditio atque prostrato statu Romanj, in remedium tantorum malorum divinitus credebatur opportunè datus.

[385] Eutrop l 8.

[386] \* sc. Persico.

[387] a In another place Orosius reconning up ten plagues which God poured upon the Empire as of old upon Egypt for persecuting the church saies. Tertia sub Trajano plaga Iudæos excitavit cum antea ubique dispersi, ita jam quasi non essent quiescerent; repentino omnes calore premoti, in ipsos inter quos erant toto orbe sævierunt Oros. l. 7. c. 25

[388] b Author optimæ fidei de locis Apostolicarum Actus inter opera Hieronymi: Salamis ait Civitas in Cypro insula nunc Constantia dicta, quam Trajani principis tempore Iudæi, interfectis omnibus accolis, deleverunt.

[389] a NB Ad usque annum 15 vel 16 Imperij sui, Trajanus Trajanus gentes Orientales strenuè devicit. Anno 16 gentes istæ defecerunt. Anno 17 Iudæi etiam rebellarent Atque Annos 18 19 & 20 bellum Iudæis allatum: quo vix finito Imperator obiit.

[390] a Goodwin's Antiq l: 3. s: 1. c: 7.

[391] a Goodwin's Antiq l: 3. s: 1. c: 7.

[392] \* Non in candida sed in competitorum grege. Sensu tali non ut candidatum principis in campano prodijisse ut unum ex competitoribus gratia tamen Marci cæteris esse prolatum. Egnatius in locum.

[393] \* hoc est in milites animadvertens magis quàm in alios; ita ut latrocinium æ militibus vitio Ducum aut etiam Præfectorum commissum esse, vix experiens intelligeret.

[394] \* Apud Baron Ann. 201. § 28.

[395] De hoc Senatus ita iudicavit, illum aut nasci non debuisse aut non mori, quod et nimis crudelis et nimis utilis reip. videretur. Spartian.

[396] a Ad Imperij 6<sup>tum</sup> annum has cædes refert Baron.

[397] De Chænice vide Caspar. Waserum de Antiqu. mensur. l. 2. c 3 & Budæum T & Erasmus schol. in lib. 2 Hieronymi adv. Iovinianum. Villalpandum proæm. in Ezek.

[398] Casaub. nota. in Spart. de Severo.

[399] c Budæus

[400] a Vide Casaubonum in locum.

[401] b. That these gifts of Severus were for a perpetual supply may be gathered not only from this passage of Lampridius but also from this of Victor Remotæ Olei Frumentique adventitia præbitiones, quas Tripolis & Nicæa – Severi Imperio gratantes, Civi obtulerant. Victor in Constantino.

[402] a Baron. an 197. § 3 & 210 § 1.

[403] b. Severo & duobus filijs

[404] Baron an 210

[405] Spartian

[406] Decius imperavit 2 an. 6 mens. Gallus 2 an 4 mens. Valerianus 6 an. Galienus post Valerianum 9 ann. fere Petav. Doct. Temp. l. 11, c. 26.

[407] Zosim. l. 1.

[408] \* Gallus cum Volusiano fil.

[409] a Euseb: Chron. & Eutrop: l. 9.

[410] b Temporibus Valeriani et Gallieni Crocus ille Alemannorum rex commoto exercitu, – universa Gallias pervagatur cunctasque ædes quæ antiquitus fabricatæ fuerant, a fundamentis subvertit. Greg. Turonens. l: 1 c: 30.

[411] c. Hispania duodecim annis ferè sub Barbaris laboravit regnante Gallieno. Oros. l: 7. c: 41.

[412] d Hos hominum et navium numeros Pollio fidenter asseverat, Eique assentitur Ammianus lib: 31 & Zosimus l. 1, si modò in Zosimo, πλοιά ἑξακισχίλια pro πλοια ἑς δις-χίλια, corruptè jam scribi, cùm Casaubono putemus.

