

The Book of Revelation: its Symbols and their Meaning.

(Being a continuation of the article on PROPHECY which appeared in the CHURCHMAN for April.)

THIS book is not so difficult to interpret as the world supposes. Otherwise the "blessing" pronounced on those who "read" and those who "listen to" this last "testimony of Jesus" would be a mockery. And if we attend to Irenaeus'¹ golden rule that prophecy is not intended to ante-date history but only to *unfold the meaning of events after they have occurred*, then we stand on this great vantage-ground over all Christians who have gone before us—namely, that we have lived to see the unfolding of events which for them were dark but for us have received a final accomplishment. Each succeeding generation of expositors from the second century onward has added to the interpretation of the symbols of this Book; so that we "to whom the ends of the ages have come," may enter into their labours and even reconcile their apparent contradictions in the light of a broader historical perspective.²

¹ IREN. IV. c. xxvi. *πᾶσα γὰρ προφητεία πρὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως ἀνιγμα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀντιλογία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. δταν δ' ἔλθῃ ὁ Καίρος καὶ ἀπορῆ τὸ προφητευθὲν τότε τῆς ἀκριβεστάτης ἐπέτυχεν ἐξηγήσεως.* ("Every prophecy before its accomplishment is a riddle and a contradiction to man. But when the hour comes and the event prophesied takes place, then it ever meets with its most perfect explanation.") He quotes in proof Jer. xxiii. 20; Dan. xii. 4. 9.

² The history of the INTERPRETATION of this Book may be briefly summarized. HIPPOLYTUS, about the year 200, set the lines of interpretation—especially developing the idea of Anti-Christ (whose symbol "666" probably spelt out *Latinus*) and the wilderness period of the true Church lasting 1,260 years. In the fourth century the Donatist TICHONIUS, with the approval of Augustine, framed the standard commentary—especially by his use of symbols, e.g. the prophetic "day" for a year. About 900 (?) BERENGAUD started the present more regular chronological scheme of interpretation. But about 1200 the Abbot JOACHIM initiated a new era, being one of the first to complete the hint dropped by the Fathers that it would be members of the professing Christian Church who would consummate the apostasy. He drew the further inference (following Gregory I and Theodoret) that the Papacy, by its claim of a "universal pontiff" "snatching at the seat of empire in the Church" (*ἀρπάξεν τὴν προεδρείαν*), was the Anti-Christ. In the seventeenth century MEDS became the author of the universally accepted Protestant exposition of the Apocalypse, which culminated in the standard commentaries of BENDEL and AUBERLEN in Germany (1740 and 1854), of ELLIOTT in England (*Horae Apocalypticæ*, 1851-1862), and of BARNES in America (Commentary, 1851). The argument of all these writers is to the effect that St. John furnishes in this Book a continuous prophecy of the fortunes of the Christian Church from his own times to the end of time.

[The most remarkable instance of direct prophecy which this system of interpretation has hitherto furnished is that of a Scotch layman, Robert Fleming, who in 1701 fixed strikingly approximate dates for the fall of the

We have first to inquire into the *nature* of this Book, which is not so much a prophecy as an APOCALYPSE. What is the difference between an Apocalypse and pure prophecy? A *prophet* is one who HEARS the word of God as it strikes his inner *ear* (Isa. l. 4). An *Apocalypticist* is one who SEES it exhibited in action before his mental *eye* (Ezek. i. 1; Rev. xxii. 8).¹

Consequently there is this difference in the PRESENTATION of prophecy and an Apocalypse. A prophet living in the *present* employs current historical FACTS as types of still greater events to come. An apocalyptic seer living in the *future* employs SYMBOLS as being the most appropriate representation of things not seen as yet and of which no idea can be formed before the event has occurred which the symbol serves to illustrate. Thus Daniel, foreseeing the Anti-Christ (c. xii.), delineates *the future sufferings of Israel for three and a half literal years* (or more strictly "1,290 days") and foretells their restoration in 1,335 days. This was actually accomplished four hundred years later in the times of the Maccabees, when ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES persecuted the Church. But Daniel's prediction had a wider significance. The last days of the Jewish theocracy before the Messiah's *first* coming were a TYPE of the last days of the Christian Church before Messiah's *Second* Coming. Hence, by taking Ezekiel's apocalyptic symbol of "a day for a year" (Ezek. iv. 4), Daniel further foretells 1,260 *years of suffering for the true Israel, the Christian Church*, which would not enjoy the dawn of her millennial reign of peace till the 1,335th *year* of the setting up of Anti-Christ's kingdom. Prophecy, then, is spiritual insight into the present and foresight for the future. But Apocalypse is a VISION of the world's LAST THINGS. Prophecy deals with events in the world of sense. But an apocalypse deals with the history of the world presented in cycles or eras.²

