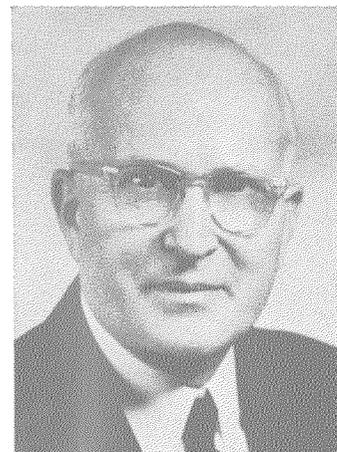


*Introducing the Author
and
Outlining the Scope*



LEROY EDWIN FROM is special instructor in the Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary of Washington, D.C.; former secretary of the Ministerial Association of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists; for several years editor of *The Ministry*, official organ of the association; and author of various other religious works.

The four volumes comprising this extensive work, which covers the Christian Era, are the result of more than sixteen years of intensive research in Europe as well as in America. The result of this persistent quest, including three extensive trips to Europe, has been the assemblage of thousands of source documents now comprising the unique Advent Source Collection. This, in turn, forms the documentary basis for these volumes, which are here presented to the Christian church at large as a contribution to the sound and scientific study of the development of prophetic interpretation.

The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers

VOL. I

LEROY
EDWIN
FROM

Evidences of Wide Approval

These volumes have been accorded a remarkable reception in the religious press of all faiths—some 150 favorable book reviews in the weekly, monthly, and quarterly religious and church history journals in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, continental Europe, and other lands. Few scholarly religious works have ever been given such recognition by the press—and reviews are still appearing in the United States, Great Britain, and the various countries of Europe, Australia, Asia, and Africa.

They have received high commendation from such recognized scholars as Dr. Wilbur M. Smith of Fuller Theological Seminary; Dr. Sidney E. Mead of the University of Chicago; Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft of the World Council of Churches (Geneva); Dr. H. H. Rowley of the University of Manchester; Dr. William W. Sweet of the Southern Methodist University; Dr. Andrew W. Blackwood of Princeton; Dr. Kenneth H. Latourette of Yale; Dr. W. Graham Scroggie of London; Dr. John W. Bradbury, chairman, International Congress on Bible Prophecy; Dr. Martyn Lloyd-Jones of Westminster Chapel, London; Dr. Edmund Schlink of Heidelberg University; Dr. Ernst Staehelin of Geneva; Dr. Robert S. Bilheimer of the World Council of Churches, Geneva; Dr. T. T. Shields of Toronto; Dr. Milton Anastos of Harvard Research School; Dr. Albert Hyma of the University of Michigan; Dr. Raymond Albright of the Evangelical School of Theology; Dr. F. E. Whiting, Baptist Bureau of Publications; Dr. Homes Rolston of the Presbyterian publications.

In North America favorable reviews have appeared in *Christian Century*, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, *Crozer Quarterly*, *Watchman-Examiner*, *Church History*, *Church Management*, *Christian Life*, *The Gospel Witness*, *Baptist Leader*, *Presbyterian Tribune*, *Lutheran Quarterly*, *Theology*, *Christendom*, *Converted Catholic*, *Living Church*, *Muslim World*, *Religion in Life*, *Lutheran Companion*, *Moody Monthly*, *Pulpit Digest*, *Interpretation*.

In Great Britain they include *British Weekly*, *Baptist Quarterly*, *Congregational Quarterly*, *Evangelical Quarterly*, *Scottish Journal of Theology*. And on the Continent such journals as *Ecumenical Review* of Geneva. Several Catholic journals have reviewed them, including *Verbum Domini* of the Pontifical Biblical Institute of Rome, and *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* of Germany.

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The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers

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What scholars say of Prophetic Faith

ABLE scholars in America and Europe have collaborated in the checking and translating of key sections of this work. The finished product has received the commendation of prominent clergymen (both conservatives and liberals), teachers, editors, and librarians of various beliefs.

These expressions come from men of standing in Union Theological Seminary, Harvard, Yale, University of Chicago, Southern Methodist University, the British Museum, Library of Congress, New York Public Library, and Fuller Theological Seminary. Here are some of their reactions:

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"There is nothing like this work for exhaustiveness, freshness, and dependability in our language. . . . An indispensable, monumental survey of this particular field of literature. I am amazed at the amount of material that is here, and all the labor that it required. . . . The Christian church will be indebted . . . for exploring this vast literature and bringing the results before the Christian public."—DR. WILBUR M. SMITH, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, Calif.

PAINSTAKING SCHOLARSHIP IN PREPARATION.—

"This review might well begin with an expression of appreciation of the painstaking scholarship which has gone into the preparation of this series of volumes in which the whole history of the interpretation of prophecy has been attempted. . . . There is no doubt of the historical importance of this story as told in these four volumes or of the honesty and scholarship which has gone into the telling of it."—DR. WILLIAM WARREN SWEET, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

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**PROPHECY IS THE MASTER KEY THAT
UNLOCKS THE MYSTERIES OF HISTORY**

The
Prophetic
Faith of
Our Fathers

VOL. I

FROOM



The
PROPHETIC FAITH
OF OUR FATHERS

*The Historical Development
of Prophetic Interpretation*

by

LE ROY EDWIN FROMM

VOLUME I

Early Church Exposition, Subsequent
Deflections, and Medieval Revival



REVIEW AND HERALD
WASHINGTON, D.C.

TO ALL Students of Bible Prophecy, Who
Desire to Trace the Luminous Torch of
Prophetic Interpretation in Its Transmis-
sion From Hand to Hand Through the
Centuries, and to Watch the Course of Ad-
vancing and Increasing Light That Guided
the Feet of Our Spiritual Forefathers in the
Early Church, and in Medieval Times, This
Volume Is Sincerely Dedicated

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ABBREVIATIONS

In the footnote references certain large collections of source materials have been abbreviated as follows:

ANF, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*.

MBVP, *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*.

MGH, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

NPNF, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*.

PG, *Patrologia Graeca* (Migne).

PL, *Patrologia Latina* (Migne).

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From the Author to the Reader

THROUGHOUT the ages godly men have seriously sought to understand and to interpret the prophecies recorded in God's Holy Word. They have sought to know where they were in the unfolding of the divine plan of the ages—and what was coming hereafter in God's scheme of things. An earnest endeavor has here been made to trace this quest of man back through the centuries by systematically gathering and analyzing the essential records of all leading expositors of Bible prophecy from apostolic days down to the twentieth century; yes, beginning, in fact, with Jewish expositors prior to the Christian Era.

Bearing of Prophetic Interpretation on Church History

Even the best of historians and biographers have usually overlooked, or at least underrated, the influence of prophetic interpretation in the religious thinking of past centuries. There is customarily an extensive treatment of dogmatic and organizational problems in church history. These issues were often highly disturbing, and have left their marks—and often their scars—upon both church and state, as well as upon the records of the times.

But this oft-forgotten element of Biblical prophecy has frequently exerted an even greater influence than some of the commonly emphasized factors, not only upon the leaders of the people, but also upon the masses as well. It has often arrested the attention and gripped the imagination of men. And not infrequently it has stirred whole groups to important action. It has at times shaped the very course of empire, and materially affected the welfare of the church. This recital, then, is in a sense a phase of church history, and proffers a key that will

unlock scores of otherwise baffling mysteries in the record of the years. It is therefore a valid and vital field of study.

The interpretation of prophecy has not been simply a by-product of Bible study. It has been not merely an occasional interest but a remarkably constant one over long periods of time. Nor has it been attempted chiefly by obscure and ignorant men. Instead, the expositors of the years have usually been men of prominence, learning, and influence, whose lives and teachings not only have molded their own generation, but often have lived on, influencing other generations to come. Very frequently these expositors were the key men of their times. They were fearless men, many going to the stake for their faith. And they represented all walks of life—churchmen, statesmen, teachers, historians, scientists, mathematicians, physicians, philosophers, discoverers. They included Jewish rabbis, Catholic clerics, Christian ministers, dissentients, prominent laymen, and even monarchs on the throne. They constituted a remarkable cross section of humanity, and were usually the intellectual leaders of their day. These facts have necessitated a study of the men themselves, that the character of their exposition might be evaluated—hence, the biographical approach and emphasis that has been followed.

Impelling Motive Back of This Search

The challenge of a great need was the impelling motive back of this really huge undertaking—the obvious need for a thorough work of this sort, and the lack of anything of its kind extant in any language. The history of past interpretation should have a direct bearing on prophetic interpretation today. But the sheer inaccessibility of many of the thousands of source documents required for a work of this character, the prohibitive costliness of extensive travel and of acquiring them, the excessive time required for such a task, and the need of expert assistants to overcome the multiple language barriers, all combine to place a task of this kind utterly beyond the range of most

students, no matter how competent they may be or how desirous of undertaking such a study.

The proffered provision, then, of the facilities and the means necessary for carrying through such a tremendous task, was regarded by the author as a summons to undertake such an investigation.

Difficulties Involved in the Quest

In order to present the development of prophetic interpretation in its proper historical setting, it was necessary, of course, first to collect, so far as possible, all the available books, manuscripts, and other materials bearing on the subject, for study and evaluation. It was no small task even to *discover* many of the rarer items. Prophetic interpretation has for decades been a neglected study, and all too many of its source materials have been untouched for a long period of time.

Many a gem of prophetic interpretation has been reposing for scores of years, if not for centuries, on the dusty shelves of the great book collections of the Old World and the New. These jewels of prophetic exposition are scattered among the extensive holdings of great national libraries and large universities, the archives of smaller colleges and old theological schools, and the libraries of ancient churches and monasteries, as well as notable private collections. Some, indeed, are in the possession of rare book collectors, or, perchance, in quaint old bookshops.

It was to seek out these expositions from among the musty tomes that clutter the crowded shelves of the world's great archives, and to make them available to all students of prophecy in usable, documented form that three research trips to Europe were undertaken—in 1935, in 1938, and again in 1948. This search for the prophetic interpretations of the centuries was consequently undertaken in the favoring lull between the two world wars. And fortunate—or providential, it would surely appear to be—was the timing.

Such unhampered research is no longer possible today on

the continent of Europe, and there is no assurance concerning the future. Moreover, many of the libraries from which these materials were secured have been damaged or destroyed by the ravages of World War II, along with many of the almost irreplaceable originals of these rare prophetic treasures that they housed, but many of which are now in our possession in microfilm or photostatic form, in extract if not in entirety. The photostat copies are therefore the more valuable, and in the case of certain manuscript materials they may be the only copies now in existence.

Meanwhile the seemingly endless bookshelves of the New World have also been combed for significant prophetic materials. And we are happy to report that the results of this extensive quest, on both sides of the Atlantic, have far exceeded all earlier hopes and expectations. One is reminded of the apt expression in Ezra 6:1: "Search was made in the house of the books, where the treasures were laid up." (Margin.) The materials assembled, forming the bulk of the source documents for all four volumes of *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, comprise what is known as the Advent Source Collection, the largest in its field ever to be brought together in one place. It is housed in a special vault in the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Takoma Park, Washington, D.C.

Matches Findings of Archaeologist's Spade

The archaeologist's spade has restored the long-lost—or at least long-unknown—supporting evidence of secular historical testimony in vindication of the Biblical record. In like manner, in the field of prophetic interpretation this systematic quest has brought to light these interpretations of the past. We believe that their issuance in this documented form will make a definite contribution to Christian evidences and apologetics.

And as the revealing clay tablets and papyrus rolls of old, and the priceless carvings in stone, had to be deciphered by the archaeologists in order to read their treasured messages, so have

many of these rare expositional treatises been locked away in old medieval Latin, in unvoweled Hebrew, or in the early forms of German, French, and English. Some medieval manuscripts were written with almost unseparated words, and many of these in the difficult abbreviated forms of the Middle Ages. Many of these treatises had, therefore, to be translated by experts.

The Safeguards of Group Endeavor

This search for the prophetic expositors and their writings has never been a one-man quest. Through approximately sixteen years of endeavor there have always been associates, first in searching out and finding the sources in the various libraries of Europe and America, and then in the reading and the analyzing of the materials collected. It was also necessary to have the help of competent translators from the Latin, German, French, Spanish, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Scandinavian, and other foreign languages in which many of these sources are found. So always it has really been a group project, with the safeguardings that the application of various minds—of investigators, linguists, historians, consultants, and verifiers—would bring. Often these have been the most eminent men in their fields. Due credit to such appears in the Acknowledgments at the close of each volume.

Earnest endeavor has been made to present these materials accurately and to evaluate them fairly. The undeviating purpose has been to present all the essential facts, that the reader may weigh and evaluate for himself. To this end, comprehensive tables, charts, and covering statements, at the close of each major epoch, epitomize the principal interpretations of the leading expositors within the period. Thus the combined evidence of the period is made available at a glance. The author and his colaborers recognize that, despite all the safeguards thrown around the procedures, there is still the possibility of error or inadequacy in some phase of the presentation.

The Author's Viewpoint Set Forth

Any author must necessarily have a viewpoint. His opinions of his subject matter are bound to be visible to some degree, if only in the choice and treatment of the materials, though he reserves the direct expression of these for his summaries and conclusions.

This author is an evangelical Christian—a Protestant conservative—who believes first of all, and without reservation, in the divine inspiration of the Scriptures (2 Tim. 3:16), and the fundamental provisions of the gospel; second, that the “sure word of prophecy,” written by the prophets of old as they were “moved by the Holy Ghost,” was divinely given to man as “a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn” (2 Peter 1:19); and third, that “no prophecy of the scripture is of any private [*idios*—independent, isolated, personal, solitary] interpretation” (2 Peter 1:20).

The author believes, further, that according to His promise, “God will do nothing, but He revealeth His secret unto His servants the prophets.” Amos 3:7. He also believes that God has declared “the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying, My counsel shall stand” (Isa. 46:10); further, that the “path of the just” is designed of God to be “as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day” (Prov. 4:18); and finally, that prophecy has been given unto us to establish sound and substantial faith—that “when it is come to pass, ye might believe” (John 14:29; cf. 13:19 and 16:4). Incidentally, the only direct command our Lord ever gave to understand the Word was directed to the understanding of the prophecy of Daniel. (Matt. 24:15.)

This, then, is the Biblical justification for the study of prophecy, and consequently of the propriety of man's honest and reverent attempt to understand its meaning and to read its lesson.

God's Witnesses to Recognized Fulfillments

Extensive research such as this, with its voluminous findings, which have been carefully analyzed and organized, inevitably develops certain definite conclusions or convictions by the time the author rounds out his work, and comes to the task of recording his findings in systematic form.

For example, your investigator has been brought slowly but irresistibly to the conclusion that prophecy has been progressively understood just as fast as history has fulfilled it, step by step, down through the passing centuries. And, further, that always at the time of fulfillment of each major epoch and event of prophecy there have been numerous men of eminence and godliness, widely scattered geographically, who have recognized that a fulfillment was taking place before their very eyes. They have sensed where they were on the timetable of prophecy, and have left the record of that recognition. Such is the evidence.

These men we shall denominate God's "witnesses" to a recognized fulfillment, and their writings as constituting their "testimony" to that understanding. They bear a confirmatory testimony to the inspired character of Scripture and the foreknowledge of God, through attesting the recognized historical fulfillment of the divine predictions of Bible prophecy. They are the expositors, or interpreters, of prophecy, who have held aloft the luminous torch of truth through the centuries, as pictured in the frontispiece.

Mankind Needs the Light of Prophecy

Mankind greatly needs the beacon light of prophecy, for there is a divine purpose and blessing in prophecy. Mankind needs its guiding rays, and its inspiring hope and steadying assurance, in order to find the harbor of eternity in safety. Without the light of prophecy the future is a vast and impenetrable unknown, a trackless desert, an uncharted sea. But prophecy is God's index finger pointing the way out for a world engulfed in growing confusion, disillusionment, and

despair. The general quest for knowledge and certainty concerning the future of the world, the church, and the individual is pathetic. Prophecy is God's answer to man's anxious questioning. Yes, mankind needs prophecy and the reverent interpretation of the centuries. Only thus does the darksome journey across the years become the lighted way.

In a time of frustration, fear, and uncertainty, it is good to know that there are some things that are sure and steadfast. The inspired apostle Paul assures us, "Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure." 2 Tim. 2:19. These certainties of God are disclosed in Holy Writ, particularly in its inspired prophecies. And they stand fast, unmoved and immovable, in a world that is crumbling, because they are rooted in the mind and purpose of God. They are therefore foundational in God's scheme of things.

The title chosen for this work, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, was selected because it would appropriately embrace the prophetic faith of the fathers of the early Christian church, the fathers of the Reformation church, and of the colonial American church, as well as of those of more modern times. The results of this quest are here presented to the Christian church at large as an aid to sound investigation of this important phase of Holy Writ, with the earnest hope that they will prove to be as inspiring and faith-building to the reader as they have been to the author.

LEROY EDWIN FROMM.

Washington, D.C.

The Scope and Purpose of Inspired Prophecy

I. The Torch of Prophecy Illuminates the Centuries

The profound influence of the Bible prophecies on the vital concepts of mankind, and hence on the welfare of the church and the course of empire, stretches across the centuries. The testimony of an unending procession of competent expositors of prophecy and its fulfillment is found in every major epoch, and appears at every important turning point of history.

Bible prophecy may aptly be likened to a flaming torch, lighting up the darksome highway in the passage of the centuries, illuminating the unfamiliar surrounding scenes, and identifying the advancing time and place of mankind in its march across the pages of history—ever onward toward the goal of ages. From generation to generation the lighted torch of prophecy has been passed on from one hand to another, and from one group to the next—sometimes flaming high, sometimes burning low. But always there are hands to transmit it to the next in line. And never has the prophetic torch gone out completely. Always there has been at least a flickering ray to disclose the path to those who have sought its guiding light.

1. PROFOUNDLY AFFECTED THE JEWISH ATTITUDE.—The molding, energizing force of Old Testament prophecy was already evident in Jewish history long before the dawn of the Christian Era. The Messianic hope of the Jews, and their national aspirations, which were based on prophecies, pro-

foundly affected their fundamental attitude toward other nations. It permeated their entire thinking and action, and it often determined, in turn, the treatment that the Jews themselves were accorded by the Gentile world.

An early example, although perhaps traditional, may serve to indicate the influence of Biblical prophecies even in the pagan world—the story of how Alexander the Great was induced to spare Jerusalem after hearing himself described from the Jewish sacred scrolls as the “first king” symbolized by the notable and victorious horn on the head of the Grecian goat, which was one of Daniel’s symbolic beasts of prophecy.

It is, of course, well known to all that Christ applied many Old Testament predictions to His own life and death, and that the popular Jewish misconception of those very prophecies was the cause of His rejection by His own nation. Nevertheless, the Messianic hope continued to play a dominant part in the life and aspirations of the Jews during the later centuries of the Diaspora. And various pseudo-Messianic movements, springing up among them, gave false courage and strength to many for a time, while others led to definite disaster and setbacks.

2. JESUS THE STAR WITNESS OF ALL TIME.—Jesus’ statements concerning His own ministry—that He came just as “the time” was due to be “fulfilled,” that He was the long-foretold Anointed One who was to preach deliverance to the captives, and His many other references to the prophecies of the Old Testament—reveal only too clearly the importance that Christ assigned to inspired prophecy. He was the Star Witness of all time in the field of prophecy. He ennobled and elevated sacred prophecy and prophetic interpretation, putting the seal of divine approval upon it.

3. PROFOUND INFLUENCE ON THE EARLY CHURCH.—The development of the early Christian church was definitely based on the prophetic hope of the Saviour’s speedy return at the end of the age, with its tremendous events—the rolling back of the heavens as a scroll, the appearing of the Son of man,

the resurrection of the dead, and the fearful yet glorious judgment scenes—followed by the eternal heavenly kingdom to come. In ardent expectation of this glorious future the early Christians were constrained to spread the gospel of salvation with zealous haste. And it was this concept that nerved them to withstand the terrible agonies of mutilation by wild beasts and an ignominious death in the amphitheater, the searing flames of the martyr's stake, and all the other manifestations of the wrath of the pagan Roman "dragon," warring upon the church.

Thus it was with Justin Martyr, of the second century, in his famous *Apologies* to the pagan Roman rulers. Their understanding of the times caused these Christian stalwarts to pray repeatedly for the continuance of the restraining Roman Empire, lest the dreaded worse times of Antichrist, expected to follow upon its fall, should overtake them in their day. Prophecy was a beacon light guiding the church of the centuries following, showing them where they were in the march of time—as they first awaited and then apprehensively watched the fateful breakup of the Roman Empire.

4. A CHANGE IN EMPHASIS.—When hope of a speedy return of the Saviour grew dim, because several centuries had rolled by, a revolutionary view of prophecy was introduced which resulted in a new orientation and a new ideology. It started the church off in another direction. Did not prophecy speak of a glorious thousand-year reign of the saints? Perhaps this period was not heavenly but earthly. Perhaps, after all, it was not future but present, beginning with the first instead of the second advent.

Augustine, in his treatise, *The City of God*—which molded the concepts of the Christian West for a thousand years thereafter—definitely placed the accent upon an earthly fulfillment of those age-old prophecies. On the assumption that the millennial reign had already begun on earth, and that the church was God's only true exponent and representative, the Roman church

soon asserted power over body, soul, and spirit, as well as over peasant, king, and sage. It claimed to be the sole guardian of truth and the only custodian of salvation.

5. TORCH AGAIN UPLIFTED IN MIDDLE AGES.—It was the uplifting of the prophetic torch again, after A.D. 1000, that illuminated the winding pathway through the Middle Ages. Under such men as the Venerable Bede, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Joachim of Floris, within the Roman church, prophecy came again into the thinking of many. (See frontispiece.)

The fires of enthusiasm for the crusades, kindled among the masses, were kept aflame through asserting that the Saracenic "Antichrist" had taken possession of God's holy city, and that God had definitely directed the Christians to rout these diabolic hordes of Gog and Magog. But the church had grown vain and arrogant. Earnest, spiritual-minded souls were distressed and aggrieved. They were disgusted with what they saw of sin, pride, and gross corruption in high places among those who administered the holy sacraments, and now claimed to be on a level high above the simple laymen.

6. PRE-REFORMATION PATHFINDERS GUIDED BY PROPHECY.—And when the common folk came into possession of the Bible they found in its prophecies the portrayals of "Babylon," the great courtesan, and of "Antichrist," the oppressor of God's truth and people. Could it be that these were allusions to the church, fallen from its high calling and place? Whole movements sprang up, which found their invincible strength and consolation, despite peril and persecution, in the prophecies that spoke of the final glory of God's loyal little band and of their acceptance in the councils of heaven as those clad in white robes, and with palms of victory in their hands. The irrepressible Waldenses were fortified for the stake and the sword by their study and application of prophecy.

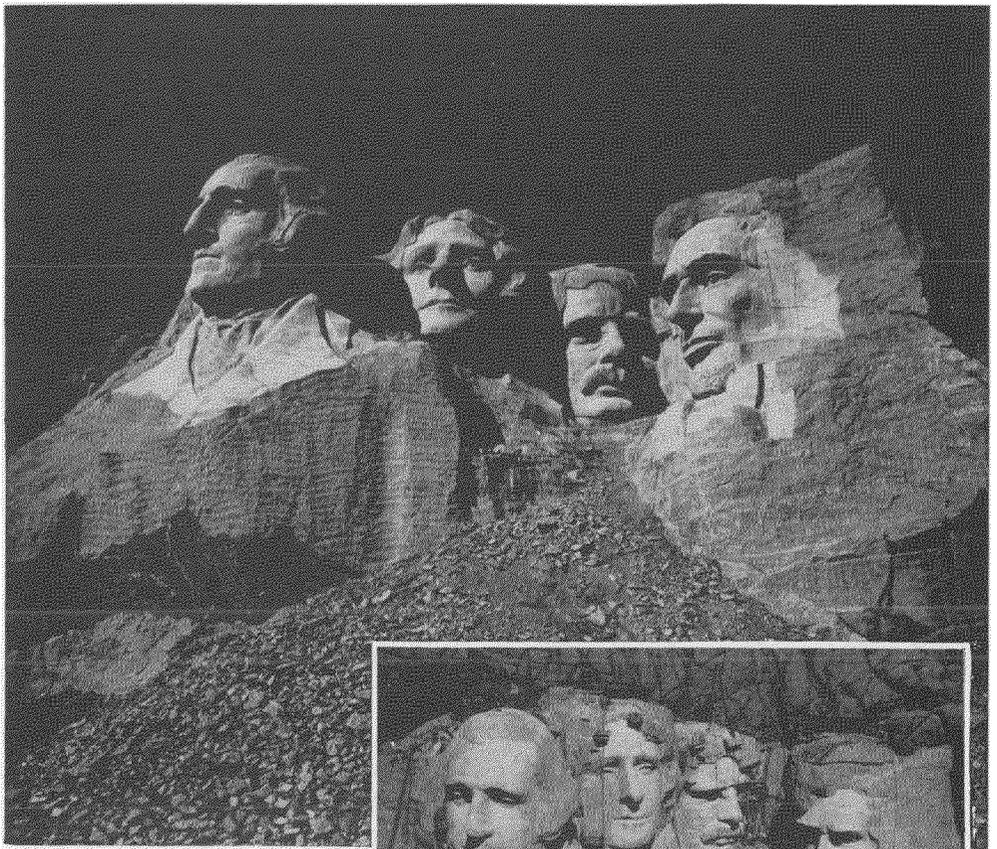
Prophecy inspired some of the trenchant poems of Dante and soul-searching sonnets of Petrarch in the early Renaissance. Prophecy soon after guided Wyclif in his epochal contest with

Rome. It was prophecy that fortified Huss and Savonarola for the flames of the martyr's stake. It was prophecy that Columbus, faithful son of the Roman church, cited as foretelling his voyages to the New World, as he rejoiced in the thought of helping to bring about the preaching of the gospel to all before the end of time. He considered his astonishing discoveries but a fulfillment of Bible prophecy, a subject that occupied his thoughts to such an extent that, famous discoverer though he was, he even wrote a treatise on the prophecies.

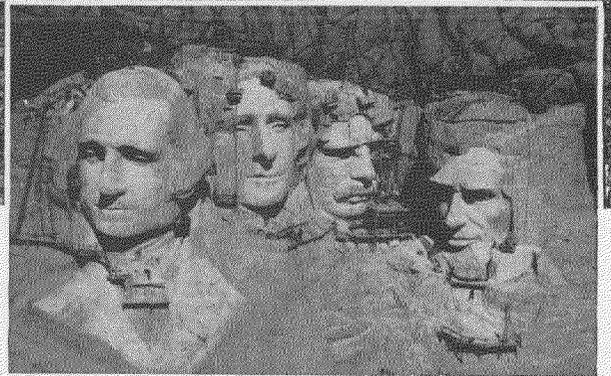
7. FLAMES HIGH IN REFORMATION TIMES.—And it was by the flaming torch of prophecy that Luther sought to identify his mortal foe, and was encouraged to make his epochal break with Rome. Prophecy definitely molded the aggressive course of the Reformation in Germany, Switzerland, Britain, Scandinavia, and the Low Countries, and even penetrated to France and Italy.

The influence of the prophetic note on the Reformation is well-nigh incalculable, though largely unrecognized and unheralded by historians and biographers. When Luther saw the hopelessness of reforming the church from within, he began to think of her as apostate from God—a body from which he must separate. When he burned the pope's bull as the bull of the prophesied Antichrist, he sounded the battle cry to withdraw from her communion and to fight against the Antichristian system. This clarion call soon echoed throughout all Europe with tremendous effect. Its repercussions were felt everywhere. So it was not merely the medieval mind which stressed prophecy. The highly educated Reformation leaders used prophecy as one of their mightiest weapons in calling upon the faithful to separate from Babylon, the fallen church, and to break with the Antichrist who had usurped the place of God, and who sat enthroned in the temple of God.

But they did not stop there. They wrote a veritable stream of tractates and commentaries, and made the common people familiar with the interpretations of the four world powers of



GUTZON BORGLUM—DESIGNER AND SCULPTOR



PROPHETIC PORTRAYALS AS RECOGNIZABLE AS RUSHMORE FIGURES

Inset Shows Figures of Washington, Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Lincoln in Process of Carving. In Early Stages Identity of Each Could Not Be Determined Until Sufficiently Developed. So With the Prophesied Nations—Time and Historical Development Identified the Predicted Four World Powers of Daniel. The Washington Head Is Sixty Feet From Forehead to Chin; Nose, Twenty-one Feet High; Mouth, Eighteen Feet Wide

Daniel and the phrasings of the other prophetic symbols of the book. From the Reformation stems a long line of prophetic expositions which molded Protestant thinking for centuries after their day. These were based on what came to be known as the Historical School of prophetic interpretation—the pro-

gressive and continuous fulfillment of prophecy, in unbroken sequence, from Daniel's day and the time of John, on down to the second advent and the end of the age.

It was these established principles of prophecy that nerved the English Reformers for the cruel fires of Smithfield, in the days of "Bloody Mary." The key prophecy of Daniel 7 furnished the text for Knox's powerful first sermon, which moved all Scotland. And it was actually the force of prophecy that King James I of England invoked in his astonishing appeal to the other potentates of Europe in 1609, based on the premise of the prophecies of the Antichrist in the Apocalypse.

All the leading Protestant scholars wrote on the principal prophecies of the Bible as a matter of course, just as they wrote on the rest of the Bible. And among these commentators were often names not usually connected by us with prophetic exposition—brilliant scientists and mathematicians, for example, like John Napier, Sir Isaac Newton, and William Whiston. All walks of life were, in fact, represented. (See illustration in frontispiece.)

8. OLD WORLD WITNESSES PARALLELED BY NEW.—At the same time the Old World witnesses were paralleled by vigorous writers in colonial America. Familiar names appear in a new role—John Cotton, the Mathers, Jonathan Edwards, and Timothy Dwight, to name but a few—as effective expositors of prophecy. Prophecy held a key place in the thinking of colonial leaders in all vocations—physicians, legislators, governors, judges, teachers, college presidents, historians, and poets, as well as the theologians. All were gripped by the force of fulfilled prophecy, and gave utterance to remarkable expositions that have become unknown today to the vast majority.

Prophetic terms were woven into the speech and literature of the times, as, for example, the famous *New England Primer*. Not only did Harvard College have a lecture series based on Bible prophecy, but also several of her earlier presidents wrote on prophecy. In the struggle for religious freedom in the

American colonies, Roger Williams was, of course, the outstanding figure. He too considered religious intolerance a heritage from the persecuting "beast" of prophecy, and this he boldly published and pressed upon Parliament.

9. PROPHECY AND THE COUNTER REFORMATION.—But if prophecy was a forceful weapon in the hands of Protestants, it was also turned to effective account by the Catholics. Forced to the defensive by the uncomplimentary prophetic symbols and epithets applied by Protestant expositors to the Papacy, the Jesuits produced two counterinterpretations of these selfsame prophecies, called Futurism and Preterism. These were designed to parry the force of Protestant Reformation teachings and to shift the application of the Antichrist and similar prophecies away from the pope and out of the Middle Ages. And these systems left their indelible mark upon history. They have profoundly influenced multitudes, not simply within the Catholic Church, but, strangely enough, outside—in the very ranks of Protestantism as well. In fact, they have split Protestantism as regards prophecy.

10. FRENCH REVOLUTION ANTICIPATED.—Moreover, it was prophecy that led a line of men for more than a century before the French Revolution to look for a violent upheaval in France shortly before 1800, and to leave the record of their considered expectation of the time and the nation involved. So the search for the understanding of prophecy has been the pursuit of some of the greatest minds this world has ever known, and in all epochs and areas of the Christian Era. That has been its undeniable influence.

11. PRODUCTS AND BY-PRODUCTS OF PROPHECY.—In other fields, such as art, literature, pedagogy, and even medicine and statecraft, we can trace the same telltale marks of the prophetic influence. Noted teachers, like John Wyclif, Joseph Mede, and even Johann Comenius, drew inspiration from the prophecies. Martyrologists, like John Foxe, were engrossed with the prophetic picture painted by the lives of their martyred dead.

Artists like Rembrandt and Michelangelo wove the prophetic scenes into their canvases and murals.

Certain aspects of prophecy have made their influence felt in quarters only indirectly related to prophecy and its interpretation—for example, the Fifth Monarchy movement and the politics of Cromwell's day. It might be even less apparent on the surface that a belief in the restoration of the Jews induced political repercussions in the history of England in the seventeenth century. Yet this was the case. Manasseh ben Israel, leading Jewish rabbi of Amsterdam, influenced some of the English Puritan leaders through his prophetic interpretation. As a result Oliver Cromwell gave protection to the Jews in England. And the Puritans took an interest in mission work among them, and even gave credence to the strange concept that there were Jews among the North American Indians.

Indeed, it is a fact that John Eliot, colonial New England apostle to the Indians, thought he was evangelizing the descendants of the "ten lost tribes" of Israel. And, for that matter, when the well-known European missionary and traveler Joseph Wolff came to America, he too inquired after the lost tribes of Israel among the Indians.

The awakening of interest in the prophecies in England during the early nineteenth century caused considerable effort to be put forth to convert the Jews, and it is not improbable that public interest in their behalf hastened the relief of English Jews from civil disabilities. Certain it is that one of these English missionary enterprises resulted in making Lewis Way's influence felt in obtaining a measure of emancipation for the Jews of Russia.

In more recent years the strong support Zionism has found in numerous Christian circles is based mainly on the belief that the return of the Jews to Palestine will fulfill their interpretation of certain prophecies. Coming to our day, current secular writing boldly borrows the terms of the Apocalypse. To note but one, the very word "Armageddon" has become a household term in recent years, though its prophetic connotations are but

vaguely understood. But that is outside the range of our present quest.

12. AN UNSUSPECTED MOTIVATING FORCE.—Prophecy has therefore been vastly more of a motivating and guiding force in the lives of men in the leadership of the church and the nations than has been recognized. This conclusion has been clearly borne out by the dust-covered evidence available in the archives of both the Old World and the New.

This photoflash picture of the past here presented—glimpsed fleetingly as the curtain is briefly drawn aside—gives an idea of the fascinating path across the centuries that we shall traverse through the pages of these four volumes of *Prophetic Faith*. Here will appear, in documented form, the long-neglected and largely unknown evidence concerning the prophetic faith of our spiritual forefathers. Here this rough sketch will be filled in, and the picture completed. We shall view the past that we may better understand the present, and in turn, may discern with greater confidence the grand outline of the future in the light of prophecy. That is the ample justification of this extensive quest.

II. Prophetism—Its Nature, Scope, and Method

In Old Testament usage the term *prophet* had several shades of meaning, and included various functions. These functions involve not only foretelling but forthtelling as well—guiding and counseling, admonishing and warning, as well as predicting. A prophet is one inspired,¹ or instructed by God, to speak in His name, often to announce future events. His office is to deliver a message. The word *prophet* is derived from Hebrew words meaning “a seer” or “speaker.” The old term for prophet, *seer*, is usually translated from the Hebrew *roeh*, meaning “to see.” (1 Sam. 9:9.) Another word, *chozeh* (to see), is used less frequently.

¹ *Inspiration* is that influence of the Spirit of God upon the mind of the prophet by which is conveyed knowledge of religious truth or future events, and which is also guarded against error in delivery.

This involved visions from God, conveyed through prophetic symbols and other appropriate and adequate means.² A prophet, then, is primarily one who "sees," who "pierces through the veil that hides the world of Divine things, or one for whom this veil is lifted occasionally so that he obtains an inner knowledge of the realities beyond."³

And what the prophet sees, of these divine realities, is to be declared to others. This further part of the prophet's responsibility is expressed in the most common Hebrew word for prophet, *nabi*, literally to speak forth. So, a prophet was a man of inspired speech, one who "giveth forth" words from God. The difference between these two Hebrew words is thus clear and consistent. One expresses the manner of receiving his message; the other, the transmission of the message he has received. Prophecy is therefore a divine idea imparted by God to men through His chosen instrumentality.

The two thoughts involved in the two Hebrew words unite in our one English word *prophet*, which is itself taken from the Greek, meaning not only "foreteller," but "for-speaker," or "forthspeaker"—i.e., one who speaks for God. Hence the word *prophet* has the twofold meaning of "seer" and "proclaimer" (Eze. 3:17, 18), or the proclaimer of a revelation. These two distinct phases of the prophetic gift are clearly set forth in the experience of the prophet Daniel:

"In the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon Daniel had a dream and visions of his head upon his bed: then he wrote the dream, and told the sum of the matters. Daniel spake and said, I saw in my vision by night, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea." Dan. 7:1, 2.

Daniel was a prophet. The Lord appeared to him in a vision and spoke to him in a heaven-born dream, and what he saw and heard he wrote in a book. In this way he made known what was revealed to him, and functioned as a prophet.⁴ This

² Arthur P. Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, vol. 1, p. 380.

³ Andrew C. Zenos, "Prophecy, Prophet," *Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Bible Dictionary*, p. 739.

⁴ This same twofold concept is borne out in Ezekiel 40:4.

central idea, therefore, of the word *prophet*, is clearly one to whom God reveals Himself and through whom He speaks. This revelation may or may not relate to the future.⁵ The prophet is a *forthteller*, not necessarily a *foreteller*. The essence of prophetism is "immediate intercourse with God."⁶

The prophet is consequently one who is lifted up by the Spirit of God into communion with Him, so that he is enabled to interpret the divine will and to act as a medium between God and man. He is a channel of communication, and not the source thereof. He is a speaker, or spokesman, for God. His message is not his own, but comes from a higher source. He is a seer, seeing things outside the domain of natural sight; a hearer, who hears things beyond the range of the natural human ear.⁷ He is a chosen messenger, who communicates the revelation he has received from God. God's declaration is specific: "I the Lord will make Myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream." Num. 12:6. So Daniel, Jesus, Paul, and John, whose prophecies we are soon to trace, were pre-eminently among the prophets.

The prophets of Israel were the moral and religious teachers of their nation. They were the authoritative preachers of righteousness. They guided the religious life, which lay at the foundation of the nation's welfare. They were the counselors of kings, the revivalists and reformers of the nation, who awakened the religious sense of the people and forewarned of the certainty of divine judgment on sin. They proclaimed the divine plan of the ages, the goal toward which the nation was to move.⁸ The prophet was the mouthpiece of God, His ambassador to man, informing him of the divine will not ascertained by human wisdom or experience.

⁵ *Revelation* is a disclosure of something that was before unknown. And divine revelation is the direct communication of truths, before unknown, from God to men. (McClintock and Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, vol. 8, p. 1061, art. "Revelation.")

⁶ Marvin R. Vincent, *Word Studies in the New Testament*, vol. 1, pp. 325, 326.

⁷ C. von Orelli, "Prophecy, Prophets," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, vol. 4, p. 2459.

⁸ *Peloubet's Bible Dictionary*, p. 532, art. "Prophet."

The term *prophetism* may be said to include four particular functions:

1. REFORMATION AND GUIDANCE.—The major burden of most of the Hebrew prophets, especially the earlier ones, was that of reform and spiritual guidance—the aspect that receives the major emphasis among theologians today. Samuel, Ahijah, Elijah, Elisha, Amos, and Jeremiah functioned largely in this capacity, denouncing individual, social, and political sins, uttering admonitions to righteousness, and sustaining the true worship of God against idolatry. (See 1 Samuel 15; 1 Kings 14, 18, 20, 21; 2 Kings 6, 7, etc.)

2. PREDICTION OF IMMEDIATE EVENTS.—These were generally specific, immediate, and short range, and were often employed in addition to, or in connection with, the reforming message, such as the outcome of a war or the fate of a wicked king. Samuel, Nathan, and even Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Jonah exemplify this function. (See 1 Samuel 15; 2 Samuel 7, 12.)

3. FLASH PICTURES OF THINGS TO COME.—Scattered long-range predictions—like those uttered by Joel and Zephaniah on the “day of the Lord” (Joel 3; Zephaniah 1, 2), the Messianic prophecies of Isaiah 7 and 9 and Micah 4 and 5, the utter desolation pictured in Jeremiah 4, and the triumph of righteousness in Habakkuk 3—form this third category.

4. COMPREHENSIVE OUTLINE PROPHECIES.—Then there are the long-range, comprehensive, apocalyptic prophecies. Such prophecies, largely symbolic, extend to the end of the age, and involve the various aspects of eschatology—or the “doctrine of the last or final things”—as death, the resurrection, the judgment, the future reward of the righteous and final destruction of the wicked, the end of the age, the second advent of Christ, and the like. These are most fully exemplified by Daniel in the Old Testament and by John in the New Testament. The main points are laid down by Jesus in the so-called “synoptic apocalypse,” and are touched upon by Peter and Paul.

III. The Scope of This Treatise

1. DANIEL AND REVELATION THE PRINCIPAL FIELDS.—In tracing the historical development of prophetic interpretation through the centuries, it will be necessary to limit the study to certain main lines of prophecy—of the so-called apocalyptic or eschatological prophecies. We shall therefore trace, principally, the unfolding exposition of the two books of the Bible which present the most outstanding prophecies of the end of the age, and the events leading thereto—the books of Daniel and the Revelation—and also of the great prophecy of Jesus concerning the last days, and of certain related passages, such as Paul's discussion of the Man of Sin.

Again, the organization of the subject matter of these various prophetic interpretations will be centered on five principal topics that will be found to be the key factors which have conditioned the prophetic outlook of the Christian church through the centuries. These are: (1) the outline prophecies, (2) the resurrection, (3) the millennium, (4) the Antichrist, and (5) the visible kingdom of God. It will be pointed out that these five factors, influenced, of course, by the historical and spiritual background of the church, reacted to exert strong influence on the thinking and development of the church through the ages.

2. THE PLAN OF THIS WORK.—Pursuant to this plan of studying the unfolding interpretation of the books of Daniel and the Revelation, it is essential at the very outset to understand the relationship of Daniel's prophecy to the other writings of the Old Testament, which together constitute the Jewish canon of Scripture, as well as its relationship to the great epochs and events in Israel's history, and to the dominant Neo-Babylonian and Medo-Persian empires under whose control the Hebrews lived in Daniel's day. It is equally desirable to have a clear grasp of the relationship of Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians, and especially of the apostle John's book of Revelation, to the historical timing and circumstances of the

apostolic writings which comprise the New Testament canon of the Christian church. To aid in obtaining this over-all perspective, chapters two, three, and four will deal with the book of Daniel and its relation to the Old Testament canon and the Apocrypha, and then the Apocalypse in its relation to the New Testament canon. An understanding of this is fundamental.

After this background material of the first four chapters, the next two will give a brief survey of the *content* of these prophetic scriptures, as a basis for the study to follow of the successive *interpretations* of the prophecies that will form the body of this work. These preliminary chapters may seem rather expansive. However, they are not unduly extended for an introduction to a four-volume work of this character. They cover a relatively brief space in which to sketch the significant and illuminating background for the development of major prophetic interpretation through the centuries.

Indeed, the entire four volumes of this work afford space for only a survey of the subject of prophetic interpretation as it has ebbed and flowed through the ages, from the time of Daniel on to approximately the middle of the nineteenth century. And the ramifications of the numerous varieties of eschatological beliefs from the later nineteenth century to the present must be passed by; they would require several more volumes, but their taproots can be seen in the early nineteenth century. The present work is therefore primarily a survey of the past—of the historical antecedents of current views—rather than a study of present-day exposition.

IV. Definition of Prophetic Terms Employed

Certain terms pertaining to prophetic interpretation, which will occur with increasing frequency throughout the four volumes of *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, should be defined at the very outset. Especially should the following expressions be clearly understood:

1. **OUTLINE PROPHECIES.**—First, there are what may be called the outline prophecies, by which is meant a long sequence of epochs and events spanning the centuries, such as the four commonly recognized successive world powers of prophecy—Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome—as found in the great metallic image of the kingdom of man outlined in Daniel 2; or in the same four world empires portrayed by the four beasts in Daniel 7. These are commonly recognized as covering the centuries, and reaching to the same great climax of the ages. A similar outline of epochs and events is several times repeated in the Revelation. Here the seven churches, the seven seals, and the seven trumpets cover long stretches of time in chronological sequence, and each leads to the same final climax. These we shall consistently denominate the outline prophecies.

2. **TIME PROPHECIES.**—Prophetic time periods appear frequently in Daniel—such as the seventy weeks, the 1260 days, the 1290 and 1335 days, and the 2300 days—and there are paralleling time periods in the Revelation (the five months, forty-two months, three and a half times, three and a half days, ten days, et cetera). These are connected, of course, with definite events and activities, and their beginnings or endings are often marked by significant occurrences. These predicted time periods will be referred to as time prophecies, though they are tied inseparably into, and form a part of, the sequence of events depicted in the grand outline prophecies. They are the inspired measuring lines of prophecy. They constitute the inspired timetable of the centuries.

3. **BEAST.**—Another term, common to symbolic Bible prophecy, is that of “beast.” Nations were effectively cartooned or portrayed by various well-known or unknown beasts, just as some are today: the British lion, the Russian bear, or the American eagle. In Daniel’s day a lion, a bear, a leopard, and a fearful monster without an earthly replica appeared in Daniel 7, and the ram and he-goat of Daniel 8 are expressly explained by the prophet as symbols, respectively, of “Media and Persia”

and "Grecia." (Dan. 8:20, 21.) Similar "beasts" are pictured in the Revelation. These terms are not epithets of derision; they are simply the divine method of cartooning nations and their careers through the centuries. So a prophetic "beast" merely means a kingdom or nation, no more and no less.

4. HORN.—"Horn" is likewise frequently used to symbolize divisions, or nations, that develop out of a great parent kingdom. Thus the ten horns appearing on the fourth beast of Daniel 7 (compare the paralleling beasts of Revelation 13 and 17) are expressly stated to be ten kingdoms, or divisions, that would arise out of the territory of the fourth world kingdom.

5. WOMAN.—Still another term, sometimes causing perplexity, needs explanation—that of a symbolic "woman," which occurs frequently in the Revelation. It is used by the prophet to symbolize a church, true or false. The intent is obvious—a chaste woman, arrayed in pure white (Revelation 12), indicating a pure church; and a fallen woman, garbed in suggestive scarlet (Revelation 17), portraying a fallen or apostate church. In logical harmony with the figure the impure woman is called a "harlot," or a "whore." Her illicit, compromising relations with paganism and with the nations of the earth are denominated spiritual "adultery" or "whoredom," after the similar Old Testament reference to the lapses of Israel and Judah into idolatry and national sins. (Jeremiah 3; Ezekiel 16.)

These opprobrious terms refer to spiritual adultery, or an unholy mingling of the sacred and the secular, churchly apostasy and illicit union with the world. They therefore refer not to personal impurity but rather to departure from God.

6. MILLENNIUM.—Basically, the millennium is the reign of the saints with Christ during the thousand years of Revelation 20. The term "millennium" is given in the Merriam-Webster unabridged dictionary, second edition, as:

"1. A thousand years. . . . 2. Specif., the thousand years mentioned in Revelation xx, during which holiness is to be triumphant. Some believe that during this period Christ will reign on earth."

This is a more exact definition than that generally given, as, for example, in *The New Schaff-Herzog*, limiting it to the concept of an *earthly kingdom*:

"The term millennium denotes in theology the thousand years of the kingdom of Christ on earth referred to in Rev. xx. 1-6. Millenarianism (or the corresponding word of Greek derivation, chiliasm) is the belief in the millennium; more specifically, the belief that Christ will reign personally on the earth with his saints for one thousand years or an indefinitely long period before the end of the world."⁹

The only specific millenarian passage in the Bible is in Revelation 20, where, however, there is no mention of the saints' reigning on the earth. And not all Christians so interpret it. Therefore the first definition being less specific than the second, is more accurate and Biblical.

According to the Webster dictionary, "premillennialism" is "the doctrine that the second coming of Christ precedes, and ushers in, the millennium," in opposition to "postmillennialism," the theory that the second coming of Christ will be after the millennium, which is to come as the result of the Christianization of the world, presumably without miraculous intervention," and to "amillennialism," a more recent term, used sometimes of the view which eliminates the thousand years entirely, but more often regards it as the Christian age in general, or the supposed reign of the departed saints in heaven during this time—in either case throwing emphasis on the personal coming of Christ at the end of the age, followed immediately by the general resurrection and judgment and the eternal state.

So, after this statement of the scope and purpose of the present work, the next step will be to consider the Biblical background of the prophecies—primarily the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse in relation to the canon of Scripture.

⁹ Clarence Augustine Beckwith, "Millennium, Millenarianism," *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. 7, p. 374.

The Book of Daniel

and the Old Testament Canon

I. Daniel—Unique Statesman-Prophet, and His Times

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BOOK OF DANIEL.—As a result of apostasy, Israel, the northern kingdom, had come to its end in the century preceding Daniel's time, when the armies of Assyria had invested Samaria, captured the city, and taken into captivity the surviving remnant of the ten tribes. (2 Kings 17:1-41; 18:9, 10.) The apostasy spread to Judah, the southern kingdom. It grew steadily worse, until "they mocked the messengers of God, and despised His words, and misused His prophets, until the wrath of the Lord arose against His people, till there was no remedy." 2 Chron. 36:16.

Finally Judah fell before Babylon, which was called by inspiration "the hammer of the whole earth" (Jer. 50:23), conquering and punishing the nations. The kingdom of Babylon had, under Nabopolassar, taken advantage of the Scythian invasion to throw off the political yoke of the Assyrians and had allied itself with Media to hammer at the crumbling empire. Nineveh fell about 612 B.C., and finally the resistance of the last Assyrian king, who moved the capital to Harran, ceased by 606, or possibly 608; and thus the Chaldean dynasty, founded at Babylon in 626/5 by Nabopolassar, became firmly established.¹ Under his son Nebuchadnezzar II, the Neo-

¹ Sidney Smith, "Babylonia and Assyria: Archaeology," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1945 ed.), vol. 2, p. 851. The fact that Nineveh fell several years before the end of the Assyrian monarchy was not known until the publication of an ancient Babylonian chronicle in 1923. (See Daniel David Luckenbill, ed., *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 2, pp. 417-421.)

Babylonian Empire became the political as well as the cultural center of the civilization of the time.

The first stroke of the Babylonian hammer upon rebellious Judah fell in the third year of Jehoiakim, when Jerusalem was besieged and Judah was conquered, and part of the vessels of the Temple were carried to Babylon. This invasion, with which the book of the prophet Daniel opens, was the first of a series that climaxed with Nebuchadnezzar's complete destruction of Jerusalem in his nineteenth year (2 Kings 24, 25; 2 Chron. 36:5-21; Jer. 52:1-23), or in 586 B.C. Daniel may have been captured about the time the youthful Nebuchadnezzar was recalled from a military campaign by news of Nabopolassar's death. As commander of his father's forces, Nebuchadnezzar had moved west to put down revolts, and Jewish prisoners were among the captives sent to Babylon. In any event, this fits the year of Daniel's captivity.

The agreement of the sources is impressive. Josephus says that Nebuchadnezzar had Jewish captives sent to Babylon shortly after the death of his father; Daniel indicates that he and his companions were captured by Nebuchadnezzar and taken to Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim; and Jeremiah makes it clear that the third year of Jehoiakim was that immediately preceding the first year of Nebuchadnezzar.² Thus it would seem that Daniel was transported to Babylon in what is now called the "accession year" of Nebuchadnezzar, which would be, according to the Babylonian tablets, in the late summer or autumn, 605 B.C.³

2. REMARKABLE CHARACTER OF PROPHET DANIEL.—Daniel the Prophet was probably a prince from the royal line of Judah. Born perhaps about 623 B.C. into a family of prominence, he had many educational and social advantages. Physically without blemish, and intellectually skilled in knowledge, wisdom, and science, Daniel was chosen as one of a small group to be trained

² Compare Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*, book 1, chap. 19, and *Antiquities*, book 10, chap. 11 (in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 1, pp. 217, 219, and vol. 6, pp. 279, 281, respectively) with Dan. 1:1 and Jer. 25:1.

³ For the explanation of the accession date of Nebuchadnezzar, see Appendix A, part 1.

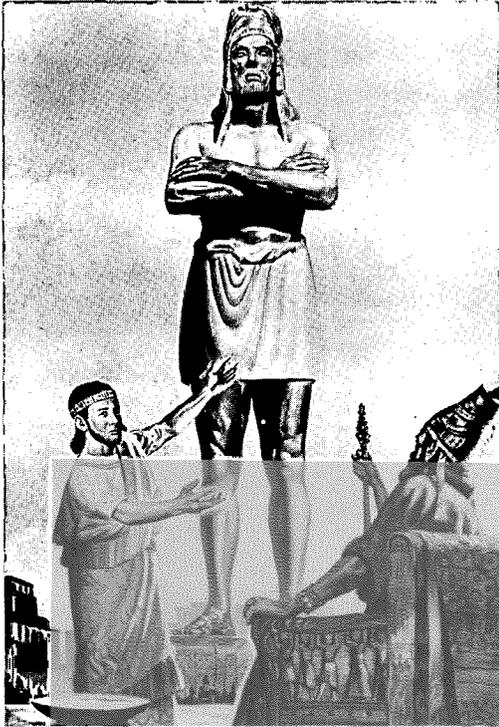
“to stand in the king’s palace.” Taken to Babylon at the beginning of the seventy years’ captivity, he “continued even unto the first year of King Cyrus” of Persia, whose reign marked the ending of the seventy years’ captivity.

If Daniel was about eighteen when brought into this heathen court, in service to the king of Babylon, he lived to be nearly ninety years of age. After the course of special training in what we might call the royal college, Daniel and his three companions graduated with honors, with the final examination given by Nebuchadnezzar himself. Thenceforth they were employed in the service of the government.

In the very year that Daniel and his companions entered the service of the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar had a dream of a great metallic image—a dream which he himself could not remember, and the Chaldean wise men could not explain, but which the Hebrew youth interpreted for him. As a result, he made Daniel “ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon.” Daniel also sat “in the gate of the king.” This would indicate, in Old Testament usage, that he held the position of judge, since the “gate” commonly refers to the place whence judgment was dispensed. Thus Daniel rose speedily to a high position in the government, and later under Belshazzar, on the eve of the fall of Babylon, was proclaimed third ruler in the kingdom. And throughout the reign of successive monarchs, the downfall of Babylon, and the establishment of the Persian Empire, his statesmanship, wisdom, integrity, and fidelity to principle were such that he became prime minister under the new ruler who took over Belshazzar’s kingdom.

II. Historical Background of Daniel’s Prophetic Symbolism

1. ROYAL DREAM OF THE METAL COLOSSUS.—A study of the Babylonian religious beliefs current in Nebuchadnezzar’s day shows that the symbolism of the great image (Daniel 2) was peculiarly appropriate for conveying the message of God to



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PAUL REMMEY, ARTIST

THE GREAT PROPHETIC DRAMA IN THREE MAJOR ACTS

Act I. Predicted Sequence of the Nations

The Prophesied Four World Powers, in Succession, Symbolized by Daniel's Metallic Man, Are Followed by the Divided Kingdoms of the Latter Days

Act II. Final Shattering of All Nations

The Crash of All Nations Takes Place as the Stone Smites the Image Upon the Feet and Toes, Accomplished Through Divine Intervention, Not Human Endeavor

Act III. Eternal Kingdom of God

The Everlasting Kingdom, Established as the Stone Becomes the Mountain That Stands Forever, Succeeds All Earthly Powers—the Eternal Home of the Saints

THE DIVINE OUTLINE OF PROPHECY—GOD'S ADVANCE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

the royal auditor in understandable terms of the time. The youthful Daniel explained to the king that God had honored him with a far-reaching vista of the future destiny of nations; that the veil hiding the unknown was lifted to show "what should come to pass hereafter."

In the dream a huge colossus of a man seemed to stand before the king, scintillating in the sunlight. The head was of glittering gold, the breast and arms were of shining silver, the waist and thighs of glowing brass, the legs pillars of dull iron, with the feet of mingled iron and clay. Then a mystic stone, cut out of a mountain without human agency, and self-propelled, struck the image upon the feet, grinding the colossus to powder, which the great wind carried away like chaff. But the stone itself "became a great mountain and filled the earth."

These four metallic divisions, Daniel plainly declared, signified four consecutive world powers beginning with Nebuchadnezzar's empire. And back of these four empires God's hand was disclosed, amid the scenes, working out His divine purpose through the course of history. Like the metals, each succeeding kingdom was less magnificent but stronger than the preceding, until the iron and brittle clay—the mixture of strong and weak divisions of the fourth empire—refused to cohere. Then the stone—a new power from without, not originated by man—smote those divided kingdoms with sudden violence and shattered the whole, ending man's rule and making way for God's eternal kingdom, which supersedes it. That was the prophetic picture. (Artist's representation on page 38.)

2. NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S RELIGION.—The symbolism explained by Daniel—the metals, the stone, the mountain, and the wind which blows away the fragments—was highly significant to Nebuchadnezzar and his court in the light of certain aspects of Babylonian religion. It is impossible to say that Daniel's various symbols meant exactly this or that to his hearers, for the later Babylonian mythology (or theology, from their point of view), modified from that of the early non-Semitic

Sumerians, was extremely complex, and differing at various places. But when we consider Nebuchadnezzar's worship of the Babylonian god Bel-Marduk (the Biblical Merodach) as the supreme deity and the source of his kingly authority, we see that the symbolism of the dream must have been exceedingly significant, as he listened to Daniel's explanation of the awesome metal image—which probably seemed to the pious king to represent a god—shattered to bits by a mystic stone and blown away by the wind. Obviously God seized upon the well-known symbolism of the day to convey to a pagan king the tremendous truths of the coming kingdom of heaven, revealed through the prophet Daniel.⁴

3. THE FUTILITY OF THE BABYLONIAN GODS.—“There is a God in heaven,” said Daniel, “that revealeth secrets.” (Dan. 2:28.) Nebuchadnezzar knew the god Nabu⁵ as the patron of wisdom, the revealer of secrets, and the messenger of the gods, recorder of the destinies of mankind on the Tablets of Fate; yet Marduk himself, the keeper of the Tablets, presided over the council of the gods every New Year, when the fates were determined.⁶ Why, then, could not the wise men of Babylon, the servants of Marduk, or of his son Nabu, tell the king what this captive Hebrew youth could reveal? Was Marduk not as powerful as Daniel's God?

“The God of heaven,” continued Daniel, “hath given thee a kingdom.” Dan. 2:37. Nebuchadnezzar believed that Bel-Marduk had done this. Had not he himself every year, during the eleven-day New Year's festival, received from Bel his divine authority to rule as a faithful vassal of the god?⁷

⁴ This is *not* to say that any part of the Bible is derived from Babylonian myths, but that the appropriateness of the message as suited to Nebuchadnezzar's understanding can be seen in the light of his religious beliefs. See Appendix A, part 2.

⁵ Biblical Nebo, the son of Marduk, whose chief temple was in Borsippa, just across the river, and whose name the king himself bore—Nabu-kudurri-usur, or Nebuchadnezzar.

⁶ Stephen H. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, pp. 102, 158.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 318, 319. Perhaps Daniel's words reminded him of what he had heard of Anu, the father of all, the “god of heaven” (see Appendix A, part 2), who had in earlier days been regarded as the original bestower of kingly authority, but who had in later times become rather remote in his contact with man, and was in that day almost a theological principle rather than a personal deity to be worshiped. (*Ibid.*, pp. 65, 92-94.) Daniel did not use the specific, personal name of God in the Hebrew, *Yahweh* or *Jehovah*, but the generic term *Elah* (Ei), God, a root familiar to Nebuchadnezzar. (*Ibid.*, p. 65; see *God* in an analytical concordance.)

4. BABYLON—FITLY CALLED THE GOLDEN KINGDOM.—“Thou art this head of gold.” Certainly that pleased Nebuchadnezzar, and it must have seemed to him an eminently suitable symbol—that of headship and dazzling splendor. In this second year of his reign he was possibly only planning the work, but his lavish building program of the palace and temple areas eventually remade Babylon into a worthy capital of the golden age of a great civilization. He added to, if he did not indeed introduce, the lavish use of gold in the sanctuaries, which was possibly responsible for the use of the very adjective “golden” by the contemporary Jewish prophet Jeremiah. (Jer. 51:7; see also Isa. 14:4.) A century and a half later the Greek poet Aeschylus (d. 456 B.C.), similarly wrote of Babylon as “teeming with gold,” and Herodotus (d. c. 424 B.C.) was amazed at the lavishness of the gold within the sanctuary of Bel-Marduk.⁸

Nebuchadnezzar declared, in one of his own inscriptions, that nothing was too precious to be bestowed upon his beloved Babylon.⁹ Fitly, then, did the symbolic head of gold stand for Babylon, the glittering head of the prophetic pageant of nations from Nebuchadnezzar’s day onward.

5. PERSIA—APPROPRIATELY REPRESENTED BY THE SILVER.—There is no evidence that Nebuchadnezzar saw any indication of the identity of the silver kingdom as the Persian Empire. Daniel probably never named the Medes and Persians as the successors of Babylon until he read the handwriting on the wall, the night before Babylon fell (Dan. 5:28), years after Nebuchadnezzar’s death. Yet the future Persian Empire, as Boutflower points out, may be most appropriately represented by silver, in the sense of “money”—the criterion of value and

⁸ Aeschylus, *The Persians*, line 52, in Loeb Classical Library, *Aeschylus*, vol. 1, p. 115. Herodotus tells us that in the smaller temple, on top of the tower, was a table of gold. In the temple below was an image of Marduk, “all of gold,” seated on a golden throne with a golden base. And placed before it was a golden table. Outside the temple there was also an altar of “solid gold.” He relates further that he was told of a huge statue of solid gold, which had been in the temple in the time of Cyrus, and was later removed by Xerxes. (Herodotus, *History*, book 1, chaps. 181, 183, in Loeb Classical Library, *Herodotus*, vol. 1, pp. 227, 229; see also Charles Boutflower, *In and Around the Book of Daniel*, p. 25.)

⁹ The “India House Inscription”; see Boutflower, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 25, 26. I am indebted to Boutflower for much of the data used in this section on the metals.

medium of exchange employed in Persia—the money of the realm. Babylon's ornamental golden magnificence was displaced by Persian treasures, collected by systematic taxation. The Persian kings were bent on raising money, and exacted tribute from their subject states, paid mostly in silver talents.¹⁰ The Persians were more renowned for wealth than for magnificence; the fourth king was to be "far richer than they all," and through his riches was to "stir up all against the realm of Grecia" (Dan. 11:2), said Daniel shortly after the fall of Babylon.

6. BRAZEN-COATED GREEKS CONSTITUTE THIRD EMPIRE.—Nebuchadnezzar was, in all probability, already acquainted with Greeks—representatives of the coming world power symbolized by the brass (or bronze) following Persia—the empire of Alexander and his brazen-clad Greeks, or "another king from the west, clad in bronze," as Josephus aptly phrases it.¹² The Greek armor was in noticeable contrast to the soft hats, sleeved tunics, and trousers of the Median and Persian soldiers. And Ezekiel's reference to Javan's "vessels of brass" (Eze. 27:13) takes on new significance when "Javan" is seen to mean the Ionian Greeks, and the "vessels," the equipment or armor of soldiers.¹³

Herodotus tells a story of Psammetichus I of Egypt, an older contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar's father, which indicates widespread knowledge of the Greeks *as noted for their bronze armor*. Psammetichus was told by an oracle that he would have vengeance on his enemies "when he saw men of bronze coming from the sea." This he regarded as fulfilled when the news came that "men of bronze"—actually armed Greek pirates—had landed in Egypt and were foraging along the coast. Enlisting their aid Psammetichus won control of all Egypt, and settled his allies on the land.¹⁴

¹⁰ Herodotus, *op. cit.*, book 3, chaps. 89-95, in Loeb Classical Library, *Herodotus*, vol. 2, pp. 117, 119, 121, 123; Boutflower, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27.

¹¹ The Hebrew for "Grecia," *Javan*, appears in the margin of some Bibles.

¹² Josephus, *Antiquities*, book 10, chap. 10, sec. 4, in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 6, p. 273, and note i.

¹³ Boutflower, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 30; see note 11.

¹⁴ Herodotus, *op. cit.*, book 1, chaps. 152, 154, in Loeb Classical Library, *Herodotus*, vol. 1, pp. 463, 465, 467.

7. ROME—THE “IRON MONARCHY.”—Though it is possible that Nebuchadnezzar saw bronze-clad Greeks in his western campaigns, it is not to be expected that he would recognize the next metal, iron, for the world power which succeeded that of Alexander was only an infant city-state in the sixth century B.C. By the time Roman military strength showed the fitness of iron as a vivid description of Rome’s basic characteristic, bronze weapons were already sung of by Roman poets as belonging to olden times. The distinctive Roman weapon was the iron-headed *pilum* (the pike, or javelin). But the chief characteristic which later made both Jews and Christians identify iron with Rome was its superior strength. Daniel’s phrase is: “strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things.” Dan. 2:40.¹⁵

8. SEQUENCE OF METALS NOTED BY OTHER NATIONS.—The choice and sequence of these four particular metals was not without definite significance in Nebuchadnezzar’s day. The same series of gold, silver, bronze, and iron had long before been enumerated on the great triumphal inscription of Sargon II,¹⁶ and it was employed about the same time in Greece by Hesiod in designating (with the addition of “demigods” or heroes after bronze) the consecutive ages of man.¹⁷ Also a Babylonian tablet names Enlil—a prototype, it will be remembered, of Marduk—as the god of gold, and Anu and Ea the gods of silver and brass respectively;¹⁸ and in Ninib, god of

¹⁵ So inescapable was the fidelity of this prophetic portrayal to historical fulfillment that even when Edward Gibbon, a historian with an anti-Christian bias, pictured the progression of ancient nations, he was constrained to use the very symbolism of the gold, the silver, the brass, and the iron of Daniel’s prophecy. (Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. 38, general observations, vol. 4, p. 161.)

Each kingdom was different: Nebuchadnezzar’s Neo-Babylonian kingdom was a Semitic despotism; the Persian Empire was an Aryan absolute monarchy; the Macedonian, or Hellenistic, Empire, was a fusion of Greek and Asiatic elements, falling apart into four—and later three—monarchies; Rome developed from republic to monarchy and military despotism, and was shattered into smaller kingdoms, some strong and some weak, forming the nuclei of the nations of modern Europe, which have never succeeded in reuniting permanently.

¹⁶ Boutflower, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁷ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, lines 109-178, in Loeb Classical Library, *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homerica*, pp. 11, 13, 15, 17. Numerous later classical writers refer to the four ages. Plato, Ovid, and Claudian name all four metals; Aratus the first three. The race of heroes, not found in any other version, was probably introduced by Hesiod because the Homeric heroes were too important to omit. (Heber M. Hays, *Notes on the Works and Days of Hesiod*, pp. 98, 211, 216.)

¹⁸ *Cuneiform Texts From Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, part 24, plate 49, and Introduction, p. 6.

strength,¹⁹ Boutflower finds evidence pointing to identification with the god of iron.²⁰

III. The Symbolism of the Great Mountain and the Wind

But there were other more intriguing aspects of the symbolism of Daniel 2, which must have tremendously impressed the king and his court. The stone cut out of the mountain, which smote the image on the feet of iron and clay, and shattered the metals into particles fine enough to be blown away like chaff, may have evoked memories of a Sumerian myth which tells how Ninurta, son of Enlil, and prototype of Marduk,²¹ was attacked by the various stones, and how he subdued them. In his address to the stones, condemning some to be pulverized the victor significantly gives a place of unparalleled honor to the "Mountain Stone":

"O praised one, the light of whose eyes is cast abroad,
 O *mountain stone* who in the hostile land hast raised a roar of
 wrath,
 Who utterest a roar in battle, wrathfully, terribly,
 Him whom my hand conquered not victoriously,
 Whom with the cruel ones I bound not,
 Shalt thou scatter at the feet of thy people.
 Like gold shall they treasure thee.
 O hero whom I bound, not have I rested until I gave thee life."²²

In contrast, Daniel is saying that God's Mountain Stone is itself to triumph, and is to pulverize the metallic image—the series of kingdoms which began so auspiciously. Then it is to grow into a great mountain and occupy the whole earth.

1. BABYLONIAN FAMILIARITY WITH "GREAT MOUNTAIN."—Perhaps the most typical edifices of Babylonia were the ziggurats, or temple-towers—built in imitation of mountains—such as that of Marduk in Babylon, which Nebuchadnezzar rebuilt.²³ He was constantly building or beautifying temples, towers, palaces, and fortifications, which he described as lofty—"moun-

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, plate 50, and Introduction, p. 9.

²⁰ Boutflower, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Documentation given by Boutflower.

²¹ Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 296. See Appendix A, part 2.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 123. (Italics supplied.)

²³ Morris Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 57, 282-285.

tain-high.”²⁴ Who, then, could more appropriately dream of a mountain-cut stone filling the whole earth, than this king whose ambition was to heap up mountainous edifices?

In the days of Nebuchadnezzar, Marduk had replaced the older god Enlil, the “Great Mountain,” as “lord of the lands.”²⁵ This simple fact throws a floodlight on Daniel’s employment of the term “Great Mountain” (Dan. 2:35) to describe the coming kingdom of the God of heaven, which would become *the* Great Mountain, filling the whole earth.²⁶ To Nebuchadnezzar, it could only mean that the supremacy that had been taken away from the Sumerian god of Nippur, and bestowed on the god of Babylon, would, after passing on to a series of four world empires in succession, ultimately be given to the God of heaven, whose kingdom would fill the earth forever.

2. BABYLONIAN CONCEPT OF THE “GREAT WIND.”—But there is still another aspect of the symbolism—that of the great wind which was to sweep away forever the fragments of the broken image. Enlil’s traditional role as “Lord of the wind”²⁷ also belonged to Marduk. In the fight with Tiamat, the female dragon of primeval chaos, not only does Marduk summon the four winds to his aid, but he creates seven winds. Riding to the attack in his storm chariot, he renders his opponent helpless by blasting a terrific wind down her throat, and so slays his enemy.²⁸

Consequently, Nebuchadnezzar and his companions would doubtless see this vivid descriptive action of the wind of the prophecy as no less of a marvel and an act of God, the true “Lord of the wind,” than that of the stone becoming the great earth-filling mountain—indeed the “Lord of the Lands.”²⁹ It is scarcely possible to conceive of any more telling figures by

²⁴ “I made a great wall of huge stones the product of great mountains, and like the mountains I reared its summit.” He built the famous Hanging Gardens for his favorite wife, to remind her of the mountains of her native Media. (Boutflower, *op. cit.*, p. 49.)

²⁵ Boutflower, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 46, 43.

²⁶ E-kur, “the house of the mountain,” was a designation not only of Enlil’s temple at Nippur but also of the whole earth. (Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 99.)

²⁷ Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 300, 302.

²⁹ Boutflower, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 49.



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KREIGH COLLINS, ARTIST

INSPIRATION'S ANIMATED CARTOONS OF THE NATIONS

As This Quartet of Beasts Rose Out of the Sea of Nations, the Prophet's Interest Was Focused on That Dreadful Fourth Creature of Daniel 7, With Its Talking and Seeing Horn. These Symbolic Beasts Were Early Held to Parallel the Four World Powers of the Metallic Man, Following the Same Sequence of Kingdoms as in Chapter 2.

which the great truths of the coming Messianic kingdom could be conveyed to a Chaldean king and his courtiers.

3. SYMBOLIC INTENT GRASPED BY NEBUCHADNEZZAR.—From Nebuchadnezzar's spontaneous response it is evident that he grasped the essential meaning of the prophecy almost immediately, because of his familiarity with the leading terms of the symbolism. Notice his sweeping acknowledgment: "Of a truth it is, that your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldst reveal this secret." Dan. 2:47.

It is significant that, to Nebuchadnezzar, Marduk was the "Sun-god of the gods."³⁰ And he was lord of kings, in token of which Nebuchadnezzar himself every year "took the hands of Bel" to receive anew his kingly authority.³¹ Marduk was also the keeper of the Tablets of Fate, and revealer of secrets, through the agency of his son Nabu, god of wisdom, the scribe and messenger, the prophet and proclaimer of the gods.³² Yet neither Marduk nor his messenger could offer Nebuchadnezzar any help in this case. Only the God of heaven, whom Daniel proclaimed, could reveal the meaning of the vision and open to the king the future course of empires and the establishment of the final heavenly kingdom.

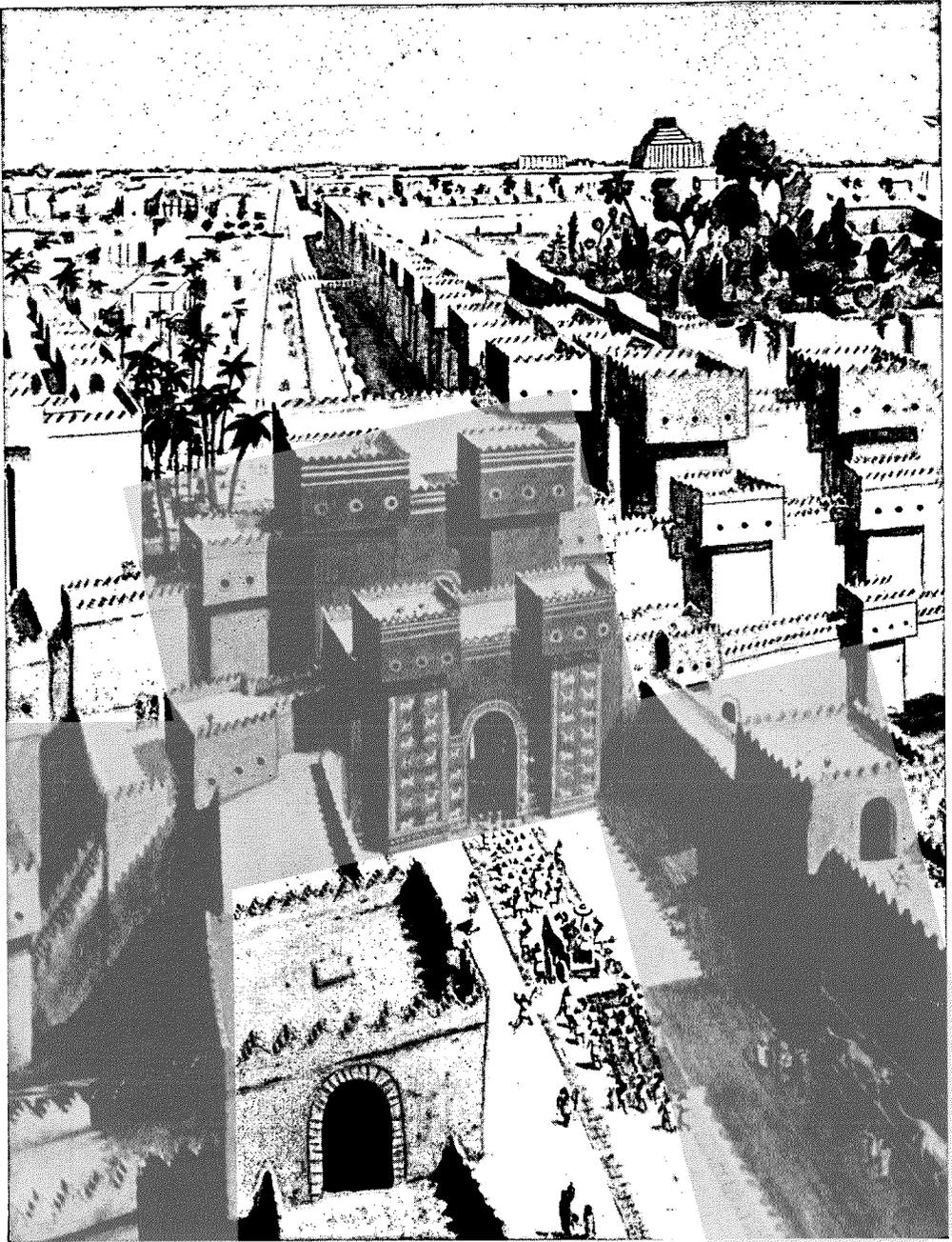
IV. Symbolism of the Prophetic Beasts of Daniel 7

1. COMPOSITE BEASTS WERE COMMON PORTRAYALS.—Daniel's prophetic vision, in the first year of Belshazzar, likewise harmonizes with Babylonian symbolism. Like the four metals of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, the four beasts rising out of the sea represent the sequence of kingdoms. Daniel's symbolic beasts—the lion with eagle's wings, the bear holding three ribs in his mouth and raising himself up on one side, the four-headed leopard with four wings, and the strange and terrible beast with ten horns—may all seem fantastic to us. Yet the

³⁰ Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 294, quoting the Babylonian Epic of Creation.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 318, 319.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 158.



FROM UNGER, BABYLON, DIE HEILIGE STADT

**NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S BABYLON: ARTIST'S RECONSTRUCTION BASED
ON ACTUAL REMAINS**

Procession Street, Flanked by Walls Decorated With Glazed-Brick Lions (Lower Right), Leading Through Ishtar Gate (Center), Resplendent With Colored Glazed Bricks and Decorated With Alternate Reliefs of Dragons and Bulls. In Background Is Seen Fabled "Hanging Gardens" and in Distance Great Temple-Tower of Babylon

idea of picturing nations as animals should, after all, be familiar to moderns who cartoon Great Britain as a lion, Russia as a bear, the United States as an eagle, and the like. And the strange and composite forms of Daniel's animals were not at all fantastic to the prophet and his contemporaries in Babylon, but were familiar figures.

We are familiar today not only with the man-headed winged bulls and lions, dating from Assyrian times, but also with Nebuchadnezzar's glazed-brick reliefs of animals, including the composite *sirrush* or *mushussu*,³³ on the famous Ishtar Gate, and those of the lions along the walls of the approach to Nebuchadnezzar's palace quarter, flanking the sacred Procession Street, which entered this towered gate.

2. LION WITH EAGLE'S WINGS SYMBOLIC OF BABYLON.—Daniel's first beast, a lion with eagle's wings, was peculiarly appropriate for representing Babylon. Not only were lions symbols of both Marduk and Ishtar,³⁴ but also composite lion-eagle creatures were common, in representations of Bel and the dragon, as alternatives for the serpent monster, and as symbols, therefore, of their conqueror.³⁵

Thus it can be seen that Daniel's lion with eagle's wings represented to the contemporary mind the supreme god of Babylon, and was a familiar decorative figure in Nebuchadnezzar's day.

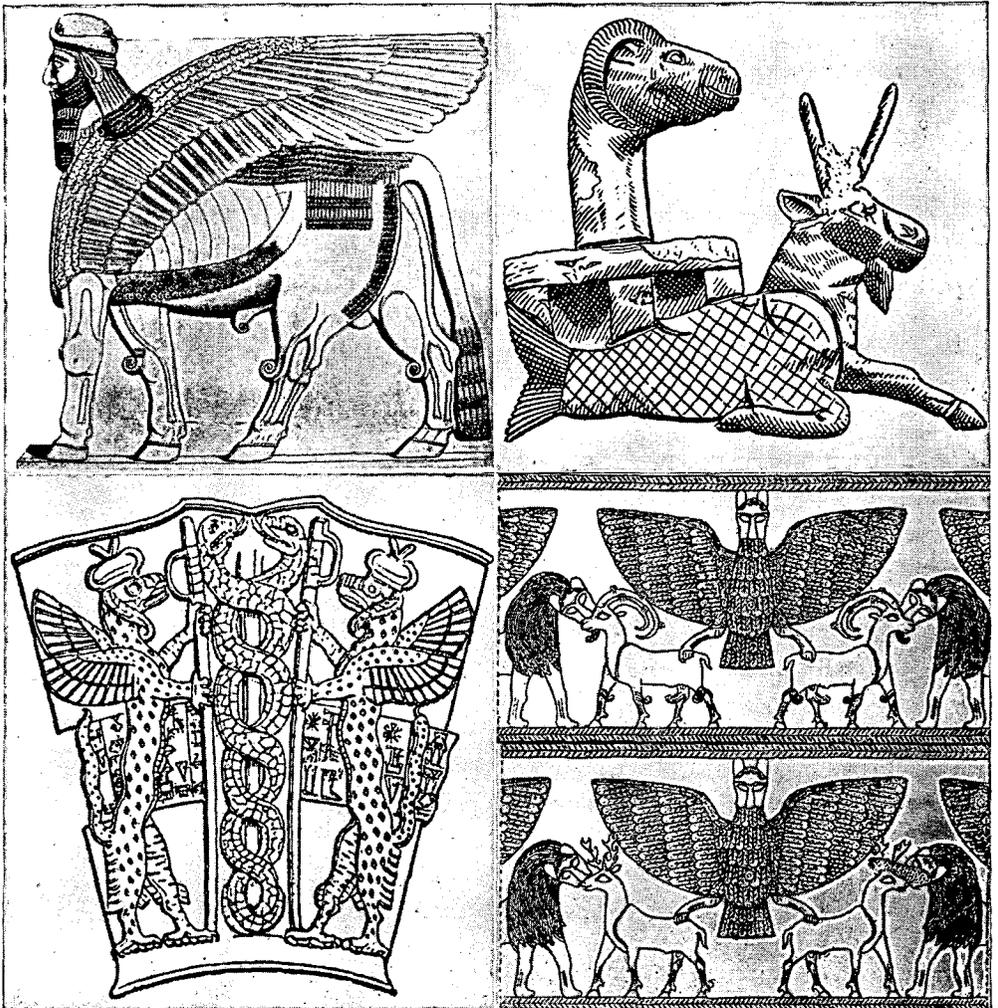
3. LION THE ROYAL BEAST OF BABYLONIA.—"The lion figures in art throughout the whole course of Mesopotamian history,"³⁶ not merely in the Neo-Babylonian Empire of the

³³ Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 127. This was one form of the primeval monster allegedly slain by Bel-Marduk. It had a snake's head with horns and forked tongue; the neck, body, and tail were covered with scales, and the tail was tipped with a scorpion sting; the forelegs were those of a lion, and the hind legs those of an eagle, or some such bird of prey. Berosus tells of seeing designs of all sorts of composite and double-headed creatures of primeval chaos in the temple of Bel at Babylon. (*Ibid.*, p. 290.)

³⁴ Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 36.

³⁵ The Sumerian eagles with one, sometimes two, lion heads were replaced by the Babylonian lions with eagle's wings and clawed hind feet. Sometimes the lion had an eagle head or tail, and sometimes lacked the talons. (See Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-118, 277, 278, 281, and Fig. 51, following p. 106.) Winged lions were portrayed in connection with Enlil and his son Ninurta, and it is well known that Marduk in Babylonian mythology, succeeded both these deities. (*Ibid.*, pp. 131, 296, note 42 on p. 396.) Marduk is pictured driving a chariot drawn by a winged lion-dragon, or riding a winged lion which belches flames, or (on a Neo-Babylonian cylinder seal) in combat with a winged sphinx and a winged lion. (*Ibid.*, pp. 118, 278, 282, 280.)

³⁶ E. Douglas Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art*, p. 3.



EXAMPLES OF COMPOSITE BEASTS FAMILIAR TO THE BABYLONIANS

Winged, Man-headed Bull of Assyria, Considered a Guardian Spirit; There Were Similar Lion Figures (Upper Left); Goat-Fish Symbol of Ea, Supporting Ram's Head (Upper Right); Early Babylonian Vase, Adorned With Dragons Combining Serpent, Leopard, and Eagle Characteristics (Lower Left); Lion-headed Eagles in Combination (Lower Right)

Chaldean dynasty, but from early Babylonian times and the succeeding dominance of the Assyrian Empire, down to the magnificent art of the rejuvenated Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. Van Buren states that the lion is "endlessly repeated," and "represented to satiety on cylinder seals," and

even on the shell inlay of gaming boards. The heads, and possibly the foreparts, of four lions were found in front of an early temple façade. Van Buren suggests that they were possibly "the precursors of the colossi which flanked the entrances to Assyrian temples and palaces."³⁷ Moreover, a lion guarded the entrance of the sanctuary of Gatumdug, back in the time of Gudea, and on Gudea's stele a lion sat beside the god's throne. From Assyrian times comes a series of weights of the standard "of the king" in the form of lions. So, Van Buren declares, "A lion was then regarded as a royal beast," and adds "Nebukadnezzar stamped a lion as his device on the clay bricks for his buildings."³⁸

At Assur in Assyria, which borrowed the culture of Babylon, a "couchant lion of gypsum" was discovered in the stone foundations. In Assyrian times lions guarding an entrance were always represented as "standing, or striding towards the enemy," and the symbolic "lion colossi with wings" were likewise not uncommon. Layard discovered a pair of stone lions guarding the entrance to the temple of Bêlit-mâti at Kalah. Within the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, in the principal fortress at Babylon, numerous fragments of basalt lions were discovered.³⁹ A bronze lion was found firmly planted in the ground at the doorway of the palace at Khorsabad. And the lion was "frequently represented in the glazed and coloured bricks which adorned the walls of temples and palaces." Also, "lions of glazed brick walk to right and left of the entrance of the temple of Ningal at Khorsabad." Finally some sixty lions were represented as pacing forward on both sides of the Processional Way,⁴⁰ leading through the famous Ishtar Gate in Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon.

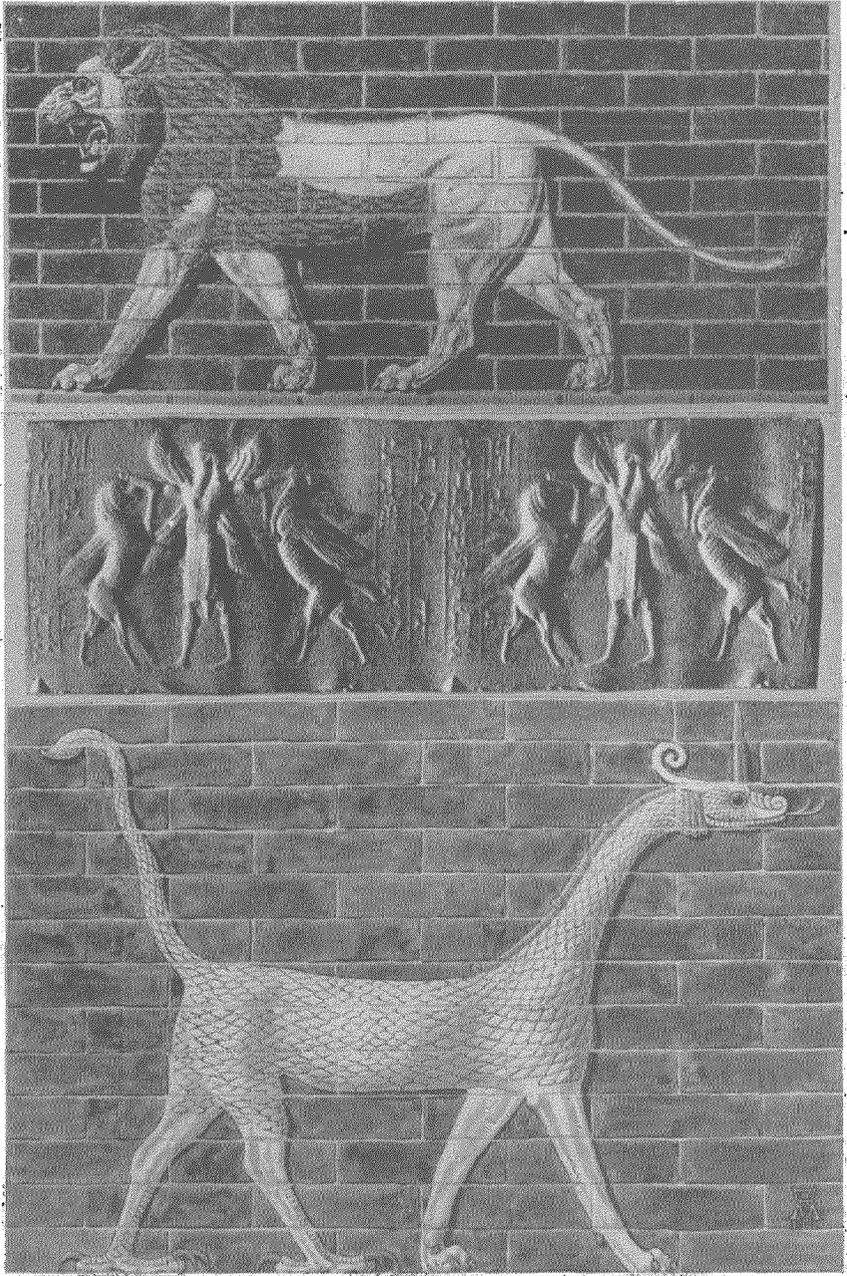
The reason, then, for choosing the lion as a prophetic symbol of Babylonia must be apparent to all. No similitude

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.



THE LION AND ITS ADAPTATION IN BABYLONIAN ART

Lion in Glazed Brick on Wall of Nebuchadnezzar's Procession Street (Upper); Cylinder-Seal Impression Showing Marduk's Combat With Lions Having Wings and Faces of Eagles (Center); Mushussu or Sirrush, Dragon of Chaos, With Scaly Body, Serpentine Head and Tail, Forelegs of a Lion, Hind Feet of an Eagle, in Glazed Brick on Wall of Ishtar Gate (Lower)

could be more appropriate or more easily discerned contemporarily.⁴¹

V. The Character of the Book of Daniel

1. NEW TYPE OF PROPHECY BEGINS WITH DANIEL.—The series of prophecies in the book of Daniel differs from the inspired predictions of the prophets of earlier times, which were more often like isolated glimpses of single events to come, not progressive pictures, with motion and sound. The time of their fulfillment was not always located; the picture often had no identifying caption. One isolated flash picture might refer to the first advent of Jesus, with key events of His earthly life or death disclosed. Another, in close proximity, might concern His second coming in power and glory at the end of the age. The location had often to be determined later by New Testament usage or by context, such as the scattered prophecies of Christ's second advent. There was no grand outline, with events in sequence and historical perspective. Few clear connectives were revealed. There was little descriptive relationship of part to part.

But for the first time Daniel covers the divine plan of the ages in long-range prophetic outline, reaching from his day onward until the great consummation, and forming a matchless preview of things to come—God's advance epitome of history. His forecasts disclosed the sequence of empire—major epochs that would develop in the rise of nations, in connection with the conflicts and departures of the church, the afflictions of the people of God, the church's restoration to purity, and the consummation of all things. Not only that, but the major outline was repeated several times over, to bring out this aspect or that, and to emphasize various factors in the over-all picture. These may well be called outline prophecies.

⁴¹ The series of Daniel's beasts needs only the starting point—Babylon, which has already been graphically pointed out—to make it clear that the lion, bear, and leopard represent Babylon, Persia, and the Macedonian Empire; and in that case, the identity of the fourth beast with the iron monarchy of the image is likewise made clear by the parallel specifications—the superlative strength or ferocity of the fourth kingdom in each case, the same breaking of all things in pieces—the ten toes or ten horns representing the smaller kingdoms growing out of the parent fourth empire. See pages 125-134.

The two great focal points of prophecy, and consequently of all history, are the *first advent* of Christ, some nineteen centuries ago, and His *second coming* in glory and majesty at the last day. Around these nearly all the major prophecies cluster.

2. TRIPLE CHARACTERISTICS OF DANIEL'S PROPHECY.—

There are three basic characteristics of Daniel's multiple prophecy that emerge as increasingly apparent under study of the book, and which we do well to bear in mind. These are:

√ (1) *Its Continuity*.—Its prophecies extend from Daniel's own day until the end of time, or end of the world or age, and the subsequent setting up of God's everlasting kingdom that supersedes all human kingdoms and provides for His people forever. There is no indicated break or gap in the line.

√ (2) *Its Comprehensiveness*.—It gives a view of the basic history, from the divine viewpoint, of the sequence of nations, as they affect the people of God, or His church, in relation to the developing conflict between Christ and Antichrist, and the final establishment of the eternal kingdom of Christ on earth.

√ (3) *Its Repetition*.—It goes back and covers the same grand outline four successive times (in chapters 2, 7, 8, 11), from Daniel's day to the end, repeating for emphasis and amplification the same great waymarks on the highway of the centuries, to bring out first one aspect and then another. Through the continuous course of human events it shows the hand of God in history, that man at all times might recognize his place in the divine plan of the ages, and understand the major coming events in the outline. Such is the threefold characteristic of Daniel.

VI. Relation of Book of Daniel to Old Testament Canon

1. **FOURFOLD ATTACK ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL.**—Having traced some of the important features in the background history of Daniel, the prophet, and the book of Daniel, let us now note the place this book occupied in the sacred writings of the

Jews, and its relationship to the Old Testament canon. In our Bibles today we find the book of Daniel classified among the major prophets, following Ezekiel. But such was not the place assigned to Daniel in the Jewish sacred scrolls. This difference in position, together with the singularity of its prophecies—which differ markedly from the other prophetic writings of the Old Testament—have encouraged modern critical scholars to make most persistent attacks (1) against the Daniel authorship of the book, (2) against its authenticity, (3) against an early composition, and (4) against its prophetic value in general.

2. THE ARGUMENT FOR A LATE COMPOSITION.—These attacks against the book of Daniel are in no sense a purely modern invention, but were first made by Porphyry, the Syrian sophist (c. A.D. 233-304), head of the Syrian school of Neoplatonism.⁴² In his extensive work against Christianity, Porphyry discussed the book of Daniel and placed its composition much later, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the second century, B.C., giving citations from certain Greek authors to sustain his position. This was a distinct innovation. But his work exerted no particular influence at the time, and the patristic view of Daniel dominated the Middle Ages. Christians and Jews, Catholics and Protestants, were generally agreed that the book was written during the exile, in the sixth century B.C. Only in modern times has the question been raised again, introduced by Johann S. Semler (d. 1791) and Wilhelm A. Corrodi (d. 1793).

Only a few of the leading criticisms will be pointed out, because a discussion of this question is not a primary objective in this work. The general attack against the early date long claimed for the writing of the book of Daniel, and its authorship by the saintly Jewish captive and statesman, Daniel, is centered chiefly on chapter 11, which, it is widely assumed, offers a detailed description of the period of Antiochus Epiphanes and the wars of the Maccabees, in the second century B.C.

⁴² See Porphyry, in chapter 14.

No one, the critics claim, except a compatriot of that ruler, would be able to refer with such exactitude to actual events of the time. Therefore the writer of the book of Daniel must evidently have been a learned man, or one whose heart was filled with a holy desire to impart strength and fortitude to his people, living in those exacting times of war and persecution during the Maccabean period. He must, they aver, have been a man who took the name Daniel, a well-known figure of earlier times, as his pseudonym, to give greater weight to his exhortations and predictions.

Added plausibility for this view has been claimed through the fact that the book of Daniel is not mentioned among the "prophets" in the Jewish canon; nor is Daniel mentioned in the list of important men in the book of Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), which was written about 190-170 B.C. The conclusion is therefore drawn that the book of Daniel must have been written at a later date, probably about 165 B.C.⁴⁸

Modern criticism came into its own, and today a great number of expositors accept the late date for the redaction of the book of Daniel. But these attacks on Daniel, like most of the modern attacks on the sacred books, are built upon the assumption that religious ideas and conceptions were a natural development in human thinking. Under such a basic premise the direct intervention of a supernatural force—that is, a revelation of the divine will as it is represented in prophecy—has, of course, no place. Books which contain prophetic elements, say the critics, or are of an apocalyptic nature, are at best considered pious fiction, in which the writer designedly uses the future tense to convey the impression of prediction; whereas in reality he is simply relating past and contemporary events.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ F. Buhl, "Daniel, Book of," *The New Schaff-Herzog*, vol. 3, p. 348.

⁴⁹ Many "problems of interpretation" raised by critics are based on the unwillingness to allow the possibility of miraculous prediction. "The fact that predictions were made and were later fulfilled is one of the strong proofs for the inspiration of Scripture. Radical criticism seeks to avoid the force of this apologetic in two ways. One way is to say that the supposed prophecy was uttered after the event that it was supposed to predict. The other is to give an interpretation to the passage that will keep it from being a prediction of a future event. One

If that contention were actually true, it would be inconceivable that Christ, who was Truth incarnate, should put His approval in a signal way upon the book of Daniel. (Matt. 24:15.) Christ admonished the people to read and understand the book of "Daniel the prophet"; and the special name that He cherished more than any other—the "Son of man," because it expressed His very mission—is taken in this connection from the same book. (Dan. 7:13.)

3. THE ARGUMENT FROM THE ARAMAIC.—The book of Daniel was written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic—chapter 1:1 to 2:3 and chapter 8 to the end of chapter 12 being in Hebrew, but the section from chapter 2:4 to 7:28 is in Aramaic. This point has often been played up, and has led to numerous conjectures. Although closely related to Hebrew, the Aramaic was considered by the Hebrews to be a foreign tongue. However, in the postexilic period it became the vernacular of the people and their customary idiom. The claim that Daniel is of rather late origin is based in part upon the language employed in the book. This Aramaic section, it is held, corresponds to the Aramaic used in the second and third centuries B.C., and not to that used in the sixth century B.C.

Yet the mere form of the language in itself is no definite proof in establishing the age of any text, or time of writing, for the copyists of that time were accustomed to "modernize" the style of spelling or wording.

4. RECENT DISCOVERIES THROW LIGHT ON DANIEL.—It may be well to refer here to the bearing upon this subject of recent archaeological finds which tend to confirm the authenticity of the book and to jar the skepticism of the critics. For example, fragments of the book of Daniel were found among the group of Hebrew manuscripts which were taken from a

of these must be done by one who does not believe in the possibility of the miraculous." (Samuel A. Cartledge, *A Conservative Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 110.) "It is clear that Radical criticism is forced to take the interpretation that places the composition of the book in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, because it is impossible for a true Radical to believe in real predictive prophecy; no one living in the time of the Exile could have predicted so accurately the rise and fall of the various empires." (*Ibid.*, p. 220.)

Sequence of the Nations About	Egyptian Dominance		Rise of Assyria	
Chronology of Epochs and Events in Israel	<u>Israel in Bondage</u> <small>(Ex., Num., Deut., Josh.)</small>		<u>Period of the Judges (Israel's Dark Ages)</u> <small>(Possession of Promised Land—7 Oppressions; 14 Judges) (Judges 1—1 Sam. 8)</small>	
Ministry of the Prophets (Ultimate part of Sacred Canon.)	<u>Moses</u> <u>Joshua</u>		<u>Samuel</u> <u>Saul</u>	
Oral Prophets (Ultimate part of Canon, as given by tradition.)	Miriam Balaam		Deborah Unnamed Prophet (Judges 6:8—)	
B. C.	1600	1500	1400	1300 1200 1100
C.	The Exodus Giving of Law Sanctuary Service Wilderness Wandering (40 years) Moses' Death Joshua's Death			
<small>(After time of Moses and Miriam, no prophet or prophetess mentioned until Deborah)</small>				
<small>Man of God (1 Sam. 2:27—)</small>				

APPROXIMATE TIMING OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHETS

Above the Century Scale Is Given the Sequence of Near Eastern World Powers, With Periods of Israelitish History Below. Below the Century Scale Is Given the Approximate Dating and Distribution of National Leaders and Ministry of the Hebrew Prophets; on Bottom Line Are the Minor Leaders and Oral Prophets

cave near the Dead Sea in 1947, among which were rolls of the complete book of Isaiah and several non-Biblical works, including previously unknown apocalyptic writings.

This sensational find was announced in 1948 as “the most important discovery ever made in Old Testament manuscripts.” If the early estimates of the scholars are justified, the Isaiah scroll is very old—dated by W. F. Albright as of the second century B.C. “This is amazing,” says the editor of the *Biblical Archaeologist*, “for complete Hebrew manuscripts of Isaiah, or for that matter of any part of the Old Testament, have hitherto been unknown before the ninth century A.D.” The Daniel fragments, tentatively dated somewhere near the Isaiah scroll, were a surprise to scholars, because Biblical critics have been wont to give a second-century date to the writing or at least to the finished form of the book. This discovery of parts of two rolls of Daniel—containing the names Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and including the point where the Aramaic portion of the book begins—in such an early text was “something that no one had dared to hope for in Old Testament study.”⁴⁵

⁴⁵ G. E. Wright, “A Phenomenal Discovery,” *The Biblical Archaeologist*, May, 1948 (vol. 11, no. 2), pp. 22, 23; and “Archaeological News and Views,” *The Biblical Archaeologist*, May, 1949 (vol. 12, no. 2), p. 33.