[413] d Hos hominum et navium numeros Pollio fidenter asseverat, Eique assentitur Ammianus lib: 31 & Zosimus l. 1, si modò in Zosimo, πλοιά ἑξακισχίλια pro πλοια ἑς δις-χίλια, corruptè jam scribi, cùm Casaubono putemus.

[414] Iorn. l: 1, de Reg Success.

[415] a See the Catalogue of Emperours in Onuphrius lib. 1 Romanorum Principum.

[416] a Apud Euseb. Hist l 7. c 17.

[417] b Per bellum intelligit intestinum illud in Ægypto quod dirissimam fuisse describit in alia epistola apud Euseb. l 7. c 16.

[418] \* Regio est Thraciæ juxta Hæmum montem.



[419] a Vide Pollionem in Gallicum Pontium in vita Cypriani, Pompo Lætum, Iornand Cedrenum &c.

[420] b Lipsius de Constant. 2. 23.

[421] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[422] d Sub Imperatore Gallieno, cùm Romanas Provincias barbaries usque quaque pervaderet: quàm multos fratres nostros, qui tunc erant in **{illeg}**ne putamus propinquum finem [nidi nempe] crede potuisse? Augustin Epist. 80. Ad Hesychium.

[423] a Baron an 2**{illeg}** §12. Alij hos consules ad an: 259 referunt.

[424] a. Dioclesianus animadvertens consortem Imperij opus esse ut citiùs pacem ubique redderet, Maximianum legit. Pomp. Læt.

[425] b Cùm per omnem orbem terrarum res turbatae essent, & Carausius in Britannijs rebellaret Achilles in Oriente, Africam Quinquegentiani infestarent, Narseus Orienti bellum inferret, Dioclesianus Maximianum Herculeum ex Cæsare fecit Augustum, Constantium & Maximianum Cæsares. Eutrop l 9

[426] a See the discours of the terrestrial Paradise.

[427] b Niceph. Hist. Eccles. l: 9. c. 18.

[428] c Malo ordine hæc: nam his posteriora fuere bella priùs memorata

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[432] d Oros.

[433] e Baron: Ann. 253. §48.

[434] a Otto Frisingens. l 4. c 45. Petrus de Natalibus. Baronius an. 297.

[435] f. Euseb. Hist. l. 8. c. 25.

[436] f. Euseb. Hist. l. 8. c. 25.

[437] Eutychius in Annal.

[438] g Beda de 6 ætat. mundi. Freculphus. Anastasius. Platina. Marianus Scotus

[439] h Euseb. l. 8. c 13.

[440] K. Baron. Ann. 304 §8.

[441] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[442] l. Euseb. l. 8. c. 14.

[443] *The contents of this note are only visible in the diplomatic transcript because they were deleted on the original manuscript*

[444] † Euseb. l. 8, c. 23.

[445] b Metaphrastes & Magd. Cent. 4. c. 12. Martyres vicies mille passos Nicomediæ Metaphrastes refert. Magdeb: Cent: 4. c. 12.

[446] † Euseb. l. 8, c. 23.

[447] m Apud Scalig. de Emendat. Temp. l 5 de primo anno Dioclesiani et Coptiani.

[448] a Maxentius victus est 16 Kal Novemb. A.C. 312. Constantinus post biduum Romam venit, ibidemque bimestri fermè egit. Tunc pergit Mediolanum, amicitias init cum Licinio, eique mox dat filiam in matrimonium (Gothofred. in Chron. C. Th.) atque ambo sic conspirante edictum scribunt pro Christianis, mittuntque ad Maximinum: quo ille compulsus, edicto etiam suo mox pacem restituit Orienti: (Euseb. l. 9, c. 8.) Atque adeò Persecutio decem annis completis cessavit A.C. 313 tempore verno.

[449] b. Eusebius in Chron. ponit Christianos milites primò exagitatos anno Diocl. 17, reditumque Galerij a bello Persico, & Triumphum Imperatorum fuisse Anno 18, ac initium persecutionis mox secutum Anno 19 mense Martio.