Holy Roman Empire (which took place in 1806), for the loss of the Pope's temporal power (1870), and for the failure of the Turkish power in Europe (1916). These coincidences are acknowledged in the "Speaker's Commentary," which is still the standard work in English.]

¹ Aquinas, the prince of metaphysicians, has accurately divided the several kinds of prophetic revelation into the Sensible, the Imaginative and the Intuitive. "*De Veritate*" Q. xii. a. 7. Cp. Philo "*de plant Noë* t. i., p. 333. The Apocalypse comes under the Imaginative.

² Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, were strictly *prophets*. Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah were apocalyptic *seers*. Under the New Testament St. Paul was a prophet, St. John a seer. Daniel speaks of both forms: "vision *and* prophecy" (ix. 23).

We have now to consider the time and mode of apocalyptic presentation. The TIME of Daniel's visions and that of St. John's Revelation was singularly opportune. Both seers stood on the verge of a departing era. Daniel was a captive in Babylon, St. John in Patmos, during the decline of the Babylonian and Roman empires. To both of them as men "greatly beloved" One like unto the Son of Man appeared with comfort for that dark hour. To DANIEL He showed the passing of four world-wide empires—those of Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome—in the last of which (as even Josephus and his contemporaries interpreted the vision) Messiah was to set up the beginning of His Kingdom. Beyond this Daniel could not see. "The words were sealed unto the time of the end" (Dan. xii. 9).

At this point St. JOHN, who had lived to see the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy, takes up the thread. He warns the Church that *there is to be no fifth monarchy* before Christ comes. The Roman Empire was to continue. It was indeed to be overwhelmed by a flood of barbarians, but was nevertheless to rise again out of the flood and to carry on her imperial mission under Christian forms and titles. The ten kingdoms subdued by Caesar should coalesce to form the empire of Charlemagne. And just as Caesar was to his empire not only Emperor (*Princeps*) but PRIEST (*Pontifex*), so the "Beast" or secular empire formed out of the "Sea" of Nations should be assisted by a SACERDOTAL POWER arising out of the Territory thus formed (a "Beast" from the "Earth") which should *revive* by its claims to divine power THE IMAGE OF CAESAR'S KINGDOM. In other words, to the title of "OUR LORD AND GOD" (*Deus*) the Emperor Domitian¹ was to succeed "OUR LORD GOD (*Deus*) THE POPE."² For

¹ Suetonius, "Domitian," c. 13.

² Pope John XXII's "Extravagants," tit. xiv. Comment, note K. [ed. Lyons 1584; ed. Paris 1826]. That the Pope was God ("Deus") just as the Roman emperors claimed to be GOD, is a well-known claim in Gratian's decretals. The first claims to infallibility were made in the fifth century by Pope Gelasius, who excommunicated the Greek emperor. By the eighth century the Popes declared themselves above human laws and empowered to confirm kings in their temporalities. By the ninth century the Pope claimed to be VICE-CHRIST (Harduin, vi. 184) and "King of Kings." From the tenth century they as regularly styled themselves "Lord" and "God" and "Christ" as they were met by the charge of "Anti-Christ" sitting in the temple of God. [Arnulph of Orleans at Rheims synod in 991 A.D. is the earliest instance cited by Gieseler, ii. 81.] In our own day Leo XIII and Pius X spoke of themselves as "holding the place of Almighty God on earth" and as being "Jesus Christ hidden under fleshly form" (Leo's Synodical Letter, 1890: Mgr. Bongeaard's "Le Christianisme et le temps présent").