Period of Assyrian Dominance		Neo-Babylonian Dominance		Persian Dominance	
Shishak's Invasion		Sennacherib's Invasion Siege of Samaria		Siege of Jerusalem Cyrus Conquers Babylon	
The Monarchy	The Divided Kingdom		Exile	The Restoration	
(Sag)—David—Solomon (1 Sam. 9—1 Kings 11; 1 Chron. 10—2 Chron. 9)	11 Kings 12—2 Kings 25; 2 Chron. 10-36 Israel, or Northern (Jeroboam to Hoshea) (9 dynasties) Judah, or Southern (Rehoboam to Zedekiah) (One-continuous dynasty)		(In Captivity) Destruction of Jerusalem Return Under Zerubbabel	(Post-Exilic Period) Return Under Ezra Nehemiah Rebuilds Walls	
1000 Temple Dedication	900	800	700	600	500
David	(Note: (1) Prophesied in Israel; (J) Prophesied in Judah)		Jeremiah (J)	Zech. (J)	Malachi (J)
Solomon	Elijah (1)	Jonah (1)	Isaiah (J)	Zeph. (J)	Ezekiel (J)
	Elisha (1)	Joel (J)	Amos (1)	Nah. (J)	Daniel (J)
		Micah (J)	Hosea (1)	Hab. (J)	Obad. (J)
					Hag. (J)
Nathan (2 Sam. 7)	Shemaiah (1)	Iddo (J-1)	Micaiah (J)	Zechariah (J)	Oded (1)
God (2 Sam. 24:11)	Ahijah (1)	Jehu (J-1)	Jehaziel (J)	Man of God (2 Chron. 25:7-10)	Huldah
Heman (1 Chron. 25:1)	Man of God (1)	Azariah (J)	Eliezer (J)		
Jeduthun (")	Hanani (J)				
Asaph (2 Chron. 29:30)					

SYNCHRONIZED WITH SUCCESSIVE WORLD POWERS

Authorities Differ Widely on Biblical Chronology Prior to the Time of David and Solomon, at Least, and in Some Later Details. This Chart Is Not Meant to Be Dogmatic but Rather Intended to Indicate the Relative Chronological Placement of Daniel and the Prior and Subsequent Prophets of the Old Testament Canon

Biblical scholars tell us that it will take years of research to evaluate and utilize the material in these manuscripts, but the first reports on the Isaiah and Daniel texts are very interesting.

"From this point of view, the most significant fact about the Isaiah manuscript is the degree to which it agrees with our traditional Hebrew text. The agreement is by no means exact in every detail. In the spelling of the words there are a great many differences. . . . In some cases the grammatical forms are different from those to which we are accustomed in our Hebrew Old Testament." Even in wording "there are differences, as always, for manuscripts are never perfect copies of their originals. . . . The remarkable fact is that there is nothing which can be called a major addition or omission, comparable to the additions and omissions to be found in the Septuagint, for example."⁴⁶

"The text [of Daniel] is substantially the same as that of our current Hebrew Bibles (the Masoretic text). The chief differences, like those in the Isaiah manuscript, have to do with the spelling of words."⁴⁷

Another side light on the language of Daniel is furnished by a papyrus fragment, a letter written in Aramaic. A Palestinian or Syrian kinglet, perhaps from Ashkelon, appeals to the Pharaoh of Egypt for help against the invading king of Babylon,

⁴⁶ Millar Burrows, "The Contents and Significance of the [Newly Discovered Jerusalem] Manuscripts," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, September, 1948 (vol. 11, no. 3), pp. 60, 61.

⁴⁷ G. E. Wright, "Archaeological News and Views," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, May, 1949 (vol. 12, no. 2), p. 33.

presumably Nebuchadnezzar. The principal value of the fragment is its indication "that Aramaic was already before the end of the 7th century becoming the international language of state."⁴⁸

"It has long been known that Aramaic became the official language of the Persian empire, at least in its western part, almost a century later. But until now it had not been dreamed that this development had begun so early. It is true that Aramaic had begun to enjoy wide use as a commercial language in the Assyrian empire since the Sargonids. . . . But this letter of Adon is the first evidence that Aramaic had begun to oust Akkadian as the language of official diplomatic correspondence before the Persian period. The horizon of this development is thus pushed back the best part of a century. Indeed it is probable, though not proved, that the Babylonians administered the western part, at least, of their empire in Aramaic and that the Persians merely took over the existing custom together with much of its machinery."⁴⁹

This letter will serve as a "warning against overmuch skepticism," such as that which formerly branded as a forgery the Aramaic of Ezra, which, however, "takes on a more authentic flavor with each such discovery." If scholars will admit that the Aramaic portions of Ezra, presented as diplomatic correspondence, could have been taken from authentic fifth-century records and afterward put into later language form, then there is no valid objection to the idea that the similar Aramaic sections of Daniel could have come from sixth-century originals in the language then used in international administration, and afterward passed through the same process. The differences in language form between the second century and the time of the Masoretic text would lead one to expect just such a situation. As the report concludes, "That courtiers should address Nebuchadnezzar in Aramaic as the story in Daniel 2:4 has it, no longer appears at all surprising."⁵⁰

Thus we find language objections fading in the light of fuller knowledge. It is well known that the language of the Hebrew Bible was definitely fixed, word by word and letter

⁴⁸ John Bright, "A New Letter in Aramaic, Written to a Pharaoh of Egypt," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, May, 1949 (vol. 12, no. 2), p. 51.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

by letter, under the influence of Rabbi Akiba, A.D. 50-134. Previous to Akiba's time spelling was not considered sacred and fixed, and many variant versions of the holy text existed. Hence, later copies may well have used the spelling current at the time of copying, and not have followed the more ancient forms. It is not, therefore, at all conclusive to attempt to prove the age of the text from the form of language employed.

"Later redactors and learned scribes until the time of the Massoretes readjusted the old text—and probably several times—to the language of their times. The idea that they could be suspected of being fakers by their compatriots or certain scientists of the twentieth century never entered their minds. Their intention was solely to replace the ancient expressions and orthography which had become obsolete in their time by such as gave their contemporary readers the chance to understand these texts, and to get the feeling of the original. . . .

"Taking all the facts together without bias, one is led to the conclusion, as I believe, that the assertion that the manuscripts of the Book of Ezra cannot be older than the present Aramaic Ezra because of linguistic reasons, will not stand a thorough and scrupulous investigation which takes all the facts into consideration."⁵¹

The afore-mentioned recent discovery of the remnants of a second century B.C. Hebrew library in a cave near the Dead Sea provides the proof for the assumption that the text of Biblical books was modernized in form by copyists from time to time. Four of the preserved manuscripts show four different copying practices—earlier and later types of script, earlier and later forms of spelling—existing in the same library. Fragments of the book of Leviticus showed that book written in a script a good deal like the alphabet used in the Siloam inscription, in use before the exile.⁵² The Habakkuk commentary and some other fragments are written in the postexilic square script with the exception of divine names, for which the old venerated script

⁵¹ Translated from Rud[olf] Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. 3, pp. 530, 531. The revision of spelling is a practice constantly followed in the reprinting of Old English works. A modern example is our English Authorized Version of the Bible, generally thought of as the translation of 1611. But since then its repeated and systematic revisions, "always tacit, made thousands of small changes, especially in the direction of keeping the spelling abreast of the changing English practice. . . . All modern printings of King James represent the revision of Benjamin Blayney, Oxford, 1769." (Edgar J. Goodspeed, *New Chapters in New Testament Study*, p. 82.) A future imaginary textual critic who possessed only a 1948 printing would likely date the Authorized Version much later than 1611 on the basis of the language.

⁵² O. R. Sellers, letter to the editor, quoted in Wright, "Archaeological News and Views," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, May, 1949 (vol. 12, no. 2), p. 32.

was still used.⁵³ The now-famous complete Isaiah scroll has different spelling and grammar from that of the Masoretic text; it uses the *plene*, or full, spelling which adds letters, perhaps to aid in pronunciation. But another Isaiah manuscript, of which only chapters 44-66 are preserved, found also in the same cave, uses the later, "defective," or abbreviated, form, representing a text almost identical with the traditional Hebrew text still in use today.⁵⁴ Everyone will readily admit that the orthographical and grammatical differences of the two Isaiah manuscripts, for instance, reveal at most the period of their respective copyists, but that they do not give any clue to the date of the original composition of the book. By analogy one can safely say that any third-century forms of language found in the present Aramaic portion of Daniel are no proof that the book was written as late as the third century. If on other grounds a sixth century authorship can be established, the linguistic variations can be easily explained.

5. THE ARGUMENT CONCERNING BELSHAZZAR AS KING.—Formerly, the mention of Belshazzar as king in Babylon was held as definite proof that the writer of the book of Daniel could not have been a contemporary of this "king"; otherwise he would have known that Belshazzar was never king of Babylon. Today, however, through the painstaking work of many archaeologists, that opinion has been definitely reversed. For example, Dr. Raymond Philip Dougherty, in his most thoroughgoing study reaches the following impressive and highly significant conclusions as to the historicity of Belshazzar:

"The foregoing summary of information concerning Belshazzar, when judged in the light of data obtained from the texts discussed in this monograph, indicates that of all non-Babylonian records dealing with the situation at the close of the Neo-Babylonian empire *the fifth chapter of Daniel ranks next to cuneiform literature in accuracy so far*

⁵³ Wm. H. Brownlee, "Further Light on Habakkuk," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, April, 1949 (no. 114), p. 10; G. Lankester Harding, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," *Illustrated London News*, October 1, 1949, p. 493, fig. 6 on p. 494.

⁵⁴ G. E. Wright, "Archaeological News and Views," *The Biblical Archaeologist*, September, 1949 (vol. 12, no. 3), p. 65. See also Siegfried Herbert Horn, "The Aramaic Portion of the Book Daniel," *The Ministry*, May, June, July, 1950 (vol. 23, nos. 5-7).

as outstanding events are concerned. The Scriptural account may be interpreted as excelling, because it employs the name Belshazzar, because it attributes royal power to Belshazzar, and because it recognizes that a dual rulership existed in the kingdom. Babylonian cuneiform documents of the sixth century B.C. furnish clear-cut evidence of the correctness of these three basic historical nuclei contained in the Biblical narrative dealing with the fall of Babylon. Cuneiform texts written under Persian influence in the sixth century B.C. have not preserved the name Belshazzar, but his rôle as a crown prince entrusted with royal power during Nabonidus' stay in Arabia is depicted convincingly. Two famous Greek historians of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. [Herodotus and Xenophon] do not mention Belshazzar by name and hint only vaguely at the actual political situation which existed in the time of Nabonidus. Annals in the Greek language ranging from about the beginning of the third century B.C. to the first century B.C. are absolutely silent concerning Belshazzar and the prominence which he had during the last reign of the Neo-Babylonian empire. The total information found in all available chronologically-fixed documents later than the cuneiform texts of the sixth century B.C. and prior to the writings of Josephus of the first century A.D. could not have provided the necessary material for the historical framework of the fifth chapter of Daniel."⁵⁵

The essential point, of course, is that a writer in a late period could not have given such exact statements concerning a prevailing situation which was no longer correctly recorded even only a century later.

As further internal evidence, one must also consider the intimate knowledge of Babylonian mythology represented in the different prophetic terms and symbols used, considered in the earlier part of this chapter,⁵⁶ which were easily understood in the Babylonian period, but which would be utterly foreign to the thought and phrasings of the Jews centuries later, in the time of the Maccabees. And though there are other points of difficulty in the book of Daniel, these may also be as effectively cleared when further material becomes available through excavations or other circumstances.

6. THE IMPLICATION OF CANONICITY.—Let us now consider the position of the book of Daniel in the Old Testament

⁵⁵ Raymond Philip Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar, A Study of the Closing Events of the Neo-Babylonian Empire* (Yale Oriental Series Researches, vol. 15), pp. 199, 200.

⁵⁶ See sections II-IV, pages 37-53.

canon, and in brief outline trace the canon in general. The word *canon* means primarily a straight staff, a rule, a measuring rod, then a list. But as applied to Scripture, it long ago came to have a special meaning. It designated the books of the Bible—the books which were accepted as inspired and authoritative. It was first applied in this sense by the church fathers at the Council of Laodicea, about the middle of the fourth century. But the concept of the canonicity of a book had a much earlier origin. It was long prevalent among the Jews, although they did not use the same term.⁵⁷

The formation of the canon is, of course, of much later date than the writing of the different books which compose it. The idea of setting apart a certain number of books—of canonizing them for religious use—as having a divine and authoritative character, could only have been suggested when the amount of religious literature had increased to the extent that need of such a selection became imperative. We find a hint of this kind as early as in Ecclesiastes 12:12, where the writer warns that there is no end of the making of books, and that too much reading is a weariness to the flesh. That means, in other words, that one should concentrate on those books which are of accepted origin, as verse 11 might also indicate. In later times we find in the *Mishnah* that the canonicity of the Holy Books is expressed indirectly by the doctrine that those writings which are not canonical “render the hands unclean.”⁵⁸

Which books were considered among the Jews to possess this particular quality? And when was this determined? According to the traditional view, the greater part of the Old Testament canon was fixed in the time following the Exile, in the days of Ezra and the century or so following, by the Great Synagogue, the supposed body of learned scribes which compiled the collection of sacred books. The Old Testament contained “twenty-four books, the five of the Pentateuch,

⁵⁷ See T. Zahn, “Canon of Scripture,” *The New Schaff-Herzog*, vol. 2, pp. 388 ff.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

eight books of the Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets), and eleven *Hagiographa* (Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra [including Nehemiah], and Chronicles). Samuel and Kings form but a single book each, as is seen in Aquila's Greek translation. The 'twelve' prophets were known to Eccl[esiastic]us (Sirach) as one book (xliv.10), and the separation of Ezra from Nehemiah is not indicated in either the Talmud or the *Masorah*.⁸⁹ These are precisely the same books that we find in the canon of the Protestant Bible today,⁹⁰ although they are arranged in a different sequence.

The well-known Jewish tripartite division of the Old Testament is made up of (1) the Law, or *Torah*; (2) the Prophets, or *Nebiim*; and (3) the Writings, or *Kathubim*, which in Greek were called *Hagiographa*. Just why this tripartite division was adopted by the Jews is difficult to explain. It is not continued in the Septuagint. Modern commentators seek to prove, in harmony with their theses, that it indicates a chronological order—which would, of course, mean that the books of the Torah were canonized earlier than those of the other two sections, and hence, that the *Hagiographa* (including Daniel) were the latest to be added to the canon.

However, the more conservative commentators hold to the concept that the division was made on the ground of difference in subject matter. These have a confirmatory witness in behalf of their view, in the passage in Josephus (*Against Apion*, book 1, chap. 8), in which the eminent Jewish historian, writing about A.D. 100, expresses his conviction, and that of his coreligionists, that the Scriptures of the Palestinian Hebrews formed a closed and sacred collection from the days of the Persian king Artaxerxes Longimanus (465-425 B.C.). A further reference is found in the *Baba Bathra*, 14.b, a Talmudic tractate

⁸⁹ Ludwig Blau, "Bible Canon," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, pp. 141, 142.

⁹⁰ George L. Robinson, "The Canon of the Old Testament," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1, p. 555.

(between A.D. 200 and 500) which mentions the aforementioned number of books under the same classification.

In this Jewish classification of the books of the Bible we note that Daniel is placed not among the prophets but among the writings of the *Kathubim*, or *Hagiographa*, whereas in the Septuagint and in the Latin Vulgate it is placed among the Major Prophets, just as in the modern Protestant and Catholic versions of the Bible. Because of this those who maintain that the tripartite division of the canon represents the chronological order of canonization, also claim that Daniel is of late origin, as the prophetic part of the canon had been closed. However—

“it is more probable, that the book was placed in this part of the Heb. Canon, because Daniel is not called a *nābhī* ('prophet'), but was rather a *hōzeh* ('seer') and a *hākhām* ('wise man'). None but the works of the *nebhī'im* were put in the second part of the Jewish Canon, the third being reserved for the heterogeneous works of seers, wise men, and priests, or for those that do not mention the name or work of a prophet, or that are poetical in form. . . .

“Some have attempted to explain the position of Daniel by assuming that he had the prophetic gift without holding the prophetic office. It must be kept in mind that all reasons given to account for the order and place of many of the books in the Canon are purely conjectural, since we have no historical evidence bearing upon the subject earlier than the time of Jesus ben Sirach, who wrote probably about 180 B.C.”⁶¹

⁶¹ R. Dick Wilson, “Daniel, Book of,” *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, vol. 2, p. 783.

The Relationship of Daniel to the Apocrypha

We must consider still another aspect of the book of Daniel—its relationship to the Old Testament Apocrypha, since part of the Apocrypha was appended to the Greek, or Septuagint, version of Daniel. But first let us trace briefly the historical background of that interesting period in Jewish history that lies between the close of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New. The genuineness or spuriousness of the Apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel is therefore a definite phase of our inquiry.

I. The Interim Between the Two Testaments

Four centuries stretch across the interim that separates the close of the Old Testament from the beginning of the New. This period is sometimes referred to as the "Blank Leaf" between those earlier and later pages of church history that are familiar to all. Others call them the "silent" centuries. Let us draw aside the veil that obscures them, and glance at the high lights of these intriguing years. Tremendous changes took place between the falling of the curtain at the close of the Old Testament, and its rising again with the New Testament. At the close of the former period Palestine was part of a Persian satrapy. At the beginning of the latter the Holy Land was part of a Roman province under the iron heel of Rome, which then ruled the Mediterranean world.

It was an era of violent changes. Persia had passed. Greece had come and gone. And religion had been affected as well. At the time of Ezra neither Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, nor Herodians had yet developed as sects in the Jewish church. This so-called silent interim was not, however, a voiceless age. In some sections men were still very vocal, and tremendously active. During this period a sizable amount of religious literature was produced, a portion of which found entrance into the Greek translation of the Old Testament. And not long thereafter Christianity was destined to spring from the bosom of Judaism.¹

With the return of more than forty thousand Jewish exiles to Palestine, under the edict of Cyrus of Persia—about two hundred years before Alexander the Great—a new name was entered upon the page of history. It was the term *Jew*, or *Judean*. Originally restricted to the tribe of Judah, it was henceforth extended to cover all Hebrews. The exiles returned to a land of desolation and hostilities; nevertheless, with invincible courage and vigor they soon developed a degree of order out of the confusion. The decree of Cyrus marked the natal day of the restored church. Other edicts followed, and Jerusalem became again the honored center of the nation.

It was a time of protest against a developing conformity to heathen customs. The Samaritans sought admission into what might have been a reunited church, but their exclusion made them schismatics. The caste concept was introduced into the Jewish church. Race purity and perfection through the law were stressed. Prophetism died away into silence when "scribism" took over the guardianship of the spiritual welfare of the people by making a hedge about the law. The high priesthood grew in dignity and power, and became the rallying point of the nation. It was a living symbol that the church and the nation were one. The Sanhedrin, as a political organization,

¹C. M. Grant, *Between the Testaments*, Introduction. Though the facts hereafter presented are gathered from many sources, Section I of this chapter follows rather closely Grant's general outline.

came into being. A change in language had taken place, the exiles having learned the language of their conquerors. And when they returned from exile a new speech was on their lips—the Chaldee, or Eastern Aramaic.

Then came Alexander the Great. Until his day Greece had been largely oblivious of Palestine. Despite the loyal fidelity of the Jews to their treaty with Persia, Alexander's favor and patronage were won. Next followed the fourfold division of Alexander's empire²—and Palestine lay on the frontier between Syria and Egypt, the most powerful two of the four. For a century Palestine was chiefly held by the Ptolemies of Egypt. Then the Syrian kings asserted their supremacy, with the climax coming under Antiochus Epiphanes.

During the Persian period large groups of Jews had remained outside the Holy Land, with Babylonia as their center. Now in the Grecian period, Alexandria of Egypt became the new center. The founding of the city, which for a period became the metropolis of the Mediterranean world, was designed to perpetuate the fame of Alexander, and was akin to Constantine's selection of Constantinople as the new capital of that later empire. Thousands of Jewish emigrants settled in Alexandria, forming a prosperous and influential section of the populace. Greek ideas, customs, and speech made their impress, and were readily accepted. The Jews were fascinated by the charm of Greek art and literature, and the nation began to be swayed by its enticing customs and culture. These Hellenizing influences also penetrated into Palestine.

Jewish liberalism was sympathetic toward Greek learning, but the conservatives of the day fought against it. Two systems of thought developed: the Pharisees, who were in reality innovators, believing that besides the written Torah—the Law of

² The long struggle between Alexander's generals after his death—the successive regents of the two heirs against those who would divide the empire—resulted, in 301 B.C., in the victory of the coalition of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander at the Battle of Ipsus. They cut the territory into four independent kingdoms, three of which survived until they were absorbed successively by Rome. (See W. W. Tarn, "The Heritage of Alexander," *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 6, pp. 462, 499, 504.) For the territories of the four divisions, see the map "The Break-up of the Empire of Alexander," in H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History*.

the Old Testament—there is an unwritten one (the rabbinical tradition) which unfolds the meaning of the Torah with ever greater clearness, covering those points which are not expressly mentioned in the written Torah. They made the Torah, written and unwritten, the supreme guide of life in thought, word, and deed.³ But the Sadducees, who were guardians of the ancient order, denied flatly the validity of the unwritten Torah. Although in full allegiance to the Torah, they considered it fully justifiable to make use of their own intelligence in the conduct of public affairs.⁴

Then followed the Maccabean Wars, during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (c. 176-164 B.C.), who, while seeking to unify his kingdom by the medium of a common religion, suppressed all resisting elements with utmost cruelty, forbidding all distinctive Jewish customs. He desecrated the temple. The worship of the Jews was forbidden, and the temple was transformed into an idolatrous sanctuary. But let us draw the curtain over the ensuing wars, and come to 100 B.C.

In the political life of the nation we find the Herodians, who were partisans of the Idumean dynasty, and the Zealots, who were extreme nationalists. The Pharisees had the masses on their side, and the Sadducees, the classes. These latter became the party of privilege, prestige, and often of the priesthood. They could be compared with the conformists, whereas the Pharisees were the nonconformists, similar to the rigid Puritans of English history, or the stern Covenanters of Scottish lore. They stood for the resurrection of the dead, for human probation, and future judgment. On the other hand, the Sadducees considered themselves the superior ones; they sought to compromise and to soften the Jewish asperities.

And now the Roman was at the gate. The successful campaign against the kings of Asia Minor was closing, and Jerusalem was invested. Then Pompey appeared on the scene. The Holy City fell, and with it went national independence. But Pompey,

³ R. Travers Herford, "Pharisees," *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 8, pp. 473-475.

⁴ Herford, "Sadducees," *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 9, pp. 308, 309.

puzzled by the lack of any idol in the inner shrine of the temple, refused to touch its accumulated treasures. He appointed Hyrcanus to be high priest, calling him an ethnarch, and depriving him of the title of king. And he restricted the territory to the confines of the old kingdom of Judah. This was in 63 B.C.

Jewish history now emerges from obscurity and stands revealed in the light of Roman literature. At the time of Cicero, Crassus, Cassius, Caesar, Antony, Octavius, and Cleopatra, Palestine was suddenly brought to the attention of the Western world. Thousands of Jewish captives were sold as slaves, and many others compelled to settle in Rome. Thus the Jewish colony in the imperial city was established, and grew to great size. Julius Caesar had just become the Pontifex Maximus, and was about to enter upon his conquests in Gaul and Britain. Then the storm broke over Jerusalem for the second time within the century, as it was once more invested by a combined Roman and Herodian army. After the horrors of a six-month siege, it fell, in 37 B.C. Thus we come to Herod, the king of the Jews when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea.

Prophetism had died out of the church, and various substitutes had taken its place. The first was scribism, as noted. To the scribe the law was perfect. It was the end goal. Grant summarizes it in this way:

"To add to it was presumption; to alter it was sin. All that the Church could do was to comment on it, to annotate and defend it. The Law was to be the instrument of Israel's glory. Therefore it was to be placed first, more precious and more to be prized than even national independence."⁵

Scribism looked forward to a triumphant law, not to a secular independence—not even to a prophesied Messiah to come. And the Pharisee was the logical product of scribism. Then there was Sadduceeism. It was essentially rationalist and worldly. It set itself to make the most, or perhaps the best, of this present life, for the Sadducee believed in no other. He

⁵ Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

dismissed "illusions," and was content with what he held to be realities. "A triumphant Law, an expected Messiah, a universal dominion," were all simply shadows and delusions. Instead, pontifical state, priestly prestige, and high ecclesiastical office were to him the substantial realities to be sought.

And then there were those to whom scribism and Sadduceism were alike unsatisfactory. To such the magnificent law and the glorified temple were both of small moment. The important thing was that men should be pure, that they should be separate from an impure world. This group cared little for either the written Word or oral tradition, for priest or temple. These were the Essenes.

There were also a scattered few who based their hopes on the visions of the canonical prophets of the past.⁹ Like Abraham, they rejoiced to see Messiah's day. Their hope lay in the coming and reign of the prophesied Messiah. They looked to a dispensation of the future. Theirs was the protest of spiritual religion against the formalism of the scribes and Pharisees and the secularism of the Sadducees. They kept alive the blessed prophetic hope. Such was the strange admixture to be found in Jewish religious leadership as we come to the prophesied times of the Messiah.

II. Much Apocryphal Literature Produced

After having outlined some of the important events and developments during the postexilic period of Jewish history, we will readily understand that these three or four centuries so filled with action and drama could not represent a literary vacuum. It would have been most unusual if during such a span of time no religious or other literature had been produced by the Jews. Especially after Judaism had come in contact with the Hellenistic culture and philosophy there must have been a reaction, either positive or negative, in accepting or rejecting these ideas, else the nation would have been spiritually dead.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-141.

That, of course, was not the case. Therefore, we find during this period a rich and widely divergent literature—historical and legendary, didactic and homiletic, mystic and apocalyptic.

I. SLIPPED INTO OLD TESTAMENT CANON.—Some of these works became so commonly known and accepted that, when the sacred writings were translated into Greek, they slipped in as canonical with the greatest ease, and came to form an integral part of the Septuagint and later of the Vulgate. Certain of these later writings also found entrance into the book of Daniel. They are: the Prayer of Asarias, and the Song of the Three Holy Children, which are interpolated in chapter 3 between verses 23 and 24. The former is a prayer which Asarias (Azariah) is supposed to have offered in the midst of the flames of the fiery furnace, and the latter is a hymn of strength, fortitude, and praise which the three young men allegedly sang during their fearful trial.

A further addition to Daniel is the History of Susanna, or, as it is also called, the Judgment of Daniel, showing the wisdom of Daniel in the conviction of the real culprits who had succeeded in condemning an innocent victim. This is added as chapter 13. And chapter 14, generally referred to as Bel and the Dragon, comprises two stories which show, with a touch of mockery, the futility of idol worship as well as the fantastic element of Babylonian legend in Daniel's slaying such a mythical creature as Bel's dragon.

2. THE TERM APOCRYPHA IN ITS CHANGING APPLICATION.—These additions to Daniel, along with a number of other books—First and Second Esdras, Tobit, Judith, the Rest of Esther, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremy, the Prayer of Manassas, and the First and Second Maccabees—are, in Protestant circles, called the Apocrypha, denoting therewith the collection of religious writings which the Septuagint and the Vulgate contain in addition to the books constituting the Jewish canon which forms the accepted Protestant canon of today.

The word *apocryphal* carries with it a kind of depreciating flavor, which was not implied in the original meaning of the Greek word ἀπόκρυφος. It means "hidden," or "concealed," as regards a material object. In the Hellenistic period it took on the meaning of something "hidden away from human knowledge." In the patristic writings it came to be applied to Jewish and Christian writings containing secret knowledge about the future, intelligible only to an initiated group, so that the meaning became equivalent to "esoteric," and was applied mostly to apocalyptic literature.

Originally Christianity had nothing corresponding to the idea of a doctrine for the initiated, or a literature for a select few. This was an idea which entered through Greek philosophy, and helped to spread Gnosticism in the rank and file of the early Christian church. These Gnostics were, in turn, deeply influenced by Persian and Babylonian mysticism.

The next step in the development was to designate as apocryphal those books which did not receive the recognition of the churches in general. That is, they became known as noncanonical. Such was the meaning of the word as used by Irenaeus, as well as Tertullian. But both meant by "apocrypha" what are now called the "pseudepigrapha," largely the apocalyptic writings which circulated in the church (see chapters 8 and 10), not the Old Testament Apocrypha proper as printed in Bibles today.

The assembling of the writings of the Apocrypha into a separate collection was due in large measure to the critical work of Jerome, who separated many of the Apocryphal additions from their original context because he suspected their genuineness. Through the Protestant Reformation this term finally came to stand for the books listed at the beginning of this section.⁷

These books which we designate as "Apocryphal" in Protestant circles, are fully accepted in the Greek church at

⁷ See Thomas Witton Davies, "Apocrypha," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1, pp. 178-183.

present, and with some reservations in the Latin church. They are an integral part of the Septuagint. Besides these writings there are known to be a large number of other so-called apocalyptic writings which were not accepted by the translators of the Septuagint, as well as pseudepigraphic writings, in which the name of a well-known figure of the past had been adopted to cover the authorship of a later writer. Neither were these ever accepted.

3. SEPTUAGINT IS FIRST TRANSLATION FROM HEBREW.—The Septuagint is the most ancient translation of the Old Testament. It is the earliest version of the Old Testament that we possess, made about a millennium earlier—and its oldest surviving manuscripts are several centuries earlier—than the earliest (ninth century) Hebrew manuscript known until recently.⁸ It was the first attempt to reproduce the Hebrew Scripture in another tongue. The legendary view that it was made by seventy or seventy-two priests who, in separate cells, translated all the books of the Old Testament and that when their completed translations were compared they were all alike, of course has to be discarded.

The commonly accepted view at present is that during the last two or three centuries B.C. the Jews had settled in great numbers in Egypt. By adopting Greek as the *lingua franca* they ceased to understand the Hebrew, and were in danger of forgetting the law. Therefore it seems quite natural that some men, zealous for the law, should have undertaken to compile a translation of the Pentateuch. And after a certain period the Prophets and Hagiographa were likewise translated. Just when the work of translation started and when it was completed, is hard to ascertain. In general, it is believed the Hexateuch may be placed in the third century B.C., the Prophets mainly in the second century B.C., and the Writings largely in the second and first centuries B.C.⁹

⁸ For the recent discoveries, see pages 57-60.

⁹ H. St. J. Thackeray, "Septuagint," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, vol. 4, pp. 2722-2731.

III. Crept in Through Medium of the Greek

The Septuagint translation rose in importance to the level of the Hebrew original. And not only did this translation become the Bible of the Hellenistic Jews, but it brought the Jewish religion to the knowledge of nations before unreached. It was undoubtedly a factor in bringing about "the fulness of the time" for Christ's first Advent. Any comprehensive tracing, therefore, of the book of Daniel must include the Septuagint.

1. ADDED TO ALEXANDRIAN, NOT PALESTINIAN, LIST.—The greater freedom of mind and the lessened conservatism of the Jews of Alexandria would make them more ready than those of Palestine to receive new books seeking admission into the canon. Thus it was that, as the writings that form the Apocrypha came into acceptance in Alexandria, they were added to the Septuagint but were not added to the Hebrew canon of Palestine. They came to form part of the Jewish Scriptures in the Greek version alone, and not in the Hebrew. They were accepted abroad, but not at the Jerusalem base.

We repeat, for emphasis, that "the Apocrypha never was included in the Palestinian Canon."¹⁰ The Septuagint was, of course, the Old Testament of the early Christian church, used by the apostles and their converts. As mentioned, the translators had taken liberties with the text—enlarging, abbreviating, transposing, and otherwise modifying it—but the most noteworthy departure was, of course, the inclusion of the books now known as the Apocrypha. All these books were of late date and were soon called in question. They had not been segregated, but were interspersed among the canonical books in the Septuagint. Notwithstanding this enlargement of the canon, the Apocryphal books attained no recognition from the writers of the New Testament. Moreover, the more scholarly of the church fathers adhered to the Hebrew list, and drew a sharp distinction between the Hebrew canonical books and these Greek additions.

¹⁰ Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

Nevertheless, the constant use of the Apocrypha could but tend to break down the limits set by the Hebrew canon.¹¹

2. JEROME PROTESTS THE ALEXANDRIAN ACCRETIONS.—It is not difficult to understand how, having once got into the Alexandrian canon, these Apocryphal books slipped easily into the Catholic canon. The overwhelming majority of the converts of the early church spoke Greek and read the Septuagint. They thus became accustomed to the Apocrypha. And as Latin versions of the Scriptures were being made, the Apocryphal books were translated along with the rest. Jerome, the great scholar of the Roman church of his day, who began revising these versions and forming the famous Latin Vulgate, declared strongly against the Alexandrian accretions. This brought him into sharp conflict with others, including Augustine. Finally, however, Jerome was pressed into modifying his position, and all the books of the Apocrypha were admitted into the Vulgate except 1 Esdras and the Prayer of Manassas.¹²

3. CONTRASTING TABULATION OF THE VARIOUS LISTS.—The accompanying tabulation (on pages 78 and 79) indicates the enlargements in the Septuagint and later Roman Catholic listings, which latter list superseded the original list of the early church. The later Waldensian and Protestant views of the Apocrypha will likewise be observed, the latter returning to the original canon under Reformation influences. The seven groupings are placed in parallel columns to facilitate comparison with the Apocryphal books or parts thereof, as they occur, set off in italics. Although the Septuagint lists more Apocryphal books *by name* than the Catholic Bible, the latter has incorporated with other books most of those not separately named, so in reality the two lists are virtually alike in content of Apocryphal material.

The general use of the Septuagint in apostolic times, as enlarged by the Apocryphal additions, produced effects in the

¹¹ James Orr, "Bible, The," *The International Standard Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1, pp. 461, 462.

¹² Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

COMPARATIVE LISTS OF OLD TESTAMENT BOOKS, SHOWING

It Will Be Observed That the Later Waldensian and Protestant

1	2	3	4
PALESTINIAN JEWISH (Standard List) *	ALEXANDRIAN SEPTUAGINT (“Larger” Canon) †	EARLY CHURCH (Melito, 2d Cent.) ‡	POST-NICENE CHURCH (Hippo, Third Council of Carthage, 4th Cent.) §
The Law	Genesis	Genesis	Genesis
Genesis	Exodus	Exodus	Exodus
Exodus	Leviticus	Numbers	Leviticus
Leviticus	Numbers	Leviticus	Numbers
Numbers	Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy
Deuteronomy	Joshua	Joshua	Joshua
The Prophets	Judges	Judges	Judges
Joshua	Ruth	Ruth	Ruth
Judges	1 Kings (1 Samuel)	1 Kings (1 Samuel)	1 Kings (1 Samuel)
1 Samuel	2 Kings (2 Samuel)	2 Kings (2 Samuel)	2 Kings (2 Samuel)
2 Samuel	3 Kings (1 Kings)	3 Kings (1 Kings)	3 Kings (1 Kings)
1 Kings	4 Kings (2 Kings)	4 Kings (2 Kings)	4 Kings (2 Kings)
2 Kings	1 Chronicles	1 Chronicles	2 Books of Paraleipomena (Chronicles)
Isaiah	2 Chronicles	2 Chronicles	Job
Jeremiah	1 Esdras	Psalms	Psalms of David
Ezekiel	2 Esdras (Ezra and Nehemiah)	Ecclesiastes	5 Books of Solomon
The Twelve	Psalms	Song of Songs	12 Books of the (Minor) Prophets
(Hosea	Proverbs	Job	Isaiah
Joel	Ecclesiastes	Isaiah	Jeremiah
Amos	Song (of Songs)	Jeremiah	Daniel
Obadiah	Job	The 12 (Minor) Prophets (1 book)	Ezekiel
Jonah	Wisdom of Solomon	Daniel (1 book)	Tobias
Micah	Wisdom of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus	Ezekiel	Judith
Nahum	Esther, with additions	Ezra (including Nehemiah in 1 book)	Esther
Habakkuk	Judith		1 Esdras
Zephaniah	Tobit		2 Esdras
Haggai	Hosea		1 Maccabees
Zechariah	Amos		2 Maccabees
Malachi)	Micah		
The Writings	Joel		
Psalms	Obadiah		
Proverbs	Jonah		
Job	Nahum		
Song of Songs	Habakkuk		
Ruth	Zephaniah		
Lamentations	Haggai		
Ecclesiastes	Zechariah		
Esther	Malachi		
Daniel	Isaiah		
Ezra	Jeremiah		
Nehemiah	Baruch		
1 Chronicles	Lamentations		
2 Chronicles	Epistle of Jeremy		
	Ezekiel		
	Daniel, with additions of Song of the Three Children		
	Susannah		
	Bel and the Dragon		
	1 Maccabees		
	2 Maccabees		
	3 Maccabees		
	4 Maccabees		
	Psalms of Solomon		
	Enoch		
	Odes, including the Prayer of Manasses		

SEPTUAGINT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC ENLARGEMENTS

Lists Return to the Original Canon, Under Reforming Influences

5	6	7	
ROMAN CATHOLIC	WALDENSIAN	PROTESTANT	Notes
(Vulgate, enumerated by the Council of Trent)	(Morel's Confes- sion of Faith)	(Standard Versions) **	
Genesis	Genesis	Genesis	
Exodus	Exodus	Exodus	
Leviticus	Leviticus	Leviticus	
Numbers	Numbers	Numbers	
Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy	
Josue (Joshua)	Joshua	Joshua	
Judges	Judges	Judges	
Ruth	Ruth	Ruth	
1 Kings (1 Samuel)	1 Samuel	1 Samuel	
2 Kings (2 Samuel)	2 Samuel	2 Samuel	
3 Kings (1 Kings)	1 Kings	1 Kings	
4 Kings (2 Kings)	2 Kings	2 Kings	
1 Paralipomenon (1 Chronicles)	1 Chronicles	1 Chronicles	
2 Paralipomenon (2 Chronicles)	2 Chronicles	2 Chronicles	
1 Esdras (Ezra)	1 Ezra	Ezra	
2 Esdras (Nehemiah)	Nehemiah	Nehemiah	
<i>Tobias (Tobit)</i>	Esther	Esther	
<i>Judith</i>	Job	Job	
Esther [10:4 to 16:24 added]	Psalms	Psalms	
Job	Proverbs	Proverbs	
Psalms	Ecclesiastes	Ecclesiastes	
Proverbs	Song of Solomon	Song of Solomon	
Ecclesiastes	Isaiah	Isaiah	
Cantic of Canticles (Song of Solomon)	Jeremiah	Jeremiah	
<i>Wisdom</i>	Lamentations	Lamentations	
<i>Ecclesiasticus</i>	Ezekiel	Ezekiel	
Isaias (Isaiah)	Daniel	Daniel	
Jeremias [including Lam- entations], with <i>Baruch</i>	Hosea	Hosea	
Ezechiel	Joel	Joel	
Daniel [3:24-90 (<i>Song of the Three Children</i>), Ch. 13 (<i>Susanna</i>), and Ch. 14 (<i>Bel and the Dragon</i>) added]	Amos	Amos	
Osee (Hosea)	Obadiah	Obadiah	
Joel	Jonah	Jonah	
Amos	Micah	Micah	
Abdias (Obadiah)	Nahum	Nahum	
Jonas (Jonah)	Habakkuk	Habakkuk	
Micheas (Micah)	Zephaniah	Zephaniah	
Nahum	Haggai	Haggai	
Habacuc (Habakkuk)	Zechariah	Zechariah	
Sophonias (Zephaniah)	Malachi	Malachi	
Aggeus (Haggai)			
Zacharias (Zechariah)			
Malachias (Malachi)			
1 <i>Machabees</i>			
2 <i>Machabees</i>			

* *The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text, a New Translation.*

† *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, ed. by Henry Barclay Swete, vols. 1-3.

‡ Melito of Sardis, quoted in Eusebius, *Church History*, book 4, chap. 26, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 206.

§ Charles Joseph Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, vol. 2, p. 400; see also pp. 395, 396, 407, 408 for the re-enactment at Carthage. Presumably, since this list follows the enlarged Septuagint canon, 2 Esdras is the canonical Ezra and Nehemiah; and Jeremiah, Daniel, and Esther include the noncanonical additions.

|| *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (trans. by Schroeder), session 4, April 8, 1546, pp. 17, 18.

¶ Samuel Morland, *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont*, pp. 30, 31. —See also Jean Paul Perrin, *Histoire des Vaudois*, translated in *History of the Ancient Christians*, p. 51. This Waldensian confession includes the Apocryphal books at the end of the Old Testament, but notes that "we read them (as saith St. Hierome in his Prologue to the *Proverbs*) for the instruction of the People, not to confirm the Authority of the Doctrine of the Church."

** Most English Protestant Bibles today omit the Apocrypha entirely, although some include them between the Testaments as recommended for use, but not canonical or authoritative for doctrine.

history of the Old Testament canon that can be plainly seen among early Christian writers. In proportion as the early fathers were more or less dependent on the Septuagint for their knowledge of the Old Testament, they gradually lost the distinction between the canonical books and the Apocryphal. The customs and opinions of individuals in time naturally became the custom of the church. And their public use obliterated the distinction between the two, which could be discerned only by the scholar. However, the custom of the church was not as yet fixed in an absolute judgment.¹³

IV. Generally Rejected Prior to Trent

An important point in the Christian Era was reached with Jerome's Vulgate. He was the first to use the term *Apocrypha* to mean the Greek additions in the Septuagint; he recognized only the Hebrew Old Testament Scriptures as canonical.¹⁴ But under pressure Jerome hastily yet reluctantly translated the Greek books of Judith and Tobit. In reality he disparaged the reading of the Apocrypha.

"Let her understand that they [the Apocrypha] are not really written by those to whom they are ascribed, that many faulty elements have been introduced into them, and that it requires infinite discretion to look for gold in the midst of dirt."¹⁵

Feeling was running strongly in favor of the other books of the Apocrypha. Ere long these were added to Jerome's Latin Vulgate, though information as to the extent of Jerome's revision of the Old Latin of some of these texts is very meager. It was this enlarged Vulgate that later received official recognition, under pain of anathema, at the Council of Trent in 1543, with revision from Clement VIII in 1592.¹⁶

I. ILLUSTRIOUS FIGURES REJECT GREEK APOCRYPHA.—NOW,

¹³ M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 78.

¹⁴ Jerome, Preface to Samuel and Kings, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (hereafter abbreviated to *NPNF*). 2d series, vol. 6, pp. 489, 490.

¹⁵ Jerome, Letter 107 (to Laeta), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 194.

¹⁶ Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 462; E. Schürer, "Apocrypha," in *The New Schaff-Herzog*, vol. 1, p. 216.

with rapid steps, let us traverse the centuries from Melito in the second century, on to the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, noting the succession of illustrious figures who reject the Greek Apocrypha and hold to the original Hebrew canon.¹⁷ Note the array:

Melito, bishop of Sardis, whose record is preserved by Eusebius, lists only the books of the Hebrew canon as canonical.¹⁸ Irenaeus (d. 202) and Tertullian (d. 230) differentiate between the "canonical" and "apocryphal" books, but they meant the apocalyptic writings.¹⁹ Origen (d. c. 254) expressly states that the canonical books admitted by Jews and Christians were twenty-two in number—the same as the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet.²⁰ Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367) in like fashion named and numbered the Old Testament canon as twenty-two, although he states that some by adding Tobit and Judith make the number agree with the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet.²¹ Athanasius (d. 373) limited them to the twenty-two (although he included Baruch and the epistle with Jeremiah).²² But these are not all.

Gregory Nazianzen, or Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 391), excludes the Apocrypha and lists the twenty-two canonical books.²³ Jerome (d. 420) also, in his *Prologus Galeatus* (Helmeted Preface) to the books of Samuel and Kings, addressed to Paula and Eustochium, gives us a catalog of the Old Testament books identical with ours, and excludes as Apocryphal all books

¹⁷ One such survey of source quotations giving various lists of the books of the Bible is given by Brooke Foss Westcott, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament*, Appendix D, pp. 531-571.

¹⁸ Eusebius, *The Church History of Eusebius*, book 4, chap. 26, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 206. The phrase translated "Wisdom also" in this edition really means "even Wisdom," so that when he enumerates "the Proverbs of Solomon, also called Wisdom," he is giving two names for one book, not inserting the Apocryphal book called Wisdom. See the translator's footnote 36 on page 206 and the reference to this usage on page 200 and note 17.

¹⁹ Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 180. Note the difference between "The Apocrypha" and "apocryphal writings"; see pp. 73, 74.

²⁰ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 6, chap. 25, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 272. "When among the Fathers and rabbis the OT is made to contain 22 [not 24] books, Ruth and Lam are joined respectively to Jgs and Jer." (Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 181. Brackets in the original.)

²¹ Hilary, *Prologus in Librum Psalmorum*, sec. 15, in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Latina (hereafter referred to as *Patrologia Latina*, abbreviated to *PL*), vol. 9, col. 241.

²² *Letters of Athanasius*, 1. Festal Letters, "From Letter XXXIX," in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, p. 552; Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

²³ Gregory Nazianzen, *Epe (Carmina)*, book 1, section 1, no. 12, in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Graeca (hereafter referred to as *Patrologia Graeca*, abbreviated to *PG*), vol. 37, cols. 473, 474; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

outside this canon.²⁴ The same is true of Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), in his *Catechetical Lectures*, who lists twenty-two and urges avoidance of the Apocryphal, and of Epiphanius (d. 403), who omits the Apocrypha in his *Liber de Mensuris et Ponderibus* (Book Concerning Weights and Measures).²⁵

2. INTRODUCED UNDER INFLUENCE OF AUGUSTINE.—But when we come to Augustine (d. 430) seven disputed books are introduced into the canon—Tobit, Judith, the two books of Maccabees, the Apocryphal 1 Esdras, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus—in his work *On Christian Doctrine*,²⁶ and in his celebrated *City of God* he cites not only the canonical books of the Hebrews but also the Apocrypha.²⁷ Notwithstanding opposite theories, the ordinary practice of Western theologians was to use the Apocryphal writings as they did the canonical. The Synods at Hippo (393) and Carthage (the 3d, 397), held under Augustine's influence, included the Apocrypha.²⁸

²⁴ Jerome, Preface to Samuel and Kings, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, pp. 489, 490; see also his Preface to Daniel, on pages 492, 493, the summary of the Preface to Tobit and Judith, on page 494, and his Letter to Laeta, p. 194; Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

²⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*, Lecture 4, secs. 33, 35, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 7, pp. 26, 27; Epiphanius, *Liber de Mensuris et Ponderibus*, chap. 4, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 43, col. 244; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

²⁶ Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, book 2, chap. 8, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, pp. 538, 539. Augustine mentions "the two of Ezra," or Esdras. The footnote in *NPNF* says, "That is, Ezra and Nehemiah," which would be in accord with the modern Catholic Bibles. But Augustine, who used the Septuagint, evidently included the Apocryphal Esdras, for he cites an incident from that book. (*City of God*, book 18, chap. 36, *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 382.) The numbering of the books of Ezra in different versions of the Bible leads easily to confusion. In Protestant Bibles we have only one book of Ezra and the book of Nehemiah. These two books are named in the modern Catholic Bible editions first and second Esdras respectively. But in the Vulgate both combined went under the name of 1 Esdras, whereas in the Septuagint they are the 2 Esdras or Esdras B.

Besides these two canonical books of Ezra, there exist two Apocryphal books—one of them even classed as pseudepigraphical—which are not in the Protestant canon. In modern Catholic Bibles, if added they classify under 3 and 4 Esdras. In the Vulgate we find them under 2 and 3 Esdras, and the earlier of the two was already in the Septuagint as Esdras A. (See J. H. Lupton, Introductions to 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras, in *Apocrypha* edited by Henry Wace), vol. 1, pp. 1-6, 71. The following diagram visualizes the line-up:

	Hebrew	Septuagint (Greek)	Vulgate	Modern Catholic	Protestant
Canonical	Ezra (Including Nehemiah)	2 Esdras	1 Esdras	1 Esdras 2 Esdras	Ezra Nehemiah
Apocryphal		1 Esdras (in Greek)	2 Esdras 3 Esdras (in Latin)	[3 Esdras] [4 Esdras]	1 Esdras 2 Esdras

²⁷ See the index of texts cited, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 615.

²⁸ Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

Though the opinion of Augustine was followed by many, on the other hand many of the most learned of the fathers and later writers from the fourth century on to the time of the Council of Trent held the opinion that some or all of the books in dispute were Apocryphal: Gregory Nazianzen, Anastasius, patriarch of Antioch (d. 559), Leontius (fl. 6th century), Junilius, commonly known as Junilius Africanus, sixth-century ecclesiastical writer, Gregory the Great (d. 604), the Venerable Bede (d. 735), John of Damascus (d. 754), Alcuin (d. 804), Rupert (12th century), Peter Mauritius, Hugh of St. Victor, the Saxon (1141), Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173), John of Salisbury (1182), Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), Hugo, the Cardinal (13th century), Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1349), William of Occam, of Oxford (14th century), and Thomas Anglicus (15th century), Paul of Burgos (d. 1435), Alphonso Tostatus (d. 1454), Cardinal Ximenes (d. 1517), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Faber Stapulensis of Paris (d. 1537), Luis Vives (d. 1540), Erasmus (d. 1536), and even Cardinal Cajetan (d. 1534).²⁹ Outside the Roman church, the Waldenses rejected the Apocrypha, but retained them in the Bible as useful although noncanonical.

3. PRE-REFORMATION AND REFORMATION REJECTION.—In the pre-Reformation period Wyclif showed himself the forerunner of the Reformation in this as in other matters, and applied the term *Apocrypha* to all but the recognized canonical books of the Old Testament.³⁰ The churches of the Reformation went back generally to the Hebrew canon, giving only qualified sanction to the reading and limited ecclesiastical use of the Apocrypha—for instruction, but not to establish doctrine. The early English versions (Tyndale, Coverdale) included the Apocryphal books but separated them from the canonical writings.³¹ Carlstadt was evidently the first Protestant to pay

²⁹ Based on Archibald Alexander, *The Canon of the Old and New Testaments*, pp. 56-65; Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 459-461, 466, 467, 471 and especially Appendix D; Samuel Davidson, *The Canon of the Bible*, pp. 90-112.

³⁰ M^cClintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 291.

³¹ Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

special attention to the canon, siding with Jerome in designating the added writings as Apocryphal, or noncanonical.³²

4. LUTHERAN, ANGLICAN, AND CALVINIST POSITIONS.—Mid-way between the supporting Romanist and rejecting Calvinist positions is that of the Anglican and Lutheran churches. Luther placed the Apocrypha between the Old and the New Testament, with the statement:

“Apocrypha; that is, books which, although not estimated equal to the Holy Scriptures, are yet useful and good to read.”³³

Article VI of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England explains the Anglican attitude:

“And the other bookes, (as Hierome sayth) the Church doth reade for example of lyfe and instruction of manners: but yet doth it not applie them to establishe any doctrene.”³⁴

The Calvinistic objection is recorded in the *Westminster Confession*:

“The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of the Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings.”³⁵

Although the Reformers did not consider the Apocrypha canonical and did not use them to support any point of dogma, they were still combined as a separate collection in the Bible, bound between the Old and the New Testament. But there was a growing opposition in Protestant circles, which found strong expression in a remark by Lightfoot.

“In a sermon preached before the House of Commons in 1643 the well-known scholar Lightfoot complained of the custom of printing the Apocrypha between the books of the Old and New Testament. ‘Thus sweetly and nearly should the two Testaments join together, and thus divinely would they kiss each other, but that the wretched Apocrypha doth thrust in between.’ ‘Like the two cherubins in the temple-oracle,’ the end of the Law and the beginning of the Gospel would touch one another, ‘did not this patchery of human invention divorce them asunder.’”³⁶

³² Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 3, pp. 490, 491.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 602; see also Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

³⁶ George Salmon, “General Introduction,” *Apocrypha* (Wace ed.), vol. 1, p. xxxvii.

5. EVIDENCE ON APOCRYPHA SUMMARIZED.—We therefore conclude that these Apocryphal works are not canonical, as evidenced by the following considerations:

(1) The original Hebrew Bible does not include them, though in Old Testament times the oracles of God were committed to the Jews. (Rom. 3:2.)

(2) There is no conclusive evidence that any of them were composed originally in the Hebrew language. Certainly almost all of them, probably all, were written originally in the Greek, which was not employed by the Jews until after the penning of their inspired writings had ceased, and the canon of the Old Testament had been closed.

(3) Only the Old Testament as the Protestants now have it (but numbered as either twenty-two or twenty-four books) was received as inspired in the Hebrew canon. The Apocryphal additions in the Septuagint were never officially sanctioned by the Jews, and have been completely rejected by them through many centuries to the present day. Philo (20 B.C. TO C. A.D. 50) spoke against adding to the law of Moses, and Josephus (d. C. A.D. 100) expressly declared, "Our books, those which are justly accredited, are but two and twenty."³⁷

(4) There is silence respecting these writings in the New Testament. They are never quoted by Christ and the apostles.³⁸

(5) The writers of the Apocrypha sometimes disclaim inspiration, and confess to a lack of the prophetic gift. (1 Macc. 4:46; 9:27; 14:41.)

(6) The Apocrypha teaches doctrines at variance with the Scriptures—superstitious quackery, deceit, purgatory, reincarnation, and prayers for any of the dead. (Judith 9:10; Tobit 5:12, 13; 6:1-8; Wisdom 8:19, 20; Baruch 3:4; 2 Macc. 12:43-46.)

(7) The Apocrypha contains historical errors, inconsistencies, and fictitious stories and events. (For example: 1 Maccabees 8; Additions to Esther 11:2-4; Bel and the Dragon.)

³⁷ Josephus, *Against Apion*, book 1, chap. 8, in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 1, p. 179. On the twenty-two, see p. 81, note 20; see also Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

³⁸ A few passages are regarded by some as showing sufficient similarity as to indicate the authors' familiarity with the Apocrypha in the Septuagint, but there are no direct references to the Old Testament Apocrypha. See Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

The Book of Revelation

and the New Testament Canon

I. The Book of Revelation—Its Writing and Its Original Recipients

1. JOHN THE WRITER.—The book of Revelation is designated as “The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto Him . . . ; and He sent and signified it by His angel unto His servant John: who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw.” Rev. 1:1, 2. But although the author is Christ, the inspired penman is “His servant John,” an exile on the island of Patmos.

Although such Aegean islands as Patmos were used as places of banishment during the Roman Empire, little is known of its ancient history. To men of ordinary status, like John, such banishment generally meant hard labor in mines or quarries for life. It is possible, of course, that he was released when Domitian’s acts were annulled at his death. There even grew up a tradition that John’s exile lasted only two years, but there is no way of actually knowing how long it was, or precisely when the Apocalypse was written.¹

It is outside the province of this volume to establish the Apocalypse as written by John the apostle in the reign of Domitian, but reasons for accepting that conclusion might

¹ William M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, pp. 85-91. The testimony of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Victorinus, and Jerome places John’s exile in the time of Domitian. For discussion of date, see Henry Barclay Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, pp. xcix-cvi.

properly be pointed out in passing: There is first the widespread belief of the early church, which conforms to the belief that the apostle John lived in Ephesus and ministered to the churches in Asia Minor, for which Paul had previously cared. Then there is the internal evidence of the conditions in the churches, and the developments in the Roman state at that period, as well as the intimate knowledge and authority shown in the writer's attitude toward the seven churches.²

Dionysius of Alexandria (d. 265) put forward a later, unknown John the Presbyter, or Elder, as author, based on differences of style.³ But the dissimilarity between the simple language of the fourth Gospel and the totally different literary form of the Apocalypse can easily be accounted for by the difference in subject matter. Ramsay remarks that the experience of Patmos is necessary to explain the mystery of how the John depicted in the Synoptic Gospels could ever write the lofty spiritual style of the fourth Gospel.⁴

By the end of the reign of Domitian, in A.D. 96, John, evidently the youngest of the apostles, must have been about ninety—the only survivor of the personal associates of Jesus. For seventy years he had witnessed the triumphs and trials of Christianity, and now he lovingly rebuked or commended his fellow sufferers to prepare them for the trials ahead and to assure them of final victory. In writing the Apocalypse he did not aim so much at literary style as at vivid prophetic depiction. He did not use the more artificial form of Greek, as perpetuated from the past, but the common speech of the day, which was often emancipated from the classical grammatical rules, but was spirited and vigorous, a true living speech.⁵

2. THE DOUBLE FORM OF THE BOOK.—The Revelation combines two literary forms, epistolary and apocalyptic. The parallel messages addressed directly to the seven individual churches are not actual, separate letters, but together compose

² Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75, 79-81.

³ See page 324.

⁴ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

an introductory section—a sort of covering letter admonishing the recipients to study carefully the second part, the Apocalypse proper, which is cast in the symbolical form. “He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.” Yet the entire book is a message to the entire church. And the seven messages, although literal to their original readers, were also obviously symbolical of the universal church as represented by these local churches.

The Apocalypse, meaning the uncovering of that which is concealed, was written under symbolic figures. This was partly in order that enemies might not understand it, because they are described as being judged and destroyed whereas the Christians are to be delivered. But the message is for all time, and culminating in the last days. It uncovers the future, comforting both the sufferers under Domitian and those of subsequent ages, predicting the course of both political and ecclesiastical empire, of apostasy in the church, of the revival of truth, and the glorious final triumph of Christ and righteousness.

3. THE DOUBLE APPLICATION OF THE BOOK.—The Apocalypse is twofold not only in form but also in meaning and application. It was never regarded as restricted to the seven literal congregations in John’s former field of labor. They were recognized as representing the whole church in both space and time. The Revelation is given by Christ for the benefit of “His servants”; “he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein” are blessed without qualification (Rev. 1:1, 3); and “he that hath an ear, let him hear” is of universal application. Furthermore, the various lines of prophecy carry the reader down through the ages to the second coming of Christ, and the new heavens and earth.

Through the later centuries the long-range view of the Revelation has often obscured in the reader’s mind the original impact of the book on John’s contemporaries. It is inconceivable that an inspired revelation could be addressed specifically to

certain contemporary groups without having a definite meaning for its recipients. Yet the fact of an immediate significance or fulfillment does not exclude the more remote, or subsequent, application, for there are other prophecies of a dual nature.

Jesus gave such a twofold revelation a few days before His crucifixion. His answer to the disciples' double question concerning the destruction of the temple and the end of the world, was a double prophecy which combined the signs of the two events so that it is often difficult to disentangle them. (Matthew 24; Mark 13; Luke 21.) Certainly the fact that certain of the conditions were applicable to some extent in both situations, or that Jesus' hearers did not understand the twofold meaning, did not invalidate either view.⁹

The early Christians understood a double application of the prophecy of Antichrist, for although John assured them that there were many antichrists in his time (1 John 2:18; 4:3), yet they looked for the supreme manifestation of Antichrist as still in the future.

The Preterist finds only the contemporary meaning of the Revelation as applicable to the early church, and the Futurist sees the prophecy as projected into a remote age to come, but the Historicist sees that the Revelation had its function first in counseling and encouraging the early Christians in the vicissitudes through which they were passing, while at the same time extending its prophetic pictures beyond their range of vision to the final victory. Otherwise its portrayal of the second advent, the judgment, and the kingdom of God have no meaning for our day.

4. ORIGINAL RECIPIENTS OF THE BOOK.—The Apocalypse was addressed primarily to seven actual, contemporary churches chosen, presumably, for their character as representative of the universal church of all time. They were not the only, or the most prominent churches in the province of Asia. Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum, along with Sardis, were indeed rival

⁹ Hosea 11:1; Matthew 2:15, 17, 18; and Jeremiah 31:15 furnish other examples of prophecies with two fulfillments. For a discussion of this prophecy of Jesus, see chapter 6.

claimants to the leading position, but the other three did not rank next in importance.⁷

Ephesus and Smyrna were ancient Greek colonies, Pergamum and Sardis were old Anatolian cities, but Laodicea, Philadelphia, and Thyatira were rather new cities, founded, or refounded, by Hellenistic kings—the successors of Alexander's divided empire—who wished to dominate and Hellenize their Oriental subjects through their strong and prosperous garrison cities. Consequently, western Asia Minor, where these seven churches were located, became a melting pot of Greco-Asiatic civilization.⁸

When the Romans conquered this territory from Antiochus the Great, they gave it to their ally, the king of Pergamum (189 B.C.). Then when his adopted son Attalus III bequeathed his kingdom to Rome in 133 B.C., this region became the Roman proconsular province of Asia.⁹ This wealthy and civilized province suffered from greed and misgovernment under the late Roman Republic, but Augustus brought peace and prosperity. Therefore the Asians became fervently loyal to the emperors, and worshiped Augustus as the Saviour of mankind. During the first century, says Ramsay, emperor worship was chiefly a matter of form, but always more important in the East than in the West. Under the customary Roman toleration the heterogeneous citizens of Asia could worship their own gods—so long as they also made offerings to the imperial god. But in the second century, emperor worship became the principal test of loyal citizenship, and was increasingly used as a weapon against Christians.¹⁰ At such a time the warnings and reassurances of the Revelation were peculiarly appropriate.

5. ROME IN APOCALYPTIC SYMBOLISM.—Later chapters will

⁷ Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 172, 175, 181, 182. It is interesting to note, however, that they were all strategically located on main highways, forming a complete circuit, a circumstance which is regarded by Ramsay as significant in relation to the early custom of sending letters from church to church. Such letters were carried along the main lines of travel by Christian messengers, because the imperial post service was not for the use of the public. (*Ibid.*, pp. 186, 189, and map preceding p. 1.)

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-130.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 115, 123, 124, 293, 294.

show that the early readers of the Apocalypse saw in most of the symbolism the shadow of Rome—imperial Rome at that time, of course. The woman seated on seven hills was unmistakable,²¹ and in the beast they saw the imperial persecuting power, which they sometimes tried to identify as an individual emperor. Although they were not too clear on the details at times, they saw plainly the issue between Christ and paganism; and the promises to the overcomer and the prospect of the coming of Christ in victory strengthened them to withstand the persecutions.

Although later Christians were to see a lengthening vista in the apocalyptic prophecies, it was no more to be expected that the original recipients of the book should see the later phases than that the disciples should understand the distinction between the immediate and the future applications of Christ's double prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world.

6. THE LETTERS TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.—Each of the seven letters of chapters 1-3 deals with the distinctive characteristics and problems of the church in question. This evidently indicates—unless the messages had no meaning at all to their immediate recipients—the actual condition of the individual churches. It is interesting to find that each church is addressed in terms which are eminently appropriate, locally and historically, to each city, and significant to the citizens. We note them briefly:

(1) *Ephesus* seems to show fewer points of analogy than some others, but the keynote of the church is that of change—it has fallen away from its first love. The admonition to repentance is accompanied by the alternative penalty—"I will . . . remove thy candlestick out of his place." This particular warning must have seemed rather a vivid illustration to the Ephesians, more so than to any of the other churches, for before John's time the city had already been compelled to move to

²¹ See pages 158, 159. (For illustration see page 160.)

keep up with the receding shore line of its harbor, which eventually became completely filled by silt.¹²

(2) To *Smyrna* "these things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive." Rev. 2:8. Sometimes the particular qualities attributed to the divine Author in the salutation seem to be selected for appropriateness to the city addressed. Smyrna had once been destroyed, and for about three hundred years there was no city, but a state composed of the scattered neighboring settlements; then it had been restored as a self-governing Greek city. "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," was not only a literal promise to the Christian but also a peculiarly appropriate phrase, reminding the Smyrnaeans of their city's reputation for singular faithfulness to their alliance with Rome, and of their "crown of Smyrna"—the well-known circlet of public buildings around a hilltop. A first-century Greek philosopher reminded Smyrna that "though it is the most beautiful of all cities, . . . yet it is a greater charm to wear a crown of men than a crown of porticoes and pictures of gold"; Christ offers the still better crown of life.¹³

The reference to tribulation and to the false Jews brings to the modern reader the picture of the later martyrdom of Polycarp at Smyrna, in which the Jews played such a zealous part as to break the Sabbath by bringing fagots into the stadium to light his fire.¹⁴

(3) *Pergamum* (Pergamon, Pergamus, Pergamos), formerly capital of the Attalid kingdom, but then a Roman center, probably the seat of provincial administration, was headquarters of the emperor cult in the province of Asia. The first, and for a long time the only, temple of the imperial cult was that of Augustus at Pergamum. There were other temples there, including the huge Altar of Zeus, which was famous for its relief sculptures.¹⁵ The characterization of the city as "where

¹² Ramsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-246.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-259, 275.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-284, 289, 290.

Satan's seat is" seems eminently suitable in this connection.

Nothing certain is known to church history of a martyr named Antipas, although the Catholics have a martyr Antipas in their *Acts of the Saints*. But the persecution here "where Satan dwelleth" would fit the increased enforcement of emperor worship.¹⁶ There are varying traditions, but nothing positive is known of the Nicolaitans except from the Revelation. It would seem from this description to be a group in the church which was advocating a compromise with paganism, and which it was necessary to denounce in the strongest terms.

(4) *Thyatira*, as Ramsay notes, was the smallest and weakest of the seven cities, yet it was promised the irresistible power of the rod of iron. But the same evil practices taught in "the doctrine of Balaam," which were accepted by a few in Pergamum, were countenanced in the leadership of the church in Thyatira. Quite possibly this danger to the church involved not only a spiritual compromise with paganism but also the literal question of Christians' attending actual feasts, such as the trade-guild banquets with their idolatrous aspects and their probable tendencies to immorality. Certain it is that such problems had been real in Paul's day (Acts 15:20; 1 Corinthians 8; 10:20-28), and that the trade guilds, so necessary to the prosperity of the Christian craftsmen, were particularly numerous and important in Thyatira.¹⁷

(5) *Sardis* was the home of a church whose past glory and present failure called forth the rebuke that it had the name of living but was dead. This must have reminded the Sardians of the lost glory of their city, the once proud capital of Lydia, and of the fact that twice its impregnable fortress had been captured through negligence—an unnoticed fault in the crumbling rock of the cliff had offered foothold to the enemy. How significant was the warning, "Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain."¹⁸

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 293, 294, 298.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 330-353.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 359-362, 375-378.

(6) To *Philadelphia* speaks "He that is true"—to the church which has "kept my word," and is promised protection in the coming hour of trial. Philadelphia had suffered from earthquakes more than any other city of Asia. One in A.D. 17 was followed by years of repeated minor shocks which hindered rebuilding and induced a large proportion of the population to flee to safety outside the city. The Philadelphians who remembered that long period of instability and dread would appreciate the assurance: "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar"—the symbol of stability—"and he shall go no more out."¹⁹ Furthermore, "I will write upon him My new name." The new name was appropriate, for the city had formerly, during a number of years, taken a new name in honor of an emperor; and now the Philadelphian church was to be given the name of the true God.²⁰

(7) *Laodicea*, a Phrygian city, has hardly any distinctive features, says Ramsay, and its church is described as lacking in decision and initiative. Successful in commerce and mixed in population, it was probably tolerant and easy going, with a tendency to compromise.²¹ It was so self-sufficient that it recovered from the great earthquake of A.D. 60 without the imperial aid furnished to other cities.²² This prosperous financial center, feeling "rich" and in "need of nothing," had to be counseled to obtain the heavenly gold. It was offered white raiment, in place of the locally produced black wool for which it was noted, and eyesalve for the blindness which found no cure in its famous medical school—a school which was noted for medicinal remedy, and in all likelihood was the source of the powdered "Phrygian stone" used for weak eyes.²³

7. OTHER SYMBOLS OF THE APOCALYPSE.—The symbolism of white garments as the garb of triumph and religious purity was familiar to these Greco-Roman converts from paganism.²⁴ The white stone (Rev. 2:17) is regarded by Ramsay as difficult

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 406-408.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 410-412.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 422-425.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 428.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 416-419, 428, 429.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 386-388.

to explain except as a new conception of the familiar *tessera*, which entitled the holder to certain privileges, the secret divine name being a symbol of the divine power accessible to the holder of the stone.²⁵ But others find in it the inscribed stone which is broken in two, the halves to be kept as tokens, the holders of the matching halves being identified as entitled to guest-friendship.²⁶ The new name, of course, implies a new character.

II. The Prophetic Character of the Book

The Revelation, like Daniel, is a book of symbolic prophecy—in other words, an apocalypse. This medium for conveying truth was not a new device, but was then already a familiar form in Jewish literature. John's Revelation, however, stands out in sharp contrast to the various apocryphal apocalypses devised by human ingenuity. And like Daniel, the Revelation is a multiple prophecy, with the same pronounced characteristics of (1) *continuity*—extending from John's day to the end of time, and the subsequent setting up of God's everlasting kingdom, or the earth made new; (2) *comprehensiveness*—based on the framework of world events as these form the setting for the life of the church and accentuate the conflict between Christ and Antichrist; and (3) *repetition*—going back and covering the same general outline seven times, through the line of the seven churches, then the seven seals, the seven trumpets, the two witnesses, the dragon, the beast, and the mystery woman on the scarlet beast; and finally comes the millennium and the New Jerusalem in the new earth forevermore.

As the crowning prophecy of the Bible, John's Revelation, the complement and unfolding of Daniel's prophecy, gives the most complete New Testament outline of the divine plan of the ages, and forms the climax of the divine canon. It begins with a blessing on him "that readeth," and those "that hear the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 302-306.

²⁶ See Henry Blunt, *A Practical Exposition of the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia*, pp. 116-119.

words of this prophecy" (Rev. 1:3), and closes with the warning to "seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand" (Rev. 22:10). Spanning the Christian Era through several repetitive lines, this vast, multiple prophecy, returns line upon line to give amplification and emphasis, beginning with the sevenfold church of the true followers of Christ, spanning the centuries, from John's day to the second advent."

III. The Revelation and the New Testament Canon

In order to discuss the book of Revelation in relation to the canon, it will be necessary first to outline the formation of the New Testament canon—the story of the writing of the New Testament, its assemblage or compilation, and its acceptance by the church at large as a canon of inspired writings.

I. THREE PERIODS IN DEVELOPMENT OF CANON.—The formation and acceptance of the New Testament canon may be divided, for convenience, into three approximate periods, as given by Westcott: (1) the period of writing, then circulating, and early collecting (*c.* A.D. 70-170); (2) the period of separation from other ecclesiastical writings (*c.* 170-303); (3) the period of general acceptance (303-397).²⁷

The history of the canon, then, covers a gradual process of forming an authoritative and then a closed collection. It required time, for the Bible of the first century was still the Old Testament. And at first there was evidently no thought of a complete New Testament, as such, to be placed along beside the Old. But as the Judaic system was superseded by the revelation of redemption in Christ, one thing was lacking to give permanence to this revelation of truth—that was a body of inspired writings, such as the Jews possessed. The Christians obviously needed a similar body of writings to give authority and weight to their mission and message.

²⁷ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

2. APOSTOLIC AUTHORITY TRANSFERRED TO WRITINGS.— Jesus did not write; He taught orally. The apostles were His authorized representatives, whose oral messages, when later written, became the authoritative sources for the life and teachings of Jesus. This transference of authority from the apostles to their writings finally placed these books alongside the Old Testament as a part of the Scriptures.

The authority of the New Testament is discovered, then, *externally*, or objectively, by apostolic authorship, and acceptance and transmission by the oldest apostolic churches; but it is also attested *internally*, or subjectively, through the inherent power by the which the several books authenticate themselves as inspired—the moral credential, which constitutes proof to the individual receiving it, and can scarcely be made evidence to another. Further, the moral power of the Scriptures in changing the lives of men constitutes visible evidence to others as well as to the individual himself.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS IN CONTEMPORARY SETTING (Chart on Pages 98, 99)

Panoramic View of First Century, Showing Sequence of New Testament Writings. The Natural Groupings, the Sequence, and the Surrounding Events Make Significant the Timing of Second Thessalonians and the Revelation, the Principal Sources of Prophetic Interpretation

There are three general periods of writing: *First*, in the Beginning Period, appear six Pauline epistles, missionary and doctrinal; *Second*, in the Central Period, are included the three Synoptic Gospels, another group of Paul's letters, the Acts; and *Third*, in the Closing Period, come the farewell writings of John.

There is progression from the earlier epistles in the infancy of the church, dealing with the simpler, foundational things of faith. Then, as questions press for solution, faith needs buttressing, as Gnosticism and discussions of the person of Christ come in. Maturity must wrestle with the philosophy of its faith. Hence, the pastoral and instructional aspect of this central group.

For the allocation of books in the accompanying chart, the works of fifty of the most learned of the conservative scholars have been consulted and the preponderant evidence tabulated on disputed points as to dating—such as that of James, Galatians, the Synoptics, Jude, and Peter. Absolute certainty cannot be claimed, but the key books are securely anchored, and the essential outline may be considered dependable.

PANORAMIC VIEW OF FIRST CENTURY—With Chronological Order of New Testament Writings

Year	Period Characteristics	Natural Grouping	Name of Book	Name of Author	Place of Writing	Contemporary Events	Roman Emperor	Year		
35	ORAL TEACHING By the Apostles of Christ		ORAL TEACHING			Pontius Pilate, Procurator Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension Pentecost	Tiberius	35		
						Martyrdom of Stephen Conversion of Saul of Tarsus				
						Recall of Pontius Pilate (Succeeded by Marcellus) Caiaphas Deposed	Caligula			
40						Caligula Orders Image Placed in Temple		40		
						Herod Agrippa I, King of Judea Conquest of Britain Completed	Claudius			
						Martyrdom of James the Apostle by Herod Famine: Paul and Barnabas Bring Relief to Jerusalem				
45	BEGINNING PERIOD Laying Foundations Initial Instructions	First Pauline Group (Missionary Epistles)	I Thessalonians II THESSALONIANS	Paul Paul	Corinth Corinth	Paul's First Missionary Tour (Acts 13, 14. Antioch in Syria, Cy- prus, Salamis, Paphos, Perga, Anti- och in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Return to Antioch in Syria.)	(Agrippina, fourth wife of Claudius, poisoned him to bring her son Nero to the throne, but was in turn murdered by him.)	45		
						Paul's Second Missionary Tour (Acts 15:36-18:22. Antioch, Syria and Cilicia, Derbe, Lystra, Galatia, Troas, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, Jerusalem, Return to Antioch.)		Nero		
						Paul's Third Missionary Tour (Acts 18:23-21:6. Antioch, Galatia, Ephesus, Macedonia, Corinth, Troas, Miletus, Jerusalem, Caesarea With Two-year Imprisonment, Rome.)				
50		Second Pauline Group (Doctrinal Epist.)	I Corinthians II Corinthians Galatians Romans	Paul Paul Paul Paul	Ephesus Macedonia Corinth Corinth			50		

60	CENTRAL PERIOD Building the Superstructure Establishing Faith and Order	First Gospels (Synoptics)	Mark Matthew Luke	Rome (?) Palestine Cæsarea	Festus Succeeds Felix Paul's Arrest at Temple	(Had his son Titus prosecute war against Jews; 60,000 soldiers at Jerusalem; City crowded at Passover time; 100,000 led away captive.)	60								
65		Third Pauline Group (Prison Epistles)	James Colossians Philemon Ephesians Philippians	Judea Rome Rome Rome Rome	Paul's First Imprisonment at Rome (shipwrecked en route)		Galba Otho Vitellius Vespasian	65							
70		History and Doctrine	Acts Hebrews I Peter Jude	Rome Italy Babylon Palestine	Burning of Rome (A.D. 64) Persecution of Christians			Titus Domitian	70						
75		Last Pauline Group (Pastoral Epistles)	I Timothy Titus II Timothy II Peter	Macedonia Macedonia Rome Rome	Paul's Second Imprisonment at Rome Paul's Martyrdom				(Brother of Titus; One of worst tyrants of all ages. When Christians refused to burn incense before statue, they became victims of reign of terror.)	75					
80		Peter's Legacy			Peter's Martyrdom; War in Judea; Destruction of Jerusalem End of Jewish State and Sanhedrin					Emperor Worship Stressed Second Persecution of Christians	80				
85					Colosseum Begun						Banishment of John to Patmos	85			
90					Vesuvius Destroys Pompeii							Tacitus Several Apocryphal Writings	90		
95					Writings of Josephus								John's Death	95	
					Cerinthus and Ebionites										
					John (Gospel) I John II John III John									Ephesus Ephesus Ephesus Ephesus	
				John's Legacy	John John John John										
				REVELATION	John Patmos										

As the New Testament was gradually assembled by the acceptance of individual books in various churches, the test of what writings were to be read publicly in church helped to determine the canon. The principle of selection was *apostolic authorship*; works of apostles, or companions of the apostles (as Mark and Luke), came to be authoritative. From the second century onward, the rise of various heresies and the challenge of spurious writings claiming apostolic authority increased the incentive to lay emphasis on the true apostolic writings. This test was rational, Scriptural, and harmonious, for an apostle is one sent to teach with authority. (Matt. 28:18-20.)

3. RISE OF VARIOUS PARTS TO AUTHORITY.—The formation of the completed canon is not the same as the rise of its several parts to authority. The distinction is fundamental between the initial acceptance of individual books, the general recognition (the real canonization), and the later formal inclusion in full official lists and catalogues. It was a process of centuries, which ended when the church at large became satisfied that the apostolic books, which had been individually accepted in this first period, constituted the full New Testament canon to the exclusion of apocryphal writings. The hesitation over a few disputed books, which were finally received, marks the carefulness of the church, and indicates that their ultimate acceptance was based on sufficient and convincing evidence.

The materials of the canon, in the sense of being received by scattered churches, may be regarded as complete within approximately the latter half of the first century, but they were not yet collected and accepted by the church at large. Numerous small collections grew up, of which the larger churches had sets more or less complete. The four Gospels and Paul's epistles—indeed the bulk of the New Testament—were regarded as authoritative from the first. Soon after the middle of the fourth century, says Schaff, the doubts regarding the "Antilegomena," or disputed books, of the New Testament had largely disappeared, and in time the full canon was recognized by the

churches of Christendom at large as the writings bearing the message of God. The complete New Testament canon represents the decision of the universal church in the sense of the authoritative acceptance by Christian consciousness, carefully tested for three centuries. It is thereby given a value and a recognition that transcends any and all particular ecclesiastical councils which came to take formal action.²⁸

4. TESTIMONY FOR THE CANONICITY OF THE APOCALYPSE.

—It is essential for us to have a comprehensive grasp of the testimony of the leading churchmen of the early centuries relative to the Apocalypse. We need first to sense the commonly assigned place of the Apocalypse in the New Testament canon during the first three hundred years of the era. We must also understand the occasion of its temporary omission from certain fourth-century New Testament lists and its reinstatement later.

It was usage that prepared the way for recognition of the authority of the various books of the New Testament. The reading of the writings of the apostles formed part of the weekly services of the early churches, and that reading was based on the conviction of the apostolicity of the various books, including the Apocalypse. The array of names we shall cite on this subject may at first seem a bit dry and formidable, like an assemblage of dry bones, but these names are destined to be clothed with flesh, as it were, in later chapters, for these are the very men we must bring forward as witnesses in our quest for the early interpretation of Bible prophecy, principally in the books of Daniel and the Revelation.²⁹ So these men will soon take on a very real meaning and acquaintance. We now turn to the record of their convictions on the question of the New Testament canon.

In the survey of the witness of the leading writers of the early church concerning the standing of the Apocalypse here

²⁸ Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2, pp. 519, 523. For a survey of the development of the New Testament canon, see Appendix B.

²⁹ In addition to Daniel and the Revelation, other related eschatological prophecies, enunciated by Jesus, Paul, Peter, and John, are treated elsewhere, but do not come within the scope of this chapter on the canon.

given, the evidence will be seen to sustain Westcott's impressive statement on the canonicity of the Revelation: "From every quarter the testimony of the early Latin Fathers to the Apostolic authority of the Apocalypse is thus decided and unanimous."³⁰

Westcott begins his comprehensive survey of the Apocalypse with PAPIAS (probably early second century) in Phrygia, who maintained the "'divine inspiration' of the Apocalypse."³¹ Then follows Justin Martyr (2d century), first Ante-Nicene church father, who was born in the Roman colony of Flavia Neapolis, but of whose actual race little is known. He cites the fulfillment of the prophecies of Holy Writ as the unique proof of Christianity. In addition to the Gospels, the Apocalypse is the only other New Testament book Justin cites by name, and this he definitely ascribes to John the apostle:

"And further, there was a certain man with us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied, by a revelation that was made to him, that those who believed in our Christ would dwell a thousand years in Jerusalem."³²

The fragmentary Latin manuscript on the canon (from c. 170) published by Muratori in 1740 lists the Apocalypse of John. The *Vetus Latina* (Old Latin Version of the Bible, c. 170) contains, says Westcott, the same books as those listed by the Muratorian Fragment.³³ A similar fragment from MELITO, bishop of Sardis (fl. c. 170?), who speaks of the "Old Testament" so as to imply the New Testament books as a collection, wrote a treatise on the Apocalypse.³⁴ THEOPHILUS of Syrian Antioch

³⁰ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 371. This preliminary summary on the canon in relation to the book of Revelation is based largely on the findings of authorities whose sound and reverent scholarship has been recognized, and which are here brought together in organized form to aid in reaching sound conclusions. Outstanding in the New Testament field was Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901), English scholar and theologian. He was canon of Peterborough from 1869 to 1883; from 1870 onward he was also regius professor of divinity at Cambridge. In 1883 he was appointed canon at Westminster, and in 1890 became bishop of Durham. He was joint editor of Westcott and Hort's *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (1881), and author of numerous scholarly works. He has rendered a distinct service to Christian scholarship and the search for truth through his classic treatise on the New Testament canon, based on the original sources, and fully documented. This work, Samuel Davidson and Archibald Alexander's on the canon of the Bible, and similar treatises on the canon of the Bible have been followed extensively in this discussion.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 68.

³² Justin Martyr, *Dialogue With Trypho*, chap. 81, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 240; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 166; Alexander, *The Canon of the Old and New Testaments*, p. 236.

³³ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 216, 254; Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

³⁴ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 4, chap. 26, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 206, 204 (see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 219).

(c. 180) quoted the Apocalypse,³⁵ and IRENAEUS, bishop of Lyons (d. c. 202), uses it as the work of "John the Lord's disciple."³⁶

At the close of the second century, according to Westcott, the Apocalypse was acknowledged as apostolic and authoritative throughout the church except for its omission in the Syriac version.³⁷

Coming now to clearer and fuller evidence, TERTULLIAN of Carthage (d. c. 240?), continually quotes from the Revelation, which he ascribes to "the Apostle John,"³⁸ and which he dates about the end of the reign of Domitian. It is quoted often, and referred to as an unquestioned work of John, by CLEMENT of Alexandria (d. c. 220).³⁹ And ORIGEN, also of Alexandria (d. c. 254), similarly declares that it was John the apostle, evangelist, and prophet, who wrote the Apocalypse.⁴⁰ CYPRIAN, bishop of Carthage (d. 258), also receives the book as Holy Scripture, but does not mention authorship.⁴¹

HIPPOLYTUS, called bishop of Porto (d. c. 236), and VICTORINUS of Pettau (d. c. 303) both ascribed it to John the apostle,⁴² and each wrote a commentary on it.

But after Origen the Apocalypse became the subject of controversy on purely subjective and internal grounds. DIONYSIUS, bishop of Alexandria (c. 247-265), a successor of Origen as head of the famous catechetical school there, entered upon an extended discussion of the canonical authority of the book of Revelation. It is felt by some that, after having been almost universally received by the fathers, the Apocalypse fell

³⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 24, p. 202; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 225, 385.

³⁶ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, book 5, chap. 33, sec. 2, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 566. "Is it then possible," says Westcott, "that he who was taught of Polycarp [who knew John] was himself deceived as to the genuine writings of St. John?" See also Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

³⁷ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 334. The Syriac Bible, which Westcott calls the "Peshito," is regarded by newer authorities as an earlier version, a prototype of the Peshitta, which is now generally dated in the fourth century, and which omits the Revelation of John.

³⁸ Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, book 3, chap. 14, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 333; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 370; Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 237, 238.

³⁹ Clement of Alexandria, *The Stromata*, book 6, chap. 13, in *ANF*, vol. 2, p. 504; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 353; Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁴⁰ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 6, chap. 25, in *NPNE*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 273; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 355, 359; Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

⁴¹ Cyprian, *Treatise 8*, "On Works and Alms," chap. 14, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 479; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 370; Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 241.

⁴² Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, chap. 36, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 211; Victorinus, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, comment on 10:11 and 11:1, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 353; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

temporarily into discredit, largely because of the position taken thereon by Dionysius in opposition to the chiliasts, or millenarians, who held that the saints would reign with Christ visibly on earth for a thousand years. Some of their extreme views, based on other sources, but connected with the thousand years of Revelation 20, were so repugnant to some in the third century that they were led to doubt the authority of the Apocalypse and to disparage its value. Dionysius says that before his time some had rejected the Apocalypse, and ascribed it to Cerinthus, but that he himself believes it was written by an inspired man, not, however, the apostle John.⁴³

But even until the fourth century the book of Revelation was almost universally received, no writers of credit calling it in question, and most of them ascribing it to John the apostle. METHODIUS, sometimes referred to as bishop of Tyre (d. 309), received the Apocalypse as of "the blessed John" and as possessing undoubted authority; and PAMPHILUS (d. 309), presbyter of Caesarea and friend of Eusebius, in the commencement of a work which bears his name, indicates his belief that the Apocalypse is the work of John.⁴⁴

Westcott summarizes the status of the Apocalypse at the end of the third century:

"But one of the disputed books was still received generally without distinction of East and West [the Greek and Latin churches]. With the single exception of Dionysius all direct testimony from Alexandria, Africa, Rome, and Carthage, witnesses to the Apostolic authority of the Apocalypse."⁴⁵

Then, beginning with the fourth century, we find doubts mentioned for a time, partly because of its mysterious content and partly because of the encouragement it was supposed to give to the chiliasts. In the East there was difference of opinion. Some of the fathers either omitted the Apocalypse from their

⁴³ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 274, 275, 403; Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 239, 240. For a discussion of chiliasm, see pages 301-308.

⁴⁴ Methodius, "From the Discourse on the Resurrection," part 3, chap. 2, sec. 9, in *ANF*, vol. 6, p. 375; Pamphilus, *Apologia pro Origene*, chap. 7, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 17, cols. 596, 597; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 382, 383, 389-391.

⁴⁵ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

catalogues of the books of the New Testament or nowhere quoted it. Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386) and Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 389) exclude it; their contemporary, Amphilochius of Iconium, rejects it but mentions difference of opinion; and Chrysostom of Constantinople (d. 407) nowhere quotes it (although he must have been acquainted with it), and Suidas credits him with accepting it as apostolic.⁴⁶

The fourth-century council of Laodicea, in Phrygia (sometimes dated variously as A.D. 336, 364, or 365, although the exact date is unknown),⁴⁷ was the first synod in which the books of the Bible were the subject of "special ordinance." There were "xxxii fathers" in attendance, according to Gratian. The catalogue of books as it appears in the printed editions of the councils omits the Revelation, although the authenticity of this catalogue has been challenged by such authorities as Spittler and Bickell. Two Greek manuscript copies omit the catalogue entirely, and other manuscripts have marks on them that may indicate, says Westcott, that the list was not a part of the original text but was incorporated gradually. The complete Latin versions are nearly balanced, the earlier form (6th century) omitting the catalogue, and the later (9th century) containing it, except in two copies. The Syriac manuscripts (6th or 7th century), says Westcott, turn the scale. All three contain the fifty-ninth canon without the catalogue; and there were other collections and synopses which omit reference to the catalogue.⁴⁸ Westcott therefore concludes:

"On the whole then it cannot be doubted that external evidence is decidedly against the authenticity of the Catalogue as an integral part of the text of the Canons of Laodicea, nor can any internal evidence be brought forward sufficient to explain its omission in Syria, Italy, and Portugal, in the sixth century, if it had been so."⁴⁹

So, the evidence of the catalogue of Laodicea is materially neutralized because of the cloud on the authenticity of the final

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 443, 441, 438; Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 93, 94.

⁴⁷ See Charles Joseph Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, vol. 2, p. 298.

⁴⁸ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-433.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

paragraph of its last canon.⁵⁰ Too much must not be made of it.

EUSEBIUS of Caesarea (d. c. 340), sometimes called "the Father of Church History," after listing the acknowledged New Testament books, names "if it really seem proper, the Apocalypse of John" at the close of the "accepted writings," but says that opinion is somewhat divided concerning it; some question it but others reckon it among the "accepted books."⁵¹ Constantine's personal reading of the Scriptures led him to charge Eusebius with preparing fifty copies of the divine Scriptures. These were written on prepared skins, by skilled artisans, for use in the new capital. Constantine's zeal exerted a powerful influence upon the Greek church. The distinction between the controverted and the acknowledged epistles had largely ended; only on the Apocalypse did doubts remain with some. But ATHANASIUS soon gave a clear judgment; otherwise the canon of Eusebius and that of Athanasius are the same. Thenceforth the question was practically decided.⁵²

ATHANASIUS' Easter epistle of 367 enumerates the books of the New Testament and includes the Revelation.⁵³ In 393 the North African council of Hippo included the Apocalypse in the New Testament; likewise the third council of Carthage, in 397, at which Augustine was present, re-enacts the canons of Hippo, listing the books of Holy Scripture, closing the list with "the Apocalypse of 'John,'" and declaring this to be the catalogue of books "received from our fathers," to be "read in the Church."⁵⁴ The same canon listing the Scriptures was renewed in canon 24 of the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae* by the sixth (sometimes numbered seventeenth) council of Carthage in 419.⁵⁵ This, be it noted, is the voice of a general African synod on the content of the canon. In Rome, INNOCENT I listed the New Testament (405) as we have it. A canonical

⁵⁰ Some authorities separate the catalogue of books and make it the sixtieth canon.

⁵¹ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 3, chap. 25, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 156; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 414-421; Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 242.

⁵² Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 422, 423; Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁵³ Athanasius, from Letter 39, sec. 5, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, p. 552; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 444; Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 242; Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 92.

⁵⁴ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 435, 436; see also Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 400 (cf. pp. 395, 396, 407, 408).

⁵⁵ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 436, 437; Hefele, *op. cit.*, pp. 465, 467, 469 (cf. 400).

list appears in three different forms, bearing the names of DAMASUS (366-384), GELASIVS I (492-496), and HORMISDAS (514-523), all including the Apocalypse.⁶⁶

By the fifth century all doubts concerning the canonicity of the Apocalypse seem to have disappeared not only in the West but also in Asia Minor.⁶⁷ GREGORY OF NYSSA (late 4th century) refers to the Apocalypse as Saint John's and as a part of Scripture; and BASIL of Caesarea (d. 379) calls the book a work of John the apostle,⁶⁸ ANDREW, bishop of Caesarea (5th century), prefaces his commentary on the Apocalypse with the statement that he need not prove the inspiration of the book, which had already been attested by Papias, Irenaeus, Methodius, Hippolytus, and others.⁶⁹

EPIPHANIUS (d. 403), bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, in his work against heresies, gives a canon of the New Testament that contains our complete list; although he mentions the doubts of others concerning the Revelation, he includes it without hesitation, accepting it as the "spiritual gift" of the holy apostle.⁷⁰ And the noted JEROME (d. 420), taking cognizance of the contrary view, nevertheless accepts the Revelation, "following the authority of the ancient writers."⁷¹ This was also the considered judgment of the church at Rome, for Jerome undertook his work on the Scriptures at the request of the bishop of Rome, his canon being republished by later popes. And this judgment was confirmed by AMBROSE at Milan, RUFINUS at Aquileia, and PHILASTRIUS at Brescia.⁷² And finally the famous AUGUSTINE, bishop of Hippo (d. 430), similarly received the book of Revelation and quoted it frequently. His list of the

⁶⁶ Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 102.

⁶⁷ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

⁶⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, "In Suam Ordinationem," and *Adversus Apollinarem*, chap. 37, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 46, col. 549, and vol. 45, col. 1208, respectively; Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium*, book 2, chap. 14, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 29, col. 600; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 442; Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 93.

⁶⁹ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 442, 443. If Arethas (c. 860-940) is correct in his commentary drawn largely from Andrew of Caesarea, Andrew also added the name of Basil to the list of witnesses on the canonicity of the Apocalypse.

⁷⁰ Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses*, book 3, tom. 1, Haeres. 76 (Aetii Caputum Confutatio 5), also book 2, tom. 1, Haeres. 51, chaps. 3, 35, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 42, col. 561, and vol. 41, cols. 892, 953, respectively; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 443, 444; Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 94.

⁷¹ Jerome, Letter 129 (to Dardanus), sec. 3, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 22, col. 1103; see also Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 447, 448, 451.

⁷² Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 449, 450.

New Testament books agrees exactly with ours. From this time on the canon of the New Testament in the West was no longer a problem.⁶³

The Syrian, Abyssinian, Armenian, and Georgian church records are more fragmentary and unsatisfactory.⁶⁴ Naturally the Syriac-speaking churches of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine tended to follow the canon of the Peshitta version of the Bible. This did not contain Revelation and several epistles. Junilius, a sixth-century bishop of Africa, tells us that the schools of Nisibis in Syria taught the Bible, and in enumerating the books, he says that there was much doubt among Eastern Christians about the Apocalypse. EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN (d. 373), of Edessa, quotes the Apocalypse only once in his extant Syriac works, although the Greek text of his works, if authentic, shows him using all the books of our New Testament canon.⁶⁵ About 750 we find COSMAS of Jerusalem omitting the Revelation, but his contemporary and friend, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, lists our complete canon.⁶⁶

There were two revisions of the Peshitta in the sixth and seventh centuries, the Philoxenian and Harkleian. Source information has been so scanty that authorities disagree, but one of these later revisions added the four minor epistles (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude) and the Apocalypse. The first of these was made by Polycarp under the authorization of Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, in eastern Syria, in 508. Of this the four minor general epistles were edited in Europe in 1630, but the Apocalypse of this version was not published until 1897.⁶⁷

To continue the list of names in the West after Augustine, we find the Apocalypse attested by Eucherius of Lyons (5th century), Cassiodorus of Italy (6th century), Bede of England (7th century), Sedulius of Ireland (8th or 9th century), and so

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 450, 451; Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 242. See Augustine's list in his *On Christian Doctrine*, book 2, chap. 8, sec. 13, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 539.

⁶⁴ Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-108.

⁶⁵ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 437-440.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 441, 440, 538.

⁶⁷ Caspar René Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, pp. 402, 403; Frederic Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, pp. 164, 165.

on.⁶⁸ But such multiplication of names is unnecessary; late witnesses are less important than early ones. It is noticeable that the African bishops in the fourth century, as well as Jerome, decided the question on the basis of what had been handed down to them from their fathers.⁶⁹ Westcott notices that "the Apocalypse was recognized from the first as a work of the Apostle in the districts most immediately interested in its contents,"⁷⁰ that is, Asia Minor, and indeed, that the disputed epistles generally were accepted exactly in those places where they were most likely to be known.⁷¹

Thus we see the book of Revelation—first accepted, then doubted for a while—is recognized in the canon of the church. The very fact of varying opinions, rather than universal acceptance of any list arbitrarily imposed by a general council, shows that the general acceptance of the contents of the New Testament was the result both of the inescapable voice of divine authority, and of human attestation. The New Testament is different from all other books. It is not the product of the writers' literary genius, or of the selective instincts of the ecclesiastical councils, but springs from the inspired and inherent truth of the writings themselves—God's message to man.

Now that we have examined the historical backgrounds and the canonicity of the two major books of the Bible dealing with eschatological prophecy, the brief consideration of the *content* of Biblical prophecy is next in order. A survey of the prophetic source material, which forms the basis for the later prophetic interpretations will serve to introduce the starting point of the long development which we are to trace through the centuries in these four volumes.

⁶⁸ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 450, 451.

⁶⁹ See pages 106, 107.

⁷⁰ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 325, 349, 350.

Foundation Laid in the Old Testament

I. The Long-Range View of Bible Prophecy

The central theme of the Bible, from Genesis on through to Revelation, is the redemption of man. The lofty purpose of all Sacred Scripture, from the first whisper of hope in Eden to the last triumphant note of the Apocalypse—"They shall see His face, and His name shall be in their foreheads"—is the restoration of the image of God in the soul. This is its dominant note and undeviating provision, about which its many prophecies cluster. And all this is wondrously wrought out through Christ, the center and circumference of man's hope, the source of all grace, the desire of all ages, and the hope of the world.

The story of Christ's mysterious incarnation at the first advent, His sinless life on earth, followed by His atoning, substitutionary death on Calvary, as "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," then His triumphant resurrection and ascension, His priestly mediation in the courts above, and finally at its fateful close His second glorious advent to redeem His saints and destroy sin, runs like a golden thread throughout all Scripture, and gives us the full sweep of the glorious plan of salvation.

1. CLIMAX OF THE PLAN OF REDEMPTION.—The foretelling of it all, and its glorious climax, and often the unfolding sequence and relationship of part to part, is the burden of the prophets; and the eschatological prophecies that we are about

to trace, embodying the doctrine of the last things, are simply concerned with the last phases of the redemptive plan of the ages. Prophecy discloses God's creative and redemptive energy in action, for the restoration of man and the "restitution of all things." (Acts 3:21.) The first and second advents of Christ are the two grand foci around which this entire redemptive plan of God revolves. All history moves toward these two transcendent events. And the events of the latter days, that cluster about Christ's second coming, have long been looked to by the expositors of prophecy through the centuries as the climactic features of all prophecy and promise.

2. THE TWIN CENTERS OF PROPHECY.—For ages astronomers studied the star-spangled heavens to find the secret of the movements of the spheres. They pondered the millions of suns sweeping through boundless space, and the planets wandering among them without confusion or conflict, swinging on with intricate precision in their ceaseless cycles. Even after men discovered that the earth and the planets moved in orbits about our sun, they tried in vain to calculate the path of their orbits on the basis of circles through the heavens. Their thought was fixed on a single center for each orbit. But such calculations would not work out. They led only to confusion, conflict, and chaos. Finally Kepler found that these celestial orbits are ellipses, therefore having two centers, as it were, or foci. Then astronomical calculations of the courses of the planets became harmonious and exact. This basic law of the solar system had been found.

There is a striking parallel in contemplating the plan, or orbit, of salvation. Multitudes have sought to fathom the provisions of God's great redemptive movements, but have thrown the orbit around a single center—the first coming of Christ nineteen centuries ago. Redemption, however, has two foci. It circles around the second coming of Christ as well as around the first. These twin points—the tragedy of the cross and the triumphant return of Christ—are inseparable. Only thus does

the plan of salvation become complete and harmonious. Only in the light of this sublime truth can we understand otherwise confusing and seemingly contradictory lines of prediction in the Old Testament concerning the coming Messiah—some telling of His coming in weakness and humiliation, in sorrow and grief, with visage marred and hands pierced; others proclaiming a glorious and resistless sovereign, purging the earth of sin and sinners, delivering His people and inaugurating everlasting peace.

But once grasp this mighty truth of the two comings, and one possesses the key to the divine movements of the ages—past, present, and future; the solution of a thousand confusing problems, and the rational basis of the only true philosophy of history. Around these two events revolve the issues of time and eternity.

3. ABRAHAM AND THE "LONG-RANGE VISION."—The Hebrew prophets of old, God's special messengers of the time, not only called for a return to God in their own day, but also spoke concerning the final restoration to come. Often their earlier prophecies were but fragmentary—flash pictures, as it were, of vital events along the way. The sequences were not always clearly given, and the relation of part to part not always expressly revealed. But they set forth one aspect or another of this fundamental purpose of God for the restoration of man. However, Daniel and, later, John give us full outlines in chronological sequence which furnish the setting and locate in time some of these earlier fleeting glimpses. Prophecy is therefore a means to a glorious end—the disclosure of the plan of God in operation, that men might recognize its unfolding fulfillment, that they might believe and accept the Christ of the gospel. (John 14:29; Acts 10:43.)

Abraham was an early prophet, though not understanding the full significance of his own message. (Gen. 20:7.) Partial and restricted views have been frequent along the way. It has been here a little glimpse of the plan of God, and there a little

further unfolding of His redemptive purpose. Abraham thought of Isaac as the divinely promised "seed," and looked at first for an immediate, literal, fleshly fulfillment, though later he did look for, and rejoice in, Christ's day. (Gen. 12:1-4; 15:13; 21:12; John 8:56.) But the apostle Paul was shown by inspiration that, when speaking to Abraham, God's promise was not to the literal seed but to the spiritual "seed" to come, even Christ. (Gal. 3:16, 29.) So Abraham is plainly the father of spiritual Israel—those who individually choose to be governed by God. This was the larger, "long-range vision," as it has aptly been called, that clarifies many an otherwise baffling prediction concerning Israel and its restoration.

Because Abraham obeyed Him, God made an oath that He would bless all nations through him, and that Abraham would lead the royal line to come from every kindred. But because the descendants of Abraham lost sight of this spiritual-nation concept, Moses sought to correct their self-complacency and perverseness. (Deut. 7:7-9; 4:32-40; 8:3.) However, this attempt was also largely in vain. So Moses was a prophet-spokesman, who because of his voluntary, self-sacrificing love for Israel, thus became a type of Christ, and was the leader of spiritual Israel. (Ex. 32:30-32.) And to him it was granted to appear with Christ on the mount of transfiguration. (Luke 9:28-36.)

4. CRISIS IN DAYS OF AHAB.—The tendency to localize and materialize the great prophetic promises of God was the bane of Israel all through the years, and ultimately proved her undoing. But prophetic guidance in material things, during the early days of Israel's occupancy of Palestine, was given with the primary thought of illustrating and assuring God's guidance in spiritual things. (Hosea 12:13; Judges 10:10-14.) Note three crises in the years of the divided kingdoms that illustrate this principle. And mark the large group of the prophets raised up to meet each issue. This indicates God's concern for His ancient people.

