

1260 YEARS

AN EXEGETICAL AND HISTORICAL EXAMINATION
OF THE BEGINNING AND ENDING
OF THE 1260 DAYS OF PROPHECY
WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION GIVEN TO A.D. 538 AND 1798
AS INITIAL AND TERMINAL DATES

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose. The interpretation of prophecy fills an important place in the teachings of Seventh-day Adventists. Among the many prophecies they interpret is one which concerns a period variously described in the Bible as lasting $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, 42 months, or 1260 days. The accepted Adventist interpretation of this prophecy makes of this period a special era of 1260 years, and places its beginning and ending dates at A.D. 538 and 1798 respectively. It was the purpose of this study to inquire into the adequacy of these dates.

Stated in another way, it was the purpose of this study to find out what period in history God had reference to when he spoke of "1260 days."

The problem. From the time of Joachim of Floris at the close of the twelfth century down to the present day, many men have assigned dates to the 1260 days. These dates differ widely, though they can be grouped so as to show trends and schools of opinion. The interpretations and conclusions of Seventh-day Adventists in this matter are, in some aspects, unique.

In view of this the question naturally arises, "What dates really are the right ones with which to bound the 1260 days?" It is this question that constitutes "the problem."

Nature. The nature of this paper is both exegetical and historical. It was felt that to examine history for the fulfillment of prophetic symbols without first determining what the symbols portray would be to put the cart before the horse and to ensure failure.

The historical section is devoted to an examination of history in an attempt to discover the fulfillment on the basis of the exegetical study.

Scope. The scope of this paper is rather broad for a Master's thesis, including as it does a survey of 1260 years of history and of two limited eras, any of which phases could become the basis of a separate thesis. But it was felt that in order to be solved, the problem must be grasped as a whole. The period is always presented in the Bible simply and as if it were a unit of time to be taken up and considered all at once.

Importance. The importance of this study is derived from the value of Bible study in general and of the study of prophecy in particular. The Apostle Peter instructs Christians to know the reasons underlying their faith, and says, "But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts: and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear."¹ Ellen G. White further instructs that prophecy should be presented as "the foundation of the faith of Seventh-day Adventists."²

¹ I Peter 3:15.

² Ellen G. White, Gospel Workers, p. 148.

If prophecy is the foundation of the beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists, and if the Bible teaches that Christians should be able to give a reason for their beliefs, then there is importance enough attached to an inquiry into the validity of any given prophetic interpretation.

Authorities cited. In the study of prophetic interpretation, Froom³ is the chief guide and authority, although the writings of perhaps forty men have been examined as source material for their opinions.

Throughout the paper, in making historical allusions recourse has been had frequently to the sources such as the Liber Pontificalis, Jordanes' Getica, Procopius' Gothic War, the Letters of Cassiodorus, and so forth. However, since in a study of this kind an understanding of the significance of an event is often of more value than a mere recital of the event itself, the opinions of recognized authorities are often consulted and quoted.

A priori considerations. In spite of the wide scope assumed for this study, it is still possible to discuss within one paper only the most pertinent phases of what might be considered the overall problem. Certain points of view therefore must be accepted (or rejected) on an a priori basis. Some concepts so treated in this paper include:

- a) As concerning God: That He cannot have led the prophets to predict anything that either could not or did not come to pass.

³ LeRoy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, vols. I-IV.

- b) As concerning the prophetic symbols: That in long-term prophecies a day stands for a year; that the 42 months and the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times are identical with the 1260 days; and that the dragon of Revelation 13 is symbolic of the Roman Empire, and the Beast, of the Roman Catholic Church.
- c) As concerning the fulfillment: That even as the prophecy paints only a broad outline, so the fulfillment must be subject to portrayal in simple terms.

Organization of the rest of the paper. Chapters II and III of this paper deal with interpretation while chapters IV and V present a study of historical fulfillment. There is also an appendix containing, among other things, a report on over twenty questionnaires returned from Adventist college Bible teachers in four countries; an inquiry into the historical validity of the 533-38 to 1793-98 "sliding-scale" dating; a summary of a 750-year survey of 135 expositors who have assigned dates to the 1260 days; and a history of the Ostrogothic war, with seven periodic maps.

CHAPTER II

THE NECESSITY OF AN ACCURATE INTERPRETATION

If it was the purpose of this paper to examine the adequacy of dates applied to the 1260 days of Bible prophecy, it is manifestly of the utmost importance to determine first what the prophecy requires for its fulfillment. This fact is made increasingly evident when it is realized that one of the greatest reasons for the variation in dates advocated for this period is the divergence of views among expositors as to the meaning of the prophetic symbolism used.

A 750-YEAR SURVEY

The writer has made a survey¹ of extant exposition of the 1260 years from the time of Joachim of Floris to the present day. Froom² was followed as an authority down to the middle of the nineteenth century, though the writings of perhaps forty of the commentators themselves were also examined. For contemporary views, questionnaire replies were received from twenty others. Altogether about 135 expositors were consulted either directly or indirectly. For the purposes of this paper the results are summarized on a chart in the appendix.

¹ See Appendix VI.

² LeRoy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers.

Much variation of interpretation. This survey revealed a wide range of views on the most appropriate dates for the 1260 years. For instance, all sorts of beginning dates and events were³ chosen by the various men, including the birth of Christ, the Crucifixion, the Ascension, the time of Paul of Samosata, the entrance of Christianity into England, the time of Constantine and of Sylvester, the "decline of the power of Rome," the sacking of Rome by Alaric and later by Genseric, the fall of Rome, the time of Leo I (to which expositors assign whatever date within his pontificate that fits best their scheme), the crowning of Justin by a pope in 526, the publication of the Justinian Code in 529, the imperial letter to the pope in 533, the fall of Rome again in 538, the fall of the Goths in 552, the "revelation of the man of sin" in 566, Phocas and the "Universal Bishopric" in 606, Mohammed's trip to Hera in 606, the Hejira in 622, the revolt of the pope against Ravenna in 727, and the donation of Pepin in 758.

For ending dates and events men chose the rise of Boniface in 1294, the Diet of Worms in 1521, the Council of Trent in 1558, the time of Oliver Cromwell, the death of Louis XIV in 1714, the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789, the "beginning" of important events in 1792, the "decree of the National Convention abolishing religion" in 1793, the year 1794, the year that "includes the year of the captivity of the Pope," 1797, the actual year of his captivity, 1798, and "around

³ In this chapter the past tense instead of the customary present is used in citing the views of commentators in view of the historical nature of the survey being reviewed.

1800." The list of closing events is shorter than that of initial events because many expositors looked forward to future dates and so could not cite specific events. Such "future" dates included 1260, 1700, 1844, 1847, 1866, 1880, and 2000.⁴

Some expositors, while holding that the 1260 days or $3\frac{1}{2}$ times were to be understood as non-literal periods, nevertheless did not consider them to be precisely 1260 years long. For instance, Wyclif thought the three-and-a-half times stood for indefinite centuries; a Colonial American made them 350 years; Cuninghame shortened the 1260 years to 1259; and Fleming made them 1242.

There was also difference of opinion as to what would transpire during the 1260 years. Thomas Newton said it was a period of temporal power among the papists;⁵ Faber taught that the Mohammedans must be fitted into the period along with the Catholics;⁶ others said it was to be the time when the Church had the power to persecute; others, the time when the Church had power to domineer over the minds of men; and still others, just that it was the "period of papal supremacy."

Unity in diversity. It must be noted, however that in spite of all this diversity among so many commentators, more than half of the

⁴ For names and dates of expositors holding these various views see the chart in Appendix

⁵ Thomas Newton, Dissertation on the Prophecies, (1796 ed.), p. 188.

⁶ George Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies . . . Relative to the Great Period of 1260 Years. pp. 503-405.

men studied were divided between ending the period during the French Revolution and ending it in the year 1866; and of this half, two-thirds, were in favor of the French Revolution as the terminating era. Moreover, and this is highly important, though the initial date be 529, or 533, or 538, or 600, or 606, the most common event assigned to these various dates was the legalization of the pope as supreme in the church. There was thus a strong element of unanimity lying beneath the diversity.

A new trend resulting from the French Revolution. In the chart arrows are used to signify whether a man looked forwards or backwards at his time of writing. The length of the arrow indicates how far he looked. A study of the arrows reveals that with the French Revolution there came a distinct new trend; for, whereas before it the majority of writers looked forward and only a few looked back, during and after the French Revolution a large number of men looked back and said the period had expired.

According to the chart, before the French Revolution, of thirty-three men listed, twenty-six looked to some time more or less distant in the future, while only seven said that the 1260 years were past. But after the French Revolution began, out of sixty men studied (besides Seventh-day Adventists), twenty-five looked forward, while thirty-five looked back, and of these, thirty-three looked to the French Revolution.

Majority in favor of the French Revolution. It can safely be said, therefore, that the majority of expositors who lived through or just after the French Revolution, and who assigned dates to the 1260

years felt that the French Revolution marked the close of the period. In the Old World, about two-thirds of the expositors studied were in this group, while in America the number was a little less than half.

The catalysmic nature of the French Revolution, and the wild destructiveness of its anti-Catholic phases climaxing in 1793-94 and in 1798, seemed to satisfy many minds that the allotted period of the Beast had expired.⁷ To the attentive student of the historical school of prophetic interpretation it must appear as an observation of great significance that, after groping in the dark for six hundred years, suddenly a majority of expositors of the 1260 days should set their feet on the French Revolution and say, "This is it." When to this observation is added the fact that no event since the French Revolution has been accepted in such a manner, the student indeed has cause to ponder.

Preconceptions hinder acceptance of the French Revolution. Among men who did not accept the French Revolution as the close of the 1260 years the reason was not necessarily that they did not accept its significance to the papacy, but rather because they felt bound to look to some other date in order to satisfy preconceived specifications. Among these specifications the most common were a) That the 1260 days must

⁷ Many, in view of Daniel 7:26 and of the 1290- and 1335-day prophecies, looked for a steady decline in the Beast following the end of the 1260 days in the French Revolution, culminating shortly in its final destruction. Only a very few, as will be noted in Chapter III, looked for a revival of the Beast in fulfillment of the Deadly Wound symbolism.

end conterminously with the 2300 days, which more often than not were calculated to end in 1844, 1847, or 1866; or b) That the 1260 days must accommodate the Mohammedans and the Papacy synchronously.

AN ADEQUATE INTERPRETATION ESSENTIAL

The trend and the unity noted above are striking indeed, and pregnant with significance. Nevertheless, the great diversity of conclusions cannot be overlooked. It might be pointed out, indeed, that even among the many who looked to the French Revolution, there was a difference as to whether to use 1789, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1797, or 1798.

One of the main purposes in the survey was to discover the reasons and arguments⁸ cited by the various men in order to appraise their various conclusions and to gather what help they had to offer towards the present study. This phase of the survey revealed unmistakeably that the divergence in conclusions was a result of a corresponding divergence in the understanding of the requirements of prophecy, to misinformation as to the course of history, or both.

It seems safe to say, therefore, that to try to evaluate dates suggested in fulfillment of a time prophecy before determining what the prophecy actually specifies is absolutely useless. To study history in order to discover beginning and ending dates for a projected 1260 year

⁸ In view of the condensed nature of Froom's volumes, his presentation of the commentators' arguments is necessarily curtailed or omitted. Therefore this phase of the survey, along with two or three other phases of it, cannot be said to be a duplication of his work.

period of papal temporal power, for instance, would be pointless if the prophecy could be shown to have no direct reference to temporal power.

Therefore, in view of the necessity for an adequate exposition suggested by the 750-year survey, the next chapter is devoted to an exegetical and historic interpretation of all the prophecies dealing directly with the 1260 days.

CHAPTER III

A SUGGESTED INTERPRETATION

THE WITNESS OF HISTORY

Fundamental to the whole problem at hand is the question, "What does the 1260-day prophecy foretell?" "1260 years of what?" for instance. Some say that the prophecy calls for 1260 years of temporal power, while others say, of persecution, and others, of papal supremacy. And when they say, "papal supremacy," what do they mean? Supremacy over kings? or over bishops? or over the East? or over the West? or over the saints? or over what?

Many commentators, in discussing the close of the period, point to the loss of temporal power, or to the withdrawal of French support, or to the amazing scene of a pope being taken prisoner, as being unquestionable indications that the period had expired.

But what does the Bible say? As a guide for a subsequent analysis of the 1260-day prophecies in Daniel and Revelation, let us first examine briefly the history of the papacy in order to see what interpretations are possible, it being taken a priori that God cannot have foretold in prophecy what did not come to pass in history.

I. 1260 YEARS OF WHAT?

Of Temporal Power?

The prophecy cannot foretell 1260 years of temporal power, for the pope did not come to be a temporal prince until 756 at the time of the

donation of Pepin, and he certainly ceased to have temporal significance in 1870, if not sooner.¹

Of Supremacy Over Kings?

The prophecy cannot foretell 1260 years of outward supremacy over kings and emperors, for no such period exists. Even under Justinian the pope was by no means supreme. "During his whole reign Justinian claimed the right to appoint and dispossess bishops, to convoke and direct councils, to sanction their decisions, and to amend or abolish their canons."² Justinian even went so far as to have the Council of Constantinople of 551 erase the name of Pope Vigilius from the ecclesiastical dyptichs,³ and later excommunicated him in 553!⁴ -- results of the Pope's vacillating opposition to the Emperor in the Three Chapters controversy. During this same crisis Vigilius, feeling compelled to flee from Justinian, rushed into the Basilica of St. Peter in Constantinople, only to be seized by the king's men as he clung for his life to the altar, the soldiers meanwhile grabbing him, some by the beard, and some by the hair, till such a scuffle ensued that the pillars of the

¹ The (true) donation of Constantine consisted of church properties and estates aplenty, besides articles of brass and gold and silver, but the possession of church lots and income property does not constitute a church a "temporal power" -- unless every denomination is such. See Liber Pontificalis, Louise Ropes Loomis, trans., pp. 43-72.

² J. B. Bury, et al., The Cambridge Medieval History, II, 43, 44.

³ Ibid., p. 48.

⁴ Thomas Hodgkin, Italy and Her Invaders, IV, 595-605.

altar were smashed.⁵ Not much is suggested in this picture of the outward supremacy of popes over kings!

But this is not all. Even at the beginning of the seventh century Gregory the Great could not claim absolute supremacy over the Frankish Queen Brunhild, for, though she "treated the church with firmness, but with respect," and gave gifts to its bishops and built abbeys for its monks, yet still she "knew how to control the Frankish Church. . . . She disposed of the episcopal sees at her pleasure, and expelled from his monastery at Luxeuil the abbot Columbanus who had refused to obey her orders."⁶

Nor did the kings follow the Pontiff's beck and call in the eighth century. When the Lombards besieged Rome in 739, Pope Gregory III could not move King Charles to help him though his messengers besought him twice, loaded as they were with gifts, relics, and importunate appeals in the name of St. Peter.⁷

Lord Acton says that

The position of the Pope in the Carolingian empire already resembled in many respects that of other Bishops. [The papal states gave a degree of immunity,] but the great test of independence of factions and families in Rome, whom there was no power to restrain, and who were supreme during every vacancy.⁸

⁵ Ibid., pp. 594, 595.

⁶ Bury, op. cit., p. 124.

⁷ Ibid., p. 130.

⁸ Lord Acton, The Papal States, pp. 23, 24.

Spain has been well described as the most Catholic of all European countries, but even Spain was not at first subservient to the papacy. Gregory the Great sustained friendly relations with the Spanish churches, and conducted correspondence with them, and in a fatherly manner advised King Recared, but, says Bury, "at the exercise of authority over the Spanish Church Gregory made no attempt. He was content to recognize the great miracle, as he called it to Recared, of the conversion of a people, and to leave to their kings and bishops the direction of their Church." Indeed, "Spain for a long while remained to a considerable extent apart from the general current of life in the Western Church."⁹

Gregory died in 603. In 612 the Spanish king Sisebut was considering himself the ecclesiastical head of the Spanish bishops, and acting as such.¹⁰

And if Spain was reluctant to come under the Pope's dominion in the sixth and seventh centuries, she manifested herself but little more the subject of the Apostolic See under Philip II in the sixteenth century, for in his day a Spanish army was dispatched against Rome with the full approval of the Spanish prelates.¹¹

Other examples from other countries could be cited. For instance, Henry I of England (1100-1135) forbade appeals to the

⁹ Bury, op. cit., p. 260.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 174.

¹¹ Lord Acton, Reply (to Gladstone), p. 84.

Apostolic See,¹² and the French kings proved themselves obstinate from time to time too, as will be discussed a little later.

Of Pan-European Catholicity?

The prophecy cannot foretell a 1260-year period when all of Western Europe was to be Roman Catholic. This has been suggested already, but more can be said about it. Though the Franks became Catholic in 496, and the Burgundians by 518, the Visigoths did not become officially Catholic until the Council of Toledo in 589, and even then, their Arianism did not die out at once.¹³ The Lombards did not become unitedly Roman Catholic until as late as 698,¹⁴ though their conversion is usually dated from about a century earlier. England did not come under the pope's influence until the seventh century, and it separated from it under Henry VIII in 1534.¹⁵ So there simply is not, in the history of Europe, a 1260-year period during which all the "seven tribes" were Roman Catholic, let alone subservient to the papacy. Consequently the prophecy cannot have reference to such a fulfillment.

¹² Isaac Barrow, The Pope's Supremacy, p. 210.

¹³ Bury, op. cit., p. 172.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 206.

¹⁵ See J. A. Wylie, History of Protestantism, III, 395-401.

Of Papal Ecclesiastical Supremacy?

The prophecy cannot foretell a 1260-year period during which the Pope was continuously to be the "Head of All the Holy Churches." This has been suggested in the preceding paragraphs. The Spanish churches, for instance, maintained an ecclesiastical independency until well into the seventh century, and the English church departed from Rome in 1534.

But what may be a surprise for those who stand for 538 on the grounds that on this date the pope became effectively the head of all the churches is the historic fact that as a result of the Three Chapters controversy between Vigilius and Justinian in the 540's and 550's, there arose a schism between East and West that lasted for seventy years.¹⁶ Indeed, the bishops of Italy and North Africa went so far as to excommunicate the Roman Pontiff himself!¹⁷

Pelagius (Pope from 556 to 561) felt compelled to prevail upon Narses and upon Childebert, king of the Franks, to interfere and end by force the schism with the other Western bishops, but he pleaded in vain. He was unpopular even in Italy. Only two bishops could be found to ordain him, and he was soon driven to issue an encyclical "in order to remove suspicion" of heresy; but it resulted in toleration only in his own diocese.¹⁸ Thus there is no period of 1260 years when all

¹⁶ Loomis, in Liber Pontificalis, p. 157, footnote.

¹⁷ Hodgkin, op. cit., p. 591.

¹⁸ Loomis, op. cit., p. 161, note citing Jaffe, Regesta.

the churches of Western Europe regarded the pope as their rightful head.

Of Papal Persecution?

The prophecy cannot suggest a 1260-year period of papal persecution,¹⁹ as if the period began abruptly with active, pope-led persecution in, say, 538, and ended just as abruptly in, say, 1798 -- or would have ended then but for the shortening of the days as indicated by Jesus in Matthew 24:22, 29 and Mark 13:24. Persecution is part of the picture, but it is difficult to hold it to a 1260-year period, or even to a shortened one, for there was persecution as early as the fourth century. For instance, Theodosius issued an edict in favor of Catholic orthodoxy and against Arians as early as 383, as a result of which severe laws were passed against the heretics.²⁰ Pope Siricius (384-399) exiled Manichaeans from the city of Rome, and so did other popes in the fifth and early sixth centuries, including Hormisdas and Symmachus in the time of the Arian Theodoric, Hormisdas "shattering them with a multitude of blows" as he sent them into exile.²¹

It may be objected that the Manichaeans were not, properly speaking, saints, and it was the saints, the elect, which were to be given into the hands of the Little Horn for 1260 days. The objection

¹⁹ That is, persecution inaugurated and conducted by popes.

²⁰ See E. B. Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, III, 56.

²¹ Liber Pontificalis, pp. 83-86, 110, 111, 119, 120, 130.

is sustained -- only to show further that the term "papal persecution" must be used with care. Even so, it still remains to be proved that, even during the time of Justinian, the papacy as such (i.e., the pope) conducted any persecution even against the saints. Persecutions there were under Justinian in the name of orthodoxy, but the pope can hardly be credited with being the author of them. This much is known, that when a pope did try to get the armies of Narses to force the western bishops into line, the aid of the secular sword was denied.²² The great papal persecutions did not actually begin until the time of Innocent III, and they ceased during the eighteenth century, though the Spanish Inquisition was not done away with until the nineteenth. To try to designate "1260 years of papal persecution," and to delimit it with specific events, is impossible, and especially so in view of the fact that Jesus Himself said there would be no such 1260-year period, for it was to be shortened for the elects' sake.²³

²² Vid supra.

²³ Lynn Wood, Professor of Archaeology at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, has shown that in Hebrew idiom, an event occurring during only a part of a fixed period may be spoken of as occupying the entire (fixed) period. Thus Samson's wife is said to have wept before him "the seven days, while their feast lasted" though she cannot have begun to do so until the fourth day, and must have ceased doing so before the seventh day closed. (Judges 14:7, 14, 17, 18) The feast occupied a fixed period of seven days. She wept during a part of the feast. So she is spoken of as weeping for "the seven days." (See also Numbers 14:33 and Judges 3:11, where an activity occurring during the closing part of a period is said to occupy the whole period.) In view of this idiom, there is thus at least a possibility that Daniel may be suggesting the persecution and scattering of God's people as lasting for the 1260 years, even though it occupies but a part of it; in which case, persecution may be considered only as one of the characteristics of the fixed period.

II. ENDING WHEN?

In direct connection with this discussion of the nature of the 1260 years is the question "What events sometimes said to mark the end of the period cannot, in reality, in and of themselves, be shown to do so?"

At the Withdrawal of French Support?

One of these is the withdrawal of French support from the papacy during the French Revolution. Many look at this in wonder, stressing the fact that France had been designated the "eldest daughter of the Church." France was, indeed, a great supporter of the papacy during the centuries of its ascendancy, but it must be understood that there were many occasions other than the French Revolution when the French withdrew their support from the pope. The most notable was, of course, the Babylonish captivity, already alluded to, when the French actually exiled Boniface and removed the Popes to France. The remarks²⁴ that Philip IV shared with Boniface in 1301 and 1302 do not suggest that at that time France was supporting the Roman papacy.

It was also shown above that during the time of Gregory, Queen Brunhild of the Franks treated the Church with respect but nevertheless

²⁴ Such as, "Know, insolent priest, that we are subject to no one in our temporal affairs, and that your fatuity must humble itself before us." To his nobles and magistrates in court Philip IV declared, "that he disowned his eldest son as the heir of his crown, and all his descendants, if they ever submitted to the Roman pontiffs." Louis Marie De Cormenin, The Public and Private History of the Popes of Rome, trans. from the French, II, 34.

with control. Other examples of French insubordination may be cited.

For instance, in 858 the French bishops said to Pope Nicholas I,

You may know that we are not, as you boast and brag, your clerks; whom, if pride would suffer, you ought to acknowledge for your brethren and fellow-bishops.²⁵

In fact, around 850, Lothair, king of the Franks, styled himself Emperor of the West, and during his time Pope Leo IV "steadfastly fought to keep the papacy free of Frankish intrigues and schemes."²⁶

On two other occasions during the ninth century the French manifested hostility to the apostolic father in a most tangible manner, as will be noted in a moment.

Gladstone comments:

It is well known that, in the days of its glory and intellectual power, the great Gallican Church had not only not admitted, but had denied Papal infallibility, and had declared that the local laws and usages of the Church could not be set aside by the will of the Pontiff. Nay, further, it was believed that in the main these had been, down to the close of the last Century, the prevailing opinions of the Cisalpine Churches in communion with Rome.²⁷

He continues, summarizing the early history of the Gallican church,

An Anglo-Roman writer has told us that in the year 1612 (query 1614?) the assembly of the Gallican Church declared that the power of the Popes related to spiritual matters and eternal life, not to civil concerns and temporal possessions. In the year 1591, at Mantes and Chartres, the prelates of France in their assembly refused the order of the Pope to quit the king, and on the 21st of September repudiated his Bulls, as being null in substance and in form. It

²⁵ Barrow, op. cit., p. 129.

²⁶ John Farrow, Pageant of the Popes, p. 75.

²⁷ W. E. Gladstone, The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance, pp. 29, 30.

has always been understood that the French Church played a great part in the Council of Constance: . . . the Council of Paris in 1393 withdrew its obedience altogether from Benedict XIII., without transferring it to his rival at Rome; restored it upon conditions in 1403; again withdrew it, because the conditions had not been fulfilled, in 1406; and so remained until the Council of Constance and the election of Martin V.²⁸

It will be shown later that the withdrawal of the French support of the papacy during the French Revolution did have a bearing on the close of the 1260 years; but to say that this, in and of itself, was an indication that the 1260 years were at an end, is manifestly unsound, for it had happened many times before -- though no one says that these other occurrences indicated the end of the period.

At the Captivity of a Pope?

The captivity of the pope in 1798 likewise is not, in and of itself, an indication of the close of the 1260 years, for the pope has been incarcerated or exiled many times.

For instance, shortly after his election in 855, Pope Benedict III was humiliated and, at the point of the sword, forced into prison by a rival, Anastasius, backed up by the Frankish deputies of Louis II. Fortunately for the Pope it was all patched up within two days, and there followed a triumphal reinstallation, while during the following year Benedict had the pleasure of receiving King Ethelwolf when he appeared with a crown of gold and the dedication of England's tithe.²⁹

²⁸ Ibid., p. 46.

²⁹ Louis M. De Cormenin, The Public and Private History of the Popes of Rome, trans. from the French, I, 232, 233. Also Farrow, op. cit., pp. 75, 76.

But within a decade that is, in 863, it happened again. The Pope condemned Lothair II for wanting a divorce, and forthwith the Frankish soldiery "beseiged Rome and for two days kept the pontiff a prisoner, without food, in St. Peters," -- this time, be it noted, with the support of the archbishops of Cologne and Treves!³⁰

Nor were these the only occasions of incarceration for His Holiness. Lord Acton refers to difficulties during the twelfth century, and says that "before the dispute was concluded, the Popes had been exiled more than once, imprisoned, and deprived of nearly all their domains; but in the act of Otho IV, of the year 1201, repeated in 1209, the independence of the Roman States is definitely settled and acknowledged.³¹

And was not Vigilius exiled by Justinian in 553,³² and was not Hildebrand forced to flee Rome,³³ and Boniface VIII put in bonds?³⁴ in addition, that is, to the Spanish imprisonment of the pope for seven

³⁰ Farrow, op. cit., pp. 77, 78.