1,260 "days" of years—sometimes varied by the symbol of "forty-two months" or "a time," two "times and half a time"—this anti-Christian world-power was to continue under the form and with the claims of *Catholic Christendom* "having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof." At the end of those days the Beast and his abettor, the False Prophet, which killed the Evangelical "witnesses" to the Truth, should be given to the burning flame and cast into the Lake of Fire. Such was to be the end of a system of spiritual sorcery which combined the sacramental principle of corrupt *Judaism* with the intellectual errors of the *Greek* philosophy and of *Persian* theosophy. Popery is not merely the resuscitation of Paganism under Christian forms. It is the joint result of the most artful balancing of those three rival creeds of heathendom which contended for the mastery of the human heart at the greatest crisis of human history. We have lived to see the partial fulfilment of all these predictions.

To find out the CHRONOLOGY of the Apocalyptic calendar we have only to consult the Fathers of the Church. With one consent they all apply to the Beast of Revelation St. Paul's description of the Man of Sin "sitting in the temple of God" (or the Christian Church) "and showing himself off to be God" (2 Thess. ii.). St. Paul, they all assert, gives us here the TIME of the setting up of Anti-Christ's Kingdom. It will be when "he who now letteth is taken out of the way": and this they interpret of the Roman Emperor. In other words, *When Rome falls Anti-Christ shall assume the vacant seat of empire.*¹ IT WAS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY THAT THE ROMAN EMPIRE FELL. In that very hour the Pope usurped

¹ TERTULLIAN, "Apol." 32 ([anti-Christum] "Romani imperii commeatu retardari"); CYPRIAN, *Ep.* 56: "occasum saeculi atque Anti-Christi tempus appropinquasse," *Ep.* 68 "Deficiente jam mundo atque appropinquante Anti-Christo"; CYRIL, "Catech. Lect." xv (ὅταν πληρωθῶσιν οἱ καιροὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας); CHRYSOSTOM, Hom. iv. in 2 Thess. ii. (ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ Ῥωμαίων, ὅταν ἀρῆθῃ ἐκ μέσου τότε ἐκείνος [ὁ Ἀντιχριστός] ἔξει; JEROME in 2 Thess. ii. ("Romanum imperium nisi hoc destructum fuerit sublatumque e medio . . . Anti-Christus non ante venierit"). Anti-Christ—he actually warns us—will even "change and add to the sacraments of the Church." Elsewhere he says: "The Roman world rushes to destruction. The hindrance in Anti-Christ's way is removing and we heed it not" (*Ep.* 35 ad Heliod., 91 ad Ageruch.). AUGUSTINE, LACTANTIUS, THEODORET repeat the same ideas. GREGORY I's challenge as to the future *papal* "Anti-Christ" as claiming UNIVERSAL EPISCOPATE is well-known, Lib. vi. *Ep.* 30 (to the emperor Maurice); Lib. iv. *ep.* 38 ("Rex superbiae prope est et . . . sacerdotum . . . praeparatur exercitus"); lib. vi. *ep.* 28 ("Propinqua jam esse Anti-Christi a tempora"). These are all contemporaneous testimonies! And they all quote this view of St. Paul's meaning as an established tradition.

the place of the Emperor and even claimed ere long to allot to princes their temporal dominions. The right was thus acknowledged by the Popes themselves :

“ Into thy hands ” [Christ is made to say to Pope Victor II] “ I have given the keys of My entire Catholic Church and over her I have placed thee as My proxy (*mihi vicarium*) And if that be too small I have moreover given thee the kingdoms (*monarchias*). Yea, AS THE EMPEROR IS TAKEN OUT OF THE WAY (*sublato rege de medio*) I have allowed thee the direction of the whole Roman Empire in his absence.”¹

Such is the origin of that formidable ecclesiastical power which, as its clients never fail to claim, was the creator of the political institutions of modern Europe. Thus was the image of Caesar’s empire “ revived.”

For 1,260 years its political power is predestined to run, for 1,290 its ecclesiastical. If we select some date like 550² in the obscure records of the sixth century we can see how at the end of 1,260 years St. John’s prophecy has been fulfilled. Napoleon in 1806 shattered for ever the Holy Roman Empire. In 1870 the Papacy lost its temporal power. And if Mahometanism is the Eastern “ false prophet ”—the Anti-Christ of the Eastern Churches—then the sands of that apostasy set up in 622 must shortly run out also. It is of interest to note that at this moment we see these three powers in combination—Feudalism, the Papacy and Mahometanism—all retrograde tyrannies claiming absolute power over the human mind, making together their last stand against Liberty on earth. The Book of Revelation foretells their final doom.