First, the issue which culminated, *in the days of Ahab*, was: Who is God—Jehovah or Baal? Many prophets—Ahijah (1 Kings 11:29), Shemaiah (1 Kings 12:22-24), Hanani (2 Chron. 16:7), Jehu, son of Hanani (1 Kings 16:1-7; 2 Chron. 19:2), and Micaiah (2 Chron. 18:7-16)—had borne messages from God which, if heeded, would have helped to give the answer. But Elijah was the pre-eminent spokesman who, by his teaching and his living, did most to bring a revival of true worship, and to give the people the true concept of the restoration of the image of God in man's heart. (1 Kings 17 ff.) His part was so marked and so vital that he, like Moses, was recognized and honored by association with Christ on the mount of transfiguration. (Luke 9:28-36.) From this period, however, we have no prophetic writings.

5. SECOND CRISIS AT DESTRUCTION OF SAMARIA.—The second crisis was in the closing period of the northern kingdom of Israel, *preceding the destruction of Samaria*. The issue was their independence of God. During the reigns of Amaziah, Jeroboam II, and Uzziah, Israel and Judah had extended their borders up through Syria to the Euphrates country, and had become very wealthy. In their self-sufficiency they laughed at Hezekiah's entreaties to return to the Lord. (2 Chron. 30:5-10.) Selfish materialism characterized the day. And the second group of prophets that appear about this time—Jonah, probably Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah—likewise seek to correct this gross materialism. And each has likewise the long-range vision, which was constantly emphasized.¹

6. THIRD CRISIS IN DAYS OF JERUSALEM'S DESTRUCTION.—And finally, *in the days of the destruction of Jerusalem* and the Babylonian Exile, rebellion against God was the grave issue. Evidently because the prophecies of Isaiah were not immediately and literally fulfilled in their day, Judah rebelled against God's leadership, rejected His spokesmen, and refused allegiance

¹ See, for example, Jonah 2:7-9; 4:11; Joel 2:32; 3:18-21; Amos 9:11-15; Hosea 14:1-9; 2:14-23; Isa. 35:3-10; 7:14-16; 9:6; Micah 6:8; 5:3, 7, 8; 7:18.

to the Creator. Jeremiah complained of their obstinacy. (Jer. 25:1-11; 36:1-30.)

The prophets of this time—Nahum, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel—similarly sought to get their fellow Jews to accept the long-range plan of God for them,² and the coming day of God. But again this endeavor was largely in vain.

II. Eschatological Emphasis of Old Testament Prophets

Now let us turn briefly to these Old Testament prophets, other than Daniel, and see their emphasis on the long-range plan of redemption, especially its eschatological, or last-day, phase. Brief surveys must suffice, our fundamental objective being to trace the full outline prophecies revealed through Daniel and in the Apocalypse. (On the chronological placement, or sequence, of the Old Testament prophets, see pages 58, 59.)

As noted, we find in the book of Daniel the most comprehensive eschatological and apocalyptic prophecies in the Old Testament. That is the reason for the marked emphasis upon it in this work. But there are other prophecies of a similar character—some very much earlier—in the messages of the prophets of Israel and Judah who were known chiefly as reformers. Yet along with their burden of religious, political, and social reform for their own times, they also gave definite eschatological messages concerning the latter day.

Some would make a distinction between "prophecy" and "apocalyptic," and between "ethical" prophecy and prediction; but these are unjustifiable distinctions. When "the burden of the Lord" came upon a "son of the prophets" or a priest, a plowman or a gatherer of sycamore fruit, he spoke for God. His "thus saith the Lord" might rebuke idolatry or injustice in the palace of the king or in the lowly market place. It might predict the fall of a city or the coming of the Messiah. It might

² See Nahum 1:3-15; Obadiah 15-21; Zeph. 1:7-18; 2:1-3; 3:2-16; Hab. 2:1-14; Jer. 50:17-20; Eze. 28:24-26.

herald the time of the end or the resurrection of the body at the latter day, or perchance the punishment of the wicked. But whatever the emphasis, the ethical and moral element is constantly there. "Thus saith the Lord"—therefore amend your ways.

Ezekiel was summoned by the vision of the wheels within wheels to the task of calling a rebellious people back to obedience to God. (Ezekiel 1, 2.) Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's second dream was followed by the admonition, "Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor." Dan. 4:27. The essence of the teaching of the prophets on the "day of the Lord," and the future kingdom, was definitely ethical. First note some of the typical expressions.

1. "DAY OF THE LORD," AND ITS INVOLVEMENTS.—Many Old Testament prophetic books contain passages describing "the day of the Lord," "the latter day," or "that day." This day of the Lord is the day of divine, supernatural intervention by which God overthrows His—that is, Israel's—foes, and introduces the era of future blessedness for His people. Certain of the tremendous events connected at different times with this day-of-the-Lord concept may be listed thus:

- (1) The coming of Jehovah in power and glory.
- (2) Convulsions of nature.
- (3) Fire and destruction—(a) on Israel's enemies; (b) on the unfaithful in Israel.
- (4) Desolation of the land.
- (5) Judgment, or punishment for sin.
- (6) Resurrection of the righteous.
- (7) The kingdom of blessedness.
- (8) The new heaven and the new earth.

Many of these concepts, and the very phrases describing them, are later used by Jesus, Paul, Peter, and John, to an extent

that surprises many readers of the New Testament when they find such typically gospel expressions coming directly out of the Old Testament. They are tied inseparably together, as a survey will disclose.

2. **ESCHATOLOGICAL TEACHINGS OF THE PROPHETS.**—The sins that the prophets combated revealed the popular belief of the day. The Israelites, who were continually going astray after other gods, neglecting or corrupting the worship of Jehovah, and disregarding His moral code, were all too frequently inclined to think of Him chiefly as a national God, after the pattern of the various patron gods of the heathen. They often offered sacrifices in the expectation that in return He would prosper and protect them, and they were looking for a glorious day of the Lord merely in the form of a day of triumph over their enemies.

The prophets, along with their appeals for repentance, and for social and individual righteousness, tried to replace this distorted, nationalistic view of the future kingdom with ethical and spiritual concepts. They presented Jehovah as the righteous Judge of all the world; and the future kingdom came to be conceived of as a regenerated nation composed of true Israelites and representatives from other peoples. In some cases the Messiah was thought of as the visible head, but was not always included in the picture. Doubtless the popular conception of the masses remained rather materialistic and nationalistic, but the spiritual leaders maintained the higher view of the Messianic kingdom to come. Charles says:

“According to the prophets, this kingdom was to consist of a regenerated nation, a community in which the divine will should be fulfilled, an organised society interpenetrated, welded together, and shaped to ever higher issues by the actual presence of God.”³

3. **JOEL, AMOS, AND HOSEA SPEAK.**—It has been mentioned that the Old Testament prophets seem chiefly to have been sent with special message in times of crisis. Let us note them.

³ R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, pp. 82, 83.

JOEL, who does not tell us when or where he lived,⁴ pictures the day of the Lord in vivid terms:

"Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in My holy mountain: let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: for the day of the Lord cometh, for it is nigh at hand; a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness." "The day of the Lord is great and very terrible; and who can abide it?" Joel 2:1, 2, 11.

He exhorts to repentance, if perchance the doom may be averted, and the Lord may drive away the northern army and restore the bounties of nature which have been withheld. Then he looks forward to the latter day, when "your sons and your daughters shall prophesy," and when there will be "wonders in the heavens and in the earth," "before the great and terrible day of the Lord come." Verses 28-30. Then the remnant will be delivered—those that call upon the name of the Lord. The nations will be judged, and "the Lord shall roar out of Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem; and the heavens and the earth shall shake." Then a holy, cleansed Jerusalem will be God's dwelling place forever. (Joel 3.)

AMOS, a native of Judah and one of the earliest prophets who can be dated, was a shepherd and a gatherer of sycamore fruit. He denounces the sins of the surrounding idolatrous nations, likewise those of Judah, and especially those of Israel, whose iniquities he enumerates and whose captivity he foretells. God is not to punish Israel's enemies and let that apostate nation go free. "Woe unto you that desire the day of the Lord! to what end is it for you? the day of the Lord is darkness, and not light." Amos 5:18. Thus he attacks the popular conception of the day of the Lord as a day of the triumph of Israel's God over Israel's foes. But God is "the God of hosts" (Amos 4:13; 5:27), who, "in that day . . . will cause the sun to go down at noon, and . . . will darken the earth in the clear day" (Amos 8:9). The day of the Lord is to vindicate not Israel but righteousness. Yet, in spite of the dark picture presented, the last verses of the book give hope of a restoration from captivity.

⁴ Unless Joel is to be considered very late, he must, it is generally agreed, be placed early, probably contemporary with Amos.

HOSEA, probably an Israelite, also pleads with Israel to repent, and draws a beautiful picture of the forgiveness of God. He predicts the Assyrian captivity of Israel, and mentions punishment for Judah, but says nothing specifically about the day of the Lord as such. However, he holds forth the hope of a future state of righteousness and happiness which, if taken as literal rather than poetic language, depicts something like the Messianic kingdom. (Hosea 1:10, 11; 2:16 ff.; 3:5; 14:4-9.) Hosea furnishes one of the relatively few Old Testament statements of the hope of the resurrection:

"I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction." Hosea 13:14.

4. ISAIAH PORTRAYS GLORIES OF NEW EARTH.—ISAIAH directs his warnings sometimes to Israel and the various surrounding nations, but particularly to Judah, and in some passages the judgment of Judah broadens into a general world judgment. (Isaiah 2, 24, 26, 34.) The resurrection is clearly taught in chapter 26:

"Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead." Verse 19, A.R.V.

This passage appears in connection with a reference to the "strong city" into which "the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in." Isa. 26:1, 2. The second section of the book,⁶ beginning with chapter 40, changes the theme from doom to redemption. It looks beyond the captivity, and tells of Cyrus, of the return of the exiles (Isaiah 44, 45), and of the coming of Christ. The mission of Christ at His first advent, His role as the suffering servant, and His final triumph are all foretold. (Isa. 61:1, 2; 42:1-6, 19-21; 49; 50; 52:13 to 53:12.)

The book of Isaiah transcends Jewish nationalism. Its sublime prose-poetry, with its promises of forgiveness, of

⁶ Only the eschatological content of the book is under consideration; consequently, the question of authorship raised by critical scholars is not relevant to our purpose and need not be discussed here.

redemption, of resurrection, and of the new heavens and the new earth, not only has lent color to the New Testament writings, but has continued to inspire the church down through the centuries, furnishing comfort and hope for the Christian warfare, spiritual food for personal devotions, and themes for uplifting religious music—as witness some of the best-loved gems from Handel's *Messiah*.

There are many prophecies of the redemption of regenerated Israel, and of a future state of happiness, couched in poetic terms and described by vivid figures of speech. This is not the place to go into an analysis of them, or to attempt to separate those which were fulfilled in the return, after the Babylonian captivity, from those which refer spiritually to the Christian church, or from those which point to the last days, or to the new heavens and the new earth and therefore to the future age, or from those possibly regarded as conditional.⁶ Inasmuch as Jesus applied some of these—with an obviously spiritual meaning—to the kingdom of grace established at His first advent, extreme caution may well be observed to avoid applying these kingdom prophecies of Isaiah, and others as well, to a temporal, earthly state centered in an earthly Jerusalem.

It was for that very materialistic reason that the Jews rejected their Messiah. They hated Him for saying, "Many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven. But the children of the kingdom shall be cast into outer darkness." Matt. 8:11, 12. And the Pharisees and priests sought to lay hands on Him when He trapped them into pronouncing their own sentence in the parable of the vineyard, and then came out with the open declaration: "Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." Matt. 21:43. They refused to accept His spiritual kingdom of the righteous of all nations—although they could have read it in Isaiah (Isa. 26:2; 14:1;

⁶ See page 122.

49:1-12; 56; 60; 66:18-23)—in place of their expected kingdom of fleshly Israel. And the same sort of misunderstanding marred the extreme Christian chiliasm which the early church rejected.⁷

5. MICAH, NAHUM, AND HABAKKUK SPEAK.—MICAH bears messages to Samaria and Jerusalem of approaching destruction and restoration—and points out Bethlehem as the birthplace of the Messiah—but he does not include much along eschatological lines. NAHUM, who pronounced the sentence of doom upon Assyria's proud capital, is concerned principally with the punishment of Nineveh, except as the Lord's vengeance on His people's enemies can be considered typical of the general punishment of the wicked.

And HABAKKUK warns of the coming of the Chaldeans (Hab. 1:6) and rebukes sin, but he rises to a new height in his glimpse of the great truth that "the just shall live by his faith" (Hab. 2:4). He sees the time when "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea" (verse 14), but he gives no hint as to how or when this is to come to pass. Chapter 3, the prayer of Habakkuk, is full of poetic imagery which pictures the punishment of the nations and the salvation of God's people.

6. ZEPHANIAH'S AND JEREMIAH'S PROPHECIES.—ZEPHANIAH, contemporary of Jeremiah, prophesies the desolation of Judah (Zeph. 1:1-13), which serves as the theme for his warning of the approaching day of the Lord, "a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness," in which "neither their silver nor their gold shall be able to deliver them" (verses 14-18). But after God's indignation is poured out upon all the nations, when "all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of My jealousy, . . . then will I turn to the people [A.R.V., "peoples"] a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve Him with one consent."

⁷ See pages 301-308.

Zeph. 3:8, 9. In preparation for this great day God calls for heart preparation, in the surviving remnant who will "trust in the name of the Lord" and "shall not do iniquity." (Verses 12, 13.) He designates them as "all ye meek of the earth," and invites them to seek the Lord and righteousness so as to be "hid in the day of the Lord's anger." (Zeph. 2:3.) This prophecy definitely applies the future kingdom to a spiritual, not a racial, Israel, and places it after the fiery judgment on the whole earth.

7. JEREMIAH, INTRODUCER OF TIME PROPHECY.—JEREMIAH, the king's counselor who both prophesied and witnessed the fall of Judah, denounces the apostasy of Israel and the idolatry of Judah. He trumpets the warning of the foe from the north⁸ (Jer. 1:14, 15; 4:6, 7; 10:22; cf. 25:9) who would depopulate the cities of Judah. Although the book deals principally with the captivity and the restoration after 70 years (Jer. 25:9-12), there are several passages which obviously go beyond immediate fulfillment to the Messiah's kingdom (chapters 23 and 33, for example).

Jeremiah lays down a principle concerning the conditional fulfillment of prophecies which should throw light on some of the controversy in the early church, and in modern times as well, over certain material details which were never fulfilled literally in postexilic Judaism. He quotes God as saying:

"At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in My sight, that it obey not My voice, then I will repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them." Jer. 18:7-10.

The spiritual lesson of the relation of God to the individual heart (in the new covenant, Jer. 31:27-34) emphasizes each

⁸ Not necessarily the Scythians, as some think. Palestine was on a north-south corridor between Egypt and Syria. To the east lay the barren desert, circled by what Breasted calls the "Fertile Crescent." All invaders from north and east followed the northern course down through Syria to Palestine, whether Assyrians, Chaldeans, Medes, Macedonians, or Seleucids. Hence, a reference to invaders from the north does not require a people from the far north, but could just as well mean the Chaldeans.

soul's final responsibility, which has a bearing on final rewards and punishments, but there is no mention of the resurrection as such.

8. EZEKIEL ON INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY TO GOD.—EZEKIEL, a priest, was himself an exile in Babylon before the final fall of Jerusalem. He seeks to warn and encourage his fellow exiles and their countrymen still in Judah just preceding the end of the kingdom. This book is in the "apocalyptic" form, that is, in symbolic visions, such, for example, as a wheel within a wheel (Eze. 1:16; 10:10); the winged creatures with the faces of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle (Eze. 1:10); the personification of Israel and Judah as faithless wives (Ezekiel 16). The prophet also acts out some of his messages in object-lesson demonstrations—his portrayal of the siege in miniature on a tile (Eze. 4:1, 2), his lying on one side and then the other for so many days, representing so many years (verses 4-6), and his dramatizations of the privations of the siege (verses 9-17), and of the departure of the exiles (Eze. 12:3-7).

Ezekiel goes even further than Jeremiah in teaching the individual responsibility of the soul to God: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Eze. 18:4. And he surpasses Isaiah's brief declaration of the resurrection of the body in his graphic portrayal of the vision of dry bones which are re clothed in flesh by the Lord's command and filled again with the breath of life. (Ezekiel 37.) This can be applied both to the spiritual resurrection of Israel's hopes, and also to their resurrection from the grave, after which their restoration to their homeland is to take place. (Eze. 37:11-14.)

Looking for a return from the Babylonian captivity, he outlines elaborate plans in the vision of the restored temple, plans which, because of the failure of ancient Israel, were never carried out in full detail after the Exile. Once or twice he speaks of the future kingdom under the shepherd, or "My servant David" (Ezekiel 34), and of the moral restoration—the giving of hearts of flesh for hearts of stone (Eze. 11:19; 36:26),

a figure reminiscent of Jeremiah's new covenant (Jer. 31:33). Most of his messages, however, seem to be directed primarily to the exiles of his own day.

9. GLOOM AND GLORY OF LATTER DAYS.—ZECHARIAH presents his message after the first return from Babylon. In several symbolic visions the judgments of the Lord upon the heathen are presented. Zechariah looks forward to the Messianic era, in which he expects many Gentiles to become converted and share in the joys of the kingdom (Zech. 2:11), which is to be established "not by might, nor by power, but by My spirit, saith the Lord of hosts" (Zech. 4:6). Moral uprightness is required as a condition of the Messianic kingdom. (Zech. 7:9-14; 8:15-17.) Chapter 9 contains a beautiful description of the Messiah's dominion; its spiritual character is manifested in the fact that the New Testament applies it to the triumphant entry of Christ into Jerusalem. (John 12:14, 15.) Thus there is a blending of gloom and glory for the latter days.

MALACHI rebukes the wrongdoing of priests and people, comparing their polluted offerings unfavorably with the offerings of the heathen. (Mal. 1:7-11.) The Lord whom they seek, the desired Messenger of the Covenant, will "suddenly come to His temple," but He will come in judgment. "Who may abide the day of His coming? and who shall stand when He appeareth? for He is like a refiner's fire." Mal. 3:1, 2. God is coming in judgment against evildoers and oppressors of the poor but He offers forgiveness if they will return to Him, and blessings if they will be faithful with the tithe. (Mal. 3:5, 7, 10.) The final chapter describes vividly "the great and dreadful day of the Lord," the day "that shall burn as an oven," consuming all the wicked, like stubble, to ashes, leaving them neither root nor branch; after this, "unto you that fear My name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in His wings."

Such are the eschatological glimpses of the "last things" as given by the various prophets of old. Let us now turn to the more complete and comprehensive prophecies of Daniel.

III. Daniel Projects Principles of Prophetic Interpretation

The book of the prophet Daniel is much more than a prophecy; it contains symbolic prophecy, literal and prophetic interpretation, and historical accounts of events. It is inspired history, for it contains sections that explicitly record the historical *fulfillment* of events and epochs foretold earlier in the prophetic portions. It likewise includes parts that expressly set forth the inspired *interpretation* given by Daniel, explaining many of these symbols in simple, literal language that cannot be misunderstood. This marvelous threefold record was penned by inspiration for all subsequent time.

Some of these immediate fulfillments were assuredly understood and attested by men living at the time. And these clear interpretative declarations of the book, which have been read and understood by the discerning through the years, form the foundation of all subsequent fulfillments that have been recognized as they have come to pass. Daniel stands unique among all Old Testament prophecies in scope, comprehensiveness, and repetition for emphasis and clarity. A grasp of the basic outline of Daniel is vital to the understanding of the hand of God in history, and His control of the affairs of His church and of the nations.

1. SUMMARY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.—Chapters 1 through 6 give the narrative of Daniel's contacts with the court of Babylon. Then come the long-range prophecies. God's symbolic pictures, given through Daniel the prophet, portray the nations and the people of God in sequence, relationship, and conflict. The metal image and the shattering stone in chapter 2, the four beasts rising from the sea in chapter 7, the ram and goat battling in chapter 8, are God's portrayal of the rise and fall of nations. It is His charting of the course of empire.

Then there are the prophetic time periods. In chapters 7 and 12, the "time, times, and an half" of the persecution of God's people lead up to the time of the judgment and the kingdom of God; in chapter 8, the 2300 days extend to the mystic

cleansing of the sanctuary; and in the angel's explanation of the vision, in chapter 9, the best-known of the *time prophecies*—the “seventy weeks”—points out the time of the first advent of the Messiah and predicts the time of His death for the sake of others.

In chapter 11 there is a long historical prophecy beginning with the Persian kingdom and continuing with the Macedonian kingdom and its division. In chapter 12 there is mention of 1290 days and 1335 days, and the admonitions to seal the book until the time of the end, at which time “many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.” Verse 4.

In these chapters the prophet plainly declares that there will be a series of four world powers from the Neo-Babylonian Empire onward. He adds that the fourth world power is to be broken up into ten smaller kingdoms that would spring up within its territory and supplant the unified parent empire. Then he declares that a different type of kingdom, which would war against God and His saints, would press its way up into the partitioned empire, and do exploits and dominate for a certain allocated time. But God's judgment would sit, and the accounts of the nations and churches would come into review. Thus all injustice and usurpation would be brought to an end, and the kingdom of God would triumph forever.

2. BABYLON DECLARED FIRST OF A SERIES OF EMPIRES.— Portions of Daniel were understood contemporaneously such as the first two phases of the great metallic statue spoken of in chapter 2, which was to span the ages, clear through to “the latter days.” (Dan. 2:28.) In this prophecy, which pertained to the removing of kings and the setting up of kings (verse 21), Daniel first brings back to the remembrance of Nebuchadnezzar the dream-image of a man, representing the kingdom of man in the world—an image composed of four different metals of decreasing brilliance and value, but of increasing strength, with the fifth and final anatomical division, of nonadherent metal and clay, demolished finally by a stone that smote the

image on the feet, and then grew to fill the whole earth (verses 31-35). Daniel then gave the king the interpretation (verse 36), which has been discussed already in chapter 2.⁹ He explained the four metals of the image as representing Nebuchadnezzar's brilliant kingdom of Babylon and three succeeding world powers, the fourth later divided in a multiple-kingdom period (verses 39-45), and finally the demolishing stone as symbolizing the kingdom of the God of heaven, which was to be established on earth "in the days of these kings," and which was to stand forever (verse 44). (Pictorial representation on page 38.)

This basic panorama of the successive world powers of prophecy has always been recognized as the ABC of all outline Bible prophecy. Of this explanation Daniel says, "The interpretation thereof is sure." Verse 45. And this grand outline of the empires was repeated by Daniel under a different set of symbols.

In the parallel prophecy of the four beasts (Daniel 7), which are likewise interpreted as a series of four successive world powers, to be followed by the kingdom of the saints, Daniel gives additional revealing details about these kingdoms. We have already seen in chapter 2 that the first king, or kingdom—for he calls the last of the "four kings" the "fourth kingdom" (Dan. 7:17, 23)—is most appropriately pictured by a lion with eagle's wings; that in the historical setting of Daniel's time this symbolism would have been as readily understood of Babylon as was the gold representing the first kingdom in the prophecy of the image.¹⁰

3. KINGDOM OF GOD TO END THE SERIES.—In neither of these two prophecies—the metal image and the four beasts—does Daniel name the second, third, or fourth kingdoms, but he interprets the first as the contemporary Neo-Babylonian Empire.¹¹ And in both series he sees the succession of earthly

⁹ See pages 35 ff.

¹⁰ See page 41.

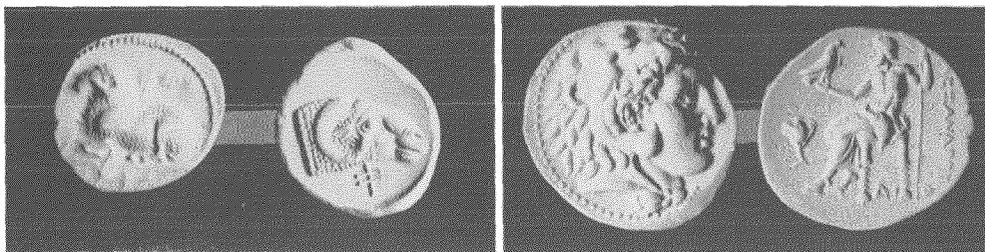
¹¹ From Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel's time forward. Previous powers, such as Egypt, old Babylonia, and Assyria, are not under consideration—only "what should come to pass hereafter." (Dan. 2:29.) Nor does the prophecy say that there would be no world powers in the future out-

dominions superseded by the eternal kingdom. Daniel pictures this kingdom as coming, not by natural growth, but by the direct intervention of the God of heaven; in the second prophecy he adds that the kingdom is given to the Son of man and the saints. (See Dan. 2:37, 38, 44; 7:17, 18, 27, 13, 14.) He does not expect this final kingdom to follow immediately the last and most powerful empire of the four, but after an interval—after the fourth has been divided into the weakened iron-and-clay stage of the feet and toes. Or, in the more detailed symbolism of the fourth beast's ten horns, the fourth kingdom gives way to the ten kings, or kingdoms, among whom arises the presumptuous Little Horn power, diverse from the rest, uprooting three of its fellows, speaking against the Most High and persecuting the saints, thinking to change times and laws, and being allowed to hold sway "until a time and times and the dividing of time"¹² (Dan. 7:25). Only after that is the Little Horn finally destroyed in the judgment, which ushers in the eternal kingdom. (Pictorial representation on page 46.)

4. MEDO-PERSIAN KINGDOM FOLLOWS BABYLON.—It is interesting to note that the sequence of three of the four world powers can be determined from other parts of the book. Daniel himself announced the transition from the Babylonian Empire to the second phase on that fateful night of Belshazzar's feast, when he interpreted the handwriting on the wall. The aged seer told the trembling Chaldean ruler that "God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it," and that it was henceforth "given to the Medes and Persians." Dan. 5:26, 28. That very night Belshazzar's life ended with his rule, and the Babylon-Persia sequence was established as a historical reality. So the identity of the second kingdom in the prophetic series, the Medo-Persian Empire, is here placed beyond all rightful challenge

side these four, but it outlines this series of consecutive empires from Daniel's own time thereafter, beginning with Nebuchadnezzar, and says that the cluster of smaller kingdoms which end the series will last throughout the world's history, but will never succeed in reuniting the fragments of the fourth kingdom into another empire.

¹² Daniel defines "times" as "years" in another chapter. On the phrase "after certain years" in the A.V., the margin reads, "Heb. at the end of times, even years." (Dan. 11:13.)



FROM BRITISH MUSEUM AND BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, PARIS

PROPHECIES EMPLOY COMMON NATIONAL SYMBOLS

The Prophetic Portrayal of Persia, Under the Symbol of a Ram, Was Evidently to Identify, Not to Conceal Its Identity. The Prophecy Simply Used the Emblem of a Ram, Frequently Appearing on Persian Seals (Left). Coins Such as That of Alexander the Great of Macedon (Right), Did Not Come Into Common Use Until the Time of Darius Hystaspes

or misunderstanding. Those present understood the clear intent of Daniel's words, and saw their speedy literal fulfillment.

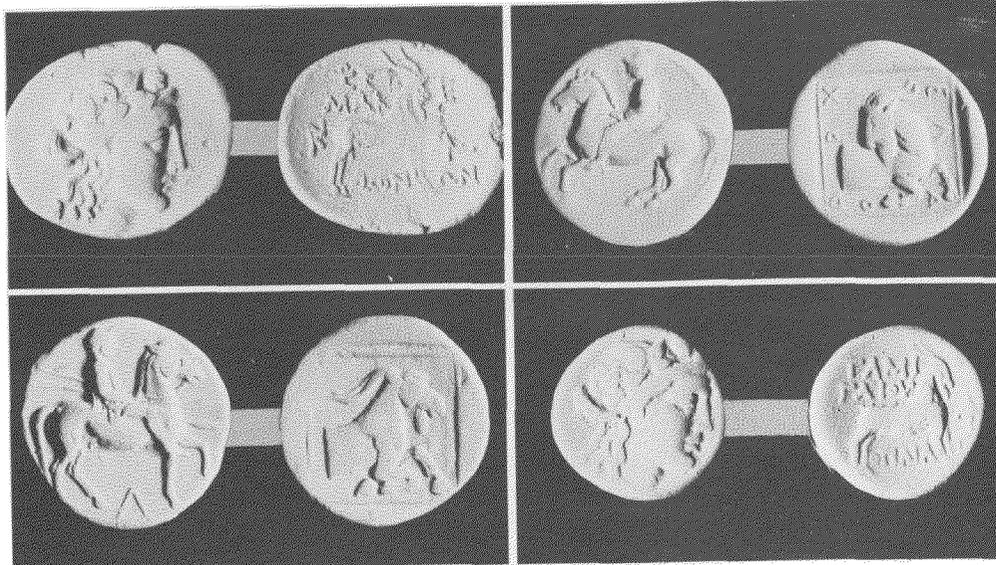
Josephus relates that Cyrus, when he was come to the kingdom, understood his place in divine prophecy, and intelligently sought, as God's instrumentality, to fulfill his inspired commission.

"For He [God] stirred up the spirit of Cyrus and caused him to write throughout all Asia, 'Thus says King Cyrus. Since the Most High God has appointed me king of the habitable world, I am persuaded that He is the god whom the Israelite nation worships, for He foretold my name through the prophets and that I should build His temple in Jerusalem in the land of Judaea.' These things Cyrus knew from reading the book of prophecy which Isaiah had left behind two hundred and ten years earlier."²⁸

Although Josephus' story may be only a tradition, it should not be considered at all improbable that Daniel, who was given high honors under the new regime, would speak to Cyrus about prophecies to be fulfilled in his reign. We know that soon after the fall of Babylon, Daniel was thinking of Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years' captivity, and praying for the return of his people to their homeland and for the restoration of the temple. (Dan. 9: 1, 2, 16-19.)

5. GRECIAN EMPIRE SUCCEEDS PERSIAN.—Daniel outlined the first empire of his prophetic series, and so his book records as historical narrative the beginning of the Persian phase. But Daniel had already, in the third year of Belshazzar, predicted Persia's successor in the vision of the ram which battled with

²⁸ Josephus, *Antiquities*, book 11, chap. 1, secs. 1, 2, in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 6, p. 315.



CASTS FROM COIN DIV. OF BR. MUSEUM

GOAT SYMBOL A FAMILIAR FIGURE ON GRECIAN COINS

Again and Again the Figure of a Goat, in Whole or in Part, Appears on the Reverse Side of Macedonian Coins Preserved in the British Museum. The Symbol of the Goat, for Grecia, Was Obviously Chosen by Inspiration Because It Was a Common Symbol of the Macedonian Power, and Hence Was Given to Identify and Not to Clothe With Inscrutable Mystery

the goat and fell before the speed and violence of its onslaughts. These two prophetic beasts need no further identification, for they are explicitly named in the prophecy as representing the Persian and Greek empires. (Dan. 8:20, 21.) Thus the first three in the series—Babylon, Persia, and Greece—are clear. But there are yet additional clues which offer highly interesting evidence that the prophetic goat was a singularly appropriate symbol in view of the use of that animal on Macedonian coins.

6. THE GOAT A FREQUENT MACEDONIAN SYMBOL.—A survey of Macedonian coins is highly revealing. Barclay V. Head, in his authoritative illustrated coin catalogue covering this section of the great British Museum coin collection, reveals that Macedonian coins bearing various likenesses of the goat were minted in different places,¹⁴ ranging in time from c. 500 to 146 B.C.,¹⁵ under the names of such famous characters as Alexander I, Perdiccas II, and Archelaus I.¹⁶ Sometimes the goat is pictured

¹⁴ Amphipolis, Aegae, Terone, Thessalonica. See Barclay V. Head, *Catalogue of Greek Coins. Macedonia, Etc.*, pp. 182, 183.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 13, 18, 37, 48, 108, 110, 158, 159, 163.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 159, 163.

as standing, sometimes kneeling on one knee. In other instances only the forepart of the goat appears, or just a goat's head, or perhaps two goats kneeling or fighting. It is an impressively significant series. (Reproductions appear on page 130.)

Personal examination of these ancient coins in the cases of the British Museum, from which plaster-of-Paris casts were secured for reproduction here, deeply impresses one with the fact that this prophetic symbol employed in the prophecy of Daniel 8—the goat indicating Grecia—was chosen because this figure was commonly used in the Macedonian period, just as the ram had sometimes been employed on the seals of Persia as its identifying emblem. (See page 129 for illustration.) The singular aptness and fidelity of these portrayals are thus lifted beyond challenge. The prophetic choice obviously was not an arbitrary or unrelated one, but was deliberately designed so that identification of the second and third of the great world powers in the prophetic series might be simple and clear.

7. THE GREEK EMPIRE DIVIDED.—Then, continuing chapter 8, the Grecian goat's notable horn-king is superseded by four horn-divisions.

"The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia. And the rough *goat* is the king of *Grecia*: and the *great horn* that is between his eyes is the *first king*. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, *four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation*, but not in his power. And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up." Dan. 8:20-23.

Grecia, then, was the third in the series of Daniel's empires, and after its fourfold division¹⁷ rose that remarkable Horn power that became exceeding great and spread in three directions, did exploits even against the Prince of princes, and continued until it was "broken without hand." (Verses 3-12, 23-26.) And a mysterious number was mentioned—2300 days unto the cleansing of the sanctuary. (Verse 14.) But the identity of that fourth "fierce" king, or kingdom, was not yet disclosed. That

¹⁷ See page 69.



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THE GRECIAN "GOAT" SMITES THE PERSIAN "RAM"

T. K. MARTIN. ARTIST

Macedonia in the West Succeeds Persia to the East, in the Onward March of Empire, in Daniel 8—the Second and Third in the Prophetic Series of Four World Powers. Evidence Indicates That Expositors Came Gradually to the Conclusion That Daniel's Longest Time Period, Recorded in This Chapter, Starts With Persia, and That Prophetic Symbols Often Are Tied to Historical Powers and Definite Starting Points

was yet future, and was still unidentified to Daniel. After being informed that the time feature of the vision would cover "many days," Daniel was instructed to "shut up the vision"—this time portion, and the last things. (Verse 26.) While Daniel was praying and interceding for understanding, the angel Gabriel finally came to him with the message: "I am now come forth to give thee skill and understanding." Verse 22.

8. SEVENTY WEEKS INVOLVE CUTTING OFF OF MESSIAH.—Seventy prophesied "weeks," declares Gabriel, were set apart for the Jews, to accomplish certain momentous events and to seal the identifying time-key of the prophecy of Daniel and anoint the most holy. He enumerates "seven weeks, and three-score and two weeks," and "one week," totaling seventy; after the seven and sixty-two have passed, the remaining "one week" sees the cutting off of the Messiah for the sake of others, and the end of the system of sacrifices—in efficacy, at least—in the midst of the week. (Dan. 9:24-27.)

Deeply troubled over the coming sorrows of his people, Daniel is once more visited by Gabriel, who outlines in detail the literal events of the centuries, beginning with the immediate future. This outline covers the closing portion of Persian rule, the introduction of the Macedonian period (Dan. 11:2-4), the coming of that mysterious fourth kingdom—though still unnamed—and finally the "time of trouble," just before the end (Dan. 12:1). In the latter days the seals of mystery would be removed from these later events. Men would search to and fro for the full meaning of the prophecies, and understanding would result. (Verse 4.) But meantime these mysterious latter-day events pertaining to the end were, by angelic declaration, "closed up and sealed till the time of the end." Verse 9.

Such was the amazing portrayal of God's panorama of the centuries, left by Daniel for all succeeding generations, with certain clear explanations amid many hidden aspects. The clearly interpreted spots are like glowing lights among the somber shadows of the hidden background of prophetic mystery.

The immediate events were clearly identified, whereas distant events were discerned in general outline, with those portions relating to the latter days sealed until those fateful times should be reached. Such is Daniel's sacred introduction to outline prophecy and its interpretation. It was given to be understood by reverent students of the Word when progressively fulfilled, part by part and epoch upon epoch. It was given to illuminate the path of man across the centuries, that he might know where he is in the divine plan of the ages and the general course of events to come.

Prophetic Peak Reached in Apostolic Age

Only by an adequate understanding of the prophecy-expounding apostolic church can one see how the strong post-Apostolic prophetic interpretation impulse grew out of the teachings of Christ and the apostles, and persisted for centuries. The major Scripture prophecies, be it noted, point to either the first or second advent of Christ, or embrace both, as their climax. The New Testament is replete with declared fulfillments, in the life and death of Christ, of Old Testament prophecies concerning His first coming.¹ And it also contains many predictive portions pointing to the transcendent second advent or to the related outline prophecies leading to that glorious consummation and the events connected therewith.

It should be borne in mind that when, perhaps twenty years after Christ's ascension, the New Testament writings began to be sent out, first as epistles, and later as collections in general circulation, they were first written for specific churches and specific situations, and definitely presuppose an earlier oral teaching. They were sent initially to the churches concerned for their immediate guidance and help. And the prophetic portions were more fully understood at the time than some may have realized, as will become increasingly apparent.

¹ More than fifty are recorded as fulfilled in and by Christ, such as: Born of a virgin. (Isa. 7:14; cf. Matt. 1:18-23.) Born in Bethlehem. (Micah 5:2; cf. Matt. 2:5, 6.) Time of His birth. (Gen 49:10; Dan. 9:24-27.) Called out of Egypt. (Hosea 11:1; cf. Matt. 2:14, 15.) Slaughter of the innocents. (Jer. 31:15; cf. Matt. 2:17, 18.) Vicarious, atoning death. (Isaiah 53; cf. the Gospel records.) Not to suffer corruption. (Ps. 16:10; cf. Acts 2:25-27; 13:34, 35.)

I. Christ the Fountainhead of Inspired Prophecy

Christ Himself was recognized by His contemporaries as a prophet, and so acknowledged Himself. He personally exercised the gift of prophecy in a remarkable way. (Luke 7:16; 13:33; 24:19; Matt. 13:57; 21:11; John 4:19; 6:14; 7:40; Eph. 2:20.) But He was, of course, infinitely more than a prophet; He was at once the Son of God and the Son of man—the matchless Saviour of men. And His life on earth was bound up with the miracle of prophecy by a multiple cord of fulfillment. Indeed, Jesus Christ constitutes the greatest single witness of all time to the verity and precision of inspired prophecy. Not only was He the Interpreter of the Old Testament prophets—the Fulfillment of their predictions and the Embodiment of their spiritual message—but He was also the Reality to which the impressive Mosaic shadows and symbols pointed.² Further, He was both the divine Foreteller and the Fortteller for God; He was the revelation of the very thought of the Father, for He was the Word of God incarnate.

Let us now examine some of the specific prophetic teachings of Christ that relate to our quest. Although eschatology was not His chief concern, it was nevertheless a vital part of His message. The multitudes among whom He lived and moved needed immediate healing from sickness and from sin more than they needed doctrinal discourses on the end of the world. But Jesus did not fail to blend, in parable, promise, and prophecy, the clear assurance of present redemption along with the glowing hope of Christ's return and the coming kingdom of glory. His eschatological teachings are numerous and comprehensive and run like a golden thread through the fabric of His instruction.

² Under this larger scope of prophecy, definite recognition must be given to the symbols of the sanctuary service which were prophetic of Christ. The various sacrifices pointed to "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." (John 1:29.) And it is well known that "Christ our passover" (1 Cor. 5:7) was slain on the precise day of the Jewish month demanded by the Passover type; that His resurrection, as the first fruits from the dead, occurred on the day of the barley "wave sheaf"; and that the feast of weeks fifty days later was fulfilled in the experience of Pentecost (Acts 2). Further discussion of this will appear in Volume IV. The ministry of the Levitical priesthood in the Jewish sanctuary prophesied Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary (Hebrews 7 through 10), culminating in the great last-day judgment. The epistle to the Hebrews, comparing the earthly and heavenly sanctuaries, leads to this prophetic climax: "And unto them that look for Him shall He appear the second time without sin unto salvation." Heb. 9:28.

II. Jesus Proclaims the Kingdom of God

Soon after His baptism, and after the forty days in the wilderness, "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, The time is fulfilled,³ and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel." Mark 1:14, 15. (See also Matt. 4:17.) Not only did Jesus bear this message Himself, but He sent out first the twelve and then the seventy to preach this same truth of the kingdom of God. (Luke 8:1; 9:1, 2; 10:1, 9.)

And what was this kingdom of God, or kingdom of heaven? It was not always, of course, the future kingdom of glory, at the end of the age, that Jesus meant; for sometimes He obviously referred to the kingdom of grace "within you." But many of Jesus' most emphatic teachings concerning the kingdom are unmistakably prophetic of a future state.

1. KINGDOM OF GLORY FOLLOWS SECOND ADVENT.—Jesus declares that the future kingdom would be "nigh" at the time of the second advent, not at the first (Luke 21:31); for "when the Son of man *shall come in His glory*, and all the holy angels with Him, *then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory.*" And it is at this time, that He says: "Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you." (Matt. 25:31, 34.)

2. MISTAKEN CONCEPT OF THE FUTURE KINGDOM.—It was this coming kingdom that the Jews misapplied to a glorious Messianic reign of an earthly national Israel, which they thought they saw in the Old Testament prophecies. (John 6:15; Matt. 20:20, 21; Luke 23:2; John 19:12; Matt. 27:42.)

That is why they rejected their meek and lowly Saviour. That is why even the disciples misunderstood Him, and quarreled over the highest places in the anticipated kingdom; that is why, even after three years of close association with Him, they could, for a brief time, lose their faith in the hour of His

³ See page 145.

death (Luke 24:20, 21), and why, after His resurrection, they could be so blind as to interrupt His farewell promises, on the very occasion of His ascension, to ask, "Lord, wilt Thou at *this* time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6). Perhaps it was not until after the Holy Spirit was sent to bring Christ's sayings to their remembrance (John 14:26) that they finally saw the kingdom in its true perspective.

3. THE NATURE OF THE KINGDOM.—They must have recalled how He had permitted them to see the kingdom demonstrated in miniature at the transfiguration (Mark 9:1-4), and how He had told them that it was to follow His second advent in kingly glory at the end of the world, in connection with the resurrection and the judgment, the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the righteous (Matt. 13:39-43; 19:28; 25:31-34). They must have remembered His promise to eat and drink with His disciples in the kingdom—in that joyful reunion to which the observance of the Lord's supper, "till He come," points forward (Matt. 26:27-29; Mark 14:25; Luke 22:16-18, 29, 30)—and to seat them on twelve thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. 19:28; Luke 22:29, 30).

4. THE TRUE ISRAELITES INHERIT THE KINGDOM.—Possibly it was not until the infant church began to be pushed out of its Jewish nest, and the incident of Peter and Cornelius convinced the apostles that the gospel was to go to the Gentiles also, that they realized fully the teachings of Jesus that the twelve tribes of Israel, in the future kingdom, were not to be the literal Jewish nation, but the righteous of all nations. These, He said, would come from the east and the west to "sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven," and the unfaithful children of the kingdom would be cast out. (Matt. 8:11, 12; Luke 13:24-30.) For the husbandmen, in the parable, who had stoned the Father's messengers and rejected the Son, were to forfeit the vineyard which had been entrusted to them (Matt. 21:33-45); and indeed "the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth

the fruits thereof" (verse 43). This sobering sentence the Jewish leaders well knew was being pronounced against them. (Verse 45.)

The true children of Abraham, according to Jesus' reply on another occasion to certain boasting descendants of that patriarch, are those who do the works of Abraham. (John 8:39.) And among the works which characterize the children of the kingdom He names righteousness (Matt. 13:43; 25:34, 46), obedience to God's will (Matt. 7:21-23), humility (Matt. 20:20-27), and self-sacrificing love, which ministers to "one of the least of these" as to the Master (Matt. 25:34-46).

III. Jesus on the Resurrection of the Dead

The declaration, "I am the resurrection, and the life" (John 11:25), was not merely a doctrine but a tremendous reality, in the experience of the people whom Jesus raised from death. And we also find Him teaching this doctrine, succinctly yet clearly. Those who do not partake of Christ have no self-existent life, He says, but those who do—everyone who believes in the Son of God—He will raise to eternal life on the last day. (John 6:40, 44, 53, 54.) At this "resurrection of the just" the righteous are to be rewarded. (Luke 14:14.)

To the Sadducees who are trying to entrap Him, Jesus replies that in the resurrection there is no marrying, but that the saints live like the angels; and being equal to the angels, they will no longer be subject to death. (Luke 20:35-38; see also Matt. 22:30-32; Mark 12:24-27.) And not only the saved, but *all the dead*, will be called from their graves by the voice of the Son of God to receive their respective rewards at the last day, for there are two resurrections—that of the righteous to life, and that of the evildoers to condemnation. (John 5:28, 29.)

IV. Jesus' Teaching on the Second Advent

I. THE SECOND ADVENT PORTRAYED.—It was toward the close of His ministry that, having elicited from Peter that sublime confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living

God," He began to tell His disciples about His approaching rejection, death, and resurrection. Then, to relieve the enshrouding gloom of this news, He introduced the prophetic promise of His second coming in glory.

"The Son of man shall come in the glory of His Father with His angels; and then He shall reward every man according to his works." Matt. 16:27. (See also Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26.)

Then He declared that some of the twelve would see "the Son of man coming in His kingdom" (Matt. 16:28), and a few days later He took Peter, James, and John up the mount of transfiguration. There they were given a visualized preview of the kingdom in miniature—the glorified Christ with Moses and Elijah, the one a representative of the saints who will pass through death and resurrection, and the other of those who, still living at His coming, will be translated without death. (Matt. 16:28 to 17:3; see also Mark 9:1-4; Luke 9:27-32.)

2. THE PROMISE OF HIS COMING.—In the last week before the cross we find the record of Jesus' speaking on three more occasions of His second coming. The first of these, the "Prophecy on the Mount," we shall consider in the next section. Then, on the night of the last supper, when He was trying to prepare the eleven for the imminent ordeal of His death, He spoke those words of comfort which have echoed through the centuries to sustain the faith of the believers:

"Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in Me. In My Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto Myself; that where I am, there ye may be also." John 14:1-3.

Once more, in the same night, during the trial before the Sanhedrin, when the high priest Caiaphas solemnly adjured Him to testify as to whether He were the Christ, the Son of God, He made the final statement, as it were, of His case, coupling with His assent the words which sealed the verdict of His judges.

"Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of

power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." Matt. 26:64. (See also Mark 14:62; Luke 22:69, 70.)

V. Jesus' Great Prophecy Spans Christian Era

1. THE TWOFOLD PROPHECY ON THE MOUNT.—The so-called "Synoptic Apocalypse" (principally Matthew 24, 25, Mark 13, and Luke 21) gives Jesus' matchless prophecy spanning the full Christian Era, sweeping past Jerusalem's approaching destruction and the allotted period of great religious persecution, and on to His glorious second advent and the end of the world. With cumulative force, evidence upon evidence and sign upon sign mark out with increasing detail the last fateful segment of the prophecy.

Not long after the triumphal entry, Jesus had foretold that not one stone of the temple would stand upon another, and the disciples asked, "When shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the end of the world?" We can picture Jesus sitting on the Mount of Olives deep in converse with the disciples. Looking across the valley to the teeming city and the magnificent temple, He gives this comprehensive twofold answer to the disciples' twofold question. He blends into one all-embracing prophecy the events connected with the approaching fall of Jerusalem and those leading up to the end of the age and the second advent.

2. BEGINNING OF SORROWS.—They are to expect false christs, and early wars and rumors of wars, but "the end is not yet." They are to expect persecution; they are to flee in haste to the mountains when they see the "abomination of desolation" (Matt. 24:15)—or "Jerusalem compassed with armies" (Luke 21:20)—and they are to pray that their flight might not come in the winter nor on the Sabbath.⁴ Here is

⁴ The Christians of Jerusalem heeded this warning, according to Eusebius. "But the people of the church in Jerusalem had been commanded by a revelation, vouchsafed to approved men there before the war, to leave the city and to dwell in a certain town of Perea called Pella. And when those that believed in Christ had come thither from Jerusalem, then, as if the royal city of the Jews and the whole land of Judea were entirely destitute of holy men, the judgment of God at length overtook those who had committed such outrages against Christ and his apostles, and totally destroyed that generation of impious men." (Eusebius, *Church History*, book 3, chap. 5, sec. 3, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 138. Epiphanius [c. 315-403], bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, attests same in *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, chap. 15, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 43, col. 261.)

depicted the fate of the Jewish people—falling before the sword, led away captive to all nations, with Jerusalem under the heel of the Gentiles “until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.” (Luke 21:24.)

3. GREAT TRIBULATION.—Some of the predictions belong particularly to the generation of His hearers, and some definitely to the last days, and some are evidently of twofold application. Certain elements, such as wars, persecution, and tribulations, seem to be not only characteristic of the nearer crisis, but also applicable in varying degrees throughout the history of the church, and are repeated intensively before the end of the age. Jesus passes lightly over the intervening centuries, lest the disciples be sorely discouraged at the prospect of the centuries stretching ahead before the coming of their Lord’s kingdom of glory—centuries to be marked by triumph and failure, by blood and agony and tears, even by “great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be.” The days of tribulation must be shortened, and those who endure to the end will be saved.

4. SIGNS OF THE END.—Jesus gives only this glimpse of the outline of the intervening period, although He implies that it will be no short interval, because the gospel is to be preached “in all the world for a witness unto all nations” before the end comes. (Matt. 24:14.) But just as the budding of the fig tree is a harbinger of summer, so will many latter-day signs appear to show when “the kingdom of God is nigh at hand,” “even at the doors,” although no one will know the day and the hour. (Luke 21:29-31; Matt. 24:32, 33, 36.) There are again to be wars and rumors of wars, famines, pestilences, false prophets in the latter days, and abounding iniquity, so that the love of many will wax cold.

Immediately after the great tribulation, or “in those days, after that tribulation,” there will come a darkening of the sun and moon (cf. Joel 2:31) and a spectacular falling of stars. On the earth there is to be “distress of nations, with perplexity,”

and "men's hearts failing them for fear" of the future. For the careless and the wicked will be caught unawares by the last day, and the peoples of the earth will mourn when they see Christ coming in the skies. But the faithful ones are to look up, and lift up their heads; for their redemption draweth nigh. (Luke 21:28.) Such are the specifications of Christ's matchless prophecy of the Christian Era.

5. THE SECOND ADVENT.—The false christs and false prophets will all but deceive the very elect, but the faithful are not to listen to those who announce Christ's coming locally—"in the desert" or "in the secret chambers." "Believe it not," he solemnly warns, for the Son of man is to come visibly, gloriously, even as the dazzling lightning shines forth from east to west. He will come in a blaze of glory—"in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And He shall send His angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds" (Matt. 24:30, 31), "from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven" (Mark 13:27). His second advent at the end of the age was the apex of all His promises.

Then He continues the absorbing picture in the parables of Matthew 25, portraying Himself as the Bridegroom, taking both wise and foolish virgins by surprise; the Investor, returning to receive account of His talents; the King, coming in glory with "all the holy angels," and seated on the throne, judging the sheep and the goats, and receiving His own into the kingdom to reward them with life eternal.

In this thrilling, incomparable prophecy Jesus turns the eyes of the disciples toward the future, toward the sorrow, the tribulation, and the final triumph. But in this twofold prophecy He mercifully mingles the events of the near and the distant future—the time of the fall of Jerusalem, and the time shortly before the end of the world. He thus answers both their questions, but admonishes them to watch and wait, because they know not at what hour their Master will come, and leaves

His followers to discover for themselves the meaning. And the meaning is to become clear in the fulfillment.

VI. Jesus Enunciates the Guiding Principle

The basic principle of contemporary perception of the progressive fulfillment of prophecy was enunciated by Jesus on the night of the last supper: "I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye might believe." John 14:29. Three times, in varying forms, Jesus repeated this basic principle, so there can be no question as to His fundamental intent. The other two declarations are: "I tell you before it come, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am He" (John 13:19), and, "These things have I told you, that when the time shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them" (John 16:4).

This primary function of interpretation—*the recognition of fulfillment at the very time of fulfillment*—was evidently intended to:

- (a) create assurance as to the divine inspiration of the prophecy itself;
- (b) establish confidence in the infinite foreknowledge and power of performance on the part of the Author of prophecy;
- (c) reveal one's own time and place in the fulfilling prophecy, and therefore the particular relationship, message, and emphasis due at each stage of development. The *general course* is thus discernible from the prophetic forecast, though not the *precise processes* of fulfillment.

VII. Christ's Relationship to the Book of Daniel

The significance of the testimony of Christ to the book of Daniel should not be lost upon us. We have no right to ignore His views on the subject. To Christ, Daniel was a real person—a prophet inspired of God, whose predictions were to be closely heeded.

Jesus' first entry into the field of prophetic interpretation was the initial declaration of His ministry, soon after His bap-

tism—"The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel." Mark 1:15. What other time could He mean except the completion of Daniel's prophetic sixty-ninth week, which was to extend "unto the Messiah the Prince"? Dan. 9:25. There is definite evidence that about that time many Jews were looking for "Messiah the Prince" to come.⁵ Here was prophecy fulfilling before their eyes.

We may see in this Christ's corroboration of the year-day reckoning of the seventy weeks, a principle already partially glimpsed in the original Septuagint translation of Daniel,⁶ and now established by Jesus' coming to fulfill the prophecy of "Messiah the Prince," and to usher in a new era of broader and clearer prophetic understanding, beyond that of Old Testament times.

But Christ based some of His prophetic statements even more directly on Daniel. There are three allusions to that book in His vital Olivet discourse.

First, He mentions the "abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet," and adds significantly, "whoso readeth, let him understand." Matt. 24:15. He thus bids them study this prophecy intelligently, and find in its fulfillment the signal for their escape from the fall of Jerusalem. The passage is, from the context, doubtless Daniel 9:27, where the Septuagint—which was used by Christ and the apostles—reads: "Upon the temple an abomination of the desolations," and similar phrases reappear in Daniel 11 and 12.⁷

This "abomination of desolation" which was to stand in the holy place is interpreted in Luke as the armies encompassing Jerusalem (Luke 21:20)—evidently the Roman forces which

⁵ About the time of Christ there prevailed a general expectancy of some sort of deliverer soon to appear. That this was found among the pagans, as well as the Jews, is indicated by the Roman historians Tacitus and Suetonius, as well as by Josephus, according to Frederic W. Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, p. 21. (See also Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, century 1, part 1, chap. 2, sec. 5, vol. 1, pp. 29, 30; John Fleetwood, *The Life of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, pp. 17-20; John Fletcher Hurst, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 1, p. 87.) Among the Jews that expectancy was based on the predictions of the Hebrew prophecies, as will be later developed.

⁶ Original Septuagint version of Daniel 9:27, in *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint* (Swete ed.), vol. 3, p. 560; see also p. 173 of this volume.

⁷ Dan. 9:27, in both the earlier Alexandrian Septuagint and the later Theodotion version; Dan. 11:31 (Theodotion), and Dan. 12:11 (both), in Swete's edition of the Septuagint, vol. 3, pp. 560, 561, 570, 574, 575; see also Boutflower, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

were to take the city. Thus Christ here applies Daniel's prophecy specifically to the Roman Empire, which had long before taken over world supremacy from the Macedonian, and which was already recognized among the Jews as prophesied by Daniel.⁸

Never should we forget, as we study prophetic interpretation through the centuries, the Master's divine admonition to read and understand the witness of Daniel. Obviously He could not have regarded the entire book as sealed until the day of increased knowledge and running to and fro in the prophecies in the "time of the end" (Dan. 12:4), for He clearly intended that His Judean followers should escape the destruction of Jerusalem by understanding the fulfillment of the portion which pertained to their day. If Christ's prophetic principle of progressive understanding at the time of fulfillment be applied, only that part of the book of Daniel dealing with the latter-day events would be sealed until the time of the end. On this basis we should expect to find progressive prophetic interpretation recognizing contemporary fulfillments. In Christ's day, as we shall see, the succession of the four kingdoms in Daniel 2 and 7, for example, was perceived in general outline; and it has been the common property of both Jews and Christians through the centuries. And "the time is fulfilled" was the unmistakable introductory note of Jesus' ministry.

Christ's second reference to Daniel, in His great prophetic discourse, obviously employs the language of Daniel 12:1 to describe the future woes: "For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world." Matt. 24:21. (See also Mark 13:19.) And the third reference is found in His description of the second advent: "They shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." Matt. 24:30. (See also Mark 13:26; Luke 21:27.)

This should be compared with His reply, in almost the same wording, to the high priest at His trial: "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." Matt. 26:64. (See also Mark

⁸ See page 175.

14:62.) The phrasing is clearly borrowed from Daniel's description of the judgment:

"I saw in the night visions, and, behold, *one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven*, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought Him near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Dan. 7:13, 14.

The allusion to Daniel is unmistakable. Here is obviously the origin of Christ's self-chosen title "the Son of man." The definite article, prefixed to the name in the New Testament, plainly implies that He is Himself the mysterious Being whom Daniel described. He claims the right to be invested with all that divine power and authority which Daniel saw bestowed on "one like a son of man" (margin).⁹ Both the high priest and the Sanhedrin understood perfectly the Saviour's claim, for in their eyes that Person of Daniel 7 was a divine Being.¹⁰ Hence, the high priest declared that Jesus, in making that pretentious claim, had spoken blasphemy, and the Sanhedrin asked with one insistent voice, "Art Thou then the Son of God?" Luke 22:70.

In addition to this, Christ's emphasis on a twofold resurrection (John 5:28, 29) parallels Daniel 12:2, and His description of the future, "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Matt. 13:43), paraphrases Daniel 12:3. Thus did Christ, while here on earth, set His seal irrevocably upon the book of Daniel, the book which later critics would fain reduce to the level of pious Jewish fiction, a "prophecy" composed after the events had taken place, and fraudulently ascribed to a "Daniel" that never existed historically!

But Christ's testimony to the book of Daniel is not confined to the pages of the Gospels. The last book of Sacred Scripture, which furnishes, as will be seen, a complement to

⁹ Boutflower, citing Hengstenberg, says that Daniel 7:13, 14 forms the groundwork of the doctrine of the second advent, and its attendant circumstances. (Boutflower, *op. cit.*, pp: 288, 289; cf: Matt. 10:23; 16:27; 19:28; 24:30; 25:31.)

¹⁰ On the "son of man" as a familiar divine designation, see page 186.

the book of Daniel, is entitled "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto Him, to shew unto His servants things which must shortly come to pass," transmitted "by His angel unto His servant John." Rev. 1:1. It is therefore Jesus who sends the messages to the seven churches, and speaks from the midst of the candlesticks: "Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter." Rev. 1:19. It is Jesus who alone is able to open the sealed book (Rev. 5:5, 6; 6:1, 3), who reaps the harvest of the earth (Rev. 14:14-16), who leads forth the armies of heaven on their mission of final destruction (Rev. 19:11-15), who at the end declares He will make all things new (Rev. 21:5), who pronounces blessing upon all who do His Father's commandments (Rev. 22:13, 14), and who certifies all these wondrous prophecies to the churches (verse 16). Truly, therefore, Jesus is the fountainhead of prophecy.

VIII. Pentecost Unveils "the Times and the Seasons"

Though the disciples associated with Jesus for more than three years, sitting under His marvelous instruction, and listening, on that memorable occasion on the Mount of Olives, to His great prophecy of the centuries, which was to culminate in the second advent and the establishment of His kingdom of glory, they still thought He was about to take the Messianic kingdom. They failed to grasp the prophecies of His approaching death, burial, and resurrection, which He brought clearly to their attention. And after these three tremendous events had actually occurred, the disciples again asked Jesus, just before His ascension, "Lord, wilt Thou at this time [*en to chrono toutō*] restore again the kingdom to Israel?" Acts 1:6. His explicit answer formed the last words to be spoken to His disciples before His ascension:

"It is not for you to know *the times or the seasons*, which the Father hath put in His own power. But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Verses 7, 8.

The allusion to the times and seasons of God referred, of course, to Daniel's explicit declaration, which must have been part of their earlier study and discussion:

"And He [God] changeth *the times and the seasons*: He removeth kings, and setteth up kings: He giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding: He revealeth the deep and secret things: He knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with Him." Dan. 2:21, 22.

Christ's statement to the as-yet-untransformed disciples was made in immediate connection with the command that they were to remain in Jerusalem, awaiting the baptism of the Holy Spirit a few days thence. When that transformation should occur, then their minds would be spiritually opened to understand "the times and the seasons." Moreover, they were then, and by that means, to become inspired channels for unfolding to mankind the outline of God's plan of the ages, with its consummation at the second advent. And the apostles' witness, near and far, explicitly concerned those very times and seasons that are tied into the divine plan of salvation.

Thus on the day of Pentecost, Peter's first words were an exposition of the prophecy of Joel and of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit that had its initial fulfillment on that very day. And from this point onward, he interpreted the prophecies concerning the first advent, and Christ's crucifixion, according to the "determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God." Acts 2:23.

Shortly thereafter, addressing the people congregated in the temple porch, Peter again declares Christ's death to be the fulfillment of the predictions before "shewed by the mouth of all His prophets" (Acts 3:18), and again launches into a declaration concerning the "times" of God:

"Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the *times [kairoi] of refreshing* shall come from the presence of the Lord: and He shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you: whom the heaven must receive until the *times of restitution of all things*, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all His holy prophets since the world began." Verses 19-21.

Then Peter continues to expound: "All the prophets from Samuel and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days." Verse 24. Peter's epistles, evidently written long afterward, will be discussed later.

IX. Paul Outlines Present Restraint and Coming Apostasy

Paul, too, after his conversion, addressing the Athenians, declares concerning the nations of the earth, that God had "determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation" (Acts 17:26), and leads on into a declaration of the coming day of judgment (verse 31). By the time Paul wrote to the Thessalonians, so thorough had been his instruction to the church in these matters that he could assert:

"But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night." 1 Thess. 5:1, 2.

Scholars generally agree that First and Second Thessalonians were the earliest Pauline writings to be penned, and were probably the first New Testament writings to be circulated about the middle of the first century.¹¹ Paul, who comes second only to John in the fullness and scope of his prophecies, begins his prophecies in the contemporary rule of Rome—Babylon, Persia, and Greece having passed into history. The then-present "letting" or restraining power impeding the development of the "mystery of iniquity," the great falling away which was already beginning in the expanding Christian church, was interpreted in the early church as the Roman Empire. Already, before Paul wrote, he had given the Thessalonians thorough oral instruction concerning the sequence of events and their position in the prophetic outline from the then-present Roman Empire onward to the second advent.¹²

¹¹ For a "Panoramic View of First Century" table with approximate chronological order of New Testament writings, see pages 98, 99. This will aid in following the chronological unfolding of New Testament prophetic interpretation.

¹² See 2 Thessalonians 2:5-8 for the sequence: the mystery of iniquity already working, the present hindering power, the future removal of the restraining power, the revealing of the wicked one, the final destruction of this evil power at the second advent.

In his first letter to the Thessalonians, Paul had stressed the resurrection of the righteous dead and the translation of the righteous living at the second coming of Christ:

“For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.” 1 Thess. 4:16, 17.

He continues concerning “the times and the seasons” (1 Thess. 5:1), noting the suddenness of the arrival of this “day of the Lord” “as a thief in the night,” bringing destruction to the children of darkness.

“For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape. But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief.” Verses 3, 4.

It was because some of the Thessalonians misunderstood this, evidently thinking that Christ might yet return in their own day, that the apostle wrote his second epistle, specifically addressing those “who are troubled” (2 Thess. 1:7), in order to correct this misapprehension concerning the time of Christ’s second advent to glorify His saints and to destroy the wicked (verses 8-10). They were not to be troubled by the thought that “the day of Christ is at hand” (2 Thess. 2:2), for—

“That day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; 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.” Verses 3, 4.

Note next his express words—how he *had told them orally* of these things here referred to, and how they already *knew* the facts concerning the then-present withholding power in retarding the appearance of the coming apostasy:

“Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things?¹³ And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who

¹³ W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, in *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, volume 1, page 403, render it: “Do you not remember that when I was still with you, I often told you this?”

now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming." Verses 5-8.

Many of Paul's contemporaries were expecting a future God-opposing tyrant who would persecute the saints, an idea which could have been conceived from certain passages in Daniel, such as chapters 7 and 8. But Paul identified this Antichrist, under the name of the "man of sin," as a *religious* power, seducing people into apostasy—not a political tyrant as the Jewish apocalyptic literature described. Paul's reference to the then-present power, followed by the great apostasy in the church and the revelation of the seducing power which lasts until the second advent, must have reminded his readers of Daniel's prophetic outline of the ages from their day on—the sequence of the Roman Empire, the great apostasy, and the second advent.

Antedating the written word of the New Testament was this sort of *oral* explanation of the leading prophecies later contained in it, as derived from Christ, from the book of Daniel, from the apostles, from revelation, and from contemporary Jewish teaching. This period of oral instruction had continued for probably two decades when Paul wrote, "When I was yet with you, I told you these things"—that is, about the "man of sin" whose appearance the letting or hindering power would retard. The masked conflict between these two forces was a matter of common knowledge in the Thessalonian church. So what Paul first taught by word of mouth he now confirmed by epistle. He adds, "Hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle." 2 Thess. 2:15.

Spiritual gifts, including the gift of prophecy (1 Cor. 12:10-14; Eph. 4:8-13), were a little later declared by Paul to be for the perfecting of the saints and the unifying of the faith. They were all given in part, until that which is perfect is come at the second advent (1 Cor. 13:9, 10), when we shall see the fullness of light and truth, with no need for inter-

vening agencies of the Spirit between. That glorious day was to be brought about through the resurrection at the last trump and through the advent. (1 Cor. 15:23-26, 51-54.)

Then, in First Timothy, Paul stresses latter-day departures from the faith (1 Tim. 4:1), and likewise, in his second letter warns of latter-day formalism and spiritual waywardness (2 Tim. 3:1-5), and turning away from sound doctrine just before the end (2 Tim. 4:1-4).

Again and again Paul stresses the time element in prophecy, as in Galatians 4:4. "But *when the fulness of the time was come*, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law." Again, God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and *hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.*" (Acts 17:26.) And to the Ephesians he writes: "That in the dispensation of the fulness of times He might gather together in one all things in Christ." Eph. 1:10.

Paul says little, specifically, about God's future kingdom of glory; he refers more often to the kingdom of grace. But he tells the Thessalonians that they are called "unto His kingdom of glory" (1 Thess. 2:12), and speaks elsewhere of the time when Christ will finally deliver the kingdom to God the Father, when He has conquered the last enemy, death. And 2 Timothy 4:1 locates the time—when Christ "shall judge the quick and the dead at His appearing and His kingdom." The same chapter also refers to "His heavenly kingdom."

Paul speaks of the future restoration of the whole creation (Rom. 8:19-23) in connection with the "redemption of our body." But he does not cite the Messianic kingdom promises for an earthly reign during a thousand years. His reference to the heavenly Jerusalem (Gal. 4:26) is very brief. He uses it to explain the difference between literal Israel of the flesh and spiritual Israel of faith. He firmly believes that the Old Testament prophecies to Israel apply to the Christian church, for he reiterates the statement that true Israel, to whom belong the covenants and the promises, is not the nation descended

literally from Abraham but the seed of Abraham by faith, who are the Christians, both Jewish and Gentile alike. (See Rom. 4:13; 9:4, 6-8; 2:28, 29; 11:16 ff; Gal. 3:16-19, 29.)

X. The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude

James, writing during this time of Paul, and before John, foretells the grievous woes to come upon ill-gotten wealth in the last days, and the conflict between employer and employed just before the end. (James 5:1-8.)

Peter stresses prophecy as divinely given by the will of God, to shine as a searchlight pierces the darkness. (2 Peter 1:19.) He admonishes the gospel shepherds to feed the flock of God, until the Chief Shepherd appears with His crown of glory for the faithful. (1 Peter 5:2-4.) Likewise he depicts the last-day scoffers, the fiery destruction of the earth, and the final restoration.

"Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, Where is the promise of His coming? for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." "But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up. . . . Nevertheless we, according to His promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." 2 Peter 3:3, 4, 10-13.

Peter closes his first epistle, moreover, with the salutation of "the church that is at Babylon." 1 Peter 5:13. That this was frequently understood of Rome by early writers will be subsequently seen.

And Jude admonishes the Christian church to "contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints" (verse 3, A.R.V.; see also "once for all" in Rotherham, Weymouth, Moffatt, Goodspeed, and other versions). He alludes to Enoch's prophecy of the Lord's return with His holy ones, to execute judgment on the ungodly (verses 14, 15), and declares the power of God able to keep us from falling, and to present us faultless at that day.

XI. John's Contribution the Climax of Prophecy

It is believed that John's Gospel, his Epistles, and the Apocalypse, were all written in the last decade of the first century. It is to be noted that John, in his Epistles, is the first and only Bible writer to use the specific term "antichrist," for the coming apostasy. But he does so with the significant words, "*Ye have heard that antichrist shall come.*" 1 John 2:18. This was common knowledge in the church, not only heard from Jewish literature, but through the teachings of Jesus and Paul. Paul, many years before, had likewise reminded the Thessalonians, "*Ye know*" all about the coming "mystery of iniquity." As students of the prophecy of Daniel, they could see the essential equivalence of Paul's malign "man of sin," "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God," with Daniel's Little Horn on the fourth or Roman Beast, that had the "eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things"—uttering "great words against the most High." Such was the concurrence of apostolic teaching with that of the Old Testament Scriptures.

John's Apocalypse forms the crowning spire of the majestic temple of Scripture. It is appropriately a glorious prophecy of the future course and triumph of the Christian church, as well as a retrospect of her conflicts through the centuries; it constitutes God's final entreaty and admonition to man, with a thread of deeply spiritual teaching running through all its mystic symbolism. Let us now analyze the contents of the book of Revelation. After the introductory letters to the seven churches (chapters 1-3) the Revelation continues with a description of the heavenly throne (chapters 4, 5), and then come the opening of the seven seals (chapters 6-8), the seven trumpets and their warfare culminating in Christ's possession of the kingdom (chapters 8, 9, 11:14-19), the mighty angel and the bitter-sweet book (chapter 10), and the two persecuted witnesses (chapter 11:1-13). Next are portrayed the dragon and the woman in the wilderness (chapter 12), the ten-horned

leopard beast from the sea and the two-horned beast from the earth (chapter 13), the climax of heaven's threefold reformation message to the world, which creates a remnant keeping "the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus," and the last crisis of conflict ending with the harvest of the earth (chapter 14). Then follow "the seven last plagues," at the end of which "the cities of the nations fell," "and every island fled away." (Chapters 15, 16.) Next is pictured the judgment of the apostate woman, the beast-riding Babylon (chapters 17, 18), and the culminating second advent of the King of kings (chapter 19). Then comes the millennium—introduced by the resurrection of the righteous and closing with the judgment scene and the destruction of the wicked (chapter 20); and finally the New Jerusalem and the new earth forever (chapters 21, 22). What a mighty panorama! Only God could devise it! Only inspiration could depict it!

XII. Relationship of Daniel and the Apocalypse

When we examine the Revelation closely we find it to be tied inseparably to the book of Daniel.¹⁴ John's New Testament symbols are definitely based on the antecedent symbols of that Old Testament apocalypse. His great prophetic outlines parallel, continue, and clarify the symbolic message of Daniel, and constitute the complement and the completion of those earlier prophecies. And this is not to be wondered at, in the light of Christ's singling out of Daniel for such special emphasis and specific citation.

In this book of Revelation there are constant echoes and frequent quotations of word or thought from the former prophet. There are even striking parallels. Note a few of the similar expressions:

1. The things which must shortly come to pass. (Dan. 2:29, 45; cf. Rev. 1:19; 4:1.)
2. The sweeping away of the fragments of the colossus of

¹⁴ Boutflower's parallels are so pertinent that I follow them closely in this section.

world power, so that "no place was found for them." (Dan. 2:35; cf. Rev. 20:11.)

3. The composite symbolic beasts. (Daniel 7; cf. Revelation 13.)

4. Compelling men to worship the great image. (Dan. 3:5, 6; cf. Rev. 13:16.)

5. The scenes of judgment. (Dan. 7:13, 14; cf. Rev. 14:7.)

6. Great Babylon. (Dan. 4:30; cf. Rev. 14:8; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21.)

7. The gods of gold, silver, brass, iron, wood, and stone. (Dan. 5:23; cf. Rev. 9:20.)

The earlier visions of Daniel are made luminous in the light of the Revelation. The "Son of man," of Daniel 7:13, 14, is interpreted in the Revelation just as Christ, while on earth, interpreted it to the high priest (Matt. 26:64), for we are told precisely who it is that later comes in the clouds of heaven in tremendous power and glory—"Behold, He [Jesus Christ, verse 5] cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see Him." Rev. 1:7 (Mark 14:62). It is the crucified Jesus who is to come again. His crucifixion, death, resurrection, and ascension provide the way for the glory of His second advent. He is again identified as the One who comes riding on a cloud as the Judge of mankind, as John again sees Him coming "upon the cloud" to reap the separating harvest of the earth. (Rev. 14:14, 16.)

Christ was seen by John just as "one like the Son of man" was seen by Daniel. His eyes like flaming fire, and His feet like burnished brass, and His voice as the voice of many waters, identify the risen Redeemer who appeared to John as the Person seen by Daniel on the banks of the river Hiddekel, or Tigris. (Cf. Rev. 1:13-15; 14:12 with Dan. 7:9; 10:4-6.) He is described similarly as He again reveals His identity in the message to the church of Thyatira. (Rev. 2:8.) The overpowering effect upon both prophets was the same. (Dan. 10:8; cf. Rev. 1:17.) Further, the man clothed in linen, of Daniel 12:6, 7, standing above the waters, with his right hand lifted

to heaven in solemn oath to Him that liveth forever and ever, speaking concerning the appointed time, is strikingly repeated in Revelation 10:5, 6. So the Old Testament and New Testament visions closely parallel each other, and help to explain and complement each other.

Many obscurities of Daniel are cleared up in the Revelation. For instance, there is the identification of Daniel's fourth kingdom. The symbolic "beast" of Revelation 13—which is followed through to its final stage in Revelation 17—is to be placed side by side with the vision of the "beasts" of Daniel 7. John sees not a succession of four beasts, rising from the sea, but now only one—indicating that three have already arisen and passed away, and that this one that is existent, is the fourth and last of the series. The beast of Revelation 13 and the fourth beast and Little Horn of Daniel 7 appear to symbolize the same empire or world-dominating power. This is shown not only by means of the telltale feature of the ten horns (Rev. 13:1; cf. Dan. 7:7, 24), but by their characteristics and actions.

Daniel did not liken his ten-horned fourth beast to any specific creature, except to describe it as being "dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly." (Rev. 17:9.) But John describes his composite leopard beast as an amalgamation of the first three beasts of Daniel, with body like a leopard, feet like a bear, and mouth like a lion. (Rev. 17:18.) The analogy between this beast and the similar seven-headed and ten-horned beast on which the woman Babylon rides, in Revelation 17, whose heads are specifically described as denoting seven hills, was strongly suggestive of Rome as the persecuting and blasphemous power.

Therefore the contemporary reader must have known of whom John wrote under this figure as plainly as though he had named Rome, a fact which would have been unwise to state, for she was still a crushing despotism. Not only had many classical writers before or during the first century of the Christian Era, such as Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Proper-



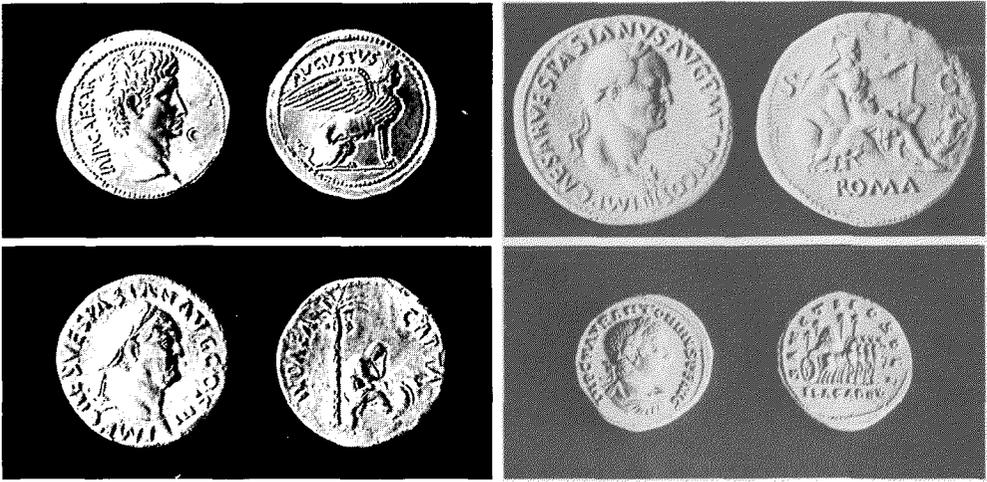
THE PALATINE, ONE OF ROME'S SEVEN IDENTIFYING HILLS

Rome Was Known Throughout the Ancient Classics as the "City of the Seven Hills," and Is Represented Thus on a Coin of the Empire. (See Illustration on Page 160.) Part of the Roman Forum Appears in the Foreground, With the Palace of Caligula at the Right. When John Wrote of the Symbolic Woman on the Seven Mountains, Everyone Knew He Wrote of Rome

tius, Ovid, Silius Italicus, Statius, Claudius, and Martial, written of Rome as the seven-hilled city,¹⁵ but the emperor Vespasian (69-79), in A.D. 71, placed on the reverse side of a coin bearing his likeness a symbol of Rome as a woman seated upon seven hills, with the traditional wolf suckling the two orphans, Romulus and Remus, by her side—the insigne of the city of Rome to this present day. And underneath is given the explicit identification, "Roma."¹⁶ (See illustration on page 160.)

¹⁵ Christopher Wordsworth, *The New Testament . . . in . . . Greek*, on Revelation 17:1; see also H. Grattan Guinness, *The City of the Seven Hills*, Appendix, Note 1.

¹⁶ "A.D. 71. . . . Roma with her seven hills—obviously a well-known representation, as a passage like Revelations [sic] xvii. 1-9 proves—is certainly a 'Roma Renascens.'" (Harold Mattingly, *The Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. 2, p. lvi; see also illustration, plate 34, no. 5, p. 187, no. 774; this same included in Henry Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, vol. 1, p. 398, no. 404.) See reproduction on page 160.



ROMAN COINS REFLECT ROMAN HISTORY

On Reverse Side of Coin of Augustus Caesar, Who Ruled When Christ Was Born, Was the Likeness of a Winged Beast Similar to Prophetic Symbols Employed by Daniel (Upper Left); Striking Symbol of Rome as a Woman Sitting on the Famed Seven Hills, With the Identifying Insigne of the Wolf Suckling the Two Orphans, Romulus and Remus, on Reverse Side of a Vespasian Coin of A.D. 71 (Upper Right); Another Vespasian Coin Commemorating the Captivity of the Jews (*Judaea Capta*) With Jewish Maiden Sitting Dejectedly Under a Palm Tree (Lower Left); Inscription Addressed to the Holy Sun God (Lower Right)

We have seen that the whole gospel message of the apostles was interwoven with the luminous strands of prophecy. The apostolic witness to the Messiahship of Jesus was based upon and tied inseparably into prophecy. The whole New Testament contains a fundamentally prophetic message—the kingdom of grace which was to be established in men’s hearts during the Christian Era, and the future kingdom of glory at the return of Jesus. The apostolic church was thus a prophecy-conscious and prophecy-instructed body, understanding the times. They were acquainted with the prophetic outline of the future, and knew where they were living in relation to God’s schedule of the ages up to their time, for the seventy weeks of years they knew were ended after the Messiah had been cut off, and the sacrifice and oblation made to cease. Rome—the fourth prophetic world power—filled the civilized world, and was soon recognized, as will be seen, as the predicted restrainer of that prophesied falling away that was the concern of the prophets and the fear of the church. The historical records showing the fulfillment of prophecy, now clear to us, were vivid, present-day realities to them.

XIII. Revelings of Prophecy Are Progressive

The revelings of prophecy have been progressive.¹⁷ Through Daniel, the early church learned of the coming of the Son of man in connection with the destruction of the dominion of the Little Horn and the establishment of Christ's future kingdom. Through Paul, the Thessalonian error was corrected and the Little Horn, the persecutor of the saints, was expounded as the Man of Sin to sit before long in the "temple of God."

In Second Thessalonians it was revealed that the "day of Christ" begins with the stroke upon "that Wicked" (Anti-christ), whom the Lord will consume with the "breath [A.R.V.] of His mouth," and destroy with the "brightness of His coming." (2 Thess. 2:8.) To the New Testament church was revealed what before had been expressed only in prophetic symbols. Thus the initial visions of Daniel are the "effulgent torch" illuminating the entire second-advent teaching of Paul, John, and even of Christ Himself, flaming across the whole of the New Testament.

The doctrine of the establishment of the glorious, visible kingdom of God at the second advent, with the putting away of all earthly kingdoms, which had its foundation rooted in the prophecies of Daniel, was completed in the visions of John. It was given to Daniel to specify the vain splendor, the time of duration, and the catastrophic fall of the succession of earthly kingdoms that should ultimately give place to the kingdom of God to rise upon their ruins. The prophecies of Daniel were a prophetic outline of future events, projecting a series of four successive world empires, with the Little Horn continuing until the finishing of the mystery of God.

Now, more than six hundred years after Daniel's day, the beloved John amplified the steps that would mark out the

¹⁷ This principle has been well described: "God is the same throughout all eternity, but He has seen fit to reveal more and more about Himself as His people were prepared to receive more. It should be recognized also that the Conservative emphasizes the term 'progressive revelation'; he does not think of the Bible as simply the record of the progressive discovery of truth." (Cartledge, *op. cit.*, p. 21.)

way for the establishment of the new kingdom, as inaugurated by the second advent. So the prophetic page of John came to be regarded as a compend, only more in detail, of the chief events and results of history in relation to the coming kingdom. It was looked upon as a further development of the vision of Daniel, depicting particularly the rise and fall of the apostasy variously called Antichrist, the Man of Sin, and the Little Horn; for the first three of the world empires had already passed away, and Rome then ruled the world in John's time, although its final overthrow through division was then in the offing.

The fulfillment of the prophetic outline had progressed from Babylonia, then Persia, on through Greece, and now for more than two centuries Rome had been the leading world power. And it still ruled, and so constituted a "let," or hindrance, to Antichrist's emergence. But this restraint would pass, and then Antichrist would come. This was accepted as a foundational fact generally among the early Christians in the Roman Empire.

XIV. Uplifted Gaze of the Apostolic Church

The early attitude of the apostolic church is aptly epitomized in the graphic words of the opening chapter of Acts: "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven?" Acts 1:11. This is uttered not for rebuke but for explanation, and expressed the primitive uplook of the church. The Saviour has ascended. The great High Priest has passed out of sight within the heavens and the angel spokesmen say, "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven." Verse 11. This is the earliest postascension announcement of the gospel of the advent hope which at the first was spoken of by the Lord Himself when He said, "If I go . . . , I will come again." John 14:3. Now it is confirmed by angels and reiterated by apostles and seers, until the last page of Revelation declares, "Surely I come quickly." Rev. 22:20.

Belief in the second advent, the crowning event in redemption, constitutes the crowning article of the Christian faith. Added to Christ's sinless life, His vicarious, atoning death, and triumphant resurrection, there follows His mediatorial priesthood in the heavens. And to the inspired declaration, "We have a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens" (Heb. 4:14), is added the inseparable truth, "Unto them that look for Him shall He appear the second time without sin unto salvation" (Heb. 9:28).

The apostolic church believed, then, that a vital part of the provision for redemption is that, having entered into the heavenly sanctuary to make intercession for us, He was to come forth at the last day to gather His saints, as the crowning act of redemption. And the attitude of the men of Galilee became the permanent attitude of the primitive church of the first century—waiting "for His Son from heaven." 1 Thess. 1:10. But while the early Christians waited for the return of their Lord, they did not sit in idleness; they had a program of action, as a modern writer says.

"These first century Christians were in training for life in a new world. Joy in the Lord of heaven and earth quite overcame anxiety about the cessation of one kind of life and the beginning of another. . . . Awaiting the end which they deemed a new beginning, they were constructively active serving their fellows, putting human need foremost and thrusting property far down the scale in value."¹⁸

This early advent expectancy is forcefully set forth by Latourette:

"To many of the early disciples, perhaps to the overwhelming majority, the early return of their Lord was an inspiring hope. That return would mean the victory of Christ. Right would prevail and God's will would be fully done. Of that they had no doubt. A new heaven and a new earth would appear in which righteousness would dwell. But had any one suggested that this would come by slow stages and without the sudden irruption of divine judgment they would have looked at him in puzzled incomprehension. The gradual evolution of a perfect order would have been to them an entirely alien idea."¹⁹

¹⁸ Wesner Fallaw, "Atomic Apocalypse," *The Christian Century*, Sept. 25, 1946 (vol. 63, no. 39), p. 1146.

¹⁹ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Christian Outlook*, p. 189.

XV. Full-rounded Prophetic Foundation Summarized

Summarizing the teachings of the apostolic age, we find these composite facts and principles:

1. The year-day principle is certified by the fulfillment of the seventy weeks.

2. The crucifixion, the resurrection, and Pentecost fulfill the prophetic types and times.

3. Rome is the fourth empire in the prophetic line of world powers.

4. Christ's outline prophecy spans the entire Christian Era.

5. The abomination of desolation is identified as the Roman army.

6. Jerusalem's imminent destruction by the Romans is prophesied.

7. God's appointed "times and seasons" are repeatedly mentioned.

8. The Roman Empire restrains the coming of the ecclesiastical "falling away."

9. The period of greatest persecution follows the destruction of the restraining Roman Empire.

10. Celestial signs, as precursors of the second advent, are specified.

11. Social, political, religious, and economic signs are outlined.

12. The second advent is the climax of the prophetic outlines.

13. The preaching of the gospel of the kingdom is followed by the end of the gospel age.

14. Prophecy embraces prophetic promises, parables, types, and symbols.

15. Babylon is identified as Rome.

16. Antichrist's coming is awaited.

17. John's outline prophecies parallel Daniel's outlines, only now from Rome onward.

18. Paul's Man of Sin and John's Beast parallel Daniel's Little Horn.

19. The millennium is introduced by the second advent, and bounded by the two resurrections.

20. The kingdom of God is to be established by the second advent.

21. The new earth follows the close of the reign of sin.

Such is the magnificent prophetic foundation laid for the early church by Christ and the apostles. So clear, so strong, were these teachings on prophecy that, despite later developments, the early prophetic interpretation persisted, as will be seen, for centuries—until, and into, the period of the division of Rome by the barbarian tribes. And so widely were these New Testament prophecies propagated in language and geographical distribution in Christian writings that they soon extended from Africa in the South, northward to Britain, and from Gaul in the West across Europe, eastward to Asia Minor, and into Syria and Persia. And the priceless records of these teachings are left for us in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Hebrew, as succeeding chapters will indicate.

After the introductory chapters (1-4), which give the *setting* of the great books of Biblical prophecy, we have paused, before entering upon the survey of men's interpretations of these prophecies, to summarize (in chapters 5 and 6) the *contents* of the prophecies themselves—the Scriptural source of the later interpretations. And now that we

have looked at the foundations—the inspired teachings of the Bible writers and of Christ Himself—we turn in the next chapter to the development of prophetic *exposition*, beginning with the earliest surviving pre-Christian Jewish interpretations of the Old Testament prophecies. These are the attempts of men to understand and expound the prophecies of God, to interpret their symbolism, for prophecy was recognized as the divine depiction of things to come, the larger outline of things to be.

Pre-Christian Interpretations of Daniel

Leaving now the preliminary survey of the prophecies and prophetic interpretation in the Bible itself, let us take up the line of expositors through the centuries. In order to do this, we must go back to the pre-Christian Jewish exposition of Old Testament prophecies. The original Alexandrian Septuagint version of Daniel incorporates what appears to be the earliest attempt to give an interpretation of some of the prophetic terms appearing throughout the prophecies of Daniel. But we shall pause here to mention a tradition related by Josephus concerning the high priest in the time of Alexander the Great—a tradition which, if true, would furnish a still earlier example of a prophetic exposition presented as currently fulfilling. Even though the incident is discounted by historians, the prophetic interpretation involved in it evidently represents the belief current at the time of the origin of the tradition, whether early or late.

I. Tradition Connects Alexander With Daniel's Prophecy

According to Josephus' account, Jaddua (or Jaddūs) was the Jewish high priest about 332 B.C. Watching the meteoric rise of Alexander the Great, he was presumed to have understood from the prophet Daniel that Persia, then ruling the world, was about to give place to Grecia—that it was, indeed, the transition hour from the second to the third of the world empires of prophecy. The Babylonian monarchy had long

since passed away, and the victorious Persians had established their much larger empire. But they had long ago felt the power of the Greeks at Marathon and Salamis, and now, having already suffered the defeats of Granicus and Issus, were about to receive their death blow at the battle of Gaugamela (or Arbela).

Alexander, flushed with his first triumph over Darius at Granicus, had assumed the role of victor, and demanded auxiliaries and supplies from the Jews. But Jaddua returned answer that he was in league with Darius, and was resolved to maintain his good faith. Alexander, occupied with the siege of Tyre, contented himself by threatening Jaddua with chastisement, vowing that through him he would show the world with whom it was essential to keep treaty. Upon the fall of Tyre and Gaza, says Josephus, Alexander marched straight for Jerusalem.¹

Warned in a dream, Jaddua adorned the city, opened the gates, and went forth to meet the Macedonian conqueror in his high priest's robes and sacred miter, accompanied by the priests and followed by a multitude of the people clothed in white. Then the incredible happened. Alexander prostrated himself before Jaddua, or, as he explained it, to the sacred name inscribed on the golden plate on the high priest's miter, for he recognized the costume of the mysterious person who in a dream had promised him divine aid in conquering the Persians. Then he entered the city and offered sacrifice.²

Alexander was shown the portion of the prophecy of Daniel indicating his part in the overthrow of Persia—obviously the prophecy of the notable horn-king on the Grecian he-goat that smote the Persian ram, as recorded in Daniel 8:20, 21. The prophetic picture thus presented was, of course, favorable to Alexander's plans and desires, and he consequently showed extraordinary favors to the Jews. Josephus describes

¹ Josephus, *Antiquities*, book 11, chap. 8, secs. 3, 4, in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 6, pp. 465, 467, 469, 471.

² *Ibid.*, secs. 4, 5, pp. 471, 473, 475, 477.

this phase of the meeting of priest and monarch in these words:

"And, when the book of Daniel was shown to him [Alexander], in which he had declared that one of the Greeks would destroy the empire of the Persians, he [Alexander] believed himself to be the one indicated; and in his joy he dismissed the multitude for the time being, but on the following day he summoned them again and told them to ask for any gifts which they might desire. When the high priest asked that they might observe their country's laws and in the seventh year be exempt from tribute, he granted all this. Then they begged that he would permit the Jews in Babylon and Media also to have their own laws, and he gladly promised to do as they asked."³

It is desirable to note that Jaddua is represented as interpreting that section of Daniel's prophecy under current fulfillment in the very transition hour from the Medo-Persian to the Grecian Empire, and explaining it directly to the great conqueror, Alexander the Great. This parallels Daniel's interpretation to the leading monarchs of Babylon and Persia.

II. Paraphrastic Septuagint Translation of Daniel

Let us now examine the Alexandrian-Jewish prophetic interpretation found in certain expressions which were injected into the Septuagint version of the book of Daniel in translating it from Hebrew and Aramaic into Greek.

1. OLD TESTAMENT VERSION FOR GREEK-SPEAKING JEWS.— Jewish tradition says that Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) requested that the Jewish Sacred Writings be translated as an acquisition to the great Alexandrian library, and that this translation was accomplished by about seventy Jewish scholars (specifically, seventy-two), at Alexandria, at this king's request.⁴ Hence the name of the version, from the Latin *septuaginta*, seventy, and its symbol LXX. According to Philo, himself an Alexandrian Jew, this work of translation continued to be celebrated in his day (c. A.D. 40) by an annual festival on the isle of

³ *Ibid.*, sec. 5, pp. 477, 479.

⁴ *Ibid.*, book 12, chap. 2, vol. 7, p. 31. See also Alexander James Grieve, "Septuagint, The," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 20, pp. 335, 336; Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 9-20.

Pharos,⁵ which was famous for its lighthouse, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.

✓ Most of the citations which Christ used from the Old Testament, as given in our Greek New Testament text, came from the Septuagint. And Philo, Paul, the Apostolic Fathers, and the early ecclesiastical writers preferred to quote from the Septuagint rather than from the Hebrew Bible. The Introduction to a Bagster edition of this version observes:

“The Septuagint version having been current for about three centuries before the time when the books of the New Testament were written, it is not surprising that the Apostles should have used it more often than not in making citations from the Old Testament. They used it as an honestly-made version in pretty general use at the time when they wrote. They did not on every occasion give an authoritative translation of each passage *de novo*, but they used what was already familiar to the ears of converted Hellenists, when it was sufficiently accurate to suit the matter in hand. In fact, they used it as did their contemporary Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, but not, however, with the blind implicitness of the former.”⁶

The so-called Seventy would not have been so much the translators as the authorizers of the work, the production doubtless being the labor of a few individuals whose work was submitted to the group. In numerous places the Septuagint takes considerable liberty with the original, to show the translator’s idea of the sense.

“In estimating the general character of the version, it must be remembered that the translators were Jews, full of traditional thoughts of their own as to the meaning of Scripture; and thus nothing short of a miracle could have prevented them from infusing into their version the thoughts which were current in their own minds. They could only translate passages as they themselves understood them. This is evidently the case when their work is examined.”⁷

This practice of free translation doubtless gave rise to the saying that these translators were “not mere interpreters but hierophants and prophets.”⁸

⁵ Philo Judaeus, *On the Life of Moses*, book 2, chap. 7, in *The Works of Philo Judaeus*, tr. by C. D. Yonge (Bohn ed.), vol. 3, pp. 82, 83.

⁶ *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament With an English Translation*, Introduction, p. iv.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. iii.

⁸ Philo, *On the Life of Moses*, book 2, chap. 7, in *Works*, vol. 3, p. 82.

The whole Old Testament was not executed at one time. Even the tradition which credits the enterprise to Ptolemy says that he received only the Pentateuch from the Jews; the Prophets were translated later, and the Writings perhaps in the second and first centuries B.C. Daniel was evidently translated in the second century, for this version of it is echoed in the first book of Maccabees; and from the mention of the Romans, it appears to have been executed before their power had collided with the Jews.

2. INTERPRETATIVE TRANSLATION REVEALS PROPHETIC INTERPRETATION.—The original Alexandrian Septuagint version of Daniel was later rejected by both Jews and Christians because of its interpretative quality—taking undue liberties with the text, inserting words, and injecting a definite interpretation. That is why the text of Daniel appearing in most Septuagint editions today is *not*, be it particularly observed, the original Daniel of the Septuagint. This *original* translation dropped out of general circulation during the second century A.D. It was supplanted by Theodotion's version, more literal and freer of paraphrase, which to this day is published as part of the standard Septuagint Old Testament.

It has been noted that this Greek version of the Old Testament was begun during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, with the Pentateuch produced first and the other portions following. Later, when the Jews of Palestine and those of Egypt became estranged, two extreme attitudes developed toward the Septuagint. An attempt was made by one group to claim divine sanction for the translation. On the other hand, the dangers threatening the Jewish faith from the spread of Greek ideologies led the orthodox Jews of Palestine to refer to the day on which the Septuagint appeared as one that was as fatal to Israel as that on which the golden calf was made at Horeb.⁹ According to Jerome, the church as a whole later rejected this Alexandrian translation of Daniel.

⁹ Charles H. H. Wright, *Daniel and His Prophecies*, pp. 59, 60.

"The Septuagint version of Daniel the prophet is not read by the Churches of our Lord and Saviour. They use Theodotion's version, but how this came to pass I cannot tell. . . . This one thing I can affirm—that it [the LXX] differs widely from the original, and is rightly rejected."¹⁰

"Whence by judgment of the masters of the church, their edition has been repudiated in this volume, and the common edition of Theodotion is read, which agrees both with the Hebrew and the other translators. Whence also Origen in the ninth volume of *Stromata* asserts that he discusses the things which follow this place in the prophet Daniel [4:6], not according to the Seventy interpreters, who dissent much from the truth of the Hebrew, but according to the edition of Theodotion."¹¹

The numerous interpretative paraphrases in the Septuagint Daniel not only clearly reveal certain understandings of the prophetic symbol then current, but also, incidentally, have a bearing on the authenticity of the prophecies of Daniel. They are a weighty argument against placing Daniel in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Josephus places the close of the Old Testament canon some four hundred years before Christ, or more than two centuries before Antiochus. In any event, a considerable period must have elapsed between the original writing of the book of Daniel and its translation into Greek, as the text of such additions as the History of Susanna was confessedly written later in Greek. The Septuagint translation of Daniel contained so many alterations and modifications that, in order to account for these, Dr. Pusey reasons that an extended time must have elapsed before the translation was made.¹² His reason is plausible.

¹⁰ Jerome, Preface to Daniel, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 492.

"It is well known that Daniel in the text of the LXX. is preserved in one [Greek] MS. only, a cursive, and not earlier than the ninth century. Before the days of Jerome the Church had ceased to read the Septuagint of Daniel, its room having been filled by the version attributed to Theodotion . . . as the Greek Daniel of the Church Bible." (H. B. Swete, Editor's Introduction, in *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, vol. 3, p. v.)

¹¹ Translated from Jerome, *Commentaria in Daniele*, comment on Dan. 4:6, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 25, col. 514.

So thoroughly was the LXX version of Daniel discarded by the early church that it is now extant only in a single codex of the Chigi Library, Rome—a cursive manuscript (the Codex Chisianus) containing some of the prophets from Origen's *Tetrapla*, including the LXX and Theodotion versions of Daniel; the text, however, is corroborated by a Syriac manuscript of translations from the *Hexapla*. (See pages 314, 315.) This Chisian Daniel was first published in 1772 at Rome by S. de Magistris (?); and later by Michaelis, Segaar, Bugati, Hahn, and finally in a critical edition by Cozza, 1877. (See Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 47, 193; also his edition of *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. 3, pp. vi, xii.)

For the LXX text of Daniel, printed along with that of Theodotion, see the scholarly editions of Holmes and Parsons (Oxford, 1798-1827), Tischendorf (Leipzig, the 1850 and six later editions including a third posthumous edition brought out by Nestle, 1887), Swete (Cambridge, 1887-94; 4th ed. reprinted 1925-1930), and Rahlfs (Stuttgart, 1935).

¹² E. B. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, pp. 376-379. For a discussion of the additions and alterations, see his note E, pp. 606-619, and pp. 379, 380 for Daniel 9:24-27.

III. Variations Injected in Daniel 9

The original Alexandrian version of Daniel avoided Hebraisms which that of Theodotion subsequently restored, but the earlier translation contained glosses on the text, and in the historical portion expressions appear that were evidently intended to make the narrative more acceptable and understandable.¹³ In the passage on the seventy weeks in Daniel 9, attempts were made to modify the text so as to give it the obvious appearance of an early fulfillment, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. There are noticeable differences between this paraphrasing of the text of Daniel 9 and the Masoretic Hebrew text which is the basis of our English versions.

The first twenty-three verses are faithfully rendered, says Boutflower, but the reconstruction of the vision of the seventy weeks (verses 24-27) makes the real intent of the original scarcely recognizable. The translator not only turns commentator but dismembers the text. Then he attempts, rather unsuccessfully, to put together again what was once a glorious, far-reaching prophecy.¹⁴ The result is a distortion and confusion of this four-verse section. In verse 24 the term "anoint" is replaced by "gladden." In verse 25 the differences are many—not a single clause remaining intact. The date from which the prophecy was designed to start disappears—the only idea left being the rebuilding of Jerusalem. So the key to the timing was definitely taken away. That made any application, as to time, well-nigh impossible.

In verse 26 there is an expansion of the "threescore and two weeks" period into "seven and seventy and sixty-two." Instead of the "cutting off" of "the anointed one," a double action concerning the anointing is made out—the anointing to be removed, and the anointed one to be corrupted or destroyed, as well as the city and the sanctuary.

In verse 27, instead of "seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks," we find "seven and seventy times and 62 of years"

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 376, 377.

¹⁴ Boutflower, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-172.