³¹ Lord Acton, The Papal States, p. 25.

³² Hodgkin, op. cit., pp. 595-605.

³³ To Salerno, by Henry IV, in 1084. Cormenin, op. cit., I, 377.

³⁴ Done in preference to killing him. The French ambassador to Rome said in the Pope's presence, "No, we will not put to death this infamous priest. . . . it will be the most terrible of chastisements for this proud man to spare his days, that he may pass them in opprobrium and humiliation." Turning to the Pope, dressed as he was in his most official and symbolic regalia, he said, "Then prepare thyself, dog. . . ." The Pope was kept in custody three days, until a popular uprising obliged the French to leave. Boniface died shortly afterward in Rome in a paroxysm of madness, gnawing his arms. Cormenin, op. cit., II, 36, 37.

months in 1527, referred to above? In fact, after presenting a long list of popes with their exiles or similar hardships, he sums up by saying,

I might add many more, but it is enough to sum them up: thirty were compelled to leave Rome; four were imprisoned, four were unable to set foot in Rome; seven reigned in exile in Avignon; making in all forty-five, or one-fifth in the line of the Sovereign Pontiffs.³⁵

Manifestly the 1798 captivity of the Pope, in and of itself, cannot be said to indicate the end of the 1260 years.

THE REQUIREMENTS OF PROPHECY

If the 1260-day prophecy cannot be fulfilled in any of these ways, how then was it fulfilled? And what, then, does the Bible prophecy specify?

I. SEVEN PROPHECIES EXAMINED

The 1260-day period is mentioned in the Bible eight times, twice in Daniel and six times in Revelation.

In Daniel the 1260 days are designated as "three and a half times." In Daniel 7:24-26 the statement is:

And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise: and another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings.

And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and

³⁵ Henry Edward Manning, The Temporal Power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, p. 188.

laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

And the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end.

Significant pointers can be gained from these verses as to the nature of the 1260 years, and a little about its dating, including:

- 1) The "Little Horn" is not to arise until after the Roman Empire is divided.
- 2) The Little Horn is to be different from the other kingdoms, and is to persecute, blaspheme, and change laws.
- 3) "They" are to be given into his hands for $3\frac{1}{2}$ times. Apparently "they" are great words against God, the saints, and the laws.

There are some things which this passage does not teach. For instance, it does not say that the Little Horn is to have the mastery over the ten horns (or even seven of them) for the entire $3\frac{1}{2}$ times. This is not even suggested. Secondly, neither this passage nor its context gives the plucking up of the three horns as necessary before the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times can begin. It is true that verse 8 says that "before him three of the first horns were plucked up," but this "before" is translated from the Aramaic qodam, which means place, and not time.³⁶ As a matter

³⁶ According to Young's Concordance, the Aramaic word qodam is used 31 times in the Old Testament: three times in Ezra, and twenty-seven times in Daniel. Thirty of these times it is translated "before," and once, "in the presence of," Daniel 2:27. In every case but two there is no question but that the word means "in the presence of." Examples of such usage include Ezra 7:19 and Daniel 6:10, 26; 7:10, 13, where the translation is "before God." Obviously this cannot mean "before God was in existence," and so must mean "in His presence." In Ezra 4:18 it is "before the people." In most other references it describes activities taking place "before" the king, and again there is no question but that the usage is in reference to location and not time.

of fact, apart from the expression "after them," that is, after the ten kings, there is no indication in Daniel 7 as to the timing of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times or 1260 days.

The next reference is in Daniel 12:5-9:

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

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

And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto

The two cases where there might be any question are in Daniel 7. Daniel 7:7 says, "And it [the fourth beast] was diverse from all the beasts that were before it." Here time might be indicated instead of location, but verse 12, which says the lives of the beasts were prolonged, and Revelation 13, which shows them all living in composite form even after the fall of Rome, indicate that the first three beasts stayed "in the presence of" one another as they appeared in turn.

The other verse where there might be a question is, of course, verse 8, the one under discussion: "Before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots." In this case the usage of godam in 29 other instances should be conclusive, but there is further evidence. In this verse and in the parallel passage, verse 20, which contains the phrase "before whom three fell," the word godam is coupled with the word min to form the phrase min godam, meaning, literally, "from the East." This Aramaic idiom cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be said to convey the sense of time. Other instance of the use of this idiom occur in Daniel 5:19 and 6:26 where reference is made to the people fearing "before" God. Since, as above, this cannot be construed to mean "before God existed," it must mean, "in His presence."

It must be concluded, therefore, that the reference to the three horns' being plucked up before the little horn gives no indication as to the timing of the 1260 days, and that any discussion based on the supposition that it does, is without value.

heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.

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

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

A comparison between this passage and Revelation 10 reveals a striking similarity. In one case the angel is seen standing upon the waters, (or from above the, the margin says; which suggests, astride the river, a foot on either bank), while in the other he is standing with one foot in water and the other on land. Both angels speak of time, one using the expression "time of the end," and the other, "time shall be no longer." Both lift up their hands and "sware by Him that liveth forever and ever." In Daniel the angel says that the words (of the book of Daniel) are sealed. In Revelation the angel holds a little book open, and bids the prophet eat. The fact that Daniel's angel swears that "it shall be" for $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, and the other swears that "time shall be no longer," apparently indicates that the latter angel is standing at the end of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times. Piecing together the evidence from these two references, additional observations about the 1260 years can be noted --

- 4) It is a period during which the holy people will be scattered.
- 5) The bitterness resulting from the eating of the little book (manifestly the prophecies of Daniel which were described as closed by the first angel) would be subsequent to a new understanding of Daniel that would come at the end of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times.
- 6) Ignorance of the closing part of Daniel would be widespread at the beginning of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, but.

- 7) The understanding of it would spread over sea and land in a great world-wide movement at the end of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times.
- 8) The 1260 days do not extend to the end of the world, for after they are over the book must still be eaten, a disappointment or bitterness follow, and still there be time to prophesy again before many peoples. (Revelation 10:11).

In Revelation 11:2 the period is referred to as "forty and two months" during which the holy city is "trodden under foot." In verse 4 it is referred to as "a thousand two hundred and threescore days" during which the Two Witnesses "prophesy" "clothed in sackcloth." The same picture is resumed in Revelation 12:6 where the Woman, after fleeing, is spoken of as having a "place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days," and again in verse 14 of the same chapter, where it says,

And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent,

during which time "the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood." (Verse 15.)

These verses add but little to the overall concept of the character and chronology of the period as given by Daniel in conjunction with Revelation 10. Under various symbols, God's people are again pictured as being in travail during the time of the antichristian power. One point is added, however, --

- 9) The symbol "Two Witnesses" indicates that this is to be a time not only of suppression of the saints, but also of truth, of God's Word.

The texts studied have revealed much in a general way about the nature of the 1260 days, and, as to chronology, have shown that it would begin after the establishment of the ten kingdoms, and end at a time when general persecution had ceased, when an understanding of prophecy was spreading over land and sea, and before a disappointment would be occasioned by the awakening. Beyond this, however, nothing specific as to time is presented.

II. REVELATION 13:1-10 EXAMINED

Revelation 13 is the most complete and specific reference in its treatment of the 1260 days. In it, a Beast is depicted "having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy." This beast is "like unto a leopard, and his feet . . . as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion."

Then follows a most striking statement in regard to its history:

And the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority. And I saw as it were one of his heads wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast. And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast: and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him? (Verses 2-4.)

So much for verses 1-4. Verses 5-10 continue the narrative:

And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty and two months.

And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.

And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.

And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.

If any man have an ear, let him hear.

He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.

Before entering into a discussion of verses 1-4, and of the relationship of the various parts of the chapter to one another, let some new points be observed about the antichristian power as presented in verses 1-10, namely, --

- 10) All the world shall wonder after the beast, but
- 11) There is nothing that says this universal wonderment would be universal at any given moment, nor that it would be continuous for the 42 months. All that the verses say will happen throughout the 1260 days is that the beast would have "authority to continue."³⁷
- 12) At the end of the 42 months the beast was to undergo captivity and a killing by the sword, and this prospect was to encourage the saints whenever they were persecuted during the 42 months.

The Introductory Nature of Revelation 13:1-4

In understanding the chronology of the 1260 days it is fundamental to establish the relationship between the first four verses of Revelation 13 and the remainder of the chapter.

A careful reading of the chapter seems to reveal that these first four verses present an introduction to the remaining material, so that

³⁷ The Greek word translated "power" in the Authorized Version is "exousia," which may be better translated "authority."

verses 5-10 quoted above are an enlargement on the history of the Beast between the reception of power, seat, and authority, and the infliction of the Deadly Wound, while verses 11 to the end are an enlargement of verses 3 and 4, the period after the Deadly Wound was healed.³⁸

Some of the reasons which lead to this conclusion may be summed up as follows:

- a) The argument is rational. It is not absurd to suggest such a repetitious, enlarging parallel.
- b) The practice of repeating prophetic narratives out of their chronological order, or of leaping ahead to the end and then coming back, is a fundamental characteristic of Daniel and the Revelation.³⁹
- c) This is the way the verses are paragraphed in the Revised Standard Version.
- d) Verse 4 cannot describe the Roman Catholic church during the 1260 years, for it pictures all the world as asking, "Who can make war with him?" During the 1260 years of antichristian

³⁸ It may be contended that verse 11 introduces a new power not foretold in verses 1-4, and this is correct; but its function is closely related to what has gone before. It is shown influencing "them that dwell on the earth" "to worship the first beast whose deadly wound was healed," that is, the beast "which had the wound by a sword and did live."

³⁹ Daniel 7 and 8 are repetitions and enlargements upon Daniel 2, each approaching the subject from new angles, and gradually progressing. In Revelation, the Seals and Trumpets bear a comparable relationship to the Churches. Revelation 13:5-10 and 13:15-17 likewise find counterparts in Revelation 12:5, 6, 13-15 and 12:17 respectively. Anachronistic arrangement is seen within chapters, too, such as Daniel 7, where verses 18 and 21 are introduced out of order in order to encourage Daniel about the ultimate victory of the saints; and in Revelation 12, where the story of the Woman stops with verse 6 only to start again with verse 7, the first account being dated from the birth of Christ, and the second from the fall of Satan in heaven.

ascendancy, many people made war with the pope and also with his religion, including France, Spain, and England, in literal battle, and Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and England in spiritual conflict.

If the Lamb-Like Beast of verses 11 to the end is portrayed as leading the world into a new and deeper subjection to the Beast, as indeed it is, and then this latter passage is paralleled with verse 4, in which the world lies in prostrate amazement before the beast, the reasonable nature of the argument in favor of verses 1-4 as an introduction is manifest.

This, therefore, leads to the thirteenth observation:

- 13). The Deadly Wound of verse 3 must be at least partly the same as the leading into captivity and the killing by a sword of verse 10, and hence it must come at the close of the period.

But the mention of the Deadly Wound as coming at the close of the period suggests so large and so basic a question, that a special study must be devoted to it.

III. THE TIME OF THE DEADLY WOUND

Recognized by Some as Occurring in the Eighteenth Century

It is highly significant that, until the rise of Sabbatarian Adventists, no expositor studied placed the Deadly Wound at the end of the 1260 years.

Some, however, though they made no allusion to the 1260 days, did suggest that the Deadly Wound occurred around the close of the eighteenth century, and even in 1798. In this group there was, for instance,

Timothy Dwight,⁴⁰ who, in 1781, said that the restraining of the power of the Jesuits in his day was a deadly wound to the papacy. Eight years later, as the French Revolution broke out in 1789, the German Christian Thube⁴¹ said that the Deadly Wound was occurring before his eyes, and that it would be healed. Unfortunately, he too omitted reference to the 1260 days, and he marred his testimony by citing a previous deadly wound that was healed.

In the year 1800 George Richards⁴² in his Bampton Lecture became apparently the first to say that the Deadly Wound had been inflicted by the swords of the French, but again he too does not tie in the event with the 1260 days. In 1813 Samuel Toovey⁴³ likewise has the Deadly Wound inflicted by France, to be healed in time, but omits the 1260 days.

As Froom observes,⁴⁴ Adam Clarke⁴⁵ around 1820 noted in his comments on Daniel 7:25 that in 1798 the papacy received a deadly wound which in his time was but lightly skinned over, but in this he is at variance with himself for in his comments on Revelation 13 he has the

⁴⁰ L. E. Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, III, 245.

⁴¹ Ibid., II, 777, 778.

⁴² Ibid., III, 327, 328.

⁴³ Ibid., 359, ~~774~~.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 355.

⁴⁵ Adam Clarke, Commentary, IV, 595; VI, 1017-1020.

Wound healed by Charlemagne and the captivity of verse 10 as still future.⁴⁶

The Standard Position

The reference to Clarke's teaching that Charlemagne healed the Deadly Wound brings the discussion back towards the standard position.

The standard position among almost all commentators of the historical school who discussed the first beast of Revelation 13 is that its seven heads were forms of governments of Rome. There were some variations in just what forms of governments were intended, but a representative list would include kings, consuls, dictators, decemvirs, military tribunals, consuls, and emperors. The main differences centered around the sixth and seventh heads, but the lists were substantially the same.

With this interpretation as the accepted standard, the wounding was usually understood as being inflicted upon the imperial head by the barbarians. The American John Cotton⁴⁷ in 1639, Robert Fleming⁴⁸ in

⁴⁶ It would be a pleasure in this part of the thesis to cite the opinions of better-known men that the ones referred to (though some of these were by no means unknown men). Unfortunately, however, the majority of modern commentators are either preteristic or futuristic in their interpretations, and hence so far removed from the a priori considerations of this paper as to be of no assistance. Others are of no help for various reasons. Calvin, for instance, though he wrote many volumes of comments on the Scriptures, wrote nothing on Revelation.

⁴⁷ From, op. cit., p. 37.

⁴⁸ Robert Fleming, Apocalyptic Key, p. 27.

1701, George Bell⁴⁹ in 1795, and William Cuninghame⁵⁰ in 1807, are examples of those who said that it was inflicted by the Heruli and Goths when they conquered Italy; and healed when Justinian restored the imperial government in Rome or Ravenna. Bishop Newton⁵¹ in 1754 had the Wound inflicted when the Goths moved the capital from Rome to Ravenna, making Rome a mere dukedom; and its healing in 727 when the pope revolted against the exarch. James Bicheno⁵² in the 1790's followed Newton, though setting the date for the Wound at 568-774, and insisting, in contrast to Newton, that the papacy must be said to have begun its term before the Wound and not after it, as Newton taught.

Other men, such as Simpson⁵³ and King,⁵⁴ though so clear on 1798 as the end of the period, seem to have had nothing to offer on the Deadly Wound.

William Miller⁵⁵ varied a little from the others, in that he said that the head that was wounded was paganism, with the Deadly Wound occurring in 508. He thus distinguished between the Wound and the

⁴⁹ George Bell, "The Downfal of Antichrist," Evangelical Magazine, IV, 56.

⁵⁰ William Cuninghame, Dissertation on the Apocalypse, p. 213.

⁵¹ Thomas Newton, Dissertation on the Prophecies, (1796 ed.), pp. 548-550.

⁵² James Bicheno, Signs of the Times.

⁵³ David Simpson, A Plea for Religion.

⁵⁴ Edward King, Remarks on the Signs of the Times.

⁵⁵ William Miller, Remarks on Revelation Thirteenth, pp. 7-10.

captivity and killing, which latter event he said, occurred in 1798. Other Millerites seem to have agreed with him.

It was only natural that the Millerites should have placed the Wound that was to be healed at the beginning of the period, for they understood that the world was to end in 1843, and hence there could not possibly be time for it to be healed if it should be placed at the end.

The Seventh-day Adventist Position

And so, as was mentioned above, it was left for the Seventh-day Adventists, or rather, Sabbatarian Adventists as they were known then, to discover that the Deadly Wound is identical with the sword-stroke of verse 10, and occurs at the end of the 1260 days.⁵⁶

In May 1851 J. N. Andrews, realizing that time was continuing on after 1844, seems to have been the first to have set the Deadly Wound "at the close of this period" of 1260 years; noting further that the fact that the Two-Horned Beast is to cause the world to worship the Beast whose Deadly Wound was healed "shows that its period of action is

⁵⁶ Note: The placing of the Deadly Wound in 1798 involves a complete break with the standard position, for it makes the wounded head to be the papacy before it is wounded, while all the commentators save Bicheno have it to be the imperial head that is wounded, the Beast being a symbol of the Roman empire. But the Seventh-day Adventist position can be maintained. First, the Beast cannot be Rome, for the Dragon represents Rome, and if the prophet cannot be allowed to mean two different symbols in the same context, how else can he convey his ideas? Secondly, the Dragon gives his authority to the Beast. It is strange to suggest that John is going to all this trouble to say that Rome gives its power to Rome. Further, as Cuninghame observes, the location of the crowns on the horns of the Beast (instead of on the heads, as with the Dragon) indicates a new era of time as being brought under scrutiny with the introduction of Revelation 13.

this side of 1798." In the same article he continues on to show that the lamb-like beast is the United States.⁵⁷ Apparently the light on the Deadly Wound and on the United States in prophecy came to him at the same time.

Joseph Bates, in August, 1851, wrote an article presenting the same views on the Deadly Wound at the end of the 1260 days, in 1798, and saying that it began to be healed in 1815.⁵⁸ Hiram Edson, in 1856, differed slightly by placing the Wound somewhere between 1798 and 1809.⁵⁹

Ellen G. White also favored the placing of the Deadly Wound at the close of the period.⁶⁰ In view of the fact that this view is a matter of prophetic interpretation, something in the realm of spirituals, and not merely an allusion to history, her position should be of immense interest to Seventh-day Adventists.

The placing of the Deadly Wound at the end of the 1260 years is established further by a comparison of verses 12 and 14 of Revelation 13, where the Beast is first identified as the one "whose deadly wound was healed," and again, as the one "which had the wound by a sword, and

⁵⁷ J. N. Andrews in The Review and Herald, Volume I, 11; May 19, 1851, p. 82, column. 2.

⁵⁸ Ibid., August 5, 1851, pp. 3, 4.

⁵⁹ Ibid., January 24, 1856, p. 130.

⁶⁰ In Great Controversy, edition of 1911, p. 439, she says:

This period, as stated in preceding chapters, began with the supremacy of the papacy, A.D. 538, and terminated in 1798. At that time, the pope was made captive by the French army, the papal power received its deadly wound, and the prediction was fulfilled, "He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity."

did live," thus revealing the identity between the Wound, and the killing by the sword.

Objections. It is contended by some that the wound by the sword is to be understood spiritually, the sword being the Word of God, and the wounding being, perhaps, the Reformation.⁶¹ But this view is not wholly sound. In Revelation the sword that procedes out of Christ's mouth is uniformly hromphia in the Greek, the great Thracian broad sword; while the sword of Revelation 13 is machaira, a smaller and different instrument. It therefore appears that John does not have the spiritual sword in mind.

It may also be objected that the Beast has never really died, the events of 1798 notwithstanding; Catholicism has never died out in Europe. This objection may be answered by a reading of the Revised Standard Version of Revelation 13:2 which has "seemed to have a mortal wound," and by a study of the original Greek text which may be taken as showing that while the wound was intended to cause death, it was not in actuality fatal. The Greek passage involved may be translated:

⁶¹ Those who contend that the wounding by the sword must be spiritual, and hence inflicted by the Word of God, must show that it is fulfilled in the Reformation and not during the French Revolution. A body blow was indeed struck at both the papacy and Catholicism by the word of God in the sixteenth century, but the "illumination" and "awakening" that led to the weakening of the papacy at the end of the eighteenth century was caused by skepticism, atheism, and gross indifference, and not by the Word of God. Missionary societies did begin to spring up in the 1790's, but these did not come into their strength until the early decades of the nineteenth century, after the French Revolution; and their success then may be considered more a result of the upheavals of the French Revolution than a cause of them.

And one of its heads having its throat cut as if in order to cause death, and its blow of death was treated.⁶²

Conclusions

Specific bounding events noted. With Revelation 13:1-4 taken as an introduction to or preview of the remainder of the chapter, a great

⁶² The Greek for Revelation 13:3 is καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον, καὶ ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἐθεραπεύθη.

Significant words are ὡς, ἐσφαγμένην, εἰς, πληγὴ and ἐθερα-
 πεύθη. Ἐσφαγμένην is the acc. sing. fem. perf. pass. part. of σφάττω or σφάζω. Ἐθεραπεύθη is the third pers. sing. pass. aorist of θεραπεύω. Liddell and Scott (A Greek Lexicon, II, 2039) define ὡς "with Participles in the case of the Subject, to mark the reason of the action, as if, as." They define σφάζω (*ibid.*, pp. 1737, 1738): of human victims, to kill; of cattle, to "slay, slaughter, properly by cutting the throat." They define εἰς (*ibid.*, I, 492) as being used sometimes to show "purpose or object." They define πληγὴ (*ibid.*, II, 1417): "blow, stroke. . . . metaph., blow, stroke of calamity, esp. in war." They define θεραπεύω (*ibid.*, I, 792, 793) as "do service to . . . take care of . . . treat medically," -- and thus as referring to treatment and not "healing." This distinction is borne out by Moulton and Milligan also. (James Hope Moulton and George Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, p. 289.) The meaning is probably equivalent to "to heal" in this case, however, since, if the use of the passive suggests the same "Divine Permission" suggested in the use of the passive ἐδόθη in vv. 5, 7, it may be assumed that if God permits the treatment, the devil will accomplish the cure. Compare also vv. 12, 14.

The passage, therefore, may be translated thus: "And one of its heads having its throat cut as if in order to cause death, and its blow of death was treated."

It is evident that the wound did not cause the death it was intended to, for a resurrection is not referred to, but only a healing. Compare Lazarus, who was sick, died, and was resurrected, (John 11), with Hezekiah, who though "sick unto death," did not die, but was miraculously healed, (Isaiah 38).

deal is added to the understanding of the chronology of the 1260 days, for now specific events for the beginning and ending are supplied.

Revelation 13 teaches,

- 14), That the period is to begin when the dragon gives its power, its seat, and great authority to the beast; and,
- 15) It is to end when the Deadly Wound is inflicted..

A further observation. A further observation remains to be made, namely, that on the basis of the above study of Revelation 13:1-4, it can be safely said that the events marking the beginning and ending of the period are different. There are not a few expositors of the present day who hold that there must be discovered parallel events for beginning and ending; that at the end of the period there would occur the reverse of what happened at the beginning. But it can be said confidently, on the basis of this passage, that there is no foundation for the parallel-ing vogue. Revelation 13:1-4 says the period's end would be marked by a Deadly Wound, later identified with a carrying into captivity. These events are not parallel.

Revelation 13 is the only chapter in the Bible that gives specific events for the beginning and ending of the period. Hence,

- 16) The beginning and ending events are not parallel.

IV. THE INFLICTION OF THE DEADLY WOUND

An Important Distinction

It is of the utmost importance in understanding the 1260 days to distinguish between "papacy" and "Catholicism." It is true that the

word "papacy" can, by extension, be understood to include the whole Roman Catholic system, but this very fact has caused much confusion in determining the beginning and ending of the 1260 years.

The Bible makes a distinction. In II Thessalonians 2:3, 4, it speaks of "the man of sin," and describes him as the one who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.

This undoubtedly is the papacy, the line of men, of popes, who exalt themselves to be gods.

But verse 7 speaks also of a system of wickedness, "the mystery of iniquity."

Which of these concepts -- man, or mystery -- is intended by the Beast of Revelation 13? The answer must be, both "man of sin" and "mystery of iniquity."

In Daniel 7:17 and 23 the four beasts of that vision are explained to be first, "king" and later, "kingdom." The Dragon of Revelation 12 and 13 is taken to be, not merely the Roman Emperors, but rather Rome, directed by Emperors.

But the Dragon of Revelation 16 cannot mean merely Rome, nor yet can it mean merely pagan Rome, for it is seen at the end of time when pagan Rome had been dead for centuries. It seems, therefore, that it must represent paganism.

Now, also in Revelation 16, the Dragon is spoken of as being one third of the great city Babylon, of which the Beast and the False Prophet are the other two thirds. If, then, it is right to identify

the False Prophet with Apostate Protestantism, even as the Dragon is identified with paganism, it seems out of place to say that the Beast represents "Papal Rome." Rather, it must represent Roman Catholicism.

If the Beast is a phase of Babylon, and if it is correct to say that "Babylon" represents a confusion of false doctrines, then it seems that it must follow, again, that the Beast must be viewed, partly at least, as a system of false teachings.

But neither yet is it satisfactory to interpret the Beast merely as a "system" or "ism." Revelation 17:11 says that a Beast is a king, as also does Daniel 7:17, while Daniel 7:23 interprets it as a kingdom.

It seems necessary, therefore, to perceive in the Beast of Revelation 13 a dual connotation of organization and of doctrine, of "man of sin" and of "mystery of iniquity."

Not only a man. The Book of Revelation is devoted to portraying the conflict between God's people and their enemies, between truth and error. Into this picture the Beast intrudes often as the enemy of God's people and of all that is true. It seems incredible that God would be warning his people against merely a line of wicked men, even blasphemers, -- even persecutors. Jesus himself said not to fear those who can destroy the body, but to fear only what can destroy the soul. The world is full of evil men, evil men in power and authority. It must, therefore, be the system, the mystery of evil doctrines, the phase of Babylon that these leaders represent that so corrupts the souls of men, that God is warning against.

Not only a mystery. But beast also means king, a word that suggests leadership vested in a government headed by a man or a line of men. Daniel speaks of a Little Horn, which by comparison with the other horns, suggests that it too, is not merely a teaching, but is an organization, a government. It is very definitely "diverse" from the others (verse 24) but it is still a horn.

Therefore it may be said, the Beast of Revelation 13 must include the concepts both of papacy and of Catholicism.

The Distinction Validated

It may be necessary to show whether or not this distinction is valid. Is there a difference between the papacy and Catholicism? Can a man be a Catholic without fully accepting the pope?

History shows the answer to be "yes." A classic example is the case of the Gallican Church which was so often at variance with the papacy, holding that popes were not above kings or councils, that only in conjunction with bishops were they infallible, and that both church and state had ecclesiastical rights "independent and exclusive of the jurisdiction of the pope."⁶³ But no one would say the Gallican church was not Catholic.

Recared, Spanish king of the Visigoths in the time of Gregory I, maintained an ecclesiastical independence of Rome that Gregory was

⁶³ "Gallicanism," Encyclopedia Britannica, (1941 ed.) IX, p. 984.