[450] c Euseb. Chron. & Cedrenus.

[451] d See Euseb. l 10 c 8. & Baron An 16. §10 & sequ.

[452] e Vide Gothofred. in Chron. Cod. Th.

[453] a L. 1. & 2, de Malefic. Cod. Theodos.

[454] L. 1. de Pagan. Cod. Theod.

[455] \* i.e. derasum, disjectum, exustum. Vide Gothofredum in Locum.

[456] L. 5 de Episc. Cod. Theodos.

[457] d Goth. in Chron. C. Th. Ad ann. 324 & 326.

[458] e. Euseb in Vita Constant. l. 2. c. 44

[459] f Vita Const: l: 2. c: 54

[460] Oros. l. 7. c. 23.

[461] a Gothofred. Chron C. Th. & Comment in Philostorg.

[462] a L. 2 de Sepulchris Cod. Theod. – Vide Gothofred. in locum.

[463] L. 2 de Pagan. Cod. Theod.

[464] L. 4 de Pagan. C. Theod.

[465] L. 5 de Pagan. Cod. Theod.

[466] L. 6 de Pagan. Cod. Theod.

[467] Iulian. Imp. in Orat. 7 ad Heraclium.

[468] a

[469] b Vide Gothofredi Notas in Orat. Libanij pro Templis in fine.

[470] L. 3. de Pagan. C. Th.

[471] a A Gothofredo in Opusculis ejus edita.

[472] a De Valentiniano Ammianus l 29 scribit quod inter religionum diversitates mediu stetit, nec quenquam inquietavit, neque ut hoc coleretur impetravit aut illud. Zosimus etiam l. 4, ait Prætextatum quendam ei. sub initio imperij suasisse ut gentibus mysteria concederet, etiam nocturna sacra. Atque idem testatur hoc edictum ejus. Aruspicinam ego nullum cum maleficiorum causis habere consortium judico neque ipsam aut aliquam præterea concessam a majoribus religionem genus esse arbitror criminis: Testes sunt leges a me in exordio Imperij mei datæ, quibus unicuique quod animo imbibisset, colendi libera facultas tribulata est. Nec Aruspicinam reprehendimus, sed nocenter exerceri vetamus. Dat. 4 Kal. Iun. Gratiano A. 2, & Probo Coss. L. 9 de Malefic. Cod. Theodos. Hinc Symmachus paganus similem licentiam a filio ejus Valentiniano petens, sub finem dixit: Eum religionum statim petimus qui divo parenti culminis vestri servavit Imperium, qui fortunato principi legitimos suffecit hæredes. Spectat Senior ille Divus, & ara <208ar> siderea lachrymas sacerdotum, & se culpatum putat more violato quem libenter ipse servabat. Cæterum de hoc plura vide apud Baronium et Gothofredum

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[474] r Symmach. lib. Relationis, & Baron. an. 382. §46, & an. 383 §5.

[475] a Ad usque Licinium victum & dissidium Constantini cum urbe Roma, Pagani Constantinum pro Pagano habuere, ut ex hoc loco, et Zosimo l 2 manifestum est

[476] b Christum.

[477] c Docet hic Libanius Constantinum post victum Licinium opes ac donaria Templis ad condendam Constantinopolin detraxisse, non tamen eo tempore cultum inhibuisse: quo constat id quod supra ostendimus, cultum & notia nisi post Constantinopolin conditam inhibitum.

[478] a Monachi qui pullatis vestibus utebantur.

[479] c Templorum partem Congè majorem in agris fuisse probat Gothofredus in Comment. in Orat. pro Templ. vide et L. 3 de Pagan. C Th.