—the significantly interpretative phrase “*of years*” being inserted. This, says Pusey, is actually a falsification of the time. Boutflower explains that, when the vowel points are omitted, the same Hebrew characters (shb'im) stand for both “weeks” and “seventy,” thus rendering it easy to confuse the intent of the original prophecy.¹⁵

The significant point here is the phrase “62 of years.” Sixty-two *what* of years? Evidently, from the context of the seventy-week prophecy, it must mean sixty-two weeks of years.¹⁶

Then, the confirming of the covenant with many for “one week” is replaced by “the covenant shall have power with many,” and the “one week” by “many weeks.” Finally, the “midst of the week” becomes “the end of the week.”¹⁷ This amazing performance of mangling the prophecy, in an attempt to apply it prematurely, would inevitably neutralize any clear prophetic basis for an advent expectancy at the time of the first advent, except in the Hebrew originals. Such was the serious aspect of this Alexandrian translator’s attempt to tamper with the reading of Daniel 9:24-27 in the Greek. ✓

IV. Four Vital Interpretative Principles Injected

In spite of the impropriety of the Septuagint translators injecting their own interpretation into a version, their procedure is useful to us because it reflects certain of their prophetic interpretations, thereby *unwittingly revealing the Jewish prophetic understanding of the times*, which is what we seek. There are four of these principles that are noteworthy.

1. IN DANIEL 4:16 AND 32—“TIMES” REGARDED AS YEARS.—In place of the “seven times” of Nebuchadnezzar’s humiliation, the expression is four times rendered “seven years” in

¹⁵ Boutflower, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 174; Pusey, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

¹⁶ Sixty-two is given as the Greek numeral, and “years” is in the genitive case, *etōn*. We are told that in Greek a *point* of time is expressed by the locative case (as “*in the year of the flood*”); an *extent* of time is expressed by the accusative (as “*the ruled three years*”), and the *kind* of time by the genitive (“*at night he needs a lantern*”). Thus “years” denotes the kind of time being measured—periods of years, not of days or of some other unit. (See A. T. Robertson and W. Hersey Davis, *A Short Grammar of the Greek Testament*, pp. 227, 236.)

¹⁷ Pusey, *op. cit.*, p. 379. Charles H. H. Wright likewise makes extensive observations on these Septuagint alterations in his *Daniel and His Prophecies*, pp. 201-222.

the LXX—though the phrase occurs in verses 13, 29, and 30 in the LXX, because the verses are differently divided. In further confirmation of this year-time principle, the LXX in Daniel 11:13 states that the king of the north comes “at the end of a time, of a year.” This key principle of a time for a year carries over into the Christian Era and reappears constantly, as will later become apparent.

2. IN DANIEL 7:17—“KINGS” INTERPRETED AS KINGDOMS.—Instead of “four kings,” as in the Hebrew, the LXX (and also the Theodotion version) reads, “These great beasts are four kingdoms”—obviously the true sense, as the fourth beast is explicitly declared to be the “fourth kingdom.”

3. IN DANIEL 11:30—“SHIPS OF CHITTIM” CONSTRUED AS THE ROMANS.—Furthermore, in the developing line of successive prophetic empires, the fourth, or Roman power, is here definitely discerned, though it had not yet taken over the dominion from Greece, the third prophetic empire. In place of the “ships of Chittim,” in Daniel 11:30, the LXX drops all prophetic reserve and plainly declares, “And the *Romans* shall come and expel him, and rebuke him strongly.” On this rendering, Pusey makes this pertinent comment:

“The translation of the later historical prophecy, (ch. xi.) is remarkable in another way. The prediction is to have been, (Porphyry and his school say,) history in the form of prophecy, because it is so exact. Of all this historical prophecy, the translator understood well one part, just that which a Jew, living at the time at Alexandria, would know, or what happened in Egypt itself. He paraphrases rightly the words, ‘there shall come ships of chittim,’ by, ‘And the Romans shall come and shall expel him, and shall rebuke him strongly,’ in allusion to the peremptory way in which Popilius cut short the subterfuges of Epiphanes.”¹⁸

4. IN DANIEL 9:25-27—“WEEKS” UNDERSTOOD AS “OF YEARS.”—Striking and significant is the injection of the interpretative “of years” into the numerals of the prophecy of the seventy weeks.¹⁹ It should be noted that in this first inter-

¹⁸ Pusey, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

¹⁹ See page 173. For an English translation of the Septuagint of Daniel 9:24-27, see Pusey, *op. cit.*, p. 379; for the German, see Franz Fraidl, *Die Exegese der Siebzig Wochen Daniels*, pp. 4-10.

pretation of Daniel, giving mere flashes of third century B.C. prophetic understanding, the first recorded exposition of time prophecy appears—the application concerning the “sixty-two of years” in the seventy weeks pertaining to the Jews, which if followed through would bring them face to face with the first advent and the suffering Messiah. The time had not yet come for emphasis to be centered on the second advent, the first advent being the immediate concern. This prophetic exposition “of years,” hints of the year-day principle, which was later to become an abiding heritage in the Christian Era, and never to be lost throughout succeeding centuries by either Jewish or Christian expositors, as our quest will disclose.

V. Authenticity of “2300” of Daniel 8:14 Indisputably Established

In the nineteenth century considerable discussion took place among prophetic expositors over the proper rendering of the period of Daniel 8:14 appearing in Theodotion’s Greek version—whether it was rightly 2400 days, as printed in the then-current Septuagint editions, based on the Vatican manuscript, or whether it should read 2300, as it appeared in the Alexandrine Codex and other Greek manuscripts, in agreement with the Hebrew. During the Advent Awakening in Great Britain in the early decades of that century, James H. Frere (d. 1866) and Edward Irving (d. 1834) based their interpretation of this period on 2400 years, but William Cuninghame (d. 1849) and Joshua W. Brooks (d. 1882) contended that the 2400 of the printed edition was a typographical error, and not a rendering of the 2300 of the Vatican manuscript itself.²⁰ This point is not merely a technical and trivial one; it touches vital aspects of our future study and warrants a succinct statement of the problem.

²⁰ William Cuninghame, *The Scheme of Prophetic Arrangement of the Rev. Edward Irving and Mr. Frere Critically Examined*, pp. 76, 77; Joshua W. Brooks, editorial in *The Investigator, or Monthly Expositor and Register, on Prophecy*, July, 1832 (vol. 1, no. 12), p. 441. (See *Prophetic Faith*, Volume III, pp. 273, 274, 377-380, et al.)

There are four primary printed editions of the Septuagint, all of them containing the Theodotion translation of Daniel. These are:

1. The Complutensian (1514-17), derived from several manuscripts.
2. The Aldine (1518/19),²¹ derived from several manuscripts.
3. The Sixtine, or Roman (1587), based chiefly on the Codex Vaticanus, but containing readings from other manuscripts as well.
4. The Oxford, or Grabian (1707-20), based principally on the Codex Alexandrinus, with variant readings from other sources distinguished from the text.

Only the Sixtine reads 2400 days; the others give 2300. But this *printed* edition has generally been followed in later editions which attempted to represent the Vatican text, even long after it was known that the Vatican *manuscript* itself read 2300.

These four primary editions of the Septuagint all contain the Theodotion version of Daniel, for the manuscripts upon which they are based—in fact, all the Greek manuscripts of Daniel except one—came from Bibles of the early church, which had adopted Theodotion's version in place of the original. But in 1772 came the first printing of the Septuagint Daniel from the Chigi manuscript. It was from this Chisian text of Daniel that Cuninghame in 1826 quoted a note remarking on the erroneous 2400 in the printed "Vatican," that is the Sixtine, edition, and stating that the Vatican *manuscript* reads 2300.²²

The eminent Greek scholar, Samuel P. Tregelles (d. 1875), made the specific declaration that in 1845 he personally had examined the ancient Vatican manuscript itself, and

²¹ February, 1519, according to our present calendar. This was before the Gregorian revision, and 1518, Old Style, did not end until March. See Volume III, p. 117n.

²² Cuninghame, *Scheme*, p. 77.

found that it reads 2300, not 2400. Here is Tregelles' explicit attestation:

"Some writers on prophecy have, in their explanations or interpretations of this vision, adopted the reading 'two thousand and *four* hundred days'; and in vindication of it, they have referred to the common printed copies of the LXX. version. In this book, however, the translation of Theodotion has been long substituted for the real LXX.: and further, although 'two thousand *four* hundred' is found in the common printed Greek copies, that is merely an erratum made in printing the Vatican edition of 1586, which has been habitually perpetuated. I looked [in 1845] at the passage in *the Vatican MS.*, which the Roman edition professedly followed, and it reads exactly the same as the Hebrew text; so also does the *real LXX.* of Daniel. [So too Cardinal Mai's edition from the Vatican MS. which appeared in 1857.]"²³

But the most common editions of the Septuagint have until recently contained the number 2400 in Daniel 8:14, taken directly or indirectly from the Sixtine text. They frequently, but not always, carry the variant reading 2300 in the margin credited to the Codex Alexandrinus. Such popular editions as Bagster's, taken from the Bagster Polyglot (issued in 1821, '26, '31, '51, '69, '78, and probably later in undated printings) carry 2400 in the text and 2300 in the margin. Even the Oxford editions (1848, '75) and Tischendorf's (1850, '56, '60, '69, '75, '80, '87), giving both Theodotion and LXX versions of Daniel, have 2400 as the Theodotion rendering and 2300 as the Septuagint, as if the two numbers were due to the difference between the two ancient versions.

But since the actual Vatican manuscript has become more accessible, and published in dependable facsimile form, modern scholarly editions have entirely dropped the reading 2400. Of course, Septuagint Bibles based on the Codex Alexandrinus, such as the Grabian and certain Greek Orthodox editions, give 2300; but also modern editions based on the Codex Vaticanus are taken from the facsimile reproductions of the manuscript itself²⁴ rather than the mixed text of the Sixtine edition. For

²³ S. P. Tregelles, *Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel*, p. 89n. (Bracketed sentence appears in original.)

²⁴ The greatest nineteenth-century Biblical scholars had had little opportunity to do critical work on the Vatican text because of the jealousy with which the Roman authorities

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TEXT OF VATICAN MANUSCRIPT OF DANIEL 8:14 READS "2300"

Photographic Facsimile of Opening Verses of Daniel 1, of Vatican Manuscript, "Gr. 1209 (Codex B)," Containing the Later Theodotion Version of Daniel That Supplanted the Original Alexandrian Version of the LXX of Daniel (Left Column). Text of Daniel 8:6-11 and 8:11-18, Showing Beyond Doubt That in Spite of the Misprint, "2400," in Many Printed Copies, the Original Manuscript Actually Reads Two Thousand Three Hundred (*Triakosiai*, 300), as Indicated by the Arrow (Center and Right Columns)

example, those of Swete (Cambridge, 1887-94; latest edition 1925-30) and Rahlfs (Stuttgart, 1935) have 2300 in both Theodotion and LXX versions of Daniel, and do not even deign to mention the erroneous 2400 in a note.

However, because so many copies are still afloat bearing the old Sixtine error, 2400, and because these facts and conclusions might still be questioned by some who have not personally seen

guarded the manuscript after they had recovered it from Napoleon's spoils of war. Neither Tregelles in 1845 nor Tischendorf in 1843 and 1866 had been allowed to make a full examination of the codex. The edition printed by Mai in 1828-38 (which reads 2300) was not published until 1857. Cozza's 1881 type facsimile was more accurate, but not until 1890 did the Vatican Press issue a really adequate photographic facsimile of the manuscript. (Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 127.)

the visual evidence, a reproduction of the page from the treasured Vatican manuscript is here presented (see illustration on page 179), so that all who desire may see for themselves that the text of the Vatican manuscript definitely reads *δισχίλιαι καὶ τριακόσσιαι* (*dischiliai kai triakosiai*, "two thousand and three hundred").²⁵ Hence the printed number two thousand and four hundred in the Sixtine edition, which is based thereon, is *clearly a printer's error, or typographical misprint.*

So 2300 is indisputably the genuine number in the Hebrew and Greek manuscripts. The integrity of this prophetic number 2300, in Daniel 8:14, will hereafter be regarded as established. This particular point has been discussed with some fullness here, as the 2300-day period will prove to be a progressively important factor in prophetic interpretation in Volumes II, III, and IV of this work.

In the centuries following the period of the Septuagint there were produced many Jewish writings of an apocalyptic nature, which involved interpretation of the Messianic prophecies and eschatology. The following chapter will discuss the earlier writings of this class, down to and including the first century of the Christian Era, and ending with Josephus' interpretation of Daniel. This will round off the Jewish interpretation to about the time when the New Testament prophetic interpretation takes the field.

²⁵ *Bibliorum SS. Graecorum. Codex Vaticanus 1209 (Cod. B)*, photographic facsimile, vol. 3, fol. 1225, col. 2, lines 19, 20.

The Bridge to the Christian Era

I. Apocalyptic Literature of Pre-Christian Time

The gap between the writing of the last book of the Old Testament and the first book of the New Testament was by no means a barren period. On the contrary, it was one of the important periods of Jewish history. It was, moreover, a fruitful period of literary activity, which is a sure sign of intellectual life. Not only were historical works and treatises of a general religious character produced, but the voices of seers and mystics were by no means extinct.

1. MESSIANIC HOPES FIND FIGURATIVE EXPRESSION.—During this period Israel's Messianic hopes found a wider circulation, and seldom were they more ardently expressed than by a great number of writers at that time. In general these writers used highly symbolic language, and often expressed their hopes through historical figures. But whatever the means used, in all these works pulsed the high expectancy of a new era. They all envisioned a glorious future age in which all frustrated hopes, and all present disappointments, would be left forever behind. Sometimes the coming of the new age was visualized as a gradual change. Sometimes it was believed that it would be ushered in by a series of catastrophes, either of local or of world-wide dimensions. And it was often believed that it would be occasioned by direct divine intervention.

This entire class of literature is termed apocalyptic. It was not simply a small eddy swirling along on the margin of the

broad stream of Jewish intellectual life during the postexilic period. On the contrary, it permeated all strata of society and constituted the so-called higher theology. It furnished a necessary counterbalance to the rigid teaching of the law. These writers did not deny the validity of the law, for in general they emphasized it. But they introduced a new element and a new hope, which gave an outlet to the soul, opened new vistas before them, and provided an escape from the stern formalism of the law. This is significant.

2. EMPLOYED NAMES OF ANCIENT HEROES.—We need to understand the teaching underlying these apocalyptic writings, for the ideas enshrined are, in certain respects, the forerunners of many to be expressed in Christian apocalyptic thinking a few centuries later. Or, this might be expressed in a somewhat different way: The Christian church was, and considered herself to be—and not without some foundation—the fulfillment of many of these concepts.¹

The writers of such books, employing prophetic language and style during an age when the law ruled supreme, and when the canon was supposed to be closed, could not possibly be heard under their own names. They therefore placed their words in the mouth of some ancient hero and related the history up to their time often in metaphors and parables, in the guise of prophecy. This gave greater weight, at the time, to their predictions and to their visions of future glory. In this way the books of Enoch, the Secrets of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, et cetera, came into existence. Such writings are therefore called pseudepigraphal writings. The time of their composition can in most instances be easily determined by the line which separates fairly established historical events from the more general predictions.

Practically none of these pseudepigraphal writings have

¹ W. O. E. Oesterley, Introduction, in *The Book of Enoch*, edited by R. H. Charles, p. vii.

come down to us in their original languages, which in most cases had been Hebrew or Aramaic. But we possess translations in either Greek or Ethiopic, or in Slavonic. Often these translations have been edited, and frequently writers of different times were grouped together under one pseudonym; therefore only by the painstaking efforts of specialists to compare the different texts or fragments of texts is it possible to reconstruct the original with any degree of certainty.

3. THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THAT PERIOD.—What value is there then in noting works of such dubious origin? The answer is that these works afford a most valuable insight into one of the great transition periods of Jewish thinking, a period during which various new concepts were formed. These concepts were partly adopted, and partly rejected, by the young Christian church, and have continued to exercise the minds of theologians until the present day.

One of the most ardently discussed problems, during that and the following period, was eschatology—that is, the state of the dead, the resurrection, and all the problems connected therewith, or the doctrine of the “last things.” It was still so much in the forefront of discussion in Paul’s day that he had only to throw the point of the resurrection into a debate, and the attention would be automatically drawn away from himself.

In the sections to follow an attempt will be made to summarize, in a few sentences, the position commonly accepted on those subjects in the transition centuries between the Old and the New Testament. At the same time we are fully aware that all summarizations are usually oversimplifications, as spiritual developments and tendencies are rarely confined to clear-cut periods, but usually overlap. They often have their roots in the distant past, sometimes coming to light only by stray utterances, and on the other hand, they continue to have their repercussions long after the time of their greatest effectiveness has passed.

4. OLD TESTAMENT ON BODY AND SOUL.—According to the

canonical Old Testament, it is quite clear that body and soul form a unit; in Genesis 2:7 we are not told that man *received* a living soul, but that, after God breathed into him the breath of life, man *became* a living soul. Often the word "soul" is used in the Old Testament with the meaning of a man, person, personality. (Gen. 12:5; 14:21; 46:27.) There is nothing to be found in the Bible of the Greek conception which splits man into two distinctive and separate parts: the mortal body and the immortal soul.²

It is therefore impossible to find in the Old Testament that hope for eternal life was based on the *innate* immortality of the soul, but rather on the resurrection as a reawakening from death as from a sleep (Dan. 12:2; Job 7:21; 14:12), a sleep of complete unconsciousness (Job 3:17-19; Eccl. 9:5, 6).³

The Old Testament knows *Sheol*, the land of the shadow of death, as a place from which there is no return. (Job 10:21, 22.) There are some verses, however, which might lend themselves to another interpretation, as, for example, Psalms 9:17, which says, "The wicked shall be turned into hell [*Sheol*] and all the nations that forget God," from which it *could* be concluded that *Sheol* is the dwelling place of sinners.

However, the supreme thought of the Old Testament is that God only has life everlasting; He alone can give life; and He alone can destroy, and make to live again. (Deut. 32:39; Ps. 104:29, 30.) God is the sovereign master over *Sheol*. (Ps. 139:9.) He can reverse the decree, and can therefore also resurrect. Life in every respect depends upon the Spirit of God and upon His life-giving breath. (Job 33:4.) It is commonly recognized that the old Persian idea of the Parsee sages—that the soul lives a full and conscious life during the time in which the body dissolves into its elements, until it once more becomes the abode of the soul—is utterly foreign to the thinking of the Old Testament. Life after death comes by the resurrection,

² Man is considered a living soul during his lifetime; in death the soul ceases to have life. The dying of the soul (*tāmōt naphshi*) is mentioned in Numbers 23:10. (Cf. Eze. 18:4.) According to the Old Testament, death strikes body and soul alike.

³ Compare Christ's speaking of Lazarus' death as being a sleep. (John 11:11.)

effected through the power of God; the only other possibility, in exceptional cases, is translation directly from the earthly to the heavenly state, without death, as in the cases of Enoch and Elijah. Jehovah alone is the master of death, as it is supremely expressed in Isaiah 25:8. He will swallow up death in victory, and the Lord God will wipe away tears. These ideas of future happiness came to be connected with the hope of a material rule of Israel in its promised land—a kingdom in which righteousness, peace, and love will rule, to which all nations will come for guidance. This was the hope that lived in the hearts of the pious in those times.

5. THE QUESTION OF AN INTERMEDIATE STATE.—During the postexilic period, however, it became more and more clear to some of Israel's thinkers that, after all, Israel constituted only a small part of the wide world with its mighty kingdoms. Then an earthly, national Messianic kingdom would hardly be able to transform the whole world. Therefore in some quarters this hope came to be more and more spiritualized. If the kingdom was to be that of the righteous, what of the righteous of former times?

The Old Testament Scriptures, in which we see the acknowledged principle of the "progressive revelation" of truth,⁴ had at one time mentioned the resurrection of the righteous, and later that of all mankind—the righteous rising to their eternal reward, and the wicked to their everlasting doom. In connection with these questions of the resurrection, and of reward and punishment, which agitated the people deeply in the last two centuries before Christ, the idea of an intermediate state found expression in the pseudepigraphal writings.

II. "Ethiopic Enoch" Reveals Pre-Christian Jewish Thinking

The first work we will note is the book of Enoch, known chiefly from an Ethiopic version, and frequently called the Ethiopic Enoch. This should not be confused with the Secrets

⁴ See page 161.

of Enoch, of later origin—also called the Slavonic Enoch—or with the Neo-Hebraic Enoch, or book of Hanuk which came into existence around A.D. 200. According to Littmann, the Ethiopic Enoch consists of different “layers,” or sections, the oldest about 200 B.C. and the latest about 63 B.C. Some parts were evidently written by a Jew who lived in northern Palestine. Other portions were likely written by a Sadducee. It is difficult to ascertain whether the book was originally written in Hebrew or in Aramaic. In any event, it is the most comprehensive of the Jewish apocalypses.⁵ As Fuchs says:

“[It is] the most magnificent of all apocalypses, the ‘apocalyptic Bible of the time of the Jesus.’ . . . It offers most important religio-historical material for the study of the mystic tendency, among the Jews of the Maccabean time, which some pronounce to be already Essene.”⁶

Its influence on the New Testament times has been far greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books together. Charles gives a formidable list of passages in the New Testament which, either in phraseology or in idea, coincide with passages in the Ethiopic Enoch.⁷ Later, it played a significant part in the formation of Christian Gnosticism, as well as exerting a different influence on Judaism. Around A.D. 300 it began to be discredited by the Christian church. And after the ninth century it was entirely lost until the traveler Bruce discovered two manuscripts of it in Abyssinia in 1773. We shall now notice a number of quotations from the book, regardless of their respective late or earlier datings. Because they all belong to the pre-Christian Era, they illustrate the general tendency of Jewish thinking.

1. EXPANDS “SON OF MAN” EXPRESSION.—In the Old Testament only the book of Daniel contains the expression “Son of man,” which Jesus took upon Himself to reveal His true relationship toward man and toward God. Here, in the book of Enoch, we find this expression used in a much more com-

⁵ E. Littmann, “Enoch, Books of,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, pp. 179-182.

⁶ H. Fuchs, “Enoch, Book of,” *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, p. 132.

⁷ R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, vol. 2, pp. 180, 181.

prehensive way than in the book of Daniel. Observe a few passages:

“And at that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and his name before the Head of Days. Yea, before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of Spirits. He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall, and he shall be the light of the Gentiles, and the hope of those who are troubled of heart. All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him, and will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits. And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before him, before the creation of the world and for evermore. . . . For in his name they are saved and according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.” Eth. Enoch 48:2-7.⁸

In the same chapter he is called “Mine elect” and “His Anointed.” Then in chapter 49, verse 2: “The Elect-One standeth before the Lord of Spirits, and his glory is for ever and ever, and his might unto all generations.” In verse 4, “And he shall judge the secret things, and none shall be able to utter a lying word before him.” And in chapter 46, verse 4: “And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their seats, and shall loosen the reins of the strong, and break the teeth of the sinners.” The Son of Man is coming to judge, and is called the Righteous One. Thus:

“And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous, whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits, and light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth, where then will be the dwelling of the sinners, and where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits? It had been good for them if they had not been born.” Eth. Enoch 38:2.

2. SOMBER SCENES OF DAY OF JUDGMENT DEPICTED.—
Powerful language is used to describe these events.

“And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory. And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven, and in the balance shall their deeds be weighed.” Eth. Enoch 61:8.

⁸In these quotations only chapter and verse are given; and all are taken from R. H. Charles' translation of the Ethiopic Enoch, as found in his two-volume *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*. This is from his critical text based on the Greek as well as the Ethiopic. The quotations from the various works treated throughout this chapter are taken from this same collection.

"Pain shall seize them, when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory. And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden." Eth. Enoch 62:5, 6.

"Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them that they shall hastily go forth from His presence, and their faces shall be filled with shame, and the darkness grow deeper on their faces. And *He will deliver* them to the angels for punishment, to execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect. And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect: they shall rejoice over them, because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them, and His sword is drunk with their blood." Verses 10-12.

On the other hand, of the righteous it is said:

"And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day, and they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous. And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, and with that Son of Man shall they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever. . . . And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory, and these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits. And your garments shall not grow old, nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits." Verses 13-16.

"The days of their life shall be unending, and the days of the holy without number." Eth. Enoch 58:3.

The earth will be cleansed from all iniquity and defilement from sin and punishment, and the righteous shall dwell upon it in peace and under abundant blessings.

"And then shall all the righteous escape, and shall live till they beget thousands of children, and all the days of their youth and their old age shall they complete in peace." Eth. Enoch 10:17.

"And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me." Verse 21.

At the same time the book is full of the more somber scenes of the great day of judgment. The books in heaven will be opened (chapter 47:3), wherein every sin is recorded each day (chapter 98:7, 8). And when that day approaches, trembling and fear will fall upon the sinners (chapter 102:1-3); a great slaughter will begin so that the blood will reach to the breasts of the horses (chapter 100:3).

3. STATE IN DEATH, AND THE RESURRECTION.—On the

question of death, consciousness in death, and resurrection, divergent and contradictory ideas appear. Sometimes the book speaks of a general resurrection, sometimes only of a partial one. So, for example in chapter 51, verses 1 and 2 we find a clear statement of the resurrection:

“And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, and hell shall give back that which it owes. For in those days the Elect One shall arise, and he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them: For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.”

Some verses teach that the wicked will be consumed:

“And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect: As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy: as lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous, and no trace of them shall any more be found.” Eth. Enoch 48:9.

“Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of the Lord of Spirits, and they shall be banished from off the face of His earth, and they shall perish for ever and ever.” Eth. Enoch 53:2.

The kings and mighty, however, must expect a severer punishment. In chapter 54, verse 1, Enoch sees a deep valley, with burning fire, into which are cast the kings and the mighty; and then he sees iron chains of immeasurable weight prepared for the “hosts of Azâzêl,” to take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation.

4. ORIGIN OF SIN AND CORRUPTION.—Sin and corruption are caused by the evil angels. So in chapter 10, verse 8: “And the whole earth has been corrupted through the works that were taught by Azâzêl: to him ascribe all sin.” Therefore for the angels is no forgiveness. “Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth: And ye shall have no peace nor forgiveness of sin.” Eth. Enoch 12:5.

In chapter 10, verse 11 and onward we read of the binding of Semjaza, a mighty angel, and all his associates for seventy generations. On the day of judgment they shall be led off to the abyss of fire, to the torment, confined forever in the prison.

5. THE UNDERWORLD AND TORMENTS OF THE ACCURSED.

—On the other hand, we find in Enoch a forerunner of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. He is led by an angel through the heavens and through the underworld, and gives a detailed description of the mountains of God and the tree of life and the other plants of the new earth. He receives an insight into the secrets of nature, and into the heavenly storehouses of rain, hail, and thunder. And during these wanderings through the heavens he comes to Sheol. There are four hollow places, deep and wide and very smooth. He does not know what they indicate until he is instructed that they are prepared for the spirits of the children of men who are dead. But these spirits are able to make suit in the courts of heaven. (Eth. Enoch 22:2-6.)

So, according to Enoch, Sheol is no longer a place where the dead are unconscious, and not aware of what is happening on earth, but where they are fully conscious, and where they can raise their voices in clamor, as Abel does against his brother Cain. Here in these hollows the spirits are set apart, for the spirits of the righteous are a bright spring of water. The unrighteous endure great pain. They are set apart till the great day of judgment, when there will be scourging and torments for the accursed forever. (Verses 9-12.)

These few statements, out of a book of 105 chapters (according to Charles's edition), suffice to show the general tendency of this literature. It assuredly contains a good number of passages which would almost appear to be taken from New Testament thought. On the other hand, we notice a radical departure from the original ideas of the Old Testament, especially in regard to death and the life hereafter. These new ideas, expressed in Enoch, really laid the groundwork for many concepts found later in the Christian church, which kept countless millions under their spell.

III. Testimony of "Jubilees," "Patriarchs," and "Assumption"

I. "JUBILEES" INJECTS INNATE IMMORTALITY CONCEPT.—Another book to consider in this connection is the Book of Jubilees, or the Little Genesis as it is sometimes called. It was

written in Palestine (c. 109-105 B.C.), probably in Hebrew rather than in Aramaic, by someone who based his knowledge largely on earlier books or traditions.⁹ The author, probably a Pharisee, upholds many of the stricter tenets of the Pharisees regarding the law, and makes a strong appeal for stricter Sabbathkeeping as a special privilege for Israel, but not for the Gentiles. (Bk. Jub. 2:17-33.) He emphasizes the precept that forbids eating of blood (Bk. Jub. 6:7-10), and absolutely forbids mixed marriages (Bk. Jub. 20:4, 5). Despite its strong legalistic tendency, we find a number of passages referring to the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom. The righteous alone shall take part in the kingdom, where Satan will have no access. Thus:

“And the days shall begin to grow many and increase among those children of men till their days grow nigh to one thousand years. . . . And there shall be no old man nor one who is satisfied with days, for all shall be children and youths. And all their days they shall complete and live in peace and joy, and there shall be no Satan nor any evil destroyer; for all their days shall be blessing and healing.” Bk. Jub. 23:27-29.

The life portrayed seems to be more of a spiritual nature, separated from the body, because in verse 31 the author states, “And their bones shall rest in the earth, and their spirits shall have much joy, and they shall know that it is the Lord who executes judgment, and shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all that love Him.”

This idea of the immortality of the souls of the blessed is the earliest attested instance of this expectation in the two centuries before Christ's first advent. And we also find different categories of angels—angels of the winds, of fire, of the waters, and so forth, somewhat similar to those mentioned in the Revelation. Guardian angels for individuals are mentioned for the first time in the Book of Jubilees 35:17, where the assertion is made that the guardian of Jacob was more powerful and honored than the guardian of Esau.

According to the Book of Jubilees 31:18, 19, the Messiah

⁹ Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, pp. 2-7.

will come from Judah, but before the Messianic kingdom appears, great tribulation, war, and pestilence will visit the nation. All will fight against all, but they will turn with special fury against Israel. The earth, it declares, will be devastated to a large extent, but there is no salvation. Then the people will begin to study the law anew, and gradually the glorious kingdom will be established. (Bk. Jub. 23:13-26.)

2. "TWELVE PATRIARCHS" HINTS AT 70 WEEKS, AND PARADISE.—The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (written between 109 and 106 B.C.) contains high ethical teaching and anticipates many New Testament ideas. For a long time the only available manuscripts were in Greek, Armenian, and Slavonic, but through the investigations of different scholars it has become evident that the book was originally written in Hebrew by a Pharisee of the early type. He was an upholder of the law and the sacrifices, but looked for the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection of the body, and a new life therein. There are some later Jewish and certain Christian additions to the work.¹⁰

In the Christian Era the use of the book speedily declined, until it was rediscovered in the West by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (13th century). He first took it to be the genuine writings of the twelve patriarchs, but this was disclaimed by the Reformers. Only in the twentieth century has the book come into its own again.

It contains many statements like the following: "And if any one seeketh to do evil unto you, do well unto him, and pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil." T. Joseph 18:2. Although the writer lived at the same time as the writer of the Book of Jubilees, a completely different spirit appears in this book—a spirit of wide universalism, to such an extent that the best Gentiles are taken as a measuring rod for the Israelites: "And He shall convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles, even as He reproved

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-292.

Esau through the Midianites, who deceived their brethren." T. Benjamin 10:10.

From an eschatological point of view we do not find much. However, there is a hint of the seventy weeks:

"And now I have learnt that for seventy weeks ye shall go astray, and profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices. And ye shall make void the law, and set at nought the words of the prophets by evil perverseness. . . . And your holy places shall be laid waste even to the ground because of him. And ye shall have no place that is clean; but ye shall be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion until He shall again visit you, and in pity shall receive you." T. Levi 16:1-5.

And in T. Levi 17:1 the writer continues, and speaks of a new priesthood: "And whereas ye have heard concerning the seventy weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood." In each jubilee shall be a priest, and in the seventh, pollution of everything holy will reach its apex. Priests will become idolaters, lawless, and lascivious. But after this terrible period we read of the Messiah:

"Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest, and to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed; and he shall execute a righteous judgement upon the earth for a multitude of days." "And there shall none succeed him for all generations for ever. And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth, and enlightened through the grace of the Lord: in his priesthood shall sin come to an end. . . . And he shall open the gates of paradise, and shall remove the threatening sword against Adam. And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life, and the spirit of holiness shall be on them. And Beliar shall be bound by him, and he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits." T. Levi 18:2, 8-14.

The Testament of Dan asserts likewise that there shall arise from the tribe of Levi the salvation of the Lord; and he shall make war against Beliar, and execute an everlasting vengeance on our enemies. And the captivity shall he take from Beliar,¹¹ and turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord, and

¹¹ The concept of Beliar, or Belial, current in Jewish apocalyptic literature as a name of Satan, and then as a last-day tyrant and opposer of all good, later became the source of many traditions concerning the Antichrist in the early Christian period. For a discussion of these extra-Biblical traditions concerning Antichrist which were elaborated upon the foundation of Daniel's references to a hostile, persecuting power, see pages 293-301.

give eternal peace to them that call upon him. And the saints shall rest in Eden, and in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice, and it shall be unto the glory of God forever. No longer shall Jerusalem endure desolation, or Israel be led captive; for the Lord shall be in the midst of it and the Holy One of Israel shall reign over it. (T. Dan 5:10-13.)

Concerning the resurrection, the Testaments teach a general bodily resurrection—at first Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob shall rise, then the twelve patriarchs, and finally all men, either to glory or to shame. (T. Benjamin 10:6-8.)

3. "ASSUMPTION" PREDICTS TIME OF MESSIAH.—Another little book, the Assumption of Moses, is especially interesting, as it was evidently written during the time of the early life of our Lord, or possibly contemporaneously with His public ministry. Its date is between A.D. 7 and 29. It was written in Hebrew, but was soon translated into Greek and later into Latin—a large fragment of the latter translation being discovered by Ceriani in a sixth-century manuscript in Milan.¹²

This author looks forward to the return of the ten tribes and the establishment of a theocratic kingdom. It will come, however, not by the force of arms but by the intervention of God. This book contains an interesting time prediction. Moses is supposed to state, "For from my death [assumption] until His advent there shall be CCL times." Asmp. M. 10:12. Two hundred and fifty times, here evidently, says Charles, meaning year-weeks,¹³ would make 1,750 years till the Messianic kingdom. Strange to record, this book describes the establishment of the kingdom without a Messiah, but by God Himself.

"And then His kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation, and then Satan shall be no more, and sorrow shall depart with him. And the hands of the angel shall be filled who has been appointed chief, and he shall forthwith avenge them of their enemies. . . . And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall it be shaken: and the high mountains shall be made low and the hills shall be shaken and fall. And the horns of the

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 407 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 423, chap. 10, note 12.

sun shall be broken and he shall be turned into darkness; and the moon shall not give her light, and be turned wholly into blood. And the circle of the stars shall be disturbed. . . . For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone, and He will appear to punish the Gentiles, and He will destroy all their idols. Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy." Verses 1-8.

IV. "Slavonic Enoch"—7,000-Year Theory and Immortality

The Secrets of Enoch, also called the Slavonic Enoch, or sometimes 2 Enoch, exists, so far as we know, only in a Slavonic version. It is not a translation of the Ethiopic Enoch, but is a different pseudepigraph, although the subject is treated similarly. In both, Enoch is led through the heavens to learn the secrets of the universe in order to instruct his children and to teach them the fear of the Lord. The final editor of this little work was a Hellenistic Jew who lived in Egypt. The date can be confined to the beginning of the Christian Era, probably between A.D. 1 and 50.

I. SIX THOUSAND YEARS FOLLOWED BY MILLENNIUM.—The most remarkable feature of this book, in respect to our quest, is that we find here, for the first time in Jewish literature, the equation that one day of creation corresponds to one thousand years of the world's history—a theory which has played an important role in both ancient and modern chiliasm, and which, consciously or subconsciously, has been accepted by many exegetes who attempted to compute the time to the end of the world. It is certainly true that older documents, especially of Persian origin, mention one-thousand-year periods,¹⁴ but they are not connected with the creation week. This link was first formed by the writer of the Slavonic Enoch. There we find the following statements:

"And I blessed the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, on which he [Adam] rested from his works. And I appointed the eighth day also, that the eighth day should be the first-created after my work, and that *the first seven* revolve in the form of the seventh thousand, and that at the beginning of the eighth thousand there should be a time of not-counting,

¹⁴ See page 304.

endless, with neither years, nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours." Slav. Enoch 32:2; 33:1, 2.

Therewith the stage was set for speculation of a world-week of seven thousand years—six thousand years of labor and toil from creation to the judgment, followed by a millennium of rest and blessedness before the gates of eternity will open. We find Irenaeus taking up this subject later, as will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.¹⁵

2. ETERNAL MANSIONS FOR IMMORTAL SOULS.—In the question of individual life the Slavonic Enoch teaches that all souls are prepared from eternity before they take up their abode in a materialistic, earthly form (Slav. Enoch 23:4, 5), and that places are prepared for them for all eternity before the formation of the world. "Many mansions [are] prepared for men, good for the good, and bad for the bad, without number many. Blessed are those who enter the good houses, for in the bad (*sc.* houses) there is no peace nor return (*sc.* from them)." Slav. Enoch 61:2, 3. Paradise is in the third heaven, placed between corruptibility and incorruptibility. In the midst of it stands the tree of life, and two springs come out which send forth milk and honey, and from them go forth oil and wine. (Slav. Enoch 8:2-6.)

3. TORTURED IN HELL FOREVER.—The graphic description continues: At the northern end of the third heaven is hell, a place of cruel darkness, lighted only by sheets of flame of murky fire. Everywhere is fire, and everywhere is frost. Cruel and merciless angels apply fearful tortures to those who are condemned to live therein forever, because of their sins against God. (Slav. Enoch 10:1 ff.) The picture of the guardians of hell is so dramatic that it is worth while to quote:

"I saw the guardian of the keys of hell standing over against the gates like great serpents, their faces like lamps that are gone out, their eyes like darkened flames, and their teeth naked down to their breasts." Slav. Enoch 42:1, incomplete version, col. B.

¹⁵ See pages 242-252.

4. VIBRANT INTER-TESTAMENT PERIOD.—Through these documents, which have come down to us, and many of which have been rediscovered less than a century ago, we now see that this period between Malachi and the New Testament writers was by no means bleak and barren, but was a period vibrant with intellectual and spiritual activity. We also begin to understand that the New Testament does not start in a spiritual vacuum. The minds of men were filled with conflicting ideas of truth and error, and apprehensions of things to come, which inevitably influenced their understanding of the teachings of Christ and the apostles. Especially in eschatology various ideas were already current; some of these were in harmony with Old Testament truth, and God saw fit to incorporate them into the New Testament revelation, whereas others were disapproved of and combated by Christ. Nevertheless, some of these incipient errors persisted and later developed into full-blown apostasy.

Later we will turn to other representatives of Jewish apocalyptic writings in the Christian Era, but they must wait for another chapter which will discuss the relation between the Jewish apocalyptic writings and Christian chiliasm.¹⁶ For the present, having surveyed representatives of extra-Biblical Jewish apocalypticism preceding the New Testament period, we now turn to Josephus to pick up the thread of the prophetic interpretation of the outline prophecies of Daniel.

V. Josephus Rehearses Prophetic Interpretation Principles

Josephus, noted Jewish priest and historian, was contemporary with the latter period of the apostles.¹⁷ His writings, reiterating the standard Jewish interpretation of the four empires

¹⁶ See chapter 13.

¹⁷ FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS (c. 37-c. 100), celebrated Jewish historian, of illustrious priestly descent, was an enthusiastic admirer of Rome and its institutions. At the outbreak of the Judeo-Roman war he was entrusted by the Sanhedrin with the governorship of Galilee, and as such had part in the unsuccessful war against the empire. Invited to Rome by Vespasian, where he remained with Vespasian and Titus, he lived in the sunshine of their favor, adopting the name of Flavius after that of the imperial family. While in Rome he wrote his *Wars of the Jews* (c. A.D. 75) and *Antiquities of the Jews* (c. 93). These works comprise perhaps the most comprehensive source of Jewish history for the time.

of prophecy, the Persian ram and the Grecian he-goat, and the year-times of Nebuchadnezzar's derangement, were contemporary with the apostles, but probably before the writing of the Apocalypse by John. His writings may therefore be regarded as a link binding Hebrew and Christian interpretation in that transition hour from the Jewish to the Christian church. Concerning the standing of the prophecy of Daniel, and Jewish relationship to it, Josephus says:

"His [Daniel's] memory lives on eternally. For the books which he wrote and left behind are still read by us even now, and we are convinced by them that Daniel spoke with God, for he was not only wont to prophesy future things, as did the other prophets, but he also fixed the time at which these would come to pass."¹⁸

1. THE FOUR EMPIRES OF DANIEL 2.—After rehearsing Daniel's account of the metallic image of chapter 2, Josephus gives this remarkably clear exposition in paraphrase:

"The head of gold represents you [Nebuchadnezzar] and the Babylonian kings who were before you. The two hands and shoulders signify that your empire will be brought to an end by two kings. But their empire will be destroyed by another king from the west, clad in bronze, and this power will be ended by still another, like iron, that will have dominion for ever through its iron nature,' which, he said, is harder than that of gold or silver or bronze."¹⁹

Note further Josephus' handling of this symbolism. He elsewhere specifies the "two kings" who were to overthrow the Babylonian Empire as "Cyrus, king of Persia, and Darius, king of Media."²⁰ Although he does not name the power from the west which overthrew the Medo-Persian Empire, it is clear that, as the Loeb translator here remarks, "Josephus' addition 'from the west' indicates that, like the rabbis, he identified the third kingdom with the empire of Alexander."²¹ He is still less explicit on the iron kingdom, but the fact that it is stronger than the

¹⁸ Josephus, *Antiquities*, book 10, chap. 11, sec. 7, in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 6, pp. 305, 307.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 10, sec. 4, pp. 273, 275.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 11, sec. 2, p. 287.

²¹ Ralph Marcus, translator's footnote to *Antiquities*, book 10, chap. 10, sec. 4, p. 273, note i. On the appropriateness of the symbolism of brass, or bronze, see page 42 of the present volume.

three preceding, and is said to end the third empire, points directly to Rome. Josephus' very reticence on the iron kingdom, and the stone, implies that he is treading on ground where he wishes to avoid offense. The translator's footnotes continue:

"Josephus has omitted the scriptural detail about the division of the fourth kingdom and its composition of iron and clay, probably because, like the rabbis, he identified it with Rome and did not wish to offend Roman readers."²²

In Josephus' day not only had the Jews been accustomed to seeing the Romans named in the Septuagint version of Daniel, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, but they had seen Rome's strength grow until it far surpassed the Macedonian power. To them it must have been an inescapable identification. Next they looked for the Messianic kingdom; indeed, the first century of our era witnessed a peak in Messianic expectation.

2. THE FUTURE STONE KINGDOM.—Josephus was writing to justify Judaism to the Romans, who were ruling the world and brooked no rivals. A prediction of the overthrow of Rome would therefore have ruined the book. The translator notes this reason for reticence about the stone kingdom:

"Josephus' evasiveness about the meaning of the stone which destroyed the kingdom of iron (vs. 44 f.) is due to the fact that the Jewish interpretation of it current in his day took it as a symbol of the Messiah or Messianic kingdom which would make an end of the Roman empire."²³

Note Josephus' significantly reticent statement:

"And Daniel also revealed to the king the meaning of the stone, but I have not thought it proper to relate this, since I am expected to write of what is past and done and not of what is to be; if, however, there is anyone who has so keen a desire for exact information that he will not stop short of inquiring more closely but wishes to learn about the hidden things that are to come, let him take the trouble to read the Book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings."²⁴

3. INTERPRETS "SEVEN TIMES" AS YEARS.—Josephus' next contribution to interpretation is his discussion of the "seven

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 275, note a.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 275, note c.

²⁴ Josephus, *Antiquities*, book 10, chap. 10, sec. 4, in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 6, p. 275.

times." In rehearsing the history of Nebuchadnezzar's abasement, recorded in Daniel 4, Josephus followed the LXX rendering of "seven years" for the "seven times":

"A little while afterward the king again had another vision in his sleep, which was that he would fall from power and make his home with beasts and, after living in this way in the wilderness for seven years, would again recover his royal power."²⁵

"Daniel alone interpreted it, and as he foretold to him so it came to pass. For the king spent the forementioned period of time in the wilderness, none venturing to seize the government during these seven years, and, after praying to God that he might recover his kingdom, he was again restored to it. But let no one reproach me for recording in my work each of these events as I have found them in the ancient books."²⁶

Whiston, the classic translator of Josephus, adds this cogent footnote concerning the years for "times," the prophetic character of parallel expressions, and the extension of the seventy weeks into the time of the Romans:

"Since Josephus here explains the seven prophetic times which were to pass over Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iv, 16) to be seven years, we thence learn how he most probably must have understood those other parallel phrases, of 'a time, times, and a half' (Antiq. b. vii, ch. xxv) of so many prophetic years also, though he withal lets us know, by his hint at the interpretation of the seventy weeks, as belonging to the fourth monarchy, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the days of Josephus (ch. ii, sec. 7), that he did not think those years to be bare years, but rather days for years; by which reckoning, and by which alone, could seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety days, reach to the age of Josephus."²⁷

4. PERSIAN RAM, GRECIAN GOAT, AND FIRST KING.—After several chapters of Babylonian history, Josephus tells of the handwriting on the wall and gives Daniel's familiar interpretation.²⁸ Then he rehearses the vision which portrays the next stage after the historical transition to Persia—that of the Persian ram and the Grecian he-goat, and the Grecian great horn, or "first king," thus:

²⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. 6, p. 277.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

²⁷ William Whiston, translator's footnote to *Antiquities*, book 10, chap. 10, sec. 6, in *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, p. 284.

²⁸ Josephus, *Antiquities*, book 10, chap. 11, secs. 2, 3, in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 6, pp. 287, 289, 291, 293, 295.

“The ram, he declares, signified the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, and the horns those who were to reign, the last horn signifying the last king, for this king would surpass all the others in wealth and glory. The goat, he said, indicated that there would be a certain king of the Greeks who would encounter the Persian king twice in battle and defeat him and take over all his empire. The great horn in the forehead of the goat indicated the first king, and the growing out of the four horns after the first horn fell out, and their facing each of the four quarters of the earth denoted the successors of the first king after his death, and the division of the kingdom among them and that these, who were neither his sons nor his relatives, would rule the world for many years.”²⁹

5. LITTLE HORN OF DANIEL 8 BELIEVED TO BE ANTIOCHUS.—The oppressive Little Horn of Daniel 8, who was to “make war on the Jewish nation, . . . spoil the temple and prevent the sacrifices from being offered” for three years, Josephus considered to be Antiochus Epiphanes.³⁰

6. ROME NAMED AS FULFILLING PROPHECY.—But Josephus goes beyond the Septuagint and now mentions Rome, following the time of Antiochus, as the power which was to desolate the land of Judea, just as Jaddua before him is said to have acknowledged Alexander’s as the *third* world power of prophecy. It is significant that, writing a few years after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, Josephus points to that as a fulfillment of prophecy.

“In the same manner Daniel also wrote about the empire of the Romans and that Jerusalem would be taken by them and the temple laid waste. All these things, as God revealed them to him, he left behind in his writings, so that those who read them and observe how they have come to pass must wonder at Daniel’s having been so honoured by God.”³¹

7. WOES UPON JERUSALEM PREDICTED.—The destruction of Jerusalem and the woes upon the Jews were believed by Josephus to have been indicated by the prophets, for he declares:

“Who knows not the records of the ancient prophets and that oracle which threatens this poor city and is even now coming true? For they foretold that it would then be taken whensoever one should begin to slaughter his own countrymen. And is not the city, aye and the whole

²⁹ *Ibid.*, sec. 7, pp. 309, 311.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 311.

³¹ *Ibid.*

temple, filled with your corpses? God it is then, God Himself, who with the Romans is bringing the fire to purge His temple and exterminating a city so laden with pollutions.'"³²

And Josephus closes his acknowledgment of prophecy's pivotal place in these words:

"It therefore seems to me, in view of the things foretold by Daniel, that they are very far from holding a true opinion who declare that God takes no thought for human affairs. For if it were the case that the world goes on by some automatism, we should not have seen all these things happen in accordance with his prophecy."³³

Josephus' comment on the cessation of the "continual sacrifice," under Titus, should be noted in passing:

"Titus now ordered the troops that were with him to raze the foundations of Antonia and to prepare an easy ascent for the whole army. Then, having learnt that on that day—it was the seventeenth of Panemus—the so-called continual sacrifice had for lack of men ceased to be offered to God and that the people were in consequence terribly despondent, he put Josephus forward with instructions to repeat to John the same message as before, namely 'that if he was obsessed by a criminal passion for battle, he was at liberty to come out with as many as he chose and fight, without involving the city and the sanctuary in his own ruin; but that he should no longer pollute the Holy Place nor sin against God.'"³⁴

VI. Rabbis Expect Messiah's Kingdom Following Rome

The rabbis of Josephus' time believed that Rome was the power which was to be superseded by the Messiah's kingdom. They derived this from the book of Daniel, and also from the popular tradition of the sixth millennium of the world, as the kingdom of God, with the Messiah appearing in the fifth millennium. This expectation increased from the second quarter of the first century, and especially after the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70, and on into the second century. There was "a widespread tradition" that "Rome was the fourth and last empire that subdued Palestine," that "salvation would come upon

³² Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, book 6, chap. 2, sec. 1, in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 3, p. 407.

³³ Josephus, *Antiquities*, book 10, chap. 11, sec. 7, in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 6, p. 313.

³⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, book 6, chap. 2, sec. 1, in Loeb Classical Library, *Josephus*, vol. 3, p. 403.

the fall of Rome," and "that the Messianic era would be ushered in at the beginning of the fifth chiliad or during that period."³⁵ Two first-century rabbis are mentioned in the treatment of later Jewish interpretation in Volume II, chapter 8.

VII. Summary of Pre-New-Testament Jewish Exposition of Prophecy

From the foregoing evidence—limited but sufficient—we may sum up the essential Jewish code of interpretation (including Josephus) under these points:

1. OUTLINE PROPHECIES:

- (1) The four "kings" of Daniel's prophecy are kingdoms.
- (2) The four world empires identified are Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome.
- (3) The stone which succeeds the four empires is the Messianic kingdom.
- (4) The ram and he-goat refer to the Medo-Persian and Macedonian empires.
- (5) The he-goat's great horn denotes Alexander the Great.
- (6) The great horn is replaced by the four secondary horns, the divisions of Alexander's empire among his successors; and the Little Horn emerging from one of them is Antiochus.
- (7) Rome is the predicted power that would desolate Jerusalem and the temple.
- (8) A "time" in Daniel stands for a year.
- (9) The seventy weeks involve the thought of periods "of years." Thus the application of the year-day principle is begun.

These obviously are basic positions. We may therefore properly conclude that the Jewish interpretation of the four metals as the four successive empires of prophecy, and the year-day principle, formed the groundwork of that system of interpretation upon which the apostles and succeeding Christian writers of the early centuries built their amplified exposition

³⁵ Joseph Sarachek, *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature*, pp. 11, 13; see also Abba Hillel Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel*, pp. 5, 6, 21-23.

of Daniel,³⁰ and of the complementary prophecies of Paul and John.

2. ESCHATOLOGY COLORED BY EXTRA-BIBLICAL WRITINGS.

—But it is likewise established that—

(1) They expected the Messianic kingdom to be established on earth, thus blending ethical and carnal concepts.

(2) They believed in a literal resurrection at the last day, but also in innate immortality of the soul, with a conscious, intermediate state, and the conscious torment of the wicked.

(3) They believed in a six-thousand-year duration of the earth, with Messiah's advent in the fifth millennium—a sort of prototype of the Christian millennial expectation to come.

³⁰ Jewish interpretation of Daniel's prophecies, continued throughout the Christian Era from Johanan ben Zakkai in the first century on to Manasseh ben Israel in the seventeenth, is later discussed in Volume II, chapters 8-10.

Second-Century Witness of Apostolic Fathers

I. Background and Setting of Their Writings

Attention is now directed to the fragmentary writings of that small group of little-known men called the Apostolic Fathers. These were the Christian leaders living immediately after the last of the apostles, in the sub-apostolic age. Some of their writings, known to antiquity, have been lost. Others have been preserved in whole or in part, though often in tampered form. And while the precise authorship of certain of these existent treatises is not known, and the exact time of their writing cannot be ascertained, they nevertheless reflect with some fidelity the current beliefs of the time, and voice the teachings of that hazy period.¹

The situation in the Christian church, immediately following the apostles, did not require an extensive literature of its own. Men were expecting important changes in the world. The authoritative teaching of the apostles was, of course, still fresh in memory, and the struggle between Christianity and paganism had not yet assumed any large proportions. It was the twilight period, before the literature of the early church philosophers had developed. Their first writings were not so much history, expositions, or apologies, as simply letters.² They form

¹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 12, 634.

² Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 20.

but the connecting link between the writings of the apostles and those of the Ante-Nicene fathers.

This period of the Apostolic Fathers occupied, in general, the first half of the second century of the Christian Era, reaching from the time of the apostles on to the days of Justin Martyr. It embraced the decades following the scattering of the apostles to the Gentile provinces. It was the time of accelerating speed in extending the gospel and in gaining converts,³ as the early Christian churches went forth ardently to extend the faith. It embraced roughly the period of the early martyrs under the inhuman cruelties of the Roman persecutions from Domitian onward. This formed the background against which the Apostolic Fathers, and the succeeding Ante-Nicene church fathers, wrote. Those rugged days were marked by heroic deeds rather than by eloquent words, by tragic suffering rather than by extensive writing. But the records left, though meager, are revealing, and represent the earliest evidence to the conquering march of the gospel.

These second-century writings are in sharp contrast to the inspired Scriptures of the apostles. These successors were already definitely influenced by the sophistries of the day, which had introduced such legends as that of the phoenix,⁴ and other fables. The views of some were tinged with Jewish concepts; others were marred by gross extravagances. The very inferiority of these writings enables us to attach a higher value to the superiority of the canonical writings of the apostles, for these fragmentary works were but the "lingering echoes," in distorted form, of those vital messages before them, written under inspiration.

Under the emperors of this period, Rome was approaching the height of its external grandeur and might in its climb to

³ See Eusebius, *Church History*, book 2, chap. 3, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 107; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue With Trypho*, chap. 17, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 203; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, book 1, chap. 3, in *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 319, 320; Tertullian, *Apology*, chap. 37, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 43; Origen, *Against Celsus*, book 1, chap. 37, and book 3, chap. 24, in *ANF*, vol. 4, pp. 412, 473.

⁴ Phoenix: A sacred bird in Egyptian mythology, fabled to live for five hundred years or longer in Arabia. At the expiration of that time it made itself a nest of twigs on which it died by burning itself alive. From the ashes rose another phoenix, young and beautiful; hence, the phoenix became a symbol of immortality and of the resurrection.

world supremacy. And the early church was steadily expanding while the Roman dominion was attaining its widest range and loftiest authority. The Pax Romana opened the way for easy access to all quarters of the Roman world. And this pagan Roman Empire was, for the first few centuries of our era, the civil sphere in which the early church lived and moved and had her being.

By the very nature of its precepts and principles, Christianity was destined to find opposition and persecution leveled against it, and to feel the full weight of paganism's power. The concept of the kingly Christ and the stern morality of Christian purity were both obnoxious to the pagan. The rising sun of Christianity did not banish the lingering shadows of pagan idolatry and superstition. An irrepressible conflict was bound to continue until, in the next two centuries, paganism was conquered, except in the remote corners of the empire.

These writings of the Apostolic Fathers are of lesser value and validity, in part, because they are less accurately transmitted to us. But they are, nevertheless, the necessary transition between the apostles of the first century and the less fragmentary, and more authentic writings of the Ante-Nicene church fathers which followed. So we will now take a brief look at their understanding of the prophecies and the advent before we go on to the clear, authenticated writings of the next period.⁵

The early church was distinctly premillennialist in her cherished expectations of Christ's second advent. His coming and kingdom were her constant hope. The Apostolic Fathers anticipated a future kingdom in connection with the Redeemer's advent. They built upon, and generally harmonized with, those basic principles of prophetic interpretation enunciated by Christ and the apostles, which in turn were the continuation

⁵ The words *valid* and *authentic* are used here in reference to the *text* of these writings, not to their doctrinal soundness. Although it is true that, on the whole, the church following the apostolic age retained the early prophetic interpretation to a considerable degree down to the end of the era of pagan persecution—and even to Jerome—there were definite divergences, and many of the fathers departed more from the apostolic viewpoint in other respects than on prophetic interpretation. The writings of the fathers reveal the early inroads of unscriptural doctrines and practices into the church. Protestants do not cite the church fathers to authenticate doctrines, prophetic or otherwise, but only to trace their development.

of the antecedent Jewish principles of interpretation. Let us now note their testimony.

II. The Testimony of the Epistles of Clement

Clement of Rome⁶ is shrouded in ambiguity, but apparently he was the bishop, or "overseer," of the church at Rome. And in this transitional period that church held an important but not an overshadowing place. Two epistles are extant under Clement's name, though only the first is generally accounted genuine.⁷ The Epistle of Clement was believed to have been penned in the Domitianic period, and so probably about A.D. 95, says Westcott. It was highly esteemed by the early church,⁸ and was evidently written from Rome to the church at Corinth.⁹ A brief excerpt will reveal the advent expectancy marking this treatise. The advent hope is central.

"Of a truth, soon and suddenly shall His will be accomplished, as the Scripture also bears witness, saying, 'Speedily will He come, and will not tarry;' and, 'The Lord shall suddenly come to His temple, even the Holy One, for whom ye look.'"¹⁰

In the dubious Second Epistle the advent note echoes:

"Let us then wait for the kingdom of God, from hour to hour, in love and righteousness, seeing that we know not the day of the appearing of God."¹¹

III. The Witness of the Epistles of Ignatius

The epistles of Ignatius of Antioch are among the best-known documents of the primitive church.¹² The author was

⁶ The Apostolic Fathers are generally collected in one volume. Numerous English translations are acceptable. Reference will be made to several collections entitled *The Apostolic Fathers*, translated by Lightfoot; Kirsopp Lake in the Loeb Classical Library; that in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers (ANF)*; and most recent, that of Glimm, Marique, and Walsh in *The Fathers of the Church* series (1947), a new Roman Catholic translation.

⁷ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.

⁸ See Eusebius, *Church History*, book 3, chap. 16, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 147.

⁹ *Ibid.*, cf. Francis X. Glimm, translator's introduction to *The Letter of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians*, in *The Apostolic Fathers* (trans. by Glimm, Marique, and Walsh), pp. 3, 4.

¹⁰ *The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*, chap. 23, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 11; cf. Kirsopp Lake's translation in the Loeb Classical Library, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 51; also Glimm's translation, chap. 23, p. 29.

¹¹ *The Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*, chap. 12 (Lake's translation), vol. 1, p. 147; cf. Glimm's translation, p. 72.

¹² See Eusebius, *Church History*, book 3, chap. 36, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 166, 169.

probably a martyr during the reign of Trajan (98-117), dying about A.D. 107, when, as tradition insists, he was thrown to the wild beasts in the Roman amphitheater. He is alluded to by Polycarp and Irenaeus.¹³ Ignatius was conscious of an approaching crisis in the church.¹⁴

"The last times are come upon us. Let us therefore be of a reverent spirit, and fear the long-suffering of God, that it tend not to our condemnation."¹⁵

"Weigh carefully the times. Look for Him who is above all time, eternal and invisible, yet who became visible for our sakes."¹⁶

"Let not those who seem worthy of credit, but teach strange doctrines, fill thee with apprehension. Stand firm, as does an anvil which is beaten. It is the part of a noble athlete to be wounded, and yet to conquer. And especially we ought to bear all things for the sake of God, that He also may bear with us, and bring us into His kingdom. Add more and more to thy diligence; run thy race with increasing energy; weigh carefully the times. Whilst thou art here, be a conqueror; for here is the course, and there are the crowns. Look for Christ, the Son of God; who was before time, yet appeared in time; who was invisible by nature, yet visible in the flesh."¹⁷

The reason for Ignatius' thirst for martyrdom was the resurrection hope:

"Yet if I shall suffer, then am I a freed-man of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise free in Him."¹⁸

IV. The Testimony of the Epistle of Barnabas

Almost no scholars now believe that the author of this *Epistle of Barnabas*¹⁹ was the apostle Barnabas, illustrious companion of Paul. Possibly it was a Jewish Christian bearing the same name, who had probably studied Philo, and who handled the Old Testament in an allegorical way in support of Christianity. It has been called Alexandrian in style, and was written

¹³ Gerald G. Walsh, Introduction to the *Letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch*, in *The Apostolic Fathers* (tr. by Glimmi, etc.), pp. 84, 85.

¹⁴ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-32.

¹⁵ *The Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians*, chap. 11, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 54, shorter recension (cf. Walsh's translation, pp. 91, 92).

¹⁶ *The Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp*, chap. 3, shorter recension, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 94.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, the longer recension.

¹⁸ Ignatius, *To the Romans*, in *The Apostolic Fathers* (Lightfoot-Harmer ed.), p. 151; cf. Walsh's translation, p. 110.

¹⁹ The Lightfoot text, quoted here, is based on the Sinaitic and Constantinopolitan manuscripts, a series of nine Greek manuscripts, a Latin version, and excerpts in Clement of Alexandria.

in Greek, and the possible limits of writing have been placed all the way from A.D. 70 to 150,²⁰ with the preponderance of opinion favoring the later date, or its proximity. It obviously could not be at the earlier date.

A few extracts will set forth the sketchy testimony of this document. First, as to prophecy in general:

"For the Lord made known to us by His prophets things ~~past~~ and present, giving us likewise the firstfruits of the taste of things future. And seeing each of these things severally coming to pass, according as He spake, we ought to offer a richer and higher offering to the fear of Him. But I, not as though I were a teacher, but as one of yourselves, will show forth a few things, whereby ye shall be gladdened in the present circumstances."²¹

Second, Barnabas' reference to the ten kingdoms and the Little Horn in connection with the "present time" seems to indicate his understanding of the fourth beast as the then-existing Roman Empire, and his recognition of the ten kingdoms to be carved out of Rome, as the next step in the prophetic outline, to be followed by the uprooting of the three kings by the "little king." His readers are admonished:

"It behoves us therefore to investigate deeply concerning the present, and to search out the things which have power to save us. Let us therefore flee altogether from all the works of lawlessness, lest the works of lawlessness overpower us; and let us loathe the error of the present time, that we may be loved for that which is to come. . . . The last offence is at hand, concerning which the scripture speaketh, as Enoch saith. For to this end the Master hath cut the seasons and the days short, that His beloved might hasten and come to His inheritance. And the prophet also speaketh on this wise; *Ten reigns shall reign upon the earth, and after them shall arise a little king, who shall bring low three of the kings under one.* In like manner Daniel speaketh concerning the same; *And I saw the fourth beast to be wicked and strong and more intractable than all the beasts of the earth, and how there arose from him ten horns, and from these a little horn, an excrescence, and how that it abased under one three of the great horns.* Ye ought therefore to understand."²²

²⁰ There has been much speculation over the date. Bishop Lightfoot inclined to an early date. But George A. Jackson, in *The Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists of the Second Century*, page 83, holds that it was composed in "the first quarter of the [second] century, from A.D. 119 to 126," and in his chronological table he puts it about the year 125. Dates of other scholars center on the third decade of the second century. (See introductions to Barnabas, in the Lightfoot-Harmer ed., pp. 239-242; in *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 133-135; and in Glimm's translation, pp. 187-189.)

²¹ *The Epistle of Barnabas*, chap. 1 (Lightfoot-Harmer), p. 269.

²² *Ibid.*, chap. 4, p. 271 (cf. Glimm's translation, pp. 194, 195).

Third, he alludes to the coming "Black One," to lawlessness, and to keeping the commandments of God:

"Wherefore let us take heed in these last days. For the whole time of our faith shall profit us nothing, unless we now, in the season of lawlessness and in the offences that shall be, as becometh sons of God, offer resistance, that the Black One may not effect an entrance. Let us flee from all vanity, let us entirely hate the works of the evil way. . . . Let us become spiritual, let us become a temple perfect unto God. As far as in us lies, let us exercise ourselves in the fear of God, [and] let us strive to keep His commandments, that we may rejoice in His ordinances."²³

Fourth, he refers to the destruction of that "Lawless One" at the end, or second coming of the Son, and judgment, at the close of the six thousand years—the latter, a carry-over of Jewish expectation:

"Of the sabbath He speaketh in the beginning of the creation; *And God made the works of His hands in six days, and He ended on the seventh day, and rested on it, and He hallowed it.* Give heed, children, what this meaneth; *He ended in six days.* He meaneth this, that in six thousand years the Lord shall bring all things to an end; for the day with Him signifieth a thousand years; and this He himself beareth me witness, saying; *Behold, the day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years.* Therefore, children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, everything shall come to an end. *And He rested on the seventh day.* This He meaneth; when His Son shall come, and shall abolish the time of the Lawless One, and shall judge the ungodly, and shall change the sun and the moon and the stars. then shall He truly rest on the seventh day."²⁴

And fifth, after declaring (in chapter 20) that "the way of the Black One is crooked and full of a curse, for it is a way of eternal death with punishment," the writer of the epistle makes mention of the kingdom of God, the resurrection, and the imminent day of the Lord:

"For he that doeth these things shall be glorified in the kingdom of God; whereas he that chooseth their opposites shall perish together with his works. For this cause is the resurrection, for this the recompense. I entreat those of you who are in higher station, if ye will receive any counsel of good advice from me, keep amongst you those to whom ye may do good. Fail not. The day is at hand, in which everything shall be destroyed together with the Evil One. *The Lord is at hand and His reward.*"²⁵

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 272 (cf. Glimm's translation, pp. 195, 196).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 15, pp. 283, 284 (cf. Glimm's translation, pp. 215, 216).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 21, p. 287.

V. Testimony of the Shepherd of Hermas

The Shepherd of Hermas was a collection of so-called visions, commandments, and parables, originally written in Greek during the rise of Montanism. It is first mentioned in the Muratorian Fragment (c. A.D. 170). At Jerusalem, Christian doctrine was being grafted onto the Jewish ritual, while at Rome, a legalizing spirit was busy building a substitute for the Mosaic system. Hermas was concerned over the outward rites of the church, and insisted on the necessity of works—though the lawgiver now was Christ. His treatise consists of a system of Christian ethics based on ecclesiastical concepts. It enjoins fasting, voluntary poverty, meritorious works, and the sin-aton-ing virtue of martyrdom. It contained no direct quotations from either Old or New Testament, though there are frequent allusions to and paraphrases of New Testament language.²⁸

The Shepherd of Hermas was one of the most popular treatises in the Christian church of the second and third centuries, obviously written in Rome by a layman. It is quoted by Irenaeus in Gaul, Tertullian in North Africa, and Origen in Alexandria, and mentioned three times by Clement. By some of the early writers it was regarded almost as inspired. It was written in Greek, and the text from which the English translations are made is based on extant Greek manuscripts, and also Latin and Ethiopic versions. The date is uncertain, but, according to Lightfoot, the work was in general circulation about the middle of the second century. There are several citations from the Apocalypse but the whole work follows the apocalyptic form, teaching by precept and allegory. It occupied a position analogous to that of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, or Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The introduction to one edition says among other things:

"The Shepherd of Hermas is in form an apocalypse. It consists of a series of revelations made to Hermas by the Church, who appears in the form of a woman, first old, and afterwards younger; by the shepherd, or

²⁸ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-199; see also M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 204, art. "Hermas."

angel of repentance; and by the great angel, who is in charge of Christians. Each revelation is accompanied by an explanation.”²⁷

Five quotations must suffice. First, this allusion to the coming tribulation:

“Blessed are ye, as many as endure patiently the great tribulation that cometh, and as many as shall not deny their life. For the Lord sware concerning His Son, that those who denied their Lord should be rejected from their life, even they that are now about to deny Him in the coming days.”²⁸

Next, the coming removal of the heavens and the earth in fulfillment of the promise to the elect:

“He removeth the heavens and the mountains and the hills and the seas, and all things are made level for His elect, that He may fulfil to them the promise which He promised with great glory and rejoicing, if so be that they shall keep the ordinances of God, which they received, with great faith.”²⁹

Then the growth and perfection of the church are likened to the building of a tower, with stones of character. We read: “Whensoever therefore the tower shall be finished building, the end cometh.”³⁰

Fourth, the impending persecution by the great prophetic “beast” is portrayed, with the church represented as a “woman”:

“The fourth vision which I saw, brethren, twenty days after the former vision which came unto me, for a type of the impending tribulation. I was going into the country by the Campanian Way. . . . And I went on a little, brethren, and behold, I see a cloud of dust rising as it were to heaven, and I began to say within myself, ‘Can it be that cattle are coming, and raising a cloud of dust?’ for it was about a stade [*stadium*, a Greek measure of distance current in the East from the time of Alexander the Great—about a furlong] from me. As the cloud of dust waxed greater and greater I suspected that it was something supernatural. Then the sun shone out a little, and behold, I see a huge beast like some sea-monster, and from its mouth fiery locusts issued forth. And the beast was about a hundred feet in length, and its head was as it were of pottery. And I began to weep, and to entreat the Lord that He would rescue me from it. And

²⁷ Introduction to *The Shepherd of Hermas*, in the Lake translation, vol. 2, p. 2; cf. Joseph M.-F. Marique, Introduction to *The Shepherd of Hermas*, in *The Apostolic Fathers* (translated by Glimm, etc.), pp. 225-232.

²⁸ *The Shepherd of Hermas*, Vision 2, chap. 2 (Lightfoot-Harmer), pp. 408, 409 (cf. Marique’s translation, p. 238).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vision 1, chap. 3, p. 407 (cf. Marique’s translation, p. 236).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Vision 3, chap. 8, p. 416.

I remembered the word which I had heard, 'Be not of doubtful mind, Hermas.' Having therefore, brethren, put on the faith of the Lord and called to mind the mighty works that He had taught me, I took courage and gave myself up to the beast. Now the beast was coming on with such a rush, that it might have ruined a city. . . .

"Now after I had passed the beast, and had gone forward about thirty feet, behold, there meeteth me a virgin arrayed as if she were going forth from a bride-chamber, all in white and with white sandals, veiled up to her forehead, and her head-covering consisted of a turban, and her hair was white. I knew from the former visions that it was the Church, and I became more cheerful. She saluteth me, saying, 'Good morrow, my good man'; and I saluted her in turn, 'Lady, good morrow.' She answered and said unto me, 'Did nothing meet thee?' I say unto her, 'Lady, such a huge beast, that could have destroyed whole peoples: but, by the power of the Lord and by His great mercy, I escaped it.' 'Thou didst escape it well,' saith she, 'because thou didst cast thy care upon God, and didst open thy heart to the Lord, believing that thou canst be saved by nothing else but by His great and glorious Name. Therefore the Lord sent His angel, which is over the beasts, whose name is Segri, and *shut its mouth, that it might not hurt thee*. Thou hast escaped a great tribulation by reason of thy faith, and because, though thou sawest so huge a beast, thou didst not doubt in thy mind. Go therefore, and declare to the elect of the Lord His mighty works, and tell them that this beast is a type of the great tribulation which is to come. If therefore ye prepare yourselves beforehand, and repent (and turn) unto the Lord with your whole heart, ye shall be able to escape it, if your heart be made pure and without blemish, and if for the remaining days of your life ye serve the Lord blamelessly.'" ³¹

Finally, the coming world for the righteous is pictured:

"For this life is a winter to the righteous, and they do not manifest themselves, because they dwell with sinners: for as in winter trees that have cast their leaves are alike, and it is not seen which are dead and which are living, so in this world neither do the righteous show themselves, nor sinners, but all are alike one to another.' . . .

"'Those,' he [the Shepherd] said, 'which are budding are the righteous who are to live in the world to come; for the coming world is the summer of the righteous, but the winter of sinners.'" ³²

VI. The Testimony of the Epistle of Polycarp

The one short epistle of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, is interwoven with more references to the New Testament writings than any other work of this early age. He impresses the

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vision 4, chaps. 1, 2, pp. 419, 420 (cf. Marique's translation, pp. 254-256).

³² *The Pastor of Hermas*, Similitudes 3 and 4, in *ANF*, vol. 2, p. 33.

dangers of the times, and warns of Antichrist.³² Polycarp suffered martyrdom by fire about A.D. 155. It was formerly thought that his death occurred a little later, under Marcus Aurelius. Irenaeus was his noted pupil, whom we will later discuss. Polycarp's³³ allusion to this Biblical term "antichrist" must suffice for this witness:

"For every one who shall not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist: and whosoever shall not confess the testimony of the Cross, is of the devil; and whosoever shall pervert the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and say that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, that man is the first-born of Satan."³⁴

VII. The Testimony of Papias

This sketchy tracing of the Apostolic Fathers will be brought to a close with the declaration of Papias concerning a millennium following the resurrection of the dead. The principal information in regard to Papias, whose whole works are lost, comes from the extracts preserved in the works of Irenaeus and Eusebius. He is believed to have been bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, sometime during the first half of the second century, suffering martyrdom about A.D. 163. Although Irenaeus thought that Papias was a hearer of the apostle John, Eusebius denies this, quoting from his prefaces to show that he was merely on intimate terms with some who had known Christ and the apostles.³⁵

Attention is particularly directed to the conception of Christ's personal, established reign on earth during the millennium:

"The same person [Papias], moreover, has set down other things as coming to him from unwritten tradition, amongst these some strange parables and instructions of the Saviour, and some other things of a more fabulous nature. Amongst these he says that there will be a millennium after

³² Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-39; cf. M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, vol. 8, pp. 360-363, art. "Polycarp." (See also Introduction to *The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp*, in Glimm's translation, p. 147.)

³³ The authenticity of the Epistle of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, is abundantly established both by external testimony (Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, book 3, chap. 3; Eusebius, *Church History*, book 3, chap. 36, book 4, chap. 14) and internal testimony.

³⁴ *The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians*, chap. 7 (Lightfoot-Harmer), p. 179.

³⁵ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 3, chap. 39, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 170, 171.

the resurrection from the dead, when the personal reign of Christ will be established on this earth.”⁸⁷

Papias’ prime example of millennial description is that cited by Irenaeus: Vines will have ten thousand branches, each branch ten thousand twigs, each twig ten thousand shoots, each shoot ten thousand clusters, each cluster ten thousand grapes, each grape yielding twenty-five metretes of wine. Again, a single grain of wheat will produce ten thousand ears, each ear ten thousand grains, and each grain will make ten pounds of fine flour; other plants will produce in similar proportions.⁸⁸ This tradition was supposedly derived from Christ, but in reality it came from Jewish apocalyptic sources.⁸⁹

VIII. Summary of Witness of Apostolic Fathers

The voice of the Apostolic Fathers—the men who reputedly lived nearest to the apostles—testified to the expected premillennial second advent of Christ. “His appearing and his kingdom” are bound together. The future “parousia” is affirmed primarily of the second Person of the Godhead, never of the Spirit or of the Father, and never of providence or of death. For the Apostolic Fathers the appearing and the kingdom were obviously the supreme object of hope, and next to the cross the greatest motives in their witness. Here is their scattered twelfold witness, gleaned from the several sources in this half century:

1. The second advent the goal of expectation.
2. The judgment connected with the advent.
3. The resurrection of the righteous at the advent.
4. Establishment of kingdom of God to follow the resurrection.
5. Ten horn-kingdoms to succeed the then-present (Roman) fourth beast.

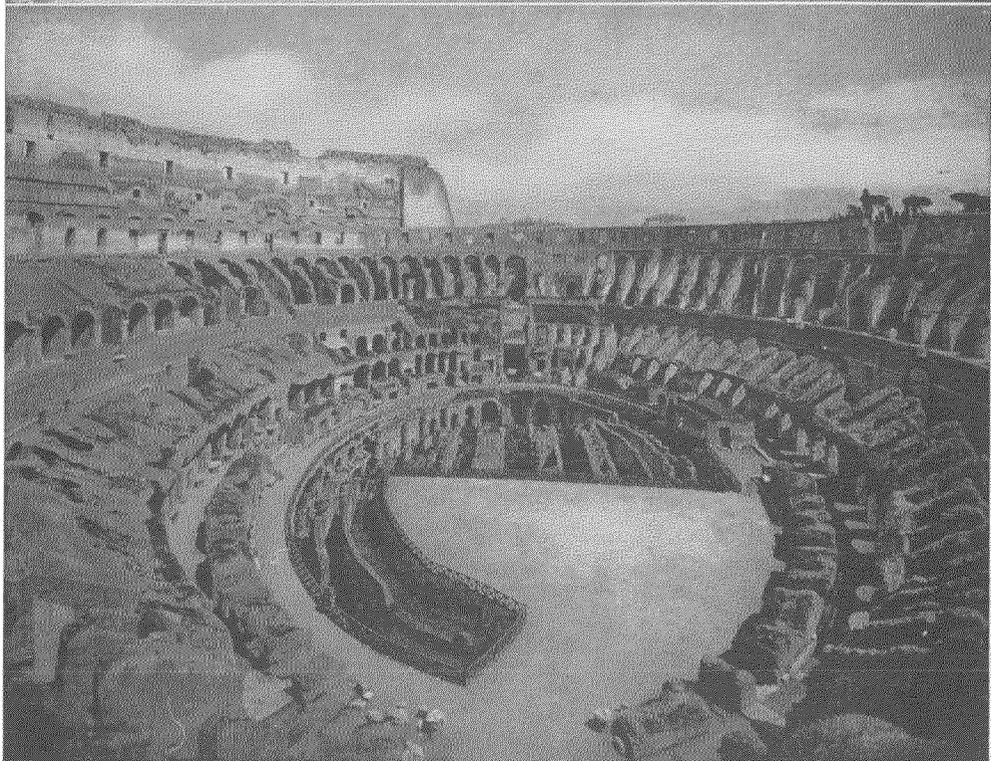
⁸⁷ *Fragments of Papias*, VI, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 154, cited from Eusebius, *Church History*, book 3, chap. 39 (see *NPWF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 172 for another translation).

⁸⁸ *Fragments of Papias*, IV, in *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 153, 154, cited from Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, book 3, chap. 33, secs. 3, 4 (see *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 562, 563).

⁸⁹ See page 303, note 45, and page 285.

6. A little horn to abase three of the ten horn-kingdoms.
7. The Black One, or lawless one, yet to come.
8. Days of great tribulation await the church.
9. The seventh thousand years the millennial rest.
10. The righteous to live in the world to come.
11. Day of destruction to destroy evil one.
12. Antichrist mentioned but not identified.

There was difference as to how the saints would spend the thousand years. While cherishing the great truth of the advent, some early Christian writers held views that were tinged with Jewish concepts. Chiliasm, insofar as it pictured the reign of Christ *on earth* for a thousand years following the second advent, was increasingly marred, as time progressed, by the fervid coloring of an Asiatic imagination and by fanatical extravagance. This was one of the early misconceptions that prepared the way for greater errors to follow later.



COLISEUM, SCENE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOMS

Exterior of Remains of Immense Flavian Amphitheater in Rome. Begun by Vespasian and Finished by Titus in A.D. 80, It Seated About 50,000 Spectators. Unnumbered Early Christians Were Slaughtered Here for Their Faith (Upper). Interior, 515 by 610 Feet, and About 160 Feet in Height. Below Are the Subterranean Chambers Which Confined the Ravenous Beasts (Lower)

The Period of the Apologists

I. Historical Setting of Ante-Nicene Period

The period of the Ante-Nicene fathers to be surveyed in the next several chapters—from about A.D. 150 to the first general Council of Nicaea, in 325—covers the spread of Christianity throughout the Roman Empire, its contest with Judaism and heathenism, its persecution by the Roman state, early Christian martyrdom, the development of organization and discipline in the church, the embryo of the Papacy, the early heresies, and the initial development of the old Catholic theology.

The latter part of the first century had seen the planting of Rome's idolatrous ensigns within the precincts of the Holy City, Jerusalem, and the erection in Rome of the triumphal Arch of Titus to commemorate his victory. Even imperial coins were minted to commemorate the captivity of Judah. (Reproduction appears on page 160.) Thus Jerusalem was destroyed according to the prophecy, the political power of the priesthood broken, and the Jewish dispensation, or times, brought to an end. In its place the Christian church spread across the Roman Empire until there was scarcely a city of any importance that did not have its congregation of Christians. By the end of the second century churches were scattered throughout Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Egypt, Northern Africa, in the distant isles of Britain, and probably in Spain.¹

¹ On Christianity's early course in Europe see Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 23-30. This standard history gives a reliable and comprehensive picture of this transition hour. Frequent reference will be made thereto.

Rome's iron empire ruled, and paganism flourished. Ultimately the images of emperors were erected in public places for worship. Christians refused this adoration, and violent opposition, with persecution even to imprisonment and death, lifted its heavy hand against them. Truth still shone from the evening glow of the apostolic day. But with the passing of time, changes for the worse came in many of the churches, and gross perversions of the Christian faith appeared. Legalism and ritualism on the one hand, and false, mystical philosophy on the other, made fatal inroads. The boasted wisdom of the Gnostics diverted many away from the gospel simplicity. Sects arose in the Graeco-Roman church denying the deity or the humanity of Christ, and the atoning character of His death. The period has been aptly denominated by Schaff as history's most radical transition hour.²

Direct attacks upon Christianity came from both Jews and pagans by the middle of the second century. The assaults by Celsus (*c.* A.D. 178) were the most outstanding, his philosophical and critical sophistry anticipating most of the arguments and sophisms of later times. Attacks were made particularly on the sacred books of the Christians. And vicious assaults were made not only upon Christ and Christianity—its facts, doctrines, and alleged contradictions—but upon the Christians themselves.

It was these attacks of argument and calumny that called forth the extensive Christian apologetic literature³ of the early church leaders. It is chiefly from these "apologies," frequently addressed to the Roman emperor, that we glean the most significant utterances cited, which reveal the status of prophetic interpretation as centered in the advent hope and expectancy at the time. These church leaders met the crucial issues of the hour, the subversive positions taken, and the specious arguments employed, with a clear declaration of faith.

It is to be remembered that this is the age of the early martyrs, whose praises we rightly sing. And it was the age *before*

² Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.

the rise of the Papacy in its later form—although of course the “mystery of iniquity” was already at work, and the ecclesiastical falling away had then actively begun.⁴ Moreover, certain of these writers voiced opposition to the ambitions of the Roman bishop, for the high antiquity of the church at Rome and the political pre-eminence of the city conspired to give him ecclesiastical pre-eminence.⁵ This period therefore represents the views of the leading writers of the early church before the development of the Papacy.

Sometimes among the “confessors” (those who confessed Christ at peril of life, but were not executed) and “martyrs” (those who suffered all manner of abuse, including death itself), were those in whom the flame of enthusiasm became a wild fire of fanaticism. There were some who rashly sought the martyr’s crown that they might merit heaven and be venerated on earth as saints. But after allowance for such extravagances the martyrdom of the first three centuries remains one of the grandest spectacles of heroism in history. And these martyrs, put to death by pagan Rome, were mostly premillennialists.⁶

However, the early veneration of the martyrs’ noble sacrifice later degenerated into worship of saints and relics. The veneration of martyrs afterward came to hold a meritorious efficacy, and veneration came to be transferred to their remains. Thus saint worship in time came into being. The exaltation of the clergy also came in close connection with the idea of a special priesthood. Separation from secular business was followed by separation from social relations, and then celibacy. Ceremonial pomp led, about the middle of the third century, to a multiplication of ecclesiastical offices, such as subdeacons, readers, acolytes, exorcists, precentors, interpreters. Then came the monarchical episcopate, and the beginnings of the patriarchal system.⁷ Such is the fleeting panoramic picture presented by the times that form the setting for the testimony of the

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 157.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 77, 614, 615.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-154.

representative spokesmen whom we are to hear. But first we must take note of the inroads of Gnosticism, a heresy which, although expelled from the church, left its marks, and sowed tares in Christian thought which were later impossible to root out.

II. Gnostic Controversy Complicates Early Church Situation

Gnosticism, a far-flung religio-philosophical movement, came into prominence during the second century, and spread over the empire. It flourished for a century and a half, and was replaced by the powerful Manichaean philosophy that persisted for hundreds of years. In composition Gnosticism was a religious syncretism fusing different earlier beliefs, springing up alongside and within the early Christian church just as the latter was crystallizing its faith.

While it arose independently of the church, Gnosticism permeated the church, and certain of its principles long flourished within its borders. Ignatius, for example, uses the phrasings of Gnosticism as he speaks of Christ as "not proceeding forth from silence."⁸ Gnosticism includes such names as Saturninus, Tatian, Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion. The apostle Paul, it will be remembered, had previously warned against a *gnosis* (knowledge) that was falsely so called. (1 Tim. 6:20.)

Gnosticism rejected the greater part of the Scripture. Its adherents imagined themselves the Christian intelligentsia of their day. Gnosticism was not original, but drew its speculations from earlier Oriental paganism, Alexandrian Jewish philosophy, and Christian sources, simply combining them. It sought to construct a theory of the universe—a cosmogony—and to explain how the cosmic order was originally projected, then ruined. In this theology harmony will be restored only by the destruction of all matter.

The Gnostics were concerned primarily with philosophical speculation. They believed that they possessed a secret, mys-

⁸ Ignatius, *Epistle to the Magnesians*, chap. 8, shorter version in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 62.

terious knowledge unaccessible to the outsider. There was a mystic religion, seeking assurance of a fortunate destiny for the soul after death. According to their teaching, all men are divided by fate into three classes, higher or lower in proportion to freedom from matter—(1) the spiritual, (2) the material, and (3) the psychical—segregated according to the elements or lack of the elements of Deity within them.

The Gnostics, of course, constituted the first group, believing themselves to be the more highly endowed mortals, allegedly saved by their knowledge of the esoteric system, but characterized by other attitudes which took the strangely conflicting forms of either asceticism or libertinism. The third group was wholly material and could not be saved, for they had no spark of the divine within them. Between the two the intermediate class embraced the ordinary Christians who had not this higher knowledge, yet who might possibly be saved, though Christian faith was held to be vastly inferior to Gnostic knowledge.

Gnosticism, which had its roots in paganism, had many rites and formulas derived partly from a blending of Babylonian and Persian beliefs based on an Oriental dualism. This dualism embraced the two worlds of good and evil, of light and darkness, the divine and material worlds, with the material as the seat of evil. It taught a series of emanations from the Supreme Being, principally the "Seven," who were half angelic and half demonic, derived from the planetary deities. From the Great Mother, or goddess of heaven, who had long been worshiped throughout Asia under various forms and names, came Gnosticism's concept of the *Sophía*, or mother of the Hebdomas. The movement was also strongly influenced by Greek Platonism.

The Christian Gnosticism incorporated the historical Jesus, which afforded a new point of crystallization. These Gnostic heretics claimed one source of their knowledge to be the secret traditions committed by Christ to an inner circle. But they held that other proper sources were from enlightened men everywhere, including heathen poets and philosophers. These

devotees of "knowledge" therefore claimed a place in the church, and complained bitterly when it was denied them. They held that Christianity was insufficient to afford absolute truth. They relied not so much on historical evidence or logical reasoning as on the intuitional powers of highly endowed minds. Their purpose was to construct not merely a theory of redemption but a theory regarding creation.

The Gnostic idea of redemption was liberation of the spirit from its connection with matter. Their view of the worthlessness of the material world naturally affected their concept of a bodily resurrection, for which there would be no desirability or need. The practice of asceticism was common among them, and the idea of marriage and procreation was considered either worthless or evil. These ideas were later drawn upon by Catholicism. Augustine, though combating the dualism of the Manichaeans, introduced a number of dualistic ideas into his philosophy of Christianity.

The Gnostics were moved by mysticism. They loved symbols and fostered gorgeous ritualistic worship and liturgy. The simple ordinances and observances of the Apostolic church were frowned upon as premised on the ground of mere faith. Gnosticism was pre-eminently a religion of sacraments and mysteries, and succeeded in introducing many of these elements into the church in general. It thus gave impetus to the strong Catholic emphasis upon salvation through religious forms.

There is no evidence that the Gnostics ever attempted an ecclesiastical organization. On the contrary, many were to be found in the orthodox churches, within which they sought to form schools or social circles. But the very aggressiveness and diversity of these conflicting groups spurred the church on to form a unified organization, and to accentuate churchly authority and tradition to protect itself against the varied forms of heretical *gnosis*. An organized hierarchy, a recognized canon of Scripture, a confession and rule of faith, and doctrinal discipline were all stimulated by the attacks of Gnosticism.

Thus it came about that a system which had probably de-

veloped from Oriental mythologies before it came into contact with Christianity, became a Christian heresy. The movement reached its height in the third quarter of the second century, after which it began to wane; and after the age of Cyprian (d. 258), Gnosticism became largely a negligible factor. But it was during the course of this Gnostic controversy that the early church on the one hand defined the Catholic standards and tests of orthodoxy by which it ostensibly shut out the Gnostics from Christian fellowship, yet on the other hand absorbed some of the Gnostic ideas which led the way in amalgamation of Christian and pagan thought and life.⁹

Most of the Gnostic literature has perished, though fragments remain. The most important witnesses concerning the subtleties of Gnosticism are Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, and Epiphanius, whom we shall study, though Ignatius and Justin Martyr also throw light upon its early forms. Prophetic interpretation, it should be noted, was developing in the midst of this and succeeding conflicts within the church. These vicissitudes of the early church form the discordant setting in which increasingly clear and full expositions of the prophetic writings were brought forth. That is the stage on which the actors played their respective parts.

III. The Leading Spokesmen the Reflecting Witnesses

The history of prophetic interpretation is not a bare recital of impersonal facts and episodes, detached from the human factors. On the contrary, it is the pulsating life story of individuals and groups of individuals with their ideals and idiosyncrasies, their achievements and failures, their loyalties and betrayals. To no small degree, it is a succession of biographies of conspicuous Christian leaders. It often thrills and often disappoints, it exhilarates and it saddens—as the human frailties appear in the texture of the slowly woven fabric.

⁹ On Gnosticism see Sydney Herbert Mellone, "Gnosticism," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 10, pp. 452-455; John Benjamin Rust, *Gnosticism*; Henry L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries*; see also article in M'Clintock and Strong.

Only as we catch glimpses of the actual characters—and as we know something of their personal lives, and read their words in the setting of the determining circumstances of the day—can we have a vivid realization of the advent hope and expectancy at the time. These writings are, indeed, practically the only contemporary records extant bearing on the point. Such is the justification, then, of the pronounced biographical element appearing in the testimonies of the witnesses to follow.

We now turn to the leading spokesmen of the Ante-Nicene period—Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, Origen, Cyprian, Victorinus, and Methodius—whose actual writings have been transmitted to us. Irrespective of the soundness or unsoundness of certain of their positions, these men are the reflectors of the prophetic teachings of their day, and the expounders of its stated opinions.¹⁰

It will be impossible, because of space limitations, to give all the documentary evidence that leads to certain very definite conclusions. Ofttimes these conclusions are reached from the cumulative evidence of scores of fragments not to be found in any single citation or any one comprehensive declaration. But the full weight of the cumulative testimony is expressed in the running narrative.¹¹

The larger and more accurate and authentic literature of the early apologists (c. 120-170) is quite different in scope and character from the meager writings of the Apostolic Fathers. This includes letters, chronicles, apologetics, alleged visions, tales. Systematic persecution was beginning, heresies were organizing, and philosophic controversies were developing with

¹⁰ The *original* source materials assembled for this documented tracing of prophetic interpretation are not generally available until we reach the thirteenth century. They have as their culminating point the early decades of the nineteenth century. These earlier extracts cited are taken chiefly from standard source collections, such as the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, the two series of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, and the Loeb Classical Library, recognized by scholars as trustworthy English translations; and from Migne, *Patrologia*, for the Latin and Greek writings, in addition to standard editions of individual works.

¹¹ The biographical data are drawn from a score of standard reference authorities, such as Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2 (*Ante-Nicene Christianity*); the biographical introductions in the standard *Ante-Nicene Fathers* set; Eusebius, *Church History*; Smith and Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*; Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*; Harnack; Döllinger; Neander; Mosheim; Cave; and many others.

those trained in the schools of Athens or Alexandria. The apologists proclaimed Christianity to be the divine answer to the questionings of heathendom, as well as the antitype to the law and the hope of the prophets. They abstained from quoting Scripture in their addresses to the heathen. The arguments of philosophy and history were first brought forward, that men might not be blinded by the sudden light of Scripture.¹²

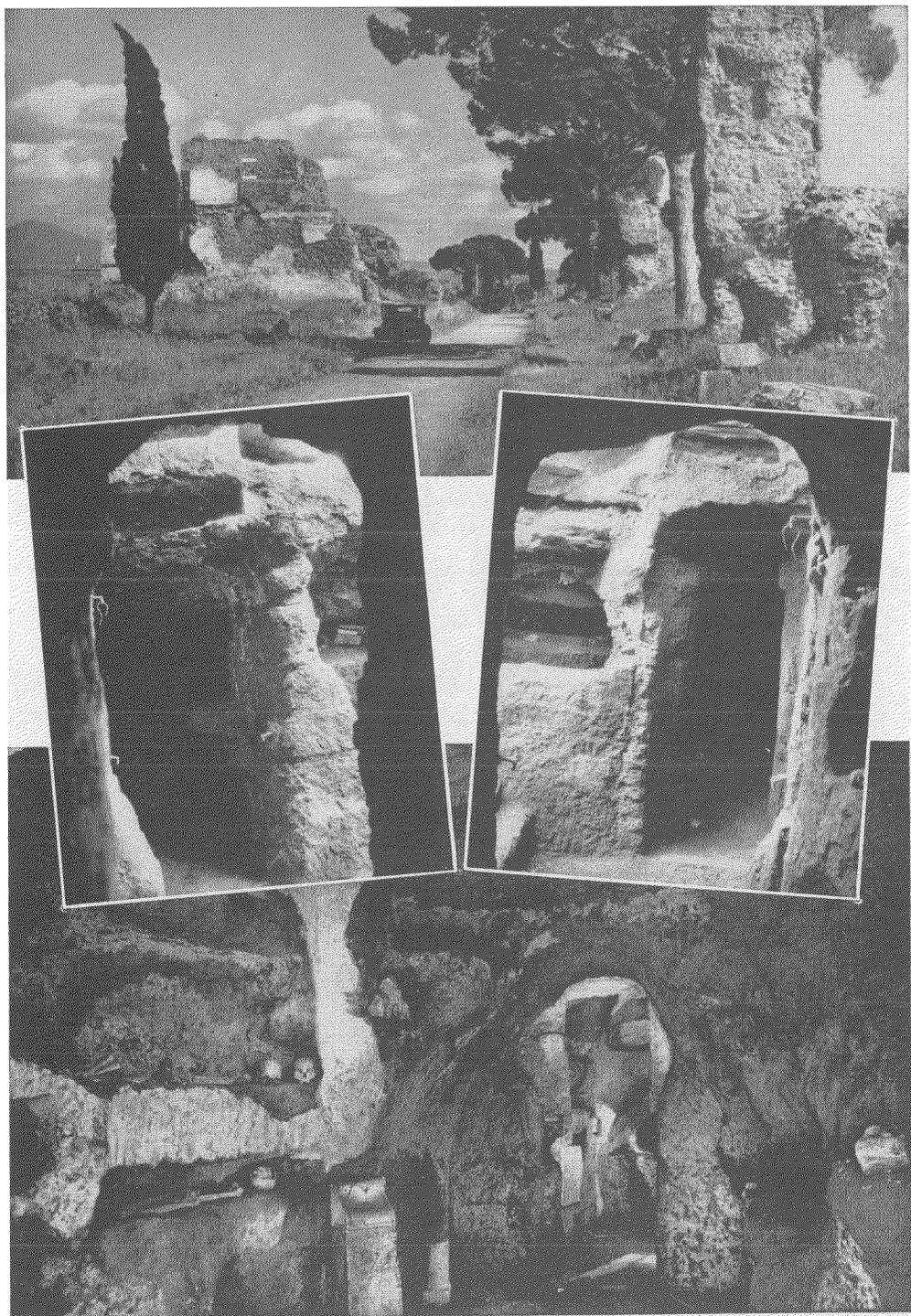
IV. Justin Martyr—Earliest Christian Apologist

The various Apologies written during this early period may seem to have the appearance of sameness. Yet there is not one that has not something peculiar to itself, something different from all others. These men were no mere copyists. Their location, difference in language, and environment all contributed to the diversity. It is consequently desirable to know the individual problem faced, and the approach made, scattered as they were over the Empire.

JUSTIN MARTYR (c. A.D. 100—c. 165), foremost Christian apologist of the second century, was born in Samaria, and received a liberal Hellenic education. Thirsting for truth, he made the rounds of the various systems of philosophy, seeking that knowledge that would satisfy the deeper cravings of his soul. Platonism fascinated him for a time, appealing to his higher instincts by its impressive concepts of truth, beauty, and goodness. Justin's early contacts with Christianity impressed him both with the inescapable truth of the Old Testament and with the fearlessness of the Christian in the presence of death. And in his search for truth, he at last found in Christ what he failed to find in Plato.

1. DEVOTES LIFE TO DEFENSE OF CHRISTIANITY.—Converted in early manhood by a Christian layman who stressed the fulfillments of the Hebrew prophecies concerning the incarnation of Christ and the certainty of divine revelation, this

¹² Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-65.



THE CATACOMBS—SUBTERRANEAN CHAMBERS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEAD

The Appian Way, Leading Out From Rome, Along Which the Original Catacombs, or Subterranean Cemeteries, Were Located (Upper); Narrow Passages and Tiers of Burial Niches of Martyred Dead (Center Left); Intersection of Passages Winding Back and Forth (Center Right); Catacombs of S. Sebastian, Showing Somber Relics of Past Persecutions (Lower)

early church father¹³ devoted his life to the defense of Christianity at a time when it was fiercely assailed, finally sealing his testimony with his blood—whence the term “Martyr” was attached to his name. He lived in times when profession of Christianity was a crime under Roman law, because it was not yet a legally recognized religion.

Instructed in the history and doctrine of the gospel, Justin devoted himself wholly to the spread and vindication of the Christian faith. Leaving Palestine, he became an itinerant teaching missionary, but with no regular office in the church. He continued to wear his philosopher’s cloak after his conversion, as a token that he had found the only true philosophy.¹⁴

Justin Martyr, beginning that conspicuous line known as the early Christian apologists,¹⁵ initiated a theological literature that forced the Christian truth upon the attention of the pagan world, despite all its hostilities and blazing fagots. He presented his *First Apology* to Antoninus Pius, probably about A.D. 147, if not earlier, and his *Second Apology* possibly in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.¹⁶ He told philosophers of the foolishness of human wisdom, and constantly exposed the impotency of contemporary paganism. He discomfited false philosophy with its own weapons, exposing the absurdity and superstitions of paganism, as he defended his own adopted faith.

His polemic pen was incessantly active against Jews, Gentiles, and heretical enemies of Christian truth, defending Christians against heathen calumnies and persecutions, and appealing from the violence of the mob to the tribunal of law. He combated Marcion, a prominent Gnostic; and his appeal to Trypho, the most distinguished Jew of his day (probably written c. A.D. 148), is assumed to be a free rendering of a disputation that actually occurred, as he sought to gain him to the Christian

¹³ Clear distinction should be borne in mind between the “apostolic fathers,” covering a large part of the second century, and the “church fathers” from the closing portion of the second century onward. These latter are divided into two groups—the *ante-Nicene* fathers, from about A.D. 155 to the Council of Nicaea (325), and the *Nicene* and *post-Nicene* fathers, from 325 on to Gregory, or about 600. This closes the list of the so-called fathers.

¹⁴ A. Cleveland Cox, *Introductory Note to Justin’s First Apology*, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 160.

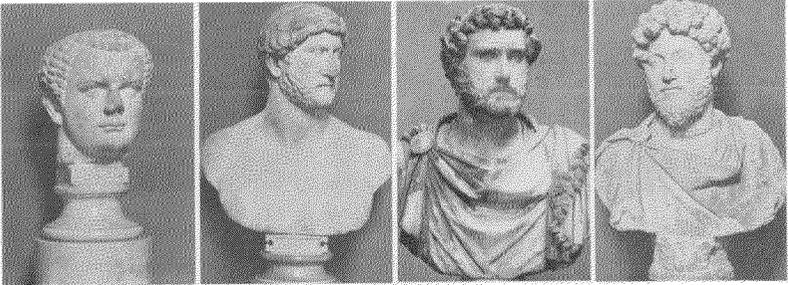
¹⁵ Frederic W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, vol. 1, chap. 4, p. 33.