"content" to allow, but his orthodoxy satisfied the Pontiff.⁶⁴ It was under him, in fact, that the Visigoths became Catholic!

Henry VIII broke with the Papacy and made himself the head of the Church of England, after his counselors advised him that "The Pontiff of Rome, sire, has no authority at all in England,"⁶⁵ but no one says that Henry VIII was a Protestant.

Lord Acton says,

The Irish did not shrink from resisting the arms of Henry II., though two Popes had given him dominion over them. They fought against William III., although the Pope had given him efficient support in his expedition. Even James II., when he could not get a mitre for petre, reminded Innocent that people could be very good Catholics and yet do without Rome. Philip II. was excommunicated and deprived, but he despatched his army against Rome with the full concurrence of the Spanish divines.⁶⁶ (Emphasis supplied.)

Individual testimonies may be quoted. Cormenin, for instance, who wrote a history of the popes, is an example of a Roman Catholic who casts aspersion on the "adorers of the Roman purpose, and of pontifical infallibility," and says, "We, who deduct rigorous consequences from the truth of history, we will say, that an institution like that of the papacy, is a monstrosity in religion. . . ."⁶⁷

At the Vatican council, 1870, a strong minority was strongly opposed to the papal determination to "railroad" the dogma of

⁶⁴ Bury, op. cit., p. 260.

⁶⁵ Wylie, History of Protestantism, III, p. 400.

⁶⁶ Lord Acton, Reply (to Gladstone), pp. 83, 94.

⁶⁷ Cormenin, op. cit., II, 163.

Infallibility. Feeling ran high. But though the delegates were anti-papal, they were still Catholic. When it came time for the vote, only two negative votes were cast. After all, their difference of opinion was not based on moral or ethical grounds, but only on expediency. Döllinger and others carried the matter further and established an "Old Catholic" church of their own. But it was still so essentially "Catholic" that it did not satisfy either good Protestants or good Catholics, and did not last long.⁶⁸

It seems to be established that a distinction between "papacy" and "Catholicism" is defensible. "People can be very good Catholics and yet do without Rome."

The Distinction Applied

The value of this concept. Those who speak of the 1260 years of "the papacy" are frequently embarrassed to show how it started and stopped at two specific dates just 1260 years apart. Say they, a widespread belief in a system of false doctrines cannot begin and end like that. The beginning and ending must be gradual. And yet they want to be specific, because the Bible is. And the Bible is specific. To this era of the Beast it assigns 1260 years, no more, and no less.

If it is contrary to human nature, and also to the course of history, for an ideology to begin and end abruptly, then it is incredible

⁶⁸ See J. B. Bury, History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, (1864-1878), and Albert Henry Newman, A Manual of Church History, II, 494 ff.

to say that God prophesied that Roman Catholicism would begin and end abruptly. It cannot be that He did, and, in fact, it can be shown that He did not. The mystery of iniquity was at work in Paul's day -- it was just hindered, Paul explains, by "him who letteth," who would continue to "let" until he be "taken out of the way."⁶⁹ And it was to continue on after the period expired, for the wound only "seemed" to be unto death,⁷⁰ and the Deadly Wound was healed.

But Catholicism is spoken of, in a special way, as operating for 1260 years. In view of all the Bible passages involved, of human nature, and of the history of the church, it seems that it must follow that the prophecy indicates that Catholicism would make a special increase in its influence over men as the period began, and suffer a noticeable decrease in its influence as the period ended.

If the suggested dual nature of the Beast is accepted, and if the paragraphs above are satisfactory, then there is no need to discard an early initial date for the 1260 years on the basis of a later setback for the papacy, (i.e. the popes). The popes were repeatedly embarrassed, while, in contrast, the dark tentacles of Catholic errors continued steadily to fasten themselves with increasing dominance on the minds of Western Europeans throughout the centuries that followed the fall of Rome.

⁶⁹ II Thess. 2:7.

⁷⁰ Revelation 13:3, RSV.

On the other hand, while the rise and fall of Catholicism was gradual, the period is mentioned as being specific -- 1260 years. If it is accepted that the specific dating applies to the man of sin, the papacy, the other "phase" of the Beast, then the problem is largely solved, for it is quite conceivable that a particular organization epitomizing and representing Catholicism could begin and end on certain dates; or that a certain era in its history could be designated by well marked events.

Basic thesis. It is therefore the basic thesis of this paper that the 1260 years is marked

a) In a general sense, by an increase and a (later) decrease in the influence of Catholicism;

b) in a specific way by the giving of power, seat, and great authority to the pope as the visible head of the system at the beginning, and by the inflicting of a captivity and apparent killing of the papacy at the end; and

c) that the "Deadly Wound" symbol, applied to the Beast in its ideological phase, signifies a decrease in the effectiveness and "authority" of Catholicism, while when it is applied to the Beast in its "papal" phase, it has reference to the captivity and killing of Revelation 13:10.

An observation. This concept of the dual nature of the Beast helps to explain why one captivity of the pope may be singled out of many and be said to mark the close of the 1260 days in distinction

to all the others. Many captivities of the pope there were, but it is only the one that synchronizes with the decline of Catholicism that fulfills the prophecy.⁷¹

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

On the a priori basis that God cannot have prophesied anything that did not come to pass, this study has shown that the 1260-day prophecy cannot be said to foretell 1260 years of papal supremacy over kings or even all the Catholic churches; nor yet can it mean 1260 years of continuous papal persecution; nor yet can it mean 1260 years of Catholicism in all of Europe -- for the reason that no such 1260-year periods exist in history. Similarly it has been shown that, taken individually, the withdrawal of French support from the papacy in the 1790's, or the imprisonment of the pope in 1798, cannot be said to mark the end of the period, since the French have often differed with the papacy, and the popes have many times been deprived of their liberties.

When the Bible is turned to for a positive approach, it has been shown that no discord with history appears. The Bible contains

⁷¹ It may be mentioned in this connection that Leggitt has shown that, although many expositors term May 19, 1780, the "Dark Day" of prophecy, there occurred in New England between 1750 and 1798 not one but twenty unusually dark periods. However, he has gone on to show that the selection of this one date from among so many is amply warranted on the grounds that it was the only one which adequately fulfilled the apparent requirements of prophecy, and that it was the only one that seemed to have significance among the people of the time as being a last-day sign. (Deryl Leggitt, An Investigation of the Dark Day of May 19, 1780; Its Causes, Extent, and Duration.)

nowhere a reference to the pope's headship over the entire Western Church for 1260 years, for instance, nothing about a papal sovereignty over kings for such a period, and so forth.

† It has been shown, however, that the period, according to the Bible, apparently begins with the reception by the Beast of power, seat, and authority, and ends with the infliction of a captivity and seeming death. At the end of the period, also, a movement is to be seen spreading over sea and land characterized by a new understanding of the book of Daniel, this movement ultimately to suffer a "bitterness" to be followed by a revival and continuance of the prophetic preaching.

The period itself is to be characterized by blasphemy, false doctrine, subjection of truth, the changing of God's laws, the scattering of God's people, and marked persecution.

Special attention has been given to the study of the Deadly Wound. It has been shown that what must, apparently, be looked for in fulfillment of its infliction on the Beast is, in reference to its doctrines (Catholicism), a marked decline in their authority to bind men's minds, and, in a much more marked and definite sense, in reference to the Beast's visible head (the papacy), a literal captivity and apparent killing.

Since the decline of an ideology and the rise of a missionary movement are gradual processes, while, in contrast, the captivity of a visible leader naturally occurs on a specific date, it has been shown that that captivity of the pope which is intended to end the papacy and which coincides with the trends and movements above mentioned, is to be taken as the one marking the specific date for the end of the 1260 years.

CHAPTER IV

IS 1798 AN ADEQUATE TERMINAL DATE?

WHY 1798?

An interpretation of prophecy having been suggested, it remains now to see how it was fulfilled. But why is 1798 selected for evaluation? Simply because it is the only closing date suggested by commentators at which the head of the visible Catholic Church was carried into captivity. The pope was not incarcerated in 1260, 1672, 1701, 1789, 1793, or on any of the other dates suggested prior to 1798. And neither was he so treated in 1813, 1842, 1847, 1866, 1880, or on any of the other dates suggested after 1798.¹ But he was carried into captivity in 1798.

But are there not other dates upon which he was made captive? Yes. Before 1798 there were numerous occasions, as has been noted. Of course, all those occasions prior to 1355 may be dismissed without further consideration including that of Boniface VIII in 1303, for it is manifest that 1260 years must elapse after John's time before the period can be said to have expired. The seven-month confinement of the Pontiff under Spanish arms in the sixteenth century is an instance worthy of more consideration, since it was accompanied by an international movement in favor of Bible study, the Reformation. However, counting back 1260 years from it brings one to the third century, a date prior to the barbarian invasions and hence too early, since the Little Horn was not seen until after the ten horns were within the confines of the Western Empire.

¹ For the proponents of these various dates see Appendix.

After 1798 there were also several embarrassing situations of this sort for the Pope. In 1809 he was carried away to Savona when the States of the Church were incorporated into the French Empire. He returned in 1814 but was forced to flee for 100 days in 1815, when Murat invaded the Papal States. In 1870 Rome was taken by the Piedmontese army² and he voluntarily shut himself up in the Vatican until the concordat with Mussolini in 1929.

1814 may be dismissed as not being essentially a captivity, though it was an exile. 1870 is worthy of consideration, but, as will be shown, it came after the disappointment occasioned by the spread of prophetic study rather than before it as Revelation 10 requires, and hence is too late. 1809 is also a date worthy of consideration, but it seems strange to select it when it is but an echo of what happened eleven years prior, in 1798. Moreover, its companion date, 549, does not seem too likely, as it was a year of deep humiliation for the papacy during the Three Chapters controversy.

It having been shown that other dates are inadequate, it now remains to be shown whether or not 1798 be adequate.

1798 EXAMINED

Three indications of the close of the period were noted as having been mentioned by prophecy. These are not taken up and studied in the light of history around 1798.

² See John Alzog, History of the Church, III, 683, 1042-1044.

I. A NOTICEABLE DECLINE IN THE "AUTHORITY" OF CATHOLICISM

The Revised Standard Version (1946) of Revelation 13 says that "authority was given" to the Beast "over every tribe and people and tongue and nation;" also, that "it was allowed to exercise authority for forty-two months."

Since various manners in which its authority could be exercised during the forty-two months are listed, it does not follow that the Beast was to have authority over all nations for the full forty-two months; but it must follow that the authority could not last more than the forty-two months. A comparison of verse 10 with verse 3 indicates, however, that even at the close of the period of the authority would not be completely curtailed, for the wound, though "deadly" was curable, and hence cannot be said actually to have caused death. Therefore the question is, "Was there a noticeable recession of the Beast's authority on or before 1798?"

The answer is, "Yes." Not that the authority abruptly ceased then, for it did not -- and, as has been determined, the prophecy does not require it to have. Indeed, in France, according to Aulard, 40,000 of the Catholic churches that had closed down in 1793 and 1794, a few years prior to 1798, were already in use again even by September 1797, and he concludes "Thus, two years after the Separation, Catholicism was generally restored in France."³ But if it can be shown that the people of France were less indifferent to Catholicism in 1797 than they had been in 1793,

³ A. Aulard, Christianity and the French Revolution, p. 147.

it does not follow that the Beast had received back its ancient authority. Indeed, the contrary was the case. Even in these 40,000 churches, Aulard says, the services were not as well frequented as they had been before.⁴

The French Revolution. 1798, though not the most important year in the French Revolution, nevertheless may be said to fall within it,⁵ and the French Revolutionary era was marked by a definite loosening of the hold of Catholicism and the papacy on mankind, as many students of the period have observed. Indeed, it was the climax of a deep-seated trend towards increasing skepticism and irreligion.

Pressensè observes:

Nothing is so sad as the religious history of the eighteenth century. Piety languishes. . . . In England and in Germany a parching wind blows over hearts and minds. There is preached in the Protestant pulpits--in those which are standing--a religion without grandeur, without mysteries, which has neither the boldness of philosophy nor that of faith. . . . In the bosom of the Church of France the decay is visible to all eyes. . . .⁶

Aulard, on the other hand, at first glance seems to take an opposite view. Noting that the desire to abolish the church and its doctrines

⁴ Aulard, loc. cit.

⁵ Dates for the French Revolution as favored by a few authorities are as follows: Gershoy, 1789-1799,^a Thiers, 1789-1800,^b Pressensè, 1789-1802,^c Aulard, 1789-1804,^d Encyclopedia Britannica, 1789-1804.^e

^a Leo Gershoy, The French Revolution, 1789-1799, title.

^b Louis Adolphe Thiers, The History of the French Revolution, 1789-1800, title.

^c E. De Pressensè, The Church and the French Revolution, title p.

^d A. Aulard, The French Revolution, title p.

^e Paul Wiriath, "France: History," Encyclopedia Britannica, IX, 611.

⁶ E. De Pressensè, The Church and the French Revolution, p. 15.

was not uppermost in the delegate's minds in 1789, he emphasizes that the Revolution set out with the support of the Catholic clergy,⁷ a fact much appreciated by the revolutionaries for some time.⁸ In 1790, although new altars to the Fatherland were erected, the people still attended Mass in the morning before celebrating at these shrines in the afternoon.⁹ Not until 1791, when the Pope expressed his adverse opinion of the Civil Constitution was the Nuncio recalled, the Pope burned in effigy, the seal set on the schism and the breach between France and the Pope "complete".¹⁰ Even then, it was not until 1793, after the la Vendee uprisings, that Sunday was laid aside and Christianity dethroned,¹¹ -- and as early as January 1, 1795, the restoration of Catholicism was under way.¹²

It seems as though Aulard senses but a slight and temporary break with the Beast, hardly worth noticing in a 1260-year scope, but this is not the case. Though he has the break with Rome coming late and healed early, he points out that skepticism began much earlier than 1791, and emphasizes how little hold any kind of Christianity had had upon the masses for centuries. He asks, "Did the Catholic religion, so splendidly

⁷ Ibid., p. 47.

⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 64-66.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 72. The use of the word "complete" is Aulard's and not mine. It is well known that many peasants and the large body of non-juring priests never severed their allegiance to Rome.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 97-122.

¹² Ibid., p. 138.

represented by the Gallican Church, dwell strongly in the soul of the French people on the eve of the Revolution?" and answers by showing that, even in the middle of the eighteenth century, "to be impious was to be in fashion." "This incredulity was not the work of the philosophers -- it was this incredulity which incited the philosophers to write thus against religion."¹³

Says Aulard:

I am struck by the fewness and slightness of the peasant risings caused by the attacks upon Christianity -- and in these rising I note distinctly a mixture of politics with religion.

Not a single member of the Convention (except Grégoire) dared openly to defend the religion which only the day before had been the religion of the nation.¹⁴

It is manifest then, according to Aulard, that Catholicism had lain but lightly on the nation for some time prior to 1793. And it continued to do so, even though the people longed to hear the church bells ring again. Attendance at the churches in 1797, says Aulard, was not as numerous as it had been before.

Belloc goes further than Aulard in showing the decline of Catholicism in France prior to 1789. He calls upon his readers to seize the "moribund condition of the religious life of France upon the eve of the Revolution." He refers to the "swoon of the Faith in the eighteenth century," and says that "France, in the generation before the Revolution, was passing through a phase in which the Catholic Faith was at a lower

¹³ Ibid., pp. 31-34.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 120-122.

ebb that it had ever been since the preaching and establishment of it in Gaul." Again, he refers to "the temporary eclipse of religion in France before the Revolution broke out."¹⁵

Georges Goyau in the Catholic Encyclopedia says: "To repeat a saying of Ferdinand Brunetière, the eighteenth century was the least Christian and the least French century in the history of France."^{16, 17}

Alzog says the same thing. Infidelity and atheism, he writes, were rife both before and after the Revolution, while "Religious indifference prevailed."¹⁸

If the multiplicity of competent witnesses is of any significance, there can be no doubt that there was an observable decline in European Catholicity prior to 1798.¹⁹

¹⁵ Hilaire Belloc, The French Revolution, p. 231.

¹⁶ Georges Goyau, "France," Catholic Encyclopedia, VI, 172.

¹⁷ A. H. Newman, whose college text has received wide acceptance, may be noted in passing. After a reference to the infidelity of Voltaire, and his attack on the Church as "l'Infâme," and to the Deism of Rousseau, D'Alambert, and Diderot, and their projected social reforms, he says that skepticism had opened the eye of the French people to see that Christianity in the form they knew it was the arch enemy of human rights. And, he adds significantly, excommunication and the interdict had lost their power to intimidate and coerce. (Albert Henry Newman, A Manual of Church History, pp. 493-494.)

¹⁸ John Alzog, History of the Church, III, 1015 ff. Since Alzog is a noted Catholic authority, and since to him "religion" largely means "Catholicism," his statement is very interesting and much to the point.

¹⁹ Mathiez scoffs at those historians who marvel that the Revolution did not break with Rome at its outset, and tends to emphasize the strength of Catholicism in France at the time. (Albert Mathiez, La Révolution et L'Eglise, pp. vii-xiii, 1-3.) Nevertheless, the mere fact that the Revolution occurred when it did, and ran the course that it did, is evidence enough that any strength the Church had at that time was relatively less than it had had before; hence this view cannot be said to confute the patent decline of Catholicism in Europe at the close of the eighteenth century.

Now for a few historical examples: It was not in France alone that Catholicism relaxed its grasp during this era. As Newman observes, the revolutionary ideas of the French skeptics profoundly influenced English, Americans, Swedes, and Frederick the Great of Prussia.^{20, 21}

In Austria, Joseph II, emperor from 1780 on, but co-regent with his mother from 1765, took great interest in the progress of skepticism. He and his minister, Kaunitz, shared the goal of making the German Church as independent of Rome as possible. He closed many monasteries and introduced Bibles and hymnbooks in the vernacular. "Pope Pius VI, whom the changed times did not permit to summon heretical sovereigns to the threshold of the Apostolic church," was compelled to go to Vienna himself, says Hagenbach, but could not change Joseph's mind.²² The emperor himself was not too successful in his reforms, but Newman points out the fact that "that his opposition to the papacy met with little popular disapproval indicated the widespread skepticism and indifferentism of the age."²³ And Alzog, sulking, comments: Religious feeling, "which had long since grown cold in Germany," had become "well-nigh extinct toward the close of the eighteenth century."²⁴

²⁰ Newman, op. cit., pp. 493-494.

²¹ Underscoring in these pages is not for emphasis but to aid the eye in determining the nations involved.

²² See K. R. Hagenbach, History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, II, 424 ff.

²³ Newman, op. cit., p. 442.

²⁴ Alzog, op. cit., p. 679.

Spain underwent a period of non-Catholic enlightenment just preceding 1798, though it was temporary and not too marked. Don Manuel de Godoy was prime minister of this country from 1792 to 1798, and instituted various reforms.²⁵ For instance, at the beginning of his period the only gazette published in Madrid had been silent for three years concerning French news, and the entrance of foreign books and newspapers was strictly prohibited.²⁶ During his six years, he tried to correct this. In September 1797 he obtained a royal decree permitting every artist, manufacturer, or capitalist of whatever religion, to come to Spain, so long as they would respect the Roman Catholic religion and the country's manners. He especially hoped the Jews would come. This act was, he said, "the first law of toleration proclaimed for the last three hundred years."²⁷ He abolished the "Holy Office," and strove constantly against the Inquisition. It must be admitted, however, that he was ahead of his times, and popular feeling rose against him.

Spain's attitude to the papacy may be further deduced from the fact that when, after the French had exiled Pius VI from Rome, it was suggested that the Pope be afforded an asylum in Spain, the king of that country, Charles IV, agreed to receive him only upon such conditions as could not in reason be complied with.²⁸

²⁵ Don Manuel de Godoy, J. D. D' esmenard, ed. and trans., Memoirs of Don Manuel de Godoy.

²⁶ Ibid., I, 128.

²⁷ Ibid., II, 271-272.

²⁸ Richard Duppa, A Brief Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government, 1798, p. 53.

Especially in Rome, Pope Pius VI was unpopular, and could scarce appear in public without being hissed.²⁹ On December 27, 1797, a mob attempted in vain to overturn the papal authority.³⁰ But more important than the active hostility was the passive indifference. When the French came in, set up a tree of Liberty, and proclaimed the end of the Pope, the populace was listless and seemingly unconcerned. "So little attention was paid to this tree of Liberty," writes Duppa, "that I passed it on the next day about noon, and not a single person was looking at it."³¹ The same writer, now using Azara's memoirs for his authority, describes the Pope when surrendering to the French as "humbled, disarmed, destitute of friends and of support. . . ."³²

Now, the papacy seemed to rise to new heights in the nineteenth century, especially with the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception in 1854 and of Papal Infallibility in 1870. Does this controvert the significance of the Revolutionary era as just set forth? No, for it was but a façade which soon tumbled all to pieces. The proclamations were met with angry protests, even from within the Catholic Church, and ultimately the pope himself was imprisoned for fifty-nine years. That a new (and unfavorable) era did indeed begin for the Church about the time of

²⁹ Pius VI, Historical and Philosophical Memoirs of Pius the Sixth and of His Pontificate (translated from the French), II, 314 ff. Cited in L. E. Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, II, 750.

³⁰ Duppa, op. cit., pp. 8-11.

³¹ Ibid., p. 41.

³² Ibid., p. 44.

the French Revolution is attested to by no less authorities than Lord Acton and J. B. Bury. Lord Acton says,

(The Church) had resisted the outward assault of the Protestant Reformation to be sapped by the Revolution which had its seat in Catholic countries, and extensively prevailed in the Church herself. The spirit of opposition to the Holy See grew in energy, and the opposition to its system and ideas spread still more widely.³³

And Bury, after noting that the Pope accepted the widely divergent commentaries written on the Syllabus by the Liberal Catholic Dupanloup and the ultramontane Schrader, asks,

How is it that two such different interpretations as that of the Liberal Catholic Dupanloup and the ultramontane Schrader could be alike accepted by the Vatican? How is it that ultramontanes themselves, when they choose, can explain away what seems the plain and obvious meaning of the Syllabus, and accept principles to which it seems opposed? The answer lies in the distinction between thesis and hypothesis. The Syllabus is concerned with thesis, and laying down of principles, which are of absolute validity, and would prevail in an ideal society when the Church possessed the power of enforcing its authority, as it did to such a vast extent in the Middle Ages. But in modern times the Church in practice has to deal with hypothesis, i.e., it has to determine its actions to meet certain given conditions which it cannot control; it has to compromise and conciliate its theoretical principles. . . in the interests of self preservation; the Concordat of 1801 began this policy. But notwithstanding this unwilling and necessary condescension, the Papacy never abandoned the theoretical principles which are the logical consequences of its claim to independent sovran authority; they remain in the background as the ideal, like a utopia, which the Church would realize if it could.³⁴ (Emphasis on Concordat supplied.)

Thus Bury describes the difference between the modern papacy and that of the Middle Ages -- and he dates the new era from 1801.

³³ Lord Acton, The Papal States, p. 26.

³⁴ J. B. Bury, The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, 1864-1878, pp. 42-43.

What is the difference between the medieval and the modern papacy? The modern papacy cannot do what it would like to; in other words, as the prophecy has it, its "authority" is taken away. "Prudence and policy," continues Acton, "dictate that this theory, which cannot at the present day be reduced to practice, should be kept in the background."³⁵ (Emphasis supplied.)

Conclusion. It has been shown that especially in France, but also in Austria, Prussia, England, and even in Spain and Italy, the closing years of the 18th century saw a trend both hostile to the papacy and indifferent to Catholicism. Bury says that the same period marked the end of the medieval papacy and the beginning of a new era for the Church. It may be concluded, then, that the first requirement of the prophecy has been met, namely, a noticeable release in Europe around the year 1798, from the bondage of the Beast.

II. AN INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY MOVEMENT AND A DISAPPOINTMENT

The first requirement has been met in favor of 1798. But there are others. For instance, the angel who declared the time was over was seen standing on the land and on the sea, holding a little book open, which, upon being eaten, caused first great pleasure, and then great bitterness. But after it was eaten, the message was to go on.

In fulfillment of this, the closing decade of the eighteenth century and the opening decades of the nineteenth saw an upsurge in

³⁵ Ibid., p. 22.

missionary activities and the formation of Bible societies so striking and so well known as to require no more than passing mention here.

In 1793 William Carey sailed to India and the era of modern missions was begun; in 1795, 1796, and 1797 missionary societies were formed in London, New York, and the Netherlands; in 1807 Robert Morrison left for China -- and so it went on. In 1840 David Livingstone began his work in South Africa. And as for the Bible societies, between 1804 and 1840 no fewer than sixty-three were formed in America, Europe, and Asia.³⁶

And this great movement was understood, by contemporary expositors, to be a sign that the 1260 years had closed. Cuninghame, for instance (who ended the years in 1792) stood amazed at the progress of the Bible societies as of 1817, and was sure it was an indication that the period of the Beast had expired.³⁷

What is less well-known, but is nonetheless true, is the fact that this movement had in it much of prophetic interpretation, and of understanding of the symbolism of Daniel heretofore hidden. Froom,³⁸ after many years of research, has amply demonstrated this to be the case. In Europe, America, and in countless mission stations around the world, was preached a "judgment-hour" message based on the soon-coming end of

³⁶ Baird, Christian Retrospect and Register, pp. 244-246. Cited in LeRoy Edwin Froom, Syllabus for the Class in the Development of Prophetic Interpretation, II, 6.

³⁷ William Cuninghame, A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse, pp. 262-282.

³⁸ LeRoy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, Vols. III, IV.

the 2300 days of Daniel 8:14, an event commonly placed in 1843-44, 1847, or 1866.

The Old-World movement was abortive; it died down in the 1830's before coming to the appointed time. But even as it did so, "the torch that was now bedimmed in the Old World was uplifted in the New, and the message that was dying out in Britain began to swell into a mighty cry in far-off America."³⁹

In America the prophetic symbols were expounded by hundreds, but the most conspicuous movement, centered on an understanding of the 2300 days as ending in 1843-44, was one known as Millerism. Now the prophet ate the little book, and it was, he says, "in my mouth as sweet as honey; and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter."⁴⁰ Since the Millerites were the most conspicuous movement of their day stressing prophetic interpretation, it is among them that the sweetness and bitterness should most logically be expected to find their fulfillment. And so it was. One Millerite wrote of the year 1844: "This was the happiest year of my life. My heart was full of glad expectation. . . ."⁴¹

The Millerites expected the Lord to come on October 22, 1844 -- but the time passed! Now indeed came a great disappointment. The same writer says,

The waiting people of God approached the hour when they fondly hoped their joys would be complete in the coming of the Saviour. But the time . . . passed unmarked by the advent of Jesus. . . .