We have finally to consider the **MODE** of presenting the visions of the Apocalypse. The system of symbols is based on that of Ezekiel, Daniel and Zechariah, especially the last. The four horns (or empires) of ZECHARIAH destroyed by the four smiths ; the two olive-trees representing Church and State in the persons of Joshua and Zerubbabel and standing by the seven-branched chandelier of gold ; the emblematic stone engraved with the seven eyes of the Holy Spirit ; the flying scroll whose measurement, founded on that of Moses’ tabernacle and Solomon’s temple, typified the Jewish theocracy ; the leaven of Lawlessness, which starts from Babylon to gradually corrupt the Church of God ; the four chariots

¹ Hallam, “ Middle Ages,” ii. 275 note, 5th ed.

² That is, some date between 533 when Justinian’s decree recognised the Pope as legally “ head of all the Churches,” and 606, when the Emperor Phocas acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope and two years later commemorated it on a column. 1,260 years from 606 A.D. brings us nearly to 1870, the year of the loss of Temporal Power !

and horses symbolic of the four empires of Daniel; these are all more or less reproduced in the symbols of the Apocalypse. *And SYMBOL must of necessity be the universal language of prophetic vision.* WORDS are confined to the special connotation of the age and country that produces them; whereas the language of VISION belongs to all future time, as it has to be understood by people of every age and country. The Bible, since it is the word of the everlasting God, must be written in the language not only of men but of universal man.

And here is one of the difficulties of this Book to a Western mind. *The symbols are not consistent, as in modern Art, in forming a picture.* They are held together only by the IDEAS or actuating principles for which they stand. Thus the twelve foundations of the New Jerusalem are represented as consisting of twelve different stones, yet each is at the same time of pearl throughout. In the same way the glassy sea before the Throne is "mingled with fire" (xv. 2; xxi. 21); for it is only through much *tribulation* that we enter the Kingdom of God. Numerals in like manner typify RELATIONSHIPS. Thus 2 is the number of *witness*; 3 of the *divine perfections*; 4 of *Nature*; 7 (=3+4) of *creaturely completeness* 6 (=7-1) of the *Devil's* hindering the divine 7; 3½ of *persecution*; (it is 7 cut short by diabolical malice); 8 (=7+1) is the symbol of *resurrection*; 10 (=6+4) of *worldly* perfection; 12 (=4×3) of *Churchly* completedness. Hence "666" symbolically *represents* to the EYE the Trinity of Evil (Satan's number triply strong), while at the same time it spells out to the "mind that hath wisdom" the word LATEINOS ("Latin").

If we analyse the BOOK as a whole we shall find that it divides itself into four sets of sevens:—

1. The SEVEN CHURCHES, types of all the stages of Churchly experience.¹
2. The SEVEN SEALS, typifying the Church's secret fortunes.
3. The SEVEN TRUMPETS of doom against the Roman Empire.
4. The SEVEN VIALS of God's wrath against a guilty Christendom.

¹ The Church of EPHESUS is the sub-apostolic Church, anxiously "orthodox" indeed (ii. 2), but with a loss of the fine edge of evangelical feeling (ii. 4). The Church of LAODICEA is the Church of these latter days, self-satisfied and indifferent ("lukewarm"). Gibbon so truly complained of "the gentlemanly indifference of the Church of England" in his day and of "the fat slumbers of the Church." The "ten days' tribulation" (ii. 10) is Diocletian's ten years' persecution.

On a closer examination the Book breaks into two almost equal halves. The first half up to chapter xii. represents the Church's conflict with Anti-Christ represented by the *heathen* LATIN EMPIRE. The second half from chapter xii. onward represents the Church's conflict with Anti-Christ as represented by the heathen Roman imperial principle *in the Church itself*—the LATIN CHURCH.

PART I (cc. iv.-xi.).