¹⁶ Schaff contends that both were written under Antoninus Pius. (See Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 716, 717.)

faith.¹⁷ This *Dialogue* is the oldest elaborate exposition on Christ as the Messiah of the Old Testament, and the first systematic attempt to exhibit the false position of the Jews regarding Christianity.¹⁸

2. ARDENT BELIEVER IN OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECIES.—

Justin writes as a firm believer in the Old Testament prophets, and his writings constitute a storehouse of early interpretation of the prophetic Scriptures. He regards the Septuagint most highly. The truth of the prophets, he declares, compels assent.



WHEN ROME RULED AS FOURTH PROPHETIC POWER

Titus (79-81), Hadrian (117-138), Antoninus Pius (138-161), and Marcus Aurelius (161-180)

Justin makes no discrimination between Old and New Testament writings, the Old Testament still being an inspired guide and counselor. He puts the following words in the mouth of the Christian philosopher who converted him:

“There existed, long before this time, certain men more ancient than all those who are esteemed philosophers, both righteous and beloved by God, who spoke by the Divine Spirit, and foretold events which would take place, and which are now taking place. They are called prophets. These alone both saw and announced the truth to men, neither reverencing nor fearing any man, not influenced by a desire for glory, but speaking those things alone which they saw and which they heard, being filled with the Holy Spirit. Their writings are still extant, and he who has read them is very much helped in his knowledge of the beginning and end of things. . . . And those events which have happened, and those which are happening, compel you to assent to the utterances made by them.”¹⁹

¹⁷ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 717, 718.

¹⁸ Coxe, Introductory Note to Justin's *First Apology*, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 160.

¹⁹ Justin Martyr, *Dialogue With Trypho*, chap. 7, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 198.

Then Justin tells of his own experience:

"Straightway a flame was kindled in my soul; and a love of the prophets, and of those men who are friends of Christ, possessed me; and whilst revolving his words in my mind, I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable."²⁰

The New Testament writings had not yet, of course, been formulated into a canon, but Justin expressly mentions the Apocalypse by name, the writing of which he attributes to John the apostle.²¹

Telling the mighty effect the prophecies had had upon his own mind, he contends, in his noteworthy *First Apology*, addressed to the Roman emperor and others, that God can and does predict future events; that the Jewish prophetic Scriptures had been carefully preserved and translated into Greek. He discourses on the prophecies concerning the Messiah, and the particulars of His life (chapter 31). He cites the fulfillment of the prophecies concerning the destruction of Jerusalem as proof of their verity (chapter 47). He tells how the Gentiles were accepting Christianity, as foretold by prophecy (chapter 49), how Isaiah predicted that Jesus would be born of a virgin (chapter 33), how Micah mentions Bethlehem as the place of His birth (chapter 34), and how Zephaniah forecasts His entry into Jerusalem on the foal of an ass (chapter 35).

3. SECOND ADVENT THE CLIMAX OF ALL PROPHECY.—A stalwart believer in the second coming of Christ, the literal resurrection and millennium, Justin argues in defense of his faith with Trypho the Jew, and before the emperor. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers survive only in incomplete and sometimes untrustworthy texts. Justin is the first really authentic witness since the death of the apostles. In his *Apology* he contends emphatically for the two advents of Christ, with the second as the climax of all prophecy.

"Since, then, we prove that all things which have already happened

²⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 8.

²¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 81, p. 240; see also Eusebius, *Church History*, book 4, chap. 18, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 197.

had been predicted by the prophets before they came to pass, we must necessarily believe also that those things which are in like manner predicted, but are yet to come to pass, shall certainly happen. For as the things which have already taken place came to pass when foretold, and even though unknown, so shall the things that remain, even though they be unknown and disbelieved, yet come to pass. For the prophets have proclaimed two advents of His: the one, that which is already past, when He came as a dishonoured and suffering Man; but the second, when, according to prophecy, He shall come from heaven with glory, accompanied by His angelic host, when also He shall raise the bodies of all men who have lived, and shall clothe those of the worthy with immortality, and shall send those of the wicked, endued with eternal sensibility, into everlasting fire with the wicked devils."²²

In different ways and places he declares explicitly that the premillennial second advent of Christ, marked by the resurrection of the dead, will occur as truly as His first coming was a historical reality. (For example, see *First Apology*, chap. 52, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 180.) He asserts that the second advent is awaited by many:

"For those out of all the nations who are pious and righteous through the faith of Christ, look for His future appearance."²³

4. ADVENT TIED INTO THE OUTLINE PROPHECIES.—Justin comments on the consternation of the unprepared at the advent.²⁴ And he connects Christ's second coming with the climax of the prophecy of Daniel 7.

"But if so great a power is shown to have followed and to be still following the dispensation of His suffering, how great shall that be which shall follow His glorious advent! For He shall come on the clouds as the Son of man, so Daniel foretold, and His angels shall come with Him." [Then follows Dan. 7:9-28.]²⁵

Chapter 31 of his *Dialogue With Trypho* is headed, "If Christ's Power Be Now So Great, How Much Greater at the Second Advent!" In similar vein he discusses the fulfillment of prophecy in the two advents, which in turn follows his reference

²² Justin, *First Apology*, chap. 52, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 180. (See also *Dialogue With Trypho*, chap. 81, in *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 239, 240.) Note the contrast, incidentally, between the reference here to eternal torment and his statement elsewhere on conditional immortality (see page 234). Inconsistency is a characteristic often found in the church fathers.

²³ Justin, *Dialogue With Trypho*, chap. 52, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 221.

²⁴ Justin, *First Apology*, chap. 52, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 180.

²⁵ Justin, *Dialogue With Trypho*, chap. 31, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 209.

to Daniel 7.²⁵ The second glorious advent Justin places, moreover, close upon the heels of the appearance of the Antichrist, or "man of apostasy."²⁶ Justin's interpretation of prophecy is, however, less clear and full than that of others who follow in this period.

Daniel's "time, times, and an half," Justin believed, was nearing its consummation, when Antichrist would speak his blasphemies against the Most High. And he contends with Trypho over the meaning of a "time" and "times." Justin expects the time to be very short, but Trypho's concept is interesting.

"The times now running on to their consummation; and he whom Daniel foretells would have dominion for a time, and times, and an half, is even already at the door, about to speak blasphemous and daring things against the Most High. But you, being ignorant of how long he will have dominion, hold another opinion. For you interpret the 'time' as being a hundred years. But if this is so, the man of sin must, at the shortest, reign three hundred and fifty years, in order that we may compute that which is said by the holy Daniel—'and times'—to be *two* times only."²⁷

There was, both in his and in other minds of the time, a misconception of the time prophecies in relation to the nearness of the second advent, since he expected the end soon. The year-day principle, as applied to the longer time periods, had not yet been clearly perceived by any, the long extent of the world's duration being mercifully foreshortened to their understanding.

5. TWO LITERAL RESURRECTIONS BOUND THE MILLENNIUM.

—Justin Martyr also set the highest value on the resurrection of the body, as did the other early Christians and martyrs. Not only did he teach the literal resurrection of the righteous dead, but he distinguished it from the later resurrection by referring to it as "*a* resurrection," which *precedes* the thousand years, or millennium. Thus:

"But I and others, who are right-minded Christians on all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a thousand

²⁵ Justin, *First Apology*, chaps. 51-53, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 180.

²⁶ Justin, *Dialogue With Trypho*, chap. 110, in *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 253, 254.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 32, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 210.

years in Jerusalem, which will then be built, adorned, and enlarged, [as] the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare."²⁹

Justin adds that the "general" resurrection and judgment would take place at the close of the thousand years.

"And further, there was a certain man with us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, who prophesied, by a revelation that was made to him, that those who believed in our Christ would dwell a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that thereafter the general, and, in short, the eternal resurrection and judgment of all men would likewise take place."³⁰

• Thus he speaks of the millennium of Revelation 20 in the light of the resurrection of the dead, and relating wholly to the period beyond the first resurrection, with Jerusalem "built, adorned, and enlarged." Even Gibbon is led to remark on this general early belief in a millennium in intimate connection with the second advent, held from the time of Justin down to Lactantius, preceptor to the son of Constantine.³¹

In common with Polycarp,³² Justin believed that eternal life is obtained through Jesus Christ, for he set forth in his *Dialogue* a clear statement that the soul is not in its own nature immortal.³³ Immortality through Christ was clearly the animating hope of the primitive Christians and the goal of the martyrs. Justin placed the heavenly reward at the time of the resurrection, not considering as Christians those "who say there is no resurrection of the dead, and that their souls, when they die, are taken to heaven."³⁴ The subsequent abandonment of this position became a contributing factor to the later repudiation of the advent hope.

However, belief in the personal second advent prevailed for two centuries thereafter, though with increasing perversion

²⁹ Justin, *Dialogue With Trypho*, chap. 80, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 239. If the *Fragments of the Lost Work of Justin on the Resurrection* (see chaps. 2, 4, 9, 10, in *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 294, 295, 298, 299) is correctly attributed to Justin—and it is probably genuine—he argued at length for the resurrection of the body.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, chaps. 80, 81, pp. 239, 240.

³¹ Gibbon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, chap. 15, pp. 23, 24. On the millennium in the early church, see chapter 13.

³² *The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians*, chap. 2, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 33; Eusebius, *Church History*, book 4, chap. 15, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 188-193.

³³ Justin, *Dialogue With Trypho*, chaps. 5, 6, in *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 197, 198.

³⁴ Justin, *First Apology*, chaps. 18, 20, in *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 168-170; *Dialogue With Trypho*, chaps. 80, 81, in *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 239, 240.

as to the nature of surrounding and subsequent events, as apostasy progressed.

Certain of Justin's remarks show that the church was, already in his day, beginning to admit changes from the apostolic doctrines and practices. But he truly represented the two main prophetic beliefs of his day—the premillennial advent, and the synchronous, literal resurrection of the dead. Spending some time first in Ephesus, Justin evidently settled in Rome, where the cynics plotted his death, and he sealed his testimony by martyrdom, through beheading, apparently in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, about A.D. 165.³⁵

In Justin's teachings we find the five determining factors which involve the advent hope—the literal resurrection, the millennium bounded by the two resurrections, the coming Antichrist, the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse (which he touches only lightly), and the kingdom established by the second advent. And through his writings we likewise glimpse the beginnings of the "falling away" that was already making its early impress upon the infant church.

V. Ptolemy's Unwitting Testimony to the Prophetic Outline

It may be well to turn aside here to notice another second-century writer—a pagan astronomer, who assuredly had no interest in Jewish or Christian prophecy, but who, nevertheless, tabulates a sequence of four world powers which is strangely reminiscent of the current understanding of Daniel's outline of four great empires from the period of the Neo-Babylonian Empire onward. The most famous astronomical work coming down to us from antiquity, written in Greek after Hadrian's destruction of Jerusalem, and later translated into Arabic and other languages, lists the rulers of four empires: Babylonian (he calls it Assyrian), Persian, Macedonian, and Roman, the last and greatest of which was then at the height of its power.

PTOLEMY (Claudius Ptolemaeus) of Alexandria, mathema-

³⁵ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 4, chap. 16, and editor's footnote 4, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 193-195.

tician, astronomer, and geographer, flourished about the second quarter of the second century. He is noted not only for his own contributions to science, but also as the systematizer and expositor of the greatest discoveries of his predecessors in Greece and Babylonia. The consummation of Greek astronomy was his monumental *Mathematike Syntaxis* (Mathematical Composition), better known as the *Almagest* from its Arabic name.

The numerous observations of eclipses and other phenomena recorded in the *Almagest* were dated generally in the regnal years of various kings; therefore a list, or canon, of the reigns was needed as a chronological scale for reckoning the intervals between the observations. This king list, incorporated into the *Almagest*, is well known as Ptolemy's Canon, which tabulates the length of each reign and the total number of Egyptian calendar years from the starting point, the first year of Nabonassar.³⁶

Although Ptolemy did not know that the earth revolved around the sun, his record of observations, including nineteen lunar eclipses, in connection with the reigns of ancient kings, is as scientifically accurate as could be expected without modern instruments. His errors are only a matter of minutes and hours, and his dates check with the calculations of modern astronomers.³⁷

The starting point of Ptolemy's Canon, and of the Nabonassar Era, has been generally accepted by astronomers and chronologists as noon, February 26, 747 B.C., the equivalent of the first of Thoth, the Egyptian New Year's Day.³⁸ In addition

³⁶ Nabonassar is said to have destroyed the Babylonian king lists up to his time in order to start a series beginning with his own reign. In the eighth century B.C., astronomy was beginning a new era of investigation in the East, and as a result, provided later western chronology with data by which kings' reigns could be numbered and checked. This doubtless gave rise to the Nabonassar Era, reckoned by Ptolemy in terms of the Egyptian calendar year. See F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, book 2, pp. 362-371 (2 buch, 2 teil, 2 heft, pp. 162-171).

³⁷ In Ptolemy's series of eclipses, noting day and hour, there is no difficulty in calculating the date of each; for lunar eclipses, although possible about twice a year, cannot recur on any given date until many years later. Cycles of the moon repeat themselves only once in nineteen years in our calendar, and only once in twenty-five years on any Egyptian date, in the calendar used by Ptolemy. These cycles are graphically illustrated by Lynn H. Wood, in "The Kahun Papyrus and the Date of the Twelfth Dynasty (With a Chart)," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, October, 1945, no. 99, p. 6 and chart.

³⁸ Although Ginzel's table gives February 27, there is no disagreement as to the date, for he explains on the preceding page that he is using the *astronomical day*, customarily reckoned

to this primary Egyptian date, Ptolemy's records fix with certainty the Egyptian reckoning of the reigns of the *Babylonian* monarch Nabopolassar, the *Persian* kings Cambyses and Darius I, the *Macedonian-Egyptian* ruler Ptolemy Philometor, and the *Roman* emperor Hadrian, whose dates, along with others, are

from noon, and that he means February 26/27. Standard chronologists commonly give February 26, and so on throughout the canon, numbering by the first element of the noon-to-noon double date, which seems more logical historically. It should be explained that Ptolemy adjusted the regnal years of all the kings—of whatever nationality—to his own Egyptian calendar years, beginning each reign on Thoth 1 throughout the canon. Yet the Babylonian and Persian kings themselves counted their reigns from the spring, from the next Nisan 1 (their lunar New Year's Day) following the accession (see Appendix A, part 1, for the Babylonian regnal scheme); and the later kings of the canon had different systems.

Thoth 1 fell on February 26 in 747 b.c., but it did not remain on February 26, for the Egyptian year, having always 365 days, with no leap year, falls short a day in four years according to our reckoning. By the first year of Nebuchadnezzar the canon year had moved back to January 21; it began the first year of Darius I on January 1, and the first year of Xerxes on December 23.

CHARTS VISUALIZING PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF PROPHETIC INTERPRETATION

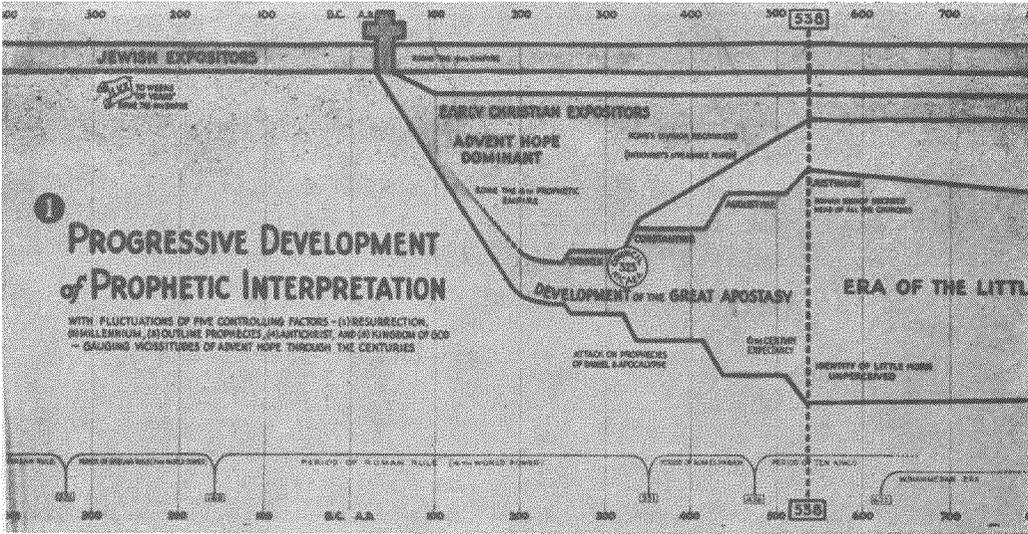
This Is the First of a Progressive Series of Similar Charts to Aid in Following the Story of Prophetic Interpretation Through the Centuries. Frequent Reference to This Chart and Its Companion Chart (on pp. 894-897) Will Aid in Grouping the Developments and Relationships Covered in Volume I

The Lower, Wider Chart Is an Enlargement of the First Section of the Upper Panoramic Survey of the Entire Field Covered in This *Prophetic Faith* Set. Beginning With the Jewish Expositors, First Before Christ and Then After Christ, Appearing on the Upper Narrow Band of the Large Lower Chart, the Cross Marks the Beginning of the Christian Church, With the Expositions of Jesus, Paul, Peter, and John Noted. Then Follow the Apostolic and Ante-Nicene Church Fathers in Steady Succession With the General Title "Early Christian Expositors"

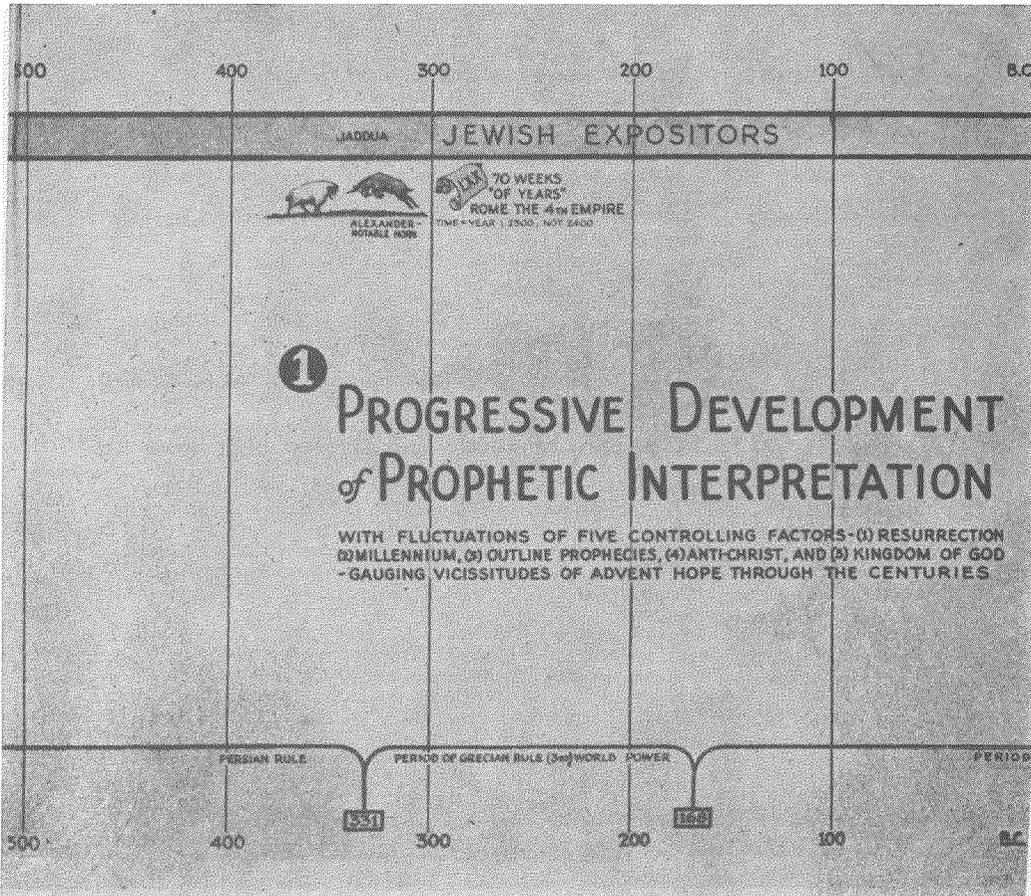
Then Comes the Development of the Great Apostasy, Out of the Alexandrian School—Prior to and Following the Circled Council of Nicaea (in 325). This Departure Expands in Three Enlarging Steps, While the Earlier Exposition Shrinks. The Focal Point of Prophetic Interest and Study Is Set Out in Rectangular Boxes

Thus Three Basic Principles of Prophetic Interpretation of the Hebrews Were Carried Over Into the Christian Church. These, in Turn, Were Enlarged and Augmented by the Leading Ante-Nicene Fathers, and More Particularly by Certain Post-Nicene Writers. This Followed After the Frontal Attacks by Dionysius and Porphyry Upon the Two Chief Books of Prophecy (Daniel and the Apocalypse), and Then by Flanking Attacks Upon the Fundamental Principles of Sound Prophetic Interpretation

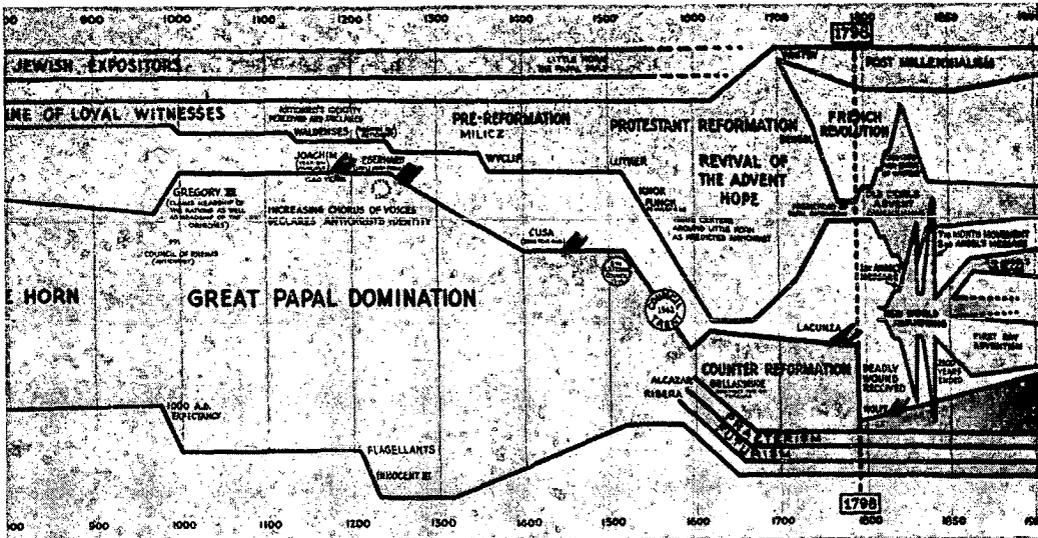
The Lower Bracket Lines Indicate the Progressive Sequence of the Four World Powers of Prophecy—Starting With the Closing Section of the Period of Persia, Then the Period of Greek Rule, Next of Roman Rule, and Finally the Period of Rome's Division, When the Greatest Development and Understanding of Interpretation Came. Familiar Names Appear in a New Role—as Vital Prophetic Expositors. The Fluctuating, Yet Progressive, Prophetic Faith of the Greatest Interpreters of the Centuries Is Thus Visualized



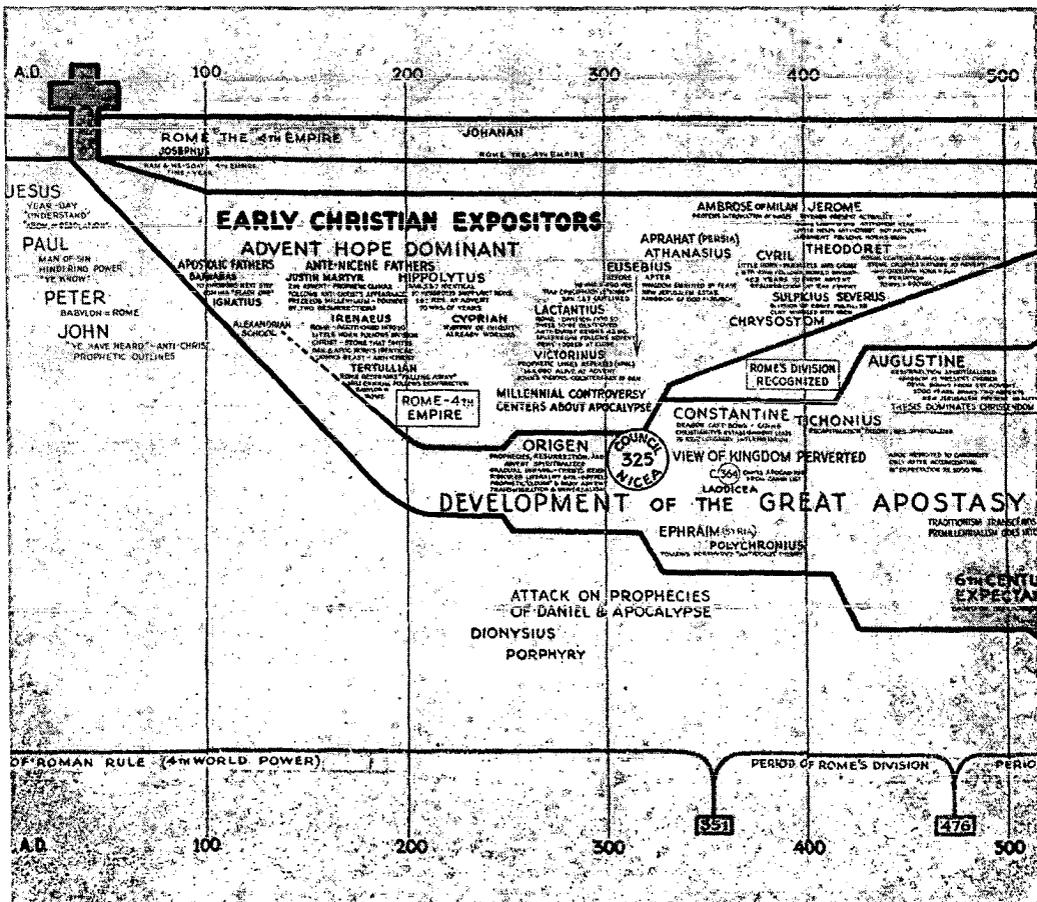
Comprehensive Charting of Progressive Development of Prophetic Interpretation



Enlargement of First Portion Covered by Volume I of *Prophetic Faith*, From 500 B.C. to A.D. 500



Through the Centuries From Fourth Century B.C. to Nineteenth Century A.D.



Fuller Statement Appears on Page 237 (Concluding Section Appears on Pages 370, 371)

established by well-authenticated lunar eclipses; further, the canon is corroborated by ancient astronomical documents preserved to this day on Babylonian clay tablets containing records from the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar and the seventh of Cambyses.

Ptolemy's total king list³⁹ involves a series of fifty-five successive reigns extending over a period of 907 Egyptian years—424 years from Nabonassar through Alexander, and 483 years from Philip Aridaeus through Antoninus Pius.

Ptolemy's Canon, fixed by ancient eclipses—in the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman periods—is thus an astronomical witness which, like the numismatic testimony of the coins and medals through the centuries, is an adjunct to the study of prophecy; for it has been used increasingly for several centuries in calculating the beginning date of the seventy prophetic weeks—and also of the 2300 years.⁴⁰ And the agreement between its historical and chronological outline with the four-nationed image of Daniel 2 is a striking coincidence.

³⁹ For the text in Greek and French, see Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Mathematike Syntaxis: Composition Mathématique*, vol. 1, pp. lxx, lxxj; for the Greek, with b.c. dating, see F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, vol. 1, p. 139; in English, see Isaac P. Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, pp. 83 ff.; and the forthcoming English edition, *The Almagest of Ptolemy*, translated by R. Catesby Taliaferro.

⁴⁰ See *Prophetic Faith*, Volumes II, III, and IV.

Irenaeus of Gaul and Tertullian of Africa

The close of the second century reveals a marked change in the character and position of the church. Christianity had won its way to the heart of the simple and appealed to the judgment of the philosopher, but it had yet "to claim the deference of the statesman." Later the subjugation of the civil power paved the way for the corruption of the church by material influences. The church was now in the process of establishment in the empire, and an independent literature arose acknowledging most of the New Testament books as canonical.¹

I. Time Foreshortened to Early Expositors

Within certain attendant limitations, the church of this period was strongly premillennialist. But difficulties and misunderstandings arose over the time element concerning the great "falling away" from the faith and practice of apostolic times. Such a development could not be clearly comprehended until clarified by the actual historical developments. And the character of the reign of the glorified saints during the thousand years after the second advent, was a cause of controversy which brought discredit to premillennialist doctrine, as we shall see.²

We shall find in this period the seventy weeks of Daniel interpreted as 490 years, but there was no application of the

¹ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-334.
² See page 306.

year-day principle to the longer time periods by any Christian writer of this early era—not, indeed, until we come to the twelfth century. Only in the seventy weeks was this principle clearly applied—and that, obviously, because they were recognized as actually past and certified through the first advent of Christ. But in no instance in the early centuries was this principle carried over and applied to the prophesied 1260 days in its varying forms of numeration in Daniel or the Apocalypse.

There could be no concept, on the part of any of these early expositors, of a long reign of entrenched apostasy through centuries—as the symbolic time would indicate—before the final developments and the return of Christ. Time was naturally foreshortened to them, for they looked for the speedy return of their Lord. Indeed, only as history actually unrolled the prophetic scroll through fulfillment, could its intent be perceived. To have unfolded clearly in unveiled terminology the spreading span of the intervening ages would doubtless have been to shake or crush the faith of the harassed martyr church. Yet for the prophets not to have spoken thus would have left God without this matchless predictive witness, and would have deprived later generations of the certainties of such prophetic declarations.

As will be seen as we progress, it has been the misconception and misapplication of aspects of these outline prophecies that has led to much of the fanaticism that has marred the centuries, often bringing odium and suspicion upon a sound and wholesome belief in the advent to take place at the destined time of God's appointment.

II. Irenaeus—Stresses Antichrist, Resurrections, and Millennium

Nothing is known positively as to the origin of the Gallican church, but probably its pathfinders came from Asia Minor, which was connected in many ways with the church of Gaul. A fierce persecution of the Christians of Lyons and Vienne in A.D. 177, was the occasion of an epistle to "the brethren in Asia and

Phrygia.”³ At this time we find Irenæus, then a presbyter, as their representative and letter bearer.⁴

IRENÆUS (c. 130-c. 202), bishop of Lyons at the end of the second century, was born in Asia Minor. Although he had received a Greek education, he nevertheless belonged to the West, and was one of the most renowned and learned of the early fathers. Irenæus is quoted as saying that in his youth he listened to Polycarp, who had had personal acquaintance “with John and with others who had seen the Lord.”⁵

Irenæus combined a vast missionary and literary activity, laboring by tongue and pen for the evangelization of southern Gaul, sending missionaries into other regions of what is now France. Thus we are introduced to the church in her Western outposts, on the banks of the Rhone. Taking a leading part in ecclesiastical and controversial matters of the time, Irenæus was the champion of orthodoxy against the Gnostic heresy in the last quarter of the second century, and acted as mediator between the East and the West. As a premillennialist he specifically defended his faith against the Platonizing Gnostics.⁶

1. LIFE DEVOTED TO BATTLING HERESIES.—During the terrible persecution in the reign of Aurelius (A.D. 177), Irenæus was sent to Rome with letters of remonstrance against the increasing menace of heresy. Arrived there, he found the bishop of Rome under the influence of Montanism. This situation led Irenæus into his lifelong struggle with heresy and the sects. When, upon his return, the emissaries of heresy began to extend their licentious practices and foolish doctrines, he studied these fallacies as a physician studies diseases—classifying, describing, and countering them. He even sought to correct the bishop of Rome, reproving “the heresy of Eleutherus and the spirit of Diotrephes in Victor,” the next bishop in line.⁷

Irenæus was the first patristic writer to make full use of

³ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 335, 336.

⁴ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 5, chaps. 1-4, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 211-219.

⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 20, pp. 238, 239, citing Irenæus' letter to Florinus.

⁶ Schaft, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 448-450.

⁷ Coxe, Introductory Note, *Irenæus Against Heresies*, in *ANF*, vol. 1, pp. 309, 310.

the New Testament, showing both the Old and the New Testament to be in opposition to Gnosticism. He likewise distinguished between the canonical and the apocryphal writings.⁸ His monumental works include the five-book treatise *Against Heresies*, described as the "polemic theological masterpiece of the ante-Nicene age, and the richest mine of information respecting Gnosticism and the church doctrine of that age."⁹ The intent can be grasped only as the time and circumstance of writing are considered. With the Gnostic heresy sweeping like a pestilence over great sections of the church, Irenaeus labored to make it impossible for anyone to confound Gnosticism with Christianity, and impossible for such a monstrous system to survive. He demonstrated its essential oneness with the old mythology and with heathen philosophy.

Although the first four books constitute a minute analysis and refutation of the heretical Gnostic doctrines,¹⁰ the fifth is a statement of positive belief. To the constantly shifting and contradictory opinions of the heretics, Irenaeus opposes the steadfast faith of the church. This he rests upon the doctrine of Christ and of the apostles as transmitted through their epistles, and upon the teachings of the church,¹¹ then but a century and a half old. Thus we see how later tradition came to have its inception.

2. ROME, THE FOURTH KINGDOM, TO BE PARTITIONED.—

Irenaeus, like Justin, appeals to the prophecies to demonstrate the truthfulness of Christianity. The close relationship between the predicted events of Daniel 2 and 7 is brought out with remarkable clarity, with Rome as the fourth kingdom in the great succession to end in a tenfold partition.¹²

"In a still clearer light has John, in the Apocalypse, indicated to the Lord's disciples what shall happen in the last times, and concerning the ten kings who shall then arise, among whom *the empire which now rules*

⁸ Richard Adelbert Lipsius, "Irenaeus," in William Smith and Henry Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. 3, p. 270.

⁹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 753.

¹⁰ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, book 5, Preface, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 526.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, chaps. 25, 26, pp. 553-555.

[the earth] shall be partitioned. He teaches us what the ten horns shall be which were seen by Daniel."¹³

"Daniel also says particularly, that the end of the fourth kingdom consists in the toes of the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar, upon which came the stone cut out without hands; and as he does himself say: 'The feet were indeed the one part iron, the other part clay, until the stone was cut out without hands, and struck the image upon the iron and clay feet, and dashed them into pieces, even to the end.' Then afterwards, when interpreting this, he says: 'And as thou sawest the feet and the toes, partly indeed of clay, and partly of iron, the kingdom shall be divided, and there shall be in it a root of iron, as thou sawest iron mixed with baked clay. And the toes were indeed the one part iron, but the other part clay.' The ten toes, therefore, are these ten kings, among whom the kingdom shall be partitioned, of whom some indeed shall be strong and active, or energetic; others, again, shall be sluggish and useless, and shall not agree."¹⁴

3. STONE SMITES KINGDOM AFTER DIVISION.—Irenæus shows that Christ, the prophesied "stone," cut out of the mountain without hands, does not smite the image before but *after* Rome's division.¹⁵ He definitely dates the heaven-descending stone smiting the monarchy-image in the time of the "toes."

4. LITTLE HORN SUPPLANTS THREE OF ROME'S TEN DIVISIONS.—Irenæus asserts that the "little horn" is to supplant three of Rome's ten divisions.¹⁶ He also identifies the ten divisions of the empire with the "ten horns" of Daniel 7 and with the "ten horns" in Revelation 17. Thus he makes Daniel's "little horn" the still future "eighth" in Revelation, supplanting three and subjecting the remainder. And he climaxes with the destruction of all at the second advent.

"In a still clearer light has John, in the Apocalypse, indicated to the Lord's disciples what shall happen in the last times, and concerning the ten kings who shall then arise, among whom the empire which now rules [the earth] shall be partitioned. He teaches us what the ten horns shall be which were seen by Daniel, telling us that thus it had been said to him: 'And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet, but shall receive power as if kings one hour with the beast. . . . These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them, because He is the Lord of lords and the King of kings.' It is manifest, therefore, that of these [potentates], *he who is to come* shall slay

¹³ *Ibid.*, chap. 26, p. 554. (Translator's brackets; italics supplied.)

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. 25, sec. 3, pp. 553, 554.

three, and subject the remainder to his power, and that he shall be himself the eighth among them. And they shall lay Babylon waste, and burn her with fire, and shall give their kingdom to the beast, and put the Church to flight. After that they shall be destroyed by the coming of our Lord."¹⁷

5. ANTICHRIST IS MAN OF SIN, BEAST, AND LITTLE HORN.—Irenaeus regards Antichrist as another name for Paul's apostate Man of Sin.

"By means of the events which shall occur in the time of Antichrist is it shown that he, being an apostate and a robber, is anxious to be adored as God; and that, although a mere slave, he wishes himself to be proclaimed as a king. For he (Antichrist) being endued with all the power of the devil, shall come, not as a righteous king, nor as a legitimate king, [i.e., one] in subjection to God, but an impious, unjust, and lawless one; as an apostate, iniquitous and murderous; as a robber, concentrating in himself [all] satanic apostasy, and setting aside idols to persuade [men] that he himself is God, raising up himself as the only idol, having in himself the multifarious errors of the other idols. This he does, in order that they who do [now] worship the devil by means of many abominations, may serve himself by this one idol, of whom the apostle thus speaks in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians: 'Unless there shall come a falling away first, and the man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God.'"¹⁸

He definitely identifies the same Man of Sin with Daniel's Little Horn:

"Daniel too, looking forward to the end of the last kingdom, i.e., the ten last kings, amongst whom the kingdom of those men shall be partitioned, and upon whom the son of perdition shall come, declares that ten horns shall spring from the beast, and that another little horn shall arise in the midst of them, and that three of the former shall be rooted up before his face. . . . Of whom also the Apostle Paul again, speaking in the second [Epistle] to the Thessalonians, and at the same time proclaiming the cause of his advent, thus says: 'And then shall the wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy by the presence of His coming; whose coming [i.e., the wicked one's] is after the working of Satan, in all power, and signs, and portents of lies, and with all deceivableness of wickedness for those who perish; because they did not receive the love of the truth, that they might be saved.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 26, pp. 554, 555. (Translator's brackets; italics supplied.)

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. 25, sec. 1, p. 553. (Translator's brackets.)

And therefore God will send them the working of error, that they may believe a lie; that they all may be judged who did not believe the truth, but gave consent to iniquity.'"¹⁹

He also identifies Antichrist as John's Beast, quoting Revelation 13:2-10:

"For when he (Antichrist) is come, and of his own accord concentrates in his own person the apostasy, and accomplishes whatever he shall do according to his own will and choice, sitting also in the temple of God, so that his dupes may adore him as the Christ; wherefore also shall he deservedly 'be cast into the lake of fire:' [this will happen according to divine appointment], God by His prescience foreseeing all this, and at the proper time sending such a man, 'that they may believe a lie, that they all may be judged who did not believe the truth, but consented to unrighteousness;' whose coming John has thus described in the Apocalypse: 'And the beast which I had seen was like unto a leopard, and his feet as of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion; and the dragon conferred his own power upon him, and his throne, and great might.'"²⁰

Irenæus seeks to apply other expressions to Antichrist, such as "the abomination of desolation," mentioned by Christ (Matt. 24:15) and the "king of a most fierce countenance," in Gabriel's explanation of the Little Horn of Daniel 8. But he is not very definite as to how "the sacrifice and the libation shall be taken away" during the "half-week,"²¹ or three and one-half years of Antichrist's reign. Under the notion that the Antichrist, as a single individual, might be of Jewish origin, he fancies that the mention of "Dan," in Jeremiah 8:16, and the omission of that name from those tribes listed in Revelation 7, might indicate Antichrist's tribe.²² This surmise became the foundation of a series of subsequent interpretations, as will appear later.

6. THREE AND A HALF TIMES LITERAL YEARS.—Irenæus, like the other early church fathers who could not foresee the lapse of ages before the end of all things, interpreted the three and one-half "times" of the Little Horn of Daniel 7 as three and one-half literal years, which would immediately precede

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, sec. 3, pp. 553, 554. (Translator's brackets.)

²⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 28, sec. 2, p. 557. (Translator's brackets.)

²¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 25, secs. 2-4, pp. 553, 554.

²² *Ibid.*, chap. 30, p. 559.

Christ's second advent, identified with the lawless reign of Antichrist.

"He shall speak words against the most high God, and wear out the saints of the most high God, and shall purpose to change times and laws; and [everything] shall be given into his hand until a time of times and a half time, *that is, for three years and six months*, during which time, when he comes, he shall reign over the earth. Of whom also the Apostle Paul again, speaking in the second [Epistle] to the Thessalonians, and at the same time proclaiming the cause of his advent, thus says: 'And then shall the wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy by the presence of His coming.'"²³

Antichrist's three and a half years of sitting in the temple are placed by Irenaeus immediately before the second coming of Christ, and are identified as the second half of the "one week" of Daniel 9. He says nothing of the seventy weeks; we do not know whether he placed the one week at the end of the seventy or whether he had a gap. He mentions only the half week, which he gives to Antichrist.²⁴ The interpretation of the three and a half times as literal years, it may well be noted, was common to the early fathers who discussed this particular time period.

7. 666 NOT DISCERNIBLE BEFORE ROME'S DIVISION.—Irenaeus also calls John's second, or lamblike, beast, in Revelation 13, the first beast's "armourbearer," and adds that John terms it "false prophet." He is also the first of the fathers to stress the mystic number 666,²⁵ the solution of this numerical riddle intriguing ecclesiastical writers from that time forward. Irenaeus considered the Beast-Antichrist the "recapitulation" of all apostasy, in whose number 666 he found curious symbolism of Noah's age and the size of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image.²⁶ He relates how names had even then been sought to contain this number, but warned of the danger of deception,²⁷ admonishing all to wait until Rome's division before attempting to solve the riddle.

²³ *Ibid.*, chap. 25, sec. 3, p. 554. (Translator's brackets; italics supplied.)

²⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 4, p. 554; cf. chap. 30, sec. 4, p. 560.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 23, sec. 2, p. 557.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. 29, sec. 2, p. 558.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 30, sec. 3, p. 559.

"But, knowing the sure number declared by Scripture, that is, six hundred sixty and six, let them await, in the first place, the division of the kingdom into ten; then, in the next place, when these kings are reigning, and beginning to set their affairs in order, and advance their kingdom, [let them learn] to acknowledge that he who shall come claiming the kingdom for himself, and shall terrify those men of whom we have been speaking, having a name containing the aforesaid number, is truly the abomination of desolation."²⁸

Irenaeus cites three names that had been suggested, *Evanthas*, *Lateinos*, and *Teitan*. Concerning the first he was dubious. As to the second (*Lateinos*) he said it was a "probable" solution, inasmuch as it came from the name of the fourth kingdom seen by Daniel. But *Teitan* appealed to him as having the most merit of the three, as the name which "the coming man" shall bear; however, he refused to be dogmatic, preferring to await the fulfillment to provide the solution.²⁹ Of *Lateinos*, Schaff says, "This interpretation is the oldest we know of, and is already mentioned by Irenaeus, the first among the Fathers who investigated the problem."³⁰

8. ANTICHRIST DESTROYED AT ADVENT.—Irenaeus declares that this world conqueror's (Antichrist's) future three-and-a-half-year reign, when he sits in the temple at Jerusalem, will be terminated by the second advent, with destruction for the wicked, and the millennial reign of the righteous.³¹

9. FIRST RESURRECTION AFTER ANTICHRIST'S COMING.—Irenaeus plainly states that the "resurrection of the just" takes place after the Antichrist has appeared, and is followed by the reign of the righteous with Christ on earth.

"For all these and other words were unquestionably spoken in reference to the resurrection of the just, which takes place after the coming of Antichrist, and the destruction of all nations under his rule; in [the times of] which [resurrection] the righteous shall reign in the earth, waxing stronger by the sight of the Lord."³²

²⁸ *Ibid.*, sec. 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, sec. 3, p. 559.

³⁰ Schaff, *History*, vol. 1, p. 844, note on Latinus, or the Roman Empire. (*Latinus* is the Latin form; the Greek equivalent is *Lateinos*.)

³¹ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, book 5, chap. 30, sec. 4, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 560.

³² *Ibid.*, chap. 35, sec. 1, p. 565. (Translator's brackets.)

He contends, against those who would doubt the actual resurrection of the body, that it is much less difficult for God to reanimate than originally to create.³³

10. RESURRECTED RIGHTEOUS REIGN DURING MILLENNIUM.—Irenaeus calls those “heretics” who maintain the glorification of the saints immediately after death, before their resurrection.³⁴ He avers that the millennial kingdom and the resurrection are actualities, not allegories,³⁵ the first resurrection introducing this promised kingdom in which the risen saints are described as ruling over the renewed earth during the millennium, between the two resurrections.³⁶

11. 6,000-YEAR THEORY IS FROM JEWISH TRADITION.—Irenaeus held to the old Jewish tradition that the first six days of creation week were typical of the first six thousand years of human history, with Antichrist manifesting himself in the sixth period. And he expected the millennial kingdom to begin with the second coming of Christ to destroy the wicked and inaugurate, for the righteous, the reign of the kingdom of God during the seventh thousand years, the millennial Sabbath, as signified by the Sabbath of creation week.³⁷ As noted, neither he nor any other writer of those early centuries had any conception of the time to elapse before the awaited advent, and naturally expected a short duration of Antichrist’s power. Time was foreshortened to his gaze as well. But Irenaeus stresses the prophecies concerning the Antichrist, the resurrection at the advent, and the millennium.³⁸

12. CONFUSES THE TRADITIONAL AND BIBLICAL VIEWS.—In common with many of the fathers, Irenaeus fails to distinguish between the new earth re-created in its eternal state, the thousand years of Revelation 20, when the saints are with Christ after His second advent, and the Jewish traditions of the

³³ *Ibid.*, chap. 3, sec. 2, p. 529.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 31, pp. 560, 561.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 35, pp. 565, 566.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, chaps. 32-35, pp. 561-566.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 28, sec. 3, chap. 30, sec. 4, chap. 33, sec. 2, pp. 557, 560, 562 respectively.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, chaps. 28, 30, pp. 557-559; chap. 35, pp. 565, 566.

Messianic kingdom. Hence, he applies confused Biblical and traditional ideas to his descriptions of this earth during the millennium, throughout the closing chapters of book 5. This conception of the reign of resurrected and translated saints with Christ on this earth during the millennium—popularly known as chiliasm—was the increasingly prevailing belief of this time.³⁹

Although Irenaeus was tinctured with Jewish tradition on the millennium, he was not looking for a Jewish kingdom. He definitely interpreted Israel as the Christian church, the spiritual seed of Abraham.⁴⁰

At times his expressions are highly fanciful. He tells, for instance, of a prodigious fertility of this earth during the millennium, after the resurrection of the righteous, "when also the creation, having been renovated and set free, shall fructify with an abundance of all kinds of food." In this connection he attributes to Christ the saying about the vine with ten thousand branches, and the ear of wheat with ten thousand grains, and so forth, which he quotes from Papias.⁴¹

13. GENERAL RESURRECTION FOLLOWS NEW JERUSALEM DESCENT.—The general resurrection and the judgment, declares Irenaeus, follow the descent of the New Jerusalem at the end of the millennial kingdom.

"In the Apocalypse John saw this new [Jerusalem] descending upon the new earth. For *after the times of the kingdom*, he says, 'I saw a great white throne, and Him who sat upon it, from whose face the earth fled away, and the heavens; and there was no more place for them.' *And he sets forth, too, the things connected with the general resurrection and the judgment*, mentioning 'the dead, great and small.' 'The sea,' he says, 'gave up the dead which it had in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead that they contained; and the books were opened. Moreover,' he says, 'the book of life was opened, and the dead were judged out of those things that were written in the books, according to their works; and death and hell were sent into the lake of fire, the second death.' Now this is what is called Gehenna, which the Lord styled eternal fire. 'And if any one,' it is said, 'was not found written in the book of life, he was sent into the lake of fire.' And after this, he says, 'I saw a new heaven and a new earth,

³⁹ See chapter 13.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 32, sec. 2, pp. 561, 562.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 33, sec. 3, pp. 562, 563 (see also p. 216 of the present work).

for the first heaven and earth have passed away; also there was no more sea. And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from heaven, as a bride adorned for her husband.' 'And I heard,' it is said, 'a great voice from the throne, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them; and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them as their God. And He will wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, because the former things have passed away.'"⁴²

Irenaeus' exegesis does not give complete coverage. On the seals, for example, he merely alludes to Christ as the rider on the white horse.⁴³ But he stresses the five determining factors of Adventism with greater clarity and emphasis than Justin—the literal resurrection of the righteous at the second advent, the millennium bounded by the two resurrections, the Antichrist to come upon the heels of Rome's breakup, the symbolic prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse in their relation to the last times, and the kingdom of God to be established by the second advent. But with it all were involved incipient distortions due to the admixture of current traditions, which figure in the extreme forms of chiliasm that were to cause the reaction against the earlier interpretations of Bible prophecies. His writings, with those of Justin, constitute a two-fold witness: first, they constitute the holdover of gradually fading apostolic truth; and second, they disclose that increasing departure that finally took form in the general apostasy of the church, which eventually turned her eyes from the future advent hope and caused her to set herself up as the millennial kingdom of God on earth.

III. Tertullian Expounds Order of Last Events

TERTULLIAN (c. 160-c. 240) was born in Northern Africa, at Carthage, the ancient rival of Rome. He was perhaps the

⁴² *Ibid.*, chap. 35, sec. 2, p. 566. (Translator's brackets; italics supplied.)

It is interesting to note here that Irenaeus, who abhors the Gnostics and other heretics who accepted the pagan notion of the inherent evil of matter, cites without disapproval—although without vouching for it—a tradition which shows the infiltration into the church of the idea of at least the inferiority of the material earth even in its re-created state. He says that some of the elders say that only the lower grade of the redeemed, those who have produced thirtyfold, will inhabit the New Jerusalem on the earth, whereas the sixtyfold and hundredfold saints will be, respectively, in Paradise (which he does not locate) and the heavens. (*Ibid.*, chap. 36, sec. 2, p. 567.)

⁴³ *Ibid.*, chap. 21, sec. 3, p. 493.

most conspicuous religious writer of his time. Receiving a liberal Graeco-Roman education, and probably legal training, he lived in pagan blindness and licentiousness to his thirtieth or fortieth year, knowing well the coarseness and repulsiveness of it all. He was strongly attracted by the martyr courage and life of holiness of the Christians, in contrast to the life of the sensual cynic and proud stoic.

Accepting Christianity, he embraced it with all the strength of maturity and all the fiery energy of his soul, defending it thenceforth against pagan, Jew, and heretic. In passing from paganism to Christianity, Tertullian believed himself to be passing from darkness to light and from corruption to purity. His vehemence, therefore, against any form of Christian precept or practice that fell short of his ideal may be the more easily understood. Brilliant and versatile, but fiery and tempestuous in temperament, he spurned every kind of recognized compromise.

1. CARTHAGINIAN SCHOOL OF LATIN THEOLOGY.—This gifted, once-pagan lawyer became the father of Latin theology and creator of the church language in the Latin tongue. He laid the foundations upon which Cyprian and Augustine built, though, curiously enough, he died out of harmony with Rome. He paved the way for the labors of Jerome, who, in creating the Vulgate, lifted the Western churches to a position of intellectual parity with the East. Tertullian's was an extraordinary literary activity in two languages, most of which fell in the first quarter of the third century. His most powerful polemic works were against the Gnostics.

It is essential to have this historic background and setting for Tertullian's witness, and it is desirable to note, first, that the *apostolic* church was principally Jewish, the *ante-Nicene* was largely Greek, and the *post-Nicene*, predominantly Roman. The literature of the Roman church was at first dominantly Greek, and her earliest writers wrote exclusively in Greek."⁴

⁴ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 626.

Latin began to appear in Christian literature at the end of the second century, and then not in Italy but in Africa, not in Rome but in Carthage, and with lawyers and rhetoricians, not speculative philosophers.

Strangely enough, Rome itself under the emperors was essentially a Greek city, with Greek as its second language. The first sermons preached at Rome were in Greek; for the mass of the poorer population, among whom Christianity took root, were predominantly Greek speaking. Paul wrote to the Roman church in Greek, as did Clement, and various others that followed. The apologies to the Roman emperors were phrased in Greek. The churches in Gaul, evangelized by missionaries from Asia Minor, wrote out the story of their persecutions in Greek, and Irenaeus employed it. On the other hand, Latin Christianity had its birthplace in North Africa. The *Vetus Latina* (Old Latin) version of the Bible evidently had its origin in Africa. By the close of the second century Carthage was a thriving Christian center—a second Rome. Greek was no longer current there, having been supplanted by Latin.⁴⁵ So Tertullian was truly the first Latin father, his writings offering the starting point in the history of the Latin church.

A century of missionary endeavor reached a place where the missionary fire blazed out in Tertullian, and, by the middle of the third century, had so grown that several councils were held in Carthage, each attended by not less than seventy bishops. Thus came the great expansion of the church in Africa. And this Carthaginian school of Latin theology molded Christian thought for centuries. Also, Northern Africa probably gave to the Western church the first Latin translation of the Bible, miscalled the *Itala*, which was the basis of Jerome's Vulgate.⁴⁶ Rome, at the close of the third century, was still but a prominent member of the sisterhood of Christian churches, and reputable authorities claim there were some ten million

⁴⁵ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-254.

⁴⁶ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 27, 28; Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 117-120.

Christians within the bounds of the Roman Empire at this time.⁴⁷

2. VIOLENT PERSECUTIONS BRING RELIGIOUS LIBERTY PLEA.

—It is essential further to note that martyrdom in Africa began in the second century, when a tempest of persecution broke upon the church in various sections of the empire.⁴⁸ The fires of religious fanaticism burst into flame. Many were imprisoned, torture and death followed, and the African church received her share of the baptism of blood. Violent attacks destroyed Christian homes and places of worship, rifling the resting places of the dead, and depriving the living of their church assemblies.

The intensive persecution in the reign of Septimius Severus was most active at the height of Tertullian's career. The flood-gate opened, and the tide of fury swept on, full and strong. Tertullian's *Apology* to the Roman rulers is a monument to this heroic martyr age of the church, which is stamped in letters of blood upon its pages. Tertullian resisted the attacks of heathen bigotry, and demanded equal rights and freedom of religion for Christians. He appealed not for mercy but for justice.⁴⁹ This may be regarded as the first plea for religious liberty as an inalienable right, which just governments should, in their own interest, respect and protect. His legal training is observable throughout this affirmation of rights. Juridical in style, Tertullian is ever the advocate for the unnamed army of Christian martyrs. "*The blood of Christians is seed,*" he said.⁵⁰

3. RESURRECTION AT SECOND ADVENT, NOT AT DEATH.—

Tertullian believed in and expressly taught the second advent:

"For two comings of Christ having been revealed to us: a first, which has been fulfilled in the lowliness of a human lot; a second, which impends over the world, now near its close, in all the majesty of Deity unveiled; and, by misunderstanding the first, they [the Jews] have concluded that the second—which, as matter of more manifest prediction, they set their hopes on—is the only one."⁵¹

⁴⁷ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 22.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴⁹ Tertullian, *Apology*, chap. 24, and *To Scapula*, chap. 2, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 38, 39, and 105 respectively; see also Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 35.

⁵⁰ Tertullian, *Apology*, chap. 50, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 55.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 21, p. 35.

Tertullian was a decided premillennialist, and affirms it customary for Christians to pray for a part in the first resurrection, which literal resurrection takes place at the advent at the end of the world, and not at death.⁵²

4. CHRIST THE STONE THAT SMITES THE IMAGE.—He specifically declares Christ to be the stone of Daniel 2 that will smite at His second coming the “secular kingdom” image of Daniel 2.

“Now these signs of degradation quite suit His first coming, just as the tokens of His majesty do His second advent, when He shall no longer remain ‘a stone of stumbling and rock of offence,’ but after His rejection become ‘the chief corner-stone,’ accepted and elevated to the top place of the temple, even His church, being that very stone in Daniel, cut out of the mountain, which was to smite and crush the image of the secular kingdom. Of this advent the same prophet says: ‘Behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days; and they brought Him before Him, and there was given Him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve Him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away; and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.’”⁵³

5. FULFILLED PROPHECIES ASSURE FUTURE EVENTS.—Tertullian was the first Latin father to use the prophecies to show the superiority of Holy Scripture over all pagan productions.

“We bring under your notice something of even greater importance; we point to the majesty of our Scriptures, if not to their antiquity. If you doubt that they are as ancient as we say, we offer proof that they are divine. And you may convince yourselves of this at once, and without going very far. Your instructors, the world, and the age, and the event, are all before you. All that is taking place around you was fore-announced; all that you now see with your eye was previously heard by the ear.”⁵⁴

After declaring that what was then taking place had been foreannounced, and that the truth of prophecy is the fulfillment of things predicted, he continues:

“The truth of a prophecy, I think, is the demonstration of its being from above. Hence there is among us an assured faith in regard to coming events as things already proved to us, for they were predicted along with

⁵² Tertullian, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, chap. 22, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 560, 561.

⁵³ Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, chap. 7, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 326.

⁵⁴ Tertullian, *Apology*, chap. 20, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 33.

what we have day by day fulfilled. They are uttered by the same voices, they are written in the same books—the same Spirit inspires them. All time is one to prophecy foretelling the future.”⁵⁵

6. ANTICHRIST—BEAST—MAN OF SIN IS NEAR.—Tertullian, like Irenaeus, identifies the Antichrist with the Man of Sin and the Beast.⁵⁶ On the one hand he speaks of many antichrists—as indeed John himself does—men who rebel against Christ at any time, and he specifically mentions Marcion and his followers as antichrists.⁵⁷ Yet on the other hand he expects the specific Antichrist just before the resurrection, as a persecutor of the church, under whom the second company of martyrs, awaited by those under the altar of the fifth seal, will be slain, and Enoch and Elijah will meet their long-delayed death.⁵⁸ Unlike Irenaeus, however, Tertullian does not describe Antichrist as a Jew sitting in a Jewish temple at Jerusalem. Indeed, he says that the temple of God is the church.⁵⁹ He expects Antichrist soon.⁶⁰

7. ROME'S CONTINUANCE DELAYS ANTICHRIST'S APPEARANCE.—Commenting on the Antichrist of 2 Thessalonians 2:3-6, he observes truly that it is the Roman state that is the restraining “obstacle” which, by being broken up into the “ten kingdoms,” would make way for Antichrist, who would ultimately be destroyed by the brightness of the advent.

“For that day shall not come, unless indeed there first come a falling away,’ he [Paul] means indeed of this present empire, ‘and that man of sin be revealed,’ that is to say, Antichrist, ‘the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or religion; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, affirming that he is God. Remember ye not, that when I was with you, I used to tell you these things? And now ye know what detaineth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work; only he who now hinders must

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, book 5, chap. 16, and *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, chap. 25, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 463, 464, and 563 respectively.

⁵⁷ Tertullian, *On Prescription Against Hereses*, chap. 4, and *Against Marcion*, book 3, chap. 8, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 245 and 327 respectively.

⁵⁸ Tertullian, *On the Resurrection*, chaps. 25, 27, and *Scorpiace*, chap. 12, and *A Treatise on the Soul*, chap. 50, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 563, 565, and 646, and 227, 228 respectively.

⁵⁹ Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, book 3, chaps. 7, 23, 25, and *On the Resurrection*, chap. 26, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 326, 341, 342, and 564 respectively.

⁶⁰ Tertullian, *De Fuga in Persecutione* (On Flight in Persecution), chap. 12, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 124.

hinder, until he be taken out of the way.' *What obstacle is there but the Roman state, the falling away of which, by being scattered into ten kingdoms, shall introduce Antichrist upon (its own ruins)?* 'And then shall be revealed the wicked one, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming: *even him* whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish.' " ⁸¹

8. BABYLON THE RECOGNIZED FIGURE OF ROME.—The "Babylon" of the Apocalypse is, by Tertullian, applied to the city of Rome and her domination.

"So, again, Babylon, in our own John, is a figure of the city Rome, as being equally great and proud of her sway, and triumphant over the saints." ⁸²

Consonant with such a view, he depicts her as "drunk" with the blood of martyred "saints." ⁸³ Such was the obviously immediate application.

9. ROME'S BREAKUP SIGNAL FOR END.—The mighty shock hanging over the world, Tertullian declares, is retarded only by the continuing existence of the Roman Empire. Rome's breakup will be the signal for the terrors of the end; and so they definitely prayed for Rome's continuance.

"There is also another and a greater necessity for our offering prayer in behalf of the emperors, nay, for the complete stability of the empire, and for Roman interests in general. For we know that a mighty shock impending over the whole earth—in fact, *the very end of all things threatening dreadful woes—is only retarded by the continued existence of the Roman empire.* We have no desire, then, to be overtaken by these dire events; and in praying that their coming may be delayed, we are lending our aid to Rome's duration." ⁸⁴

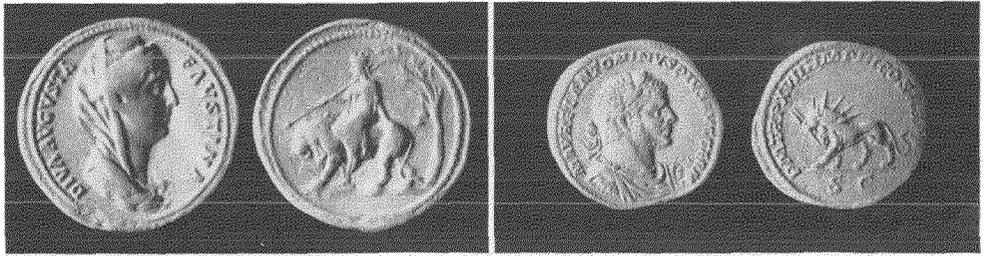
10. ENUMERATES ORDER OF LAST EVENTS.—Tertullian attempts to enumerate the order of last-day events, as brought to view in the Apocalypse—the plagues, Babylon's doom, Antichrist's warfare on the saints, the devil cast into the bottomless

⁸¹ Tertullian, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, chap. 24, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 563. (Italics supplied.)

⁸² Tertullian, *An Answer to the Jews*, chap. 9, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 162.

⁸³ Tertullian, *Scorpice*, chap. 12, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 646.

⁸⁴ Tertullian, *Apology*, chap. 32, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 42, 43. (Italics supplied.)



PROPHETIC SYMBOLS FIND COUNTERPARTS ON ROMAN COINS

Emblem on Back of Faustina Coin Reminds One of the Woman in Purple Riding the Scarlet Beast, in Revelation 17 (Upper Left); Caracalla Coin Picturing Rays, Like Horns on Beast, Exemplifying the Multiple-Horn Device, Used in Prophecy, Was Employed in Roman Days (Right); Maximian Coin Showing Hercules Seeking to Destroy Hydra-headed Symbol of Christianity (Lower Left)

pit, the advent, the resurrection of the saints, the judgment, and the second resurrection, with the harvest at the end of the world; and the sixth seal extending to the final dissolution of the earth and sky, in which he included the stars.⁶⁵

11. PROPHECY SPANS FIRST AND SECOND ADVENTS.—Tertullian regarded prophecy as largely prefiguring, in orderly succession, the chief events and epochs of the church and the world from Christ's first advent to His second coming, and assures us that the events surrounding the second advent, such as the resurrection, were as yet unfulfilled.⁶⁶

12. MILLENNIUM FOLLOWS RESURRECTION OF DEAD.—In controverting Marcion, the most formidable Gnostic heretic who had yet opposed revealed truth, Tertullian contends against the Jewish hope of the restoration of Judea, and for the spiritual significance of the promises to Israel. He maintains that the thousand years of the Apocalypse will follow the resurrection, upon the earth, with the New Jerusalem in its midst, and precede the eternity of heaven.

"Our inquiry relates to what is promised in heaven, not on earth. But we do confess that a kingdom is promised to us upon the earth, although before heaven, only in another state of existence; inasmuch as it will be after the resurrection for a thousand years in the divinely-built

⁶⁵ Tertullian, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, chap. 25, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 563; *Against Hermogenes*, chap. 34, pp. 496, 497.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. 22, pp. 560, 561.

city of Jerusalem, 'let down from heaven,' which the apostle also calls 'our mother from above;' and, while declaring that our *πολίτευμα*, or citizenship, is in heaven, he predicates of it that it is really a city in heaven. This both Ezekiel had knowledge of and the Apostle John beheld. . . .

"This city [new Jerusalem]⁶⁷ has been provided by God for receiving the saints on their resurrection, and refreshing them with the abundance of all really spiritual blessings, as a recompense for those which in the world we have either despised or lost; since it is both just and God-worthy that His servants should have their joy in the place where they have also suffered affliction for His name's sake."⁶⁸

As the next quotation shows, Tertullian describes the resurrection of the saints as covering a period of time, some rising sooner than others.

13. AFTER MILLENNIUM, WORLD'S DESTRUCTION AND HEAVEN.—Tertullian further declares that the world's destruction, at the execution of the judgment, will come at the close of the thousand years spent by the saints in the New Jerusalem on earth.

"Of the heavenly kingdom this is the process. After its thousand years are over, within which period is completed the resurrection of the saints, who rise sooner or later according to their deserts, there will ensue the destruction of the world and the conflagration of all things at the judgment: we shall then be changed in a moment into the substance of angels, even by the investiture of an incorruptible nature, and so be removed to that kingdom in heaven."⁶⁹

14. SEVENTY WEEKS FULFILLED BY FIRST ADVENT.—Tertullian contends that by the prophecy of Daniel's seventy weeks⁷⁰ the time of Christ's incarnation, as well as of His death, is foretold. He gives an extensive sketch of the chronology of the seventy hebdomads, or weeks of years, starting them from the first year of Darius, and continuing to Jerusalem's destruction by the Romans under the command of Titus. This was to show that the seventy weeks were then fully completed, the vision and prophecy thus being sealed by the advent of Christ,

⁶⁷ It is characteristic of the credulity of the ancients, that Tertullian mentions a report of what was evidently a mirage city seen in Judea, and regards it as an advance view of the heavenly city.

⁶⁸ Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, book 3, chap. 25, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 342, 343.

⁶⁹ Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, book 3, chap. 25, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 343.

⁷⁰ Tertullian, *An Answer to the Jews*, chaps. 8, 11, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 158, 159, 168.

which he places at the end of the sixty-two and one-half weeks. His knowledge of chronology is, of course, inexact, as is demonstrated by his putting the destruction of Jerusalem fifty-two and a half years after the birth of Christ.⁷¹

15. ESPOUSED MONTANISM IN PROTEST OF ROMAN LAXITY. —The Montanist movement arose after the middle of the second century. This group purposed to restore what they considered the original Christianity. The Manichæans, on the contrary, attempted to reconstruct Christianity, and questioned the integrity and the authenticity of the Christian records and writers. About the beginning of the third century Tertullian espoused Montanism,⁷² noted for its moral austerity. Repelled by the growing laxity of the Roman clergy and the worldly conformity of the Roman church, he was attracted by the martyr enthusiasm and chiliastic beliefs of the Montanists, who became extremists in millenarian positions.⁷³

The Montanists lived under the vivid impression of the final catastrophe, and directed their desires toward the second advent and the end of the world; but the abatement of the advent hope in the dominant church brought increase of worldliness, as she began to establish herself in the earth. Thus the separating line over this issue of worldly establishment began to be rather definitely drawn as relates to the advent expectancy.

Tertullian ruthlessly exposed the corruptions of the Roman church. He attacked the lax edict of the Roman bishop who had given remission for gross, carnal sins, ironically calling

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-160, 168.

⁷² Montanism, named after Montanus, arose in Phrygia about A.D. 150. It was a reactionary movement against innovations introduced through Gnostic and pagan influences, especially of *gnosis* (knowledge) at the expense of faith. The Montanists were inclined toward extravagance in religion, but it is to their credit that they inveighed against lax morals and lax discipline. They insisted upon holiness at the expense of catholicity. They were strongly ascetic, and wholly rejected the use of wine. They claimed to be the recipients of special revelations, and were intrigued by speculations as to the approaching end of the world. The movement spread among the more spiritual in Asia Minor, Proconsular Africa, and the East. It was Tertullian's reaction against the scandalous laxity of discipline seen in the Roman church under Bishop Zephyrinus, which led him to cast his lot with the Montanists, becoming their greatest theologian. The errors of Montanism consist in an exaggeration of Christian ideas and requirements. Hence it may be regarded as a forerunner of the ascetic emphasis of the fourth and following centuries. (Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 421; Albert H. Newman, *A Manual of Church History*, vol. 1, pp. 202-206, 258-260.)

⁷³ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 417-420, 820, 821.

him "the *Pontifex Maximus*"—a term then referring only to the pagan chief priesthood, which was held by the Roman emperors at this time.⁷⁴ He likewise challenged the power of the "keys" as usurped by the church at Rome.⁷⁵

16. THE SABBATH AND TRADITION.—Before leaving Tertullian we must turn briefly to a different aspect of the picture. While still holding to the advent hope, Tertullian had, in common with the majority, already departed considerably from the original teachings and practices of the church, in bringing in traditional customs which he admits are non-Biblical, as will be seen. Writing against Marcion the Gnostic, he upholds the Sabbath as consecrated by God the Father for the good of man, and not rescinded by Christ but sanctified by His life and action.⁷⁶ But to the Jews he writes that the Sabbaths were Jewish and temporal, and argues for a perpetual, spiritual sabbath, just as he contends for a spiritual eternal law in contrast to a temporal law, and both beginning with the new covenant.⁷⁷

He answers lamely the contention that they were like the worshipers of the sun-god—because they also prayed toward the east and celebrated Sunday—simply by saying, "Do you do less than this?"⁷⁸ He also takes pains to disavow the observance of the Jewish Sabbath.⁷⁹ He explains how the pagans would not join in Christian customs, lest they seem to be Christians, but at the same time declares that Christians were not fearful of being called heathen, though they joined the pagans in their observance of the annual heathen festivals.⁸⁰ Thus the pagans appeared truer to their convictions as to separation than the Christians.

In discussing the Christian soldier's refusal to wear the crown of laurel leaves, Tertullian touches the relation of Scripture to tradition, and whether none save a written tradition

⁷⁴ Tertullian, *On Modesty*, chap. 7, in *ANF*, vol. 4, pp. 74, 75.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 21, p. 99.

⁷⁶ Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, book 4, chap. 12, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 362-364.

⁷⁷ Tertullian, *An Answer to the Jews*, chaps. 4, 6, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 155-157.

⁷⁸ Tertullian, *Apology*, chap. 16, and *Ad Nationes*, book 1, chap. 13, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 31 and 123 respectively.

⁷⁹ Tertullian, *On Idolatry*, chaps. 13, 14, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 68-70.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 14, p. 70.

ought to be received. In this connection he reveals the extent to which customs based on "tradition alone" had crept into the church. He mentions dipping three times in baptism (thus exceeding the Scripture mandate), offerings for the dead, abstaining from fasting or from kneeling in worship on the "Lord's day" and from Easter to Whitsunday, undue veneration for bread and wine, and the use of the sign of the cross.⁸¹ Then comes this startlingly frank admission: "*If, for these and other such rules, you insist upon having positive Scripture injunction, you will find none. Tradition will be held forth to you as the originator of them, custom as their strengthener, and faith as their observer.*"⁸²

Nevertheless, we find in this period our five determining factors in the advent belief still standing forth—the literal resurrection of the dead at the second advent; the millennial period following the advent; the Antichrist expected upon the heels of Rome's breakup; and, in the interpretation of outline prophecies, Christ's first advent fulfilling the seventy weeks of Daniel, Christ's second coming as the smiting stone of Daniel 2, Rome as the fourth world power to be divided into ten kingdoms, and considerable emphasis upon last-day events as disclosed in the Apocalypse. Thus premillennialism, despite certain departures, is still predominant.

IV. Clement of Alexandria's Chronology of Seventy Weeks

As the second century drew to its eventful close, the growing church entered upon a new stage in its history. It had already spread from the land of its birth out to Britain in one direction and to the Ganges in the other, and all the way from its original base in Syria to the delta of the Nile. Alexandria, with its great libraries, was famous as a seat of learning. The Alexandrian church, which became the rival of Antioch and Rome, was at the center of two streams of influence. There, says Schaff, "the religious life of Palestine and the intellectual

⁸¹ Tertullian, *The Chaplet, or de Corona*, chaps. 1-3, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 93-95.

⁸² *Ibid.*, chap. 4, p. 95. (Italics supplied.)

culture of Greece commingled and prepared the way for the first school of theology which aimed at a philosophic comprehension and vindication of the truths of revelation."⁸³

Alexandria's catechetical school was well known, with Pantaenus of Sicily as one of its early heads. Farrar gives a valuable pen picture of Alexandria that may well be borne in mind in familiarizing ourselves with Clement of Alexandria:

"But Alexandria was pre-eminently the home of theosophy, the seat of those studies in which Judaism and the religions of the East were deeply affected by contact with Platonism and other schools of Greek philosophy. Christianity, while making itself felt among these forms of belief, received in turn a powerful impress from the prevalent conceptions. In such a city as Alexandria—with its museum, its libraries, its lectures, its schools of philosophy, its splendid synagogue, its avowed atheists, its deep-thinking Oriental mystics—the Gospel would have been powerless if it had been unable to produce teachers who were capable of meeting Pagan philosophers and Jewish Philonists and eastern Eclectics on their own ground."⁸⁴

It was during this time that Clement, who soon developed into one of the best-known early Christian writers, became one of Pantaenus' students. Through his writings he showed paganism to be an outworn, futile creed, to be dismissed with contempt, as he exposed the folly and irrationality of its multiple gods. He showed that pagan mythologies had polluted the very atmosphere of life. And he became the ethical philosopher of the Christians, as he sketched the reformation which Christianity imposed on society.⁸⁵

TITUS FLAVIUS CLEMENS, or Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-c. 220), whose birthplace is unknown, was originally a pagan philosopher. Upon entering the Christian church he sought instruction from its most eminent teachers, traveling extensively in Greece, Italy, Egypt, and Palestine. Thus he came to Pantaenus at Alexandria, and soon became celebrated for his learning, and was made a presbyter in the church of Alexandria. He became the illustrious head of the Catechetical

⁸³ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 778.

⁸⁴ Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 262.

⁸⁵ Coxe, Introductory Note to Clement of Alexandria, in *ANF*, vol. 2, p. 165; see also Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 261-290; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 5, pp. 799, 800, art. "Clement of Alexandria."

School, possibly about 189, succeeding his master, Pantaenus. Among his pupils was Origen, who was his successor in the same school. He left the city during the severe persecution under Septimius Severus, fleeing to Syria about 202. Later he appeared in Palestine and Asia Minor.

Clement was the contemporary of Tertullian of Carthage, but he wrote in Greek. His Old Testament quotations are from the Septuagint, as Greek was the universal language of the eastern Mediterranean, and even the churches of the West were really Greek religious colonies. His chief works form a trilogy—*The Exhortation to the Heathen* (an exposure of the sordidness of heathenism), *The Instructor* (a guide for the formation of Christian character), and his greatest, the *Stromata* (Miscellanies). This latter is an unorganized discussion of doctrinal theology or Christian philosophy, written in opposition to Gnosticism. It is a medley, bringing out the blended beauties and monstrosities of the pagan world of antiquity. It contains chronology, philosophy, and poetry. Clement's tendency was to construe the Bible philosophically, and to lean toward speculation. Greek philosophy was to him the preparatory stage of the Christian faith. This tendency continued to grow until it changed the whole emphasis of the church.

1. SEVENTY WEEKS INCLUDE CHRIST'S ADVENT.—A treatise *On Prophecy* is included in a list of works which Clement refers to "as written or about to be written" by him. There is only scattered treatment of prophecy in the *Stromata*. Clement was one of the first, of whom we have record, to apply the seventy weeks historically. In *Stromata*, after quoting Daniel 9:24-27, Clement declares that the temple was built in the prophesied "seven weeks,"⁸⁶ or first period. During the "sixty and two weeks" all Judea was quiet. Then "Christ our Lord, 'the Holy of Holies,' having come and fulfilled the vision of the prophecy, was anointed in His flesh by the Holy Spirit of His Father." Clement says that Christ was "Lord" during the

⁸⁶ Clement, *The Stromata, or Miscellanies*, book 1, chap. 21, in *ANF*, vol. 2, p. 329.

one week. Clement thought that in the first "half of the week" Nero held sway, and placed the abomination in the holy city Jerusalem; and in the other half of the week he was taken away, and Otho, and Galba, and Vitellius reigned. Then "Vespasian rose to the supreme power, and destroyed Jerusalem, and desolated the holy place"⁸⁷ at the end of the period.

2. DANIEL'S LONGER PERIODS APPLIED TO JERUSALEM'S DESTRUCTION.—Later in the chapter, in discussing further the time phase of Daniel's prophecy, Clement gives more detail. He applies not only the seventieth week to the seven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, but the 1290, 1335, and 2300 days as well:

"I mean the days which Daniel indicates from the desolation of Jerusalem, the seven years and seven months of the reign of Vespasian. For the two years are added to the seventeen months and eighteen days of Otho, and Galba, and Vitellius; and the result is three years and six months, which is 'the half of the week,' as Daniel the prophet said. For he said that there were two thousand three hundred days from the time that the abomination of Nero stood in the holy city, till its destruction. For thus the declaration, which is subjoined, shows: 'How long shall be the vision, the sacrifice taken away, the abomination of desolation, which is given, and the power and the holy place shall be trodden under foot? And he said to him, Till the evening and morning, two thousand three hundred days, and the holy place shall be taken away.'⁸⁸

"These two thousand three hundred days, then, make six years four months, during the half of which Nero held sway, and it was half a week; and for a half, Vespasian with Otho, Galba, and Vitellius reigned. And on this account Daniel says, 'Blessed is he that cometh to the thousand three hundred and thirty-five days.' For up to these days was war, and after them it ceased. And this number is demonstrated from a subsequent chapter, which is as follows: 'And from the time of the change of continuation, and of the giving of the abomination of desolation, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three and thirty-five days.'⁸⁹

This very imperfect attempt at the chronology of the seventy weeks by Clement was next taken up by Julius Af-

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ In his endeavor to explain and to harmonize Bible truth with Grecian dialectics, after the manner of Philo, Clement made Daniel 8:14 read "the holy place shall be *taken away*" to make it fit the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70—a mistranslation unless he followed a text different from both the Septuagint and the Theodotion versions of Daniel.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

ricanus, with whom he was a partial contemporary.⁹⁰ Maitland's comment on Clement's discussion is, "The attempt can scarcely be termed successful."⁹¹ However, later expositors rectified and clarified this vital prophecy of the Messianic prophecy of the seventy weeks of years.

⁹⁰ For Africanus, see page 279.

⁹¹ Charles Maitland, *The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation*, p. 166.

Hippolytus and Julius Africanus

I. Hippolytus First Systematic Expositor

HIPPOLYTUS (d. c. 236), called by some bishop of Rome and by others bishop of Porto, or Portus Romanus,¹ doubtless spent the greater portion of his life in Rome and its vicinity. Hippolytus was unquestionably one of the most learned scholars and theologians, and most voluminous writers in Greek of his day. Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria were the leading centers of Christendom in the third century. And Rome was the meeting place of East and West—a Latin church growing up around the original Greek-speaking church, where the Greek language was still preponderant in the third century. Hippolytus' numerous works had a circulation spreading eastward from Italy, some of them being translated into Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and perhaps other languages, and some being written under various pseudonyms. Eusebius indefinitely calls him "bishop," places him as a contemporary of Origen, and lists certain of his writings.²

An ancient statue was recovered in 1551—a venerable figure seated in a bishop's chair.³ On the back of the chair was engraved the paschal cycle, or Easter table, of Hippolytus,

¹ Porto, anciently Portus Romanus, was on a harbor some fifteen miles from Rome, on the northern side of the mouth of the Tiber. (Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 761.)

² Eusebius, *Church History*, book 6, chaps. 20, 22, 23, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 268-271.

³ Christopher Wordsworth, *St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, pp. 29-33; Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 1, Note on St. Hippolytus, p. 89; see also C. C. J. Bunsen, *Hippolytus and His Age*, vol. 1, Preface, p. xxii; also pp. 13, 210, 223.



Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus Romanus, Opponent of Two Bishops of Rome, Whose Exposition of Daniel Affords a Most Remarkable View of Third-Century Prophetic Interpretation; Back of Chair on Which Hippolytus Is Seated Lists Books of Which He Was Author, Thus Identifying Him as Writer Also of a Treatise on Apocalypse

together with a list of some of his writings. This list furnished the key to the authorship of some of his important works hitherto unidentified. Later Greek writers, not distinguishing strictly the city of Rome from the surrounding country, had frequently called him "bishop of Rome," and the Roman church herself placed him in the list of her saints and martyrs little suspecting, at the time, that certain of his writings were inimical to her doctrines and pretensions, and would later be brought forward in accusation against her.⁴

⁴ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 759; Wordsworth, *St. Hippolytus*, pp. 254 ff.

1. OPPONENT OF TWO ROMAN BISHOPS.—Hippolytus was an opponent of two ambitious Roman bishops of his day,⁵ charging them with error and rebuking them for misconduct.⁶ This shows no conception of Rome's possessing any pre-eminent authority to which others were to defer, and attributes to the bishops of Rome anything but infallibility. He followed Irenaeus' example, whose spirit he reflected, in withstanding contemporary bishops who merited rebuke for error in doctrine and viciousness of life. While Irenaeus sharply reprimanded Victor (about 190) for arrogance and intolerance in breaking fellowship with the churches of Asia Minor, Hippolytus went further. He devotes entire chapters in his *Refutation of All Heresies* to excoriating Zephyrinus and Callistus, who had aspired to the papal chair, and who gloried in attracting the multitudes, though gaining both by unworthy means. He exposes their heresy, declaring them cunning, deceitful, covetous, and susceptible to bribes.⁷ This book is now acknowledged, beyond reasonable challenge, to be the work of Hippolytus.⁸

The former rarity of this treatise—one of the most instructive and important productions of the ante-Nicene church—is easily accounted for by its offensive opposition to the contemporary bishops of the Roman church,⁹ as it sheds much light not only on the ancient heresies but on the attitude and condition of the Roman church at the beginning of the third century.

2. REMARKABLE CONTEMPORARY EXPOSITION OF DANIEL.—Hippolytus left several works on prophecy, among which are his commentary "On Daniel," and his remarkable *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*. He is said by Jerome and others to have also written a treatise on the Apocalypse. But this is apparently not extant, though some fragments are preserved. Although he wrote commentaries on various prophets, his chief

⁵ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 160.

⁶ Hippolytus, *The Refutation of All Heresies*, book 9, chap. 2, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 125.

⁷ *Ibid.*, chaps. 6, 7, pp. 128-131; see also Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 765.

⁸ Coxe, Introductory Notice to Hippolytus, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 3-7.

⁹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 764, 765.

emphasis was on Daniel, his interpretation leaving an imperishable imprint. His *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* is acclaimed by various scholars as bearing every mark of genuineness, though its attack on a contemporary Roman bishop (Callistus), resulted in its suppression, and it almost perished from the earth.¹⁰ This treatise contains the most remarkable contemporary exposition of the prophecies left on record from the third century. Hippolytus was a decided premillennialist,¹¹ and regarded the prophetic page as the sacred calendar of the future, listing the successive Gentile empires from Babylon on to the finishing of the mystery of God. He declared that the mysteries of the future, foreshown by the prophets, will be revealed by God's servants. Let us take first a panoramic view of his main outline of exposition.

3. PARALLELS OUTLINE OF DANIEL 2 AND 7.—In the fragments from his commentary on Daniel, and also in his monumental *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, Hippolytus gives a most remarkable exposition of Daniel's paralleling prophecies of chapters 2, 7, and 8, which he, in common with the other fathers—only more specifically—asserts pertain to the Babylonians, Medo-Persians, Greeks, and Romans. The latter power he declares to be existent at the time of his writing, awaiting division into the predicted ten kingdoms—these in turn to be followed by the coming of the dread Antichrist, who would terribly persecute the saints. All this would then be terminated by Christ's glorious, personal second advent, accompanied by the first resurrection—that of the righteous—to take the kingdom, with Antichrist destroyed at His coming. Then will follow the conflagration and just judgment upon the wicked. Such, in brief, was his essential belief on the prophetic outline. He stresses the second advent as the goal of all prophecy. He clearly implies a premillennial coming of Christ.¹²

¹⁰ George Salmon, "Hippolytus Romanus," Smith and Wace, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 97, 98.

¹¹ Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, sec. 44, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 213.

¹² Hippolytus, *Fragments From Commentaries*, "On Daniel," fragment 2, chaps. 3, 4, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 179.

Noting specifically the preface to his exposition on Daniel, we find that he outlines with striking clearness the four world powers before mentioned. This is so striking and so basic that it merits most careful study.

"1. In speaking of a 'lioness from the sea,' he [Daniel] meant the rising of the kingdom of Babylon, and that this was the 'golden head of the image.' . . . Then after the lioness he sees a second beast, 'like a bear,' which signified the Persians. For after the Babylonians the Persians obtained the power. And in saying that 'it had three ribs in its mouth,' he pointed to the three nations, Persians, Medes, and Babylonians, which were expressed in the image by the silver after the gold. Then comes the third beast, 'a leopard,' which means the Greeks; for after the Persians, Alexander of Macedon had the power, when Darius was overthrown, which was also indicated by the brass in the image. And in saying that the beast 'had four wings of a fowl, and four heads,' he showed most clearly how the kingdom of Alexander was parted into four divisions. For in speaking of four heads, he meant the four kings that arose out of it. For Alexander, when dying, divided his kingdom into four parts. Then he says, 'The fourth beast (was) dreadful and terrible: it had iron teeth, and claws of brass.' Who, then, are meant by this but the Romans, whose kingdom, the kingdom that still stands, is expressed by the iron? 'for,' says he, 'its legs are of iron.'" ¹³

The image of Daniel 2 and the four beasts of Daniel 7 are declared to be identical in scope, simply with amplification in Daniel 7. These he proceeds to parallel:

"Let us look at what is before us more carefully, and scan it, as it were, with open eye. The 'golden head of the image' is identical with the 'lioness,' by which the Babylonians were represented. 'The golden shoulders and the arms of silver' are the same with the 'bear,' by which the Persians and Medes are meant. 'The belly and thighs of brass' are the 'leopard,' by which the Greeks who ruled from Alexander onwards are intended. The 'legs of iron' are the 'dreadful and terrible beast,' by which the Romans who hold the empire now are meant. The 'toes of clay and iron' are the 'ten horns' which are to be. The 'one other little horn springing up in their midst' is the 'antichrist.' The stone that 'smites the image and breaks it in pieces,' and that filled the whole earth, is Christ, who comes from heaven and brings judgment on the world."¹⁴

4. PERSIAN RAM AND GRECIAN HE-GOAT.—The "ram" and the "he-goat" of Daniel 8 are clearly identified, respectively, as

¹³ *Ibid.*, chap. 1, p. 178.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 3, pp. 178, 179; see also pp. 208-210 for his fuller treatment in *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*.

Persia and Greece,¹⁶ the outlines of Daniel 2, 7, and 8 thus being blended into one composite whole.

5. ANTICHRIST LITTLE HORN AMONG ROME'S TEN DIVISIONS.—Hippolytus assures us that the visions of the prophets clearly and exactly disclose the future events of history, and that faithful accuracy in their exposition is required.¹⁶ Ten kingdoms are to supplant Rome, and Antichrist is to appear among them. This bold declaration is perhaps the most comprehensive and striking paragraph in his prophetic interpretation, *and the most remarkable of all expositions of the time*; for although recognizing the risk assumed, he declares openly, in regard to Rome and her future, what the prophets have hidden in mystic symbol.

"The legs of iron, and the beast dreadful and terrible, expressed the Romans, who hold the sovereignty at present; the toes of the feet which were part clay and part iron, and the ten horns, were emblems of the kingdoms that are yet to rise; the other little horn that grows up among them meant the Antichrist in their midst; the stone that smites the earth and brings judgment upon the world was Christ.

"These things, beloved, we impart to you with fear, and yet readily, on account of the love of Christ, which surpasseth all. For if the blessed prophets who preceded us did not choose to proclaim these things, though they knew them, openly and boldly, lest they should disquiet the souls of men, but recounted them mystically in parables and dark sayings, speaking thus, 'Here is the mind which hath wisdom,' how much greater risk shall we run in venturing to declare openly things spoken by them in obscure terms! Let us look, therefore, at the things which are to befall this unclean harlot in the last days; and (let us consider) what and what manner of tribulation is destined to visit her in the wrath of God before the judgment as an earnest of her doom."¹⁷

6. HISTORY AUTHENTICATES DANIEL'S PROPHETIC OUTLINE.—Then Hippolytus enters into a personal colloquy with the prophets, and shows impressively how history authenticates Daniel's prophetic outline.

"Speak with me, O blessed Daniel. Give me full assurance, I be-

¹⁶ Hippolytus, *Fragments From Commentaries*, "On Daniel," fragment 2, chap. 8, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 179, 180.

¹⁶ Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, chap. 2, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 204, 205.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, chaps. 28, 29, p. 210.

seech thee. Thou dost prophesy concerning the lioness in Babylon; for thou wast a captive there. Thou hast unfolded the future regarding the bear; for thou wast still in the world, and didst see the things come to pass. Then thou speakest to me of the leopard; and whence canst thou know this, for thou art already gone to thy rest? Who instructed thee to announce these things, but He who formed thee in (from) thy mother's womb? That is God, thou sayest. Thou hast spoken indeed, and that not falsely. The leopard has arisen; the he-goat is come; he hath smitten the ram; he hath broken his horns in pieces; he hath stamped upon him with his feet. He has been exalted by his fall; (the) four horns have come up from under that one. Rejoice, blessed Daniel! thou hast not been in error: all these things have come to pass.

"After this again thou hast told me of the beast dreadful and terrible. 'It had iron teeth and claws of brass: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it.' Already the iron rules; already it subdues and breaks all in pieces; already it brings all the unwilling into subjection; already we see these things ourselves. Now we glorify God, being instructed by thee."¹⁸

7. ANTICHRIST'S DESTRUCTION AT SECOND ADVENT.—Antichrist, his coming, his fearful persecution of the saints, and his destruction are studied in connection with the second advent, the resurrection of the just at the end of the world, the kingdom of the saints, and the punishment of the wicked. These are the continuing burden of this treatise.

"It is proper that we take the Holy Scriptures themselves in hand, and find out from them what, and of what manner, the coming of Antichrist is; on what occasion and at what time that impious one shall be revealed; and whence and from what tribe (he shall come); and what his name is, which is indicated by the number in the Scripture; and how he shall work error among the people, gathering them from the ends of the earth; and (how) he shall stir up tribulation and persecution against the saints; and how he shall glorify himself as God; and what his end shall be; and how the sudden appearing of the Lord shall be revealed from heaven; and what the conflagration of the whole world shall be; and what the glorious and heavenly kingdom of the saints is to be, when they reign together with Christ; and what the punishment of the wicked by fire."¹⁹

Hippolytus covers the same ground, but in slightly different phraseology and with sometimes even stronger emphasis, in his *Scholia on Daniel*, preserved among the *Fragments*, in which he

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, chaps. 32, 33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 205; see also chap. 65. p. 218.

also quotes supporting testimony from other commentators holding like positions.²⁰ Then he turns to the Apocalypse for information as to the fated end of "Babylon," which he identifies as Rome.²¹

8. CONCEIVES ANTICHRIST TO BE A JEW.—In the interpretation of the Little Horn, Hippolytus enters the realm of speculation. His view was obviously influenced by pagan and Jewish concepts which will be clearly set forth in chapter 13. He suggested that the Antichrist, to follow Rome's division, would be of *Jewish* origin, and would set up the Jewish kingdom, plucking up Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, as the "three horns," and in turn be overthrown by the kingdom of God.²² He believed Antichrist, "that tyrant and king," "that son of the devil," would come from the tribe of Dan,²³ as Christ came from Judah.

"For the deceiver [Antichrist] seeks to liken himself in all things to the Son of God. Christ is a lion, so Antichrist is also a lion; Christ is a king, so Antichrist is also a king. The Saviour was manifested as a lamb; so he too, in like manner, will appear as a lamb, though within he is a wolf. The Saviour came into the world in the circumcision, and he will come in the same manner. The Lord sent apostles among all the nations, and he in like manner will send false apostles. The Saviour gathered together the sheep that were scattered abroad, and he in like manner will bring together a people that is scattered abroad. The Lord gave a seal to those who believed on Him, and he will give one in like manner. The Saviour appeared in the form of man, and he too will come in the form of a man. The Saviour raised up and showed His holy flesh like a temple, and he will raise a temple of stone in Jerusalem."²⁴

This conception of an individual Antichrist at the end of the world, be it noted, became the common interpretation of the Roman church; consequently, it held the field for centuries, until the rise of the interpretation identifying Antichrist as an ecclesiastical system already developing.

²⁰ Hippolytus, *Fragments From Commentaries*, "Scholia on Daniel," in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 185-191.

²¹ Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, chaps. 36-42, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 211, 212.

²² Hippolytus, *Fragments From Commentaries*, "On Daniel," fragment 2, chap. 2, and *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, chaps. 25, 26, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 178 and 209 respectively.

²³ Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, chaps. 14, 15, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 207.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 6, p. 206.

9. ANTICHRIST SEEN IN DANIEL 11.—Hippolytus also introduces a rather remarkable exposition into the latter part of Daniel, identifying the “shameless king” (Dan. 11:36) as Antichrist, who is to build Jerusalem, restore the sanctuary, and accept worship as Christ.²⁵

10. SEES 1260, 1290, 1335 MERELY AS DAYS.—Hippolytus interprets the 1260 days as the preaching of the two witnesses during the first half of the “one week”; the 1290 days as the three and a half years of Antichrist’s war on the saints, the second half of the week. To those who survive the forty-five days beyond the 1290, completing 1335 days, the kingdom of heaven comes. In the phrase “unto evening and morning” he interprets the evening as the consummation of this age and the morning as the beginning of the new age—the day of the resurrection. The fourteen hundred days, for which he gives no source, ends with the purging of the sanctuary by the destruction of the adversary.²⁶

11. FIRST RESURRECTION AT SECOND ADVENT.—Hippolytus identifies the concluding events of Daniel with those of the Apocalypse, applying them alike to the second advent, which would be marked by the literal resurrection of the righteous dead.²⁷

12. CHURCH FLEES DURING ANTICHRIST’S RULE.—The woman of Revelation 12 is, he declares, the church; the twelve stars are the twelve apostles; the man-child is Christ. The church flees to the wilderness while Antichrist rules during the time of tribulation.²⁸

13. TWO BEASTS—ROMAN EMPIRE AND ANTICHRIST.—The first of the two beasts of Revelation 13 was, he believed, the Roman Empire, the same as the fourth beast of Daniel. The second beast with two lamblike horns (Rev. 13:11-18) he applied

²⁵ Hippolytus, *Fragments From Commentaries*, “On Daniel,” fragment 2, chap. 39, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 184.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, chaps. 39, 40, 44, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 184, 185.

²⁷ Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, chap. 65, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 218.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, chaps. 60-62, pp. 217, 218.

to the kingdom of Antichrist, the two horns representing Antichrist and his false prophet. This would revive the image of the old Roman Empire by healing its deadly wound through governing after the manner of Roman law, thus giving it life and making it speak.²⁹ This application, it might be observed, will occur again and again through the march of the centuries, not only in early periods, but in Reformation times as well, and even in the great second Advent Awakening of the early decades of the nineteenth century.

14. MYSTICAL NUMBER (666) FROM LATEINOS.—As to the mystical number, 666, Hippolytus follows the solutions of his master Irenaeus, enumerating *Lateinos*, *Evanthas*, and *Teitan*, but without dogmatism, believing, however, that the name is somehow tied up with the Latins.³⁰

15. SEVENTY PROPHETIC WEEKS OF LITERAL YEARS.—Although Hippolytus cites Daniel 8:14 for 1300 days [*sic*] of Antiochus' desolation of the temple, he follows the long-established usage in interpreting Daniel's seventy prophetic weeks to be weeks of literal years. He makes the "forty-nine" years its first section, from the first year of Darius the Mede to Ezra, with the "434 years" reaching between Ezra and the birth of Christ.³¹ Hippolytus used a novel sixteen-year cycle—which, however, is not astronomically correct—in interpreting the seventy weeks.³²

16. ARBITRARILY SEPARATES LAST WEEK FROM 69.—Hippolytus places the period of Antichrist's predicted domination of three and one-half "times," or 1260 days, in the last half of the "last week" of Daniel's seventieth hebdomad, or week of years, which he *arbitrarily separates by a chronological gap from the preceding sixty-nine weeks, placing it just before the end of the world*,³³ and dividing the seventieth week between the two sack-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, chaps. 48, 49, p. 214.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 50, p. 215.

³¹ Hippolytus, *Fragments From Commentaries*, "On Daniel," fragment 2, chaps. 10-16, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 180, 181.

³² Salmon, "Hippolytus," Smith and Wace, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 91, 92.

³³ Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, chap. 43, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 213.

cloth-robed witnesses (Enoch and Elijah) and the Antichrist.³⁴ Hippolytus is believed to be the first to have projected such a theory,³⁵ making the sixty-nine weeks reach from the first year of Darius the Mede to Christ's *first* coming, and the seventieth to begin separately after a gap, just before Christ's *second* coming. Most early expositors explain Daniel's hebdomads as having their full accomplishment in Christ's death, or the consequent destruction of Jerusalem by Roman armies, and having no reference to the future Antichrist.

17. 6,000-YEAR EXPECTATION AND SEPTUAGINT CHRONOLOGY.—Hippolytus was, moreover, apparently the first to fall into the error of setting a specific date for the second advent by calculation, fixing upon A.D. 500, on the basis of the generally held six-thousand-year theory of the world's duration.³⁶ He assumes, like Irenaeus his teacher, that, inasmuch as God made all things in six days, and these days symbolize a thousand years each, in six thousand years from the creation the end will come. This he definitely connects with the prophecies of both Daniel and the Apocalypse, concerning the Antichrist, dating the incarnation in the year of the world 5500³⁷ (which would end the six thousand years about 250 years after Hippolytus' day). These figures were evidently based on the erroneous and misleading Septuagint chronology, which is several centuries longer than the Hebrew.

Though sadly mistaken in some points, Hippolytus was nevertheless a profound believer in the second personal advent of Christ in glory to raise the dead literally, to destroy the coming Antichrist, and to glorify His saints in their eternal dominion.³⁸ He lived at a critical moment, and was obviously seeking to calm the minds and confirm the faith of those agitated by severe persecution, who believed that the end was at the door.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, chaps. 43-47, pp. 212, 213.

³⁵ Fraidl, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 156.

³⁶ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 769, 770.

³⁷ Hippolytus, *Fragments From Commentaries*, "On Daniel," fragment 2, chaps. 4-7, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 179. For the thousand-year theory, see page 303.

³⁸ Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, chaps. 66, 67, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 219.

His was a remarkable grasp as concerns the leading prophetic symbols, and the outline prophecies terminating in the advent—doubtless the peak of advent witness before the great perversion of all five fundamental factors turns the church from truth to the error of a false position and expectation.

II. Julius Africanus—Terminates Seventy Weeks With Christ

The early history of the churches of Egypt is not more certain than that of Gaul. Toward the close of the second century, we find a school of theology in operation in Alexandria. Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-c. 220) was trained there, and Origen succeeded him as head of the famous catechetical school. As noted, Alexandria was the common meeting place of the traditions of East and West. Now note one of her sons.

JULIUS AFRICANUS (c. 160-c. 240), Christian traveler and historian, was a pupil of Heraclas, of the Alexandrian school, probably between A.D. 228 and A.D. 232. He later lived in Emmaus (Nicomopolis) in Palestine, but left practically no other biographical data. He was a man of extensive learning. He is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome and other authors. Only portions of his writings have been preserved to us, including fragments of his *Chronography*, which begins with the cosmogony of Moses and continues down to the advent of Christ, and then summarizes events thereafter to the emperor Macrinus. One section pertains to the computation of the seventy weeks of Daniel 9, thrice stressing their beginning from Artaxerxes' time. This is both interesting and valuable as early data. Here is his general statement.

I. SEVENTY WEEKS FROM ARTAXERXES TO SAVIOUR'S TIME.
—Africanus' witness to the chronology of the seventy weeks has much significance:

“On the Seventy Weeks of Daniel.

“1. This passage, therefore, as it stands thus, touches on many marvellous things. At present, however, I shall speak only of those things in it which bear upon chronology, and matters connected therewith. That

the passage speaks then of the advent of Christ, who was to manifest Himself after seventy weeks, is evident. For in the Saviour's time, or from Him, are transgressions abrogated, and sins brought to an end. And through remission, moreover, are iniquities, along with offences, blotted out by expiation; and an everlasting righteousness is preached, different from that which is by the law, and visions and prophecies (are) until John, and the Most Holy is anointed. For before the advent of the Saviour these things were not yet, and were therefore only looked for. . . .