³⁹ Ibid., III, 741.

⁴⁰ Revelation 10:10

⁴¹ Ellen G. White, Testimonies to the Church, I, 54.

It was a bitter disappointment that fell upon the little flock whose faith had been so strong and whose hope had been so high.⁴²

The angel said to the prophet, "Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings."⁴³ This too, was fulfilled in this movement. Not in Millerism per se, for it died out shortly after the disappointment. But out of Millerism grew a movement that has brought prophetic knowledge to almost every nation in the world, and is expanding every year, namely, the Seventh-day Adventists.

Conclusion. It has been shown very briefly that, beginning slightly before 1798, and having its main growth in the decades following, an international missionary movement arose characterized by Bible study, and, in a remarkable way, by the understanding of prophecy. The movement most conspicuous for its basis in prophecy during the first half of the nineteenth century was Millerism, and it experienced both the sweetness of joy and the bitterness of disappointment in the year 1844. But the promulgation of prophecy did not cease then; it has continued on, "before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings."

It is therefore safe to conclude that 1798 is adequate also in the second aspect of the study; namely, it is a date prior to a great world movement, prophetic illumination, and disappointment. By corollary, it

⁴² Ibid., pp. 56-57. For an account of Millerism, the expectation, and the subsequent disappointment, see Arthur Whitefield Spalding, Captains of the Host, chapters 1, 5; and Francis D. Nichol, The Midnight Cry.

⁴³ Revelation 10:11.

may be said that 1870 has thus been disproved, for it came after the movement had been underway for decades, and also after the disappointment of 1844.

III. THE DEADLY WOUND EPITOMIZED: THE PAPAL CAPTIVITY AND KILLING

Two of the three requirements having been met in favor of 1798, there remains but one, that of the carrying away into captivity and the apparent killing by a sword. Was the pope carried into captivity in 1798? Was the papacy apparently killed by military means in 1798?

That he was is so well known, and has been alluded to so many times in this paper, that it requires but little comment now.

When the armies of France were enjoying victories in Italy in 1797, Napoleon received a communication from the Directory dated 13 Pluviôse of the Year V, and signed by La Revellière-Lépeaux, Barras, and Reubell, saying that "the Roman religion would always be the irreconcilable enemy of the Republic." It must be struck in France; it must be struck in Rome. The message continued,

There are, no doubt, means which can be employed at home to diminish its influence insensibly, either by legislation or by institutions which will efface old impressions by substituting new ones more agreeable to the actual order of things, more conformable to reason and sound morality. But there is one thing more essential to the attainment of the end desired, and that is to destroy, if possible, the centre of unity of the Roman Church; and it is for you, who unite in your person and most distinguished qualities of the general and of the enlightened politician, to realize this aim if you consider it practicable.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Aulard, op. cit., p. 151.

The Directory left the matter to Napoleon's discretion, and he decided to wait. However, when Duphot was killed in Rome in December of 1797 it was decided to make his death a pretext for an attack on the papacy. On February 10, 1798 therefore, General Berthier arrived with a Republican army at the gates of Rome, and, in view of his promises to molest neither religion nor persons, was admitted in peace. His proclamations had been worded thus:

All the inhabitants of the Ecclesiastical State, may be assured that their persons, their property, their churches and religion shall be protected by the French army.

ALEX. BERTHIER.

The functions of the Church shall be religiously respected; therefore all public demonstrations of devotion ought to continue without any change or alteration.

ALEX. BERTHIER⁴⁵

But five days later, on February 15, the anniversary of the ascension of Pius VI to the pontificate, all was changed. A tree of Liberty was planted on the Capitol, a republic was proclaimed, and the Pope was taken prisoner. Writes Duppa, who was present in Rome at the time,

That the head of the Church might be made to feel with more poignancy his humiliating situation, the day chosen for planting a tree of Liberty on the Capitol was the anniversary of his election to the sovereignty. Whilst he was, according to custom, in the Sistine chapel, celebrating his accession to the papal chair, and receiving the congratulations of the Cardinals, Citizen Haller, the commissary-general, and Cervoni, who then

⁴⁵ Proclamation dated "Headquarters before Rome, the 22nd Pluviose, the sixth year of the French republic, one and indivisible." (10th of February, 1798.) Cited in Duppa, op. cit., p. 35.

commanded the French troops within the city, gratified themselves in a peculiar triumph over this unfortunate potentate. During that ceremony they both entered the chapel, and Haller announced to the sovereign Pontiff on his throne, that his reign was at an end.

The poor old man seemed shocked at the abruptness of this unexpected notice, but soon recovered himself with becoming fortitude; and when General Cervoni, adding ridicule to oppression, presented him with the national cockade, he rejected it with a dignity that shewed he was still superior to his misfortunes. At the same time that his Holiness received this notice of the dissolution of his power, his Swiss guards were dismissed, and Republican soldiers put in their place.⁴⁶

At the Capitol, as the tree of Liberty was planted, Berthier issued a new proclamation, making the former papal states as of the treaty of Campo Formio a new Roman Republic under the protection of the French army, and containing the sentence, "In consequence, every other temporal authority emanating from the old government of the Pope, is suppressed, and he shall no more exercise any function."⁴⁷

The papacy was officially at an end -- and it was an army (a "sword") that had done it. On February 20, at night, the Pope was conveyed away under guard, first to Sienna, in Italy, and later to Florence, Parma, Turin, and at last to the French fortress at Valence, where he died on July 28, 1799.⁴⁸ The papacy had indeed "gone into captivity."

⁴⁶ Duppa, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

⁴⁷ Signed, "Alexander Berthier." "Dated, Rome, the 15th of February, 1798; the first year of Liberty, proclaimed in the Roman Forum, and ratified on the Capitol, with free voice, and subscribed to by innumerable Citizens." Cited in Duppa, op. cit., p. 39.

⁴⁸ Alzog, op. cit., p. 651.

A Deadly Wound? Though Berthier and Napoleon and the Directory were harsh to the Pope, and though they intended to put a final end to the papacy, they did not really do so, for it revived rapidly. Now Revelation 13: 10 says, "He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword." (Emphasis supplied.)

The papacy was taken off into captivity, but was it actually killed? Verse 3 shows that an actual killing was not necessary. The Authorized Version says, "I saw one of his heads as it were slain" (margin). The Revised Standard Version has "One of its heads seemed to have a mortal wound." (Emphasis supplied.)

And so it was. Berthier had proclaimed that the Pope should "no more exercise any function." In the words of Trevor's familiar statement:

The Papacy was extinct: not a vestige of its existence remained; and among all the Roman Catholic powers not a finger was stirred in its defense. The Eternal City had no longer prince or pontiff; its bishop was a dying captive in foreign lands; and the decree was already announced that no successor would be allowed in his place.^{49, 50}

When, in August 1799, Pope Pius VI passed away, a captive in France, "half Europe thought . . . that with the Pope the Papacy was dead."⁵¹

⁴⁹ Joseph Rickaby, S.J., The Modern Papacy, p. 1. Cited in A. S. Maxwell, Great Prophecies for Our Time, p. 111.

⁵⁰ It was intended that the papacy should cease to exist. And this is precisely in harmony with the Greek as translated on page 39, to wit: "And one of its heads having its throat cut as if in order to cause death." (Emphasis supplied.) Indeed, the sword of France did slash at the papacy in order to put an end to it, but it did not die. "The deadly wound was healed." See the discussion and exegesis on page 39.

⁵¹ George Trevor, Rome: From the Fall of the Western Empire, p. 440. In demonstration of the truth of this statement, it may be noted in passing that Don Manuel de Godoy in his Memoirs, seems to make no mention whatsoever of the pope's captivity, showing what little concern even Catholic Spain had in the proceedings!

Conclusion. Thus, in 1798, the prophecy apparently was fulfilled. The papacy as the visible head of the Beast was ("as it were") killed, and Pope Pius VI as its living contemporary representative was carried into captivity.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It has been shown in this chapter that the requirements of prophecy as set forth in Chapter III were fulfilled in such a manner as to indicate 1798 as the end of the 1260 years. A Deadly Wound was inflicted on the Beast's doctrines in that Catholicism suffered a marked decline during the eighteenth century, and especially at its close. An international missionary movement arose towards the end of the same century, in which prophecy played an important part, this movement undergoing a conspicuous disappointment but not discontinuing thereafter, but rather expanding its prophetic teaching. Coinciding with both of these movements came the infliction of the Deadly Wound on the Beast's visible head when the papacy was ("as it were") killed and the pope taken into captivity in the year 1798.

Thus the year 1798 may be considered as being adequate to meet the demands of prophecy for a closing date of the 1260 years -- provided only that one other factor be satisfied, namely, that 538, the year 1260 years earlier, be adequate for the initial date.

To an examination of 538, the next chapter is devoted.

CHAPTER V

IS 538 AN ADEQUATE INITIAL DATE?

Chapter IV has shown that 1798 apparently satisfies the requirements of the prophecy for a terminal date, provided only that 538, the date 1260 years earlier, be found adequate as the initial date.

It has been shown, also, that the requirements of the prophecy for the initial date seem to be that it should be prior to a time of increasing Catholicism corresponding to the period of declining Catholicism that preceded 1798, and that it should mark in a special way the donation of power, seat, and authority by the Dragon to the Beast after 476.

This chapter examines the adequacy of 538 as an initial date for the 1260 years in the light of these apparent requirements of prophecy.

WHY 538?

The reason for studying 538. A.D. 538 is selected simply because it is 1260 years prior to 1798.

Other dates. There are other dates that seem more likely. For instance, there are 313 and 325, important dates in the time of Constantine, when Catholicism arose to a new prestige indeed. But these dates are too early, coming before the division of Rome among the ten tribes. The pontificate of Gregory the Great is even more likely. He is indeed styled

the "Father of the Medieval Church."¹ But he did not begin his term of office until 590 and he died in 604, and 1260 years after these dates is 1850-1864, dates too late for the international prophetic movement with its disappointment in 1844 as described in the previous chapter;² moreover, there was no captivity of the pope effected during these latter years.

An objection answered. It may be objected at the outset that to select 538 for special attention because it is 1260 years earlier than 1798 is honest enough but hardly logical, because it is "reasoning backwards." This objection can be controverted, however, on the grounds that it is the very basis of logic to reason from the known to the unknown.

In logic, apparently opposite means are used to arrive at sound conclusions. For instance, deductive reasoning is "reasoning backwards" when compared with inductive reasoning, and reasoning from cause to effect bears the same relationship to reasoning from effect to cause. Yet no one discards any one of these methods simply because it is the opposite of the other, for these methods are all acceptable if, in the various cases in which they are used, they constitute reasoning from the known to the unknown.

¹ John Farrow, Pageant of the Popes, p. 47, cf. Dana C. Munro, "Rome," Encyclopedia Britannica, (1939) IX, p. 518.

² It might be suggested that the Pontificate of Gregory is such a likely initial era that perhaps the 1844 disappointment was not in reality a fulfillment of Revelation 10. But the 1844 events are tied to the 2300 days, which in turn are anchored securely to the events of the life of Christ, and hence cannot be controverted or gainsaid.

In studying the 1260 days, the closing date is more readily ascertained than is the opening date. Therefore, to insist on determining the initial date before establishing the terminal date is, in point of logic, less reasonable under the circumstances than the argument followed in this paper.³

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

What is to be looked for around 538, if that is the correct date? The beginning of a continuous persecution? The beginning of temporal

³ A homely illustration or two^a will reveal that "reasoning backwards" is commonly accepted, especially in chronological or metrical problems. When a child comes down with a contagious disease, his mother immediately consults medical advice to discover the length of the period of incubation, counts backwards the number of days involved in order to arrive at the probable date of contagion, and then analyzes her boy's activities of that time in order to determine what child in the school or neighborhood might have been responsible for his affliction. Again, when a speaker has an appointment at a distant auditorium, he finds out the length of time needed for the trip and counts backwards from the hour of the appointment to determine when he should set out. These illustrations are not wholly satisfactory, since a period of incubation and the time to travel a given distance may vary from what might be called the "norm." In contrast, the 1260-year period of the Bible prophecy under discussion is strictly delimited by divine fiat. Therefore, if "reasoning backwards" is useful, accepted, and reasonable in every day matters subject to human error, why should it not be even more useful, acceptable, and reasonable when employed in the study of holy prophecy?

When a cartographer is assigned to locate a village 150 miles, say, from a given city, he sets his dividers for the required distance according to the scale of the map and then places one leg of the dividers on the central city and measures outwards towards the village. To insist that he must first locate the little village and then prove that it is 150 miles from the city, on the grounds that the village was named first in the assignment, is unreasonable. The only reasonable thing for him to do is to measure from the known to the unknown.

^a The use of this type of illustration in a master's thesis is defended on the basis that Jesus never spake without a parable (Matthew 13:34), and that the "common people heard Him gladly" (Mark 12:37).

power? or of supremacy of popes over kings? The conversion of the entire West to Catholicism? It has been shown that none of these is to be expected.⁴

Nor is a general acceptance of Catholicism to be required as marking the beginning of the epoch. As was shown in relationship to 1798, for fifty or more years prior to that date there was an increasing recession of Catholic influence in Europe; and, dating from the Reformation, considerable areas of Europe had seceded from both papacy and Catholicism. If this gradual decline marks the latter end of the 1260 years, a correspondingly gradual incline may be accepted as marking -- indeed expected to mark -- its beginning.

Nor yet is some brilliant pope needed to mark the beginning. Pius VI, while not the least splendid of the popes, has not gone down in history among the brightest stars of the papacy. If, then, a minor pope, or a succession of minor popes, precede the ending, a similar procession may follow the beginning.⁵

⁴ Supra, ch. III.

⁵ Of eight popes listed for the 18th century, Alzog designates only one, Benedict XIV, (1740-1758) as being "important," and that mainly, it seems, on account of his learning. See Alzog, History of the Church, pp. 489, 1049, 1041.

THE BEAST IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

I. UNDER THE OSTROGOTHS

The power of the Ostrogoths. In order to arrive at an adequate evaluation of Catholic and papal growth in the sixth century it is necessary first to be acquainted with the Ostrogoths. The Ostrogoths were not merely an Italian tribe. Theodoric, who was regnant as the century began, conducted a wise and prosperous reign, and by marriage and conquest so extended his influence over the entire West that Jordanes could say, "Now there was not a tribe in the west that did not serve Theodoric while he lived, either in friendship or by conquest."⁶ Indeed, in addition to Italy and a fair portion of Gaul,⁷ Theodoric also ruled as rex of the Visigoths of Spain and Gaul for the fifteen years preceding his death in 526.⁸ Moreover, he considered himself the father of the other western kings such as Clovis and Alaric and write them in such a vein, in attempts to pacify and conciliate them.⁹ He established the tributary Alemans as a buffer state between himself and Clovis, an advantage which was not relinquished until 536, under Witiges.

The Ostrogoths and the papacy. Theodoric was an Arian, but above that, he was a statesman and showed great leniency towards all religions.

⁶ Jordanes, Gothic History, Charles Christopher Mierow, trans., pp. 136-139.

⁷ Note: Including Arles, the chief Catholic bishopric in Gaul.

⁸ J. B. Bury, et al., Cambridge Medieval History, II, 161.

⁹ Cassiodorus, Letters, Thomas Hodgkin, trans., ii, 41; iii, 4.

In a letter permitting Jews to roof their synagogues, he says,

Why do ye desire what ye ought to shun? In truth we give the permission which you craved, but we suitably blame the desire of your wandering minds. We cannot order a religion, because not one is forced to believe against his will.¹⁰

He did attempt to settle an election difficulty concerning Pope Symmachus, and before his death he named the pope whom he wished to be next elected, but he does not seem to have meddled much with the papacy. Cassiodorus, anyway, has not preserved a single letter in all his twelve books from Theodoric to either Symmachus or Hormisdas! Kings Athalaric and Theodahad, however, did write either to the popes or about them to Justinian, but concerning morals and legal matters, and not doctrines or persecution, and if they manifested a dominating spirit, they were at least polite. One letter by Athalaric especially contains such phrases as the "sacrosanct Roman Church," the "honour of the Apostolic See," and "the most blessed Pope."¹¹

In fact, Cassiodorus puts into the mouths of the Senate the following appeal addressed to Justinian in an attempt to stop the imperial invasion:

I love the Amal, bred up as he has been at my knees, . . . dear to the Romans by his prudence. . . . Join rather thy prayers to his; share with him thy counsel. . . . Do not woo me in the only way I cannot be won. . . . Control the emotions of anger, oh illustrious conquerer!

Let the sacred petition of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul be also taken into your account. For surely they, who are proved to have so often defended the peace of Rome from

¹⁰ Ibid., ii, 27.

¹¹ Ibid., viii, 24; ix, 15, 17; x, 19, 20, 25.

her enemies, deserve that your Sovereignty should yield everything to their merits.¹²

However, there is an important other side to the picture. Pope Symmachus (498-514) "redeemed with money captives in Liguria and Milan and divers provinces and bestowed gifts upon them and set them free."¹³ Loomis suggests armed banditry to be the cause,¹⁴ but it is not impossible that the difference of religion formed a pretext for the raids. And it must not be forgotten that Theodoric was an Arian, and that he considered himself not only the father of the West, but also the defender of his faith. When, in the years between 517 and 524, the Burgundians began a persecution against the Arians, Theodoric dispatched an army to avenge them and took several cities.¹⁵ Even more important was the treatment Theodoric afforded John I (523-526) when Justin began Catholicizing Arian church edifices in Greece, and impelling the conversion of Arians themselves. Theodoric summoned John to Ravenna and ordered him to Constantinople with instructions to get the churches back or else he would "put all Italy to the sword."¹⁶ When the aged Pope returned only relatively successful, the king put him in the Ravenna prison where he shortly died.

¹² Ibid., xi, 13.

¹³ Liber Pontificalis, Louise Ropes Loomis, trans., p. 123.

¹⁴ Loc. cit.

¹⁵ Bury, op. cit., p. 117.

¹⁶ Liber Pontificalis, pp. 131-138. See also the footnote by Loomis.

It is manifest that the papacy was unable to persecute Arians during the ascendancy of the Ostrogoths.

And there is another phase also. The great champions of orthodoxy in the West were the Franks. How they yearned to expand their territories in the name of the homousios Prince of Peace! But, throughout the latter part of Theodoric's reign, the Franks were never victorious.¹⁷ Thus Theodoric was a "let" or hindrance to Frankish success, and, by extension, to the power of the popes and of Catholicism. Catholicism and popery could not develop much in Europe until the Ostrogoths were "taken out of the way."

Moreover, in addition to this direct means, the Ostrogoths by their wise rule restrained the Catholic power, for, as Hodgkins says, though the Romans were undoubtedly not too pleased with their secondary status in Italy, they seem to have accepted it as the best medicine for their ills, admitting that

Any attempts to conjure with the great name of the Roman Empire could only end in subjection to the really alien rule of Byzantium. All attempts to rouse the religious passions of the Catholic against the heretical intruders were likely to benefit the Catholic but savage Frank.¹⁸

It is very evident that the Ostrogoths had to be weakened before either the papacy of Catholicism could attain their medieval glory.

¹⁷ Jordanes, op. cit., pp. 138-139. He even says that the Goths were never victorious "as long as" Theodoric reigned.

¹⁸ Thomas Hodgkin, introduction to Cassiodorus, Letters, p. 21.

The end of the Ostrogoths. And the Ostrogoths did come to their end. An account of the Imperial invasion of Italy is in the appendix, together with maps showing the tide of conquest as it ebbed and flowed over a period of almost twenty years.

II. UNDER THE IMPERIAL RESTORATION AND THE LOMBARDS

If the Ostrogoths impeded Catholicism and the papacy because they were Arians, it might be supposed that the fall of the Goths and the imperial restoration would reverse this situation. It is a surprise, therefore, to find that as soon as the Gothic protection was removed, Justinian summoned Vigilius (537-555) to Constantinople, threatened him, imprisoned him, banished him, excommunicated him, and actually succeeded in forcing him (the Infallible) into unorthodoxy.¹⁹ This conduct of Justinian will be appraised in a moment.

In 554, when the Gothic race had been completely destroyed, a pragmatic sanction was issued which "promulgated the Justinian code, separated the civil from the military power, and by conferring on the bishops the authority over the provincial and municipal government, soon led to the increase of the power of the Church."²⁰

In 568, however, only fourteen years later, a new era began with the Lombard invasion. Most of Italy was reduced to slavery but with

¹⁹ Thomas Hodgkin, Italy and Her Invaders, IV, 580 ff.

²⁰ Dana C. Munro, "Rome," Encyclopedia Britannica, (1939) IX, p. 510.

important exceptions. "In the unsubdued parts of the country," writes Munro, "Namely, in Ravenna, Rome and the maritime cities -- a very different state of things prevailed."²¹ Throughout their two-hundred year stay in Italy the Lombards were essentially alien and never subdued the whole kingdom. Indeed, while Pavia was their capital, Ravenna was a Greek capital, and Rome the Latin capital.²² These cities became increasingly self-dependent, and in Rome, says Munro again, "we behold the rapid growth of the papal power. . . ." ²³

The Lombard invasion was facilitated by the denuded state of Italy after the Gothic war. Procopius describes a depopulated and ravaged Italy, over which, says Hodgkin, the "wolves of war were growling."²⁴ Indeed, "the imperial restoration marked, at any rate in Italy, the beginning of a decadence which long darkened her history."²⁵

The spotty nature of the Lombard occupation of Italy facilitated the rise of the papal power. Italy was rent asunder, and Rome, cut off by land and sea from the Empire, was left quite isolated. The pope and the "Duke" of Rome had to make many decisions. "In this time of stress and storm," says Oman, "the Popes won their first secular authority over

²¹ Loc. cit.

²² Richard William Church, "Lombards," Encyclopedia Britannica (1939), XIV, 343.

²³ Munro, loc. cit.

²⁴ Hodgkin, op. cit., pp. 301-302.

²⁵ Bury, op. cit., pp. 22-24.

Rome and its vicinity, and reduced the civil magistrates to a place of quite secondary importance."²⁶ Gregory negotiated at least two truces with the Lombards on his own authority, to the displeasure of Emperor and exarch alike, who, however did nothing about it.²⁷ Indeed, they had little right even to complain, for they had left the defenders of Rome unpaid, and Gregory had to supply their wages from the episcopal treasury.²⁸ Gregory even sent a tribune to govern the garrison in Naples.²⁹

The status of the papacy in the sixth century. It has been mentioned that during the time of the Ostrogoths the papacy was relatively free, but not dominant; that under Justinian it was humiliated and exiled; and that with Gregory it rose to new glories and prestige. More can be said.

Mention should be made again, for instance, of the excommunication of Vigilius by the bishops of North Africa and of Italy, and the unpopularity of Pelagius I,³⁰ all during the years 545-560, or after 538. As for the three pontificates from 560-590, Schaff designates them as "among the darkest and most sterile in the annals of the papacy."³¹

²⁶ Charles Oman, The Dark Ages, 476-918, pp. 200-203.

²⁷ Loc. cit.

²⁸ Munro, loc. cit.

²⁹ Oman, loc. cit.

³⁰ Supra, p.

³¹ Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, III, 328.

But it does not seem proper to say that these events disqualify a date as early as 538 -- unless, indeed, we are to look for a date in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, -- for long after Gregory "established the medieval papacy" the papacy may be seen passing through the lowest degradation as the plaything of Italy's wealthier class.

Indeed, while Justinian's treatment of Vigilius reveals the pope's weakness as compared with Hildebrand and Innocent III, it nevertheless reveals him as a highly important man in the Western empire. Justinian carried Vigilius away from Rome so that he could keep an eye on him and force his obedience.³² Did Justinian call all his citizens to the capital so he could keep an eye on them? Justinian, the Emperor, struggled with Vigilius for years, now threatening him, now plotting intrigues against him, now forcing him to swear "to the most pious lord Emperor" "by the sacred nails . . . and the sacred bridle,"³³ now calling a council to excommunicate him, now banishing him into exile, and now, again, recalling him and letting him return to Rome. Did Justinian treat every refractory citizen of his empire the same way?

Vigilius was not Innocent III or Boniface VIII, but he was still an important dignitary in the Roman Empire of the sixth century. And the excommunication of the pope by the western bishops after 538 cannot be

³² Bury, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

³³ Mansi, IX (MXL, 69:121), cited in Joseph Cullen Ayer, A Source Book for Ancient Church History, p. 546.

said to disqualify that date, for did not the bishops of Henry IV excommunicate Hildebrand in 1080 and elect Guibert, the metropolitan of Ravenna, Pontiff in his place?³⁴

But the prophecy does not seem to have so much interest in individual popes as in the papacy, and that makes a great deal of difference. Bishops and kings might, and did, differ with individual popes, but no one till 1798 assayed to put an end to the papacy. This is a fundamental difference between all the humiliations of the pope before 1798 and the captivity of that date. For in 1798 the French were determined to put an end to the center of the unity of the Catholic Church, regardless of whatever Pope they might happen to find sitting there at the time; but prior to 1798 there was no thought of abolishing the papacy, but only of controlling it, or of banishing individual popes.

And the papacy was exalted during the sixth century. As the century began, the Roman Church found itself "completely organized."³⁵ By 503 a synod at Rome under Symmachus adopted for the Roman papacy the title "Vicar of Christ."³⁶ In 533 Justinian recognized the papacy as the "Head of all the Holy Churches," embodying the statement under the first title

³⁴ Louis Marie De Cormenin, The Public and Private History of the Popes of Rome, trans. from the French, I, 375.

³⁵ A. Boudinhon, "Law," Catholic Encyclopedia, IX, 61.

³⁶ E. B. Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, III, 157-159, following John Laurence Mosheim, An Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern, VI century.

in the first book of the second edition of his Code which he published to the empire in 529.³⁷

Those who magnify the humiliations of the popes during a part of this century forget, perhaps, that long before this the Roman papacy was an "old established institution," and that as early as the fourth century "it was customary to couple lists of popes with lists of consuls and kings and other secular magnates."³⁸ Moreover, the quick rise of the papacy under Gregory is proof that the prestige of the papacy was by no means extinct. Had a Gregory arisen in Arles, shall we say, in 590, would Arles have become the center of Western Catholicism?³⁹

The status of Catholicism in the sixth century. As has been mentioned, the beginning of the century saw in the West only the Franks holding to the Nicene Creed. But as the century progressed the picture changed. The Burgundians became Catholic in 516-518. By 553 the Ostrogoths had been destroyed, thus relieving a large area of heresy. The Visigoths became Catholic in 589, and the Lombards were on their way to Catholicity before the end of the century. In fact, Gregory so enlarged

³⁷ S. P. Scott, The Civil Law, XII, 12.