THE CHURCH *v.* THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

[c. iv.] In opposition to Caesar's throne on earth there is seen a throne set in heaven displaying the awful purity of God's holiness (white as the *diamond*), of His justice (red as *jasper*), and of His mercy (green like the *emerald*); while the "rainbow round the Throne" represents the harmony of all His attributes. The four forms of creaturely activity under His throne represent the forces of Nature under Providence. The twelve Patriarchs and twelve Apostles are the ministers of His revelation in His CHURCH on earth, whose Future only the God-Man, co-regent on the eternal throne, can unseal.

THE SEVEN SEALS.

[c. vi.] The first FOUR SEALS represent the early *victories* of the Roman Empire succeeded by the sword of *war*, which brings in its train *famine* and *pestilence*. These dreadful symptoms of a falling Empire the heathens attributed to the jealousy of their gods. And their suspicions led [under the FIFTH SEAL] to the persecution of the Christian Church but could not stay the collapse of the Roman Empire, which the SIXTH SEAL represents as the end of that era, an end described in language typical of the close of the world's own history at the end of all time.

[c. vii.] During that awful hour of temptation the Christian Church is preserved and sanctified by the "seal" or inward witness of the Holy Ghost. Fathers of the Church are specially raised up in that terrible fourth century—men like Cyprian, Origen, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Jerome, above all Augustine—as witnesses to the truth of the Gospel. During that "half-hour's" breathing-space of time the storm-clouds of barbarians, ready to burst upon the fairest provinces of civilization, are held back (vii. 1) by the prayers of the Church for the Empire (viii. 3).

THE SEVEN TRUMPETS.

[c. viii. 6 seq.] At length the Church's prayers for the Empire are rejected and the sentence of doom falls. The blast of the FIRST FOUR TRUMPETS of warning to the Roman Jericho announce a hail-storm ¹ of GOTHs led by Alaric to scenes of blood and fire. Genseric follows with his VANDALS in navies which destroy the Roman marine and turn the Mediterranean into a sea of blood. Attila the HUN next "urges" (as Gibbon says) "the rapid downfall of the Empire" across "the whole breadth of Europe . . . from the Euxine to the Adriatic." Finally Odoacer, the VISIGOTH, in 476 ascended the imperial throne "and *extinguished* the Western Empire."

[c. ix.] Nor was the Eastern Church forgotten on the day of reckoning. Her image-worship and invocation of saints ² provoked—as not only the Koran but our own Homilies remind us—the sword of MAHOMET. For 150 years ("days") the *Saracen* armies, inflamed against Christendom by the intoxicating fumes of this new fanatic superstition and equipped for the contest with flowing locks, yellow turbans and steel-cuirasses, ravaged the East, till, tired of "150 years" of war, the Saracens settled down to the arts of peace. On the founding of Bagdad as their new seat of empire the *Turkish cavalry* next espoused the Mahometan cause and, for the first time in the history of war, armed themselves with ARTILLERY breathing the new invention of gunpowder. Thus they captured Constantinople in 1453. [Such is the meaning of the FIFTH AND SIXTH TRUMPETS !]

[c. x.] It is well known that the capture of Constantinople, by dispersing the Greeks westward, led to the revival of letters and the rediscovery of the Greek New Testament. With the republication of the New Testament (x. 11) the figure of CHRIST HIMSELF was restored to the Church (x. 1-3), and the Church herself was re-discovered in her true proportions (xi. 1-4). At the REFORMATION

¹ Claudian—a contemporary—refers to this Gothic invasion as a northern hail-storm (*grandinis ritu*, "De Bell. Get." c. v. 173). Cp. Horace, C. IV. v. 173, for the appropriateness of St. John's imagery.

² The second Council of Nicea in 787, in publicly sanctioning the Church's worship of idols and (what is the same thing) the invocation of departed saints, actually uses St. John's words, *προσκυρῆν τὰ δαιμόνια* ! [Bishops who propose to revive this pagan practice should remember that it originally brought about the Mahometan woe.]

takes place a new-birth of Christianity, and a distinction is henceforth made between the visible and the invisible Church—between the genuine and the professing Christendom.

PART II (cc. xii.–xx.).

THE TRUE CHURCH *v.* THE FALSE CHURCH.