[480] e In eadem Oratione Libanius sic blandè alloquitur Theodosium: Sed neque tales [scil. Paganos] ab honoribus submovisti quin et Magistratus contulisti & convivas fecissi. Idque et multoties antea fecisti, & nunc præter alios tibi sociasti (conducere id Imperio censens) virum per Deos juvantem, tum apud alios tum apud te quoque, neque succenses, neque injuria affici hujusmodi jurejurando putas, neque omnino malum esse, meliores spes in Dijs habentem. Cùm igitur tu nos non abigas, quemadmodum neque ille qui Persas armis fugavit [Iulianus sicil.] quomodo subditos aliter hanc in partem quam ipsi sentientes fugant Monachi? Vide et Comment Gothofredi in locum.

[481] p L. 10, 11 12 de Pagan. C. Theod.

[482] q L. 2, de Monach C. Theod

[483] q L. 2, de Monach C. Theod

[484] h De Gothis in Italia & Wandalis in Africa Idololatriam pessundantibus, vide Baronium an. 409: §3, 4. & an 439. §34, qui Barbaros ideo in imperium immissos vult ut Idololatriam funditùs tollerent.

[485] r Ambros ep. 15 ad Eugenium. Baron an. 395. §37

[486] h De Gothis in Italia & Wandalis in Africa Idololatriam pessundantibus, vide Baronium an. 409: §3, 4. & an 439. §34, qui Barbaros ideo in imperium immissos vult ut Idololatriam funditus tollerent.

[487] c Post Iulianum Principes Christiani sacra gentilium permittentes, ipsi Pontificatum Maximum gesserunt usque ad an. 381 vel 382 circiter, quo tempore Gratianus denuò rejecit (Zos.) Nam proculdubio Constantius (si non et Constantinus) hunc Pontificatum prius rejecerat, qui plusquam alius quisquam religionem Gentilem conculcabat et abolere nitebatur.

[488] d Patet ex Oratione Libanij pro Templis.

[489] e In eadem Oratione Libanius sic blandè alloquitur Theodosium: Sed neque tales [scil. Paganos] ab honoribus submovisti quin et Magistratus contulisti & convivas fecissi. Idque et multoties antea fecisti, & nunc præter alios tibi sociasti (conducere id Imperio censens) virum per Deos juvantem, tum apud alios tum apud te quoque, neque succenses, neque injuria affici hujusmodi jurejurando putas, neque omnino malum esse, meliores spes in Dijs habentem. Cùm igitur tu nos non abigas, quemadmodum neque ille qui Persas armis fugavit [Iulianus sicil.] quomodo subditos aliter hanc in partem quam ipsi sentientes fugant Monachi? Vide et Comment Gothofredi in locum.

[490] d Patet ex Oratione Libanij pro Templis.

[491] g Vide Comment. Gothofredi in L. 7, 10, 11, 12. de Pagan. Cod. Theod.

[492] h De Gothis in Italia & Wandalis in Africa Idololatriam pessundantibus, vide Baronium an. 409: §3, 4. & an 439. §34, qui Barbaros ideo in imperium immissos vult ut Idololatriam funditus tollerent.

[493] g Vide Comment. Gothofredi in L. 7, 10, 11, 12. de Pagan. Cod. Theod.

[494] \* Sic legit Ambrosius in l. 2 contra Symmachum

[495] † Iulianus Imp. ubi, abolitis quæ verebatur, adesse sibi liberum tempus faciendi quæ vellet advertit, sui pectoris patefecit arcana & planis absolutisque decretis aperiri templa, arisque hostias admoveri, & reparari. Deorum statuit cultum. Ammian l. 21. Edictum per totum orbem vulgavit quo Idola instaurari imperabat. Chron. Alexandr. Divulgato per universum terrarum orbem mandato præcepit ut Idolorum templa instaurarentur, aræ excitarentur, pristini dæmonibus honores redderentur. Chrisost. Orat. 2 in Babylam Mart.

[496] † Iam, paucissimi remanserunt, qui nunquam aliquo persequente puniti sunt. Oros: l: 7. c. 28.

[497] Symmach. Relat. Prudent. l. 1 adv. Symmach.

[498] c Ambr. l. 2 adv. Symmach.

[499] d Probat Baron. an. 383. 41 & 384. 7.

[500] L. 7 de Pagan. Cod Theod.

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