³⁸ Louis Ropes Loomis, introduction to Liber Pontificalis, p. xiii.

³⁹ A case in point is Caesarius, Bishop of Arles from 503-543, when that city was still one of the most important social, commercial, and industrial centers in the West. During his episcopacy he was undoubtedly the foremost bishop in Gaul, convening councils, defining the faith, preaching to the common people, and composing rules of conduct for monasteries and convents. He is remembered as a "great Gallo-Roman ecclesiastical legislator and reformer" at a time when the Roman bishops were relatively silent and weak. Yet Arles did not come to supersede Rome. See Thomas J. Shahan, "Caesarius of Arles," Catholic Encyclopedia, III, 135-137.

the Catholic influence that he could claim to have united Italy, Spain, and Britain to the Church of Rome; and, since he also had considerable influence in France, North Africa, and Illyricum, he may well be styled, says Oman, "the first Patriarch of the United West."⁴⁰

Since Gregory was such an illustrious pope, and seeing under him the papacy and Catholicism both took great strides forward, is not his pontificate a better starting point for the 1260 years, than 538? We think not, for in his day the Beast seems too well developed. For decades prior to 1798 Catholicism was loosing its grip in Europe; it seems appropriate that several decades should be allowed for the rise of Catholicism after the beginning of the period.⁴¹

A Century of increasing darkness. During this century ignorance and darkness advanced rapidly. Even as it began, the Franks were living among abominable criminality,⁴² but the Ostrogoths under Theodoric were a restraining factor. When they were gone, and the land left unpeopled, and when into the vacuum the heedless Lombards rushed, learning and enlightenment were ignored, until, as Mosheim says, "nothing can equal the

⁴⁰ Oman, op. cit., p. 203.

⁴¹ Note: It might be added that the excommunication of the pope by the Italian and African bishops, far from indicating their non-Catholicity, proves the reverse. They were so orthodox that they would have no communion with a pope who was in the slightest tainted with heterodoxy.

⁴² Gregory of Tours, The History of the Franks, O. M. Dalton trans.

ignorance and darkness that reigned" in the following century.⁴³ It is no wonder then that during the sixth century the adoration of saints, images, and relics, already begun in the fifth century, increased unabashed, while "the cause of true religion sunk apace. . . ."⁴⁴

A century of transition. The sixth century was one of transition. As the century began, Italy was ruled by the wise Ostrogoths; as it closed, she was the unwilling host of the barbarous Lombards. As it began, Italy was united; as it closed, she was torn apart, under the divided rule of Lombards, Greeks, and popes. As it began, a dim glow of enlightenment still flickered in Europe; as it closed, the light was surely going out. As it began, the popes were under the control of the kind but dominant Goths; as it closed, the popes were supreme in Rome. As it began, Theodoric was the arbiter of Europe; as it closed, Gregory had taken his place.⁴⁵ As it began, Europe was mainly Arian; as it closed, Europe was all but united under the Nicene Creed.

III. CONCLUSION

The prophecy seems to require that the 1260 days begin after the division of the Empire, and that the rise of Catholicism be gradual. In view of the events and trends of the sixth century, it seems to be as

⁴³ John Laurence Mosheim, An Ecclesiastical History, p. 147.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 102-125.

⁴⁵ Bury, op. cit., p. 172. Gregory mediated between Emp. Maurice and the Visigoths.

adequate and appropriate a period as any in which to look for the beginning of the Beast's allotted time.

It remains now to see whether or not a specific date within this century, namely, 538, be adequate.

538 EXAMINED

Is 538 generally acceptable for the starting point of the rise of Catholicism? The answer seems to be "Yes," for it is relatively early in the century of transition, and it comes after the division of the Empire, as has been just discussed.

But is the specific date correct?

The answer hinges on the apparent requirement of the prophecy, that by that time the Dragon should have given "its power, its seat, and great authority" to the papacy as the head of all Catholicism. Had this three-fold transaction occurred by 538? More specifically, did it culminate in 538?

I. THE DRAGON'S DONATION OF ITS POWER AND OF GREAT AUTHORITY

That the Roman Empire had granted great authority to the bishop of Rome, and had used its power to strengthen his religion, both by grant and default, before the year 538 is so patent as to require but little discussion here.

Constantine was the first to raise universal Christianity to legal status. After him but as early as 380, an edict was issued stating that all should follow "that religion which the holy Peter delivered to the

Romans," that those who do so shall be called "catholic Christians," and that those who do not "shall be chastised first by divine vengeance and then by the punishment of our indignation, with divine approval."⁴⁶

That this law was effective in 538 is deduced from the fact that Justinian republished it at the very head of the second edition of his Code.⁴⁷

In the Edict of 445 issued by Theodosius II and Valentinian III, to "disobey the precepts of the Roman Pontiff" is styled "a crime of the deepest dye." The decree continues,

It shall not be lawful for the bishops of Gaul, or of the other provinces . . . to do aught without the authority of the venerable Pope of the Eternal City; and whatsoever the authority of the Apostolic See has enacted, or may hereafter enact, shall be the law for all.

Thus the Dragon gave great authority indeed to the papacy of Rome. But that is not all. The edict has teeth in it. The power of Rome is used to back up the authority of the pope. When the pope summons anyone to trial, it says, "he shall be compelled to appearance by the governor of the province . . . and a fine of ten pounds (of gold) is to be at once levied on any judge who suffers Our commands to be disobeyed."⁴⁸

So, as early as 445 the Dragon had indeed given its power and great authority to the Beast.

⁴⁶ Edict of Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius. For full text and documentation, see Appendix.

⁴⁷ Scott, op. cit., p. 9.

⁴⁸ For full text and documentation, see Appendix.

Emperor Justin in the early sixth century gave command that every bishop within his realm "should satisfy the code of penance without delay and return to communion with the apostolic see. And this came about," continues the Liber Pontificalis, "and there was great harmony from the East unto the West and the peace of the church prevailed."⁴⁹

Justinian, in his turn, "from the beginning of his reign . . . promulgated the severest laws against heretics in 527 and 528."⁵⁰ Manichaenas, Montanists, Arians, Donatists, Jews, and pagans, all were persecuted.⁵¹ Indeed, "As no preceding sovereign had been so much interested in church affairs, so none seems to have shown so much activity as a persecutor both of pagans and of heretics."⁵² And Justinian carried on this persecution on behalf of orthodoxy, of Catholicism, of the "holy and apostolic church of God,"⁵³ over which the pope of Rome was "the head of all the holy churches."⁵⁴ Besides these legal grants of authority much can be said about the authority and power which accrued to the papacy

⁴⁹ Liber Pontificalis, pp. 124-131.

⁵⁰ Bury, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

⁵¹ Loc. cit.

⁵² James Bryce and Anonymous, "Justinian I," Encyclopedia Britannica, XIII, 209-213.

⁵³ "sancta dei catholica et apostolica ecclesia." See Corpus Iuris Civilis, Beck's edition, II, 6.

⁵⁴ "quae caput est omnium sanctarum ecclesiarum." Ibid., p. 8.
Note: Uriah Smith, Daniel and Revelation, and other writers, have "head of all the churches" instead of all the "holy" churches, following Little-dale's translation. Scott has the translation given here, and seems to be more accurate, in view of Beck's edition of the Latin.

by default, that is, by the weakness of Roman emperors and by the moving away of the seat of empire to the East. Thus Leo shines brightly because of the weakness of the emperor in Ravenna, and Gregory assumes control because of the entire absence of the Basileus from Italy.

As a matter of fact, as was shown on page 36, the prophecy seems to be concerned only with those donations which occurred after about 476. But even if this means the rejection of the Edict of 445, that of 380 may be retained in view of its reissue in the Code of 534; and it, and the celebrated Letter of 533, and the other activities and decrees of the reigns of Justin and Justinian above mentioned, which occurred after 476, amply satisfy the apparent requirements of the prophecy.

Objections. It is argued by some that the Pope made no use of the 533 letter of Justinian until centuries later, or that the Code of Justinian had but little influence in the West till long after it was first issued. But there is little need to discuss these problems in this connection. The prophecy requires only that the dragon give its power and authority, and that the dragon did.

It may be contended that the full use of the power and authority were not made use of by the popes immediately after 538. That again does not matter. Many popes during the history of the papacy did not use all the advantages that were offered them. The use of the papal prerogatives always has depended largely on the personality of the incumbent. The power and authority were there de jure and partly de facto before 538. All that was wanting was for a man to make use of them.

One other factor also must not be overlooked, namely, the conversion of Europe. The power of the popes grew in the sixth century as the Catholicity of Europe increased. Both started relatively small and both expanded to considerable significance.

Conclusion. It has been shown that 538 is late enough to mark a time after which the Dragon had given power and authority to the Beast and early enough to allow for a gradual rise before the time of Gregory. However, nothing has been said to prove the exact date. That remains for discussion in the next section.

II. THE DRAGON'S DONATION OF ITS SEAT

Nature of the problem. Before entering into a discussion of the date when the Dragon gave his seat to the beast, let it first be repeated that since the prophecy paints the history of the Beast in the most sweeping and comprehensive manner, ignoring intermediate ups and downs and emphasizing only beginning, ending, and general characteristics, so one who attempts to describe the fulfillment of the prophecy must be ready to discern only those events which apply to the prophecy and to reject all others. And since the prophecy is simply put, so also the fulfillment of it must be subject to simple presentation.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The footnotes in this chapter only begin to represent the study made in its preparation. But the longer the study continued, the more simple the outline appeared.

The question. When did the Roman empire give Rome to the beast?

Cardinal Manning contends that it was in the time of Constantine, and lets it go at that, saying,

. . . from the hour when Constantine . . . translated the seat of empire to Constantinople, from that moment there never reigned in Rome a temporal prince to whom the Bishops of Rome owed a permanent allegiance.⁵⁶

This is all very well and is part of the picture, but the prophetic donation of the seat is designated as coming after the West was divided among the barbarians, and hence an event other than Constantine's removal to Byzantium must be looked for as the fulfillment of the prophecy.

Reason suggests 476, the fall of the Western emperor, but this cannot be since it marks also the conquest by the Arian Heruli. Moreover, the emperor, in response to a request by Theodoric in the name of his restless tribesmen, "gave" Italy, including Rome, to the Ostrogoths. Jordanes thus records the transaction: Justinian, he says, made a request of Zeno concerning "the western country . . . and that city which was the head and mistress of the world" Jordanes continues:

"Send me there with my race," he said, "Thus if you but say the word, you may be freed from the burden of expense here, and, if, by the Lord's help, I shall conquer, the fame of Your Piety shall be glorified there. For it is better that I, your servant and your son, should rule that kingdom, receiving it as a gift from you if I conquer, than that one whom you do not recognize should suppress your Senate with his tyrannical yoke and a part of the republic with slavery! For if I prevail, I shall retain

⁵⁶ Henry Edward Manning, The Temporal Power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, p. 11.

it as your grant and gift; if I am conquered, Your Piety will lose nothing. . . ."57

Zeno was grieved to have him go, says Jordanes, yet he "granted what Theodoric asked, for he was unwilling to cause him sorrow."58

If the Empire gave Rome to the Goths in 488, it seems incontrovertible that a date subsequent to 488 must be located as the one intended by the prophet for the grant of the city to the Beast.

The Gothic War. Basic to an understanding of when the Roman Empire gave the city of Rome⁵⁹ to Catholicism epitomized by the Papacy is an understanding of the Gothic war which resulted in the imperial restoration in Italy. A short documented account is in the appendix, but in brief, the story is this:

In 535 Justinian declared a "truceless" war on the Ostrogoths. In that same year Belisarius conquered Sicily. In 536 he invaded the mainland, took Naples, and in December entered Rome without resistance. The Goths soon returned and surrounded the city with a great force

⁵⁷ Jordanes, Getica, pp. 134-135.

⁵⁸ Loc. cit. Note: Gibbon, (Decline and Fall, ch. xxxix), records this conversation without mention of the idea of "gift" giving evidence, however, that the conquest of Italy was done with Zeno's permission, and that, in effect, amounts to about the same thing.

⁵⁹ Note: It is assumed that the Greek word thronos, translated "seat" and applied to the Dragon and later to Rome, can be none other than a symbol for the city of Rome. This interpretation is borne out by the designation by Papists of Rome as the Apostolic See (Seat), and also by the fact that the plagues which are poured out upon such material things as people, rivers, and lakes, are also poured upon the "seat of the beast," (Revelation 16) a usage which suggests that the symbol is not far from being a literal, material location.

numbering perhaps more than 100,000, a vast host compared with the 5000 who defended the walls. A siege ensued that lasted for one year and nine days during which time each army indulged in sorties against the other, the imperial troops usually winning the smaller engagements, but the Goths -- and this must be borne in mind -- overwhelming the Romans in the only pitched battle that was fought in 537. It must be remembered that in the only true contest of might during 537 the Goths revealed the true nature of the situation, namely, that Belisarius was virtually a prisoner (even if a voluntary one) within the confines of the city. In 537 the Goths still owned Rome in the sense that they were surrounding it, that it had been theirs and was not yet positively taken from them, and that no decisive battle had yet been fought.

In 538, however, the picture changed. Their ranks thinned by battle and decimated by disease, the Goths in March pulled up their stakes and marched away to Ravenna, thus leaving Rome in the undisputed possession of the empire for the first time since 476.

The Gothic fortresses in northern Italy gave up one by one until in 540 only Pavia remained in Gothic hands and Belisarius was recalled to Constantinople. However, this was not the end of the story. In the absence of resistance, the Goths again took possession of almost all Italy, including, the city of Rome, in 546 for forty days, and in 549 for a year or two. But their hold on Italy was very slight and not at all to be compared with their former conquest under Theodoric. Their grand army was reduced to a few thousand, and when Narses appeared in Italy in 551 at the head of the first real resistance, the Ostrogoths simply

collapsed. The nation disappeared with the battles of Tagine in 552 and of Cumae in 553.

Rome free of Arianism in 538. Of all the significant dates in the Gothic war, 538 seems the most interesting, because in that year the Goths retreated from Rome, leaving Belisarius, for the first time, in undisputed possession of the city. Once again it was in Catholic hands, and the bishop of the city, who was recognized imperially as the "Head of all the Holy Churches," was free to exercise the functions and prerogatives of his see (that is, Rome) without Arian interference or domination.

New course of history stems from 538. The loss of life at the siege of Rome must have been very heavy. Procopious says that 30,000 men died in one battle, and, though this figure may be exaggerated, there is evidence that the slaughter from arms during the whole siege was terrific. But in addition to the military casualties was the loss of life due to famine and pestilence. In 542 Totila himself, according to Procopious, admitted that the Goths had only 1000 soldiers left as compared with 150,000 at the beginning of the war.

Hodgkin comments: Witigis "suffered the flower of the Gothic nation to perish, not so much by the weapons of the Romans as by the deadly dews of the Campagna."⁶⁰ He implies here that, heavy as the military losses were, there were greater losses by pestilence even than by the sword.

⁶⁰ Hodgkin, op. cit., IV, 250.

With all these thoughts in mind, the next testimony of Hodgkin is especially pertinent:

With heavy hearts the barbarians must have thought, as they turned them northwards (from the siege of Rome, in 538) upon the many graves of gallant men which they were leaving on that fatal plain. Some of them must have suspected the melancholy truth that they had dug one grave, deeper and wider than all, the grave of the Gothic monarchy in Italy.⁶¹

A significant event had happened, and the final death and overthrow of the nations was conspicuously connected with it. Hodgkin does not say that the Gothic monarchy was dead in 538, for it was not. It did not die until 552-553. But the "grave had been dug," that is to say, the end had been made sure.

In this connection Oman says,

The Ostrogoths . . . made a splendid fight for seventeen years . . . and only succumbed because the incessant fighting had drained off the whole manhood of the tribe. If Baduila could have mustered at Taginae the 100,000 men that Witiges had once led against Rome, he would never have been beaten.⁶²

Now Baduila could not summon the 100,000 men because so many of them had been lost at Rome. Therefore, by inversion, Oman may be thought of as saying, "The Goths were defeated at the Battle of Taginae because they lost so many men at the siege of Rome, which ended in 538."

As has been shown, the destruction of the Goths and the virtual depopulation of northern Italy paved the way for the Lombard invasion, and the Lombard invasion, in its turn, by virtue of its result in the

⁶¹ Hodgkin, op. cit., p. 250.

⁶² Oman, op. cit., p. 105.

the isolation of Rome, gave opportunity for the signal development of the Papacy. By reasoning backwards the following significance of 538 may be seen: The Gregorian development of the papacy resulted from the Lombard invasion, which, in turn, resulted from the Ostrogothic defeat, which, in its turn, stemmed from the great loss of men in the siege of Rome that climaxed in the retreat of 538.

Objections. It may be objected that, in spite of this study, 538 must be rejected anyway since no learned men ascribe to it any special significance in the history of the papacy. But this is not, in itself, a valid objection, for every historian finds different things in history. For example, in discussing the French Revolution, Gershoy⁶³ stresses economic factors, while Belloc⁶⁴ presents military defeats and victories as a prime cause of Revolutionary developments. The various philosophies of history, such as "great man," economic, geographic, anthropologic, etc., are well known. Each attaches importance to different events, and passes over others. In view of the prominent part prophecy plays in the inspired Word, would it be out of the way for a Bible student to suggest a "prophetic philosophy of history," even one which might emphasize details that one or all of the other philosophies might overlook?

⁶³ Leo Gershoy, The French Revolution, 1789-1799.

⁶⁴ Hilaire Belloc, The French Revolution.

It may be added that in connection with this very prophecy under discussion, Daniel says specifically, "None of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand."⁶⁵ Since in understanding the things of God "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,"⁶⁶ it seems that it should follow that the God-fearing student will find a relationship between events in history and the 1260-day prophecy which the secular historian would overlook.⁶⁷

Some may reject 538 because after it the Goths twice again entered and retook Rome. But the first entrance was for but forty days and after the second entrance Totila immediately departed to strengthen his position in southern Italy. Moreover, on both of these occasions the pope was not present in Rome. So it may be said that after 538 no power hostile to Catholicism disputed with the papacy the control of Rome until 1798.

⁶⁵ Daniel 12:10.

⁶⁶ Proverbs 9:10.

⁶⁷ Again, a landmark may lie hidden by rubbish for decades. Many great men may visit the property whose boundary it marks, noting the tidy gardens, enjoying the owner's personality, or signing business contracts, -- but never noticing the forgotten landmark. Then all at once the owner dies and the property changes hands. What happens then? Surveyors are called in to find the ancient landmark. But it is lost. How do they go about finding it? By first securing the old deed, determining from it some location of which they can be sure (it matters not from which corner they start), and then measuring from there the exact distance stated in the deed. This procedure leads them to the brush pile. Searching in it they discover the landmark, -- the landmark that no one else had cared to notice.

In a similar manner, the student of prophecy sets out to find in history landmarks indicated in the prophecies. His special tools are the measuring line of the year-day principle, and the surveyor's transit of implicit faith. Thus impelled, and thus equipped he may well discover details and relationships which even a careful student of secular history may overlook.

But for that matter, if we are to look for 1260 years of unbroken papal dominance of Rome, the task is hopeless, for armies hostile to the popes have again and again entered Rome and either locked up the Sovereign Pontiff or carried him off into exile. If the prophecy ignores these incidental invasions by many armies, then it may safely be said to ignore the brief returns of Totila.

Conclusion. The removal of the capital to Constantinopel was suggested as a possible date for the giving of the seat but was rejected as being too early (i.e., before the division among the barbarians), and as being prior to the Arian invasions of Italy and the giving of Rome to Odoacer. On the other hand, 538 may be accepted as being the date when Catholicism came into undisputed possession of Rome, and the papacy, the recognized head of all that was Catholic, began then to enjoy its "Papal See" in a Rome that was free from Arian rule. In a secondary sense also, 538 may be accepted because the retreat of that year, caused by and climaxing as it did the great loss of manpower sustained by the Goths during the siege of Rome, "dug the grave" of the Gothic nation, thereby permitting those conditions to obtain in Italy of which Gregory was to make such good use fifty years later to the aggrandizement of the Papal See.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It has been shown that the sixth century was one of great changes affecting both the papacy and Catholicism, and that the end of it saw the

Beast much stronger and more independent than the beginning. It has been shown, furthermore, that the seventh century was too late, and the fifth too early, to contain the initial date of the 1260 years. Consequently, it seems safe to conclude that the sixth century, in a general sense, is adequate for the rise of the Beast.

It has been shown also that the Dragon gave his power and authority to the Beast prior to 538, and that in that very year the pope began to enjoy his See free from Arian domination as a result of the Dragon's aggression. It has also been shown, incidentally, that 538 marks in a certain sense the beginning of the rise of the medieval papacy. Therefore it seems safe to conclude that the Dragon's donation of its power and its seat and of great authority to the Beast in a special sense culminated in the year 538.

Since, therefore, 538 satisfies the apparent requirements of the prophecy as interpreted in the early part of this paper, and since, also, it is just 1260 years prior to 1798, a date which seems to satisfy the requirements for the end of the 42 months, it seems safe to conclude that the 1260 years of prophecy may be said truly to have begun in 538.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper was to study the beginning and ending of the 1260 years with the goal of discerning the initial and closing dates for the period, special attention being given to A.D. 538 and 1798. It was felt that in doing so it was necessary to grasp the problem as a whole in order to solve it.

An adequate interpretation essential. It has been shown that to attempt to trace the fulfillment of prophecy without first determining the requirements of the prophecy is to ensure failure.

A study of the extant exposition of one hundred and thirty-five commentators of the historical school revealed that, amid considerable confusion of views, a unity exists. The majority favored the French Revolution for the closing era, while those who did not may apparently be discounted as being prejudiced by preconceptions not required by the Bible.

It has also been shown that before the French Revolution most men looked forward to some future event to end the 1260 days, with only an exceptional few looking back to say the period had closed, while during and after the French Revolution more than half of the nonadventist expositors studied looked back, the vast majority of them to the Revolution.

Nevertheless, in spite of this significant unity and trend, the wide divergence of positions clustering around the 1260 days, caused as

it often was by a corresponding divergence in the interpretation of the prophecies involved, is sufficient proof that an adequate interpretation of prophecy must be determined before a fulfillment can be profitably discussed.

A suggested interpretation. Study has revealed that many characteristics commonly attributed to the 1260 days cannot be said to apply to the period in actuality, for history does not allow them, and prophecy does not require them. It does seem, however, that the Bible requires a period bounded by a gradual increase and later decrease of the influence of Catholicism in Europe, the same period marked specifically by a coinciding grant of seat, power, and authority to the Beast by the Dragon at the beginning, and a Deadly Wound at the close, followed by a wide-spread prophetic movement that would suffer a disappointment.

It has been shown that the symbol "Beast" in Revelation 13 includes the dual concept of "man of sin," (the papacy) as well as "mystery of iniquity" (Roman Catholicism). This concept of the dual nature of the Beast helps to explain how temporary setbacks of individual popes do not interfere with the overall reckoning of the 1260 days. The Beast cannot be said to have received its Deadly Wound when a pope is put in prison, for instance, if at the same time his captors are strongly Catholic. Likewise, an early initial date cannot be successfully challenged on the grounds, for instance, that Justinian sent Vigilius into exile, if it can be shown that at the same time Catholicism was daily increasing its influence in Europe.

It has been shown that the placing by Seventh-day Adventists of the Deadly Wound at the close of the 1260 days and the interpretation of it as the captivity of the pope in 1798, is apparently unique, even though a study of Revelation 13 in the light of other passages in Daniel and Revelation reveals that it is apparently the only logical view. Ellen G. White endorsed it. It has also been shown that with reference to the "mystery of iniquity" phase of the Beast, the Deadly Wound seems to foretell a conspicuous decline in the effectiveness of Catholic doctrines, while with reference to the "man of sin" phase, -- and, be it noted, in an even more clear and emphatic sense, -- it seems to foretell a captivity of the pope and apparent killing of the papacy as described in Revelation 13:10.

1798 found adequate as an ending date. It has been shown that the apparent requirements of prophecy were fulfilled in such a manner as to indicate 1798 as the end of the 1260 years. Catholicism suffered a marked decline during the eighteenth century, and especially at its close. An international missionary movement arose towards the end of the same century, in which prophecy played an important part, this movement undergoing a conspicuous disappointment but not discontinuing thereafter, but rather expanding its prophetic teaching. Coinciding with both of these movements came the infliction of the Deadly Wound on the Beast's visible head when the papacy was ("as it were") killed, and the pope was taken into captivity, in the year 1798.

538 found adequate as a beginning date. It has been shown that the sixth century was one of great changes affecting both the papacy and Catholicism, and that the end of it saw the Beast much stronger and more independent than the beginning. It has been shown, furthermore, that the seventh century was too late, and the fifth too early, to contain the initial date of the 1260 years. Consequently, it seems safe to conclude that the sixth century, in a general sense, is adequate for the rise of the Beast.

It has been shown also that the Dragon gave his power and great authority to the Beast prior to 538, and that in that very year the pope began to enjoy his See (seat) free from Arian domination as a result of the Dragon's aggression. It has also been shown, incidentally, that 538 marks in a certain sense the beginning of the rise of the medieval papacy, since the Gothic defeat of that year ultimately paved the way for papal Rome to assume a position of dominance in the West. Therefore it seems that the Dragon's donation of its power, its seat, and great authority to the Beast in a special sense culminated in the year 538.

CONCLUSION

In view of the simplicity of the prophetic outline, of the requirements of the prophecy, and of the apparent fulfillment that has been herein described, only one conclusion seems possible, namely, that 538 and 1798 are indeed adequate dates wherewith to begin and end the 1260 days of prophecy, and that, in fact, they are so to the exclusion of all others.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST POSITION

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THE MILLERITES

William Miller¹ believed that the 1260 years extended from 538 to 1798. He noted that the pope should have power, seat, and authority given to him before the 1260 days could begin, and said that all this had been accomplished under Justinian by 538, for he gave power in the enactments of the Code, authority in the decree of 533, and a seat, Rome, when the Ostrogoths were plucked up. Unfortunately, however, he mars this splendid summary by a serious error. He presents the events as though they all occurred in 538. He says:

Thus the Emperor Justinian did give the Pope of Rome power over all the Christian churches, eastern and western, and gave him "his seat," the city of Rome in the west; he also gave him great or supreme authority in his pandect or code of laws. This was in the year A.D. 538; from which the Pope exercised his supreme power over the saints and kings of the earth, until A.D. 1798 -- during 1260 years of Papal supremacy.²

He even goes further. He declares that as of 538 all the ten kings "became of one mind, gave up their power to the bishop of Rome,

¹ On this section see LeRoy Edwin Froom, Syllabus in Prophetic Interpretation, vol. II.