[c. xii.] The conflict between the true and the false Church occupies the second half of the Apocalypse. This second part goes back to the beginnings of this spiritual conflict, and expands into more detail hints from the first part of the Book. The conflict on its earthly side began with CONSTANTINE. When the Empire became professedly Christian the Devil, unable to drown the Church under the flood of barbarian invasion, leavened the Church itself with the heathen principle left over from the Roman Empire before Constantine. The Roman Empire thus revived under the staggering blow of the Teutonic invasion (xiii. 3) and found a help meet for it in the baptized paganism of that *false Christian Church* (xiii. 11) which proclaims that outside the "Latin" pale ("666") there is no salvation. This Catholic Christendom stirs up wars with the help of the secular arm—Charlemagne, Charles V, Louis XIV, Napoleon—against the true Church of Christ, which for "1,260 years"—that is, through the whole of the Feudal Period—goes into hiding and lives a wilderness life of secret spiritual sustenance unknown to the world. But the day of retribution comes (xiv. 8) and only serves to hasten on the day of judgment for a world that refuses the Gospel (xiv. 14–18) and for a Church that will not be reformed.

THE SEVEN PLAGUES.

[cc. xv., xvi.] This day of judgment is heralded by SEVEN PLAGUES inflicted, in answer to the prayers of the saints, on *apostate Christendom*. The *first plague* upon the Church's temporal power was the Black Death in the days of Wiclif, which destroyed from one-fourth to one-seventh of Europe and gave the first stroke to the papal doctrine. The *second plague* destroyed in the times of the Tudors the papal navies and trade-routes to America provided by the Empire of Spain, the "eldest daughter of the Church." The *third plague* ruined the Empire of Louis XIV and the Bourbons by the victories of Cromwell and William III, of Marlborough and Chatham, and shook the stronghold of the Papacy in its secular

capacity. The *fourth plague* was brought about by the anti-papal wars of the French Revolution ending in Napoleon's conquests, which destroyed "the seat of the Beast" (the Holy Roman Empire) at Jena and Austerlitz. "Roll up the map of Europe!" exclaimed Pitt on hearing the news. The *fifth vial* saw the attempt to rehabilitate the feudal cause by means of the Catholic Revival; which has brought about under the *sixth seal*, the present war with its fearful surprises (xvi. 15).¹ This war is the last effort of medievalism allied with the Turkish "false prophet" against the forces that make for liberty.² The *seventh seal* will usher in the last stage of this world's history.

[cc. xvii., xviii.] The nature of Catholic Christendom is explained to St. John on the eve of its overthrow. The seven forms of Roman government named by Livy and by Tacitus³ shall culminate in the military empire (*imperium*) of the Caesars. And this, even when it passes into a Christian form, shall remain the same in principle to the end. Being heathen in principle it has the same ambition for world dominion, and rouses the whole world to battle against the Evangelical principle in Christianity. The ten kingdoms of Europe, once conquered by Caesar, support its claims for a time; but in the end they will despoil the Papacy of her temporal power (xvii. 16, 17) and will at length compass her downfall (c. xviii.). In 1870 Italy led the way. France, Spain, Portugal and other Catholic countries are slowly following her noble example.

[c. xix.] Not till the downfall of papalized Christendom shall the true Church of Christ triumph over her enemies and (c. xx.) enjoy her thousand years of VISIBLE TRIUMPH. Then shall the Last Trumpet blow (xx. 11-15) and, after one final conflict, the new heaven and earth shall for ever come in (xxi., xxii.).

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¹ This war, as a combination of the Emperor, the Pope and the Turk, was directly prophesied in fulfilment of the Sixth Vial by Elliott, Barnes and Lange from 40 to 60 years ago, and indirectly by Swete, in their commentaries.

² The word AR-MAGEDDON need excite no surprise. It is only the Greek form of the Hebrew words *Har* ("mountain") and *Megiddo*. Mount Tabor is the single mountain that dominates the great plain of Megiddo, or valley of Jezreel, which is watered by the tributaries of the Kishon and forms the great cockpit of Palestine. Here took place Israel's greatest battles against anti-Christian forces, e.g. against Jabin, Midian, Philistia, Moab and Pharaoh-Necho (Judges v. 19, vii. 22; 1 Sam. xxxi. 1; 2 Chr. xx. 26; xxxv. 22).

³ Livy, VI. 1; Tacitus, A. I. c. 81.