"And the beginning of the numbers, that is, of the seventy weeks which make up 490 years, the angel instructs us to take from the going forth of the commandment to answer and to build Jerusalem. . . .

"And reckoning from that point, we make up seventy weeks to the time of Christ. For if we begin to reckon from any other point, and not from this, the periods will not correspond, and very many odd results will meet us. . . .

"It is by calculating from Artaxerxes, therefore, up to the time of Christ that the seventy weeks are made up, according to the numeration of the Jews."³⁹

In seeking to extend the period from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes to Christ he finds it necessary to harmonize the supposed Jewish reckoning with the Roman in considerable detail.⁴⁰ He concludes:

"There are in all the 475 years already noted, which in the Hebrew system make 490 years, as has been previously stated, that is, 70 weeks, by which period the time of Christ's advent was measured in the announcement made to Daniel by Gabriel."⁴¹

2. DATED FROM 444 B.C. TO A.D. 31.—Africanus begins the seventy weeks with the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, in Olympiad 83, year 4, and ends the period in Olympiad 202, year 2—or a total of 475 solar years inclusive, which would be the equivalent of 490 uncorrected lunar years. In our reckoning this is the same as from 444 B.C. to A.D. 31.

"It is by calculating from Artaxerxes, therefore, up to the time of Christ that the seventy weeks are made up, according to the numeration of the Jews. For from Nehemiah, who was despatched by Artaxerxes to build Jerusalem in the 115th year of the Persian Empire, and the 4th year of the 83d Olympiad, and the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes

³⁹ Julius Africanus, *The Extant Fragments of the Five Books of the Chronography of Julius Africanus*, fragment 16, in *ANF*, vol. 6, pp. 134, 135.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, fragments 16, 18, pp. 135, 137.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, fragment 18, chap. 3, p. 137.

himself, up to this date, which was the second year of the 202d Olympiad, and the 16th year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, there are reckoned 475 years, which make 490 according to Hebrew numeration, as they measure the years by the course of the moon; so that, as is easy to show, their year consists of 354 days, while the solar year has 365 1/4 days. For the latter exceeds the period of twelve months, according to the moon's course, by 11 1/4 days. Hence the Greeks and the Jews insert three intercalary months every 8 years. For 8 times 11 1/4 days makes up 3 months. Therefore 475 years make 59 periods of eight years each, and 3 months besides. But since thus there are 3 intercalary months every 8 years, we get thus 15 years *minus* a few days; and these being added to the 475 years, make up in all the 70 weeks."⁴²

3. CURIOUS ATTEMPT TO DECIPHER 2300 DAYS.—After referring to the standard interpretation of the "ram" and the "he-goat," as symbolizing Persia and Greece, Africanus next curiously suggests that the 2300 days might be taken for months, totaling about 185 years extending from the capture of Jerusalem to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes' reign.⁴³ He seems to have been isolated in this interpretation. Thus again is exemplified the mingling of other reckonings along with the year-day principle, which Africanus uses for the seventy weeks.

Up to this point we have seen how the first three centuries were marked by severe struggles within the expanding Christian church. Almost every major teaching was reviewed and challenged. Heresies sprang into being, and these heresies exploited certain books of Scripture and rejected others in an effort to sustain their teachings. Gnosticism, for example, exhausted every combination of Christianity and philosophy, from asceticism to sensualism, from rationalism and intellectualism to ceremonialism and Judaizing. Cerinthus, who stressed the Judaizing element, emphasized some of the canonical books, but rejected Paul, and entertained chiliastic notions of an extreme character.

Such extravagances as those of the Gnostic Cerinthus and of the Montanists, became associated with chiliasm in the minds of the main body of Christians, and there arose a reaction in

⁴² *Ibid.*, fragment 17, p. 135.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, fragment 18, chap. 4, p. 137.

the church against millenarianism of any shade, beginning about the middle of the third century, with Origen, and later especially with Dionysius, of Alexandria. Westcott, who notes a logical connection between Cerinthus' Judaizing and his chiliastic views, says that "the reaction itself became extreme; and imagery in itself essentially Scriptural and pure was confounded with the glosses by which it had been interpreted,"⁴⁴ and that consequently the book of Revelation came to be viewed with distrust for a time.

Before proceeding, however, to the discussion of Origen and Dionysius, and the later fundamental change in the church's attitude, it is necessary to examine the nature and background of chiliasm and other beliefs connected with the advent. In the following chapter we shall discover a close connection between the extreme views of chiliasm and contemporary Jewish apocalyptic writings.

⁴⁴ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 274, 275.

Non-Christian Influences on Christian Interpretation

Chapter 8 introduced the Jewish apocalyptic writings of the pre-Christian period in the first Christian century, that is, preceding the New Testament writing. Then, to avoid breaking the narrative of the interpretations of prophecy in the early church, several examples of Jewish apocalyptic writings have been held for this chapter. Here they will be considered in connection with the influence of Jewish apocalyptic writings on Christian thought, particularly on the extreme and at times absurd ideas held by some, a procedure which will help to explain why the church, about this time, began to frown on chiliasm.

I. Messianic Speculations of Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch

The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, or Second Baruch, written in the latter half of the first century A.D., was a composite work which evidently made use of a number of independent writings belonging to various dates between A.D. 50 and 90, and was therefore contemporaneous with the bulk of the New Testament writings.¹ It is an apology and defense of Judaism, and offers a clear example of the arguments and understandings which prevailed in Judaism in the latter half of the first century.

The work was translated into Syriac from Greek, and only

¹ Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, p. 470.

a few fragments are left from the original Hebrew, with numerous phrases from the Greek translation. But the Syriac version is preserved entire in a sixth-century manuscript. This Apocalypse of Baruch bears so strong a relationship to Second Esdras, or Fourth Ezra, that some have assumed their identity. But the pronounced divergencies forbid such a view. There is also a Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, which is of later origin, and evidently had a Christian redactor. But we are here dealing only with the Syriac version. These are its leading features:

1. DEATH, SIN, AND RESURRECTION.—The writer adheres to the older Jewish view that the dead are asleep. "For there have been many years like those that are desolate from the days of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and of all those who are like them, who sleep in the earth." Apoc. Bar. 21:24.

The anticipated resurrection will take place only after the decreed number of persons have lived on this earth.

"Because when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, then the multitude of those who should be born was numbered, and for that number a place was prepared where the living might dwell and the dead might be guarded. *Before* therefore the number aforesaid is fulfilled, the creature will not live again, and Sheol will receive the dead." Apoc. Bar. 23:4, 5.

Death came through sin, but not by inherited sin from Adam, but by individually acquired sin in like manner as Adam.

"Each brings life or death upon himself. For though Adam first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet for those who were born from him each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come." Apoc. Bar. 54:15.

"Adam is therefore not the cause, save only for his own soul, but each of us has been the Adam of his own soul." Verse 19.

2. VIVID EXPECTATION OF JUDGMENT SCENES.—Baruch's eschatological picture is very explicit, including the judgment (chapter 24), the abandonment of all hope because of the severe tribulations (chapter 25), the twelve woes (chapter 27)

which will sweep over the world. These are enumerated (the text of the seventh is wanting): the beginning of commotions, the slaying of the great ones, the fall of many by death, the sending of the sword, famine, earthquakes and terrors, multitudes of specters and attacks of the *Shedim*, the fall of fire, rapine and oppression, wickedness and unchastity, and the twelfth, all the former mingled together.

In chapter 28, verse 2 there is an enigmatic time element: "For the measure and reckoning of that time are two parts a week of seven weeks." On this passage Charles remarks, "Interpretation seems impossible."²

3. MESSIANIC HOPE AND MILLENNIAL EXPECTATION.—Distress and destruction are expected to be world wide. God will protect those only who are living in this land, that is, the Holy Land. (Apoc. Bar. 20:1, 2.) When all this has come to pass, the Messiah will begin to be revealed. Behemoth and Leviathan will come out of the sea and will become food for all that are left. The earth will become extremely fertile during this period—every vine is to have a thousand branches, every branch produce a thousand clusters, and every cluster a thousand grapes. Winds will be filled with aromatic fragrance, and manna will again descend from heaven.

In chapter 30 we are told that when this Messianic kingdom has completed its appointed time, then He will return in glory. Thereupon "all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again." The preserved number of souls of the righteous will all be gathered in a moment and will rejoice together, not grieving that one had to wait longer than another for the full consummation of the times. But the souls of the wicked will be grieved that the time of their torment and perdition has arrived.

Here we have, in essence, the already full-grown millennialist teachings. The only element lacking is the exact time feature; but even that could be supplied by the *Slavonic Enoch*, with its thousand-year period.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 497.

II. Second Esdras (or Fourth Ezra) Attempts to Parallel Fourth Beast

Second Esdras is a little work that found entrance into the Latin Bible (Vulgate) as an appendix, and thence into many Protestant Bibles as part of the Apocrypha. The "Ezra Apocalypse" proper corresponds to chapters 3-14 of the Second Esdras of the common Apocrypha, or of the fourth book of Ezra of the Vulgate. Extant translations are found in Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Armenian, all apparently from a lost Greek version. Charles's collection of pseudepigrapha calls it Fourth Ezra.

Although there are different theories concerning the construction of the book, it is generally believed that its present form is a compilation, dated variously about A.D. 120 to 150. Some think that the editor utilized such already existing material as the Hebrew *Salathiel Apocalypse* (presumably published about A.D. 100), and added three independent pieces from other apocalypses—the Eagle Vision, the Son of Man Vision, and the Ezra Legend—and possibly extracts from other sources.³ The purpose was to commend the apocalyptic literature to certain hostile rabbinical circles, and to secure for it a permanent place within orthodox Judaism. It has close relationship to the Second Baruch, but differs in its theology. Here, for instance, Adam is named as the cause for all the misery in the world. (2 Esdras 7:119.)

I. ESCHATOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS ARE RIFE.—Second Esdras is full of religious problems and speculations which relate to eschatology. The assumption is that the course and duration of the present world has been determined, and that Israel is still loved by God in spite of all appearances. On the other hand, there is no hope for a restoration of a Jewish state or the rebuilding of Jerusalem, or for a renewed earth, but the expectation of a better world to follow the catastrophic collapse of the present world. Let us note some points in greater detail.

In chapter 5, verse 1 and on, we read about the signs pre-

³ W. O. E. Oesterly, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*, pp. 146 ff.

ceding the end: The inhabitants of this earth will be seized with great panic. Truth will be hidden, and iniquity increase beyond all former levels. The land, barren of faith, will become a pathless waste. The sun will suddenly shine out in the night, and the moon by day. Fire will burst forth over wide regions of the world, and women will bear monsters.

2. THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM.—Following these woes comes the Messiah's kingdom:

"And it shall be whosoever shall have survived all these things that I have foretold unto thee, he shall be saved, and shall see my salvation and the end of my world." 2 Esdras 6:25.⁴

"And whosoever is delivered from the predicted evils, the same shall see my wonders. For my Son the Messiah shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and shall rejoice the survivors four hundred years. And it shall be after these years, that my Son the Messiah shall die, and all in whom there is human breath. Then shall the world be turned into the primaeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left. And it shall be after seven days that the Age which is not yet awake shall be roused, and that which is corruptible shall perish. And the earth shall restore those that sleep in her, and the dust those that are at rest therein. . . . And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgement." "And then shall the Most High say to the nations that have been raised [from the dead]: Look now and consider whom ye have denied." 2 Esdras 7:27-33, 37.

Here we have a four-hundred-year period, as a Messianic kingdom, with the strange phenomenon of the death of the Messiah for seven days, an idea which is incorporated into Muslim traditions about Jesus, although there His death after His second sojourn on the earth is not limited to seven days. Though the writer here speaks of the dead as sleeping in the dust, at the same time he has their souls live on in beautiful chambers guarded by angels, or if they be unrighteous, they wander around restlessly, filled with apprehension of the inevitable coming judgment. (Verses 77-101.) There will be no intercession of the righteous in behalf of the unrighteous on the day of judgment. (Verses 102-105.)

⁴ Quotations here given are taken from Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, volume 2, in which the work is entitled Fourth Ezra.

3. ATTEMPTS TO PARALLEL DANIEL 7.—The most interesting point, however, is that the writer of this book seeks to link his visions with those of Daniel 7. This occurs in the so-called Eagle-Vision:

“Hear thou Eagle, I will talk with thee; the Most High saith to thee: Art thou not it that remaineth of the four beasts which I made to reign in my world, that the end of my times might come through them? [The eagle is here identified with the fourth beast of Dan. 7.] Thou, however, the fourth, who art come, hast overcome all the beasts that are past; thou hast wielded power over the world with great terror, and over all the inhabited earth with grievous oppression; thou hast dwelt so long in the civilized world with fraud and hast judged the earth (but) not with faithfulness. . . . Therefore shalt thou disappear, O thou Eagle. . . . And so the whole earth freed from the violence, shall be refreshed again, and hope for the judgement and mercy of him that made her.” 2 Esdras 11:38, 45, 46.

The eagle is definitely connected with the fourth beast in Daniel 7.

“The eagle which thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel. . . . Behold, the days come when there shall arise a kingdom upon the earth, and it shall be more terrible than all the kingdoms that were before it.” 2 Esdras 12:11-14.

It is generally accepted that the eagle in the vision represented the Roman Empire, in an attempted parallel to Daniel 7. This is the nearest approach to real prophetic exposition appearing in this little-understood era.

III. The Pseudo-Sibylline Oracles

One other collection of apocalyptic literature, of a still different character, must be considered here because parts of it date from the third century, although its origins are much earlier—about the second century B.C. The Sibylline Oracles are a conglomeration of writings spanning several centuries and falling into three general categories—pagan, Jewish, and Christian. These two latter classes (the pseudo-Sibylline writings)⁵

⁵ The Sibyls were noted by Josephus (*Antiquities*, book 1, chap. 4, sec. 3), and by *The Shepherd of Hermas* (vision 2, chap. 4), *The Hortatory Address to the Greeks* attributed to Justin Martyr (chaps. 16, 37), and a number of the Latin fathers. One of the fullest early accounts was that of Lactantius, who wrote about the beginning of the fourth century, in *Insti-*

were composed in imitation of the heathen Sibyls—*Sibyl* being a Greek word designating any of a certain number of prophetesses credited to widely separate parts of the ancient world. These Sibyllines, like the other apocalyptic writings, are noted here not for any authority or known authorship they possess, nor to give them any sanction, but solely to note them as reflecting one of the forms of the teaching of the times, touching the field of our quest.

The pseudo Sibyllines are more than an ancient literary curiosity. They are part of that body of pseudepigraphal writings which flourished in the early part of the Christian Era. They were a curious composite of Jewish and Christian writings, with here and there a snatch from an older pagan source. They seem to be of various dates, from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D., and largely passed with the downfall of pagan Rome.⁶ They were apparently a device used by the Jews and, later, by the Christians in the hope of winning the heathen to their faith by copying the form of presentation employed by the heathen Sibyls—the Greek hexameter verse.

The Christians, hard pressed by their heathen enemies, possessed in these writings a means of retaliation not at first brought into play. They could not say openly that the mighty Roman Empire, far from being eternal, was destined to perish; and that Rome, queen city of the world, would be overthrown—as the inspired writers of Scripture had concealed in figure and symbol—for the church would be needlessly exposed to the suspicion of inculcating treason. A simulation of the pagan Sibyl

tutes (book 1, chap. 6), and who followed Varro as his authority. For further descriptions of these writings see introductions to various editions—Whiston, Terry, Bate, Lanchester, et cetera. A bibliography and a list of texts and translations is found in Terry's translation.

⁶ The Jewish and Christian parts are often very much mixed, and it is the work of the specialist to determine to which group each passage belongs, and to what years the passages should be attributed. Only a few indications are here given from the analysis by H. C. O. Lanchester ("Sibylline Oracles," in James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 11, pp. 496-500). Books 1 and 2—considered to be of Jewish origin with a number of Christian interpolations. Book 3—in many respects the most important, but also the most perplexing. Some of its sections are considered Jewish, some possibly Christian, and some reworked from the pagan Sibyls, ranging from the second century B.C. to the first century of the Christian Era. Book 4—of much later date, probably late first century, formerly believed to be of Christian origin, although now the opinion has gained ground that its author was a Jew, possibly an Essene. Book 5—Jewish, the first part probably from the time of Hadrian, the second part strongly anti-Roman, written after the rebellion of Bar Cochba, A.C. 132. Book 6—anti-Jewish, of Christian origin. Book 7—Christian, with stern eschatology, perhaps from the first half of the third century. Book 8—definitely Christian, placed in the third century. The remaining books—of minor importance.

was now pressed into the service of the Christian faith, and to the Jewish elements were added the denunciations of the Apocalypse. These pseudo-oracles were put into the mouth of a pagan prophethess, and circulated under a well-known pagan title. All disguised titles, such as "him that letteth" and the nameless beast, were dropped. Rome, the Latin kingdom, was plainly named.

Greek poems, however, embodying paraphrases from the Apocalypse, were not likely to pass with the heathen as the work of a pagan Sibyl. In the second century Celsus, moved to ridicule by this device, accused the Christians of inserting interpolations into the Sibylline books.⁷ Lactantius, in the fourth century, remarks that some took these writings for the fictions of poets, not knowing whence the poets had derived them.⁸

Well it was for the church that most of the pagans did not trouble to look into the source of the new "Sibyl" inspiration, and paid but little attention to the pseudo Sibyllines, for it would have been difficult to deny that the figure of seven-hilled Rome as a woman, adorned with gold, wooed by many lovers, clothed in purple, and destined to burn with fire, was taken from the Apocalypse.

We now note some of the more important expressions coming within our field of survey. In book 2 the fearful woes to fall upon the "seven-hilled" city are portrayed, followed by slaughter and distress preceding the final judgment, the resurrection, the reign of righteousness, and the Eternal on His throne.⁹

"And then shall, after these, appear of men
The tenth race, when the earth-shaking Lightener
Shall break the zeal for idols and shall shake
The people of seven-hilled Rome, and riches great
Shall perish, burned by Vulcan's fiery flame.
And then shall bloody signs from heaven descend."¹⁰

⁷ Origen, *Against Celsus*, book 7, chap. 56, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 633.

⁸ Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes*, book 7, chap. 22, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 217.

⁹ Various English translations of the Sibylline Oracles are available—Floyer (London, 1713), Whiston edition (London, 1715), Terry (New York, 1899), Bate (London, 1918), Lancaster (Oxford, 1913), and others. The metrical translation in blank verse, here employed by Terry, follows the text of Rzach. For portions of the Sibyllines see also Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, volume 2.

¹⁰ *The Sibylline Oracles*, translated by Milton S. Terry, book 2, lines 16-21.

In book 3 Rome is described as a woman courted by many lovers.

“O virgin, soft rich child of Latin Rome,
Oft at thy much-remembered marriage feasts
Drunken with wine, now shalt thou be a slave
And wedded in no honorable way.”¹¹

In book 4 five successive kingdoms are named in sequence; then are portrayed the destruction of the earth, the resurrection, the judgment, and the blessed state on the renewed earth.

“First over all mortals shall Assyrians rule,
And for six generations hold the power of the world. . . .

“Then shall the Medes o’erpower, but on the throne
For two generations only shall exult. . . .
Between the Medes and Persians dreadful strife
In battle; and the Medes shall fall and fly
’Neath Persian spears beyond the mighty water
Of Tigris. And the Persian power shall be
Greatest in all the world, and they shall have
One generation of most prosperous rule. . . .

“But, when the race of mortal men shall come
To the tenth generation, also then
Upon the Persians shall a servile yoke
And terror be. But when the Macedonians
Shall boast the scepter there shall be for Thebes
An evil conquest from behind, and Carians
Shall dwell in Tyre, and Tyrians be destroyed. . . .

“The Macedonian power shall not abide;
But from the west a great Italian war
Shall flourish, under which the world shall bear
A servile yoke and the Italians serve. . . .
There shall be over all the world a fire
And greatest omen with sword and with trump
At sunrise; the whole world shall hear the roar
And mighty sound. And he shall burn all earth,
And destroy the whole race of men, and all
The cities and the rivers and the sea;
All things he’ll burn, and it shall be black dust.

But when now all things shall have been reduced
To dust and ashes, and God shall have calmed

¹¹ *Ibid.*, book 3, lines 442-445.

The fire unspeakable which he lit up,
 The bones and ashes of men God himself
 Again will fashion, and he will again
 Raise mortals up, even as they were before.
 And then shall be the judgment, at which God
 Himself as judge shall judge the world again;
 And all who sinned with impious hearts, even them
 Shall he again hide under mounds of earth
 [Dark Tartarus and Stygian Gehenna].
 But all who shall be pious shall again
 Live on the earth [and (shall inherit there)]
 The great immortal God's unwasting bliss,
 God giving spirit life and joy to them."¹²

In book 8 the wrath of God against the world is disclosed. The ruin of Rome, the burden of the poem,¹³ is principally copied from the Apocalypse and Old Testament prophets. From the latter is borrowed the scheme describing Rome as the daughter of earlier Latin Rome.

"A heavenly stroke deserved, O haughty Rome.
 And thou shalt be the first to bend thy neck
 And be rased to the ground, and thee shall fire
 Destructive utterly consume. . . .
 And then shalt thou mourn and shalt put aside
 The luster of the broad-striped purple robe
 Of thy commanders and wear mourning dress,
 O haughty queen, offspring of Latin Rome;
 The glory of that arrogance of thine
 Shall be for thee no longer, nor shalt thou,
 Ill-fated, ever be raised up again. . . .
 For then in all earth shall confusion be
 Of mortals, when the Almighty shall himself
 To the tribunal come to judge the souls
 Of the living and the dead and all the world."¹⁴

The destruction of Rome is attributed to the dragon, under the familiar apocalyptic figure of Satan.

"When a dragon charged with fire in both his eyes
 And with full belly shall come on the waves
 And shall afflict thy children, and there be

¹² *Ibid.*, book 4, lines 61-245.

¹³ Lactantius comments: "The Sibyls openly say that Rome is doomed to perish, and that indeed by the judgment of God, because it held His name in hatred; and being the enemy of righteousness, it destroyed the people who kept the truth." (*Institutes*, book 7, chap. 15, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 213.)

¹⁴ *The Sibylline Oracles*, book 8, lines 48-109.

Famine and war of kinsmen, near at hand
 Is the end of the world and the last day
 And judgment of the immortal God for them
 That are approved and chosen. And there shall
 Against the Romans first of all be wrath
 Implacable, and there shall come a time
 Of drinking blood and wretched course of life."¹⁵

A sort of Antichrist from the East is connected with the overthrow of Rome, and Beliar is described in earlier Sibylline books in terms that apply to a similar figure who deceives men, and is destroyed in the fiery judgments at the world's end.¹⁶

Such is the curious but nevertheless pertinent witness of the pseudo-Sibylline writings. Thus we find the pseudepigraphal and apocalyptic literature in this inter-Testament and early Christian period filled with strange speculations and irrational assertions. Much of it stands out in violent contrast with the sound, reasonable, and consistent picture of the latter days painted by the inspired penmen of Old Testament times and the clear, consistent, and illuminating presentations of the canonical New Testament writers.

The New Testament depictions of the divine plan of the age harmonize perfectly with, but supplement and expand, the Old Testament declarations concerning the last days. The contrast between the two is as great as that between a glass of murky water from a stagnant pool and a glass of clear, sparkling water from a never-failing, refreshing spring. The follies of human speculation only accentuate the beauty and harmony of the inspired writings.

IV. Extra-Biblical Influences on the Antichrist Concept

After having given a short outline of the contents of the more important pseudepigrapha, let us now trace their influence upon certain specific doctrines, as, for example, the Antichrist and chiliasm.

The definite influence of non-Biblical apocalyptic litera-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, lines 113-125.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, lines 187-198; and book 3, lines 76-90 (see page 299 of the present volume).

ture on the church's interpretation of the genuine New Testament Apocalypse, or book of Revelation, is difficult to grasp in this modern age, in which observation and reason have in large degree supplanted revelation and the faith, sometimes blended with credulity, of earlier times.

I. APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS DISTORT BIBLICAL FIGURES.—Furthermore, it is well-nigh impossible for us today to evaluate correctly the enormous influence that the genuine Biblical figures of the Apocalypse—for instance the four horsemen, the beast, the scarlet woman, and the dread "Antichrist"—exercised upon the thinking of past ages. This was true not only of the thinking of the masses but especially with those who had to make fundamental decisions in directing the affairs of men. This influence seems to have been ever present, operating at least subconsciously if not openly. And although scholars in our time, after painstaking research into the evidence of the centuries as to the authenticity of these non-Biblical books, do not attach much value to them, because they lack certain elements which are required of canonical writings, we should nevertheless bear in mind that they are an expression of current thought in that older age, and that they influenced the popular thinking of their times probably almost as much as that of the acknowledged and approved writings. Moreover, works that have since received the odious label of "heretical" were often generally accepted and esteemed at the time. For that reason we find that many of the church fathers, recognized as orthodox by the early church, supported their views by citing books which have since been rejected, or at least discredited.

Justin Martyr, for instance, quotes and esteems the book of Enoch, and Tertullian defends it. In this work it is alleged that God has given over the care of mankind to the angels. But the angels, transgressing His command, are said to have consorted with mankind, and thus brought into being the offspring which are called demons.¹⁷

¹⁷ Heinrich Corrodi, *Kritische Geschichte des Chiliasmus*, vol. 2, p. 73.

Clement of Alexandria accepts and cites the Old Testament Apocrypha freely, and considers the miracles related in the book of Tobit as authentic. Similar attitudes could be cited for many of the other church fathers. This shows that we should recognize the large influence that extra-Biblical sacred and semi-sacred literature, which existed at the time, exerted in molding the religious opinion of the age. And it emphasizes the point that we should not make the mistake of considering our present-day Bible as the sole basis of their religious ideas. Such a notion would be as fallacious as the one, long held in Christian circles, that Israel and its history was the only center around which life revolved in ancient times; whereas Israel was just one cog, though by no means unimportant, in the great wheel of ancient life.

2. ANTICHRIST CONCEIVED OF AS INCARNATION OF SATAN.—The one figure standing out more prominently in those early times than all others in the same category, was that of Antichrist. In the writings of the acknowledged church fathers, as well as in the so-called pseudepigraphal and apocryphal writings, the figure of Antichrist plays a major role. We find it clothed in different garbs and under various disguises. Irenaeus speaks of him in this way:

“He (Antichrist) being endued with all the power of the devil, shall come . . . as an apostate, iniquitous and murderous; as a robber, concentrating in himself [all] satanic apostasy, and setting aside idols, to persuade [men] that he himself is God, raising up himself as the only idol.”³⁸

“But when this Antichrist shall have devastated all things in this world, he will . . . sit in the temple at Jerusalem.”³⁹

Antichrist is not the devil, but is conceived to be more or less an incarnation of the devil.

Chrysostom, through whom the Eastern Church was markedly influenced, states in his Homily 3, on 2 Thessalonians 2: “But who is he? Is it then Satan? By no means, but some man

³⁸ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, book 5, chap. 25, sec. 1, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 553. (Translator's brackets.) See page 248.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 30, sec. 4, p. 560.

possessed of all his energy.”²⁰ And we find the same ideas recurring again and again as late as in Haymo of Halberstadt (d. 9th century). The same idea was also expressed by John of Damascus.²¹ Hippolytus makes him a Jew from the tribe of Dan, a tyrant and king, “that son of the devil,” who would be a counterfeit or counterpart of Christ.²²

For him, the Roman Empire is not the kingdom of Antichrist. Moreover, the Antichrist will overcome the kings of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, and his next exploit will be the destruction of Tyre and Berytus (Beirut).²³

3. ANTICHRIST DESCRIBED AS DEFORMED MONSTER.—In Pseudo Hippolytus we read:

“Since the Saviour of the world, with the purpose of saving the race of men, was born of the immaculate and virgin Mary, . . . in the same manner also will the accuser come forth from an impure woman upon the earth, but shall be born of a virgin spuriously.”²⁴

Antichrist is frequently connected with the Dragon Monster. And we find descriptions of him which bear all the marks of a fantasy, delighting in the description of the horrible and terrible. In the *Revelation of Ezra* edited by Tischendorf—a work which for a time was considered to be a part of Second Esdras (or fourth book of Ezra) of the Apocrypha, though this particular work is an imitation of the latter—this description is given:

“The form of his countenance is like that of a wild beast; his right eye like the star that rises in the morning, and the other without motion; his mouth one cubit; his teeth span long; his fingers like scythes; the track of his feet of two spans; and in his face an inscription, Antichrist.”²⁵

This strange idea that the Antichrist was a horribly deformed monster prevailed for many centuries, and found highly developed expression in the art of the Middle Ages. In the Be-

²⁰ See translation in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 13, p. 386.

²¹ W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, p. 139.

²² See page 275.

²³ Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, chap. 52, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 215; see also Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

²⁴ Pseudo Hippolytus, “Appendix to the Works of Hippolytus,” chap. 22, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 247, 248.

²⁵ *Revelation of Esdras*, in *ANF*, vol. 8, p. 573; see also Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

atus *Illustrations of the Apocalypse*²⁶ we meet him in all his fearful realism.

The idea that the Antichrist would come from the tribe of Dan found wide acceptance among the early church fathers. We find it in Hippolytus, and more explicitly in Irenaeus, who even attempts to give some support for it from the fact that the tribe of Dan is not mentioned in the *Apocālyp̄sē*.²⁷ This notion is also found later in the writings of Ambrose, in Jacob of Edessa, and as late as in Bede's *Sibyl*, as well as in the writings of Primasius and Ambrosius Autpertus.²⁸

Irenaeus does not explain why he assumes the coming of Antichrist from Dan. Scrutinizing the ancient Jewish traditions, we find that the old Targumim declare that from Dan darkness will spread over the world.²⁹ The North was considered the seat of darkness and evil. And because the tribe of Dan was situated in the North, he was predestined to become the source of Antichrist. Furthermore, Dan was the first to accept idolatry and succumb to the forces of evil. Moreover, the tribal insigne actually bore the sign of a serpent.³⁰ This serpent was accepted as the sign of Antichrist. We read in Pseudo Ephraem (chapter 8) that at the time of Antichrist a horrible famine will spread through the earth, the severity of which will be increased, be it noted, because "*et nemo potest venundare vel emere di frumento caducitatis, nisi qui serpentinum signum in fronte aut in manu habuerit*" (and none is able to sell or buy of the weakened grain who has not the sign of the serpent on his forehead or his hand).

4. LINKED TO TEMPLE AND JEWS' RETURN.—The idea that Antichrist will appear in the temple of Jerusalem, and that therefore the temple must be rebuilt, found widest currency. Thus the statement appears in Hippolytus:

²⁶ See page 574.

²⁷ See pages 275, 247, for Hippolytus and Irenaeus, respectively.

²⁸ Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 172.

²⁹ *Midrash Rabbah* on Genesis 49:14-17, Freedman's translation, vol. 2, pp. 963, 964; Jerusalem Targum on Genesis 49:17.

³⁰ Moriz Friedlander, *Der Antichrist in den vorchristlichen jüdischen Quellen*, p. 151.

"The Saviour raised up and showed His holy flesh like a temple, and he [Antichrist] will raise a temple of stone in Jerusalem."³¹

Closely connected therewith was the idea of the return of the Jews, especially of the ten tribes, to Jerusalem. In later periods we find the same idea. In the *Greek Apocalypse of Daniel* we read, "And the Jews he [Antichrist] shall exalt, and dwell in the Temple that had been razed to the ground."³² And Honorius of Autun states, "Antichrist shall rebuild the old Jerusalem, in which he shall order himself to be worshipped as God."³³

5. ELABORATIONS FROM PERSIAN AND JEWISH SOURCES.—Such notions, and equally fanciful ideas about Antichrist, were commonly accepted for many centuries, and are even yet held, in part, by some groups. It is evident that many features of such a picture of Antichrist cannot possibly be based on the references to Antichrist found in the Bible. The Biblical passages nowhere permit such a detailed description of this figure. And to attribute these elaborations on Antichrist to the fancies of one expositor whom all the others copied, would concede too large a margin to the credulity of the learned men of those ages.

What, then, is the origin of these extraneous ideas about Antichrist? From what do they stem? The consistency with which they appear, would surely indicate that some extra-Biblical concept of Antichrist, in which these different traits appear, was very well known and accepted during the early age of the church. Later that outside source was no longer remembered, and the greatly elaborated picture of Antichrist came to be accepted as the genuine product.

Is there such an outside source to be found? The actual name Antichrist occurs for the first time in Christian literature. But the ideas associated with this name—particularly the concept of a God-opposing tyrant and ruler of the last times—assuredly reach back to the flourishing period of Jewish apoca-

³¹ Hippolytus, *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist*, chap. 6, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 206.

³² Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 66 ff.

³³ Translated from Honorius, *Elucidarium*, book 3, chap. 10, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 172, col. 1163.

lyptic literature. That is the conclusion drawn, for example, in the article on Antichrist in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

This fanciful concept seems to have had its origin in the Persian eschatology, where the battle between Ahura Mazda, the god of light, and Angra Mainyu, the god of darkness, plays a predominant role. And from there it found its way into the Jewish apocalyptic literature, where the opposition between God and the devil, who is introduced under the various names of Beliar, Satan, Diabolus, Pneuma-aerion, is the chief of the leading ideas contained in the Jewish element of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which undoubtedly belongs to the Maccabean period. In this book Beliar already appears as the enemy of God and His people in the last times. It is said of the Messiah (T. Levi 18:12): "And Beliar will be bound by Him, and He will give His children power to trample on the evil spirits."³⁴ Beliar, who originally was probably nothing else than the incarnate devil, was soon expanded, under the influence of certain historical conditions, to be the opposer of God in the last times.

Beliar, it was contended, will come from Sebaste. He will stop the sea, the great fiery sun, and the brilliantly shining moon. He will raise the dead, and do many signs and wonders before man. But there is no fulfillment in him, only blinding deception. He will lead many astray, even faithful Hebrews and others who are without the law and have not received the Word of God. But when the judgments of the great God shall approach, and the fiery power descend upon the earth, then God will destroy by fire Beliar and all those who have relied upon him.³⁵ This strange picture of Beliar is so much like that of Antichrist that a number of scholars have tried to place that part of the Sibyl as being written after the time of Christ. But another Sibyl, which is undoubtedly of Jewish origin, describes the workings of Beliar in the following way:

³⁴ For *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, see page 192.

³⁵ *The Sibylline Oracles*, book 3, lines 76-90.

"Near is the ruin when impostors come
 Instead of prophets speaking on the earth,
 And Beliar shall come and many signs
 Perform for men. And then of holy men,
 Elect and faithful, there shall be confusion,
 And pillaging of them and of the Hebrews."³⁶

The highly esteemed Sibyls of ancient Greece and Rome must have had a far-reaching influence in formulating popular opinion, because both Jews and Christians adopted them as an effective method of propagating their faith, and especially their eschatological hopes, as we have seen.

In book 5 of the Sibyllines (2d century A.D.) the expectation of the return of Nero finds expression. In the first part Nero is still the historical personage, but in the second part he is invested with superhuman traits. In book 8 likewise (3d century) *Nero redivivus* appears, also the reign of a woman, apparently regarded as the incarnation of evil.

Let us note the development of the figure of Antichrist in the thought of the first centuries. Although Second Thessalonians 2 in no way depicts Antichrist as a God-opposing tyrant, but rather as a subtle power and a seductive agency which works in secret, attempting to take the place of God, the older idea remained in prominence in the older Christian expectation. Not long after the death of Nero the rumor arose that he was not dead but was still alive and would reappear.³⁷

Deceivers made use of that popular expectation and employed the mask of this mythical Nero. This heathen belief was first adopted by the Jewish apocalyptic writers, and is mentioned in the fourth and fifth Sibyls. Hence the term *Nero redivivus* (revived) with which Victorinus of Pettau is also acquainted. When time passed, and the return of Nero became more and more improbable, his figure came to have the qualities of a ghostlike monster. And in Commodian's *Carmen apologeticum*,

³⁶ *The Sibylline Oracles*, book 2, lines 209-214. See Terry's footnote identifying Beliar as Belial, or Antichrist. Beliar, a name which was applied to the devil, was applied in later sources to the Antichrist. (See *The Martyrdom of Isaiah*, chap. 2, verses 4 ff. in Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, p. 161.)

³⁷ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, book 6—Nero, chap. 57, in Loeb Classical Library, Suetonius, vol. 2, pp. 185, 187; Tacitus, *The Histories*, book 2, chaps. 8, 9, in Loeb Classical Library, Tacitus, vol. 1, pp. 173, 175.

early in the fourth century, the two figures of Antichrist and *Nero redivivus* are one.³⁸ We likewise find in the Sibyls a vivid description of the return of the Jews from their captivity beyond the Persian stream.³⁹ And this was coupled with the idea of the Antichrist of the last days, which is found in the important passage of Commodian.

"The Jews, recapitulating Scriptures from him [Nero], exclaim at the same time to the Highest that they have been deceived."⁴⁰

Later traditions even speak of two Messiahs—one, the Messiah ben Josef, who will lead the ten tribes out of captivity back to Jerusalem and will be slain by Antichrist; and the other, the Messiah ben David, who will be the right Messiah,⁴¹ and will be triumphant. These ideas, and others, are contained in the Jewish *History of Daniel*, which is preserved in the Persian. The later Syriac *Apocalypse of Ezra* came to the West through the works of Pseudo-Methodius, which are extant in no fewer than three Greek recensions, a Latin translation, and various Greek and Latin redactions. They made their profound impressions in those early days, and contributed to the many extraordinary notions then current about Antichrist. One is probably justified in saying that they made a much deeper impression in the West than in the East, and have influenced many a decision of far-reaching importance. It is a weird story, but one that must be borne in mind in order to understand the attitudes and ideas of the early centuries.

V. Extra-Biblical Influences on Early Christian Chiliasm

"The most striking point in the eschatology of the ante-Nicene age," says Schaff, "is the prominent chiliasm, or millenarianism."⁴² Pseudo-Barnabas, Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Methodius, Lactantius, and others believed that the

³⁸ A. Harnack, *Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur*, vol. 2, pp. 433-442.

³⁹ *The Sibylline Oracles*, book 2, lines 216-223.

⁴⁰ Commodian, *Instructions*, chap. 41, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 211.

⁴¹ Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁴² Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 614. See definitions of millennialism and related words on page 33.

second, personal, literal coming of Christ was to introduce a millennial reign, beginning with the actual resurrection of the righteous and ending with the second resurrection and the general judgment, followed by the eternal state. The millennium was expected to be the result of sudden divine interposition, not of a gradual historical process.

1. OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECIES COMBINED WITH REVELATION.—This belief was based principally upon the prophecy of Revelation 20. But many of these early writers expected an earthly kingdom centered in Jerusalem, not for the literal Jews, as most modern premillennialists hold, but for the Christian church as the true spiritual Israel.⁴⁸

Revelation 20—the only passage in the Bible mentioning that specific period—is clear on the doctrine of a thousand years as coming between the first and the second resurrections, during which there is a reign of the “blessed and holy” ones who rise in the first resurrection. But it says nothing of a kingdom on earth, or of either Christians or Jews reigning in Jerusalem over unconverted nations. On these points, the millenarians cited certain Old Testament prophecies which themselves give no hint of belonging, necessarily, to a thousand-year period.

2. ORIGIN OF THESE EARLY CONCEPTS.—Where then did these early millenarians get such ideas? Most modernists would, of course, trace the whole millenarian doctrine to non-Christian sources, because Christian converts from either Jewish or pagan backgrounds were familiar with traditions of a future golden age which had been current in various guises in many ancient religions. But it is not necessary to suppose that these extra-Biblical ideas did more than color their interpretation of the Scriptural millennium.

Doubtless contemporary extra-Biblical ideas, like a catalyzing agent, influenced the ante-Nicene millenarians to combine these Old Testament Messianic prophecies with Revelation 20,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 614, 615.

in order to construct on this twofold basis the elaborate picture of an earthly golden-age kingdom preceding the final resurrection. Certain it is that the apocalyptic writings in which Jewish converts were, of course, steeped, were current in the Christian church, and even though extracanonical, had a direct influence, through their emphasis on an earthly Messianic kingdom centering in Jerusalem.

"In spite of the fact that, save in the Apocalypse, the NT did not speak of the Millennium, and that Christ does not connect the Parousia with the establishment of an earthly Kingdom, this belief had an extraordinary hold on the minds of Christians. Doubtless a misunderstanding of the Apocalypse gave the belief a certain authority, but it is rather from its Jewish antecedents that its popularity and the elaboration of its details are to be explained."⁴⁴

For example, an extravagant description of the millennial fertility of the earth—the vine with ten thousand branches and bunches of ten thousand grapes, et cetera—is accepted by Irenaeus as from apostolic tradition, and attributed by Papias to Christ Himself; yet it comes from a Jewish source.⁴⁵

3. EARLIEST PROPONENTS OF CHILIASTIC IDEAS.—The author of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the earliest extant ecclesiastical writer who mentions millenary periods, speaks of six ages of the world and the seventh millennium of rest at the second coming of Christ. But, significantly enough, he does not identify this seventh millennium with the thousand years of Revelation 20.⁴⁶ Justin Martyr says that the orthodox Christians of his day believed in a resurrection of the flesh and a thousand-year kingdom in a restored Jerusalem, for which he cites Ezekiel and Isaiah,⁴⁷ who, however, do not mention the thousand years. Others go into more or less specific detail about this kingdom age. Some, like Tertullian, emphasize the spiritual aspect,⁴⁸

⁴⁴ J. A. MacCulloch, "Eschatology," in Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 388.

⁴⁵ Copied from a document (perhaps a midrash on *Gn* 27²⁸ [Harris, *Exp.*, 1895, p. 448; *A7Th*, 1900, p. 499]), used also in *Apoc. Bar.* 29³⁰, and in *En* 10¹⁰ (see Charles, *Ap. of Baruch*, 54).³¹ (*Ibid.* [translator's brackets].) See pages 250, 216, 285, in the present volume for the descriptions.

⁴⁶ See page 209.

⁴⁷ See page 233.

⁴⁸ See page 259.

whereas others, as already mentioned, wax extravagant in their descriptions of the saints' prosperity, fertility, and dominion over their unregenerate enemies.⁴⁹

4. THE INFLUENCE OF PAGAN CONCEPTS.—Just as Jewish Christians inherited these traditional apocalyptic conceptions, so Gentile Christians found them the easier to accept because of their widespread former pagan beliefs in a golden age to come, marked by happiness and plenty.⁵⁰ Even the thousand-year length of the period was often based by Christians on an assumed six-thousand-year duration of the world, which not only was Jewish-apocalyptic but was traceable as well in paganism. The Etruscans in Italy⁵¹ and Zoroastrian Persians⁵² believed that the human race was to last six thousand years. And some scholars would find evidence of Persian influence on the Jewish apocalyptic and Talmudic writings,⁵³ in which the six millenniums of the world, followed by an epochal change, are paralleled with the six days of creation and the Sabbath, as in the Slavonic Enoch.⁵⁴

From the Jews this idea passed on to the Christians, who certainly could have found no such information in the simple Bible record. This very concept of six thousand years has given rise to periodic time settings for the world's end, that have characterized the centuries, from Hippolytus⁵⁵ to modern times. It is well, therefore, to keep this in mind.

Thus the non-Biblical background of the ante-Nicene Christians helps to explain why they could apply Old Testament prophecies—some of which spoke clearly of Old Testament times, and some concerning the “new heavens and the new earth”—to an interim earthly state based on a passage in Revelation 20, which in itself had no such connotation.

5. INFILTRATION OF JEWISH-PAGAN CONCEPTS.—Several fac-

⁴⁹ See page 258.

⁵⁰ Shirley Jackson Case, *The Millennial Hope*, pp. 1-47.

⁵¹ William Sherwood Fox, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, p. 289.

⁵² MacCulloch, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁵⁴ See page 305; also *Prophetic Faith*, Volume II, p. 191.

⁵⁵ See page 328.

tors may be considered in accounting for this. Let us note three of them:

(a) For one thing, the Christians circulated and highly valued many of the writings of the Jewish apocalypticists, who naturally were unwilling to admit any nonfulfillment of *conditional* predictions of Israel's future glory.

(b) Further, the Old Testament Messianic prophecies—in which frustrated Jewish nationalism saw a picture of future earthly dominion and victory over their enemies—were appropriated by the persecuted Christian church into visions of her future deliverance and dominion as the *true spiritual Israel*; for the anti-Judaistic Gentile Christian, although absorbing the Messianic traditions, could not then allow a literal Jewish rule in the Christian Era.

(c) In addition to this, certain ideas in pagan philosophy, which assumed the inherent evil of matter, could not be reconciled with a *divine new earth on a material basis*; such concepts had to be spiritualized.

These ideas, when infiltrated into the church, would tend to reinforce the belief that all passages of Scripture which speak of a material existence in a future age must be placed in a future intermediate period, for the eternal state of being was conceived of as transcending any existence in matter. The influence of these Jewish and pagan conceptions could easily account for the Old Testament-Jewish apocalyptic coloring of Christian chiliasm.

Therefore, if the Messianic prophecies must, as it seemed to the early church, be unconditionally fulfilled on earth, and had not been realized in the *first* advent of Christ, they must be fulfilled at some time in the future. In that case, if they could not be applied to the *old Jerusalem* in the present age, and if they could not be accepted as extending into the *eternal* existence after the general resurrection, then it would follow necessarily that their fulfillment must be expected *in the thousand years* between the two resurrections, in the interlude separating the gospel age from eternity.

6. MILLENNIALISM STRONG IN EARLY CHURCH.—Millennialism was historically strong in the early church, at least on the point of the premillennial timing of the personal, visible coming of Christ to change the world order and set up His kingdom. Not all writers located or described the millennial kingdom exactly, and some conceived of it in more spiritual and less material terms than others. Among the premillennialists, says Schaff, are counted many “who simply believe in a golden age of Christianity which is yet to come.”⁵⁶ Doubtless many did not share the extreme materialistic concepts, and unquestionably some of the fantastic imagery used was not meant so literally as it was taken by opponents.

7. BATTLE LEADS EAST TO REJECT APOCALYPSE.—The Gnostics, of course, opposed chiliasm as too materialistic. The Montanists, who propagated their special kind of chiliasm—built on supposedly divine revelations of the imminence of the end of the age—with the millennial kingdom to be established at their center in Phrygia, brought millenarianism into disrepute through their fanaticism.⁵⁷ Origen attacked it because of his allegorizing and spiritualizing interpretation of Scripture, pursuant to his pronounced Greek philosophical ideas. In the East, chiliasm died out in proportion as Greek philosophical concepts seeped into the church.⁵⁸ There the fight against it resulted in the temporary rejection of the Apocalypse from the canon of Scripture; but the West never gave up the Apocalypse, and retained chiliasm until the fifth century.

8. THE ECLIPSE OF PREMILLENNIALISM.—Looking back, we can now see that if the chiliasts had taken their stand on the foundation of Revelation 20 alone, for the doctrine of the millennium, and had not added the Jewish apocalyptic conceptions of the earthly monarchy, with ruling saints slaughtering or enslaving their unregenerate foes and feasting on incredible

⁵⁶ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 618.

⁵⁷ Adolph Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. 2, pp. 106, 107.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 299, 300.

bounties, and if they had not placed the emphasis on the material prosperity and the fantastic elements—even allowing for a due proportion of Oriental metaphor in some of the extravagant statements—millenarianism would not have aroused such opposition. The church at large never turned away from belief in the second coming of Christ in glory, to punish evil and reward the saints, although in making chiliasm a heresy it probably tended to thrust the whole subject of the second advent into the background of obscurity and doubt. This will become clearer as we proceed.

We can consequently see at least some reason for Jerome's deprecation of the "Jewish dream" of the millennial kingdom,⁵⁹ even while we discount his possible exaggeration. We can likewise see why Augustine reversed his earlier acceptance of the doctrine, even though we regret his leading the church, through an alternative millennium, into exchanging a future dominion of the saints in the Holy City for the present dominion of the saints in the church.⁶⁰

This abandonment of millenarianism was made possible because of the changed status of the church in the world in the fourth century.⁶¹ After Constantine had suddenly lifted Christianity out of persecution into popularity, and not only the wealth but the multitudes of the Gentiles had begun to flow into it, the church came to think less of the personal coming of Christ and more of its own increasing influence in this present world. This trend continued and increased over a period of centuries.

"The Christian life of the Nicene and post-Nicene age reveals a mass of worldliness within the church; an entire abatement of chiliasm with its longing after the return of Christ and his glorious reign, and in its stead an easy repose in the present order of things."⁶²

By Augustine's time the West, while retaining the Apocalypse, abandoned premillennialism, transforming the thousand

⁵⁹ See page 335-

⁶⁰ See page 480.

⁶¹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 619.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 5.

years into the indefinite period of the Christian Era, and the first resurrection into the new birth of the soul, and the reign of Christ into the reign of the church—a concept in which lay the germ of the whole religio-political system of the Middle Ages, which will be discussed in due time. But for the present we must turn to Origen to trace the beginnings of the church's change in attitude.

Attacks on the Advent Hope and on Prophecy

We have now come to a turning point in the history of the rapidly expanding church. Arriving at that determinative fork in the road, she began to veer radically from her original position on the prophecies concerning the second advent. The three most definite steps in progressive digression were taken during the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, and center on the names of Origen, Eusebius, and Augustine, as will be seen.

This is not to say that the decline of the church from apostolic standards in many other respects—such as in doctrine, polity, and worship—began with Origen and reached full development with Augustine; or that the whole apostasy is included in, and attributable to, the abandonment of the earliest views on the prophecies. There was play and interplay of various forces in the church both before and after the major changes in the prophetic point of view. We have found Paul calling attention to the early signs of apostasy, even in his day, and we have noted the infiltration of unscriptural elements so early that Tertullian justified them on the basis of tradition. On the other hand, it will become clear in the discussion of the Council of Nicaea that new departures in the union of the church with the world can be contemporary with a conservative doctrine of the second advent.¹

¹ See pages 150, 255, 368.

Prophetic interpretation was not the only factor, but it was a major factor, in a complex development. However it has often been underestimated as a force which influenced and accelerated apostasy, and which was sometimes used to justify it. Shifts in direction were not sudden or complete, for historical processes do not work that way, but we can chart the changing course of the ancient church by conspicuous landmarks along the way. And Origen looms up as the first of three from which she took false bearings.

I. Origen, Allegorizing Philosopher and Scholar

1. ORIGEN'S ALEXANDRIAN BACKGROUND.—It is desirable that we understand well the circumstances, and know intelligently the one who, more than any other, first set in motion these forces that ultimately set aside the second advent hope and expectancy, which hope had been held rather consistently ever since the time of the apostles.

“The ante-Nicene fathers expected the ultimate triumph of Christianity over the world from a supernatural interposition at the second Advent. Origen seems to have been the only one in that age of violent persecution who expected that Christianity, by continual growth, would gain the dominion over the world.”²

He also hoped for ultimate universal salvation. He opposed all millenarianism, for he spiritualized the resurrection and allegorized the prophecies, thus striking at these inseparable corollaries of the advent.³

The setting is to be sought in Alexandria, Egypt, where Origen was brought up. The Jews in the Macedonian, or Hellenistic, period had absorbed into their very life currents the “wisdom of the Greeks.” Noted for its Museum, or university, and its great libraries, it formed a common meeting ground for Jewish tradition and the Egyptian mysteries, into which Greek Platonists had injected their subtle philosophies. Because the leaders of the Christian church were, after the initial period of

² Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 122 (see Origen, *Against Celsus*, book 8, chap. 68, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 666).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 611, 619.

Palestinian leadership, largely ignorant of the original Hebrew of the Old Testament, they used the Alexandrian Septuagint, despite its recognized faults, as the common version. It was in the catechetical school of Alexandria, under such environment, that the allegorical method came into vogue in the early church, in an attempt to extract Greek philosophy from the Pentateuch.⁴

2. ORIGEN'S PRECOCIOUS THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE.—ORIGEN (c. 185-c. 254), probably born in Alexandria, and possibly of Greek parentage, was the chief exponent of the mystical interpretation of Scripture.⁵ Although his personal character was above reproach, he did incalculable injury to the faith of the church through his injection of Neo-Platonic mysticism. He was one of the most remarkable men in history for sheer genius and learning, and was considered the most brilliant scholar of his age. His chief accomplishment was in the field of textual criticism, but his knowledge embraced all departments of philosophy, philology, and theology, in a period when the ecclesiastical language of the church was just being formed, and before the great councils had defined the limits of "orthodoxy."

Origen received the standard liberal education of the day. He was thoroughly familiar with Greek literature, and with Scripture as well. Unquestionably a youthful prodigy, with a precocious thirst for knowledge, he misapplied much of that knowledge through wild and fanciful interpretation. Eusebius, who recounts Origen's early life and proclivities,⁶ tells us that while yet a boy he memorized whole sections of the Bible. But, unsatisfied with the plain and obvious intent of the text, he inquired so persistently into its "inner meaning" that he greatly perplexed his father, drawing forth a rebuke for inquiring into things beyond his youthful capacity.⁷

At the age of seventeen Origen was a student in the catechetical school at Alexandria, under the noted Clement, when

⁴ Farrar, *History*, pp. 129, 130.

⁵ Mosheim, *op. cit.*, book 1, cent. 3, part 2, chap. 2, vol. 1, p. 223.

⁶ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 6, chaps. 2, 3, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 249-252.

⁷ *Ibid.*, book 6, chap. 2, p. 250.

violent persecution of the Christians broke out under Septimius Severus in 202. Origen's father, Leonides, was numbered among the martyrs. Clement's flight left the catechetical school at Alexandria without a teacher. So Origen was induced to give informal instruction in the faith in this crucial period.

3. EXERTS BLIGHTING INFLUENCE AS ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL HEAD.—Such exceptional success attended him that Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, definitely appointed Origen head of the school when he was only an eighteen-year-old layman. This appointment determined the course of his life. He sold his collection of ancient writings, and thenceforth devoted himself to exposition and teaching, and the Alexandrian school, already prominent, rose to new heights under his leadership as great numbers flocked to his lectures. Thinking to fill his office better, he devoted himself to an exhaustive study of all the heresies of his age, until he became steeped in Greek philosophy and heretical Gnosticism.⁸

He brilliantly attacked and refuted the enemies of the Christian religion, who feared him.⁹ But he injured the very religion he defended by mixing with it multiple errors, particularly allegorical and metaphysical theology. And instead of bringing the heathen mind up to the Christian standard, he brought the Christian truth down toward the level of pagan philosophy in an attempt to make it acceptable to the higher classes,¹⁰ thereby contributing tragically to the corruption of the faith of the church. There is scarcely a heresy that has blighted the Christian church which is not to be traced to this dreamer.

After Origen had taught thirteen years at Alexandria, the persecution under the emperor Caracalla forced him to with-

⁸ For a discussion of Gnosticism, see page 222.

⁹ This included his attack on Celsus. In the last part of the second century the rapid expansion of Christianity disturbed the Roman philosophers, for Christianity was deemed too disgraceful in origin, too disloyal to its Jewish ancestry, too contrary to the demands of the empire, to deserve consideration. Yet it was growing. While most Christians were of humble origin, some were men of birth and education. So the philosophers regarded it as their duty to counsel against it. This was the motive of Celsus, the Roman lawyer, about 178. (Arthur Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 79.)

¹⁰ Origen thus used the currently popular Neoplatonism, which was simply venerated paganism. It was an attempt to unite Greek philosophy with Oriental mysticism in a universal religion—a pagan counterpart of Christianity. (Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 98, 99.)

draw to Palestine. Though still a layman, he was requested by the bishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea to expound the Scriptures in their presence in public assembly. Demetrius, strongly disapproving this unprecedented situation, demanded his return to Alexandria. There Origen began his written expositions of Scripture, laboring for the next fifteen years as teacher and author.

About 230, while on the way to Greece, he was ordained a presbyter at Caesarea. There had already been opposition to Origen in Alexandria, and this honor drew upon him the condemnation of his bishop. His ordination was pronounced invalid, and his headship of the catechetical school terminated. This occasioned his permanent withdrawal to Caesarea. There he formed a new theological school, similar to the one in Alexandria, where he trained some of the most eminent fathers. Under the persecution of Decius, he was thrown into a dungeon at Tyre. He was later released, but died several years afterward as a result of the sufferings inflicted upon him.¹¹

From the notorious errors in his scheme of philosophy, including those antagonistic to belief in the second advent and necessitating its rejection or explaining away, sprang that hostility that pressed successfully against him the charge of heresy. That he had perverted the "orthodox faith" could not be gainsaid. By a later synod, after his death, he was charged with heresy and anathematized as a heretic.¹² His teachings, however, lived on, and exercised a profound influence on the succeeding centuries. From the days of Origen to those of Chrysostom there was not a single eminent commentator who did not borrow largely from his works.¹³

4. LITERARY ACTIVITIES, HERESY, AND CONDEMNATION.—The indefatigable Origen's literary activities were prodigious. He is alleged by Epiphanius, an opponent, to have written six

¹¹ Frederick Crombie, quoted in "Introductory Note to the Works of Origen," in *ANF*, vol. 4, pp. 226, 227, 229.

¹² Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, book 13, secs. 255-257, pp. 217-228, and book 14, chap. 2, sec. 274, pp. 336, 337.

¹³ Farrar, *History*, pp. 188, 189, 202.

thousand works,¹⁴ large and small. Ambrosius, a wealthy friend who considered him perhaps the greatest of living teachers and Scripture expositors, devoted much of his fortune to transcription and publication, enabling Origen to write voluminously.¹⁵ From dawn till late at night seven shorthand writers were always attendant upon him, rotating in taking dictation, with a like number of copyists. Thus his commentaries and treatises came to be, covering an amazing range—apologetic, polemic, and dogmatic. He quoted liberally from the Scriptures, generally the Septuagint, and his knowledge of the text of Scripture was indeed extraordinary, considering that he had no concordance to aid him.

His crowning work was the monumental Hexapla, or six-fold Bible, compiled for the improvement of the received Septuagint text. It was a critical work—the Old Testament in six parallel columns, two Hebrew and the rest Greek: (1) the Hebrew text; (2) the Hebrew text transliterated into the Greek alphabet; and then the Greek versions of (3) Aquila, (4) Symmachus, (5) the Septuagint, and (6) Theodotion. Origen became the father of textual criticism, through this stupendous work, which consumed twenty-eight years, and laid the foundation of all later textual criticism. He even learned Hebrew in order to compare the Septuagint and other Greek versions with the Old Testament Hebrew. The degree of literalness determined the order of the columns. The departures from the standard he marked with asterisks and obelisks, respectively, for alterations and omissions.¹⁶ He gave digests of the early readings of the text, carefully noting the textual variations that existed in his day.

To this scholarly textual work of Origen we owe the preservation of the original Septuagint version of the book of Daniel; this earlier Greek translation survives only in a single manuscript, a text from Origen's Tetrapla (the four Greek col-

¹⁴ Crombie, *op. cit.*, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 229.

¹⁵ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 6, chap. 23, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, v. 271.

¹⁶ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 793, 794; Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 59-75.

umns of the Hexapla).¹⁷ The Hexapla was so huge that it was never copied entire, but it long remained accessible to scholars in the library of Pamphilus at Caesarea. Origen has been regarded by scholars as the most celebrated Biblical critic of antiquity.

II. Origen's Allegorical Treatment of Scripture

1. INTRODUCES DARK MIST OF ALLEGORIZATION.—It may be a bit wearisome, and may seem needless, to trace the errors of Origen, but it is nevertheless imperative to have before us the foundations upon which were built the whole structure of allegorical interpretation which turned the church away from her historic positions on prophecy. Milner declares that "no man, not altogether unsound and hypocritical, ever injured the Church of Christ more than Origen," who introduced "a complicated scheme of fanciful interpretation" that for many ages "much obscured the light of Scripture."¹⁸ He made the sacred writings say anything or nothing, according to his caprice, often maintaining conflicting views.¹⁹

2. LITERAL INTERPRETATION NOT TRUE SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.—In the earlier centuries the literal sense of Scripture was generally accepted (except, of course, where the language and context show it to be obviously figurative) in harmony with sound principles of the interpretation of language. But Origen contended that the Scriptures are of little use to those who take them as written. This spiritualizing, or *anagogical* principle (passing to a higher sense than literal, i.e., a "more literal"), determined the whole pattern of Origen's exegesis.²⁰

He did not deny that prophecy had been written, that historical events had occurred, or that the Scriptures taught the resurrection, the millennium, and the personal second advent

¹⁷ See page 122.

¹⁸ Joseph Milner, *The History of the Church of Christ*, cent. 3, chaps. 15 and 5, vol. 1, pp. 221, 156.

¹⁹ W. D. Killen, *The Ancient Church*, pp. 345, 346.

²⁰ Johann Heinrich Kurtz, *Church History*, vol. 1, p. 155.

of Christ, if taken in a literal sense. But to a great extent the facts were in his way; they must therefore give way to the true and inner sense.²¹ He so spiritualized the symbolic language of the Scriptures as to deprive them of all actual force. He asserted, following the allegorical method of Plato, that there is a three-fold sense to Scripture—the literal, moral, and mystical—the literal needing to be spiritualized away.²²

3. DENIES LITERALITY OF BIBLE NARRATIVES.—Origen denies not only the Old Testament declarations concerning creation week and the fall but also some features of gospel narrative as well, and boldly alleges that some of the historical record of the Scriptures is filled with fabrication,²³ in order to stimulate to closer investigation and to bring out the mystical meaning.²⁴ Take, for instance, some of the summarizing chapter headings of his *Commentary on John*, book 10. The heading to chapter 2 closes with the words, "Literally Read, the Narratives Cannot Be Harmonized: They Must Be Interpreted Spiritually," and chapter 4 is headed, "Scripture Contains Many Contradictions, and Many Statements Which Are Not Literally True, but Must Be Read Spiritually and Mystically."²⁵ Chapter 17 is introduced thus: "Matthew's Story of the Entry Into Jerusalem. Difficulties Involved in It for Those Who Take It Literally"; and chapter 18 continues: "The Ass and the Colt Are the Old and the New Testament. Spiritual Meaning of the Various Features of the Story."²⁶

In this section Origen exemplifies "the real truth of these matters," accepted by "true intelligence": "Jesus is the word of God which goes into the soul that is called Jerusalem." He

²¹ Allan Menzies, "Commentaries of Origen. Introduction," in *ANF*, vol. 9, p. 293.

²² Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 521.

²³ Origen, *De Principiis*, book 4, chap. 1, sec. 16, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 365; see also Farrar, *History*, pp. 197, 200; K. R. Hagenbach, *A History of Christian Doctrines*, vol. 1, pp. 125, 126, 227.

²⁴ The cause of Origen's extravagant mysticism is not hard to determine. It arose from his belief in supernatural perfection of the precise words of Scripture, including translations, even putting a mystical meaning into copyists' errors. Every jot and tittle had its secret, or mystery. And this misconception carried to such extremes, bore the baleful fruits so evident in Origen's teaching. (See Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, p. 190; Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 322; Menzies, *op. cit.*, in *ANF*, vol. 9, p. 292.)

²⁵ Origen, *Commentary on John*, book 10, chaps. 2, 4, in *ANF*, vol. 9, pp. 382, 383; see also chaps. 13, 24, 25.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, chaps. 17, 18, pp. 395, 396.

allegorizes at length on the "branches," the "multitudes," and other expressions, and repeats his fancy that "the ass and the foal are the old and the new Scriptures, on which the Word of God rides," in fulfillment of the "prophetic utterance" of Zechariah 9:9 concerning this episode described in Matthew 21:2.²⁷ Thus Origen's perpetual allegorizing muddled even the clearest and most explicit statements of Scripture.

4. PROPHECIES FILLED WITH DARK SAYINGS.—Other examples of his spiritual interpretation are the gates of Ezekiel, and of the New Jerusalem of Revelation 21, as the various modes by which souls enter the better world.²⁸ Origen pays his respects to the prophecies in general by declaring them "filled with enigmas and dark sayings."

"And what need is there to speak of the prophecies, which we all know to be filled with enigmas and dark sayings? . . . And who, on reading the revelations made to John, would not be amazed at the unspeakable mysteries therein concealed, and which are evident (even) to him who does not comprehend what is written? . . . And therefore, since these things are so, and since innumerable individuals fall into mistakes, it is not safe in reading (the Scriptures) to declare that one easily understands what needs the key of knowledge, which the Saviour declares is with the lawyers."²⁹

5. DISCONNECTS ADVENT FROM RESURRECTION AND MILLENNIUM.—Origen speaks of the two advents of Christ,³⁰ but does not connect the second advent with the resurrection or the millennium, or recognize it as marking the climax of prophetically foretold human history.³¹ Rather, the effects of that transcendent event are set forth as the ultimate reign of Christ, brought about by a gradual process, through successive worlds and long ages of purification.

"At the consummation and restoration of all things, those who make a gradual advance, and who ascend (in the scale of improvement), will arrive in due measure and order at that land, and at that training which is contained in it, where they may be prepared for those better institutions

²⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 18, pp. 396-399.

²⁸ Origen, *Against Celsus*, book 6, chap. 23, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 583.

²⁹ Origen, *De Principiis*, book 4, chap. 1, sec. 10, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 358.

³⁰ Origen, *Against Celsus*, book 1, chap. 36, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 421.

³¹ *Ibid.*

to which no addition can be made. For, after His agents and servants, the Lord Christ, who is King of all, will Himself assume the kingdom; i.e., after instruction in the holy virtues, He will Himself instruct those who are capable of receiving Him in respect of His being wisdom, reigning in them until He has subjected them to the Father, who has subdued all things to Himself, i.e., that when they shall have been made capable of receiving God, God may be to them all in all."³²

6. ADVENT ALLEGORIZED WITH "PROPHETIC CLOUDS."—Origen first gives the traditional, literal interpretation of our Lord's promise of returning in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, but he turns from that to the allegorical "prophetic clouds" of the prophets' writings. He likens to children those who hold to a literal or "corporeal" interpretation of this passage, and insists on a spiritual sense alone for the enlightened Christian.

"With much power, however, there comes daily, to the soul of every believer, the second advent of the Word in the prophetic clouds, that is, in the writings of the prophets and apostles, which reveal Him and in all their words disclose the light of truth, and declare Him as coming forth in their significations [which are] divine and above human nature. Thus, moreover, to those who recognize the revealer of doctrines in the prophets and apostles, we say that much glory also appears, which is seen in the second advent of the Word."³³

He speaks of a double advent into the souls of individual Christians.

"The second advent of Christ, however, in mature men, concerning whom a dispenser of His word says: 'However we speak wisdom among the perfect.' Moreover these mature ones . . . praise the beauty and comeliness of the Word; and to this second advent is joined the end of the world in the man who comes to perfection and says, 'Far be it from me that I should glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom the world is crucified to me and I to the world.' For if the world is crucified to the righteous, it has become the end of the age for those to whom the world is crucified. Necessarily, therefore, let those who have the faith to come separately to Christ, if they wish to learn the sign of the advent of Christ and the end of the world, show themselves worthy to see His second advent and the second end of the world which we have taught to you."³⁴

³² Origen, *De Principiis*, book 3, chap. 6, sec. 8, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 348.

³³ Translated from *Series Commentariorum Origenis in Mattheum* (A Series of Commentaries on Matthew), chap. 50, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 13, col. 1678.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 32, col. 1642.

So the supreme event of the ages and of the plan of salvation is spiritualized away, with the observation that the literal understanding is only for the simple.

7. OPPOSED MILLENNIALISM BECAUSE INCOMPATIBLE WITH CONCEPTS.—It is also significant that Origen never spoke of millennialism except to condemn it.³⁵ Until his time, belief in the second, personal, premillennial coming of Christ was general, together with the millennial reign of the saints with Christ after their literal resurrection from the dead at the advent. It was due in great degree to Origen's molding influence, that millennialism began to wane. He opposed it because it was incompatible with his scheme of things.³⁶

8. BLOWS HOT AND COLD ON THE RESURRECTION.—As concerns the resurrection, inseparably related in the Scriptures to the advent, Origen is ambiguous, but it is clear that he goes far afield. He contends for the orthodox belief of the church in the actual resurrection of the body, quoting such texts as 1 Thessalonians 4:15, 16 and 1 Corinthians 15:39-42.³⁷ Yet he teaches that the resurrected spiritual bodies must undergo gradual, perhaps age-long purification in the next world, perhaps many worlds, and become more spiritual and less material until the saints attain to the highest spiritual condition in which "God shall be all in all."³⁸ Although he elsewhere treats the subject allegorically, and speaks of a spiritual resurrection from spiritual death, Origen distinctly mentions the two resurrections.³⁹ Yet he vitiates the whole point, purpose, and distinction of the two resurrections by assigning the possibility of ultimate salvation also to those who have part in the second resurrection—

³⁵ Hagenbach, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 305, 306; see Origen, *Against Celsus*, book 2, chap. 11, sec. 2, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 297.

³⁶ Farrar, *History*, p. 196.

³⁷ Origen, *De Principiis*, book 2, chap. 10, secs. 1-3, and book 3, chap. 6, secs. 4-9, in *ANF*, vol. 4, pp. 293-295 and 346-348 respectively; Origen, *Against Celsus*, book 5, chaps. 17-19, 22, 23, in *ANF*, vol. 4, pp. 550-553; *Selections From the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen*, part 7, chap. 88, pp. 232, 233.

³⁸ Origen, *De Principiis*, book 3, chap. 6, secs. 8, 9, in *ANF*, vol. 4, pp. 347, 348; cf. book 1, chap. 6, pp. 260-262, and fragments translated by Jerome, appended to book 1, p. 267.

³⁹ Origen, *Commentary on John*, book 1, chap. 25, in *ANF*, vol. 9, p. 312; *Selections From the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen*, part 7, chap. 87, p. 228.

after the purifying "refiner's fire."⁴⁰ Furthermore, he asserts that as soon as one believes in the immortality of the soul, he can place his hope in Christ without believing in a bodily resurrection; "and he makes the resurrection after this life but one in a series of incarnations of the soul in a series of worlds, for he believed the soul existed before its union with the body."⁴² He thus effectually renders meaningless the second coming of Christ.

9. CALLS ANTICHRIST A SON OF SATAN.—Little is said by Origen on the Antichrist. Cognizance is taken of the predictions of Daniel, Jesus, and Paul, but Antichrist is identified specifically as the son of the devil, the embodiment of evil, and identified with Paul's Man of Sin, Daniel's fierce king of chapter 8, and the abomination.⁴³ In his comments on Matthew, however, Antichrist is also explained as any word professing falsely to be Scriptural truth; any heresy, any false truth, wisdom, or virtue, professing to belong to Christ.⁴⁴

10. DISCARDS GOD'S SOLUTION TO SIN PROBLEM.—Origen's fundamental errors, bearing directly upon his spiritualizing away of Biblical truth, were held to be principally: (1) the pre-existence of the human soul, (2) the pre-existence of even the "human" soul of Christ, (3) the transformation of our material bodies into absolutely ethereal ones at the resurrection, and (4) the ultimate salvation of all men, and even devils.⁴⁵ Some errors, such as the stars as animate beings, are more apparent in later times than in his unscientific age.⁴⁶ Some of his earlier extremes were later modified.⁴⁷ But, clinging to such basic fallacies in his concept of the plan of salvation, he could do no other than discard the advent hope as the goal of the ages.

⁴⁰ Origen, *De Principiis*, book 3, chap. 6, sec. 5, and *Against Celsus*, book 4, chap. 13, in *ANF*, vol. 4, pp. 346 and 502 respectively.

⁴¹ Origen, *Selections*, part 7, chap. 83, p. 237.

⁴² Origen, *Commentary on John*, book 2, chap. 24, in *ANF*, vol. 9, p. 340.

⁴³ Origen, *Against Celsus*, book 6, chaps. 45, 46, in *ANF*, vol. 4, pp. 593-595.

⁴⁴ *Serius Commentariorum*, chaps. 33, 42, 47, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 13, cols. 1644, 1645, 1660, 1668, 1669.

⁴⁵ Crombie, *op. cit.*, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 233.

⁴⁶ Origen, *De Principiis*, book 1, chap. 7, secs. 2, 3, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 263.

⁴⁷ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 793, 796.

11. **ULTIMATE RESTORATION POSSIBLE TO ALL.**—Universalists can well claim Origen as one of their own. His anti-Scriptural belief in the ultimate restoration of all moral creatures to the favor of God, and his bold scheme of a spiritual purification of the sinner by the fire of remorse, accordingly leave Christ and His grace largely out of the transaction of salvation. He teaches the world's end, and the final consummation when all things are restored to God—even including demons, as he hints in his earlier writings⁴⁸—after innumerable ages, thus striking again at the second advent. He nullifies the future judgment by teaching that all saints departing this life attain ultimate perfection by progression through the classroom of the soul, in Paradise, and that the wicked are refined by fire, a process tending toward perfection.⁴⁹

12. **ORIGEN'S MISCONCEPTION OF SOUL.**—The foundation of all Origen's errors lay in his attempt to reconcile Christianity with the pagan philosophy of Egypt and Greece, particularly Neoplatonism, and one of the basic elements of his philosophy was his misconception of the nature of the human soul. The idea of conditional or bestowed immortality, sometimes regarded as involving the final annihilation of the wicked, had been held rather inconsistently by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and others,⁵⁰ but the doctrine of inherent immortality was generally accepted in the church by Origen's time. This doctrine, which was subsequently to lead to image and saint worship, was bound to affect profoundly all Origen's beliefs on the advent.

13. **TEACHES A SPECIES OF TRANSMIGRATION.**—As noted, Origen definitely taught the existence of the human soul in successive phases—that is, previous to this present life, with condemnation to the prison of the body to atone for the sins of a previous existence, and with the status in the next world determined by the life in this. Although he denied the doctrine

⁴⁸ Origen, *De Principiis*, book 1, chap. 6, secs. 2, 3, and book 3, chap. 6, in *ANF*, vol. 4, pp. 260, 261, and 345-347, respectively (see also Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 611).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, book 2, chap. 10, secs. 4-6, pp. 295, 296, chap. 11, sec. 6, p. 299; *Against Celsus*, book 4, chap. 13, p. 502.

⁵⁰ Hagenbach, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 221-223; Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 610.

of transmigration (metempsychosis) as held by some heretics, he nevertheless taught another type of transmigration. The following extracts indicate the validity of the later charge of heresy brought against him on this point.

"The soul, which is immaterial and invisible in its nature, exists in no material place, without having a body suited to the nature of that place. Accordingly, it at one time puts off one body which was necessary before, but which is no longer adequate in its changed state, and it exchanges it for a second; and at another time it assumes another in addition to the former, which is needed as a better covering, suited to the purer ethereal regions of heaven."⁵¹

He held that in the beginning God created "rational natures" "endowed with the power of freewill," able to rise or fall, the degree of fall determining the conditions of one's birth and earthly lot. He feels that Jacob "was worthily beloved by God, according to the deserts of his previous life, so as to deserve to be preferred before his brother."⁵²

"He who shall purge himself when he is in this life, will be prepared for every good work in that which is to come; while he who does not purge himself will be, according to the amount of his impurity, a vessel unto dishonour, i.e., unworthy. It is therefore possible to understand that there have been also formerly rational vessels, whether purged or not, i.e., which either purged themselves or did not do so, and that consequently every vessel, according to the measure of its purity or impurity, received a place, or region, or condition by birth, or an office to discharge, in this world."⁵³

14. COMPUTES 70 WEEKS AS 4,900 YEARS.—Origen comes down from his flights of fancy sufficiently to interpret the seventy weeks as a definite time period, although he strangely counts the weeks by neither literal days nor years, but by *decades*, totaling 4,900 years, from Adam to the time when the chosen people are rejected by God, at the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70. As to the time, he cites Phlegon as recording that the temple was destroyed in about the fortieth year from the fifteenth year of Tiberius. Deduct from this the preaching of the Lord—almost three years—and the time after the resur-

⁵¹ Origen, *Against Celsus*, book 7, chap. 32, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 623.

⁵² Origen, *De Principiis*, book 2, chap. 9, sec. 7, in *ANF*, vol. 4, p. 292.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, sec. 8, p. 293; see also chaps. 2, 3, pp. 270-272, book 3, chap. 5, secs. 4, 5, pp. 342, 343, book 4, chap. 1, sec. 23, pp. 372, 373.

rection, and you will find that about the middle of the week of decades, more or less, was fulfilled the prophecy "the sacrifice and oblation shall be taken away." The desolation is to remain until the end of the world; therefore Origen condemns those who say that the temple will be rebuilt. No one will build the temple, he says, unless it is the Man of Sin.⁶⁴

15. ORIGEN'S HARMFUL INFLUENCE ON THE CHURCH.—When we look at the five indispensable factors bound up with the advent, we see that Origen has completely changed the understanding of the resurrection, the millennium, the climax of outline prophecies, the destruction of Antichrist, and the establishment of the kingdom. The Biblical doctrines of the early church on these points were all swept into the discard through this spiritualizing interpretation, as the darkness of mystic philosophy supplanted the light of the Scriptural advent hope.

Few of Origen's vagaries were espoused at the time, and, indeed, Origen himself in his later years seems to have retreated from some of his extreme speculations. But sharp controversy ensued. Many who denounced him were led to clear enunciation of the historic prophetic positions, yet the subtle spiritualization and allegorization of the Scriptures began to take root, and in time to be widely accepted, as the church's attention became diverted from the advent to churchly establishment in this present world.

In the light of this saddening but revealing array of evidence, it is incontrovertible that a fateful trio of Origen's innovations were largely instrumental in accelerating this apostasy in the church. His doctrine of the progressive, final triumph of the church on earth, his speculations which undermined the fundamental Christian concepts of the expected kingdom of God, and his ridicule of the current beliefs in the future millennium—extreme as some of them were—helped to pave the way for the later Augustinian idea of the millennium as the Christian Era, and the earthly church as God's

⁶⁴ *Series Commentariorum*, chap. 40, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 13, cols. 1656-1658.

kingdom—an idea which led to the rise of the papal hierarchy and the full-blown Catholic system of the Middle Ages. Such is the verdict of history.

III. Direct Attack on Twin Citadels of Prophecy

Origen's allegorical interpretation was not a direct blow at the church's concept of the prophecies of the advent but a flanking attack. Origen believed firmly—however fantastic his speculations might have been—in the inspiration of the prophecies, and the canonicity of the books of Daniel and the Revelation.

But following Origen, in the same century, came two direct attacks on these prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse. These assaults were begun: (1) on the book of Revelation about A.D. 255, by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, who in opposing the chiliasts denied the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse, thus influencing subsequent questions arising over its canonicity; and (2) on the prophecy of Daniel, about 270, by Porphyry of Rome, who contended that Daniel was written after the events portrayed, by someone in Judea in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes who deceptively employed the future tense to give an appearance of futurity to that which was actually past. Because of the vital future effects of these assaults, it is essential to understand their origin and intent.

1. ASSAULT ON THE APOCALYPSE BY DIONYSIUS.—Born a pagan, DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 190-265) was converted to Christianity by Origen. A diligent student, he became head of the Alexandrian school in 231 or 232. About 247 he succeeded Heraclas as bishop of Alexandria, which at that time was the greatest and most powerful see of Christendom. His episcopate was filled with trouble. He was driven into the Libyan desert by the Decian persecution, returning in 251. Under the Valerian persecution, in 257, he was banished by the prefect of Egypt. Since he was taught by Origen, it is not surprising that he refuted the chiliastic doctrine. But he went beyond his master so

far as to impugn the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse in order to defeat the millenarians. It seems that the doctrinal controversy was the basis for his attack, although he offered some critical grounds, such as an alleged difference in style and diction from John's Gospel and Epistles. Yet he was convinced that the Apocalypse was written by a man inspired of God. He opposed it chiefly because of its millennial teachings.⁵⁵

Already there had been an attack on the Apocalypse by the Alogi in the second century,⁵⁶ and by the presbyter Caius against the millennium,⁵⁷ as well as Origen's spiritualization of the prophetic symbols to deprive them of all force. It was about A.D. 255 that dispute arose concerning the chiliastic opinions taught in a book entitled *Refutation of Allegorists*, by Nepos, a bishop in Egypt. Dionysius succeeded through his oral and written efforts in checking this Egyptian revival of chiliasm. This was but natural, for from its very beginning the allegorism of the Alexandrian school had exerted a pernicious influence, endeavoring to explain and harmonize Bible truth with Greek dialectics after the manner of Philo.

Bishop Nepos in his *Refutation of Allegorists* had insisted on the interpretation of Revelation 20 as referring to a literal "millennium of bodily luxury" on earth. Dionysius now sought to refute his position. He could not follow the former opponents, who had set aside the entire Apocalypse, pronouncing it without sense; yet he reproduced some of the same arguments, with modifications. Said Dionysius: "I could not venture to reject the book, as many brethren hold it in high esteem," yet he ascribed it to another John—some "holy and inspired man"—but not the apostle John.⁵⁸

Thus Dionysius sought to combat chiliasm by undermining confidence in the apostolic character of the Apocalypse. His

⁵⁵ S. D. F. Salmond, Translator's Introductory Notice to Dionysius, in *ANF*, vol. 6, pp. 78, 79; Dionysius, *Extant Fragments*, part 1, chap. 1, "From the Two Books on the Promises," sec. 4, in *ANF*, vol. 6, p. 83; Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticæ*, vol. 1, pp. 3-8.

⁵⁶ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 7, chap. 25, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 309 (see also Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 573).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, book 3, chap. 28, p. 160.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, book 7, chap. 25, p. 309.

influence was felt in later doubts concerning the canonicity of the Apocalypse, which caused much discussion in the church, and which lingered in the East for several centuries. And it was this dispute about millenarianism that led Dionysius to deny its Johannine authorship, though he accepted it as canonical.⁵⁹

Thus it was that certain leaders began to recede from millennialism in precisely the same proportion as philosophical theology became ascendant. In this sense the later uprooting of the millennial expectation is one of the most momentous factors in the history of early Christianity. With the loss of millennialism, men lost a living faith in the impending return of Christ, and the prophetic Scriptures pointing to the reign of Christ came to be applied to the church, with far-reaching results.

2. ATTACK ON DANIEL BY PORPHYRY.—PORPHYRY (233-c. 304), Syrian sophist and Neoplatonic philosopher, was born possibly at Tyre, or more likely at Batanaea in Syria, and died at Rome. A disciple of Plotinus, who developed the Neoplatonic system, Porphyry became a teacher of philosophy at Rome. Many scholars challenge the tradition that he was ever a Christian, or could rightly be called "Porphyry the Apostate." While in retirement in Sicily he composed a treatise (c. 270) comprising fifteen books and titled *Adversus Christianos* (Against the Christians). It was ably answered by numerous Christian apologists—Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, Jerome, and so forth—some thirty in all. In fact, all the knowledge we have of Porphyry's arguments is transmitted to us through these refutations, chiefly Jerome's, as Theodosius II had the extant copies of his work publicly burned in A.D. 435, and this proscription was renewed in 448. Jerome declares:

"But as to the objections which Porphyry raises against this prophet, or rather brings against the book, Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinaris may be cited as witnesses, for they replied to his folly in many thousand lines of writing."⁶⁰

⁵⁹ A. T. Robertson, *Word Pictures in the New Testament*, vol. 6, p. 269. See chapter 4 and Appendix B for discussion of the canonicity of the Apocalypse.

⁶⁰ Jerome, Preface to Daniel, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 493.



THREE NOTED MOLDERS OF PROPHETIC OPINION

Porphyry, the Syrian Sophist, First to Attack Authenticity of Daniel and to Project the Antiochus Epiphanes Theory (Left); Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, in Whose Diocese the Waldenses Later Flourished (Center); Church Historian Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, Who Changed His Earlier Exposition of the Prophecies of Daniel 2 and 7, to Advocate the Earthly Church as the Kingdom of God—a Major Step in Supplanting Primitive Interpretation (Right) (See Chapters 14, 18, and 17)

Porphyry became one of the most determined pagan opponents of Christianity of his time, seeking to turn back the tide of this rival religion. Former attacks had proved futile, because the Gospel had a supernatural origin. Porphyry, seeking supernatural support for his own pagan system—a composite made up of paganism, Judaism, and a little Christianity—boldly attacked the supernatural in Christianity. He sought to disprove not so much the *substance* of Christianity's teachings, as the *records* in which that substance was delivered.⁶¹ Biographical records state, incidentally, that Porphyry's mind twice lost its bearings, and that the second time, in his old age, he had hallucinations.

3. PORPHYRY'S GENERAL OBJECTIVE AND SPECIFIC ARGUMENT.—Jerome contends that Porphyry was driven to attack the prophecy of Daniel because Jews and Christians agreed in pointing to the historical fulfillment of its prophecies as a conclusive argument against heathen positions. Daniel must be confuted in order to parry the force of the predictions concerning Christ, specifically those which give the kings in order and

⁶¹ M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, vol. 8, p. 422, art. "Porphyry."

the time of His coming, even to enumerating the years—obviously a reference to the seventy weeks. Porphyry, seeing these things to have been fulfilled, and being unable to deny that they had taken place, had recourse to calumny. These prophecies, he maintained, were written not by Daniel but by some Jew who in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (d. 164 B.C.) gathered up the traditions of Daniel's life and wrote a history of recent past events but in the future tense, falsely dating them back to Daniel's time. Here are Porphyry's words, quoted by Jerome:

"Daniel did not predict so much future events as he narrated past ones. Finally what he had told up to Antiochus contained true history; if anything was guessed beyond that point it was false, for he had not known the future."⁶²

Porphyry contended also that the book of Daniel was originally written in Greek, not Hebrew, and based part of his hostile argument on the apocryphal Susanna section. To this Jerome, Eusebius, and Apollinaris replied that the story of Susanna was not part of the original Hebrew book of Daniel but a spurious Greek addition.⁶³ The Greek text originated when, as all antiquity agreed, Daniel was translated from original Hebrew into Greek some time before Christ, and later by Theodotion, which latter version Porphyry quoted.⁶⁴

Porphyry's book 1 dealt with the Bible's alleged discrepancies. Book 4 was a criticism on the Mosaic history and Jewish antiquities, and books 12 and 13 were devoted to an examination of the prophecies of Daniel. Porphyry projected essentially the same argument, be it particularly noted, that has since been followed by modern criticism. The first part of Daniel, with the exception of the dream in Daniel 2, is historic, not prophetic. Porphyry, attacking only the prophetic portion, declares it to be merely a late anonymous narrative of past events, purporting to have been predicted long before by Daniel. Thus

⁶² Translated from Jerome, *Commentaria in Danielelem*, prologus, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 25, col. 491.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, cols. 492, 493.

⁶⁴ Charles Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 194.

Porphyry's scheme—the most ancient as well as most formidable direct attack on Daniel—was based on the supposed spuriousness of Daniel's prophecies.

In order to get rid of the prophecy, Porphyry's explanation confined the third prophetic kingdom to Alexander in person, reserving the Macedonian Ptolemies and Seleucids for the fourth kingdom. From among these he chose ten kings, making the eleventh—the one having the mouth speaking great things—to be Antiochus Epiphanes. Thus he adroitly threw his main strength against the book of Daniel, sensing that if this pillar of faith be shaken, the whole structure of prophecy must tremble, for the times and symbols of Daniel form the foundation of the New Testament Apocalypse. Further, if the writer was not Daniel, then he lied on a frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies which were never uttered, and making claim of miracles that were never wrought.⁶⁵ And if Daniel's authorship could be shown to be false, then Christ Himself, the "faithful witness" and true (Rev. 1:5), would be proved to bear witness to an imposter. (Matt. 24:15.)

4. IMMEDIATE ACCEPTANCE CONFINED TO NEAR EAST.—

The Jews remained aloof from Porphyry's seductive argument, but Jerome laments that it had beguiled "some unskilful ones of our own people." And only a few Christian writers accepted it, these being confined entirely to the East. Four names are to be noted, says Maitland:

a. *Jacob of Nisibis* (d. 338), a Syriac writer, supported this new arrangement of the empires.

b. *Ephraim the Syrian* (Ephrem, or Ephraem Syrus) (d. 373), pupil of Jacob of Nisibis, and the greatest light of the Syrian church.

c. *Polychronius, bishop of Apamea* (c. 430), one of Porphyry's Christian admirers.

d. *Anonymous Greek Writer in Fifth Century* (*Catena*

⁶⁵ Pusey, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

Graeca in Daniele) completes the list of ancient adherents of Porphyry.⁶⁶

Porphyry's line of attack was so well chosen as to leave his successors little room for improvement, for, after lying largely dormant for more than a thousand years, his argument springs forth again to plague the Reformation positions on prophecy.⁶⁷ It is likewise interesting to note that Porphyry's thesis was adopted by the infidel Gibbon, the English deist Collins, and most modernist scholars.⁶⁸

This chapter has been extended to include Porphyry in order to combine the two third-century writers who made direct attacks on the books of Daniel and the Revelation within a few years after Origen's flanking attack on the older prophetic views. The next chapter, then, must return to pick up the thread with Cyprian, a contemporary of Origen.

⁶⁶ Charles Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 197, 428; for Ephraim and Polychronius, see pp. 405, 430 of the present volume.

⁶⁷ About 1590 Hugh Broughton discovered the lost work of Polychronius, which set forth the old Porphyry theory, and Ben Jonson took up the cudgels against him in 1610 in *The Alchemist*. (See *Prophetic Faith*, vol. 2, pp. 564-566.)

⁶⁸ Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 348; Charles Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

Cyprian, Victorinus, and Methodius

I. Cyprian—Without Outline-Prophecy Perspective

CYPRIAN (*c.* 200-258), bishop of Carthage, greatest bishop of the third century, was likewise a premillenarian, though he had no clear view as to the particular time of the advent. Springing from the wealthy nobility of Carthage, trained in rhetoric and law, ranking high in social life, he nevertheless became a conspicuous confessor of Christ. Converted by a presbyter, about 246, he forsook the world, sold his estates for the benefit of the poor, and in ascetic retirement devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures and church teachers, especially Tertullian, for whose works Cyprian daily asked, with the words, "Hand me the master!" Possessing marked administrative ability, Cyprian was made a bishop about two years after his conversion, retaining this position until his martyrdom, a decade later. Conspicuous in church organization and discipline, he directed his polemics principally against schismatics.

1. OPPOSED SUPREMACY OF ONE BISHOP AND ONE SEE.—Tertullian's influence upon Cyprian's theological concepts was unmistakable. Like Tertullian, he exhibited a spirit of opposition to Rome's hierarchal assumptions of lordship. Cyprian believed in "the universal parity and community of bishops."¹ In the controversy over heretical baptism, he regarded the

¹ Introductory Notice to Cyprian, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 263.

bishop of Rome as only a colleague;² he was conscious of his own equal dignity and authority, contending that under no conditions should heretics be admitted to the church without first being purified from their errors by Catholic baptism.³ In his letter against Bishop Stephen, of Rome,⁴ he quotes Firmilian's charge of error and abuse of power, and calls tradition without truth merely antiquity of error.

Though Cyprian's *Unity of the Church* is used as the "magna charta" of the Roman primacy, he nevertheless contended zealously for an independent episcopate. Although he was the patron and defender of the presbyters and lay co-operation, the presbytery being an apostolic institution and associated with the bishops, his strong governing ability tended to increase his own episcopal authority at the expense of the presbyters. Thus he built up the authority of episcopal councils, which the popes ever labored to supplant. He believed in the theory of a primacy of the bishop of Rome, yet opposed its practical application. This contradictory element was characteristic. His position on conciliar primacy had to be practically destroyed by "decretalism" before it was possible for the pre-tentious figure of the supreme pontiff to rise and subject the Latin churches to the novelty of *Ecclesia in Papa*. Cyprian was antagonistic to this principle. He stood for representative church government and the legitimate power of the laity, and epitomized his position in the maxim *Ecclesia in Episcopo* (the church in the bishop). Later the great schism of the ninth century placed the Latin church clearly upon the foundations of the forged decretals, which substituted for the idea of "first among equals" the fictitious idea of the divine supremacy of one bishop and one see.⁵

2. PERSECUTION, BANISHMENT, AND MARTYRDOM.—Cyprian

² Cyprian, Epistle 54, "To Cornelius," chap. 14, vol. 5, p. 344.

³ Cyprian, Epistles 70, 71, "To Quintus," and "To Stephen," in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 377-379; see also Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 262.

⁴ Firmilian's letter to Cyprian (incorporated in *The Epistles of Cyprian* as Epistle 74), chaps. 16, 17, 23-25, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 394-396.

⁵ Ernest Wallis, Introduction to Cyprian, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 263; Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 161.

lived in the atmosphere of persecution, and often in the presence of torture and death. He had supreme contempt both for suffering and for worldly environment. Indeed, intense conviction generally marked the martyr spirit of the time. The evasions of those who dared not make a confession of Christ were denounced, together with the lapses of those shrinking from martyrdom. Cyprian declared that the thirst for martyrdom, which existed among Christians, arose from believing that those who suffered for Christ would obtain a martyr's reward.

The outbreak of the Decian persecution, in A.D. 250, induced Cyprian to retire into concealment for a time, during which period he probably wrote his thirty-eight epistles to the clergy. Decius had determined to rehabilitate the old pagan religion, and issued his universal edict to all the governors of the provinces to suppress Christianity and to require all to sacrifice to the imperial gods. Confiscation, exile, torture, and death followed.⁶ This severe persecution, which was continued in the two succeeding reigns, led Cyprian to believe that the end of the world, at the second advent of Christ, was at hand—with the antecedent coming of Antichrist—which conviction he emphasized.

Later persecutions under Valerian brought Cyprian's active labors to a close. He was sent into exile for about a year, being banished in 257, and was brought back to Carthage in 258 to martyrdom. When his own sentence of death was read to him, he said, "I heartily thank Almighty God, who is pleased to set me free from the chains of the body." When he was led to execution, weeping friends cried, "Let us also be beheaded with him." He knelt in prayer, covered his eyes with his own hand, and awaited the executioner, to whom he commanded the sum of about six pounds to be given.⁷

3. PRAYS FOR RESURRECTION AND KINGDOM.—Cyprian prayed, in his treatise *On the Lord's Prayer*, for Christ soon to

⁶ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 60, 61.

⁷ William Cave, *Lives of the . . . Fathers of the Church*, vol. 1, pp. 389, 390.

come into His kingdom, declaring that His advent was craved by the Christians.

"We pray that our kingdom, which has been promised us by God, may come, which was acquired by the blood and passion of Christ; that we who first are His subjects in the world, may hereafter reign with Christ when He reigns, as He Himself promises and says, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom which has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world.' Christ Himself, dearest brethren, however, may be the kingdom of God, whom we day by day desire to come, whose advent we crave to be quickly manifested to us. For since He is Himself the Resurrection, since in Him we rise again, so also the kingdom of God may be understood to be Himself, since in Him we shall reign."⁸

4. BELIEVES END TO BE IMMINENT.—He does not expound the time prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse, nor even the prophetic symbols of Daniel 2 and 7, but he refers to Christ's great prophecy of the signs of the last days. The time element was sharply foreshortened to his gaze; he placed his expectation on the imminence of the advent. He deemed it inconsistent to anticipate any lengthy continuance of their present affairs, and urged all to await the sudden advent of the Lord. During a pestilence he consoled his flock with the prospect of the kingdom of God:

"Since those occur which were foretold before, whatever things were promised will also follow; as the Lord Himself promises, saying, 'But when ye see all these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is at hand.' The kingdom of God, beloved brethren, is beginning to be at hand; the reward of life, and the rejoicing of eternal salvation, and the perpetual gladness and possession lately lost of paradise, are now coming, with the passing away of the world."⁹

An exhortation to martyrdom thus appeals to his readers to be prepared:

"For you ought to know and to believe, and hold it for certain, that the day of affliction has begun to hang over our heads, and the end of the world and the time of Antichrist to draw near, so that we must all stand prepared for the battle; nor consider anything but the glory of life eternal, and the crown of the confession of the Lord; and not regard those things which are coming as being such as were those which have passed away.

⁸ Cyprian, Treatise 4, "On the Lord's Prayer," chap. 13, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 450, 451.

⁹ Cyprian, Treatise 7, "On the Mortality," chap. 2, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 469.

A severer and a fiercer fight is now threatening, for which the soldiers of Christ ought to prepare themselves with uncorrupted faith and robust courage."¹⁰

5. ADVENT TO OVERTHROW ANTICHRIST-BEAST.—Cyprian declared that the time of the threatening Antichrist, foretold in the Apocalypse, drew nigh, and would be followed by the speedy advent of Christ.

"Nor let any one of you, beloved brethren, be so terrified by the fear of future persecution, or the coming of the threatening Antichrist, as not to be found armed for all things by the evangelical exhortations and precepts, and by the heavenly warnings. Antichrist is coming, but above him comes Christ also. The enemy goeth about and rageth, but immediately the Lord follows to avenge our sufferings and our wounds. The adversary is enraged and threatens, but there is One who can deliver us from his hands. . . . And in the Apocalypse He instructs and forewarns, saying, 'If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand, the same also shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, mixed in the cup of His indignation, and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb; and the smoke of their torments shall ascend up for ever and ever; and they shall have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image.'¹¹

Antiochus was set forth by Cyprian as a type of the coming Antichrist.¹²

6. KINGDOM'S ESTABLISHMENT TO FOLLOW ADVENT.—Firmly believing that the second coming of Christ would overthrow Antichrist in the last times, as He establishes the kingdom of His saints, Cyprian looked for the eternal kingdom to *follow* the second advent, but had no definite concept, seemingly, of the relationship of the resurrection and the millennium to this expectation.¹³

7. BELIEVED DAY OF JUDGMENT NEAR.—He maintained that the portents predicted by Paul, in 2 Timothy 3:1-9, were then being fulfilled, apostasy being far advanced, and that the

¹⁰ Cyprian, Epistle 55, "To the People of Thibariss Exhorting to Martyrdom," chap. 1, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 347.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 7, p. 349.

¹² Cyprian, Treatise 11, "Exhortation to Martyrdom, Addressed to Fortunatus," chap. 11, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 504.

¹³ Cyprian, Treatise 7, "On the Mortality," chap. 2, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 469.

world's decline had come.¹⁴ He also believed that, because of the then-existent conditions, the day of judgment was drawing near.

"That wars continue frequently to prevail, that death and famine accumulate anxiety, that health is shattered by raging diseases, that the human race is wasted by the desolation of pestilence, know that this was foretold; that evils should be multiplied in the last times, and that misfortunes should be varied; and that as the day of judgment is now drawing nigh, the censure of an indignant God should be more and more aroused for the scourging of the human race."¹⁵

8. LAST THINGS TAKE PLACE ACCORDING TO PREDICTION.—Cyprian frequently declared his belief that the second coming of Christ, with the last things, was about to come to pass according to divine prediction.

"Nor let it disturb you, dearest brethren, if with some, in these last times, either an uncertain faith is wavering, or a fear of God without religion is vacillating, or a peaceable concord does not continue. These things have been foretold as about to happen in the end of the world; and it was predicted by the voice of the Lord, and by the testimony of the apostles, that now that the world is failing, and the Antichrist is drawing near, everything good shall fail, but evil and adverse things shall prosper."¹⁶

Christians are to be admonished by the world's approaching collapse, as of an aged dwelling,¹⁷ and are to wait in readiness for the sudden appearance of the Lord.¹⁸ This is the dominant note.

9. BELIEVED 6,000 YEARS NEARLY COMPLETED.—It is evident that Cyprian followed the other fathers in the current computation of the world's duration of six thousand years until the end,¹⁹ and made the seventh millenary the consummation of all. But on the great outline prophecies Cyprian wrote little.

¹⁴ Cyprian, Treatise 1, "On the Unity of the Church," sec. 16, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 427.

¹⁵ Cyprian, Treatise 5, "An Address to Demetrianus," chap. 5, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 459.

¹⁶ Cyprian, Epistle 67, "To the Clergy and People Abiding in Spain," chap. 7, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 371; see also his Epistle 62, "To Caecilius, on the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord," chap. 18, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 363; and Epistle 57, "To Lucius, the Bishop of Rome, Returned From Banishment," chap. 2, in *ANF*, vol. 5, pp. 352, 353.

¹⁷ Cyprian, Treatise 7, "On the Mortality," chap. 25, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 475.

¹⁸ Cyprian, Treatise 1, "On the Unity of the Church," chap. 27, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 429.

¹⁹ Cyprian, Treatise 11, "Exhortation to Martyrdom, Addressed to Fortunatus," chaps. 1, 2, in *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 496.