² William Miller, Dissertations on the True Inheritance of the Saints, p. 36; and Remarks on Revelation Thirteenth, p. 6.

and the power of the papacy began."³ More than that, in 538 there began a war of extermination against the saints.⁴

If Miller assigned all these events to the one year 538 (as he did), his arguments must indeed have been convincing. Since, however, the nations of Europe did not all become Catholic until at least sixty years after 538, the argument must be considered as more convincing than accurate. Miller also held to the Deadly Wound before the period began, though distinguishing it from the captivity and killing of Revelation 13:10, which, he said, came at the end.⁵

In spite of his inaccurate initial chronology, Miller must be given due credit for his emphasis on the donation of the seat in 538, and for recognizing the end of the period in 1798 at a time when most American commentators tended to end it in 1866.

Other Millerites, such as Charles Fitch,⁶ Josiah Litch,⁷ L. D. Fleming,⁸ and Apollos Hale⁹ shared Miller's views generally, though with variations. Joseph Bates,¹⁰ for instance, at least by 1850 recognized that the head of the Church decree occurred in 533.

³ Miller, Dissertations, pp. 35, 46.

⁴ Ibid., p. 37.

⁵ Miller, Remarks, pp. 7-10.

⁶ Froom, Syllabus, II, 17.

⁷ Ibid., p. 19.

⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

⁹ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁰ Vid. infra.

The "1843 Chart" may be regarded as a fair statement of the Millerite position on the time prophecies, and it shows 538-1798 for sure, with the only event noted for 538 being the plucking up of the Goths, all mention of Justinian's elevation of the Pope being omitted.¹¹

Why did the Millerites adopt the 538-1798 view when the more popular American view was 606-1866, with even 533-1793 more popular than 538-1798? The answer is apparent when their overall and main position is recalled. As in the case of other groups who stood out individually in favor of certain less common datings in view of a predilection for the 2300 days, so it was with the Millerites, who felt that the world would end in 1844, at the close of the 2300 days.

Indeed, as Froom has so well summarized, The Millerites bolstered their 1843 date with five prophetic outlines, all thought to end in 1843. These were: 1) The 6000th year from creation, 2) the Seven Times of the Gentiles, dated from B.C. 677, 3) The Grand Jubilee of Jubilees, or fifty times forty-nine years from B.C. 607, 4) The 1335-year period dated from A.D. 508, besides, of course, 5) The 2300 days, dated from 457 B.C.¹²

Other expositors who were enamored of the 2300 days did not always conceive of them as marking the end of the world, and so allowed the 1290 and 1335 days to run on beyond them. Not so the Millerites,

¹¹ Facsimile of the 1843 Chart. Cf. Froom, Syllabus, II, 29, who says the Chart dates the 1260 days from the elevation of the Roman bishop.

¹² Froom, Syllabus II, 29.

who had the world coming to an end in 1843. With them, therefore, the 1260, 1290, and 1335 days also had to end on or before 1843. Since the 1335 days quite evidently extend beyond the 1290 days, the 1290 days had to end at least 45 years before 1843, -- and therefore they had to start, at the latest, in 508. The 1260 days could either begin or end conterminously with either of the other two periods. They preferred to make the 1260 days end with the 1290 days.

Thus the Millerites were different from most other expositors, in that, while emphasizing the 2300 days, they had the 1335 days conclude with them; and they were all but unique in having the 1260 days end with the 1290 instead of begin with them.

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS

The early Seventh-day Adventists (or, more properly, Sabbatarian Adventists) still held the Millerite views of the 1260 years, at least as far as the dates were concerned -- in spite of the fact that the key date on which the 1260, 1290, and 1335 days were based, that is 1843, had to be revised to 1844; and also in spite of the fact that the apparent necessity for ending all time prophecy by 1843 had vanished. The scaffolding was gone, but the conclusions remained.

At least one early Seventh-day Adventist followed Miller's sensational proofs for 538. He was Otis Nichols, who, even as late as 1852, said that "the Emperor Justinian . . . made the bishop of Rome

the head of all the churches, in A.D. 538."¹³ But Otis Nichols also said that England was the king of the north.¹⁴

Others did not follow Miller so closely. Joseph Bates, for example, differed with him on two essentials (as far as this problem goes). He noted that the letter of Justinian was dated 533, and that the wounding of the seventh-head came at the close of the period, the beast of Revelation 13 being papal and not pagan Rome. The Deadly Wound he says occurred in 1798.¹⁵

Hiram Edson, however, was not so sure about the Deadly Wound in 1798. He preferred a little leeway, say "somewhere between 1798 and 1809," and then describes in detail a captivity of the Pope under General Moillis in February to May, 1809.¹⁶

But that was not until 1856. Going back to 1850, again, James White has the years 538-1798, and points out that in 538 the council of Orleans prohibited country labor on Sunday.¹⁷

Uriah Smith shared his views on Daniel and Revelation through the Review and Herald, and right from the start he presented his now-familiar view that the decree of 533 could not be carried into effect until the Goths were plucked up. Here are his words:

¹³ Review and Herald, March 2, 1852, p. 99.

¹⁴ Ibid., January 2, 1853, p. 142.

¹⁵ Ibid., August 5, 1851, p. 3, 4.

¹⁶ Ibid., January 24, 1856, p. 130.

¹⁷ Present Truth, vol. 1, No. 9, April 1850, pp. 66, 67.

. . . before the decree of Justinian . . . could be carried into effect, by which he had constituted the Bishop of Rome head of all the churches, the Ostrogoths must be plucked up.¹⁸

This was accomplished, he says, when the Goths retired from Rome in 538, "and thus the third horn was plucked up before the Papacy, and for the express purpose too of establishing that power."¹⁹

In defense of these positions he quotes Gibbon and Croly.

It is necessary to point out that at the head of this article Smith notes that he has followed "the excellent arrangement of George Storrs, in his work published in 1843." Thus he is adopting almost bodily into the Sabbath-Adventist body the views of the pre-disappointment Millerite Adventists. Evidently there is a close tie between Seventh-day Adventist views on the 1260 days and those of the Millerites.²⁰

¹⁸ Review and Herald, vol. 6, No. 14, November 14, 1854, pp. 108-10.

¹⁹ Loc. cit.

²⁰ If time and opportunity permitted, a continuation of this study would reveal that the simple 538-1798 dating was adopted generally by Seventh-day Adventist writers and speakers, that it was approved by Ellen G. White in the 1884 edition of Great Controversy (as Volume IV of Spirit of Prophecy) and in subsequent editions, that it was the view taught in Bible doctrines text books following their introduction by O. A. Johnson in 1910, and that the sliding-scale dating of 533-38 to 1793-98 was apparently first promulgated among Seventh-day Adventists (according to a letter from L. L. Caviness dated April 30, 1951) by W. W. Prescott in the latter part of the second decade of this century.

APPENDIX II

A REPORT ON QUESTIONNAIRES
RETURNED FROM SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST
COLLEGE BIBLE TEACHERS

REPORT ON A QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY OF
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST COLLEGE BIBLE TEACHERS

By means of a questionnaire, of letters, and of personal contacts, about forty Seventh-day Adventist college teachers were contacted, all but one or two of them being Bible teachers. As a result, the opinions were secured from twenty-three Bible teachers and one history teacher in America, Canada, England, and South Africa.

A copy of the questionnaire is attached. Without attempting to quote precisely or to give all the answers, the responses to the questions were as follows:

Eight favored Uriah Smith's 538-1798 interpretation and explanation as being close enough, though two of these leaned also to 533-38 to 1793-98.

Sixteen favored "a 'sliding-scale' interpretation such as Spicer's, which uses 533-538 to 1793-1798," though of these, four also liked "an indefinite timing," such as "6th century to 18th century."

No Bible teacher accepted "a straight 533-1793 timing," though the one history teacher did accept it and could allow of no other.

Evidently the sliding scale is the most popular among SDA-college Bible teachers at the present time.

In defense of the use of 533 one said, "the only significant event is the Decree," while another said 533 is "better than" 538. Others however followed the reasoning that 538 made 533 effective. One (following Spicer?) said Vigilius in 538 started a new line of popes,

and another (also following Spicer?) cited the significance of 538 in the light of Hodgkin's "dug the grave" statement.

Question four was answered in many interesting ways, and so before the answers are given, here is the question:

4. As you look over the whole 1260 years of prophecy, what special condition, authority, or qualification do you believe to be specified for fulfillment during the 1260 years, and which should not exist before or after the period begins and ends?

The answers ranged all the way from:

"Organized persistent persecution, indisputable supremacy of papal see, politically, religiously, and otherwise,"

to:

"Nothing specially during this period that it didn't do before or after."

In between these extremes one suggested "the Times, Laws, and Saints in his hands," another, "determination to dominate coupled with the opportunity to do so," while another, in a similar vein, said, "dominance over men's minds with civil power to back it up." Two men, in their combined views, approached the same opinion as is expressed in this thesis: "substitution of counterfeit worship under the Pope as the visible head," with a "gradual rise and fall."

Great variety also was elicited by the next question, "Define Papal Supremacy." Definitions included "Papacy supreme in religion," "Papacy a dominant force in Europe," "The effort of the bishops to rule all Christians," and "The complete and absolute subjection of all political, religious, and other powers to the Popes." One was very

cautious, saying there was no real supremacy, and so he preferred the word "authority." Others followed Uriah Smith's "ability to dominate over men's minds."

The Deadly Wound was shown in the paper to be the key to the interpretation of the 1260 days, with the 1798 captivity of the pope apparently the Denomination's opinion, endorsed by Ellen G. White. Most answers did favor the 1798 captivity. But the comments and variations are valuable. One pointed out three wounds, The Reformation, the Captivity of 1798 and the imprisonment of 1870. Another denied the literal act, saying that the Wound was inflicted by the Word of God in the Reformation. Others, favoring 1798 and the period preceding, spoke of "Papal prestige hurt," "denial of supremacy and destruction of temporary downfall," and "destruction of authority and loss of the support of the states." One said "the removal with intent to prevent replacement."

With the exception of one man, a former seminary student who had written a chapter on the Decree of 533, no Bible teacher claimed to have written any paper on the period, and one admitted he had got almost all he knew from his teachers. However, a few did manifest considerable acquaintance with the problem. Six based their conclusions and opinions on Great Controversy, and two followed Daniel and Revelation.

The history teacher consulted, however, follows neither. He does not feel that this conflicts with his acceptance of Mrs. White as a spiritual leader, however, for he considers the assigning of dates as

being outside of her special field. He begins the 1290 days with an ecumenical (?) council in 503 that decreed the Pope Vicar of Jesus Christ, and the 1260 days with a decree making him the head of all the holy churches. He closes both periods with a decree (?) or legal action in 1793. The commune of Paris, he says, was in 1793 virtually running the whole state.

One teacher, a Canadian, took time to write a letter with a paragraph response to each question. His answers manifested a good deal of study and acquaintance with the prophecy and its interpretation. Space prevents reprinting it here. However, the opinions closely parallel many of those expressed in this thesis. Incidentally, he holds to 538-1798 and feels no purpose in using the sliding scale.

Another teacher, from Pacific Union College, made the following comment which seems most noteworthy:

Personally, I have not had the opportunity to give any intensive study to the matter; and as for any "conviction," I can only say that until I have had opportunity to do further study I am inclined to rely on the suggestions made in Great Controversy.

I concur with those who are of the opinion that the date 1798 marks the climax of a trend of development. What took place in that year was not so much significant in itself as in giving graphic evidence of the evil days upon which the Papacy had fallen. May I suggest that you secure a copy of my new Daniel and Revelation syllabus . . . where you will find a three-page explanation of my concept of the purpose of the 1260 years in regard to God's plan. For us today, it seems to me that the significance of the date 1798 is primarily in marking the beginning of the time of the end rather than the close of the preceding period. It seems to me that this angle of the problem is more important to Bible prophecy. (Emphasis supplied.)

With this view this writer heartily agrees. It seems to harmonize with the fact that God reserved an understanding of the vision until the time of the end, when so many signs began to be manifest.

In summing up, it can be said that, insofar as these questionnaire returns reflect the view of Seventh-day Adventist college Bible teachers, there is essential agreement on the broad aspects of the interpretation of the prophecy but considerable variance in the minor aspects; that, in regard to the dating, the majority prefers the sliding scale 533-38 to 1793-98 though many favor 538-1798; and that, in regard to special study, only a few claim to have taken time to make a close examination of the prophecy as a whole.

As you think of the problem of dating the 1260 years of prophecy, could you say that in your opinion you prefer

- () a. Uriah Smith's 538-1798 interpretation and explanation as being close enough.
- () b. A "sliding-scale" interpretation, such as Spicer's, which uses 533-538 to 1793-1798.
- () c. A straight 533-1793 timing.
- () d. An indefinite timing, such as "6th century to 18th century."
- () e. Other (specify): _____.

In your study of the problem, how do you

- a. Defend your choice of initial date? _____
_____.
- b. Defend your choice of terminal date? _____
_____.

What significance, if any, do you attach to Justinian's "Decree of 533"? _____
_____.

As you look over the whole 1260-years of the prophecy, what special condition, authority, or qualification do you believe to be specified for fulfillment during the 1260 years, and which should not exist either before or after the period begins and ends? _____
_____.

When you discuss the following terms, how do you define them?

- a. "Papal Supremacy" _____.
- b. "Deadly Wound" _____.
- c. "Plucked Up" (Dan. 7:8) _____.

Have you prepared any papers on this prophecy yourself, and if so, would you be willing to share them with me? _____.

Do you wish to remain anonymous in any use I might make of these opinions? _____.

Signature: _____

Position: _____

APPENDIX III

AN INQUIRY INTO THE VALIDITY OF THE
"SLIDING-SCALE" DATING, 533-38 TO 1793-98

AN INQUIRY INTO THE VALIDITY OF THE
"SLIDING-SCALE" DATING, 533-38 TO 1793-98

The questionnaire returns indicated that a large number of Seventh-day Adventist college Bible teachers prefer a 533-38 to 1793-98 "sliding-scale" dating, and specifically, one "like Spicer's." Since this view is at variance with the one presented in the conclusions of this thesis, it seems appropriate, if not advisable, to launch an inquiry into its validity.

In view of the fact that Spicer is specifically mentioned, it might be well to review his teaching briefly. He points out that the "1260 years of papal supremacy" began with

a notable decree (by the Papacy's chief supporter) in 533 A. D., formally recognizing papal supremacy, and a decisive stroke with the sword of Rome, clearing the way, in 538.¹

He continues,

Exactly 1260 years later we have the notable decree of the French government (which had been the Papacy's chief supporter), abolishing church and religion, in 1793, and a decisive stroke with the sword of Rome, in 1798. The parallel is complete.²

In support of his reference to the "notable decree of the French government . . . in 1793," he cites W. M. Hutton as saying,

On November 26, 1793, the convention of which seventeen bishops and some clergy were members, decreed the abolition of all religion.³

¹ W. A. Spicer, Beacon Lights of Prophecy, p. 81.

² Loc. cit.

³ W. M. Hutton, Age of Revolution, p. 156, cited in Spicer, op. cit., p. 81.

A little later he refers to it again as "the decree of the French Convention, in 1793."⁴ There is, therefore, no doubt that Spicer is saying that on November 26, 1793, the French National Convention issued a decree abolishing religion.

With this review in mind, let us turn to an examination of the sliding-scale position, from the standpoints of prophecy, history, and logic.

From a standpoint of prophecy, is it necessary? The climax and glory of the sliding-scale view is the establishment of a parallel between the beginning and ending events of the 1260-year period. Care is taken in wording the accounts in order to achieve this desired result. But, the question may be asked, is it necessary to do so? Does the Bible foretell that the period should begin as it ends, or end as it begins?

It has been shown in this paper that the Bible does not. To mark the beginning of the period Revelation predicts the donation of power, seat, and authority by the Dragon to the Beast, and to mark the end, the infliction upon the Beast of a Deadly Wound by an unnamed hand. These events clearly are not parallel.

Since, then, the Bible specifies non-parallel events for the beginning and ending of the 1260 years, then the presentation of a sliding-scale dating to accommodate a vaunted parallel is, from the standpoint of prophecy, apparently unnecessary.

⁴ Spicer, op. cit., p. 81.

But that is not all. Do not the proponents of this view, in addition to finding in prophecy what is not there, also fail to find in it what is there? To mark 538 they teach a "sword-stroke that clears the way," and are silent on the donation of the seat to the pope, -- while, on the contrary, the Bible foretells a (post-476) donation of the seat to the Beast, and is silent on a "sword-stroke" at the commencement of the period.

We may add, therefore, from the sliding-scale view is, from the standpoint of prophecy, not only unnecessary but also inadequate.

From a standpoint of history, is it accurate? The keystone of the sliding-scale view is the "Decree of the National Convention" of 1793, a decree that "abolished all religion in France." This decree, they say, parallels the decree of Justinian in 533. The quotations cited above indicate that for this French decree they set the specific date, November 26, 1793.

But was there ever such a decree of the French Convention? The answer is that neither on November 26 nor on any other date in 1793 was such a decree to abolish religion issued by the National Convention!⁵

There was, it is true, a decree of this sort (and date) issued by the commune of Paris, but it was limited to its own jurisdiction. Similar sentiments, furthermore, were voiced in many places in France. But the National Convention did not issue such a decree in 1793.

⁵ See A. Aulard, The French Revolution, III, 17, 159, 160; W. H. Jervis, The Gallican Church and the Revolution, p. 25; Louis Adolphe Thiers, History of the French Revolution, I, xxv, III, 239.

It is true that on August 5 the Convention did vote a change of the calendar, effective as of September 22, for the avowed purpose of abolishing the symbols that reminded the people of their old superstitions,⁶ but the decree changing the calendar did not "abolish all religion," and it was not issued on November 26.

Quite contrary to the ordinance of the commune, as a matter of fact, was the manifesto issued by the National Convention on December 5 in intentional reaction to the commune's decision. It declared to all Europe,

Your masters tell you that the French nation has proscribed all religions; that it has substituted the worship of a few men for that of Divinity. They lie! The French people and its representatives respect the liberty of all worships, and proscribe none of them; they abhor intolerance and persecution, with whatever pretexts they cover themselves.⁷

It may be objected with some validity that this manifesto was a political move and not wholly either sincere or according to fact. But the sincerity or truthfulness of the matter is of no concern here. The thing we are looking for is a decree, a written statement.

It is argued by some that the Paris commune at this time was virtually running France, and hence its decree may be accepted as the will of the nation. But is this so? On the very November 26 when the commune was passing its law, Danton in the Convention was denouncing the anti-religious masquerades, and declaring, "If we have not honoured

⁶ E. De Pressensè, The Church and the French Revolution, pp. 298 ff.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 318, 319.

the priest of error and fanaticism, neither will we honour the priest of infidelity."⁸ In its activities of November 26, says Pressensè, the commune reached the climax of its increasing power. Its audacity provoked the wrath and recantation of the Convention, and a virtual Declaration of War was sounded by Robespierre.⁹ Whatever position of leadership the commune may or may not have seemed to have occupied on November 26, it soon became evident which body was the leader in fact.

The furthest the Convention went in sympathy with the commune was in specifying, in a decree of December 8, that it did not intend to abrogate the resolutions taken by the representatives of the people (to destroy superstition); but at the same time it forbade all violence or threatenings contrary to the liberty of worship.¹⁰

That the Paris commune in particular, and many of the French people in general, rejected religion in 1793, cannot be denied; but to say that on November 26, 1793, the National Convention passed a decree abolishing religion in France is, in point of history, apparently incorrect, and inaccurate.

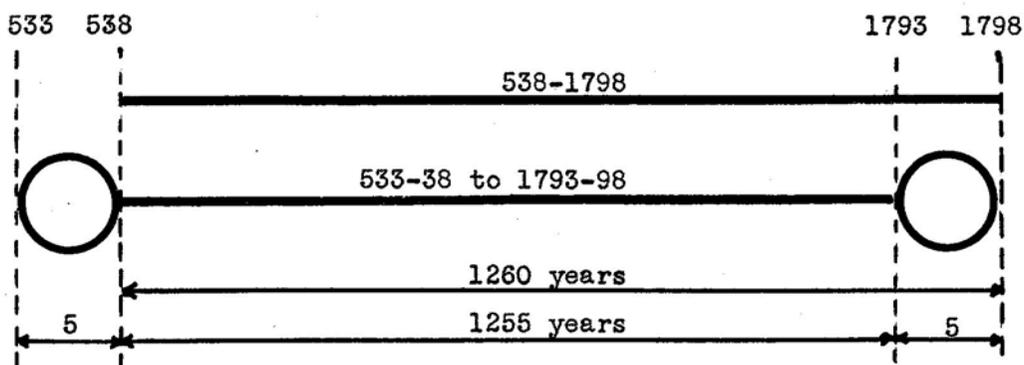
From a standpoint of logic, is it reasonable? The men who favor the sliding-scale view speak of a period of 1260 days extending between 533-38 and 1793-98. A little chart will assist in the discussion of this phase of the problem, and in answering the question, Are there

⁸ Ibid., p. 318.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 313-317.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 320.

1260 years between 533-38 and 1793-98? Let us draw first a line bounded by specific events represented by (') and extending from 538 to 1798, and representing exactly 1260 years. Below it, let us draw another line from 533 to 1798. At the left end of it let us draw a "five-year" circle to include the events of 533-38, the era that is said to begin the period; and at the right end, let us draw another "five-year" circle to include the events of the closing era. Then let us measure the distance between the circle 533-38 and the circle 1793-98.



It is quite apparent from the chart that the length of time elapsing between 533-38 and 1793-98 is not 1260 years at all, but 1255. Hence to speak of "1260 years between 533-38 and 1793-98" in, in fact, a contradiction of terms varying only in degree from such a statement as, "The seventy-five years between 1945 and 1950," and so is, in point of logic, apparently unreasonable.

But it is oftentimes contended that while the period may be spoken of as beginning and ending thus, actually it did not begin until 538 nor end till 1798, and that the sliding-scale dating is not intended to say that it did. Then, would it be out of place to ask, if the period

did not actually begin until 538, then why say that it began in 533-38? And if it did not actually end until 1798, then why say that it ended in 1793-98? Does not this only tend to confuse the issue?

Conclusion. It has been shown that, from the standpoint of history, the sliding-scale view is apparently inaccurate, while from the standpoint of logic, it is apparently unreasonable. Since it has also been shown that from the standpoint of prophecy it is apparently both inadequate and unnecessary, it is the conclusion of this student that the sliding-scale dating should be laid aside in favor of the more simple dating, 538-1798.

APPENDIX IV

EDICTS ESTABLISHING PAPAL AUTHORITY

THE EDICT
OF GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II AND THEODOSIUS

FEBRUARY 27, 380

It is our will that all the people subject to the government of our clemency shall follow that religion which the holy Peter delivered to the Romans, as pious tradition from him to the present times declares it, and as the pontiff Damasus manifestly observes it, as also does Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity; that is, that in accordance with the apostolic teaching and gospel doctrine, we should believe in the deity of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, of equal majesty, in sacred Trinity. Those who follow this law we order shall be included under the name of catholic Christians. All others we pronounce mad and insane and require that they bear the ignominy of teachers of heresy; their conventicles shall not receive the title of churches; they shall be chastised first by divine vengeance and then by the punishment of our indignation, with divine approval.

Codex Theodosianus, XVI, 1, 2. Text. C. Mirbt, Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums, 4th ed., 134. Quoted in Shotwell and Loomis, op. cit., p. 675.

THE EDICT
OF THEODOSIUS II AND VALENTINIAN III

A. D. 445

It is certain that the one and only safeguard of Us and Our Empire is in the favour of God Most High, towards meriting which Christian faith and our venerable religion mainly conduce. Whereas, therefore, the authority of a sacred Synod¹ hath confirmed the Primacy of the Apostolic See, the merit of St. Peter, who is the Prince of the Episcopal Choir (coronae), and the dignity of the City of Rome, so that no presumption should attempt to do aught unpermitted by the authority of that See; then only will the peace of the Churches be preserved, if the whole world (universitas) acknowledge its ruler. And whereas this rule has been hitherto inviolably observed, Hilary of Arles (as We learn from the faithful narrative of the venerable Leo. Pope of Rome) hath with contumacious daring presumed to attempt certain unlawful acts, and consequently an obominable disturbance has invaded the Transalpine Churches, as a recent example proves. For Hilary, who is styled Bishop of Arles, without consulting the Pontiff of the Roman Church, but from his own rashness alone, has usurped and seized upon the ordinations of bishops which in no way belong to him; for he removes some illegally, and has ordained others irregularly, against the wishes and remonstrances of the citizens. And as these bishops were not readily received by those who had not elected them, he collected an armed band, and in hostile fashion either laid siege to or breached by storm the defences of the walls, and installed by process of war into his see the man whose duty it would be to preach peace.²

When these offences against the Imperial Majesty, and against the reverence due to the Apostolic See, had been investigated by order of the holy Pope of the City, a certain sentence was passed on him [Hilary] by reason of those whom he had unduly ordained. And that sentence would have been valid throughout Gaul, even without the Imperial sanction.³ For what could fail to be lawful power over the Churches, if supported by the authority of so great a Pontiff? However, this motive has called Our attention also to the matter, lest it should be assumed possible for Hilary (whom nothing but the kindness of the amiable Pontiff suffers to bear still the name of bishop), or for any other person, to mix warfare up with Church questions, or to disobey the precepts of the Roman Pontiff. For by such outrages the Faith and the honour of Our Empire are violated. Nor do We urge this ground alone, which is a crime of the deepest dye, but, in order that not even the slightest disturbance may arise amongst the Churches, or religious discipline be in any respect relaxed, We decree by this perpetual edict that it shall not be lawful for the bishops of Gaul, or of the other

provinces, contrary to ancient custom, to do aught without the authority of the venerable Pope of the Eternal City: and whatsoever the authority of the Apostolic See has enacted, or may hereafter enact, shall be the law for all. So that if any bishop, summoned to trial before the Pope of Rome, shall neglect to attend, he shall be compelled to appearance by the governor of the province, in all respects regard being had to what privileges Our deified parents conferred on the Roman Church. Wherefore your Illustrious and Eminent Magnificence is to cause what is enacted above to be observed in virtue of this present edict and law, and a fine of ten pounds [of gold] is to be at once levied on any judge who suffers Our commands to be disobeyed.