II. Victorinus—Earliest Systematic Commentary on Apocalypse

VICTORINUS (d. 303 or 304), bishop of Pettau in Upper Pannonia, near modern Vienna, was probably of Greek extraction, and formerly an orator and rhetorician by profession. Born on the confines of the Eastern and Western empires, he was better acquainted with Greek than with Latin. Victorinus composed commentaries on certain Old Testament books, and on Matthew and Revelation. All his works have disappeared save extracts from his commentaries on Genesis and the Apocalypse. Author of the earliest continuous or consecutive commentary on the Apocalypse now extant, he died a martyr under Diocletian, about 304. His scholia, or explanatory remarks, on Revelation are mentioned specifically by Jerome, who thought them more remarkable for content than for literary style.²⁰

Jerome classifies Victorinus as a millenarian.²¹ His writings, together with those of Sulpicius Severus, were suppressed by Damasus I, and because of their millenarianism were ranked with the Apocrypha by Pope Gelasius.²² Although there has been considerable discussion by scholars over Victorinus' treatise on the Apocalypse, the work as a whole is recognized as genuine, with the exception of chapter 20 on the millenium. Schaff and others recognize that this antimillenarian conclusion is the evident interpolation of a later hand.²³

1. ENTIRE APOCALYPSE REPRODUCIBLE FROM FATHERS.—

That the Apocalypse was the subject of extensive and constant study by the early church is evident from the significant fact that practically the entire book is reproducible from the Christian writers of the first three centuries.²⁴ This is signifi-

²⁰ Jerome, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, chap. 74, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 3, p. 377; see also Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 862.

²¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 18, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 3, p. 367.

²² Léon Clugnet, "Victorinus," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15, p. 414.

²³ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 862, 863. Schaff says: "The scholia on the *Apocalypse of John* are not without interest for the history of the interpretation of this mysterious book. But they are not free from later interpolations of the fifth or sixth century. The author assigns the Apocalypse to the reign of Domitian (herein agreeing with Irenaeus), and combines the historical and allegorical methods of interpretation. He also regards the visions in part as synchronous rather than successive. He comments only on the more difficult passages."²⁴ (*Ibid.*, p. 862.)

²⁴ Such a tabulation has actually been made by H. Grattan Guinness, and is available

cant, together with this earliest systematic commentary on the Apocalypse, in showing the attitude of the Christian church thereon.

2. FIRST TO ESTABLISH PRINCIPLE OF REPETITION.—Victorinus was apparently the first to establish the fundamental principle of repetition—that *the Apocalypse is not to be regarded as one continuous and progressive line of prophecy*, but rather that it returns and repeats.²⁵ Going on to the end, it then goes back, and again traverses the ages to the last times to cover some paralleling but different approach—thus to fill in the gaps, and to add facts or details not previously presented.

Victorinus' early interpretation of the Apocalypse was inevitably colored by the times in which he lived. He was unable to anticipate a long course of future history lying concealed in symbol. As to others of his day, the scope was foreshortened in his view to a relatively brief space, for he did not and could not perceive the centuries to elapse ere the Christian Era should run its course. He did not sense the great apostasy of the church which was to extend for more than a thousand years—and not as yet more than begun—or the glorious revival of truth and reformation from error destined to follow at its close. To have interpreted the prophetic "days" as years at so early a period in the church was, of course, inconceivable. Their prophetic meaning in historical fulfillment dawned only during the Middle Ages, as will be noted later.

3. THE SECOND ADVENT THE CONTINUING THEME.—Turning now to this remarkable third-century commentary, we find Victorinus, commenting on Revelation 1:7, specifically declaring that Christ, who came the first time in humiliation, will return shortly in majesty and glory—the theme of the second advent recurring as an underlying strain.

"Behold, He shall come with clouds, and every eye shall see Him.]"

in his *History Unveiling Prophecy*, pp. 41-46, compiled from the separate indexes of the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, volume and page being given.

²⁵ Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 287, 294.

For He who at first came hidden in the manhood that He had undertaken, shall after a little while come to judgment manifest in majesty and glory."²⁸

4. SEVEN SEALS SPANS FIRST AND SECOND ADVENTS.—

Although Victorinus writes in general terms of the typical seven churches as representing seven classes of Christians throughout the church universal,²⁹ he explains the seven seals of chapters 6 and 8 as constituting a prophetic foreview of the spread of the gospel following the *first* advent, and the wars, famines, pestilences, and persecutions of the church, which he looks for in connection with the second coming of Christ³⁰ and the end of the world. The crowned rider seated upon the white horse, going forth, "conquering, and to conquer," is interpreted as prophetic of Christ's church going forth on its victorious mission, the triumph of Christianity over paganism.

"After the Lord ascended into heaven and opened all things, He sent the Holy Spirit, whose words the preachers sent forth as arrows reaching to the human heart, that they might overcome unbelief. And the crown on the head is promised to the preachers by the Holy Spirit. . . . Therefore the white horse is the word of preaching with the Holy Spirit sent into the world. For the Lord says, 'This Gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world for a testimony to all nations, and then shall come the end.'"³¹

This is Victorinus' starting point, and the key to his treatise on the entire Apocalypse—the progress of the gospel after Christ's ascension, symbolized by the first horseman.

5. BLACK HORSE—FAMINE UNDER ANTICHRIST.—

The red horse is explained as "coming wars," predicted as salient events preceding the end. The black horse, Victorinus avers, signifies "famines" in the time of the Antichrist.

"The black horse signifies famine, for the Lord says, 'There shall be famines in *divers* places;' but the word is specially extended to the times of Antichrist, when there shall be a great famine, and when all shall be

²⁸ Victorinus, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John*, "From the First Chapter," verse 7, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 344. (Translator's bracket.)

²⁹ *Ibid.*, on chaps. 1-3, pp. 345-347.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, "From the Sixth Chapter," pp. 350, 351 (cf. pp. 356, 357).

³¹ *Ibid.*, on verses 1, 2.

injured. Moreover, the balance in the hand is the examining scales, wherein He might show forth the merits of every individual."³⁰

The pale horse meant "coming destructions." The fifth seal, with the slain saints as the souls under the altar, points to the time when the "reward of the saints" and the "condemnation of the wicked" comes, for which men are to "wait."

6. STRANGE INTERPRETATION FOR CELESTIAL SIGNS.—In the sixth seal was a great earthquake, which Victorinus interpreted as "that very last persecution." The sun becoming as sackcloth he ingeniously construed as the beclouding of doctrine. The moon as blood represented persecution; the falling of the stars typified the saints who were "troubled for Christ's sake," and the heaven being rolled away was a symbol of the church being "taken away." He believed the removal of mountains and islands from their places to indicate that the good will be removed to avoid the persecution.³¹ Thus we are brought to the great consummation.

7. ANGELS SMITE ANTICHRIST'S KINGDOM, GATHER ELECT.—In chapter 7, explaining the angel with the seal, Victorinus declares this to symbolize Elias the prophet as the "precursor of the times of Antichrist," predicted in both Old and New Testaments. Next he refers to the kingdom of Antichrist, then the shortening of the days in Mark 13:20, and finally the sending of angels as reapers to smite the kingdom of Antichrist and deliver the saints.³²

8. PROPHETIC LINES REPEATED THROUGHOUT APOCALYPSE.—It is in connection with the trumpets and vials that Victorinus fully establishes the important *principle of repetition* in the Apocalypse—the carrying through of one line of prophecy to the end, then returning retrogressively to trace again essentially the same course for further development, emphasis, and certainty—paralleling in general, and terminating together at the time of the great consummation at the advent.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, verse 5, p. 351.

³¹ *Ibid.*, verses 12-14.

³² *Ibid.*, "From the Seventh Chapter," verse 2, pp. 351, 352.

"We must not regard the order of what is said, because frequently the Holy Spirit, when He has traversed even to the end of the last times, returns again to the same times, and fills up what He had *before* failed to say. Nor must we look for order in the Apocalypse; but we must follow the meaning of those things which are prophesied. Therefore in the trumpets and phials is signified either the desolation of the plagues that are sent upon the earth, or the madness of Antichrist himself, or the cutting off of the peoples, or the diversity of the plagues, or the hope in the kingdom of the saints, or the ruin of states, or the great overthrow of Babylon, that is, the Roman state."³³

9. SEVENTH SEAL INTRODUCES EVERLASTING REST.—The silence of the seventh seal Victorinus clearly declares to be the prelude to the "everlasting rest," and the flying angel the warning of the imminent "wrath of plagues" of the "last times." Thus we are again carried through to the end.

"[And when He had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for about half an hour.] Whereby is signified the beginning of everlasting rest; but it is described as partial, because the silence being interrupted, he repeats it in order. For if the silence had continued, here would be an end of his narrative."³⁴

10. LITERAL TIME FOR PERIOD OF WITNESSES AND ANTI-CHRIST.—The period of prophesying for the two witnesses in sackcloth, in chapter 11, Victorinus makes literal time, for the year-day principle of symbolic time had not yet been perceived. So, he contends, the two witnesses preach three and a half literal years, and then Antichrist's kingdom follows for a like period—or a total of seven years, just before the "last time."³⁵

11. LOOKED FOR A ROMAN ANTICHRIST.—The beast that "ascendeth from the abyss," Victorinus says, was "in the kingdom of kingdoms, that is, of the Romans," and "he was among the Caesars."

"[He was] in the kingdom of kingdoms, that is, of the Romans. Moreover, that he says he was beautiful in offshoots, he says he was strong in armies. The water, he says, shall nourish him, that is, the many thou-

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, "From the Eighth Chapter," verse 1. (Translator's bracket.)

³⁵ *Ibid.*, "From the Eleventh Chapter," verse 3, p. 354.

sands of men which were subjected to him; and the abyss increased him, that is, belched him forth. For even Isaiah speaks almost in the same words; moreover, that he was in the kingdom of the Romans, and that he was among the Caesars. The Apostle Paul also bears witness, for he says to the Thessalonians: 'Let him who now restraineth restrain, until he be taken out of the way; and then shall appear that Wicked One, even he whose coming is after the working of Satan, with signs and lying wonders.' And that they might know that he should come *who then was the prince*, he added: 'He already endeavours after the secret of mischief.'" ³⁶

In commenting on verse 8 of chapter 11, Victorinus explains that "the Spirit from the Father" when "He has gone forward to the last times, . . . again repeats the former ones. . . . What he will do once for all, He sometimes sets forth as if it were done. . . . Not the order of the reading, but the order of the discourse, must be understood." ³⁷

12. SUN-CLOTHED WOMAN SYMBOL OF THE CHURCH.—The symbolic "woman" of Revelation 12 is declared to be the church bringing forth Christ.³⁸

13. ANTICHRIST SPRINGS FROM ROMAN DIVISIONS.—The great red dragon with seven heads is Rome, from which is to spring Antichrist in the last times, amid the ten horns.

"His seven heads were the seven kings of the Romans, of whom also is Antichrist, as we have said above. 'And ten horns.'] He says that the ten kings in the latest times are the same as these, as we shall more fully set forth there." ³⁹

14. 144,000 ALIVE AT SECOND ADVENT.—The third part of the "stars" are the angels that fell. The flight of the woman (church) to the wilderness, and the aid from the eagle's wings, finally results in 144,000 believers—Christians, not Jews—alive at the second advent, who are protected from the devil for the three and a half years. The Antichrist springs from the battle in heaven, and the expulsion and his earthly domination follow the three and half years of Elijah's preaching.⁴⁰

³⁶ *Ibid.*, verse 7. Evidently this referred to Nero. See page 301.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, verse 8, p. 355.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, "From the Twelfth Chapter," verse 1, p. 355.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, verse 3. (Translator's bracket.)

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, verses 4, 6, 7-9, pp. 355, 356.

15. ANTICHRIST-BEAST AND NUMBER 666.—Of the leopard beast of Revelation 13, Victorinus says, "This signifies the kingdom of that time of Antichrist."⁴¹ The 666 of verse 18 is first reckoned by the Greek *gematria*, suggesting *teitan* and *antemos*, the letters of each of which comprise the equivalent number. Then turning to Latin, he suggests the "antiphrase DICLUX," as standing for Antichrist.⁴² The second beast, the false prophet, erects a golden image of Antichrist in the temple at Jerusalem.⁴³

16. SECOND ADVENT FOLLOWS ANGELS' MESSAGE.—The first and second angels of Revelation 14, Victorinus believes, are the predicted Elias and Jeremiah,⁴⁴ witnessing before the second advent and end of the world, ushering in the eternal kingdom. No mention is made of the third angel, and consequently there is no suggestion as to his identity.

17. BABYLON IS SEVEN-HILLED ROME.—Then after the seven plagues for "the last time," in Revelation 15, Babylon in Revelation 17 is identified as Rome seated upon her "seven hills," drunk with the blood of martyrs.

"This is called Babylon also in the Apocalypse, on account of confusion; and in Isaiah also; and Ezekiel called it Sodom. In fine, if you compare what is said against Sodom, and what Isaiah says against Babylon, and what the Apocalypse says, you will find that they are all one.

"The seven heads are the seven hills, on which the woman sitteth.'] That is, the city of Rome."⁴⁵

The seven heads of the seven-hilled Rome are believed, in their immediate application with reference to the writing of the Apocalypse, to represent seven emperors, the sixth being Domitian,⁴⁶ with the eighth who is "of the seven," as Nero.

18. DANIEL'S VISION COUNTERPART OF JOHN'S.—Then the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, "From the Thirteenth Chapter," verse 1, p. 356.

⁴² *Ibid.*, verse 18.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, verses 11, 13, pp. 356, 357.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, "From the Fourteenth Chapter," verses 6, 8.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, "From the Seventeenth Chapter," verses 3, 9, pp. 357, 358. (Translator's bracket.)

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, verses 9-11.

ten horns of Daniel 7 are identified with those of the Apocalypse, with the three kings of Daniel killed by the Antichrist.⁴⁷

19. ASSEMBLED NATIONS JUDGED AT ADVENT.—Chapter 19 represents all nations assembled to judgment at the coming of the Lord.⁴⁸

20. LATER INTERPOLATION IN REVELATION 20.—Into the comments upon the thousand years of Revelation 20, a contradictory, revolutionary principle of interpretation is injected, that is boldly carried to its ultimate development under Tichonius and Augustine—destined to affect profoundly the life of the church, the course of prophetic interpretation, and the related fate of the advent hope, as will be noted hereafter. But this is obviously a later interpolation, as scholars agree, possibly injected by Jerome.⁴⁹ In this we are told that the thousand years comprehend the period of Satan's binding, and *extend from the first advent of Christ to the end of the age.*⁵⁰

This is so obviously the later "Augustinian theory" that this statement will not be pursued further. The spiritual resurrection hinted at by Origen likewise makes its appearance, the interpolation contending that the first resurrection is spiritual—that of the soul by faith, rising with Christ to seek the things from above.⁵¹

There is but scanty literature among the churches of Asia Minor in the third century, but these men were aggressive. The influence of Origen, as has been noted, did not become dominant through all Asia Minor. Methodius especially distinguished himself through antagonism to Origen's writings. The Montanists also occupied much of his time and attention. There was much opposition to the pretensions of their new prophets. But we must now turn to the next.

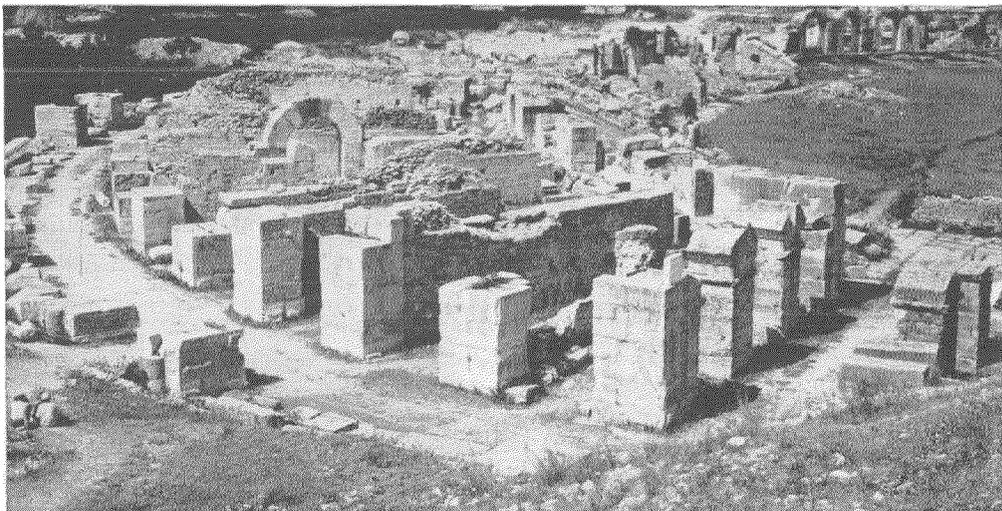
⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, verse 11, p. 358.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, "From the Nineteenth Chapter," verse 11.

⁴⁹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 862-864; J. Haussleiter, "Victorinus of Pettau," *The New Schaff-Herzog*, vol. 12, p. 181.

⁵⁰ Victorinus, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, "From the Twentieth Chapter," verses 1-3, in *ANF*, vol. 7, pp. 358, 359.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, verses 4, 5, p. 359 (see editor's footnote 17 on p. 360).



RUINS AT DIOCLETIAN'S HOME CITY

Ruins of the Great Amphitheater at Salona, Dalmatia, Where Diocletian Lived After His Abdication. Christians Were Possibly Martyred Here Under Diocletian in the Worst of Pagan Rome's Persecutions

III. Methodius—Contender for Resurrection and Restoration

METHODIUS (c. 260-c. 311), a bishop connected by different writers with Olympos, Lycia, Patara, and Tyre, suffered martyrdom about 311, or earlier, in the fierce Diocletian persecution. Methodius is known chiefly as an antagonist of Origen, although he was definitely influenced by Origen's allegorical interpretation of Scripture. He was also a believer in natural immortality. Six brief points summarize his none-too-vital contribution:

1. Woman of Revelation 12 Is the Church; the Child Represents the Saints.⁵²
2. 1260 Days Precede New Dispensation.⁵³
3. New Earth Follows Present Earth.⁵⁴
4. Contends Against Origen on the Resurrection.⁵⁵
5. Change of World to More Glorious Condition After the Conflagration.⁵⁶
6. Bodies Received in the Resurrection Never Die.⁵⁷

⁵² Methodius, *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins*, Discourse 8, chaps. 5-8, in *ANF*, vol. 6, pp. 336-338.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, chap. 11, pp. 338, 339.

⁵⁴ Methodius, *From the Discourse on the Resurrection*, part 1, chap. 9, in *ANF*, vol. 6, p. 366.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, part 1, chaps. 10-13 and part 3, chap. 1, secs. 1-4, pp. 366-370.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, part 1, chap. 9, p. 366.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, part 3, chap. 2, sec. 7, pp. 374, 375.

IV. Inspiring Motive of the Early Church

Expectation by the early Christians of an approaching dissolution of the Roman Empire, with the utter overthrow of the state religion, caused no small concern to Roman statesmen, who held to the eternity of Rome and the continuance of the empire without end. It was but natural that such antagonistic teachings should be proscribed. But the Christians were convinced from inspired prophecy that pagan Rome, drunk with the blood of martyrs, would fall ere long, and her temporal might soon come to nought. Much, therefore, appeared in their writings with reference to the expected ruin of the empire. Rome was to them the recognized "let," or "hindrance," that held back the appearance of the "man of sin" and the consequent end of the world.

And there was naturally much conjecture as regards the coming Antichrist, whom everyone feared and expected. But this archenemy of Christianity came increasingly to be regarded as an individual of Jewish extraction effecting a falling away from the faith. Time seemed very short. Therefore, in the belief that his dominion would be short-lived—limited to three and one-half literal years—Antichrist's appearance was conceived of as but briefly preceding the day of judgment and the end of the world.

Nevertheless, the personal, premillennial second advent of Christ—when He will raise the righteous dead and translate the living saints, end the reign of sin and violence, and establish His millennial and then His eternal reign—was the firm belief and expectancy of the pre-Constantinian martyr church. It was this inspiring motive that sent them forth as intrepid missionaries and fearless interpreters of the times, despite all opposition and persecution. It was this prophetic concept that nerved them for the martyr's stake, and made the early church invincible in her conquests for the faith.

This glowing hope was founded upon the clear declaration of prophet and apostle, and upon the express prophetic promise

of their resurrected and ascended Lord. They looked for the triumph of righteousness in the great conflict between good and evil—the visible rule of the King of kings in a kingdom of glory established upon the ruins of all nations, and wide as the canopy of heaven. His return was for them the precursor of the restitution of the world, the vindication of the character and government of God, and the consummation of all things in Christ. It was at once a great hope, an assurance of faith, and a certain prediction. They expected to live in His presence, as His redeemed and glorified trophies in Paradise restored, the earth made new.

But this clear and glorious doctrine of the early church was destined to become distorted and deflected. Certain non-Biblical doctrines and practices were already creeping into the church from various sources, and these tendencies were accelerated by the subsequent development, as we have seen, under Origen and his followers, of allegorical and philosophical methods of interpretation. Thus the way was paved for the later transformation of the concept of the millennial kingdom, after the church's elevation to imperial favor by Constantine, from the future glorification of the church after the second advent, to the earthly dominion of the church in the Roman Empire. This self-satisfied concept of the Catholic Church as the millennial kingdom of Christ (Augustine's "City of God") was in turn to blind the eyes of the church to its increased worldliness and apostasy from apostolic standards.

Still, despite growing departures, most of the clearer prophetic teachings were carried over in main outline from the apostolic century, for the early momentum still persisted. Here is an epitome of these basic teachings.

V. Summary of Prophetic Understanding in Martyr Period

1. Rome the fourth of the four world powers, the restraining power retarding the coming of Antichrist.

2. Rome to be divided into ten kingdoms in the not distant future.

3. Antichrist to spring from among the ten—likewise still future.

4. Daniel's ten-horned fourth beast the same as the ten-horned beast of Revelation 13.

5. Daniel's Little Horn, Paul's Man of Sin, and John's Antichrist and Beast symbolizing one and the same power.

6. The church fleeing into the wilderness during Antichrist's rule.

7. The seventy weeks of years connected with Christ's first advent.

8. The year-day principle not yet applied to the longer prophetic periods.

9. The second advent as personal, literal, and premillennial, to end the career of Antichrist.

10. The two resurrections literal—the first at the second advent; the second at the close of the thousand years.

11. The thousand years introduced by the advent and bounded by the two resurrections.

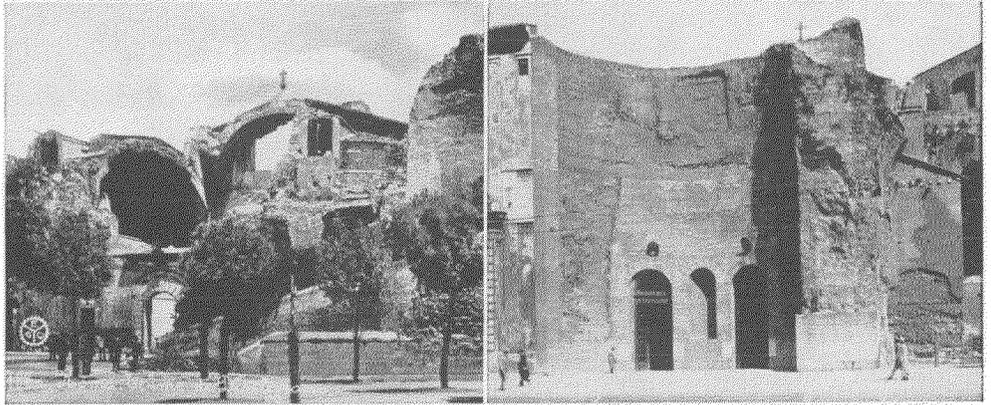
12. The righteous to rule in the new heavens and new earth through the eternal ages, following the thousand years.

Such was the composite picture of the prophetic beliefs of that early period.

The Transition Hour of the Church

Origen's third-century spiritualization of the resurrection, blended with his allegorization of the prophetic Scriptures, constituted the first in a series of three fatal steps taken by the dominant church in departure from the earlier advent faith. These each occurred about a century apart, under Origen, Eusebius, and Augustine respectively. The second step, following upon the "conversion" of Constantine, centered on the revolutionary fourth-century concept of the kingdom of God as the newly established earthly church. The third step, then as yet future, would be, as it unfolds, the fifth-century position that the thousand-year binding of the devil had begun with the first advent. This was a new doctrine, contrary to all previous exposition, for the millennium had formerly been regarded as beginning with the second advent.

Prior to and after the second step much was happening, into which we must now inquire. The immediate effect of the earlier flanking attacks upon the five controlling factors connected with the advent hope—the resurrection, millennium, outline prophecies, Antichrist, and the kingdom of God—was to rally many stalwarts to their specific defense. And the direct attacks upon the prophecies accentuated this rallying movement. Scripture-loving men were thereby driven to renewed study and further elucidation of the prophecies. Meanwhile the opposition group continued to drift further into apostasy and departure. These positions were mutually antagonistic—the one



BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN AT ROME, POSSIBLY BUILT BY CHRISTIAN SLAVES

Different Views of the Ruins of the Giant Baths of Diocletian, Which Accommodated More Than 3,200 Persons at One Time. They Were Built Under Diocletian and Maximian, According to Legend, by 40,000 Christian Slaves Under the Lash. This Carries Us Back to Paganism's Last Stand, and the Worst of All Pagan Persecutions (303-313), Begun Under Diocletian. Persecution Ceased Shortly Thereafter, Following Constantine's Espousal of Christianity. The Baths Were Destroyed by Alaric and His Goths in 409. A National Museum and a Catholic Church Are Now Housed in Part of the Ruins

paralleling the other, and each reacting upon the other. They could not continue on together indefinitely. Conflict was inevitable. One view was bound to succumb—and that was what ultimately occurred to the prophecy-based advent hope by the sixth century.

Now let us look at the last stand of the prophetic interpretation of the early church before the changes effected by the Constantinian era altered the whole viewpoint of the church.

Brilliant, scholarly men, widely separated geographically, rallied to the recognition and declaration of the next major epoch in fulfilling prophecy—the long-awaited period of Rome's actual division, in the fourth and fifth centuries, which was to precede the coming of the dread Antichrist. Witnesses for the defense of the premillennial advent hope will now give their testimony. Some are Western, and some are Eastern. Some are impressively clear and sound; others are disappointingly hazy on important principles. And both groups are frequently marred with misconceptions or departures, for the church had already, by the end of the third century, become deeply involved in tragic compromise of the apostolic faith on many points. The ante-Nicene church, heroic, growing, overcoming persecution by sheer moral force, was nevertheless affected by the world in which it lived, although persecution kept it comparatively pure.

"Between the days of the apostles and the conversion of Constantine, the Christian commonwealth changed it[s] aspect. . . . Rites and ceremonies, of which neither Paul nor Peter ever heard, crept silently into use, and then claimed the rank of divine institutions."¹

After the first empire-wide persecution, under Decius, there had been a period of repose and prosperity for the Christians, beginning with Gallienus (260-268). Then came the last, most severe purging, under Diocletian (284-305). In 303 he was induced by his counselors to persecute the Christians. He enjoined the razing of the churches and the burning of the Scriptures, for the value of the Sacred Writings was so well

¹ W. D. Killen, *The Ancient Church*, Preface, pp. xv, xvi.

known that he endeavored to destroy all copies of the Bible, just as earlier persecutions had sought to deprive the church of its teachers. The first result of the persecution was to cause consternation and confusion in the church. There followed another edict in 304, imposing the death penalty for refusal to sacrifice to the gods.² The times were tense as Diocletian's progressive orders culminated in the decree to proceed without mercy, or regard to sex, age, or station, and the persecution raged throughout the empire. (Note illustration on page 345.)

I. Lactantius—Millenarian Spokesman in Transition Hour

It was in this period that LACTANTIUS (*c.* 250-*c.* 330), born of heathen parentage in Africa, was converted to Christianity in his manhood. His long life spans three epochs: the uneasy truce of the church, the crowning persecution of pagan Rome, and the preferment of Christianity in the Constantinian period—Constantine's espousal of Christianity introducing within a single generation the most remarkable revolution in the thoughts, laws, and manners of an empire recorded in ancient history. Consequently, it parallels that of Eusebius, for both witnessed first the anguish of persecution and then the elevation of Christianity to imperial patronage—Lactantius writing in Latin, and Eusebius in Greek.

Lactantius was a pupil of Arnobius, noted rhetorician of Africa, and eloquent defender of Christianity, but Lactantius' fame soon surpassed that of his master, and reached the ear of the emperor Diocletian, who invited the pagan Lactantius to come and teach Latin. Preferring Nicomedia to Rome, he had fixed his court there, and embellished the city with noted teachers and palaces of learning. But Latin had little appeal for this Greek city. Having few pupils, Lactantius was reduced to want, and betook himself to writing.

Christianity was assailed by heathen philosophy. Porphyry and Hierocles employed their pens to hold up Christianity

² Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 63-66.

to scorn and to expose the Scriptures to ridicule as a conglomeration of inconsistency and contradiction. Scurrilous reflections upon Christ appeared, and Lactantius resolved to thrust his pen into the conflict. It was doubtless his defense of Christianity that led him to become a convert to the faith about 301, if not during the persecution of Diocletian.

I. WROTE INSTITUTES WHILE TUTORING CONSTANTINE'S SON.—Constantine is said to have met Lactantius at the court at Nicomedia, where he had attained fame as a teacher, and called him, now as a Christian, about 312, to come to his own court in Gaul to tutor his eldest son, Crispus, particularly in Latin. Unquestionably this had an influence upon the emperor's espousal of Christianity.³ His most noted work, *The Divine Institutes*, in seven books, was largely composed before the close of Diocletian's persecution. About 321 he enlarged and improved it⁴ and dedicated it, including its section on prophecy, to Constantine, hoping to win the emperor, who was still "a pagan at heart," to a deeper and purer conviction of divine truth.

"We now commence this work under the auspices of your name, O mighty Emperor Constantine, who were the first of the Roman princes to repudiate errors, and to acknowledge and honour the majesty of the one and only true God."⁵

Designed to supersede the less complete treatises of Tertullian and Cyprian, the *Institutes* are systematic as well as apologetic. Pointing out the futility and falsehood of pagan superstition, and the vanity of heathen philosophy, they seek to establish the reasonableness of Christianity. They constitute, in fact, the first Latin attempt at a systematic Christian theology, and the elegance of the writing gained for Lactantius the title the "Christian Cicero."⁶ More than a hundred editions appeared, as well as many translations. An *Epitome*, later prepared by Lactantius himself, on request, summarizes the larger treatise.

³ Henry Hart Milman, *The History of Christianity*, book 3, chap. 2, vol. 2, p. 315.

⁴ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 957, 958.

⁵ Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes*, book 1, chap. 1, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 10.

⁶ Kurtz, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 164.

2. THOUSAND-YEAR REIGN OF SAINTS FOLLOWS ADVENT.—Book 7 deals with immortality, the end of the world, the return of Christ, and the signs and portents that precede His advent. A zealous and sometimes fanciful chiliast, Lactantius expected a terrestrial reign of the resurrected saints with Christ after His second advent, for the millennial thousand years before the general judgment. Nevertheless, he treats, in sharp chronological outline, the premillennial advent, the two resurrections, the millennial period, and the reign of the saints with Christ.

“After these things God will renew the world, and transform the righteous into the forms of angels, that, being presented with the garment of immortality, they may serve God for ever; and this will be the kingdom of God, which shall have no end. Then also the wicked shall rise again, not to life but to punishment; for God shall raise these also, when the second resurrection takes place, that, being condemned to eternal torments and delivered to eternal fires, they may suffer the punishments which they deserve for their crimes.”⁷

Though but a layman and rhetorician, he handles, with surprising penetration, these intricate subjects, reflecting the unsettled doctrine of the time.

3. BEWILDERED BY CESSATION OF PERSECUTION.—In another work, *Of the Manner in Which the Persecutors Died*, Lactantius traces the oppression of the Christians under paganism, closing with the violent Diocletian persecution. He recounts the dreadful punishments that had come upon Diocletian and his colleagues, and the success and victory attending Constantine as he exalted truths despised and assailed for centuries by the mighty. Lactantius claims freedom for all religions, representing the transition viewpoint of the Constantinian edicts of toleration.

And now world conditions have suddenly been reversed.⁸ The Christians are no longer persecuted. Their adversaries are destroyed, and tranquillity reigns. The world's favor, rather than its hatred, becomes the church's peril. Multitudes flock into the church because it is now fashionable, and the church,

⁷ Lactantius, *The Epitome of the Divine Institutes*, chap. 72, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 255.

⁸ Coxe, *Introductory Notice to Lactantius*, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 3.

long habituated to persecution and expected martyrdom, becomes worldly. As a reaction to this, the more earnest Christians turn to asceticism to foster the fervent martyr spirit. The hermitage and later the monastery attract the pious. New errors commingle with older ones, and with truth. Ecclesiastics begin to reason that, instead of delivering persecuted Christians by His advent in glory, Christ has sent relief in this unexpected way. A long stride is taken toward the darkness and perversion soon to encompass a church that is already seriously losing her bearings.

4. CLEAR TESTIMONY ON THE TWO ADVENTS.—With the church now enjoying surcease from her conflict, Lactantius begins to reflect on the darkness and tempestuousness of the prophesied "last end." In his outline he deals with the plan of salvation, the origin of sin, creation, probation in Eden, the fall, and the incarnation of Christ.⁹ After avowing his faith in the harmonious predictions of the prophets,¹⁰ he makes an extended treatise on the first advent, based on Old Testament prophecies and their fulfilment—Christ's earthly life, death, resurrection, and ascension.¹¹ His testimony is clear and sharp as to the two advents, his conclusions being based largely on Daniel.¹² He also refers to predictions by the Sibyls and similar writings.¹³

5. PREVAILING WICKEDNESS MARKS WORLD'S END.—Lactantius declares that "as the end of this world approaches, the

⁹ Lactantius, *Epitome*, chaps. 43, 44, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 239.

¹⁰ Lactantius, *Institutes*, book 1, chap. 4, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, book 4, chaps. 8-21, pp. 106-123.

¹² *Ibid.*, book 7, chap. 16, p. 213.

¹³ *Ibid.*, chap. 18, p. 215. It is desirable to understand Lactantius' occasional reference to the testimony of the Sibyls. His avowed aim was to make Christianity better known among cultured non-Christians. So he traces the "mundane drama" partly from the prophecies of Daniel and partly with statements from the Sibyls—avowedly utilizing them because of the class with whom he had to deal. (Coxe, *Introductory Notice to Lactantius*, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 4.) Lactantius' appeal to pagan intellectuals was consequently twofold: First, "since all these things are true and certain, in harmony with the predicted announcement of the prophets"; and second, "since Trismegistus and Hystaspes and the Sibyls . . . foretold the same things, it cannot be doubted that all hope of life and salvation is placed in the religion of God alone." (*Epitome*, chap. 73, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 255.) But therein lay the danger of the confusion he did not escape. But his use of the Sibylline and similar writings is clearly explained: "That these things will thus take place, all the prophets have announced from the inspiration of God, and also the soothsayers at the instigation of the demons." (Lactantius, *Institutes*, book 7, chap. 18, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 215.)

condition of human affairs must undergo a change, and through the prevalence of wickedness become worse.”¹⁴ This he expands at considerable length, and with much fanciful detail, noting earthquakes, famines, pestilences, and celestial phenomena.¹⁵

6. ROME TO DIVIDE INTO TEN KINGDOMS.—As to Rome’s destiny in relation to the approaching end, Lactantius boldly declares that the grand preliminary to that consummation of all things will be the fall, or breakup, of the Roman Empire.¹⁶ He contends that the Roman world would be divided into ten contemporaneous kingdoms, which would mark the beginning of disastrous times—a declaration that would be ventured only at gravest peril prior to Constantine’s “conversion.”

“First, the kingdom [Rome] will be enlarged, and the chief power, dispersed among many and divided, will be diminished. Then civil discords will perpetually be sown; nor will there be any rest from deadly wars, until ten kings arise at the same time, who will divide the world, not to govern, but to consume it.”¹⁷

To ensure the permanence of Roman rule, her statesmen made her supremacy almost a matter of faith—Rome was *invicta et aeterna*. But Christian prophetic expositors refused to recognize this principle of permanency; they knew that Rome would crumble. And after Rome’s breakup, they declared, Antichrist would appear, and afterward the saints would take the kingdom, although this belief was not infrequently concealed from the pagans. Lactantius, who began his writing during the time of Diocletian’s persecution, said that they were ridiculed because they did not publicly maintain these things, but in obedience to God, hid His secret in silence.

7. POWERFUL NORTHERN ENEMY DESTROYS THREE.—Three of the ten kingdoms would be destroyed by a powerful northern enemy—the concept evidently drawn from the prophecy of Daniel—that would harass the world, changing laws, assuming

¹⁴ Lactantius, *Institutes*, book 7, chap. 15, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 212; see also *Epitome*, chap. 71, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 253.

¹⁵ Lactantius, *Institutes*, book 7, chap. 16, in *ANF*, vol. 7, pp. 213, 214.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. 15, pp. 212, 213.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 16, p. 213.

the government, and ruling with intolerance, oppressing mankind.¹⁸

8. ANTICHRIST'S TYRANNICAL RULE 42 MONTHS.—From chapters 17 to 19, it is evident that Lactantius regards the false prophet, the Beast of Revelation 13, and the Antichrist to be the same malign power. He will destroy what was left by "the former evil," and this tyrannical rule will prevail for "forty-two months," he declares, obviously drawing this particular phrasing of the period from Revelation 13.

"And power will be given him to desolate the whole earth for forty-two months. That will be the time in which righteousness shall be cast out, and innocence be hated; in which the wicked shall prey upon the good as enemies; neither law, nor order, nor military discipline shall be preserved; no one shall reverence hoary locks, nor recognise the duty of piety, nor pity sex or infancy: all things shall be confounded and mixed together against right, and against the laws of nature. Thus the earth shall be laid waste, as though by one common robbery. When these things shall so happen, then the righteous and the followers of truth shall separate themselves from the wicked, and flee into solitudes."¹⁹

9. ANTICHRIST'S REIGN DEPICTED FROM REVELATION 13.—The miraculous powers displayed, and the "image" and the "mark" predicted, are tersely touched as Antichrist's reign of terror is forecast, followed by the glorious deliverance.²⁰ Such are among the early attempts to fathom the mysteries of the Apocalypse, and to parallel them with the outline prophecies of Daniel, that both culminate in the advent.

10. MILLENNIAL REIGN OF RIGHTEOUS FOLLOWS ADVENT.—None of the fathers had thus far been more diffuse on the subject of the millennial kingdom than Lactantius, or more particular in describing the times and events preceding and following, including the assault against the Holy City and the destruction of the wicked at the millennium's close. But he intermingles unwarranted fancies, doubtless derived from non-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; see also *Epitome*, chap. 71, in *ANF*, vol. 7, pp. 253, 254.

¹⁹ Lactantius, *Institutes*, book 7, chap. 17, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 214.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; compare his *Epitome*, chap. 71, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 254.

Christian traditions, although by this time, at the beginning of the fourth century, they had become so embedded in millenarian thinking that their origin was probably not recognized. He holds, however, to the fundamental apostolic belief that the millennial period commences with the second advent of Christ, and marks the destruction of the wicked, the binding of the devil, and the raising of the righteous dead.

11. **RESURRECTED SAINTS RULE SURVIVING RIGHTEOUS.**—He pictures Christ reigning with the resurrected righteous on this earth during the seventh thousand years, before the general judgment—the resurrected saints ruling over the not yet glorified righteous who remain alive at the end, the latter producing a multitude of offspring and subjecting the survivors of the unregenerate nations to slavery. He sees the sun and moon shining with increased brilliance, the mountains dripping with honey, the streams flowing with wine and milk, the beasts feeding together in peace.²¹

12. **DEVIL LOOSED AT MILLENNIUM'S CLOSE.**—At the end the devil, having been bound during the thousand years, is loosed; the nations rebel against the righteous, who hide underground until the host attacking the Holy City are overwhelmed by fire and brimstone and mutual slaughter, and buried altogether by an earthquake—rather unnecessarily, it would seem, since the wicked are thereupon raised again to be sent into eternal punishment.²²

13. **WICKED PUNISHED AND EARTH RENEWED.**—Next God renews the earth, after the punishment of the wicked, and the Lord is thenceforth worshiped in the renovated earth as the eternal kingdom.

“But when the thousand years shall be completed, the world shall be renewed by God, and the heavens shall be folded together, and the earth shall be changed, and God shall transform men into the similitude of

²¹ Lactantius, *Epitome*, chap. 72, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 254; also *Institutes*, book 7, chaps. 24, 26, pp. 219, 220.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 220, 255.

angels, and they shall be white as snow; and they shall always be employed in the sight of the Almighty, and shall make offerings to their Lord, and serve Him for ever. At the same time shall take place that second and public resurrection of all, in which the unrighteous shall be raised to everlasting punishments. These are they who have worshipped the works of their own hands, who have either been ignorant of, or have denied the Lord and Parent of the world. But their lord with his servants shall be seized and condemned to punishment, together with whom all the band of the wicked, in accordance with their deeds, shall be burnt for ever with perpetual fire in the sight of angels and the righteous.”²³

This, he declares, is the teaching of the prophets that the Christians of his day follow.

“This is the doctrine of the holy prophets which we Christians follow; this is our wisdom, which they who worship frail objects, or maintain an empty philosophy, deride as folly and vanity, because we are not accustomed to defend and assert it in public, since God orders us in quietness and silence to hide His secret, and to keep it within our own conscience; and not to strive with obstinate contention against those who are ignorant of the truth, and who rigorously assail God and His religion not for the sake of learning, but of censuring and jeering.”²⁴

14. MILLENNIAL REST DURING SEVENTH MILLENNARY.—As to the proximity of the last times and the great consummation of the second advent, Lactantius follows the prevalent, though unscriptural, Jewish six-thousand-year theory. Taking the six days of creation week as symbolical of the world’s history, he closes them with a seventh thousand years of respite after the six thousand years of wickedness; he emphatically denies the Graeco-Chaldean theory of hundreds of thousands of years for earth’s history, declaring that the Scriptures alone reveal the world’s age, which he reiterates is approaching its six-thousand-year limit.²⁵ He stresses the approaching end in the light of this premise.²⁶ Following the lengthened Septuagint reckoning—a thousand years longer than the Hebrew chronology—he places the first advent in the year of the world 5500. Like Hippolytus, he then calculates the world’s end and the

²³ Lactantius, *Institutes*, book 7, chap. 26, in *ANF*, vol. 7, p. 221.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 14, p. 211.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 211, 212.



CONSTANTINE PROFOUNDLY CHANGED THE COURSE OF HISTORY

Well-known Statue of Constantine the Great, Whose Professed Espousal of the Christian Faith Changed the Attitude of Empire Toward the Church, and Whose Shift of Capital From Rome to Constantinople, in 330, Gave the Bishop of Rome Place of Foremost Influence in the Old Capital

second advent at about A.D. 500—two hundred years beyond his day—though not, as he avers, until after the city of Rome shall have fallen.²⁷ The climax of this growing theory will be traced later.

II. Eusebius—Early Positions, Later to Be Reversed²⁸

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI (c. 260-c. 340), bishop of Caesarea and famed "Father of Church History," was probably born in Palestine or Syria, since he knew Syriac as well as Greek, and was liberally educated in Antioch and Caesarea. He was the intimate friend of the Pamphilus who conducted a theological school at Caesarea, in which Eusebius taught after his ordination. Pamphilus' large library of Biblical and patristic writings was not only a rendezvous for scholars but a center for the reproduction of the Scriptures—and also for the writings of Origen. In such surroundings Eusebius spent his early manhood. Pre-eminently literary, he followed this bent throughout life. He was considered a man of vast erudition and an especially accomplished writer. His works, some of which are lost, form a pretentious list.

In 303 the dread Diocletian persecution broke upon the Christians like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, and wrought havoc in the church. Pamphilus suffered martyrdom in the seventh year of this period of persecution, after two years of imprisonment. Eusebius was chosen bishop of Caesarea soon after the declaration of religious toleration, in 313, and held this office until his death, about 340.

Eusebius played an important part in the first great ecumenical council, with its momentous pronouncements, held at Nicaea in 325. According to some ancient sources he was probably given the post of honor at the right hand of the presiding emperor, whose complete confidence he held. Because of his recognized standing and his intimate acquaintance with Constantine, he was chosen to deliver the formal oration at

²⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 25, p. 220; on Hippolytus, cf. *ANF*, vol. 5, p. 179.

²⁸ For Eusebius' later interpretations, see the next chapter.

this council. He opposed the wording of that part of the creed at variance with his own beliefs as to the nature of Christ, for he seems to have leaned a little toward the Arian position.²⁹ His *Ecclesiastical History* was published about 325. In his later years he was unfriendly to millenarianism, pursuing the allegorical method of Origen, and expressing uncertainty as to the authority of the Apocalypse. (See illustration on page 327.)

III. Pre-Nicene Exposition of Outline Prophecies

Bishop Eusebius, justly famed as a church historian, is not usually known for contributions on prophetic interpretation. He did, however, before the revolutionary change in the attitude of the Roman Empire toward Christianity, write with remarkable clarity on the second advent, the great outline prophecies of Daniel 2 and 7, and on the 70 prophetic weeks of Daniel 9 as 490 literal years from Persia to Christ. This is revealed in his *Demonstratio Evangelica* (English version, *The Proof of the Gospel*), originally comprising twenty "books," or chapters. Of these, only the first ten and a fragment of the fifteenth are extant, but these are invaluable. This apologetic, designed as an answer to Jewish and Greek inquirers, is thought to have been written between A.D. 314 and 318³⁰—earlier than his *History*, which is generally dated about the time of the famous Nicene Council.

I. TWO ADVENTS OF CHRIST CLEARLY DEPICTED.—We find that after discussing certain Old Testament prophecies relating to the first advent—the circumstances, place, and time—Eusebius sharply contrasts the two advents,³¹ and exposes the confusion of the Jews, showing clearly how Christ could not in one advent only, come in humility, riding upon a colt, and at the same time in glory in the clouds of heaven.³² The same

²⁹ Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 288-290; Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Prolegomena to Eusebius' *Church History*, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 12.

³⁰ W. J. Ferrar, translator's introduction, in Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel*, vol. 1, pp. ix, xii.

³¹ Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel*, book 4, chap. 16, vol. 1, p. 212.

³² *Ibid.*, book 9, chap. 17, vol. 2, p. 186.

contention is repeated in another place, when he again argues against Christ's coming at one and the same time in humility and in power and glory. He asserts that the prophecies regarding Christ must be divided into two groups, pertaining to the two contrasting advents.

"Since it is impossible to regard Him as at one and the same time glorious and without glory, honoured and kingly, and then without form or beauty, but dishonoured more than the sons of men; and again, as the Saviour and Redeemer of Israel, while plotted against by them, and led as a sheep to the slaughter, delivered to death by their sins. The prophecies about the Christ should be divided, as our investigation of the facts shews, into two classes: the first which are the more human and gloomy will be agreed to have been fulfilled at His first Coming, the second the more glorious and divine even now await His second Coming for their fulfilment."³³

2. CLEAR OUTLINE OF DANIEL'S FOUR EMPIRES.—In the field of outline prophecies culminating in the second advent, remarkable indeed is the remaining fragment of Book 15 of the *Demonstratio*, paralleling and interpreting the outline prophecies of Daniel 2 and 7. A clearer enunciation of the rugged outline of the familiar four world powers—Assyria, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome—and the parallelism of the two prophecies, could scarcely be found.

"I believe this [king's dream of Daniel 2] in no way differs from the vision of the prophet [in Daniel 7]: for the prophet saw a great sea, just as the King saw a vast image: the prophet again saw four beasts, which he interpreted to mean four kingdoms, just as the King from the gold, silver, brass, and iron, figuratively described four kingdoms: and, once more, as the prophet saw a division of the ten horns of the last beast, and three horns destroyed by one, so the King saw part of the extremities of the image to be iron and part clay. And, moreover, as the prophet, after the vision of the four kings, saw the Son of Man receive universal rule, power and empire, so the King seemed to see a stone destroy the whole of the image, and become a great mountain that filled the sea. And explanation is easy. . . . For after the first, or the Assyrian Empire, signified by the gold, was to come the Persian, shewn forth by the silver; and thirdly, the Macedonian, portrayed by the brass; and after that, the fourth, that of the Romans, would follow, more powerful than its predecessors, and therefore likened to iron. For it is said of it, 'And the fourth kingdom shall be stronger than

³³ *Ibid.*, book 4, chap. 16, vol. 1, p. 212.

iron: just as iron crushes and subdues everything, so did Rome crush and subdue. And after these four, the Kingdom of God was presented as a stone that destroyed the whole image. And the prophet agrees with this in not seeing the final triumph of the Kingdom of the God of the Universe before he has described the course of the four world-powers under the similitude of the four beasts. I consider, therefore, the visions both of the King and the prophets, that there should be four empires only, and no more, to be proved by the subjection of the Jewish nation to them from the time when the prophet wrote."³⁴

Eusebius recognized that the kingdom of God not only would succeed Rome but would be introduced by divine interposition at the second coming of Christ.³⁵ Such was his opinion before the Constantinian conversion, and the consequent imperial support of the Christian church changed his mind, as will be noted in the following chapter.

3. SEVENTY WEEKS SIGNIFY 490 YEARS FROM PERSIA.— Another clear perception and enunciation pertained to the 70 prophetic weeks of Daniel 9, definitely interpreted to be 490 literal years.

"It is quite clear that seven times seventy weeks reckoned in years amounts to 490. That was therefore the period determined for Daniel's people."³⁶

This prophetic period he likewise mentioned in his later church history.

"For the Scripture, in the book of Daniel, having expressly mentioned a certain number of weeks until the coming of Christ, of which we have treated in other books, most clearly prophesies, that after the completion of those weeks the unction among the Jews should totally perish. And this, it has been clearly shown, was fulfilled at the time of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ."³⁷

In his *Proof of the Gospel*, Eusebius discusses and applies the various expressions in the prophecy, suggesting more than one way in which the chronological period could be calculated. "To seal up the vision" is curiously interpreted as bringing genuine visions to an end among the Jews, "to anoint the most

³⁴ Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel*, book 15 (fragment), vol. 2, pp. 236, 237.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, book 4, chap. 16, vol. 1, p. 212.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, book 8, chap. 2, vol. 2, p. 118.

³⁷ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 1, chap. 6, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 90.

Holy" (referring to Christ) as ending the anointing of the Jewish high priests, thus marking "the cessation of the prophets and priests."³⁸

4. INTRODUCES GAPS BETWEEN COMPONENT PERIODS.—Citing and discussing adversely Julius Africanus' *Chronography*, as dating the seventy weeks from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes "according to Jewish reckoning,"³⁹ Eusebius then gives two interpretations of his own. He separates the component weeks of years—the seven, the sixty-two, and the one—and begins the first group of years (the first year of the 55th Olympiad) with Cyrus. From Cyrus to the Roman Empire, when Pompey laid Jerusalem under tax to Rome, would be 483 years.⁴⁰ He places the "seven weeks of years" from Cyrus to the completion of the temple—forty-six years to the sixth year of Darius, plus three more for completing the outside buildings—and the remaining sixty-two weeks from the reign of Darius to the death of the high priest Alexander, basing his calculations on the Olympiads.⁴¹ In another reckoning he runs the 483 years from the second year of Darius Hystaspes to the reign of Caesar Augustus and Herod, in whose time Christ was born (from the 66th to the 186th Olympiad), leaving a gap, before the closing "one week."⁴²

Eusebius gives an unusual interpretation to the expression "Christ the governor" (A.V., "Messiah the prince"). Taking the Greek word *Christos* in its ordinary usage, he makes it "the anointed governor." Thus he ends the sixty-two weeks with the end of the anointed priest-rulers of the Jews, and so applies the cutting off of the "unction," or the "anointed," after that period.⁴³

5. PLACES CRUCIFIXION IN MIDST OF SEVENTIETH WEEK.—Making a break between the sixty-two weeks and the final, or

³⁸ Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel*, book 8, chap. 2, vol. 2, pp. 122, 123.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 2, pp. 124, 125.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-129.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 129-131.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 129, 131.

seventieth, "week of years," he places the crucifixion in the midst of the seventieth week, but thinks Christ was probably with the disciples an equal period after His resurrection.

"So when all the intermediate matter between the seven and the sixty-two weeks is finished, there is added, 'And he will confirm a Covenant with many one week,' and in half the week the sacrifice and the libation shall be taken away, and on the Holy Place shall come the abomination of desolation, and until the fullness of time fullness shall be given to the desolation. Let us consider how this was fulfilled.

"Now the whole period of our Saviour's Teaching and working of Miracles is said to have been three-and-a-half years, which is half a week. John the Evangelist, in his Gospel, makes this clear to the attentive. One week of years therefore would be represented by the whole period of His association with the Apostles, both the time before His Passion, and the time after His Resurrection. For it is written that before His Passion He shewed Himself for the space of three-and-a-half years to His disciples and also to those who were not His disciples: while by teaching and miracles He revealed the powers of His Godhead to all equally whether Greeks or Jews. But after His Resurrection He was most likely with His disciples a period equal to the years, being seen of them forty days, and eating with them, and speaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, as the Acts of the Apostles tells us. So that this would be the prophet's week of years, during which He 'confirmed a covenant with many,' confirming that is to say the new Covenant of the Gospel Preaching."⁴⁴

Eusebius connects the "abomination of desolation" with the continued but now useless sacrifices of the Jews.⁴⁵ Further comment on the "abomination" also appears in his later history.⁴⁶

Here we shall leave Eusebius for the present. We have found him holding views of the prophecies which are in line, on the whole, with the earlier interpretations. But these are found in his works written, as generally accepted, before the Council of Nicaea. The impact of the Constantinian revolution upon the thinking of the church is illustrated to some degree by the change in the attitude of Eusebius. The favor of the emperor, and close personal association with him, made Eusebius Constantine's extravagant admirer; and in his eulogizing biography of the emperor he has left us the record of his

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 136.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-139.

⁴⁶ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 3, chap. 5, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 138.

new outlook on some of the prophecies. Eusebius, like the church at large, was blinded by the unaccustomed glitter of imperial favor and patronage, the more so because it came so unexpectedly almost on the heels of the most severe persecution. The statements of the Council of Nicaea belong in this chapter because of their conservative character, but the next chapter will take up the change in the time of Constantine, and complete the study of Eusebius' interpretation.

IV. Nicene Council Record on the Advent

The first general church council, held in 325 at Nicaea, is recognized as doubtless the outstanding event of the fourth century. Summoned by Constantine, who was present in person, it was composed at most of 318 bishops,⁴⁷ according to Athanasius, both laity and lower clergy being excluded. It was certainly a most remarkable gathering. Not many years past those very same bishops bore the brunt of persecution. The Roman emperor was their fiercest enemy, the symbol of the great adversary against God and His people. And now the Roman emperor had invited them to his royal palace to discuss with them ways and means for the furtherance of the church in order to make her strong in unity. Many of them had lingered in dungeons and still bore the scars of torture on their bodies, and now they were seated on seats of honor and called to lay down rules for the faith, which will receive imperial sanction and will be proclaimed as fundamental for the church in all the empire. What a marvelous change! Could it appear otherwise to them than that God had wrought a miracle? And a marvelous work they did. The Nicene Creed has become the basic creed for the whole of Christendom, the East and the West, Protestants and Catholics alike. The only blemish which mars the picture is that these same fathers, who had undergone severe persecution, had not learned tolerance toward those who did not agree with them in the wording of the formula, but

⁴⁷ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 623.

that they hurled an anathema against them, giving therewith the lead for the persecution of all dissenting groups.

Ecumenical or general councils were extraordinary assemblies, frequently occasioned by the great theological problems or controversies of the time, and until the Vatican Council their decisions were considered the highest and the final expressions of the church.⁴⁸ The Greek church took the lead in this first council, which, be it particularly noted, was called by the emperor Constantine—without the previous consent of the bishop of Rome, according to Schaff.⁴⁹ And the Nicene Creed (in the enlarged form which it received after the second ecumenical council) is the only creedal statement that is acknowledged alike by the Greek, Latin, and Evangelical churches.⁵⁰ We shall here, of course, discuss the original form of this creed, dating from 325.

1. LITERAL SECOND ADVENT STILL GENERAL EXPECTANCY.—With reference to the second advent, and its inseparable resurrection, the last clause reads:

“He [Christ] suffered, and the third day he rose again, ascended into heaven; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.”⁵¹

The significant feature of this creedal expression is that it affords irrefutable testimony as to what was still the general belief more than half a century after the allegorizing opposition of Origen and Dionysius. It is evidence that the majority still held, at least in word or theory, to the primitive literal interpretation of the second advent. It is silent, however, on the millennium.

2. NEW-EARTH KINGDOM ESTABLISHED BY SECOND ADVENT.—But even more expressive than the phrasing of the creed itself is the last of nine dogmatic constitutions which, says Gelasius, a Greek historian, was framed by the fathers of the same council. Gelasius compiled (c. 475) an account of the

⁴⁸ Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, Introduction, pp. 3, 5.

⁴⁹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 335.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 631.

⁵¹ Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 1, p. 29.

council containing other material in addition to the generally accepted creed, synodal decrees, and twenty canons. But studies in the sources since the turn of the century appear to have restored Gelasius, formerly considered "a sorry compiler," to "a place among serious Church historians, of which he has been wrongly deprived, and have also lent weight to the hitherto generally rejected idea that there was an official record of the Acts of the Council of Nicaea; and further that it was from this record" that these nine formerly rejected constitutions were derived.⁵²

Whether the original records merely dropped out of sight because of the troubles over the Arian controversy, or whether the antichilastic sentiment of the church influenced the omission of this statement concerning the future kingdom of God it would be interesting to determine. The last section of the chapter entitled "De Diatypis ecclesiasticis" clearly stresses the literal resurrection and the new heavens and new earth in fulfillment of the prophecy of Daniel 7, at the second advent of Christ—perhaps the most significant declaration of the time:

"Concerning the Providence of God and Concerning the World

"The lesser world was made through providence: for God foresaw that man would sin. For this reason we hope for new heavens and a new earth according to the Sacred Scriptures, when the Appearing and Kingdom

⁵² Edward Myers, "Gelasius of Cyzicus," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6, p. 407. For the earlier view, see William Bright, *The Canons of the First Four General Councils*, pp. 88, 89; Helele, *op. cit.*, secs. 23, 41, vol. 1, pp. 264, 265, 372.

CHARTS VISUALIZING PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF PROPHETIC INTERPRETATION

The Lower Chart Is the Central Portion, Enlarged, of the Upper Panoramic Survey of the Entire Field Covered. After the Collapse of the Roman Empire and Eclipse of Earlier Historical Interpretation by the Fifth Century, Comes the Imperial Recognition of the Primacy of the Roman Bishop: Later, the Establishment of the Papal States and the Holy Roman Empire. The Three Paralleling Horizontal Bands Indicate (1) Jewish Expositors; (2) Witnesses Outside the Roman Church; and (3) the Increasing Chorus of Voices Within the Roman Communion Declaring Antichrist's Identity. Great Advances in Exposition Mark the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, When the Papacy Is at Its Height. The Lost Positions of the Early Church Are on Their Way Back to Recovery. Frequent Reference to This Chart, and Its Companion Charts, Will Aid in Grasping Developments and Relationships (For First Section. See Pages 238, 239; the Last Section Appears in Volume II, Pages 96, 97)

of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ shall have shone forth. And then, as Daniel says, the saints of the Most High shall take the Kingdom. And the earth shall be pure, a holy land of the living, and not of the dead; which David, foreseeing with eyes of faith, exclaimed: 'I believe I shall see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living,' the land of the meek and humble. For, 'Blessed,' it says, 'are the meek, for they shall occupy the earth.' And the prophet says: 'The feet of the meek and humble shall tread it.' These things from the ecclesiastical constitutions worked out by our holy fathers, a few from many, we have described in this commentary."⁶⁸

If this statement is genuine, as now seems likely, or even if it expressed a later opinion attributed to Nicaea, it shows how strong remained the doctrine of the future kingdom introduced at the advent, notwithstanding the long years of opposition from the Alexandrian school and the philosophizing tendencies in the church.

⁶⁸ Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Commentarius Actorum Concilii Nicaeni*, book 2, chap. 30 [sec. 9], in Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, col. 889.

Post-Nicene Reversal

on Prophetic Interpretation

I. Elevation of Church Produces Fundamental Changes

When the mighty Constantinian revolution had established itself, accompanied by the emperor's profession of Christianity, and his legal recognition of the church, as well as paganism, as protected by the state—and, in fact, soon to be given preference by the state—there was suggested a wholly new method of understanding the Scripture prophecies concerning the kingdom and reign of Christ, which could scarcely have been conceived before. Just when Constantine was “converted,” or whether indeed he was ever converted, is not the point of present concern. Our interest lies in the effect upon prophetic interpretation of this revolution that turned the stream of human affairs out of all previous channels.

This extraordinary situation—the reversal of attitude on the part of the Roman Empire toward the church—was bound to influence profoundly the interpretation of prophecy concerning the advent. So the idea developed that this earth in its present state—not as renovated after Christ's advent, with its accompanying destruction and purification—is the *territory of the prophesied kingdom*; that the present dispensation is the *time of its realization*; and that the establishment of the earthly church by human hands is the *mode of fulfillment*. Thus it came to be held that the hierarchal rule of the church was actually the predicted kingdom of Christ on earth.

I. MARTYR CHURCH SUPPLANTED BY IMPERIAL CHURCH.—

With the revolutionary politico-religious triumph of Constantine in the fourth century, and the temporal victory of Christianity in the Roman Empire over paganism, its deadly rival, we enter a distinctly new epoch.¹ This change, occurring during the fourth and fifth centuries, has a definite bearing on the doctrine of the second advent. The Christians, whose number at the beginning of the fourth century Schaff estimates at ten million, constituted one tenth to one twelfth of the empire's subjects.² The scene still centered, geographically, in the Graeco-Roman world, that is, the countries bordering the Mediterranean, but gradually extended to touch the Germanic barbarians.³

The elevation of the church to prominence and power, with its social and political prestige, produced a fundamental and permanent change, fraught with gravest peril, as the pre-Constantinian martyr church emerged from the catacombs and became the post-Constantinian imperial church.⁴ The chastening persecutions which the church had suffered from the pagan world had retarded the prophesied "falling away." (2 Thess. 2:3-8.) But when Constantine, professing conversion, elevated Christianity to the position of the most favored religion of the empire, all the worldly and pagan influences that had already been seeping into the church for more than a century began to burst forth like the pent-up waters of a flood when the restraining barriers give way.

For a thousand years an official paganism had flourished in Rome. Its temples were innumerable. The state cult and priesthood were established and endowed by the Roman Government. But in the fourth century this system received its death stroke under Constantine. Christianity, newly liberated from persecution, strangely became first the religion of the

¹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 72, 73.

² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³ The term "barbarian" was early used by the Greeks to designate non-Hellenic peoples, just as the term "Gentile" was used by the Jews in reference to non-Jewish persons. When the Romans dominated Europe, they used the term to indicate non-Roman peoples.

⁴ F. W. Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 353, 354; see also Alexander Clarence Flick, *The Rise of the Medieval Church*, pp. 160-163, 180.

emperor and then, about forty years after his death—by the time of Theodosius II—the only recognized religion of the empire. The emperors, however, continued to exercise supreme jurisdiction over the new ecclesiastical order. The official suppression of paganism followed steadily until, within the fourth century, governmental paganism had practically disappeared, and wholly so within the compass of the fifth and sixth centuries.⁵ Gibbon says, “The temples of the Roman world were subverted, about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine.”⁶

2. THE CONSTANTINIAN REVOLUTION.—At the beginning of the fourth century the empire had been ruled by four sovereigns—two Augusti (Diocletian and Maximian) and their subordinate Caesars (Constantius Chlorus and Galerius). Galerius, deadly foe of Christianity, influenced Diocletian to issue his dread edicts against the Christians. This brought about the terrible persecution which continued with varying severity from 303 until 313, when Constantine brought toleration.⁷ And the subsequent advancement of the Christian church to favor and power constitutes one of the most remarkable political and social revolutions the world has ever seen.

The early events in this Constantinian revolution moved swiftly after Diocletian’s abdication in 305 and the death of Constantius, Constantine’s father, in 306. Diocletian’s four-part division of the administration broke down in the scramble for the empire, in which there were at one time as many as six contenders. Constantine ruled the Prefecture of Gaul, including Britain and Spain, after his father’s death, and won sole control of the whole West in 312 by his defeat of Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, a victory which he attributed to the aid of the Christian God, whom he had invoked after a supposed vision of a cross in the sky. Then in 313 he issued, jointly with his eastern colleague Licinius, what is commonly called the Edict

⁵ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 63-68.

⁶ Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 28, par. 1, vol. 3, p. 189.

⁷ For edicts, see *Translations and Reprints From the Original Sources of European History*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 26-30.

⁸ Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, pp. 73, 74.

of Milan, granting liberty of religion to all, but particularly mentioning the Christians. Henceforth he gave preference and prestige to Christianity without, however, renouncing or persecuting paganism. Thus the West enjoyed complete toleration, although Licinius renewed the persecution, in parts of the East, which ended only when Constantine defeated him finally and became the sole emperor in 323 or 324. By this time Constantine personally espoused and openly patronized Christianity, and the sun god and other pagan symbols disappeared from his coinage; yet he was never baptized until just before his death in 337. And he never made Christianity the official religion of the state, although toward the end of his life he showed a tendency toward repressing paganism.⁹

Constantine's legislation early began to favor the Christians. He exempted the clergy from civil duties in 313, abolished various customs and ordinances-offensive to the Christians in 315, and about the same time facilitated the emancipation of Christian slaves. In 321 he legalized bequests to Catholic churches, and issued his famous Sunday law, although the Christian character of this last is rendered rather doubtful by the use of the term "Day of the Sun," and not Lord's day, and by the fact that a contemporary ordinance provided for the regular consultation of the pagan *haruspex*, or soothsayer. A climax was reached, of course, in the imperial authorization of the Council of Nicaea in 325, and the civil enforcement of its creed.¹⁰ Later legislation further regulated and enhanced the power of the church in the state.

3. CHRISTIANITY BECOMES THE UNIFYING BOND.—Pagan Rome had reduced to the yoke of one empire every independent state within reach of its legions, but it never incorporated them into one religion. Despite a multiplicity of local deities, a central bond was lacking through the absence of a common object of worship. Then emperor worship came in from the

⁹ For the principal facts of Constantine's life, see Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 12-37; see also Flick, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-124, and A. E. R. Boak, *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.*, pp. 347-350.

¹⁰ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 31, 32.

East. The emperor being the supreme figure of the empire, it was not unnatural for his image to be associated with his *genius*, or guardian spirit, which came to be worshiped as a mark of patriotism. So temples had been built and sacrifices offered to Caesar for his worship—the only common prop to which the various idolatries could cling.¹¹ In the beginning of the Christian Era the whole Mediterranean world was under the spell of Chaldean astrology, and various gods were being transformed into manifestations of the sun. In such forms as Mithraism the Oriental pantheistic sun worship spread in the Roman Empire, and in the third century the worship of Sol Invictus as the supreme divinity was set up as the official cult, with the emperor as the personification of the “invincible sun.”¹²

Meanwhile the historic life of Jesus and the subsequent spread of Christianity had begun to replace the failing pagan oracles and Oriental mystery cults, and to supply the conscious need of the human heart. To this sublime faith the eyes of man turned wistfully. The greatest obstacle to its progress was not the pagan deities but Caesar. The old idolatries were dying, but Caesar’s altar consummated the system of paganism through political union of the discordant superstitions. By refusing to burn incense to Caesar, Christianity drew the line between the things of God and the things of Caesar. Hence, the emperors, who had tolerated other forms of religion, had no mercy for Christianity.

But now, after the worst persecution of all, Constantine had outwardly espoused Christianity and changed the whole scene. He had perceived that Christianity could be the one unifying bond that might hold together an otherwise disintegrating structure. He therefore seized upon it with avidity, and pressed it into service.

Constantine, originally a devotee of the sun god Apollo, adopted, as emperor, the dynastic deity *Sol Invictus*, the

¹¹ Leopold Ranke, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 1, pp. 4 ff.

¹² Franz Cumont, “The Frontier Provinces of the East,” *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 11, pp. 643, 646, 647; see also his *Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 90, 91, 95, 98; also Boak, *op. cit.*, pp. 274, 280, 332.

"unconquered sun." He may well have thought that a monotheistic sun worship had affinities for monotheistic Christianity.¹³ In any case, long after his initial connection with Christianity he retained on his coins, sometimes even in combination with Christian symbols, his figure of the sun god, his invincible guide and protector.¹⁴

4. SUNDAY BECOMES SEAL OF UNION.—We see the same Christian-pagan combination in his famous law of 321 enjoining the observance of the "venerable day of the Sun," a phrase as applicable and free from offense to pagan worshipers of Apollo and Mithras as to his compromising Christians.¹⁵

"Desiring unity in his troubled empire, Constantine evidently saw in Sunday observance an institution which he could make a point of unification. The Christians were already keeping Sunday. It was being observed by the Mithraists. Constantine met the practices of both popular cults. His law mentions no god, but only 'heavenly providence.'" ¹⁶

Thus Sunday is set apart as the seal of this new union of Christians and pagans.

"The same tenacious adherence to the ancient God of light has left its trace, even to our own time, on one of the most sacred and universal of Christian institutions. The retention of the old Pagan name of '*Dies Solis*,' or 'Sunday,' for the weekly Christian festival, is, in great measure, owing to the union of Pagan and Christian sentiment with which the first day of the week was recommended by Constantine to his subjects Pagan and Christian alike, as the 'venerable day of the Sun.' His decree, regulating its observance, has been justly called 'a new era in the history of the Lord's day.' It was his mode of harmonising the discordant religions of the Empire under one common institution."¹⁷

Possessing no Scriptural basis, and therefore dependent upon the arm of flesh to maintain its authority and to secure its united support, this law needed the combined force of civil and ecclesiastical legislation to ensure its enforcement through the years.

¹³ H. M. Gwatkin, "Constantine and His City," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 1, pp. 4, 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*; for the text of the Sunday law see the Code of Justinian, book 3, title 12, sec. 3, translation in Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 380, note.

¹⁶ Alvin W. Johnson and Frank H. Yost, *Separation of Church and State in the United States*, p. 219. For the Mithraic Sunday see Franz Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 191.

¹⁷ Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, p. 184.

5. CONSTANTINE AND THE CHRISTIAN THEOCRACY.—Originally, of course, the Christian church existed and operated in complete separation from the state, but it united with the state when the government became friendly.

“Separation of the church from the state was the prevailing condition in the early years of the Christian church, both from principle and from necessity. The government was hostile. The church sought to fulfill, in spite of an inimical society, what it considered a divine mission.

“Not until the time of Constantine did church and state become united; for the most part they have continued so for sixteen centuries. A union of church and state has been considered the normal relationship in most of Christendom and by the great majority of peoples.”¹⁸

Constantine was, says Flick, “the first representative of that theoretical Christian theocracy which makes the Church and state two sides of God’s government on earth,”¹⁹ an idea worked out by his successors. Of the enforcement of the creed at the Council of Nicaea, Schaff says:

“This is the first example of the *civil* punishment of heresy; and it is the beginning of a long succession of civil persecutions for all departures from the Catholic faith. Before the union of church and state ecclesiastical excommunication was the extreme penalty. Now banishment and afterwards even death were added, because all offences against the church were regarded as at the same time crimes against the state and civil society.”²⁰

“The State was becoming a kind of Church, and the Church a kind of State. The Emperor preached and summoned councils, called himself, though half in jest, ‘a bishop,’ and the bishops had become State officials, who, like the high dignitaries of the Empire, travelled by the imperial courier-service, and frequented the ante-chambers of the palaces in Constantinople. The power of the State was used to the full in order to furnish a Propaganda for the Church, and in return the Church was drawn into the service of the State. Even at this time we find decrees of councils which threaten civil offences with ecclesiastical penalties, and, on the other hand, the bishops were invested with a considerable part of the administration of civil justice.”²¹

This period of the church’s history became increasingly marked by the codification of dogma; it was the era of the early great church councils. The lines of “orthodoxy” began to be sharply drawn, freedom of inquiry restricted, and offshoots

¹⁸ Johnson and Yost, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

¹⁹ Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

²⁰ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 630; see also pp. 334, 335.

²¹ Uhlhorn, *The Conflict of Christianity With Heathenism*, book 3, chap. 3, pp. 449, 450.

visited with civil punishment under the "Christian" state-church union.²² Eusebius' comparison of Constantine with Moses may have strengthened the already established idea of a Christian theocracy, in imitation of the Mosaic theocracy, based on the government of the church by a human bishopric, with the co-operation of the emperor in civil affairs.²³ Eusebius says in his eulogy of Constantine:

"Invested as he is with a semblance of heavenly sovereignty, he directs his gaze above, and frames his earthly government according to the pattern of that Divine original, feeling strength in its conformity to the monarchy of God."²⁴

Under the patronage of Constantine and succeeding Christian emperors, new and ornate church buildings were erected, patterned somewhat after a Mosaic type, with an outer court for the uninitiated, the temple proper for the laymen, and the railed-off chancel, with the altar, for the priests only. Eusebius (c. 315) described the new basilica at Tyre as a temple, calling the cloisters the outer court, and the altar the holy of holies.²⁵ In the West the basilica, or hall of justice, as consecrated for Christian worship, became the rival of the pagan temple. And magnificent churches were erected in many cities.²⁶

6. CONSTANTINE'S CHRISTIANITY.—The nature and extent of Constantine's personal Christianity are matters of dispute, but certain facts may be observed: He did not espouse Christianity because of its teachings. His first step had been the adoption of a quasi-magic symbol from a dream, the monogram of Christ, to which he attributed his victory over Maxentius. He doubtless assumed that his championing of the Christian cause was rewarded by his defeat of Licinius some years later, which gave him control over the whole empire. In that super-

²² Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 630.

²³ Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine*, book 1, chap. 38, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 493; see also chap. 12, p. 485; Neander, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. 2, p. 132.

²⁴ Eusebius, *Oration in Praise of the Emperor Constantine*, chap. 3, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 584.

²⁵ Neander, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, sec. 3, pp. 284, 285; Eusebius, *Church History*, book 10, chap. 4, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 375.

²⁶ Milman, *History of Christianity*, vol. 2, pp. 342-344.

stitious age such an attitude was quite natural; all men were seeking charms to ensure their happiness in the hereafter, and even the Christians, as we learn from Lactantius, considered the cross a magic sign before which demons fled.²⁷

Probably, says Coleman, Constantine's chief idea of Christianity was always that of "a cult whose prayers and whose emblems insured the help of a supreme heavenly power in military conflicts and political crises, and whose rites guaranteed eternal blessedness. Of the inner experiences of Christianity, and of the doctrines of that religion, other than the broadest monotheism, he seems to have had little conception."²⁸ Constantine's attitude made it easy, yes, fashionable, for pagans whose monotheistic leanings led them in the same general direction, to adopt the outward form of Christianity that was promoted by the imperial court.

Some examples of this hybrid Christianity are furnished by descriptions of the pagan elements incorporated into the ceremonies at the dedication of Constantine's new capital, Constantinople, and the statue of Apollo erected in that city, which was said to have been surmounted by the head of Constantine instead of that of the god, with a crown of rays which were nails from the true cross.²⁹ This statue is an apt symbol of the way in which multitudes could synthesize their supreme being with the Christian's God, and could easily regard Jesus and Sol Invictus as equivalent symbols of the Deity.³⁰

7. ELEVATION BRINGS DEGENERATION.—When Constantine made the church fashionable, the result was a lowering of standards in proportion to the increase in membership. Schaff says:

"The elevation of Christianity as the religion of the state presents also an opposite aspect to our contemplation. It involved great risk of degeneracy to the church. . . . The christianizing of the state amounted therefore in great measure to a paganizing and secularizing of the church.

²⁷ Christopher B. Coleman, *Constantine the Great and Christianity*, pp. 79-82.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁹ Milman, *History of Christianity*, book 3, chap. 3, vol. 2, pp. 334-337; J. W. Draper, *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. 1, p. 280.

³⁰ Gwatkin. "Constantine and His City," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 1, p. 9.

... The mass of the Roman empire was baptized only with water, not with the Spirit and fire of the gospel, and it smuggled heathen manners and practices into the sanctuary under a new name."³¹

Cardinal Newman tells us that Constantine introduced many things admittedly of pagan origin.

"We are told in various ways by Eusebius, that Constantine, in order to recommend the new religion to the heathen, transferred into it the outward ornaments to which they had been accustomed in their own. It is not necessary to go into a subject which the diligence of Protestant writers has made familiar to most of us. The use of temples, and these dedicated to particular saints, and ornamented on occasions with branches of trees; incense, lamps, and candles; votive offerings on recovery from illness; holy water; asylums; holydays and seasons, use of calendars, processions, blessings on the fields; sacerdotal vestments, the tonsure, the ring in marriage, turning to the East, images at a later date, perhaps the ecclesiastical chant, and the Kyrie Eleison, are all of pagan origin, and sanctified by their adoption into the Church."³²

Unfortunately, this process of adopting pagan elements, which had already begun before Constantine's "conversion" accelerated it, was to continue long afterward. Christianity gradually became perverted into a strange mixture in which the original gospel elements changed to the point of being virtually unrecognizable in the medieval church. Repentance in time became penance; baptism was transformed into a regenerating rite, sprinkling being substituted for immersion. The Lord's supper was gradually changed into an atoning sacrifice, offered continually through the mass by an earthly priest, with mediatorial value claimed for both living and dead. The sign of the cross, prayers for the dead, and the veneration of martyrs,³³ all admittedly unscriptural, developed further into the crucifix, purgatory, and saint and image worship.

II. Eusebius' New Prophetic Interpretation

The changed outlook of the church after Constantine's conversion is strikingly exemplified by Eusebius himself, who

³¹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 93.

³² J. H. Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 359, 360.

³³ See Augustus Neander, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. 1.

after Nicaea still continues to refer to the prophecies, but with radically altered application to suit the unprecedented developments. The prophecies of Isaiah 35 and Psalms 46, concerning the latter days, he applies to the new churches of the new era.

1. MAGNIFICENT CHRISTIAN CHURCHES FULFILLING ISAIAH 35.—Book 10 of Eusebius' *History*, given over to his "panegyric upon the restoration of the churches," is addressed to Bishop Paulinus of Tyre, in Phoenicia, upon the completion of the splendid Christian temple there. This extravagant eulogy was composed as Eusebius saw in "every place" "temples" (churches) again rising from their foundations to an immense height, and receiving a splendor far greater than that of the old ones which had been destroyed.³⁴ Eusebius goes so far in his praise of the achievement of the bishop of Tyre as to liken his new church to "a new and much better Jerusalem," and the songs of jubilee filling these new temples to the songs of triumph in the New Jerusalem and the fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah 35.³⁵

2. RESTORED JERUSALEM POSSIBLY NEW JERUSALEM.—He further suggests that the magnificent church structure built by Constantine at old Jerusalem might be the New Jerusalem predicted by the prophets.

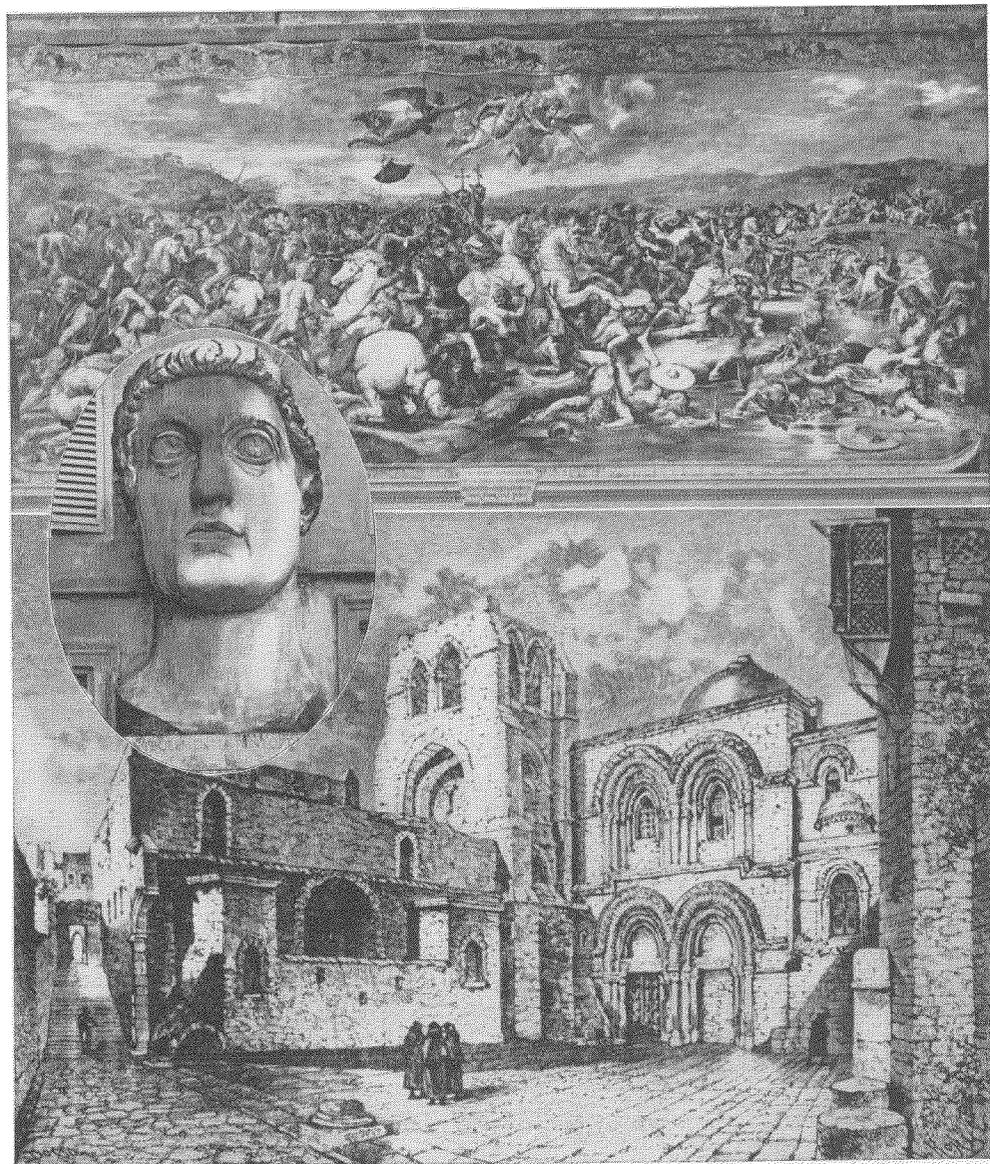
"On the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of Divine judgment on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the emperor now began to rear a monument to the Saviour's victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence. And it may be that this was that second and new Jerusalem spoken of in the predictions of the prophets, [Footnote: "Apparently referring (says Valesius) to Rev. xxi. 2: 'And I, John, saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God, out of heaven,' & c.; an extraordinary, nay, almost ludicrous application of Scripture, though perhaps characteristic of the author's age.—*Bag.*"] concerning which such abundant testimony is given in the divinely inspired records."³⁶

sec. 2, p. 194, sec. 3, pp. 293, 323-335, and Appendix, p. 654; vol. 2, sec. 4, pp. 670-675; vol. 3, sec. 3, pp. 135, 136.

³⁴ Eusebius, *History*, book 10, chap. 2, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 370.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 4, pp. 370, 371, 374.

³⁶ Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine*, book 3, chap. 33, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 529.



CONSTANTINE THE GREAT DOMINATES THE FOURTH CENTURY

Giant Statue of Constantine, at Rome, Affording Supposed Actual Likeness of This Powerful Figure (Inset); Tapestry of Decisive Battle of Saxa Rubra, or Milvian Bridge, Resulting in Maxentius' Defeat and in Edict of Milan Giving Civil Rights and Freedom to Christians Throughout the Empire (Upper); Modern Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, a Successor to One Built Under Constantine and Looked Upon by Contemporaries as Part of the "New Jerusalem" (Lower)

Indeed, according to the church historian Socrates, this was actually named the “*New Jerusalem*” by Constantine’s mother,³⁷ and the bishops assembled at the Synod of Tyre were directed by the emperor to proceed with dispatch to the “*New Jerusalem*,” where they celebrated a festival in connection with the consecration of the place.³⁸

3. FEAST FOR BISHOPS FORESHADOWS KINGDOM.—So far did Eusebius go in his extravaganzas to Constantine³⁹ as actually to liken his feast with the bishops, given after the Nicene Council, upon the occasion of the twentieth year of his reign, to a shadowing forth of Christ’s kingdom.⁴⁰

4. NEW JERUSALEM PROPHECIES APPLIED TO GLORIES OF CHURCH.—Certain of the Scriptural prophecies formerly applied to the latter days and to the predicted New Jerusalem of Revelation 21 he now applies to the glories of the church as established by Constantine. And the casting down of the dragon, in Revelation 12, he declares to be the overthrow of pagan domination as effected by Constantine. It would have been unbelievable to him, or to others involved, that the imperial enthronement of Christianity in the empire would someday be looked back to as the foundation upon which would be erected the structure of the predicted antichristian ecclesiastical empire in the territory of the Roman world.

The immediate splendor of it all blinded him; ⁴¹ it appeared to him as the very image of the kingdom of Christ, and he fancied that the anticipated millennium had commenced. Thus the exaltation of Christianity as the religion of the state led not only to tragic declension in spiritual life, but also to a gross change in the attitude of the church toward the Lord’s coming, as we shall see.

³⁷ Socrates, *The Ecclesiastical History*, book 1, chap. 17, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 2, p. 21.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. 33, p. 32.

³⁹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 877.

⁴⁰ Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine*, book 3, chap. 15, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 523, 524.

⁴¹ Uhlhorn, *op. cit.*, book 3, chap. 3, p. 449.

5. CONSTANTINE BOASTS OF CASTING DOWN DRAGON-PAGANISM.—Particularly significant in this connection is Constantine's unequivocal representation of himself as casting down the "dragon," or "serpent," of the pagan persecution in the Roman Empire. Eusebius describes Constantine's picture placed on the front of the imperial palace, surmounted by a cross, and beneath it the dragon hurled headlong into the depths.

"And besides this, he [Constantine] caused to be painted on a lofty tablet, and set up in the front of the portico of his palace, so as to be visible to all, a representation of the salutary sign placed above his head, and below it that hateful and savage adversary of mankind, who by means of the tyranny of the ungodly had wasted the Church of God, falling headlong, under the form of a dragon, to the abyss of destruction. For the sacred oracles in the books of God's prophets have described him as a dragon and a crooked serpent; and for this reason the emperor thus publicly displayed a painted resemblance of the dragon beneath his own and his children's feet, stricken through with a dart, and cast headlong into the depths of the sea.

"In this manner he intended to represent the secret adversary of the human race, and to indicate that he was consigned to the gulf of perdition by virtue of the salutary trophy placed above his head. This allegory, then, was thus conveyed by means of the colors of a picture: and I am filled with wonder at the intellectual greatness of the emperor, who as if by divine inspiration thus expressed what the prophets had foretold concerning this monster, saying that 'God would bring his great and strong and terrible sword against the dragon, the flying serpent; and would destroy the dragon that was in the sea.' This it was of which the emperor gave a true and faithful representation in the picture above described."⁴²

In the period of the late empire the dragon was one of Rome's military ensigns.⁴³ And Constantine seems, in this picture, definitely to have recognized that the apostle John had depicted paganism in Rome as the instrument of the dragon which was to be cast into the abyss. Writing to Eusebius and other bishops, respecting the vigorous repairing and building program for the churches through aid of the provincial governors, Constantine had declared unequivocally that by

⁴² Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine*, book 3, chap. 3, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 520.

⁴³ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*, book 16, chap. 10, sec. 7, book 20, chap. 4, sec. 18, in The Loeb Classical Library, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, vol. 1, p. 245, vol. 2, p. 27; Claudian, "Panegyric on the Third Consulship of the Emperor Honorius," lines 138-141, in The Loeb Classical Library, *Claudian*, vol. 1, p. 281; Trebellius Pollio, *The Two Gallieni*, chap. 8, in The Loeb Classical Library, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, vol. 3, pp. 32, 33.



CASTING DOWN OF PAGANISM MEMORIALIZED ON ROMAN COINS

Constantinian Coin Showing the Christian Labarum, or Symbol, Exalted and Above the Pagan Dragon That Is Now Cast Down (Left); A Later Emperor With Foot on Head of the Conquered Dragon of Paganism—Typical of Similar Poses on Other Coins of Christian Emperors (Right)

his own instrumentality the “dragon,” personified by a recent pagan persecutor, presumably Licinius, had been driven from state affairs.⁴⁴

He even caused coins to be struck, representing the event under the likeness of the labarum above the conquered dragon,⁴⁵ examples of which are preserved in the British Museum and other collections. Eusebius, as already quoted, makes it clear that Constantine’s Christian contemporaries regarded the emperor as the overthrower of the pagan dragon.

6. APPOINTMENT OF KIN “FULFILLS” DANIEL’S PROPHECY.
—Finally, at the close of Constantine’s thirtieth year of imperial rule—one of his sons having been advanced to share his imperial power during each decade—he appoints a nephew to the same dignity. And Eusebius is moved to declare that by these appointments Constantine fulfills the prediction of the prophet Daniel (7:18), “The saints of the most High shall take the kingdom.”⁴⁶

The public and private zeal of Constantine exerted a powerful influence upon the Greek church, for the fifty copies of the Greek Bible which he caused to be prepared for use in the churches of his new capital formed a standard for ecclesiastical use. The effects were soon seen. And during the controversies that agitated the church throughout his reign, Constantine did adhere to the authority of Scripture. When

⁴⁴ Cited in Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 1, chap. 14, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 3, p. 53; Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine*, book 3, chap. 3, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 520; quoted also by Socrates (naming Licinius), in his *Ecclesiastical History*, book 1, chap. 9, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 2, p. 16.

⁴⁵ Jules Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, vol. 2, pp. 506, 507, and plate XV, no. 7; see also Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 31; Ranke, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 1, p. 6.

⁴⁶ *The Oration of Eusebius Pamphilus, in Praise of the Emperor Constantine*, chap. 3, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 584.

he convened the council the Scripture was accepted as the authority by which both parties must sustain their positions.

What a strange anomaly, therefore, is presented by the figure of Constantine preaching the gospel, calling himself bishop of bishops, hoping to establish Christianity as the religion of the empire, and convening the first general council of the church, though he was himself not even baptized or received into church membership until his deathbed, some twenty years after professing the Christian faith!⁴⁷

III. Athanasius and the Arian Controversy

ATHANASIUS (c. 297-373), archbishop of Alexandria and chief theologian of his time, was called the "father of orthodoxy" because of his conspicuous championship of the eternal deity of Christ, as against Arianism. His childhood spanned the period of the terrible persecution of 303-313. Born, it appears, in Alexandria, of wealthy parentage, he received a liberal Greek education. In the famous Alexandrian Catechetical School, still influenced by Origen's Neoplatonism, Athanasius became familiar with the theories of various philosophical schools. He was acquainted as well with the tenets of Judaism. Nearly forty-six years a bishop, he was the center in the theological world, as Constantine was in the political field—both bearing the title, "the Great."⁴⁸

For several years prior to the Council of Nicaea there had been theological controversy in Egypt. ARIUS of Libya (d. 336) had settled in Alexandria, taking issue with some of the positions of its bishop, Alexander, and agitating his own views concerning the deity of Christ.⁴⁹ Alexandria was at this time perhaps the most important see in the entire church, and its bishop was first called the *papa*, or pope, of Alexandria,⁵⁰ just

⁴⁷ Stanley, *History of the Eastern Church*, p. 210; Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 35.

⁴⁸ Stanley, *History of the Eastern Church*, lecture 7, p. 234; Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 884-893. For sources on Athanasius, see Sozomen, Socrates, Theodoret, Eusebius, Gregory Nazianzen; for authorities, see Gwatkin, Stanley, Cave, Schaff, Smith and Wace, Milman, Neander, Harnack, and Archibald Robertson.

⁴⁹ See page 395, note 73.

⁵⁰ Stanley, *History of the Eastern Church*, lecture 7, pp. 216, 217, lecture 1, p. 14; Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 370. The name was of Greek, not Latin, origin.

as the bishop of Rome was later called the pope of Rome. Arius was deposed, because of his views, by a provincial synod at Alexandria, in 321. But he had the active sympathy of several bishops, including Eusebius of Nicomedia (not to be confused with the church historian Eusebius of Caesarea), who threw the weight of his influence in favor of the Arian view, calling a synod in Bithynia (most likely at Nicomedia), which supported Arius. On the other hand, Bishop Alexander of Alexandria, who sought to warn the bishops against Arianism, was strongly supported by Athanasius, then an archdeacon.⁵¹

1. ARIAN CONFLICT LEADS TO CALLING NICENE COUNCIL.—Hosius, bishop of Cordova, Spain, bore a letter from Constantine to Alexander and Arius, fruitlessly entreating both parties to make peace. This state of affairs led to the calling by the emperor of the first ecumenical or general council at Nicaea, in 325—an event, as we have seen, of outstanding importance. The general council, representing many nationalities, would therefore be the supreme expression of the church's mind, formulating the positive belief of the church in such a way as to exclude heresy. The overwhelming majority of the bishops stood against Arius, and all but two signed the creed against Arianism. The emperor—who was actually more interested in unanimity of action than in theology—acclaimed this decision as indicating the mind of God. Arius was soon in banishment, together with his friends.⁵²

Athanasius' conspicuous defense of the true divinity of Christ at Nicaea was followed by his consecration in 328 as bishop of Alexandria. He was metropolitan of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, with jurisdiction over their bishops—thus embracing the home of Arius. But his zeal at Nicaea in refuting Arianism had resulted in incurring Arian hatred, and was the beginning of his stormy career, which alternated between periods of quiet and five successive exiles.⁵³

⁵¹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 620, 621, 886; H. M. Gwatkin, *The Arian Controversy*, p. 15.
⁵² Socrates, *op. cit.*, book 1, chaps. 7-9, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 2, pp. 6-14; William Bright, "Athanasius," Smith and Wace, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 183.
⁵³ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 886, 887.

2. REACTION AGAINST NICAËA RESTORES ARIUS.—Reaction soon set in, as the defeat and humiliation of Arianism had been too signal. In the very provinces of the East providing the numerical majority for the victory at Nicaea, many looked askance at its decisions, and there was steady growth of Arian sentiment, independent of the council and its prestige. The anti-Nicene conservative reaction, fostered by the intrigue of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, won the support of the emperor,⁵⁴ and resulted in an imperial order, in 331, that Arius be restored to the communion of the church in Alexandria. But this could not be achieved without the expulsion of Athanasius, who refused to receive Arius and others convicted of heresy at the ecumenical council. This brought a threat of Athanasius' demotion and exile from Constantine, and finally condemnation by the Synod of Tyre and banishment by Constantine in 336.⁵⁵

Arius had given a statement of his views, which side-stepped controversial points. This satisfied the emperor, as well as the bishops assembled at Jerusalem, as to his essential orthodoxy in relation to the Nicene creed. With Athanasius exiled to Gaul the time was ripe to have Arius publicly received in the church of Constantinople. On a certain Sabbath (Saturday) in 336 Eusebius of Nicomedia threatened, says Athanasius, to override the objections of the Alexandrian bishop and to force the participation of Arius at communion the next day. In the midst of the controversy Arius suddenly died.⁵⁶ The Athanasian party regarded this as a direct judgment of God.

3. CONSTANTIUS' ARIANISM VIEWED WITH APPREHENSION.—Constantine, deferring baptism until his deathbed, received that baptism at the hands of an Arian bishop, and upon his death in 337—a year after that of Arius—the empire was divided among his three sons.⁵⁷ Constantine II and Constans

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 633; Gwatkin, *The Arian Controversy*, pp. 39-42.

⁵⁵ Socrates, *op. cit.*, book 1, chaps. 25-32, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 2, pp. 28-31; see also Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 2, chaps. 16 ff., in the same volume, pp. 268 ff.

⁵⁶ Athanasius, letter to Serapion, no. 54, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, p. 565.

⁵⁷ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 36, 633-635; Gwatkin, *The Arian Controversy*, pp. 61-64, 73.

were zealous Catholics; Constantius sympathized with the Arians. Constantine II procured the return of Athanasius, but religious factions now began to use these differences between the emperors to their own interests, and the long struggle which ensued forced Athanasius into exile for the second time, until 346.

4. REIGN OF ARIAN PERSECUTION BREAKS OUT.—The lull between Athanasius' second and third exiles, during which he wrote on Arianism, is sometimes called the "golden decade," but it was "an interval of suspense rather than of peace." Constantius encroached more and more upon churchly affairs. The struggle smoldered on until, by the end of this period, an orgy of persecution broke out, and loud were the complaints of the orthodox.⁵⁸ Troops stormed Athanasius' church, and he fled, possibly to the desert.⁵⁹ He appealed to the emperor, and wrote an elaborate defense. But Constantius denounced him to the Alexandrians and recommended another bishop. Arianism had now become more orthodox than Athanasianism. There was violent persecution of bishops, clergy, and lay people, but Athanasius eluded all search. Hidden from all but loyal eyes, he wrote in the East—as did Hilary in the West, in his *Invective Against Constantius*—a manifesto against the emperor in his *History of Arianism*. Recalled in 362, after the death of Constantius, he was twice afterward banished under Julian and Valens, but he finally died in peace. Such was the hectic personal background for Athanasius' declarations on the Antichrist, which were written during his third exile, after his abandonment by the emperor who had promised him protection.

5. CONTENTS CONSTANTIUS PREPARING WAY FOR ANTI-CHRIST.—Fierce were the epithets and charges hurled by Athanasius against Constantius⁶⁰—"the most irreligious,"⁶¹ the

⁵⁸ Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 403, 404.

⁵⁹ Archibald Robertson, Prolegomena to the writings of Athanasius, secs. 7, 8, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, pp. 1, li, liii, lvii; Gwatkin, *The Arian Controversy*, pp. 86, 87, 114, 127, 129, 142.

⁶⁰ Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 1, p. 407.

⁶¹ Athanasius, *Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia*, part 1, sec. 11; part 2, sec. 25; part 3, sec. 55, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, pp. 456, 462, 479.

“Emperor of heresy,” and a “modern Ahab.” His acts of violence against the orthodox bishops, including Liberius of Rome, and the aged Hosius, who had written the creedal statement of Nicaea, constitute “a *prelude* to the coming of the antichrist.”

He told of the punishment inflicted on Hosius because he not only would not subscribe against Athanasius but also wrote to others that they should suffer death rather than become traitors to the truth.

“When this patron of impiety, an Emperor of heresy, Constantius, heard this, he sent for Hosius, and . . . detained him a whole year in Sirmium. . . . He revered not his great age, for he was now a hundred years old; but all these things this modern Ahab, this second Belshazzar of our times, disregarded for the sake of impiety. . . . It was an insurrection of impiety against godliness; it was zeal for the Arian heresy, and a prelude to the coming of Antichrist, for whom Constantius is thus preparing the way.”⁶²

More than that, Athanasius called Constantius the “image of Antichrist,” declaring that he bore every mark of Antichrist, and fulfilled the specifications of Daniel’s “little horn,” making war with the saints, humbling three kings, speaking words against the Most High, and changing times and laws; but he did not say Constantius was himself the predicted Antichrist; he merely stated that when Antichrist did come he would find his way thus prepared.⁶³ Furthermore, Athanasius also denominated Constantius to be Daniel’s predicted “abomination of desolation,” and the forerunner of Paul’s “son of lawlessness” and prophesied “falling away”;⁶⁴ and the Arian heresy as the “harbinger” of Antichrist, forcing its way into the church.⁶⁵ This thought of “preparing the way” for Antichrist occurs so frequently that there can be no mistaking the fact that Athanasius considered Constantius not the actual Antichrist but simply his forerunner, or precursor. Here are two additional typical statements:

⁶² Athanasius, *History of the Arians*, part 6, sec. 45, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, p. 287.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, part 8, secs. 74, 76, pp. 297, 298.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 77, p. 299.

⁶⁵ Athanasius, *Four Discourses Against the Arians*, Discourse 1, chap. 1, sec. 1, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, p. 306.

"For behold, they have not spared Thy servants, but are preparing the way for Antichrist." "The practices of Constantius are a prelude to the coming of Antichrist."⁶⁶

6. SECOND ADVENT TO RAISE DEAD AND ESTABLISH KINGDOM.—Athanasius tells of Christ's second coming in the clouds of heaven, and entreats his readers to be ready for that day when He shall come in glory to raise the dead and judge the earth, thus to establish His kingdom and cast out the wicked.

"And you will also learn about His second glorious and truly divine appearing to us, when no longer in lowliness, but in His own glory,—no longer in humble guise, but in His own magnificence,—He is to come, no more to suffer, but thenceforth to render to all the fruit of His own Cross, that is, the resurrection and incorruption; and no longer to be judged, but to judge all, by what each has done in the body, whether good or evil; where there is laid up for the good the kingdom of heaven, but for them that have done evil everlasting fire and outer darkness."⁶⁷

7. SEVENTY WEEKS FULFILLED BEYOND REFUTATION.—After discussing the prophecies concerning Christ's first advent—the predictions of His birth, flight into Egypt, the cross, and so forth⁶⁸—Athanasius discusses the exact date of His earthly sojourn, divinely foretold beyond refutation by the seventy weeks of Daniel.