¹ There is a careful absence of any specification. In fact, no such synod had ever existed so far, and Leo knew it.

² A second falsehood. No such acts were committed.

³ A third falsehood, for the Bishops of Gaul declared the Pope's sentence canonically void.

Littledale, R. F., The Petrine Claims, pp. 227, 228. Text in Codex Theodosianus, "Nov. Valentin." III, tit. XVI, ed. Haenel, cols., 172-176.

LETTER

OF THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN

VICTORIOUS, PIOUS, HAPPY, RENOWNED, TRIUMPHANT, ALWAYS AUGUSTUS

TO JOHN

PATRIARCH, AND MOST HOLY ARCHBISHOP OF THE FAIR CITY OF ROME

With honor to the Apostolic See, and to Your Holiness, which is, and always has been remembered in Our prayers, both now and formerly, and honoring your happiness, as is proper in the case of one who is considered as a father, We hasten to bring to the knowledge of Your Holiness everything relating to the condition of the Church, as We have always had the greatest desire to preserve the unity of your Apostolic See, and the condition of the Holy Churches of God, as they exist at the present time, that they may remain without disturbance or opposition. Therefore, We have exerted ourselves to unite all the priests of the East and subject them to the See of Your Holiness, and hence the questions which have at present arisen, although they are manifest and free from doubt, and, according to the doctrine of your Apostolic See, are constantly firmly observed and preached by all priests, We have still considered it necessary that they should be brought to the attention of Your Holiness. For we do not suffer anything which has reference to the state of the Church, even though what causes the difficulty may be clear and free from doubt, to be discussed without being brought to the notice of Your Holiness, because you are the head of all the Holy Churches, for We shall exert Ourselves in every way (as has already been stated), to increase the honor and authority of your See.

APPENDIX V

A HISTORY OF THE GOTHIC WAR

535-553

WITH PERIODIC MAPS

A SHORT HISTORY
OF THE GOTHIC WAR

535-553

In the year 526 the great Theodoric, rex of the Ostrogoths, and virtually Emperor of the West, brought to its close a wise and prosperous reign; and, as he did so, the sun of the Gothic race, which till now had been riding high in an almost cloudless sky, passed its zenith and began to trace a downward course it should not leave until, in despair and obscurity, it should set forever twenty-seven years later.¹

Theodoric was succeeded by Athalaric, his grandson. But since he was yet a lad, his mother Amalasantha was appointed regent. The Goths were restless under a woman ruler, but endured it somehow. At last, however, when Amalasantha whipped the prince, the nobles were incensed and spoke their minds. She outwardly submitted but inwardly seethed with rage. Not long afterwards she assigned assassins to seal the offensive mouths of three of them forever.

Hardly had the murderers left the palace than fear gripped her at the thought that they might fail in their purpose, and the wrath of the nobles might fall back on her. She rushed a letter to Justinian with all haste, asking him if it were his pleasure that she should come to

¹ The source for this history is Procopius, History of the Wars, H. B. Dewing, translator, Loeb Classical Library, hereinafter referred to as "Procopius" with volume and page number as in the Loeb edition. The main guide and secondary is Hodgkin, Thomas, Italy and Her Invaders, hereinafter referred to as "Hodgkin" with volume and page number.

him, for, she said, she desired to leave Italy as soon as she could. The Emperor was pleased indeed and made a fine house ready for her. She equipped a vessel and set aboard it a great amount of gold -- but tarried until word should arrive about the nobles. When at last the third messenger had arrived, and she had found out that her plans were thus far successful, she abandoned her thoughts of quitting Italy, and returned to Ravenna to strengthen her rule.²

It was a dark day for the Goths when Amalasantha first aroused the interest of Justinian in her behalf.

Soon ambassadors arrived with credentials from Byzantium and with three motives in their breasts. The first motive, the outward one, was to settle a minor complaint. The second, and an important one, was to secure from Amalasantha a promise to surrender the Gothic realm to the Emperor. The third was to secure from Theodahad, uncle of Athalaric and heir-presumptive should the youth perish, the promise to yield Tuscany in exchange for gold and a title in New Rome. In reason number one they failed, but in the other two they were, amazingly enough, abundantly successful. The royal house of the Ostrogoths was willing to betray its subjects to the Emperor. The date was 534.³

How happy must Justinian have been when he heard the good news. Already the Vandals were, or almost were, in his hands, and now Italy was to be his -- without a battle. In the autumn he dispatched a

² Procopius, III, 21.

³ Hodgkin, III, 637-639.

"rhetorician of Byzantium named Peter . . . one of the ablest diplomats in the imperial service,"⁴ to receive the kingdom.

But many and strange were the events to transpire between the appointment of Peter and his arrival in Ravenna. For one thing, an investigation into the activities of Theodahad had found him guilty of enormous crimes and had forced him to make restitution, thus embittering him against Amalasantha.

Then, after a sickness, the boy king, Athalaric had died, in October, thus depriving Amalasantha of her right to rule. But Amalasantha was determined to go on ruling, and so -- of all things -- she proposed to share the throne with Theodahad (by now her sworn enemy), trusting to his sense of gratitude to leave her still the virtual sovereign.

Theodahad accepted the position, became king, and sent off a friendly letter to Justinian announcing the new state of affairs. Hardly had the ink dried and the posts started on their way, however, than he committed his benefactress to a lonely island prison and shortly thereafter permitted relatives of the murdered nobles to take her life. Says Procopius:

They went to the island and killed Amalasantha, -- an act which grieved exceedingly all the Italians and the Goths as well. For the woman had the strictest regard for every kind of virtue, as has been stated by me a little earlier.⁵

Thus had the situation greatly changed when finally Peter arrived in the early part of 538. It did not take him long to make up his mind

⁴ Hodgkin, III, 639-640.

⁵ Procopius, III, 41.

what to say to Theodahad (who by now had decided he would hold on to the kingdom after all). Because the Goths had committed this base deed, there would be "war without truce between the emperor and themselves."⁶

Hodgkin comments:

It was a 'truceless war' which Justinian's ambassador had denounced against the cringing Theodahad when he heard of the murder of Amalasantha. And in truth all the schemings and machinations of the Byzantine court had been rewarded beyond their deservings by as fair and honourable an excuse for war as ever prince could allege. . . . The great Emperor now appeared upon the scene in his proper character as Earthly Providence, preparing to avenge, on an ungrateful and cowardly tyrant, the murder of the noble daughter of Theoderic.⁷

The use of the term "war without truce" is highly significant, for it was such a war, indeed, which was to be waged. It is also well to note that there is no mention made of religious differences as a cause for the war.

The war begins. Soon the armies of the Empire were on the march. And soon, though not just yet, were to perish, in the name of vengeance for the death of one woman, the lives of hundreds of thousands of both Goths and Italians, people who, as Procopius observes, were themselves grieved by the deed.

The war began that same year, 535. Between three and four thousand troops marched under Mundus into the province of Dalmatia, defeated a force of Goths there, and entered Salona without further opposition.

⁶ Procopius, III, 441.

⁷ Hodgkin, IV, 1-2.

And then, but the thought was far more ominous, news arrived that Belisarius, the vanquisher of the Vandals, had landed in Sicily with 7500 under his command.

Sicily fell almost without resistance, the people being eager to become again the subjects of the Emperor. But Palermo in the west contained a Gothic garrison, and it held out against Belisarius until he finally lifted his bowmen up by the boatload to the mastheads of his ships, thus conveying them to the tops of the walls from which they gained an easy and victorious entry into the city.

Sicily was now in the hands of the Romans; but, though the conquest was relatively easy, it had consumed seven months, and Belisarius was not able to turn his attention to Italy proper until the beginning of 536.

There was to be yet more delay, however. From North Africa there came a report at Easter time of a daring mutiny, a situation which would, of course, have to be settled first -- and was, with characteristic dispatch.⁸

In the meantime, however, Theodahad had performed a perfect diplomatic somersault. On hearing of the invasion of Sicily he had gone into a panic of despair. Peter the ambassador was rushed back to Justinian with offers of gold, soldiers, and limitations on Gothic prerogatives in favor of the Emperor, if only the war might be stopped now. Hardly had

⁸ Hodgkin, IV, 26-34.

Peter started out than he was called back and further entrusted with the promise of the whole kingdom.

But before Peter returned, with a commission to secure all the promises in writing and then to send for Belisarius to confirm them, the Goths effected a very dubious victory in Dalmatia, in which the province was forever lost, but the Roman general, Mundus, and also his son, were slain.⁹ Theodahad felt much better now about the war situation, and when Peter returned he found once again that Theodahad had reversed his stand. Italy, apparently, was not going to be gained back for the Empire on the strength of anybody's promises.

After Justinian heard about the battle in Dalmatia, and of Theodahad's reversal of policy, he "commanded Belisarius to enter Italy with all speed and to treat the Goths as enemies."¹⁰

Belisarius forthwith set foot in Italy in May or June of 536, and, "planting his standard on the Italian soil, was daily joined by large numbers of the inhabitants."¹¹ Those who joined him were not Italians only. "No less a person than Evermud, son-in-law of Theodahad . . . prostrated himself at the feet of Belisarius."¹² So weak was the national feeling among the Goths at this time!

⁹ Hodgkin, IV, 19.

¹⁰ Procopius, IV, 65.

¹¹ Hodgkin, IV, 41.

¹² Loc. cit.

With this expanded army, Belisarius proceeded to Naples. After a siege of some time he discovered that he could enter the city by way of an aqueduct. Knowing now that the city must soon be his, he pleaded with the people to surrender without a battle -- not in order to save the lives of his own men, but because, he said, he had observed the horrors that attended the fall of other cities, and desired to spare the Neapolitans.¹³ The citizens were counteradvised by one of their own number, and soon the city fell. But Belisarius, as soon as he was able, ran in and out among his men and caused them to desist from further carnage, saying that "it is a disgrace to prevail over the enemy and then to show yourselves vanquished by passion."¹⁴ This is a remarkable thing in a general, and is to his credit.

The progress of the Roman general aroused the Gothic nobles to their senses, and they held a meeting in August, 536. Theodahad was deposed and Witigis elected -- a warrior who had done well in minor campaigns, but who was not destined to do as well in the weightier problems that lay ahead. A loyal citizen was discharged to slay the deposed monarch, and, because he had a personal grudge against him and because he now had a pious reason for doing what had long been his ambition, he pursued Theodahad with unusual enthusiasm and soon put an end to his vacillating existence.¹⁵

¹³ Procopius, III, 89.

¹⁴ Procopius, III, 103.

¹⁵ Hodgkin, IV, 64-65.

Witigis now found himself in a dilemma. The Franks were knocking for admittance at the north-western boundary of his realm and the Romans were already breaking in at the south. Against neither had adequate preparation been made. Faced with a decision as to which to fight first, he decided wrongly, and thereby decided the fate of the Gothic nation. He removed his forces into North Italy in order to settle matters with the Franks first, and thus left Rome and the south undefended.

Having arrived in Ravenna, divorced his wife, and married a young daughter of Amalasantha, he wrote Justinian to ask him to stop the war, for a daughter of Amalasantha was now on the throne, and the vile Theodahad, who had murdered Amalasantha (for which crime the war had been begun), had now atoned for his sins with his life. He then wrote the orthodox bishops asking them to pray for the success of the embassy which was entrusted with the letter.

His next act was to do what he should have done sooner. He bought off the Franks with gold and territory. If he had done this sooner, and kept his forces in central and lower Italy, he might have defeated Belisarius.¹⁶

Belisarius spent the summer and fall consolidating his gains in Southern Italy, a process expedited by the treachery of yet another Gothic general. He then settled down to await a message from the Bishop of Rome. True to his expectations, it soon came. Pope Silverius, who

¹⁶ Hodgkin, IV, 69-72.

had just "sworn a solemn oath of fealty to Witigis, now, near the end of 536, sent messengers to Belisarius to offer the peaceful surrender of the city of Rome."¹⁷

Witigis had not left the city undefended. A garrison 4000 strong was there under the command of a brave general. The Romans, on their part, were approaching with only 5000. If the Goths had closed the city gates and forced the Romans to camp outside until reinforcements should arrive from Ravenna, they could have caused the enemy to fight a pitched battle in the open, and quite likely, they would have defeated them and saved Italy for themselves. But the fact is, they did not. Procopius supplies the curious fact that they left "with the permission of the Romans."¹⁸ The brave old general tried to make them stay, but they would not obey. And Procopius writes:

And so it happened on that day that at the very same time when Belisarius and the emperor's army were entering Rome through the gate which they call the Asinarian Gate, the Goths were withdrawing from the city through another gate which bears the name Flaminian; and Rome became subject to the Romans again after the space of sixty years, on the ninth day of the last month, which is called "December" by the Romans, in the eleventh year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.¹⁹

Belisarius immediately set about repairing the walls and preparing a moat and fosse -- a procedure which caused a good deal of alarm among the citizenry, who were horrified at the thought of a siege. The

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 82.

¹⁸ Procopius, III, 145.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 145-146.

wise general brought in large supplies of food from Sicily, and had the citizens help him, though they did so, "sorely grumbling."²⁰ He then invested some of the chief cities of the neighborhood. And thus, as Procopius remarks:

In this way Belisarius won over the whole of that part of Italy which is south of the Ionian Gulf, as far as Rome and Samnium, and the territory north of the gulf, as far as Liburnia. . . .²¹

and, it might be added, he did it almost without a battle.

The imaginations of the Romans having been excited at the thought of a siege, dissatisfaction against Belisarius began to be expressed by many. Some very exaggerated reports reached Witigis, who now was possessed of a new fear. He concluded that in less time than it takes to tell, Belisarius would be forced out of Rome, and he now became concerned for fear that he would be driven out of all Italy before he could meet him in battle and have the personal pleasure of destroying him. And so it came about that Witigis, who had dallied for three months, suddenly became obsessed with one ambition, to get to Rome just as soon as he possibly could.

Soon the sentries on the walls of Rome described a multitude like the sands of the sea marching over the hills to the north. On and on they came, 150,000 strong, and most of them, as well as their horses, clad in armor.²²

²⁰ Hodgkin, IV, 87.

²¹ Procopius, III, 153.

²² Procopius, III, 161. Gibbon accepts this figure (Gibbon, Decline and Fall, II, 565), but Oman cuts it arbitrarily to 100,000 (Oman, op. cit., p. 83.).

After an initial accidental encounter in which Belisarius almost lost his life, the Goths built large ox-drawn machines with which to assault the walls, and then at the sound of a trumpet in the early morning, moved in on the Eternal City, like a great monster attacking a helpless child. What could 5000 do against 150,000? The Romans were in dismay, but Belisarius looked on with a sneer. They could not bear to see him trifling in the extremity of their danger, and heaped abuse upon his incompetence. But he still waited as the enemy came on -- and still smiled.²³

Then suddenly, when the enemy was in close range, he gave the order to shoot. Within a moment the oxen were dead and the great towers and battering rams stood motionless. Witigis ordered his men to harass the defenders there while he attempted assaults on other parts of the wall. A number of attempts were made and bitter fighting ensued -- but when the day was done, the Goths were still outside.

The loss of life in this one battle was tremendous, if Procopious is to be trusted. He says that not only did the Romans assert, but the Goths themselves admitted, that after this one day of fighting 30,000 of the barbarians lay stretched dead upon the field, beside the vast number of the wounded.²⁴

Realizing now that a long fight lay ahead, the Goths fortified their camps for a siege. Then, in order to insure hardship within the

²³ Hodgkin, IV, 166-181.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 181.

city, they did an amazing thing. They broke all fourteen of the aqueducts which brought water into Rome. But this harsh and cruel measure in the end helped wreak their own defeat -- for the great torrents of water spilling over the broken edges of the aqueducts, formed great marshes on the ground, wherein were bred mosquitoes which in turn brought pestilence into the Gothic camps.

When the citizens found themselves deprived of their baths, and witnessed the destruction to their lands going on outside the wall, they railed openly against Belisarius. Witigis, on hearing this, took heart, and sent envoys, but the general replied that, since it was not common for men in his position to take advice from their enemies, he would keep his own counsel.²⁵

It is not necessary to recount all the events which transpired during the year and nine days that elapsed during this memorable siege. However, since it began during the year 537 and ended in 538, the date around which this paper is written, it is necessary to discover the main events, and particularly the reasons for which the Goths finally retreated.

On the forty-first day of the siege, 1600 cavalry arrived, and Belisarius considered it time to take the offensive. He began to send out sorties of 200 or more men to engage the enemy if possible, kill as many of them as they had arrows for, and then to return. They met with repeated success and slew great numbers. But as a result they became cocksure and demanded that Belisarius lead them out to a pitched battle

²⁵ Procopius, III, 195.

and settle the whole war then and there. Although he knew it to be unwise, he finally agreed -- with results. Though the Imperial troops fought better than the Goths, they were so few against so many that by sheer weight of numbers the Goths were bound to win.

This battle was fought in 537. It was a conditional victory for the Goths.

Belisarius now went back to the plan of small sallies. In all, sixty-nine such encounters took place. Procopius pictures them as all successful for the Romans, but Hodgkin²⁶ suggests that probably some were also for the Goths -- though the balance was in favor of the Romans.

But now two other enemies began to stalk among the two camps, and the all-important question was, to which side would they lend the more effectual aid? "The names of these two invisible champions were Limes and Loimos (Famine and Pestilence)."²⁷

Famine in Rome prompted the citizens to request Belisarius to let them stage another pitched battle, but he refused. Procopius and Antonina, Belisarius' wife, were dispatched to secure reinforcements and food, and in due course both arrived in good quantity. By December 5600 fresh troops arrived, so that soon thereafter Belisarius so increased his offensive that he even attacked the Gothic camps. Deep discouragement to the barbarians resulted, for they now felt they were just as much the besieged as the besiegers. Moreover, they were suffering unbelievably

²⁶ Hodgkin, IV, 203.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 210.

from famine and pestilence -- and who knew how soon more reinforcements would arrive inside the city walls?

They sent an embassy to Belisarius, asking him to stop the war, as it was unfair to begin with, and causing more distress in Italy every day. The general laughed. But an agreement was reached on a three-month truce, during which time representatives were to be sent to Justinian, to talk over the matter in his presence.

No formal truce was signed, or rules for it agreed upon. The trusting Goths relaxed their blockade, while Belisarius took advantage of them to replenish the larder of the great city. As time passed, the Goths recalled some of their garrisons from nearby cities for one reason or another, and Belisarius immediately sent his soldiers in (peacefully) to fill the vacuum. When the Goths returned to their posts, the Romans remained immovable. The Goths retaliated with three childish attempts upon the city. Then Belisarius, deciding grandly that things had gone far enough, took matters into his own hands and ordered one of his generals, John by name, to burn and pillage the towns in the rear of the enemy -- an easy assignment, since most of the menfolk had gone up to the camp around the city leaving their women and children defenceless. John then performed a master stroke -- he took Rimini, a city 200 miles to the rear of the Gothic army, but only thirty-three miles, or a single day's march, from Ravenna. John "rightly calculated that this step of his would lead to the raising of the siege of Rome."²⁸

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 236 f.

When the trembling messenger arrived at the tent of Witigis with the fearful news that Rimini had fallen, the Goths knew that they could stay no longer where they were. They set their tents afire and sounded the call to retreat. But even in doing so, many of them lost their lives in a last charge from the gates of Rome.

So it came to pass that when the three months of truce had expired, although no tidings had been received from the ambassadors, the Goths resolved to abandon the blockade of Rome.²⁹ three hundred and seventy-four days after it had begun.

The time is March, 538. And the question is: As these dispirited and despairing Goths march away from the walls of Rome, with the cries of their dying comrades to the rear in their ears, are the 1260 years of papal supremacy beginning?

Let us turn the pages of history and see what happened next.

The war to the end of 538. The Imperial scouts soon informed Belisarius that important cities between him and Ravenna were garrisoned by large numbers of men. Gibbon comments:

So powerful was this flying army, that Vitiges spared ten thousand men for the defence of the cities which he was most solicitous to preserve, and detached his nephew Uraias, with an adequate force, for the chastisement of rebellious Milan.³⁰

Generally speaking, the Goths were in possession still of the major cities on the west of the Flaminian way, and the Romans of those on the East.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 250.

³⁰ Gibbon, op. cit., II, 573.

During the remaining months of the important year 538 the progress of the Imperial arms was not rapid, but it was steady. Urbino and Orvieto were taken, and the province of Aemilia was reannexed to the Empire. However, as the year 539 dawned, the Romans learned that they had sustained a terrible reverse in the reconquest of Milan by the Goths.³¹

When the siege of Rome had ended, Belisarius had sent a thousand troops to Milan at the request of the archbishop there, and they were received into the city. But Uraias had been sent to regain the place. Belisarius had thereafter dispatched two generals to relieve it, but when they reached the Po, they had sat down, wondering how ever they could get across. Then he had ordered John and another general to go, but these men dared to refuse, saying that they took orders only from Narses, a general who had arrived in Italy to help Belisarius.

As a result, the Milanese were reduced to eating dogs and mice and finally gave in. The Goths razed much of the city, destroyed a great number of its inhabitants, and then proceeded to gain control over the whole province of Liguria.³²

The years 539 and 540. By this time, after four years of war, "it was over a ruined and wasted Italy that the wolves of war were growling."³³ Famine and pestilence united to kill 50,000 peasants in

³¹ Hodgkin, IV, 291.

³² Procopius, IV, 57.

³³ Hodgkin, IV, 301-302.

one province alone. Cannibalism made its appearance. Some people ate their own friends. Two women ate seventeen men.³⁴

The Goths, in spite of their sufferings, refused to give in, and instead devised a new method of obtaining relief. It was decided to send a bishop to Chosroes, the King of Persia, to stir him up to renewing the war with the Romans in the hope that this would occasion the recall of the armies in Italy. These negotiations took time, and it was a year before they became fully effective, but the mere thought of a war with Persia made Justinian anxious to close up the Gothic campaign. He finally returned the ministers who had come to him during the three-month truce of 538 with the offer of a long truce beneficial to both sides. But Belisarius refused to comply.³⁵

Two more fortresses south of Ravenna still held out -- Osimo near the east coast, and Fiesole, inland, towards the west. Belisarius took an army to Osimo and sent another to Fiesole. After seven months, Osimo and Fiesole fell, in the month of December, 539.

As the year 540 began, Belisarius set himself in earnest to take the city of Ravenna, for Ravenna, it must be remembered, and not Rome, was the capital city of the Goths. At this time the Franks sent envoys to meet other envoys from Ravenna, to talk over a proposed alliance against the Imperial troops, with a subsequent division of Italy between themselves. The wary Belisarius also sent envoys to meet them, and they

³⁴ Procopius, IV, 43.

³⁵ Hodgkin, IV, 304-305.

had little difficulty persuading the guileless Goths that the Franks were certainly far too unpredictable to be trusted just now.

At this time also, two generals sent into the rich Po valley to prevent shipments of food from reaching Ravenna were unexpectedly aided when the Po mysteriously dried up, stranding a fleet of Gothic vessels long enough for them to destroy them -- and then resumed its normal flow.

In Ravenna an unaccounted-for conflagration consumed the magazines.

Uraias, marching back from Milan with a relief force, received news that the Romans had captured the wives and children of his soldiers, and then experienced the uncertain feeling which must have arisen when he saw almost his entire force surrender wholesale to the Roman forces, to serve against him under the Roman banners, if only they might have their wives and children back again.

Thus did unseen agencies and unpredicted events prepare the way for the fall of the Gothic capital in 540.

While these events were transpiring, two senators arrived in early 540 from the Emperor bearing offers of peace. It was no mere truce this time. Justinian was willing to end the war if the Goths would be satisfied with the fertile plains north of the Po and would surrender half of their treasure.

The Goths were delighted; but Belisarius had set his heart on subduing all Italy and returning to Constantinople with Witigis in his train, even as he had before virtually exterminated the Vandals and then returned with Gelimer their king.

Belisarius refused to obey.

Sensing the delay, the Goths did an astounding thing. They offered to surrender the city and the war if Belisarius would become their king, the Emperor of the West!

Though it put him in a strange light with the Emperor, he tentatively accepted the offer, though without committing himself. Thus he gained a peaceful entry into the city -- and it was not until days later that the trusting barbarians became aware that at last they had been conquered. "In this way did the strong and stately city of Ravenna come again under the sway of a Roman Caesar, the stronghold of whose dominion in Italy it was destined to remain for more than two centuries."³⁶

When Ravenna fell, most of the other cities in northern Italy which contained Gothic garrison surrendered also.

Verona and Pavia seem to have been the only cities of any importance still held by the unsubdued Gothic warriors. In Verona the command was vested in a brave chief named Ildibad. . . . In Pavia the noble Uraias, nephew of Witigis, still commanded.³⁷

And in those few lines there is a very great significance.

The War from 540-546. The significance is this: Although the armies of the Ostrogoths had been reduced from 150,000 to one thousand, one thousand did remain, and they were garrisoned in these cities. All that is needed to make a great tree is one little seed.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 337.

³⁷ Loc. cit.

Soon the 1000 had grown to 5000, mostly by desertions from the Imperial standards. Two reasons for this turn of events were that Justinian, jealous of what a single general in Italy might make of himself, recalled Belisarius and sent eleven generals to take command in consequence of which the soldiers grew restless; secondly, wholly unreasonable taxation³⁸ under the direction of a chief publican, Alexander the Logothete, began to alienate both Italians and Goths, civilian and soldier, from the cause of the Emperor.

In their first show of strength in the autumn of 540 the Goths were completely victorious. By 542, with Totila as their king, they reached sufficient size and confidence to take every Roman standard in a pitched battle near the Po thus effecting a disaster which had befallen the Roman legions only twice before in a thousand years of history.³⁹

Feeling more secure every day they crossed the Appenines and laid siege to Florence. However, upon the arrival of a Roman army from Ravenna the Goths sustained a momentary setback and retreated into the valley of Muguello.

But thus was the day of great victory to be ushered in. Romans under John advanced to attack them there, only to suffer a reversal in the narrow pass, and to fall into uncontrollable panic.

³⁸ Procopius, IV, 161.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 181-191.

When, worst of all, it was rumored that John himself was slain the Romans turned and swept like an avalanche down the valley. Many were killed by the pursuing Goths. Others, being captured, joined Totila's ranks. "But others went galloping on for days through Italy, pursued by no man, but bearing everywhere the same demoralizing tidings of rout and ruin. . . ."40

Now the whole of southern Italy was opened to Totila, and he made the most of his chance. Justinian appointed a single general to take charge, but he was a coward and did nothing. Naples was retrieved in May, 543, while the Roman generals each shut himself up in whatever city he happened to find himself the closest to.

Totila behaved with the utmost justice and kindness towards the Italians, while the Imperial soldiers went everywhere (where there were no Goths) pillaging and running riot. A great sigh went up from the people. The generals wrote Justinian that it was impossible to carry on the war and that they wanted to quit.

And so it was that at last Justinian came to his senses and returned to Italy Belisarius -- the great, the terrible, the invincible Belisarius.

Belisarius arrived in Ravenna in May, 544, -- and did nothing! By May of the year following he asked Justinian for help, for great fear had fallen upon his soldiers and the "majority" had deserted to the Goths.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Hodgkin, IV, 396-399.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 460.

Totila, however, was continuing his advance. Osimo was retaken. By May, 546, Aemilia was his again. And before the end of the year, the unbelievable had happened. By means of the treachery of Isaurian sentimentals who opened one of the gates at night, Totila entered into the city of Rome once more -- and right under the eyes of Belisarius at that, who at the moment was camped at the mouth of the Tiber suffering from an illness!

We have now come to the close of the year 546 -- eight full years after 538. The Goths who, in 540, could lay claim to only two cities of importance, had by now resumed domination over a large part of the country. It is true that the northern provinces of Liguria, Cottian Alps, and Venetia were in the hands of the Franks, and the provinces of Calabria, Lucania, and Brutii in the heel and toe of the Italian boot, dominated as they were by unretaken ports, still obeyed the generals of the Emperor. But the heart of the country, most of the chief cities, and Rome itself, were by now under the control of the "plucked-up" Goths.⁴²

546-553. The next morning Totila hurried to the Basilica of St. Peter and rendered thanks to God. He then ordered his men to destroy the walls, and even the city itself, but desisted from doing so before the job was more than well begun upon receiving advice to that effect from the bed-ridden Belisarius.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 512-513, 619.

The next important goal was Ravenna. So they left Rome -- and as they marched out, they left the Eternal City without an inhabitant.⁴³ After forty days of lying desolate, the city was reinhabited -- but this time by Belisarius. The Goths were dismayed at the news, and especially, when, upon returning, they found that within fifteen days, their enemy had completely repaired the walls. However, Hodgkin cautions that probably the ownership of the city was much more a matter of sentiment than of military significance. He says, "Its re-occupation had little practical effect on the fortunes of the war."^{43a}

Very little happened during the next two years, but, says our chief guide, "the Imperial cause slowly receded."⁴⁴ In 548 Belisarius himself fled aboard ship to save his life. Later in the same year, Antonina secured his recall. And thus, early in 549, Belisarius returned to Constantinople, "with wealth much increased but glory somewhat tarnished by the events of those five years of his second command."⁴⁵

Perugia fell back into Gothic hands before Belisarius arrived in Constantinople. Rome was again retaken in 549. In 550 the cities at the south tip began to fall, and Totila, crossing over into Sicily, made it his own, and departing, left four garrisons to guard it.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 503.

^{43a} Ibid., p. 512.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 516.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 524.

Thus by 551, at the peak of the Gothic reconquest, only four points on the coast -- Ravenna, Ancona, Hydruntum, Crotona -- owed allegiance to the Empire.⁴⁶

But suddenly all of the picture, which had so painstakingly been brought to its present status, was to be changed. Justinian appointed Narses to take over the Gothic war. Narses was not only on good terms with the Emperor and popular with the people and very shrewd alike in peace and in war but he was also a very religious man. "His piety towards God and his devotion to the Virgin Mother were notorious throughout the Court."⁴⁷ Such a qualification, augmented as it was with stories of his receiving military information in visions, had a powerful effect on the minds of his soldiers. His appointment sounded the death knell of the Ostrogoths.

In 551 the Goths suffered a defeat on the sea, and their ardor was dampened. Then Sicily fell. In 552 they had to raise the siege of Crotona.

Finally the two armies met at Taginae in the Appenines. The Goths were hopelessly outnumbered. They fled in panic. Totila was slain. Narses took time to thank the Virgin for his victory. The date is 552.

Even so, the end was not yet. A small remnant, under a newly elected king called Teias, gathered once more in Pavia. Meanwhile the surrender of the Gothic fortresses was going on all over Italy. Rome

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 609-613.

⁴⁷ Loc. cit.

fell too, during this fateful summer of 552, and once more the keys of the city were sent to Justinian, as they had been in 536.

Meanwhile the sands of the Ostrogothic dominion were running low. With a war of extermination begun, and with the invading race reduced as it now was to a few thousand men, the end could not be long doubtful.⁴⁸

The end came in 553. Teias made a rush to get to Cumae where his brother was guarding a large supply of treasure. But on the banks of the Draco river he was stopped. For two months he held out. But at length, seeing that death by starvation awaited them there, he and his handful made a last rush upon the enemy. For two full days the battle raged, until at last, during a lull towards evening, they gave in, on the promise that they might leave Italy in peace. One thousand of the Goths refused the terms, and joined Narses.

All the other Goths -- the remnant of that mighty host which, sixteen years before, marched as they thought to certain victory under the walls of Rome -- made their way sadly over the Alpine passes, bidding an eternal farewell to the fair land of their birth.

They disappeared, those brave Teutons, out of whom, welded with the Latin race, so noble a people might have been made to cultivate and to defend the Italian peninsula. They were swallowed up in we know not what morass of Gepid, of Herulian, of Slavonic barbarism.⁴⁹

Into their place the Franks rushed, applying the finishing touch to the misery of Italy, until, "Alike in the northern plain, in Picenum

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 651.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 657.

and Aemilia, and in the neighborhood of Rome, the whole population had disappeared."⁵⁰

In darkness and obscurity indeed, the sun of the Gothic race had finally set.

PERIODIC MAPS OF THE GOTHIC WAR

On the next eight pages are maps showing how the dominion of Italy changed hands back and forth during the years of the Gothic war. That portion of Italy which was in subjection to the Ostrogoths at any given time is indicated by the red color.

⁵⁰ Charles Oman, The Dark Ages, 476-918, p. 106.

DOMINION OF

ITALY

DURING THE GOTHIC WAR
535-553

Map No. 1, as of 534

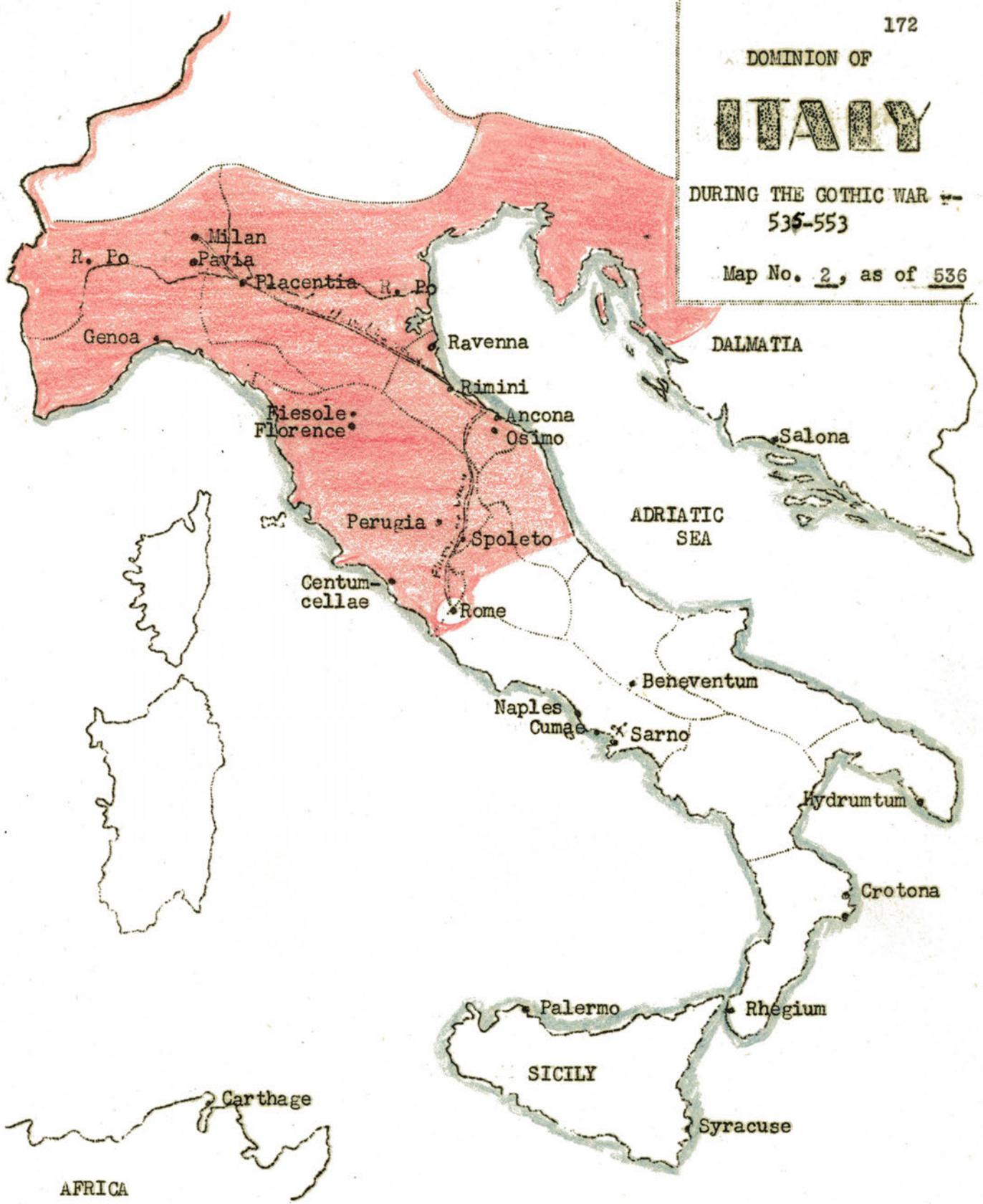


DOMINION OF

ITALY

DURING THE GOTHIC WAR
535-553

Map No. 2, as of 536

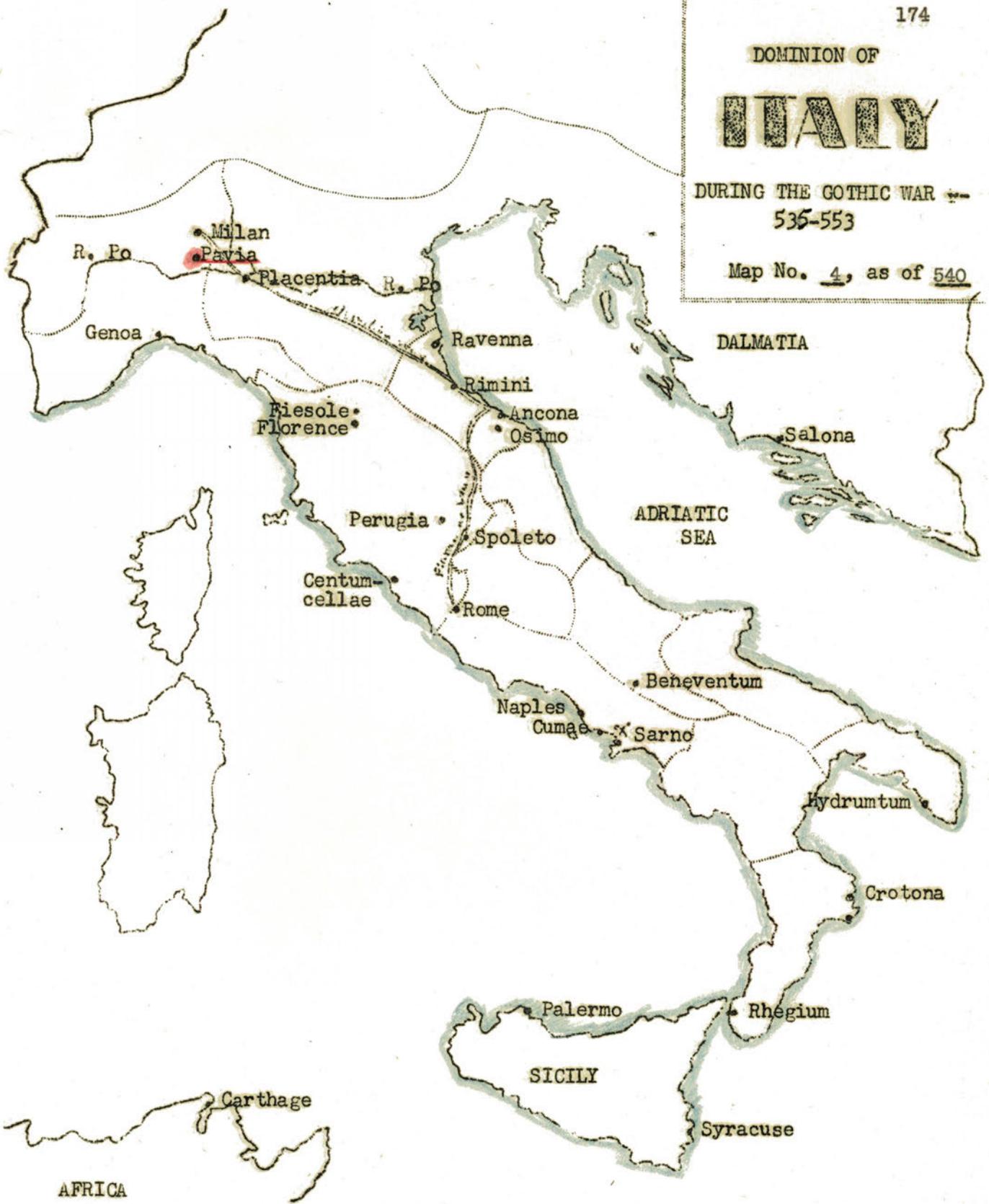


DOMINION OF

ITALY

DURING THE GOTHIC WAR
535-553

Map No. 4, as of 540

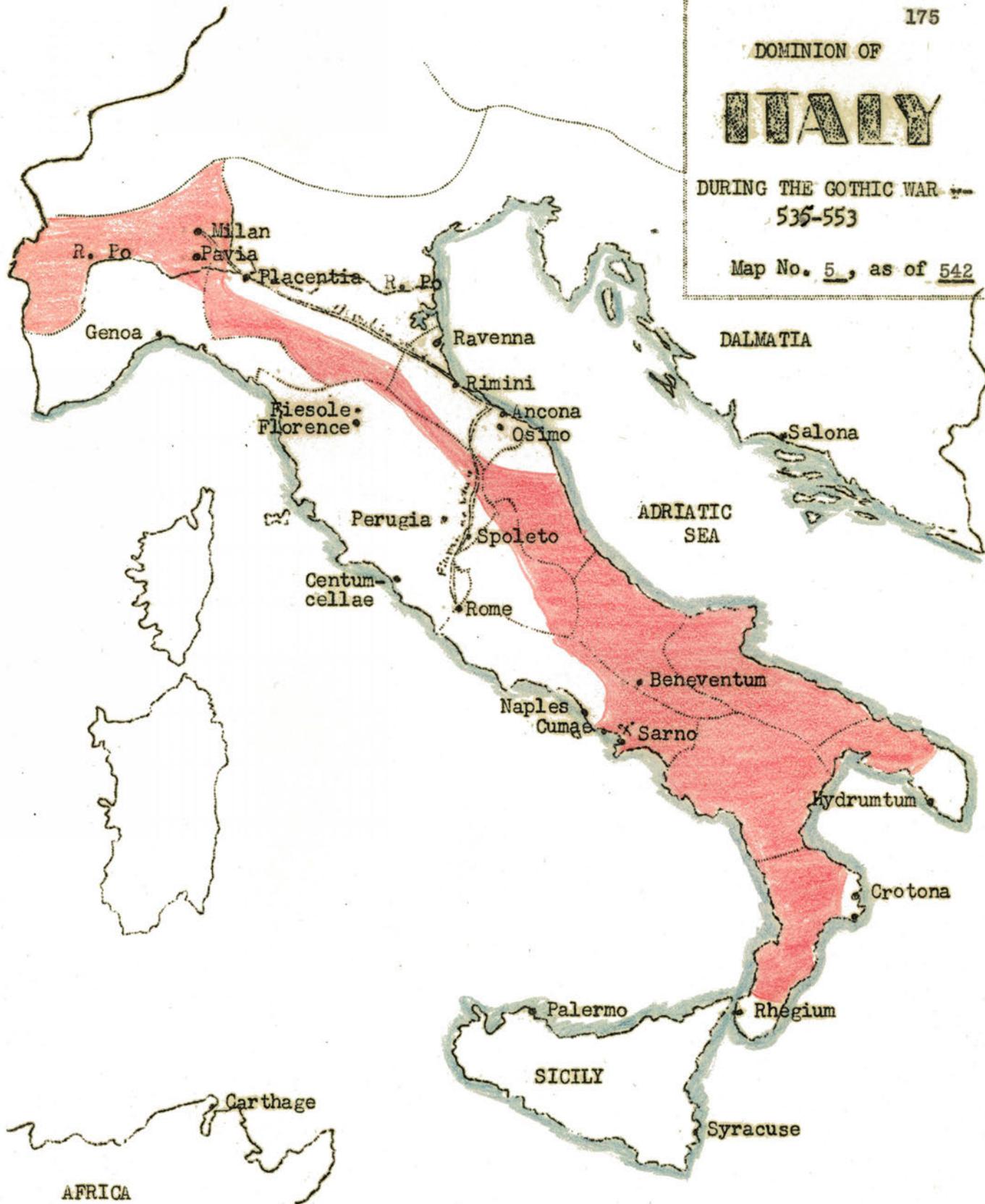


DOMINION OF

ITALY

DURING THE GOTHIC WAR
535-553

Map No. 5, as of 542



DOMINION OF

ITALY

DURING THE GOTHIC WAR
535-553

Map No. 6, as of 546



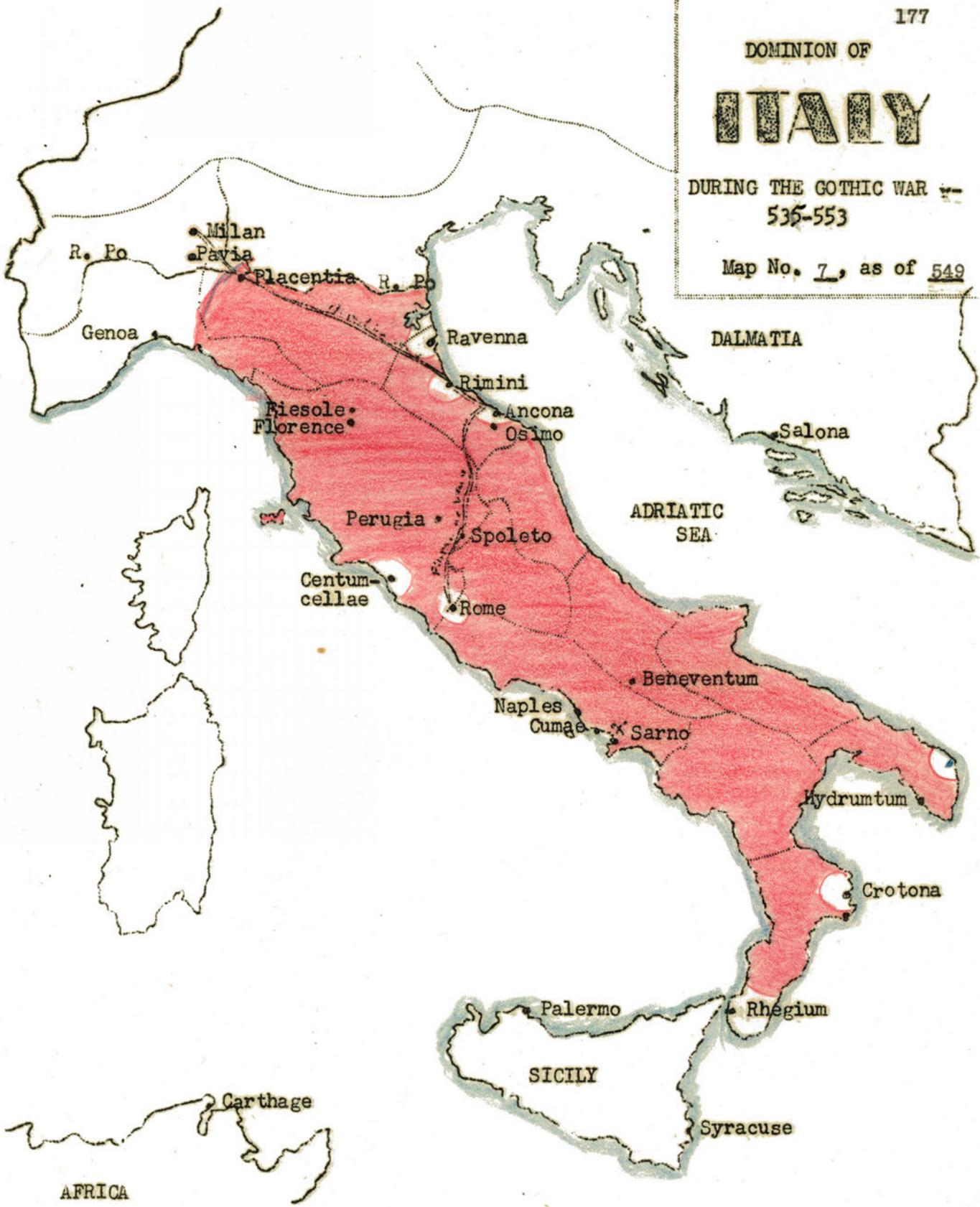
AFRICA

DOMINION OF

ITALY

DURING THE GOTHIC WAR
535-553

Map No. 7, as of 549

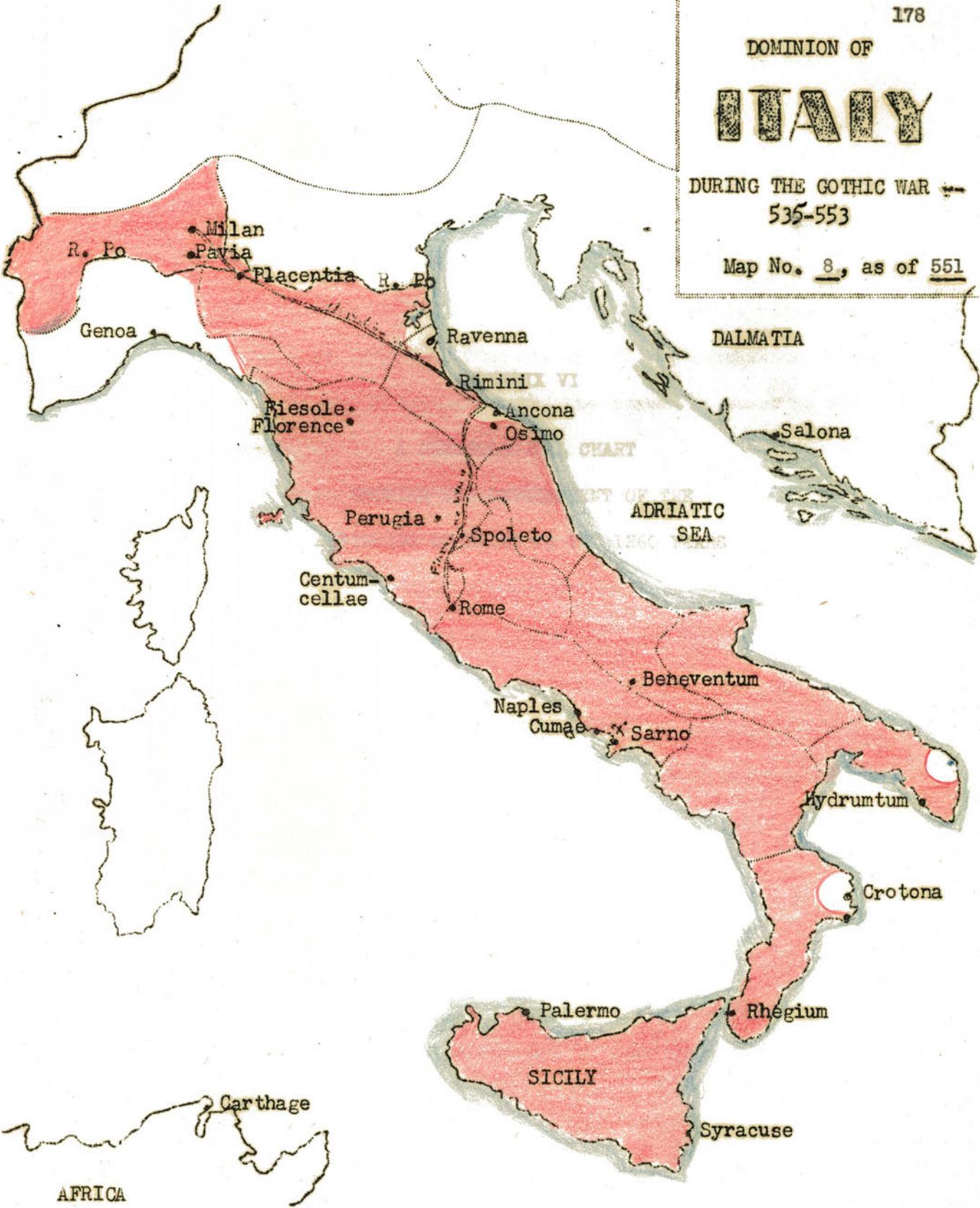


DOMINION OF

ITALY

DURING THE GOTHIC WAR
535-553

Map No. 8, as of 551



APPENDIX VI

A CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE

ASSIGNING OF DATES TO THE 1260 YEARS

A CHART
SHOWING, CHRONOLOGICALLY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF
ASSIGNING DATES TO THE 1260 YEARS

The accompanying chart shows at a glance the dates assigned to the 1260 days by more than a hundred expositors since 1190 A.D. The broad arrows indicate by their direction whether the expositor was looking forwards or backwards from his day to the conclusion of the predicted period; and by their length, the number of years he was looking through.

Some of those who based their views on the 2300 days are indicated by the figure "2300" in parentheses. It should be understood, however, that the "(2300)" after the Millerite and S. D. A. men indicates a different manner of connecting the 2300 and 1260 from what it means in other cases.

Vertical lines for 533, 1798, and 1866, in addition to the century lines, help the eye to locate the dates most frequently cited by expositors. The proximity of 606 to 600 makes an extra line for this popular date unnecessary.

In the cases when an expositor had two views, one is put in a lighter line than the other, except in the case of Robert Fleming, who had four views, all of which are shown with light lines.

Circles at the beginning and end of some lines indicate a period rather than a specific date.