"On this one point, above all, they shall be all the more refuted, not at our hands, but at those of the most wise Daniel, who marks both the actual date, and the divine sojourn of the Saviour, saying: 'Seventy weeks are cut short upon thy people, and upon the holy city, for a full end to be made of sin, and for sins to be sealed up, and to blot out iniquities, and to make atonement for iniquities, and to bring everlasting righteousness, and to seal vision and prophet, and to anoint a Holy of Holies; and thou shalt know and understand from the going forth of the word to restore and to build Jerusalem unto Christ the Prince.' Perhaps with regard to the other (prophecies) they may be able even to find excuses and to put off what is written to a future time. But what can they say to this, or can they face it at all? Where not only is the Christ referred to, but He that is to be anointed is declared to be not man simply, but Holy of Holies; and Jerusalem is to stand till His coming, and thenceforth, prophet and vision cease in Israel."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Athanasius, *History of the Arians*, part 8, secs. 79, 80, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, p. 300.

⁶⁷ Athanasius, *On the Incarnation of the Word*, sec. 56, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, p. 66.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, secs. 33-38, pp. 54-57.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, sec. 39, p. 57.

He finds elsewhere, however, types and prophecies of Christ and the church, according to the extravagant Alexandrian allegorical method.⁷⁰

IV. Interpretation Revolutionized by Church's Establishment

The Constantinian triumph radically changed the course of prophetic interpretation regarding the second advent and related beliefs. The church at large came eventually to look at her present temporal establishment as the actual fulfillment of the prophesied kingdom of God, and consequently ceased to look for Christ's return, except as a far-off, rather shadowy event.⁷¹ She first disparaged, then perverted, and finally disowned the belief in a future literal kingdom of God, ushered in by the literal first resurrection and the visible coming of Christ in glory. And by the close of this fateful period she had herself claimed to be the heavenly kingdom on earth, and had turned her feet irremediably from the lighted pathway of the earlier gospel church to the shadowy bypaths of worldliness, error, and developing apostasy. Thus, the dominant church ere long cast away not only the two prevalent extremes mentioned but the very truth of the kingdom itself—deceived by a carnal caricature of the millennial kingdom fulfilled in an all too earthly church sunken in materialism and idolatry.

1. TRAGIC GENERAL ABATEMENT OF ADVENT HOPE.—For the first three hundred years of the Christian Era, the advent hope had been the sustaining strength of the martyr church. It was profound belief in her Lord's return, assured by His own promise and by the outline prophecies, that nerved her to face the fierce persecutions of a hostile pagan state. It was this impelling conviction that sustained her through fire and sword, as she went forth "conquering, and to conquer," despite her shortcomings, through sheer moral power.

In the fourth century, when persecution was replaced by imperial favor, intoxicated by her temporal advancement and

⁷⁰ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 892, 893.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 619.

splendor, the Christian church found her desire for the future world chilled by a growing satisfaction over present successes and possessions. Already in the middle of the third century the hope of the speedy return of Christ had receded in the great centers of thought under the impact of philosophical allegorism, though it still continued sturdily in certain of the outlying districts of the East, but particularly in the West.⁷² There was, in the Nicene and post-Nicene period, an entire abatement of advent longing, except in the hearts of a diminishing few; and this was paralleled by selfish contentment with this new and enticing state of governmental patronage.

2. POST-CONSTANTINIAN PERIOD REVERSES MILLENNIAL INTERPRETATION.—A century after Constantine a new theory of the millennium was to blossom out into the "City of God" concept of Augustine—the earthly rule of the church, the millennium as a present fact, without the antecedent advent of Christ and the concurrent resurrection of the saints. Those portions of Daniel's and John's visions, applied before to the second advent, now began to be applied to the first advent. The Old Testament prophecies regarding spiritual Israel were claimed for the established church, and the New Jerusalem was believed to have come, at least in shadow. But the spread of Arianism,⁷³ and other troubles, made this new application of the prophecies most difficult, and there had already come a decided change of attitude toward the Apocalypse, leading to its virtual rejection for a time. Daniel, as well, came under hostile fire.

3. REVERSAL OF EARLIER POSITION.—The recorded spokesmen of the martyr church of the second and third centuries

⁷² McGiffert, translator's note in Eusebius, *Church History*, book 7, chap. 24, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, p. 308, note 1.

⁷³ ARIUS (d. 336), Alexandrian presbyter and founder of Arianism, opposed the allegorical interpretation that prevailed at Alexandria. He came into prominence on account of his views on the Trinity—maintaining that if the Son was truly a son, there must have been a time when He was not. That is, He was merely a finite being, the first of the created beings, and hence not God, yet the one through whom the universe was subsequently created and administered. His views were condemned by a council of one hundred Egyptian and Libyan bishops in A.D. 321. But the controversy continued to spread throughout the church until it attracted the attention of Constantine, who called the Nicene Council, in 325, to settle the dispute. There the view was condemned, and Arius' writings publicly burned and interdicted. In the centuries

were, until Origen, united on a literal resurrection of the dead at the second, personal, premillennial advent to destroy the Antichrist, who was to appear after the breakup of Rome into ten kingdoms. But now the church, in the first flush of her worldly power, seemed not to see that this very transition in her midst was accelerating the "falling away" from the early faith, predicted by Paul, and preparing the way for that anti-christian ecclesiastical empire. The complete reversal of the primitive position and the utter and final rejection of the prophetic involvements of the true advent hope came under Augustine.⁷⁴

4. UTTER MISCONCEPTION OF THE KINGDOM.—The complete change in conception, in both church and state, of the nature of the prophesied kingdom of God—the time, manner, and character of its establishment and continuance—constitutes a key that unlocks Christendom's otherwise incomprehensible conduct through the centuries that followed. This helps to explain the strange expectations, actions, and struggles that mark the passing years. Here is the secret of the tragic misunderstandings and the woe, the vaunting ecclesiastical ambitions and base intrigues, the plays and counterplays for strategic position and power, the battles and the bloodshed, the persecutions and the plots in the name of Christianity, that have marred and scarred the centuries.

5. ROME STRUGGLES SUCCESSFULLY FOR SUPREMACY.—Changes took place in church polity, with enlargement of the episcopal system into the metropolitan and patriarchal concepts. There were four leading aspirants—the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria—with Rome and Constantinople emerging as the predominant rivals, and Rome struggling determinedly for first place.

The advent hope disappeared, furthermore, just in pro-

following, however, it assumed political and military importance, as in the conflicts with the Goths. (Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 326-331; M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 391, 392, art. "Arianism.") For the Arian controversy, see the discussion of Athanasius in the following chapter.

⁷⁴ See chapter 20.

portion as this struggle for primacy advanced, for the "mystery of iniquity" of hierarchal self-exaltation in the church was taking on definite form. The transfer of the seat of government to Constantinople, in 330, was a contributing factor to the primacy of the bishop of Rome, for it left him as the leading figure of the metropolis of the West.

"The removal of the capital of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople in 330, left the Western Church, practically free from imperial power, to develop its own form of organisation. The Bishop of Rome, in the seat of the Caesars, was now the greatest man in the West and was soon [when the barbarians overran the empire] forced to become the political as well as the spiritual head."⁷⁵

Another factor was the barbarians. The imperial theocracy of the West, as inaugurated by Constantine and established by Theodosius II, came to grief when it fell a prey to the "heretical" barbarians, for the Goths, Vandals, and Heruli were largely Arian. When the Western empire fell, the bishop of Rome became the political subject of Arian kings, who even decided, in the case of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, between rival claimants for the papal chair.⁷⁶ But the conversion of the Salian Franks, the first among the Teutonic tribes to embrace Western orthodox Catholicism, prepared the way for the downfall of Arianism among the other Germanic nations, and the ultimate triumph of the Papacy in the German Empire under Charlemagne. When Clovis was baptized, the bishop exclaimed, "Behold the new Constantine!" as he became the patron and protector of the Papacy.

"The barbarian invasions on the whole strengthened both the spiritual and temporal supremacy of the Holy See. They gave the death blow to paganism in Rome. Once converted to Roman Christianity, the Germans became the staunch supporters of the papal hierarchy and enabled the Pope to enforce his prerogatives in the West. Backed by these sturdy Teutons, the Pope became the most powerful individual in Christendom."⁷⁷

Thus the divided empire was to make way for the new papal theocracy, which would dominate Europe for more than

⁷⁵ Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

a thousand years. Among these barbarian kingdoms of divided Rome the new order would arise, centering in Rome, a new ecclesiastical empire—a union of the *Catholic Christian Church* and the *civil government of Rome*. And, as Flick says, “out of the ruins of political Rome, arose the great moral Empire in the ‘giant form’ of the Roman Church.”⁷⁸

6. THE CHURCH BECOMES AN EMPIRE.—The recognition of Christianity in the Roman Empire by Constantine had added a new sanction to the existence of the empire and the position of the emperor. Already unified as a political society, the empire was welded together still more firmly by the new bond of Christianity. It became united with the church, so that if it perished as an empire, it would still persist as a church. On the other hand, the church, by the same union, made certain that it would not perish for centuries to come.

“No, the Church will not descend into the tomb. It will survive the Empire. . . . At length a second empire will arise, and of this empire the Pope will be the master—more than this, he will be the master of Europe. He will dictate his orders to kings who will obey them.”⁷⁹

So the Roman church pushed its way into the place of the Roman Empire, and the pope, the Pontifex Maximus, became Caesar’s successor.⁸⁰

One church in one state was the new concept, which the church fostered by stabilizing its own power and organization. It had taken over old pagan ceremonies, so it took over many features of the state’s secular pattern of organization. The pope later took the title of Pontifex Maximus, which had been discarded by the emperor Gratian, and through the centuries made himself the *imperator* of the church. The offices and territorial divisions of the church were patterned after those of the empire, the very terminology of the hierarchal organization, such as *vicar* and *diocese*, being the heritage of ancient Rome.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁷⁹ André Lagarde (pseudonym for Joseph Turmel), *The Latin Church in the Middle Ages*, Preface, p. vi.

⁸⁰ Adolf Harnack, *What Is Christianity?* pp. 269, 270.

The later Donation of Constantine, while a gross forgery in that it represents Constantine as giving to Pope Sylvester the imperial palace and insignia, and to the clergy the ornaments of the imperial army, nevertheless expresses a historical actuality in the transfer of power.⁸¹ The reign of Constantine was truly the turning point, when organized Christianity abandoned the character of "pilgrim and stranger," and became established among the mightiest of earth. And it was to the supposed Donation that the later medieval dissenters, like the Albigenses and Waldenses, pointed when they charged that the apostatizing church ceased to be a chaste "bride" awaiting her Lord's return, but finally became spiritually a "harlot," according to the Apocalypse, reveling in her illicit union with the kings of the earth.

Roman imperial Christianity prevailed from the period following shortly upon the so-called conversion of Constantine, its influence extending increasingly throughout the apostatizing Christian empire. Later legally established by the Justinian imperial edict, which was implemented by the expulsion of the Goths from Rome, Romanized Catholicism finally won recognition of her claims to dominance, and climbed gradually to supremacy during the period of the Middle Ages.

⁸¹ See pages 530-533.

Varying Voices in Different Places

There were various Syriac apologists. The Aramaic language predominated over a large section—from Palestine and Egypt in the west to Persia in the east. The dialect of Aramaic used was the Syriac, which was current in northern Mesopotamia. Aphrahat and Ephraim, whom we now note, have little in common. Ephraim's writings were a flamboyant versification, concerned chiefly with the intellectual claims of orthodox Christianity, in contrast to the pretensions of the heretics. Aphrahat is simplicity personified. His prose is direct in style, warning against the temptations and errors of life.¹ Aphrahat gives an orderly exposition of the Christian faith, with occasional appeals to the Jews. Homily 12 deals with the Passover, and Homily 13 with the Sabbath. Ephraim, on the other hand, seeks to bear down on the heretics by ponderous intellectualism.²

I. Aphrahat—Persian Witness on Rome, Resurrection, and Kingdom

JACOB APHRAHAT, or Aphraates (*c.* 290-*c.* 350?), the Persian sage, was probably born of pagan parents. Of Persian nationality, and dating his writings by the years of the reign of the Persian king, he lived and wrote when Zoroastrianism was the state

¹ Arthur Lukyn Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 95-97, 103.

religion. After his conversion to Christianity he entered the priesthood. He is said to have been bishop and possibly abbot of Mar Mathai, near Mosul—Mesopotamia then evidently having a number of Christians. He was popular in the Armenian church. Thus the Latin of the West and the Greek of the eastern Mediterranean were complemented by the Syriac still farther east.

Aphrahat's *Demonstrations*, penned about the time of the death of Constantine, were written in Syriac, and were early translated into Armenian (Demonstration 20 being omitted). They were quiet hortatory discourses which did not deal with current problems and controversies. On the second advent and its attendant circumstances, as well as the prophecies of Daniel, Aphrahat bears testimony comparable to that of his European associates, as attested by these extracts.

1. LITERAL RESURRECTION OCCURS AT SECOND ADVENT.—He clearly connects the resurrection with the time "when our Saviour shall come."

"And He Who raises the dead dwells in heaven. Then when our Saviour shall come, whom shall He raise up from the earth? And why did He write for us:—*The hour shall come, and now is, that the dead also shall hear the voice of the Son of Man, and they shall live and come forth from their tombs?*"³

Demonstration 8, "Of the Resurrection of the Dead," also stresses the "hope of the Resurrection and the quickening of the dead." This literal resurrection, avers Aphrahat, will be accomplished thus:

"For with one word of summons He will cause all the ends (of the world) to hear, and all that are laid (in the grave) shall leap forth and rise up."⁴

2. ETERNAL KINGDOM ESTABLISHED AT SECOND ADVENT.—Aphrahat understands that the kingdom of Christ will not be established until the second advent.

³ Aphrahat, *Demonstration 8*—"Of the Resurrection of the Dead," sec. 3, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 13, p. 376.

⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 15, p. 380.

"For when He, *Whose is the Kingdom*, shall come in His second coming, He will take to Himself whatever He has given. And He Himself will be King for ever and ever. And His Kingdom shall not pass away, because it is an eternal Kingdom."⁵

3. SECOND ADVENT CLOSES PROPHETIC KINGDOM OUTLINE.—Beginning with the Persian ram and the Grecian he-goat, Aphrahat speaks guardedly of Rome as the fourth prophetic empire, the "children of Esau," with the Ruler from Judah to take the kingdom forever at His second advent.

"For the he-goat broke the horns of the ram. Now the he-goat has become the mighty beast. For when the children of Japhet held the kingdom, then they slew Darius, the king of Persia. Now the fourth beast has swallowed up the third. And this third consists of the children of Japhet, and the fourth consists of the children of Shem, for they are the children of Esau. Because, when Daniel saw the vision of the four beasts, he saw first the children of Ham, the seed of Nimrod, which the Babylonians are; and secondly, the Persians and Medes, who are the children of Japhet; and thirdly, the Greeks, the brethren of the Medes; and fourthly, the children of Shem, which the children of Esau are. . . . But when the time of the consummation of the dominion of the children of Shem shall have come, the Ruler, who came forth from the children of Judah, shall receive the kingdom, when He shall come in His second Advent."⁶

Elsewhere Aphrahat unequivocally defines "the children of Esau" as the Romans:

"Therefore vineyard was formed instead of vineyard. And furthermore at His coming He handed over the kingdom to the Romans, as the children of Esau are called. And these children of Esau will keep the kingdom for its giver."⁷

4. FOURTH BEAST INDICATES ROMAN EMPIRE.—That the kingdom of the Caesars is plainly meant by the term "children of Esau" is evident. The first beast is Babylon; the second, Media and Persia; the third, Alexander's Macedonian empire; and the four heads are the four successors of Alexander.⁸ The fourth seems to include both the Macedonian successors of Alexander and the Roman emperors, though the relationships

⁵ Aphrahat, *Demonstration 5*—"Of Wars," sec. 23, in *MPNF*, 2d series, vol. 13, p. 361.

⁶ *Ibid.*, sec. 10, p. 356.

⁷ *Ibid.*, sec. 22, p. 360.

⁸ *Ibid.*, sec. 18, p. 358.

of the third and fourth beasts are not too clear. (See reproduction on page 400.)

"And of the fourth beast he said that it was exceedingly terrible and strong and mighty, devouring and crushing and trampling with its feet anything that remained. It is the kingdom of the children of Esau. Because after that Alexander the Macedonian became king, the kingdom of the Greeks was founded, since Alexander also was one of them, even of the Greeks. But the vision of the third beast was fulfilled in him, since the third and the fourth were one. Now Alexander reigned for twelve years. And the kings of the Greeks arose after Alexander, being seventeen kings, and their years were two hundred and sixty-nine years from Seleucus Nicanor to Ptolemy. And the Caesars were from Augustus to Philip Caesar, seventeen kings."⁹

He makes the ten horns apply to the Seleucid kings following Alexander down to Antiochus, in whom he sees the Little Horn. The "time, times, and half a time" he reduces to one and one-half times, or ten and a half years of Antiochus' persecution of the Jews.¹⁰ But in general outline he parallels the expositions of the West.

5. MESSIANIC STONE KINGDOM TO CRUSH ALL NATIONS.—

That the prophetic image of Daniel 2 paralleling the four beasts of chapter 7 means Babylon, Media, Alexander's kingdom, and "the children of Esau" (Rome),¹¹ and that the smiting stone of Daniel 2 was as yet future, and indicates Christ's eternal kingdom, to fill the earth and rule forever, is clear from this expression:

"By the whole image the world is meant. Its head is Nebuchadnezzar; its breast and arms the King of Media and Persia; its belly and thighs the King of the Greeks; its legs and feet the kingdom of the children of Esau; the stone, which smote the image and brake it, and with which the whole earth was filled, is the kingdom of King Messiah, Who will bring to nought the kingdom of this world, and He will rule for ever and ever.

"Again hear concerning the vision of the four beasts which Daniel saw coming up out of the sea and diverse one from another. . . . Now the great sea that Daniel saw is the world: and these four beasts are the four kingdoms signified above."¹²

⁹ *Ibid.*, sec. 19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, sec. 20, p. 359.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, secs. 11-13, pp. 356, 357.

¹² *Ibid.*, secs. 14, 15, p. 357.

Such is the witness of Aphrahat, the Persian sage of the fourth century.

II. Ephraim—Awaits Antichrist's Emergence After Rome's End

EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN, Ephrem Syrus (c. 306-373), later deacon of Edessa, was born at Nisibis in Mesopotamia. His alleged heathen parentage and consequently the whole narrative of his conversion to Christianity may be discredited without hesitation. They cannot be brought into harmony with his own words. "I was born in the way of truth: though my boyhood understood not the greatness of the benefit, I knew it when trial came."¹³ His patron and protector during his earlier years was Saint Jacob, bishop of Nisibis, whom he accompanied to the Council of Nicaea in 325, as some sources state. During the wars between the empire and the Persians the city of Nisibis was beleaguered three times, and had to surrender to the Persians in 363. Thereupon Ephraim left with other Christians, and finally settled at Edessa. Ephraim spent the greater part of his life in writing and preaching. He was a voluminous writer of sermons, commentaries, and hymns, many of which have been lost. The commentaries mostly belong to the later life of Ephraim, after his emigration to Edessa. Many of his hymns were composed during the sieges of Nisibis, and were sung by the Syrian church for many centuries. They left a deep impression upon Eastern Christianity.

The prospect of Antichrist's coming weighed deeply upon him, as indicated in his noted sermon on "Antichrist."¹⁴ The dragon was to tread upon and persecute the woman, the church. Ephraim made little distinction between the dragon and the beast, contending that the second wields the power, and fills the throne, of the first. He believed that the end of the world approached, and reckoned the precursory signs fulfilled, except

¹³ John Gwynn, Introductory Dissertation, in *Selections Translated Into English From . . . Ephraim the Syrian, and . . . Aphrahat the Persian Sage*, 1st part, sec. 8, in *NPWF*, 2d series, vol. 13, pp. 138-146.

¹⁴ Ephraim the Syrian, *Sermo in Adventum Domini, et de Consummatione Seculi et in Adventum Antichristi*, in *Opera Omnia*, Greek-Latin ed., vol. 2, pp. 222-230.

the fall of the Roman Empire. Like many others of the time, Ephraim stressed asceticism, relics, and the like.

1. ANTICHRIST'S APPEARANCE TO FOLLOW ROME'S BREAKUP.—Ephraim understood that Antichrist would not appear until after Rome's breakup.

"For the things which have been written have now been fulfilled, and the signs which had been predicted, received their end; nothing remains then, except that the coming of our enemy, antichrist, appear (or, be revealed). For when the empire of the Romans meets its end (literally, receives an end), all things will necessarily be consummated."¹⁵

This conclusion was obviously drawn from Paul's prediction in Second Thessalonians, and not from Daniel 7, as Ephraim is not clear on the latter. (Reproduced on page 400.)

2. FOLLOWS PORPHYRY'S FALLACY ON LITTLE HORN.—Ephraim was one of four Syrian writers who, unlike all other expositors of the time, followed the sophist Porphyry in making the Little Horn of Daniel 7, as well as that of Daniel 8, to be the historical Antiochus Epiphanes.¹⁶ This theory, however, lay dormant for many centuries, and was not perpetuated in Syria.

III. Growing Apprehension Over Imminent Antichrist

In this tracing of the advent hope, as governed by changing beliefs concerning the five key factors—the resurrection, millennium, outline prophecies, Antichrist, and the kingdom of God—we have observed how, in the field of prophecy, Hippolytus and others clearly interpreted the fourth beast of Daniel 7 as Rome. Even Jews recognized and declared this. Graetz thus mentions Jochanan bar Napacha (A.D. 199-279):

"He regarded as symbolical of the Roman Empire, the fourth beast in Daniel's vision of the four empires of the world, which was a perennial mine of discovery for the Biblical exegete, and was even more diligently explored by the Christians than by the Jews. The small horn which grew

¹⁵ Ephraim the Syrian, *Sermo Asceticus*, in *Opera Omnia*, Greek-Latin ed., vol. 1, p. 44, pagination starting with *Sermo de Virtutibus, et Vitiis*.

¹⁶ Ephraim the Syrian, *In Daniele Prophetam*, *Opera Omnia*, Syriac and Latin ed., vol. 2, pp. 216, 217.

out of the fourth beast represents, according to his explanation, wicked Rome, which annihilated all previous empires."¹⁷

Irenaeus and others likewise interpreted the ten-horned beast of Daniel 7 and that of Revelation 13 as picturing the same power. Rome, they understood, was destined to division, and then Antichrist was to appear within the approaching divisions of the empire. Rome was definitely understood by Tertullian and others to be the restraining power—the “let,” or hindrance—holding back the coming of the dread Antichrist. Hence the prayers of Tertullian and others for Rome’s continuance.¹⁸

The threefold portraiture of Antichrist, presented by Daniel, Paul, and John, was understood to apply to one and the same power—Daniel evidently stressing the political, or horn, character, Paul the ecclesiastical aspect, and John the fatal combination of the two. Heretofore, men had written of Antichrist as a future character, whose coming would be consequent upon the breakup of Rome. Now expositors appear who stress his imminence, and attempt to identify his precursor—and this before Rome’s division. By the fourth and fifth centuries a growing apprehension of apostasy led some to project the view that Antichrist would appear *in the professing church*,¹⁹ yet placing him within the confines of the empire.

Such men as Athanasius of Alexandria and Hilary of Poitiers, in France, taught with persistent emphasis that Constantius, the new anti-Trinitarian ruler of the Roman Empire, was Antichrist’s forerunner. Hilary, in referring to heretical leaders, even spoke of Antichrist’s being transformed, like Satan, into an angel of light.²⁰ Hence, they looked for Antichrist himself soon. Indeed, the coming Antichrist—who, when, and where—became the focal point of growing concern in both East and West. His coming was dreaded and feared because of what they anticipated he would do.

¹⁷ Heinrich Graetz, *History of the Jews*, vol. 2, pp. 494, 495.

¹⁸ An impressive series of witnesses spanning several centuries testify to the Roman “let” or hindrance, including Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyril, Chrysostom, Jerome, Theodoret, and perhaps Augustine before and during the period of dismemberment. So, in fact, believed the majority of the fathers. (See W. H. Fremantle, note 7, Jerome, letter 123, sec. 16, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 236.)

²⁰ See page 409.

IV. Hilary First to Link Priesthood With Antichrist

HILARY OF POITIERS (c. 300-c. 368) is one of the great, yet little studied, of the fathers of the Western church. He was born in Gaul, of noble pagan parentage, and received the best Roman education of his time. His thoughts were definitely molded by Neoplatonism and influenced by the writings of Origen. Equipped with such an education he approached Christianity in mature life, and was convinced of its truth by independent study of the Scriptures. He came to the faith, Augustine said, laden with the gold, silver, and raiment of "Egypt," and he would naturally wish to find a Christian employment for the philosophy he brought out of Egypt with him.²⁰

About the year 350 he was created bishop of Poitiers, and soon after became involved in the great Athanasian-Arian controversy. Taking a firm stand on the Athanasian side, he was banished to Phrygia by the emperor Constantius, who favored Arianism. Here in Phrygia, Hilary completed his most important work *De Trinitate* (On the Trinity). It was really a brilliant piece of spade work, as there were no predecessors in the West in this field from whom he could draw.

His thoughts were original, and often were expressed in an original way, so that his writings became "the quarry whence many of the best thoughts of Ambrose and Leo are hewn."²¹ Eminent and successful as these men were, they can scarcely be ranked with Hilary in sheer intellectual endowment. And one is led to wonder how many of their conclusions would have been drawn had not Hilary supplied the premises. It is a distinct honor that the unrivaled genius of Augustine is deeply indebted to him.²²

1. CONTENTS FOR ORTHODOXY.—Hilary was a staunch defender of the Trinity as taught by the Western church, and therefore saw the predicted Antichrist in those who denied the

²⁰ E. W. Watson, Introduction to Saint Hilary of Poitiers, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 9, p. v (first pagination).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

²² Hilary, *De Trinitate*, book 6, chap. 46, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 9, p. 115.

divinity of the Son and considered Him to be but a created Being. "Hence also they who deny that Christ is the Son of God must have Antichrist for their Christ,"²³ was the way he expressed it. In Watson's classic introduction to the works of Hilary the following summarizing statement appears:

"He [Hilary] begins by speaking of the blessings of peace, which the Christians of that day could neither enjoy nor promote, beset as they were by the forerunners of Antichrist. . . . They bear themselves not as bishops of Christ but as priests of Antichrist. This is not random abuse, but sober recognition of the fact, stated by St. John, that there are many Antichrists. For these men assume the cloak of piety, and pretend to preach the Gospel, with the one object of inducing others to deny Christ. It was the misery and folly of the day that men endeavoured to promote the cause of God by human means and the favour of the world. Hilary asks bishops, who believe in their office, whether the Apostles had secular support when by their preaching they converted the greater part of mankind. . . .

"The Church seeks for secular support, and in so doing insults Christ by the implication that His support is insufficient. She in her turn holds out the threat of exile and prison. It was her endurance of these that drew men to her; now she imposes her faith by violence. She craves for favours at the hand of her communicants; once it was her consecration that she braved the threatenings of persecutors. Bishops in exile spread the Faith; now it is she that exiles bishops. She boasts that the world loves her; the world's hatred was the evidence that she was Christ's. . . . The time of Antichrist, disguised as an angel of light, has come. The true Christ is hidden from almost every mind and heart. Antichrist is now obscuring the truth that he may assert falsehood hereafter."²⁴

2. ANTICHRIST WILL BE SEATED IN CHURCHES.—In his struggle for orthodoxy, and after his defeat by Auxentius, bishop of Milan, Hilary addressed an open letter to the "beloved brethren," in which he admonished them to be watchful about the insidious ways of Antichrist's deceptions. These were practically his last public statements:

"One thing I warn you: beware of Antichrist. For the evil love of walls has captured you. You wrongly venerate the Church of God in [the form of] roofs and buildings; in these you wrongly find the name of peace. Can it be doubted that in these Antichrist is to be seated? To me mountains and forests and lakes, and prisons and chasms are safer. For the prophets,

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ E. W. Watson, Introduction to Hilary of Poitiers, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 9, pp. lii, liii.

either dwelling in these or being plunged into them, prophesied in the spirit of God."²⁵

V. Cyril—Stresses Present Falling Away and Impending Antichrist

CYRIL (*c.* 315-386), bishop of Jerusalem, was born of Christian parents, probably in Jerusalem or its environs, shortly before the outbreak of Arianism in A.D. 318, and lived to see its suppression by Theodosius, in 380. Cyril was thus deeply involved in the controversy throughout his public life. Made a deacon, perhaps in 335, he was ordained to the priesthood about 345 by Maximus, his predecessor, after whose death (*c.* 351) Cyril soon succeeded to the episcopal chair at Jerusalem.

The first few years of his episcopate fell within the so-called "golden decade" of suspension of hostilities in the Arian controversy—but a turbulent time for Cyril, as will appear. Presiding over "the Mother of all the Churches," Cyril claimed exemption from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Caesarea. But he became involved in a dispute with the Arian bishop Acacius of Caesarea, who engineered his deposition in 357. At an Arian council held at Constantinople in 360, Cyril's deposition was confirmed.²⁶

However, on the accession of the emperor Julian (361), Cyril was reinstated in his see, together with all other exiled bishops, only to be expelled a third time, and with all other orthodox bishops driven into exile by edict of the Arian emperor Valens of the East, leaving the churches of the East in Arian hands. This banishment lasted until the defeat and death of Valens in the battle against the Goths at Adrianople (378), which finally brought respite to the defenders of the Nicene doctrine. Then, at the accession of Theodosius, in 379,

²⁵ Translated from Hilary, *Liber contra . . . Auxentium*, book 1, sec. 12, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 10, col. 616. Another English translation appears in W. S. Gilly, *Waldensian Researches*, p. 63.

²⁶ Edward Hamilton Gifford, Introduction to *The Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril*, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 7, pp. v-viii.

Cyril was at last permitted to return to Jerusalem, to remain quietly for the last eight years of his life.²⁷

In 381 Theodosius summoned the Eastern bishops to a second ecumenical council at Constantinople to settle the disputes that had long distracted the empire, and to secure the triumph of the Nicene faith over Arianism. Cyril was present and took rank with the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch.

As noted, Cyril's incumbency at Jerusalem covered the brief reign of Julian, who wore the purple but a year and a half (361-363). Julian, the nephew of Constantine, scorned the Christians who ardently expected the kingdom of God, and attempted to restore Graeco-Roman paganism to its former power and glory in the empire²⁸—such being the reaction of heathenism against legalized Christianity.

During Cyril's incumbency came Julian's frustrated plan to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem at public expense. The story goes that he intended thus to invalidate a strong proof of the gospel used by the Christians, who were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole Mosaic system;²⁹ but that Julian was finally compelled to cry, "Galilean, Thou hast conquered"—thus bearing involuntary testimony to the historicity of Jesus and to the credibility of New Testament prophecy; furthermore, that Cyril had foretold the failure of Julian's undertaking on the basis of the prophecies of Daniel and of Christ.³⁰

Cyril's *Catechetical Lectures* on the articles of the creed follow the form of the Apostles' Creed, as then in use in the churches of Palestine, which approximated the Nicene form. In this work he supports the various articles with passages of Scripture, and defends them against heretical perversions. His *Catecheses* form the first popular religious compendium available.³¹

²⁷ Edmund Venables, "Cyrillus," in Smith and Wace, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 762.

²⁸ As a pagan, Julian again briefly assumed the title of *Pontifex Maximus*. (See Johann J. Ignatz von Dollinger, *A History of the Church*, vol. 2, p. 4.)

²⁹ See Gibbon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, chap. 23, pp. 456-460 (see also Bury's note 79); Socrates, *op. cit.*, book 3, chap. 20, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 2, pp. 89, 90.

³⁰ Socrates, *op. cit.*, book 3, chap. 20, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 2, p. 89; Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 924; Venables, "Cyrillus," in Smith and Wace, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 762.

³¹ W. A. Curtis, *History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith*, p. 58; Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 924, 925.

It is in the fifteenth of these discourses, regarding the clause "And shall come in glory to judge the quick and the dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end," that Cyril discusses Daniel 7, 1 Thessalonians 4, 2 Thessalonians 2, Matthew 24, and related texts, stressing the various factors centering in the second advent. Here are key excerpts from the impressive and rather extensive witness of Cyril.

1. SECOND ADVENT CONTRASTED WITH FIRST.—The two contrasting advents of Christ are clearly recognized.

"We preach not one advent only of Christ, but a second also, far more glorious than the former. For the former gave a view of His patience; but the latter brings with it the crown of a divine kingdom. . . . In His former advent, He was wrapped in swaddling clothes in the manger; in His second, He *covereth Himself with light as with a garment*. In His first coming, *He endured the Cross, despising shame*; in His second, He comes attended by a host of Angels, receiving glory. We rest not then upon His first advent only, but look also for His second."³²

2. SECOND ADVENT AT END OF WORLD.—He places the second advent at the last day:

"We believe in Him, who also ASCENDED INTO THE HEAVENS, AND SAT DOWN ON THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER, AND SHALL COME IN GLORY TO JUDGE QUICK AND DEAD; WHOSE KINGDOM SHALL HAVE NO END.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, then, comes from heaven; and He comes with glory at the end of this world, in the last day. For of this world there is to be an end, and this created world is to be re-made anew."³³

That end, he declares, will come when the gospel is preached in all the world,³⁴ and the advent in glory will be attended by myriads of angels.³⁵

3. RESURRECTION CONTINGENT UPON SECOND ADVENT.—This second feature of the resurrection is similarly clear:

"May He . . . keep unshaken and unchanged your hope in Him who rose again; raise you together with Him from your dead sins unto His heavenly gift; count you worthy to be *caught up in the clouds, to meet*

³² *The Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril*, lecture 15, sec. 1, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 7, p. 104.

³³ *Ibid.*, secs. 2, 3, pp. 104, 105.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 8, p. 106.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. 10, p. 107.

the Lord in the air, in His fitting time; and, until that time arrive of His glorious second advent, write all your names in the Book of the living, and having written them, never blot them out (for the names of many, who fall away, are blotted out)."³⁶

Stressing the prophecies and the resurrection, Cyril admonishes his hearers to "stand on the rock of the faith in the Resurrection," and never to "speak evil of the Resurrection."³⁷

4. DANIEL'S FOUR BEASTS EXPLAINED.—Cyril enumerates the four prophetic kingdoms of Daniel 7:

"*The fourth beast shall be a fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall surpass all kingdoms.* And that this kingdom is that of the Romans, has been the tradition of the Church's interpreters. For as the first kingdom which became renowned was that of the Assyrians, and the second, that of the Medes and Persians together, and after these, that of the Macedonians was the third, so the fourth kingdom now is that of the Romans."³⁸

5. LITTLE HORN SUBDUES THREE OF TEN KINGDOMS.—The Little Horn, says Cyril, will be an eleventh king, who, by rooting out three of the ten, will become the eighth king.

"And he shall speak *words against the Most High*. A blasphemer the man is and lawless, not having received the kingdom from his fathers, but having usurped the power by means of sorcery."³⁹

6. ANTICHRIST APPEARS AFTER ROME'S DIVISION.—The Antichrist, identified with the Little Horn, is soon to appear:

"But this aforesaid Antichrist is to come when the times of the Roman empire shall have been fulfilled, and the end of the world is now drawing near. There shall rise up together ten kings of the Romans, reigning in different parts perhaps, but all about the same time; and after these an eleventh, the Antichrist, who by his magical craft shall seize upon the Roman power; and of the kings who reigned before him, *three he shall humble*, and the remaining seven he shall keep in subjection to himself."⁴⁰

7. ADVENT ENDS ANTICHRIST'S ALLOTTED REIGN.—Looking to a literal three and a half years, as prophetic time was still counted literally by these early men, Cyril declares that Anti-

³⁶ *Ibid.*, lecture 14, sec. 30, p. 102.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, sec. 21, p. 99.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, lecture 15, sec. 13, p. 108.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, sec. 12, p. 107.

christ will be slain by the glorious second advent, smitten by the breath of the Lord's mouth.⁴¹

8. MAN OF SIN IDENTIFIED WITH ANTICHRIST AND LITTLE HORN.—Quoting 2 Thessalonians on the Man of Sin, who seats himself in the temple of God, Cyril identifies him with Antichrist and with Daniel's Little Horn.⁴² And Antichrist will deceive both Jew and Gentile.⁴³

9. ANTICHRIST'S TIME PERIOD FIXED.—Daniel's three and a half times, or three years and a half, are clearly applied to Antichrist's reign. Cyril notes that some have also applied the 1290 and the 1335 days to the same reign of Antichrist.⁴⁴

10. MYSTERY OF INIQUITY ALREADY AT WORK.—Most impressive is Cyril's fear of the wars and schisms that he felt to be the mystery of iniquity already working—harbingers of the impending Antichrist.

"But enough on this subject; only God forbid that it should be fulfilled in our days; nevertheless, let us be on our guard. And thus much concerning Antichrist."⁴⁵

11. FALLING AWAY ALREADY A PRESENT ACTUALITY.—Declaring heretics to be manifesting themselves in the churches, he charges his hearers to prepare against possible imminent coming of Antichrist.

"Thus wrote Paul [having quoted 2 Thess. 2:3-10 in full], and now is the *falling away*. For men have fallen away from the right faith; and some preach the identity of the Son with the Father, and others dare to say that Christ was brought into being out of nothing. And formerly the heretics were manifest; but now the Church is filled with heretics in disguise. For men have fallen away from the truth, and *have itching ears*. . . . This therefore is the *falling away*, and the enemy is soon to be looked for; and meanwhile he has in part begun to send forth his own forerunners, that he may then come prepared upon the prey. Look therefore to thyself, O man, and make safe thy soul. The Church now charges thee before the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 108.

⁴² *Ibid.*, sec. 15, pp. 108, 109.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, sec. 11, p. 107.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 16, p. 109.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. 18, p. 110.

Living God; she declares to thee the things concerning Antichrist before they arrive. Whether they will happen in thy time we know not, or whether they will happen after thee we know not; but it is well that, knowing these things, thou shouldst make thyself secure beforehand."⁴⁶

12. ETERNAL KINGDOM SUCCEEDS EARTHLY KINGDOMS.—The stone kingdom that supersedes the earthly kingdoms has not yet been established, according to Cyril, and Christ's coming kingdom shall never end.

"In relating and interpreting to Nebuchadnezzar the image of the statue, he tells also his whole vision concerning it: and that a stone cut out of a mountain without hands, that is, not set up by human contrivance, should overpower the whole world: and he speaks most clearly thus; *And in the days of those kingdoms the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed, and His kingdom shall not be left to another people.*"⁴⁷

13. THE 69 "WEEKS OF YEARS" TO FIRST ADVENT.—Cyril clearly applies the year-day principle to the sixty-nine weeks of Daniel 9. This time period he calculates, like Eusebius, by the Olympiads, as extending from the restoration of the temple in the sixth year of Darius to the time of Herod, in whose reign Christ was born.⁴⁸

14. ALL REFERENCE TO MILLENNIUM OMITTED.—Cyril's omission of all reference to the millennium is significant, especially as the Apocalypse is omitted from the canonical list in his fourth lecture.⁴⁹ This point is particularly stressed by the translator in footnote 4 to lecture 15, section 16, for Irenaeus and Hippolytus, whom Cyril follows, combine the testimony of the Apocalypse with that of Daniel.

VI. Powerful Influence of Ambrose of Milan

AMBROSE (c. 340-397), bishop of Milan for twenty-three years, was born at Trier of Christian parents. He was the son of the Pretorian Prefect of the Gauls, the head of one of the

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, sec. 9, p. 107.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, lecture 12, sec. 18, pp. 76, 77.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, lecture 12, sec. 19, p. 77.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, lecture 4, sec. 36, pp. 27, 28.

principal political divisions of the empire, which embraced France, Spain, and Portugal, and Britain as well. Educated for the bar at Rome, Ambrose received thorough training for high civil office, and went into government service. About 370 he was appointed consular prefect, or governor, of the province of Aemilia-Liguria in northern Italy, whose capital was Milan, one of Europe's ten greatest cities, at that time the principal capital of the empire in the West. Milan, it has been claimed, became a Christian city before Rome, and it was here that Constantine and Licinius agreed on publishing the famous Edict of Toleration, in 313.

In 373, upon the death of Auxentius, Arian bishop of Milan, the orthodox and Arian parties had a violent contest over the succession. As governor, Ambrose entered the church with troops to prevent the strife of the two rival groups over their candidates, counseling peace and wise action in a soothing speech. His address was so effective that he himself was chosen bishop by acclamation—"Ambrose is bishop." Still unbaptized, he sought to escape the office, but his popular election was ratified by the emperor Valentinian, and he was baptized only eight days before he was consecrated bishop, at the age of thirty-four.⁶⁰ This incident has been regarded as indicating that even then the bishopric was considered greater in dignity and power than the governorship. In any event, the power and influence of the church was very extensive.

1. BISHOP, STATESMAN, DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH.—Ambrose lived wholly for the church, and rose to the full height of his office. He was recognized as one of the "doctors of the church." In this period the bishop of Milan was also the metropolitan of the diocese of Italy, that is, north Italy. The peninsula proper, with Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, formed the pope's own bishopric—the diocese of Rome—but from Ravenna north to the upper Danube, and from Illyricum on the east to the Cottian

⁶⁰ F. Homes Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, vol. 1, pp. 66-68; see also Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, vol. 1, p. 387.

Alps on the west, stretched the diocese of Italy, under the see of Milan.⁵¹

Ambrose exercised great power and influence, greater even than the bishop of Rome, and the bishops of Milan enjoyed complete independence from Rome, whose influence over them was scarcely noticeable.⁵² (See likeness on page 327.)

Situated at the residence of the Western emperor, a bishop of Ambrose' character and ability could exercise great influence on his imperial parishioners, and Ambrose was often the power behind the throne, although he had no personal desire for political power. He was an opponent of both Arians and pagans. Ambrose is believed to have influenced Gratian in 382 to have the altar of victory, on which all pagan oaths were made, removed from Rome—the senate repeatedly trying in vain to have it restored; and it was largely due to the influence of Ambrose that Gratian refused the dignity of Pontifex Maximus.⁵³ The Arian empress Justina, mother of Valentinian II, in attempting to introduce Arian worship, tried to terrify him by show of armed force, but Ambrose, backed by the populace, twice showed himself the more powerful of the two. His marked fidelity and courage is illustrated by his action toward the powerful emperor Theodosius, who had slain seven thousand in the massacre of the Thessalonians (c. 390). Ambrose rebuked him in strongest terms for his cruelty, and barred him from communion until he sought forgiveness.⁵⁴

Ambrose was the father of the hymnology of the Western church. He was a diligent student, but concerned himself more with the practical than with the dogmatical. Most of his

⁵¹ Dudden, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 64 and note 1; Karl Heussi and Hermann Mulert, *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*, map 1.

The sees of Ravenna and Aquileia were formed a little later from the southeast and northeast portions of this territory. The latter, like Milan, long claimed independence of Rome. (Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 293.)

⁵² "At Milan . . . at the turn of the century [400] was the seat of western empire; there the virtually omnipotent Ambrose was Bishop; and there a Milanese Rite quite different from the Roman Rite was developing." (Charles W. Jones, "Development of the Latin Ecclesiastical Calendar," p. 35, in his edition of *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*.)

⁵³ "As an ecclesiastical statesman he [Ambrose] made Milan a dangerous rival to Rome and compelled Roman emperors to respect the power of the Church in its own sphere." (James W. Thompson and E. N. Johnson, *An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300-1500*, pp. 60, 61.)

⁵⁴ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 62.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 359, 363, 364; Dudden, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 381-392. For Ambrose' letter to Theodosius, see *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 10, pp. 450-453.

writings are homilies on the Old and the New Testament, and his exegesis is sometimes marred by the allegorical method of Origen.⁵⁵ He wrote little on prophecy, though he was a student of Hippolytus, the prophetic expositor.⁵⁶

2. THEOLOGY MINGLES EVANGELICAL ELEMENTS.—In certain respects the theology of Ambrose was akin to the evangelical positions. He held to the Bible as his rule of faith, and to Christ as the foundation of the church.⁵⁷ He taught salvation by faith, which he defined as a vital personal contact with Christ, with remission of sins, not by human merit but through the expiatory sacrifice of the cross.⁵⁸ His treatise *On the Mysteries* (Greek for *sacraments*) speaks of two sacraments only: baptism and the Lord's supper.⁵⁹ And through his preaching, which converted Augustine, he was to a great extent the source of the Augustinian view of sin and grace, from which Luther came to draw inspiration.⁶⁰

We must therefore give Ambrose credit for being better than some of the medieval Catholic doctrines which he was instrumental in introducing into the West, or whose development he influenced. His positions on works, satisfactions, transferable merits, penance, the Eucharist, prayers for the dead, purgatorial fire, the veneration of saints, and celibacy⁶¹ were afterward all carried much further by the church than initially by him. He extolled virginity, but he did not advise against marriage;⁶² he encouraged the veneration of martyrs, and of the virgin Mary, but said that Mary was not to be worshiped.⁶³ His doctrine that the elements in the Eucharist (which he administered under *both* kinds) became the genuine body and blood of Christ is regarded as the starting point from which the later dogma of transubstantiation grew, yet he carefully

⁵⁵ Farrar, *History*, pp. 205, 328.

⁵⁶ James F. Loughlin, "Ambrose, Saint," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 387. On Hippolytus, see pages 268-279.

⁵⁷ Dudden, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 504, 639, 640.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 627, 628, 631.

⁵⁹ In *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 10, pp. 315-325.

⁶⁰ Dudden, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 674, 676.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 674, 675; vol. 1, pp. 316, 147.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 159.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 316; vol. 2, pp. 600, 601.

guarded against a materialistic view by insisting that the Eucharist is a spiritual food.⁶⁴ He taught the doctrine of superabundant merits, but maintained the evangelical principle that men cannot acquire merits at all except through the aid and mercy of God.⁶⁵

3. MAINTAINS MILAN'S INDEPENDENCE OF ROME.—Ambrose maintained a definite independence of Rome, never accepting the primacy of the bishop of Rome⁶⁶—this independence of Milan continuing for a number of centuries. One of the results of this ecclesiastical independence of northern Italy was that some of the corruptions of which Rome was the source were long kept out of the Milan diocese, and another was that the spirit of independence in the outlying districts,⁶⁷ more than in Milan itself, enabled the evangelical light to shine on there for several centuries after the darkness gathered in the southern part of the peninsula. This is a significant fact that should be borne in mind, as it bears on later developments.

4. SKETCHY ON PROPHECIES BUT DEFINITE ON LAST DAYS.—In spite of Ambrose' liking for allegorical interpretation, and his tendency to subordinate the prophetic message to the moral and spiritual lessons to be derived from the text, he made it clear that he also believed in the actual second advent, the judgment, and the resurrection of the body. In his treatment of Luke 21 he gave both eschatological and spiritualized interpretations. The "wars and rumours of wars" reminded him of contemporary conflicts.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 647.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 631.

⁶⁶ Schaft, *History*, vol. 3, p. 304; Dudden, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 642; Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

⁶⁷ A part of this tradition of independence in northern Italy was the series of fragments of dissent in the outlying regions, especially in the northwest, which were too recurrent to be accidental. Ambrose himself, addressing the clergy of his diocese, complained that in the secluded portions some priests were taking a stand against the enforcement of celibacy on the plea of ancient custom. (Ambrose, *On the Duties of the Clergy*, book 1, chap. 50, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 10, p. 41.) And he drove from Milan the followers of Jovinian, "the Protestant of his time," who taught that no additional merit could be gained by asceticism or vows of virginity. It is not unlikely, says A. H. Newman, that the Jovinianists found a haven in the Alpine valleys; the evangelical influence was to reappear not only in Vigilantius (whose name is connected at least temporarily with the Cottian Alps) but also in the vigorous movements of later centuries—Arnoldists, Petrobrusians, Henricians, and others. (Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 376.) And it is well known that in this region the Waldenses took root so firmly that their remnant exists until this day, long after they were extirpated or absorbed in other parts of Europe. See chapter 34.

"Of the heavenly words none are witnesses more than we, upon whom the end of the world comes. For how many wars, and what rumors of wars, have we received! The Huns have risen against the Alans, the Alans against the Goths, the Goths against the Tayfali and the Sarmatians. . . . And the end is not yet."⁶⁸

With time foreshortened to his gaze he saw the contemporary preaching of the gospel to the heathen as a clear and necessary prelude to the end.

"The gospel will be preached, that the world might be destroyed. For just as the preaching of the gospel has gone forth into all the world (Matt. 24:14), which already the Goths and Armenians have believed, and for that reason we see the end of the world."⁶⁹

5. SIGNS OF THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.—Ambrose cited Jesus' great prophecy as presenting specific signs of the coming judgment, such as false christs, earthquakes, the fall of Jerusalem, and the like, but not stating the precise time, so as to leave us constantly on the watch.⁷⁰

The abomination of desolation was, as the Jews thought, the Roman armies surrounding Jerusalem; it was also the coming of Antichrist, sitting in the temple and spiritually in the heart. Then many would lapse from the true religion, and the Man of Sin (the Antichrist) would be revealed, but those days of trouble were to be cut short for the sake of the elect. Then would come false prophets, famine, and confusion, with finally the righteous in the desert and the wicked ruling.⁷¹

After a discussion of Antichrist he interpreted figuratively the woe to the women with child and the prayers against flight in the winter or on the Sabbath; the darkening of the sun as the obscuring of faith by the cloud of unbelief, and the darkening of the moon as the eclipse of the church when the earthly shadow of sin cut off the rays of Christ's light; and the clouds

⁶⁸ Translated from Ambrose, *Expositio in Lucam*, book 10, on Luke 21:9, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 15, cols. 1898, 1899.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 1900. An unusual bit of contemporary interpretation is his assurance to the emperor of victory in the Gothic war, on the basis of identifying the Goths with Gog in Ezekiel 38:14 ff. (Ambrose, *On the Christian Faith*, book 3, chap. 16, secs. 136-138, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 10, p. 241.)

⁷⁰ Ambrose, *On the Christian Faith*, book 5, chaps. 16, 17, secs. 202-210, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 10, pp. 310, 311.

⁷¹ Ambrose, *Expositio in Lucam*, book 10, on Luke 21:20, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 15, cols. 1900, 1901.

of Christ's coming as the prophets—reminiscent of Origen.⁷²

To Ambrose the budding of "the fig tree and all the trees" was a twofold sign of the advent and the judgment, which he interpreted in several ways: (1) every tongue confessing God—even the Jewish people—and (2) the Man of Sin, the branch of the synagogue (the Antichrist), clothing himself in the foliage of his boasting; similarly the softening of the rough wood and the luxuriant growth of sins, or the fruits of faith and of wickedness.⁷³ Antichrist would finally be slain by Christ "with the Spirit of His mouth."⁷⁴

6. THREE ANTICHRISTS.—Ambrose set forth three Antichrists: (1) The future Man of Sin, who sits in the temple of the Jews; (2) his author, the devil, who attempts to possess "my Jerusalem, my soul"; and (3) Arius, or Sabellius, or all who seduce us through bad interpretation.⁷⁵

Like Irenaeus, he looked for a future Antichrist coming from the tribe of Dan (citing Gen. 49:16, 17), accepted by the Jews, sitting in the temple as a wicked and cruel judge, and placing an identifying mark upon the forehead.⁷⁶ He identified Antichrist not only with the Man of Sin, as we have seen, but also with the beast from the bottomless pit, warring against Enoch and Elijah (John also, according to some manuscripts), and the Beast of Revelation 13, who has a mouth speaking great things.⁷⁷

7. LITERAL RESURRECTION AT END OF WORLD.—To Ambrose death was threefold: first, the death to sin, which is a matter for rejoicing; second, the natural death, which is not to be dreaded, for it is not a punishment but a release from the

⁷² *Ibid.*, on verses 23, 25, cols. 1902-1906 (see Dudden, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 17, for Ambrose's knowledge of science).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, on verses 29, 30, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 15, cols. 1906, 1907.

⁷⁴ Ambrose, *Of the Holy Spirit*, book 3, chap. 7, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 10, p. 141.

⁷⁵ Ambrose, *Expositio in Lucam*, book 10, on Luke 21:20, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 15, cols. 1900, 1901. On the heretical Antichrists see also his *On the Christian Faith*, book 2, chap. 15, sec. 135, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 10, p. 241.

⁷⁶ Ambrose, *Liber de Benedictionibus Patriarcharum*, chap. 7, sec. 32, and *Enarratio in Psalmum XL*, on verse 10, and *De Interpellatione Job et David*, book 2, chap. 7, sec. 27, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 14, cols. 717, 1131, and 861 respectively.

⁷⁷ Ambrose, *Enarratio in Psalmum XLV*, on verse 4, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 14, col. 1193.

vicissitudes of mortal life, which constitute the punishment for the fall of man; and finally, the third death, which is the death of the soul when it "dies to the Lord, through the weakness not of nature but of guilt."⁷⁸ The death of the body is to be followed by the resurrection of the body, just as the seed comes up after planting. "Why doubt that body shall rise again from body?" he asked.⁷⁹

"And is it in truth a matter of wonder that the sepulchres of the dead are unclosed at the bidding of the Lord, when the whole earth from its utmost limits is shaken by one thunderclap, the sea overflows its bounds, and again checks the course of its waves? And finally, he who has believed that the dead shall rise again 'in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump (for the trumpet shall sound),' 'shall be caught up amongst the first in the clouds to meet Christ in the air;' he who has not believed shall be left, and subject himself to the sentence by his own unbelief."⁸⁰

The resurrection, he held, is to take place at the end of the world,⁸¹ and then afterward the kingdom is delivered to God the Father, and perfection begins.⁸²

8. TWO RESURRECTIONS, THREE CLASSES.—Ambrose constructed an interesting interpretation on Psalms 1:5, which he quoted: "The wicked do not rise again in the judgment, nor do sinners rise in the council of the righteous."⁸³ He classified all as under the "righteous," the "wicked," who have never believed in Christ, and the "sinners," who have believed but have been overcome through the temptations of this life. After citing Daniel, Jesus, and John on the two resurrections, he made this comment:

"Blessed is he who has a part in the first resurrection' (Apoc. 20:6) for they come to grace without judgment; those, however, who do not come to the first resurrection, but are reserved to the second, they will burn until they fulfill the times between the first and the second resurrection:

⁷⁸ Ambrose, *On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus*, book 2 ("On the Belief in the Resurrection"), chaps. 36, 37, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 10, p. 179.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 54, p. 182.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 76, p. 186.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 62, p. 184.

⁸² Ambrose, *On the Duties of the Clergy*, book 1, chap. 48, sec. 247, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 10, p. 39.

⁸³ This is not his mistranslation of Psalms 1:5, but it is taken from the Septuagint; and the Douay Bible retains a similar reading to this day. The A.V. has "the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous," and several modern translations likewise have *stand*.

or if they have not fulfilled them, they will remain longer in punishment.”⁸⁴

“You have two orders. There remains the third, of the wicked, who, since they have not believed, have been judged already; and for that reason they do not rise in the judgment, but to punishment: ‘for they loved darkness more than light’ (John 3:19); and for that reason their judgment is punishment, and perhaps the punishment of darkness.”⁸⁵

9. INDEFINITE AND INCONSISTENT TIME THEORIES.—Ambrose said that the seventh age of the world had ended, and the eighth is the Christian age—the hebdomad of the Old Testament is the ogdoad of the New Testament.⁸⁶ But he associated the future rest with the seventh trumpet, which would announce the eternal reign of God and Christ, and with the Sabbath, reckoned not only in days, years, and periods, but also in “hundreds” and “thousands”—“the days, months, and years of this world.”⁸⁷ He said that to the mythical phoenix the time of the resurrection is the five hundredth year, but to us it is the thousandth.⁸⁸ Yet in allegorizing the six days mentioned in connection with the transfiguration, he remarked that “more than six thousand years are computed,”⁸⁹ and he preferred to regard it as the six days of creation. Again he assigned to the duration of the world the seven days of creation week, summed up in one day, divided also into twelve hours, or ages, with the first advent of Christ in the eleventh hour!⁹⁰

10. LOOKS FOR LITERAL ADVENT.—In spite of his allegorism, however, Ambrose gave a picture of the second advent in no figurative terms:

“For the Lord says: ‘Then if anyone says to you, “Behold, here is Christ, or behold there,” do not believe. For there will arise false Christs and false prophets, and they will give great signs and wonders, so that they would lead into error, if it could be done, even the elect.’ And therefore lest the elect be deceived, the Lord warns of what is to follow; that we

⁸⁴ Translated from Ambrose, *Enarratio in Psalmum 1*, verse 5, chap. 54, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 14, col. 995.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 56, col. 996.

⁸⁶ Ambrose, Letter 44 to Horontianus, secs. 16, 6, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 16, cols. 1189, 1190, 1186.

⁸⁷ Ambrose, *On the Decease of His Brother Satyrus*, book 2 (“On the Belief in the Resurrection”), chaps. 105, 108, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 10, pp. 191, 192.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. 59, p. 183, and footnote 1.

⁸⁹ Ambrose, *Expositio in Lucam*, book 7, on chap. 9:28, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 15, col. 1788.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, on Luke 15:17, col. 1849.

might not be taken by the talk of the false prophets, nor any of their wondrous deeds deceive us. But then we shall believe that Christ is going to come, when the day of full justice will have begun to shine forth. For Christ will be revealed in the full light of His majesty, and just as the lightning goes out from the east, and pours its light over the whole world even to the west, so also the Son of man, coming with His angels will illuminate this world, in order that every man might believe, and all flesh be saved. Therefore let us not believe Antichrist, concerning whom the false prophets will say, 'Here is Christ'; for the days of unbelief will be the days of Antichrist. Let us not believe those who say, 'Christ is in the desert, Christ is in the secret places,' for already everything is full of Christ where Christ has begun to approach. But when we shall have seen accomplished what Christ in His gospel predicted before, let us believe His advent, lest while we seek the true light, we fall into the shadows of unbelief."⁹¹

11. AMBROSE A PARADOX.—We find Ambrose a paradoxical figure—symbolized from the start by his sudden change from a civil official to a spiritual leader.

"Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of his personality was the characteristic Roman trait of practical energy. He was emphatically a man of action. It is true that he was also a thinker. . . .

"Finally, Ambrose was intensely religious. His activity was inspired by faith in God and a fervent desire to be useful in God's service. . . .

"The result of the blending of these four qualities—indomitable energy, moral earnestness, gentle kindness, and ardent piety—was a character of singular dignity and elevation. It was this character that secured for Ambrose a unique position among his contemporaries. He was the outstanding figure of his time."⁹²

He stayed the assault of hostile armies, and demanded an emperor's penitence before the popes ever did. He honored the see of Peter for the preserving of the Apostles' Creed, but not for jurisdiction. By holding his own see in complete independence of Rome, he strengthened the north Italian church in that nonsubmission to Rome which helped to provide an opportunity for the growth of non-Roman types of worship. There is an inescapable connection between the long ecclesiastical independence of the Milan diocese and the repeated outcropping of dissent in the outlying regions of northwest Italy and south-

⁹¹ Ambrose, *Enarratio in Psalmum XLIII*, chap. 7, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 14, col. 1144.

⁹² Dudden, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 492, 494, 495.

east France in succeeding centuries. He was an interpreter of allegorizing Eastern theology to the West, and planted or watered many seeds which later bore unhappy fruit; however, he planted in Augustine the concepts of grace which were to blossom eventually in Luther. We must judge the man by the time in which he lived, and by the contribution which he made.

VII. Chrysostom—Rome the Restrainer of Universal Antichrist

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (c. 347-407), patriarch of Constantinople and most famous teacher of the Greek church—called Chrysostom “the golden-mouthed” because of his eloquence—was born in Antioch, the capital of Syria. His father, a distinguished military officer, and his mother, one of the outstandingly pious women of the time, gave him an admirable classical education. He received his literary training from the rhetorician Libanius, and the philosopher Andragathius, and became a rhetorician and an advocate. Dissatisfied with such a life, he placed himself for three years under Christian instruction, and was baptized at twenty-three by Bishop Meletius.

After his mother's death he retired to monastic solitude. But excessive self-mortification undermined his health, and he returned to Antioch about 380. He was ordained a deacon in 381, and a priest in 386. It was during the subsequent years at Antioch that his sermons provided the greater part of his *Homilies*, which, with his commentaries, totaled some six hundred. In 398 he was chosen patriarch of Constantinople at the insistence of the Emperor Arcadius' prime minister. But his unsparing sermons attempting to reform the clergy aroused the anger of the Empress Eudoxia, and gave his rival, the ambitious Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, an opportunity to secure his banishment from the capital in 403. Soon recalled, he was banished again in 404 to Cucusus, a village on the borders of Cilicia and Armenia, and nearly all his extant letters date from this exile. They range from advice

to his distant flock to encouragement of the missions in Persia and Scythia. He died while in banishment in 407, having reached the "threescore" mark.

Chrysostom was involved in the Origenistic controversy. Of an unspeculative turn of mind, he did not share Origen's mystical expositions. He held to the simple, sober, grammatico-historical interpretation of Scripture in opposition to the arbitrary allegorizing and mystification of the Alexandrian school. He also remained free from rationalizing tendencies.⁹³ Chrysostom declared Scripture prophecy to be more potent than miracles,⁹⁴ and also said that prophecy was to indicate things present as well as to declare future events.⁹⁵ We now turn to his interpretation of prophecy.

1. ANGELS CATCH UP RESURRECTED SAINTS.—Discussing 1 Thessalonians 4:15-17—the coming of Christ at the last trump to raise the dead and translate the living—Chrysostom teaches plainly the literal resurrection of the dead and their gathering by the angels at the advent.

"Those who are dead are raised first, and thus the meeting [with the living] takes place together. Abel who died before all shall then meet Him together with those who are alive. So that they in this respect will have no advantage, but he who is corrupted, and has been so many years in the earth, shall meet Him with them, and so all the others. For if they awaited us, that we might be crowned, as elsewhere he says in an Epistle, 'God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect' (Heb. xi.40), much more shall we also await them; or rather, they indeed awaited, but we not at all. For the Resurrection takes place 'in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye.'"⁹⁶

2. ANTICHRIST'S APPEARANCE SIGN OF ADVENT.—Touching upon the suddenness of the coming of the day of the Lord, and how unexpectedly it will come upon an unprepared world—"as travail upon a woman with child" (1 Thess. 5:3)—Chrysostom

⁹³ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 937.

⁹⁴ Chrysostom, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, Homily 5 (on Acts 2:14), in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 11, p. 33.

⁹⁵ Chrysostom, *Homilies on First Timothy*, Homily 5 (on 1 Tim. 1:18, 19), in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 13, p. 423.

⁹⁶ Chrysostom, *Homilies on First Thessalonians*, Homily 8, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 13, p. 356.

presents the antecedent appearance of Antichrist and Elijah as a sign of the coming Christ.

"It may be worth while to ask, If Antichrist comes, and Elias comes, how is it 'when they say Peace and safety,' that then a sudden destruction comes upon them? For these things do not permit the day to come upon them unawares, being signs of its coming. But he does not mean this to be the time of Antichrist, and the whole day, because that will be a sign of the coming of Christ, but Himself will not have a sign, but will come suddenly and unexpectedly."⁸⁷

Progressing to Second Thessalonians, Paul's classic passage concerning the Antichrist, Chrysostom considers more particularly this appearance of the Antichrist as the outstanding "sign of the time," next to the preaching of the gospel to all nations before the advent, and along with the coming of Elias.⁸⁸

3. ANTICHRIST WILL APPEAR IN SELF-EXALTATION.—Alluding to the common conception concerning the Antichrist, Chrysostom declares he will appear in exaltation, not in humiliation.⁸⁹

4. ANTICHRIST TO APPEAR IN EVERY CHURCH.—Coming to the important passage in 2 Thessalonians 2:3, 4—concerning the revelation of the "Man of Sin" in the "temple of God" (as the Christian church, not only the Jewish temple), setting himself forth as God—Chrysostom denominates Antichrist as "the apostasy." And particular note should be taken of Chrysostom's declaration that this Christian apostasy will appear not only in Jerusalem, as some had thought, "*but also in every church,*" as an opponent of God.

"Here [2 Thess. 2:3, 4] he discourses concerning the Antichrist, and reveals great mysteries. What is 'the falling away'? [Footnote: "The Greek word translated 'falling away' is that which we borrow as apostasy.—J.A.B."] He calls him Apostasy, as being about to destroy many, and make them fall away. So that if it were possible, he says, the very Elect should be offended. (From Matt. xxiv.24.) And he calls him 'the man of sin.' For he shall do numberless mischiefs, and shall cause others to do them.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Homily 9, p. 362.

⁸⁸ Chrysostom, *Homilies on Second Thessalonians*, Homily 1, "Argument," in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 13, p. 378.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

But he calls him 'the son of perdition,' because he is also to be destroyed. But who is he? Is it then Satan? By no means; but some man, that admits his fully working in him. For he is a man. 'And exalteth himself against all that is called God or is worshiped.' For he will not introduce idolatry, but will be a kind of opponent to God; he will abolish all the gods, and will order men to worship him instead of God, and he will be seated in the temple of God, not that in Jerusalem only, but also in every Church. 'Setting himself forth,' he says; he does not say, saying it, but endeavoring to show it. For he will perform great works, and will show wonderful signs."¹⁰⁰

5. DANIEL'S FOUR-EMPIRE OUTLINE INCLUDES ANTICHRIST. —Even more significant is Chrysostom's declaration that the succession in Daniel's prophetic outline of the four world powers—with Rome as the restraining fourth—progresses next to Antichrist's kingdom, and then finally to Christ's kingdom. This, he declares, was disclosed by the prophet "with great clearness."

"Only there is one that restraineth now, until he be taken out of the way,' that is, when the Roman empire is taken out of the way, then he shall come. And naturally. For as long as the fear of this empire lasts, no one will willingly exalt himself, but when that is dissolved, he will attack the anarchy, and endeavor to seize upon the government both of man and of God. For as the kingdoms before this were destroyed, for example, that of the Medes by the Babylonians, that of the Babylonians by the Persians, that of the Persians by the Macedonians, that of the Macedonians by the Romans: so will this also be by the Antichrist, and he by Christ, and it will no longer withhold. And these things Daniel delivered to us with great clearness.'"¹⁰¹

6. ROMAN EMPIRE THE RESTRAINING POWER.—Next, Chrysostom passes to the identity of Rome as the restraining power that had thus far prevented Antichrist's revelation, and the expedient reason for the apostle's not openly naming the empire.

"One may naturally enquire, what is that which withholdeth, and after that would know, why Paul expresses it so obscurely. [2 Thess. 2:6-9.] What then is it that withholdeth, that is, hindereth him from being revealed? Some indeed say, the grace of the Spirit, but others the Roman empire, to whom I most of all accede. Wherefore? Because if he meant to say the Spirit, he would not have spoken obscurely, but plainly, that even now the grace of the Spirit, that is the gifts, withhold him. And otherwise

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Homily 3, p. 386.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Homily 4, p. 389.

he ought now to have come, if he was about to come when the gifts ceased; for they have long since ceased. But because he said this of the Roman empire, he naturally glanced at it, and speaks covertly and darkly. For he did not wish to bring upon himself superfluous enmities, and useless dangers. For if he had said that after a little while the Roman empire would be dissolved, they would immediately have even overwhelmed him, as a pestilent person, and all the faithful, as living and warring to this end."¹⁰²

Nero is set forth, incidentally, as a type of the coming Antichrist.¹⁰³

7. FEARFULNESS ABOUT NAMING ROME.—From its inception Christianity had come into apparent conflict with the interests of the Roman state. Pilate found it impossible to befriend Christ and yet continue as Caesar's friend. The same feeling hurried the Jews on to their last great act of apostasy. Men kept largely silent about the Roman name, in reference to prophecy. Thus Chrysostom says:

"*And the fourth* [kingdom] he [Daniel] says, that of the Romans. But he mentions no names and Why? Because, had he made the account too plain, many would have destroyed the Bible."¹⁰⁴

The same reserve was maintained by the early rabbinical writers, who merely called the Romans the "wicked kingdom." And the pre-Constantinian writers were equally discreet, lowering the voice when speaking of the empire, lest it hear. After Constantine the reserve was less necessary, and so was laid aside. Yet, as late as the fifth century Jerome's remarks on the clay mixed with the iron were regarded as a treasonable reference to Stilicho, Rome's Vandal general, but the latter's death saved Jerome from being called to account for it.¹⁰⁵ Hence the caution.

Jerome thus explains the fear of speaking against the perpetuity of the state. He does not choose to foretell openly the destruction of the Roman Empire, which its rulers think

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 388, 389.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

¹⁰⁴ Translated from Chrysostom, *Interpretatio in Daniele Prophetam*, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 56, col. 208, on Daniel 2:40.

¹⁰⁵ See also Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 284.

to be eternal. Thus did Christianity clash with the imperial creed of Rome.

So Chrysostom's testimony deals chiefly with the resurrection and Antichrist as factors bearing upon the advent, though the latter is in inseparable relation to Rome in the outline prophecies. He is virtually silent relative to the millennium—significant in the light of contemporary developments.

VIII. Polychronius—Follower of Porphyry's "Antiochus" Theory

POLYCHRONIUS (c. 374-430), bishop of Apamea, in Syria, was an admirer of Porphyry, following his "Antiochus Epiphane's" theory of the fourth beast—the acceptance of which was then confined to a few writers in Syria.¹⁰⁶ Little is known of his life and influence. As a monk he was noted for his zeal, self-abnegation, and meditative life. He had a liberal education, and knew Greek and Hebrew. He held to the full canon of the sacred books. Valuable fragments of his writings have been preserved to us in a *Catena*, or collection (Greek, chain), of extracts on Job, edited by Junius, and one on Daniel in a Vatican manuscript from numerous early ecclesiastical writers, including Polychronius.

His interpretation of Daniel departs from the historic positions of the early church to follow the pagan Porphyry to a great extent. Thus the deflecting influences which had earlier attacked Christianity are successfully at work in the church, to be passed on to later times.

1. CONFINES IRON EMPIRE TO ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.—In his comments on Daniel 2, Polychronius is unequivocal in making the first three kingdoms Babylon, Persia, Alexander's empire; the fourth he applies to the successors of Alexander and the stone kingdom to the church.¹⁰⁷

2. ENDS DIFFERENT SERIES WITH ANTIOCHUS IN CHAPTER 7.

¹⁰⁶ See page 326.

¹⁰⁷ Polychronius, *In Daniele*, in Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, vol. 1, second pagination, p. 111.

—In Daniel 7 the series is slightly different: the four beasts are Babylon, Media, Persia, and Alexander's empire, and the little horn is Antiochus.¹⁰⁵

"Behold another little horn came up in the midst of them. He speaks of the renowned Antiochus, who was the eleventh from Alexander. . . .

"Three of the first horns were plucked up. He is master of the three remaining kings. For when he ruled over Asia, he had the power over the Persians also and the Egyptians and the Jews. This one had succeeded to Seleucus the king of Asia. The book of Maccabees is a witness of these things. Wherefore I wonder why, contrary to so plain history, Apolinarius attempts to distort these words to the coming of Antichrist."¹⁰⁶

3. THREE AND A HALF TIMES EQUATED WITH ANTIOCHUS' 2300 DAYS.—Polychronius applies the specifications to Antiochus' persecution of the Jews and the changing of their laws,¹¹⁰ and the three and half times to three years and six months, Jewish time, which he equates with the 2300 evenings and mornings counted as 1150 whole days. His curious computation, however, aside from the fact that it substitutes three and a fourth for three and a half years, distorts Jewish time, for the Jewish year is not always 354 days; a leap month is introduced every second or third year, to keep the lunar year approximately in step with the sun.

4. RAM AND HE-GOAT ARE PERSIA AND GRECIA.—The ram's two horns are Media and Persia, and the rough goat is Alexander.¹¹¹

5. 70 WEEKS ARE 490 YEARS TO THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.—Polychronius clearly applies the year-day principle to the three component parts of the seventy weeks. Commenting on the seven weeks, Polychronius says forty-nine years, from the first year of Darius the Mede to the sixth year of Darius (Hystaspes) compassed the building of the temple, and the sixty-two prophetic

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 126.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 126. The next sentence is added by the author of the catena: "But Eudoxius says thine interpretation also, Polychronius, is borrowed from insane Porphyry." (*Ibid.*, pp. 126, 127, and note 8.)

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129, on Dan. 7:25, and p. 133, on Dan. 8:14.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 134, on Dan. 8:20, 21.

weeks—beginning after a gap—run from the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes I to the thirty-second year of Herod, or 483 years from the building of the walls of the city to the advent of Christ.¹¹² The one week then begins, and Christ confirms the covenant on the half week.¹¹³

6. RESURRECTION OF DEAD (DANIEL 12) IS SPIRITUALIZED.—Polychronius dissents from the common opinion on Daniel's resurrection statement.

*"Many who sleep in the mounds of the earth shall be raised up. I have indeed learned from many that these words are explained concerning the resurrection. But it is not easy to give assent to the common opinion, but regard for the truth must always be maintained. For the Scripture often calls the dead those who are in the condition of captives."*¹¹⁴

IX. Isidore—Holds to Rome as Fourth Kingdom

ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM (c. 370-c. 450) was an abbot in a cloister at the east mouth of the Nile. Writing of the fourth beast, he declares that it "plainly designated the kingdom of the Romans,"¹¹⁵ again indicating that the Porphyry theory of Greece was not generally accepted at this time.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 138-140, on Dan. 9:25.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 141, on Dan. 9:27.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 156, on Dan. 12:2.

¹¹⁵ Isidore of Pelusium, *Epistolarum Libri Quinque*, book 1, epistle 218, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 78, col. 320.

Heralds of the New Fulfillment

I. Contemporary Recognition of Progressive Fulfillment

We have noted in chapter 6 that Jesus enunciated in unmistakable terms the basic principle of contemporary perception of progressive fulfillment of prophecy: "I have told you before it come to pass, that, when it is come to pass, ye might believe." John 14:29. And He said the same thing in another way: "But these things have I told you, that when the time shall come, ye may remember that I told you of them." John 16:4.

We have also observed *the application or operation of this principle* in the case of the early Judean Christians, who, as Eusebius points out, recognized the fulfillment of the Lord's words in the siege of Jerusalem, and saved themselves by flight. Similarly, in the fourth and fifth centuries, we find prophetic expositors announcing the contemporary fulfillment of certain prophecies. Already the identification of the Roman Empire as the fourth world power of the outline prophecies was so old and established as to be called a "tradition of the Church's interpreters."¹ It was proclaimed not merely by one or two individuals but by a chorus of voices widely distributed. Hippolytus spoke very clearly of the fourth kingdom as "the Romans, who hold the sovereignty at present," and apostrophized Daniel: "Already the iron rules; already it subdues and breaks all in

¹ See page 413.

pieces; already we see these things ourselves. Now we glorify God, being instructed by thee."²

And all through Christian history we find successive groups of interpreters, in various places, proclaiming the then-present fulfillment of various prophecies. Cyril, disturbed by heresies, bore witness to the "falling away," or apostasy, in the church as a present fact.³ And many expositors, seeing in Rome the hindering power which would prevent the full manifestation of the Antichrist as long as it continued, were anxiously anticipating the future breakup of the fourth kingdom.

But in this chapter we shall find men in various places who declared that the next step was being fulfilled in their own day. They were witnessing the inroads of the barbarians and recognized the fact that Rome was being shattered, and they proclaimed that they had reached the period of the feet of iron and clay, in the full conviction that they were participants in the drama of fulfilling prophecy. Although they shared in the calamities of the times, they were not, with the multitude, stunned at the incredible prospect of the fall of the Eternal City to the barbarians, for they were prepared for it by their belief in the prophecies and in God's foreknowledge and guidance of human affairs. "The Roman world is falling," said Jerome, "yet we hold up our heads instead of bowing them."⁴ We shall now examine this next development in contemporary recognition.

II. Sulpicius Severus—Herald of Clay Mingled With Iron

SULPICIUS SEVERUS (*c.* 363-*c.* 420), an ecclesiastical historian, was born in Aquitania. He received the best education in jurisprudence the times afforded, and gained a high reputation at the bar as an advocate. The untimely death of his wife, daughter of a wealthy consul, altered the current of his life, and he turned to Martin of Tours for advice. Forsaking the life of the past (about 393), he spent the remainder of his days

² See page 274.

³ See page 414.

⁴ See page 445.

in monastic retirement at Toulouse, in Aquitania. In this he braved the anger of his father and the flouts of his friends, becoming a disciple of Martin of Tours.

Severus held high rank as a scholar and author in his generation, representing the culture of southern France. His *Chronicle*, or *Sacred History* (c. 403), is an attempt to give a concise history of the world from creation to A.D. 400. The first portion was really an abridgment of the Scripture narrative. Reaching the time of the Babylonian captivity, Severus gives an interesting interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the succession of empires. False teachings concerning the coming of Christ called forth Severus' exposition of the Antichrist.⁵

1. ROME'S DIVISION IN ACTUAL PROCESS OF FULFILLMENT.—After describing the metallic image and the succeeding stone, of Daniel 2, Severus not only traces the four world powers of prophecy, as symbolized by the four metals, but declares that the period of permanent division indicated by the separation into clay and iron is in actual process of fulfillment.

"The iron legs point to a fourth power, and that is understood of the Roman empire, which is more powerful than all the kingdoms which were before it. But the fact that the feet were partly of iron and partly of clay, indicates that the Roman empire is to be divided, so as never to be united. This, too, has been fulfilled, for the Roman state is ruled not by one emperor but by several, and these are always quarreling among themselves, either in actual warfare or by factions."⁶

This, be it observed, is a new note, revealing clear contemporary recognition and application of a new step in prophetic fulfillment in the great prophetic outline. This is as significant as was the earlier identification of Rome as the fourth world power.

2. CLAY ALREADY INTERMINGLING WITH IRON.—Discouraging further upon the mingling but nonadherence of the foreign nations then beginning to occupy the territory of Rome, he

⁵ Terrot Reaveley Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, pp. 295-298.

⁶ Sulpicius Severus, *Sacred History*, book 2, chap. 3, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 11, p. 98.

ventures the observation that the world has entered upon the "last times."

"Finally, by the clay and the iron being mixed together, yet never in their substance thoroughly uniting, are shadowed forth those future mixtures of the human race which disagree among themselves, though apparently combined. For it is obvious that the Roman territory is occupied by foreign nations, or rebels, or that it has been given over to those who have surrendered themselves under an appearance of peace. And it is also evident that barbarous nations, and especially Jews, have been commingled with our armies, cities, and provinces; and we thus behold them living among us, yet by no means agreeing to adopt our customs. And the prophets declare that these are the last times."⁷

3. **STONE KINGDOM TO SUPPLANT EARTHLY KINGDOMS.**—Declaring the smiting stone to prefigure Christ and His everlasting kingdom yet to be established, Severus says that this is a point of stumbling to those who concede the past but not the future.

"But in the stone cut out without hands, which broke to pieces the gold, silver, brass, iron, and clay, there is a figure of Christ. For he, not born under human conditions (since he was born not of the will of man, but of the will of God), will reduce to nothing that world in which exist earthly kingdoms, and will establish another kingdom, incorruptible and everlasting, that is, the future world, which is prepared for the saints. The faith of some still hesitates about this point only, while they do not believe about things yet to come, though they are convinced of the things that are past."⁸

Such is the clear understanding and witness of Sulpicius Severus. Now let us turn to Jerome.

III. Jerome—Last Comprehensive Witness Before the Eclipse

JEROME (*c.* 340-420), conspicuous doctor of the Latin church, takes us to both West and East. His career is so interwoven with the momentous times through which the world was then passing that a panoramic view of his life is indispensable in order to grasp the significance of his prophetic expositions, for they spring from times and events that were remaking the world and the church. Born of wealthy Christian parents

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

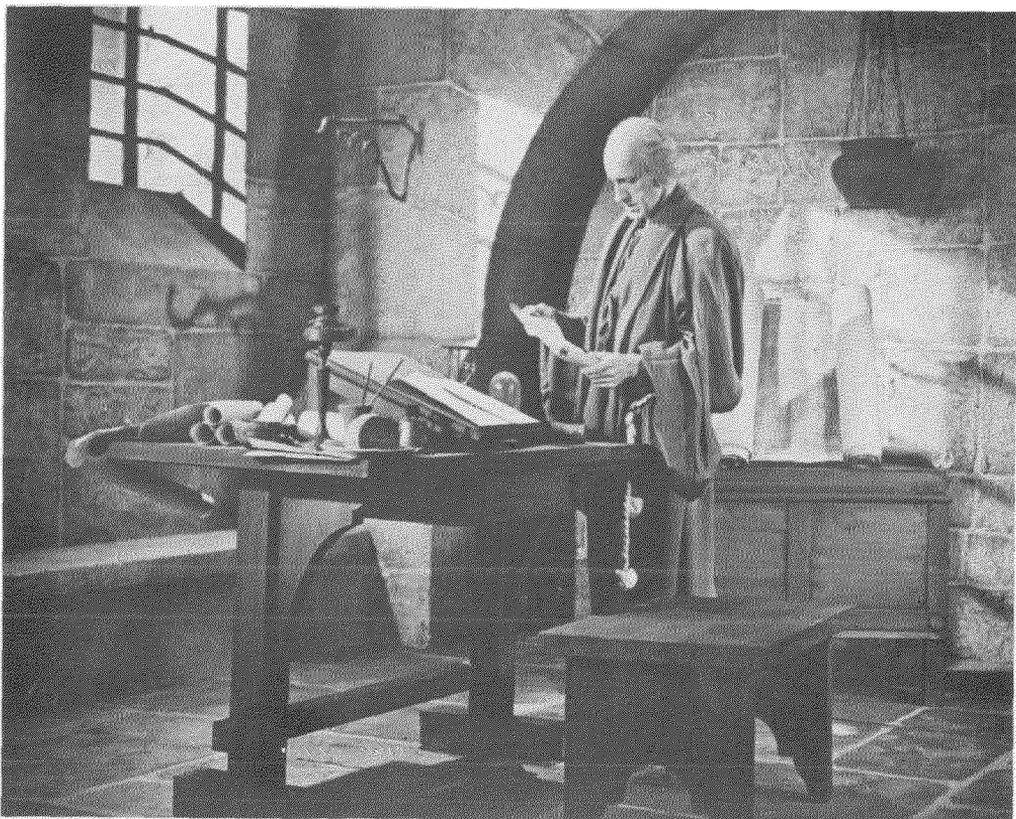
at Strido, in Pannonia, Jerome went to Rome as a youth to complete his classical education. On Sundays, in the company of other young Christians, he visited the tombs of the martyrs in the catacombs, which profoundly impressed him. He was baptized by Pope Liberius about 360.

After his stay of several years in Rome, he journeyed to eastern Gaul, where he is believed to have been engaged in theological studies. Next came a stay of several months, or possibly years, at Aquileia, where he was associated with many Christians. About 373, with some of these Christian friends, Jerome set out on a journey through Thrace and Asia Minor into northern Syria.

After visiting the scenes of Paul's tours, and passing through a dangerous illness, he resolutely turned from the pagan classics to the Sacred Scriptures, and went into the desert of Chalcis, near Antioch, for five years of austere study (374-379), which included the study of Hebrew under a converted Jew. In 379 he was ordained a presbyter at Antioch, whence he went to Constantinople, and tried to perfect himself in Greek. His translating and other literary work continued. In 382 Jerome was called to Rome, and as a learned man helped Pope Damasus during an investigation concerning a dispute at Antioch.

Also, at the suggestion of Damasus, Jerome undertook a revision of the "Old Latin" translation of the Bible. He first translated the Gospels, then the remaining books of the New Testament, next the Psalter, and then the historical, prophetic, and poetic books. The result of all this was the Latin translation of the Scriptures, which later came to be called the Vulgate, completed between 382 and 404. The Prefaces to the several books are in some cases very valuable. Jerome owes his high place in history chiefly to his revisions and translations of the Bible.

Admired and courted for his brilliance and learning, he left Rome in disgust, after the death of Damasus, to assume a rigorous monastic life in Palestine. Here he began to write his commentaries on the books of Scripture, taking Hebrew lessons



COURTESY, AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY

JEROME—LAST OF THE EARLY PROPHETIC EXPOSITORS

Camera Concept of Jerome, Writer of Last Great Commentary on Daniel, in Fifth Century, Before the Revolutionary Augustinian Views Swept the Field. Best Known as Translator of the Latin Vulgate, Exercising Tremendous Influence on the Course of the Christian Church in Its Catholic Form. His Was an Influence That Cannot Be Ignored and Must Not Be Underestimated

at night from a converted Jew. He toured Palestine, visiting Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and the holy places of Galilee. Making his headquarters at Bethlehem for the next thirty-four years (386-420), he there established convents and a monastery. At Bethlehem, the scene of his most conspicuous activity, he wrote his many commentaries. His commentaries cover Genesis, the major and minor prophets, Ecclesiastes, Job, some of the psalms, and the epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Titus, and Philemon. For years he lived "pen in hand," engaged day and night in reading or writing.⁹

⁹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 13, pp. 2, 3, art. "Jerome, St.": Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 976; Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 230.

Jerome's fame increasing, he had visitors from all parts of the world, including Sulpicius Severus, whose views on prophecy may have influenced him. Then came the Gothic incursions, and his violent controversies over Origenism.

Next followed the Gothic invasion of Italy, with the sack of Rome under Alaric, in 410. At the time Jerome was in Bethlehem, where he had but recently finished his commentary on Daniel, and was laboring on Isaiah and Jeremiah. Stunned by the melancholy news concerning the empire, he bared his heart relative to the times in his Preface to Ezekiel, and in his memorial sketch concerning Marcella.¹⁰ And upon all this were superimposed the fresh inroads of the Huns in Syria. It was under these conditions that his commentary on Ezekiel was finished. Worn out, Jerome was carried off by a fever in 420.¹¹ First buried in Jerusalem, his remains were afterward transferred to Rome.

I. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE JEROME PERIOD. (340 TO 420.)—Jerome's life spanned the reigns of five emperors in the period of Rome's early breakup, reaching the crisis hour with the sack of Rome. There were: Julian (361-363), Valens (364-378), Valentinian I (364-375), Gratian (373-383), and Theodosius (379-395) and his sons—thus covering the establishment of "orthodox" Christianity in the empire. Jerome was one of the early popularizers of asceticism and monasticism in the West. His Latin Vulgate was the Bible of Western civilization until the Reformation, and was declared the standard Bible of the Roman church by decree of the Council of Trent,¹² which is in force today. Although the Bible with its prophecies was, by Jerome, crowded increasingly forward in the Latin, it was later correspondingly pushed away from the people when Latin ceased to be the language of the common people. And with this, traditionalism came increasingly to the forefront. Thus the Catholic Church's insistence on retaining the Latin Vulgate

¹⁰ Jerome, Letter 127 (to Principia), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 257.

¹¹ *Canons and Decrees of the . . . Council of Trent*, translated by J. Waterworth, p. 19.

as the only authorized translation does little honor to Jerome, for it defeats the translator's purpose, which was to present the Bible in the vernacular for his day.

Born in the troubled times following Constantine's death in 337, Jerome was a student during the emperor Julian's reign. His later life at Jerusalem (386-420) witnessed first the division of the empire between the sons of Theodosius, and then the earlier partitioning by the barbarians—though the final extinction of the Western Empire did not come for a half century thereafter.

Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel*, dedicated in 407, was expressly written to offset the criticisms of Porphyry (231-301),¹² who had maintained that the predictions of Daniel related to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, and was written near that date, though in future-tense form, and had thus seemed to threaten one of the chief supports of Christianity. Jerome also distinguished between the original Septuagint translation of Daniel and Theodotion's later substitution.¹³ Jerome's exposition of Daniel has been styled "the ultimate"—that is, that he left nothing to his successors but to comment upon his commentary. His exposition of Daniel was later incorporated into the *Glossa Ordinaria* of Walafrid Strabo, the standard marginal notes of medieval Latin Bibles.

Though the great apostasy in the church was far advanced in Jerome's day, some of the older interpretations of prophecy still lingered. The fact that the works of Hippolytus and Irenaeus were favorite companions in his library¹⁴ throws light on Jerome's interpretation of prophecy. He clearly declared that a new phase of prophecy was fulfilling before his uneasy eyes—the breakup of Rome.

However, to him the Apocalypse was a book of mysteries,¹⁵ and he warned against an undue license of fancy. Jerome was a militant antimillenarian; the material or temporal views

¹² Fremantle, note on Jerome's commentary on Daniel, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 300. For Porphyry, see page 326.

¹³ Jerome, Preface to Daniel, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 492.

¹⁴ Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 229.

¹⁵ Jerome, Letter 53 (to Paulinus), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 102.

advocated by some gave occasion for his ridicule. It is said that in Jerome's voluminous works the seeds of virtually every papal error are found embedded—saint and martyr worship, veneration of relics, penance, primacy of the bishop of Rome, and so forth. But he opposed the mysticizing principles of Origen—calling Origen a heretic on the resurrection, the condition of souls, and the devil's repentance³⁶ at the very time the Papacy was beginning to expound the spiritual reign of the saints as the reign of the church.

It is unfortunate that Jerome's opposition to Origen was linked to an extensive and acrimonious controversy that centered on the translation of Origen's *First Principles* into Latin. And the haste with which Jerome scurried for cover and the bitterness with which he attacked those—such as Rufinus and Vigilantius³⁷—who called attention to the influence of Origen on his earlier utterances, were unworthy of a man of his position.

So, despite advancing apostasy and receding understanding of the prophecies, Jerome's voice still rang out on the historic fundamentals of the prophetic outline—about the last comprehensive testimony in the last stand of the earlier prophetic interpretation springing from the apostolic age. Such is Jerome's place in the history of prophetic interpretation. We now turn to his expositions.

³⁶ Jerome, Letter 61 (to Vigilantius), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, pp. 131, 132.

³⁷ RUFINUS of Aquileia, a monk who resided for thirty years in the East, where Origen's writings were known, was requested to translate *First Principles* into Latin for the benefit of Western readers. Rufinus' translation is the only available source of this work, for the original Greek is lost. Rufinus' method of translation, to the modern student of Origen, leaves much to be desired, for he toned down the heretical points to make the matter less offensive to the orthodox. His references to Jerome's use of Origen stirred up an unfortunate dispute in which each antagonist endeavored to clear himself of suspicion at the expense of the other. It must be said for Rufinus that he dropped the quarrel first, and seemed the milder of the two. Rufinus was important in his own right as a writer on church history and theology. His commentary on the creed is valuable as showing the beliefs of the church of Aquileia in that time, before the full development of Catholic theology had taken place. For example, he makes no reference to priestly absolution in his discussion of penitence. (For this work on the creed, see Rufinus, *A Commentary on the Apostles' Creed*, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 3, pp. 541-563.)

VIGILANTIUS of Aquitaine, Gallic presbyter, and protege of Sulpicius Severus, was another contemporary and participant in this Origenistic controversy. Later he stirred Jerome's wrath still more by his protest against celibacy, monasticism, anchoritism, relic worship, invocation of saints, vigils, tapers, and supposed miracles wrought by relics. Jerome defended veneration of relics but denied that he worshiped them. Vigilantius seems to have lived at the foot of the Pyrenees, and he either resided in or visited the Cottian Alps, together with the plains of Lombardy, "between the waves of the Adriatic and the Alps of King Cottius." His bishop, probably Exuperius of Toulouse, sympathized with his views. He not only made excursions into the Gallic churches but employed scribes and copyists, and circulated a great

2. ROME THE FOURTH KINGDOM OF PROPHETIC LINE.— Reiterating clearly and positively the witness of four centuries since the cross, Jerome names the four prophetic kingdoms symbolized in Daniel 2—with Rome as the fourth—in refutation of the frontal attack by Porphyry.

“He [Daniel] says, O king, thou art the head of gold. By which it is shown first that the kingdom of Babylon is compared to the most precious gold.

“*And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, of silver, namely [the kingdom] of the Medes and Persians, which has the likeness of silver, less than the previous one, and greater than the following one.*

“*And a third kingdom of brass, which shall rule over the whole world signifies Alexander, and the kingdom of the Macedonians, and of the successors of Alexander, which is rightly spoken of as brass: for among all the metals brass is more resounding, and it rings more clearly, and its sound is carried far and wide, . . .*

“*And the fourth kingdom shall be as iron; as iron breaks in pieces and subdues all things, so does it break in pieces and bruise all these, etc.* Moreover the fourth kingdom, which plainly pertains to the Romans, is the iron which breaks in pieces and subdues all. But its feet and toes are partly of iron and partly of clay, which at this time is most plainly attested.”¹⁸

Likewise in Daniel 7 the four beasts are similarly identified as the same kingdoms, with the four divisions of the third kingdom, of the Macedonians, given as those of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Philip, and Antigonus. Jerome then writes:

“The fourth [kingdom] which holds the city of the world, is the empire of the Romans, . . . he compared the Roman kingdom to no [specific] beast; unless perchance the word was left unspoken in order that he might make the beast most terrible, so that whatever we think of as more savage among beasts, we may understand this of the Romans.”¹⁹

3. INTERMINGLING OF CLAY WITH IRON PRESENT DEVELOPMENT.—Most significant of all is Jerome’s declaration of the partitioning of the Roman feet into fragments, as “most mani-

number of writings. Jerome, whose scurrilous attacks are our only source of information about Vigilantius, connects him with Jovinian. (Dudden, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 315, 316; for the sources see Jerome, letters to Vigilantius, and to Riparius about Vigilantius, and his treatise *Against Vigilantius*, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, pp. 131-133, 212-214, 417-423; see also W. S. Gilly, *Vigilantius and His Times*.)

¹⁸ Translated from his *Commentaria in Daniele*, chap. 2, verses 38-40, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 25, cols. 503, 504.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 7, verse 7, col. 530.

festly acknowledged" at that very time! *A new epoch in prophetic fulfillment* is thus declared. And in this announcement of the current fulfillment, Jerome was not alone, as has been noted.

"Moreover the fourth kingdom, which plainly pertains to the Romans, is the iron which breaks in pieces and subdues all things. But its feet and toes are partly of iron and partly of clay, which at this time is most plainly attested. For just as in its beginning nothing was stronger and more unyielding than the Roman Empire, so at the end of affairs nothing weaker."²⁰

This passage in his commentary on Daniel seems to have brought Jerome into danger of public accusation, being interpreted as a treasonable utterance by the Vandal Stilicho, whose assassination, however, occurred before the matter could be brought to trial.²¹

4. CHRIST THE STONE TO FILL THE EARTH.—Controverting Porphyry's claim that the stone of Daniel 2 is literal Israel, Jerome applies it to Christ after all these kingdoms have been destroyed.

"However, in the end of all these kingdoms, of gold, of silver, of brass and of iron, a stone was cut out, the Lord and Saviour, without hands, that is, apart from cohabitation and human seed, from the womb of a virgin, and after all kingdoms had been destroyed, it became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."²²

5. THE PROPHESED ANTICHRIST IS NEAR.—Jerome sees the Antichrist as coming in the near future. Just observe:

"But what am I doing? Whilst I talk about the cargo, the vessel itself founders. He that letteth is taken out of the way, and yet we do not realize that Antichrist is near. Yes, Antichrist is near whom the Lord Jesus Christ shall consume with the spirit of His mouth."²³

Jerome plainly declares, "Now also the mystery of iniquity is working,"²⁴ though he seemingly was blind to the definite drift away from the center in his own concepts and practices.

6. CANNOT APPEAR TILL ROME'S DESTRUCTION.—After

²⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 2, verse 40, col. 504.

²¹ Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 2, p. 284; see editor's note regarding Jerome's Preface to the commentary on Isaiah, book 11, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 498.

²² Translated from Jerome, *Commentaria in Daniele*, chap. 2, verse 40, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 25, col. 504.

²³ Jerome, Letter 123 (to Ageruchia), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 236, and note 7.

²⁴ Jerome, Letter 133 (to Giesiphon), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 275.

referring to undivided Rome as the subject of Paul's reminder to the Thessalonians of his oral exposition of the restrainer of the coming Antichrist, Jerome continues:

"He [Paul] shows that that which restrains is the Roman empire; for unless it shall have been destroyed, and taken out of the midst, according to the prophet Daniel, Antichrist will not come before that. If he had chosen to say this openly, he would have foolishly aroused a frenzy of persecution against the Christians; and then against the growing church."²⁵

Jerome explains elsewhere why Rome is not openly mentioned in the prophecy:

"And now you know what restrains, that he might be revealed in his time; that is, you know very well what is the reason why the Antichrist does not come immediately. Nor does he [Paul] wish to say openly that the Roman empire must be destroyed, because those who rule think [it] eternal. Whence, according to the Apocalypse of John, on the brow of the purple-clad harlot is written a name of blasphemy, that is, of *Rome eternal*. For if he had openly and boldly said, 'Antichrist will not come unless the Roman empire is first destroyed,' a just cause of persecution then would have seemed to arise in the early church."²⁶

7. APPEARS IN CHURCH BEFORE SECOND ADVENT.—Disclosing his own view that the "temple" in which Antichrist is to sit is not the Jewish temple but the *church*, Jerome declares the advent will not occur until Antichrist has appeared, and his emergence can only follow the breakup of the empire.

"And [Antichrist] may sit in the temple of God, either Jerusalem (as some think) or in the church (as we more truly think), showing himself as if he himself were Christ, and the Son of God. Unless, he says, the Roman empire has been previously desolated and Antichrist has preceded him, Christ will not come; who therefore will so come that he may destroy Antichrist. You remember, he says, that when I was with you I told you by word of mouth these very things which I now write in an epistle; and I told you that Christ would not come unless Antichrist had come before."²⁷

And having appeared, Jerome continues, Antichrist will be cut off and brought to nought by the glorious second advent, "as the darkness is put to flight at the coming of the sun."²⁸

²⁵ Jerome, *Commentaria in Jeremiam*, book 5, chap. 25, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 24, col. 1020.

²⁶ Jerome, Epistle 121 (to Algasia), in Migne, *PL*, vol. 22, col. 1037.

²⁷ Translated from Jerome, Epistle 121 (to Algasia), in Migne, *PL*, vol. 22, col. 1037.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

8. EXTENT OF ROMAN WORLD'S DISINTEGRATION.—The breakup of Rome was a matter of deepest concern to Jerome.

"I shudder when I think of the catastrophes of our time [396]. For twenty years and more the blood of Romans has been shed daily between Constantinople and the Julian Alps. Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, Dacia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, the Pannonias—each and all of these have been sacked and pillaged and plundered by Goths and Sarmatians, Quades and Alans, Huns and Vandals and Marchmen. How many of God's matrons and virgins, virtuous and noble ladies, have been made the sport of these brutes! Bishops have been made captive, priests and those in minor orders have been put to death. Churches have been overthrown, horses have been stalled by the altars of Christ, the relics of martyrs have been dug up. . . . The Roman world is falling: yet we hold up our heads instead of bowing them."²⁹

9. ROME'S FALL "DECAPITATION" OF EMPIRE.—Jerome's grief over the fall of the head city of the empire is graphically recited.

"The siege of Rome, and the falling asleep of many of my brethren and sisters [was announced]. I was so stupefied and dismayed that day and night I could think of nothing but the welfare of the community; it seemed as though I was sharing the captivity of the saints, and I could not open my lips until I knew something more definite; and all the while, full of anxiety, I was wavering between hope and despair, and was torturing myself with the misfortunes of other people. But when the bright light of all the world was put out, or, rather, when the Roman Empire was decapitated, and, to speak more correctly, the whole world perished in one city, 'I became dumb and humbled myself.'"³⁰

10. BARBARIC DIVIDERS OF ROME NAMED.—Jerome lists Rome's dividers at that time, and bares his anxiety over the imminent Antichrist:

"He that letteth is taken out of the way, and yet we do not realize that Antichrist is near. Yes, Antichrist is near whom the Lord Jesus Christ 'shall consume with the spirit of His mouth.' . . . Savage tribes in countless numbers have overrun all parts of Gaul. The whole country between the Alps and the Pyrenees, between the Rhine and the Ocean, has been laid waste by hordes of Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, Alans, Gepids, Herules, Saxons, Bergundians, Allemanni, and—alas! for the commonweal!—even Pannonians. For 'Assur also is joined with them.' The once noble city of Moguntiacum [now Mainz] has been captured and destroyed. In its

²⁹ Jerome, Letter 60 (to Heliodorus), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 130.

³⁰ Jerome, Preface to book 1 of his commentary on Ezekiel, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, pp. 499, 500. See Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 2, pp. 286-288.

church many thousands have been massacred. The people of Vangium [now Worms] after standing a long siege have been extirpated. The powerful city of Rheims, the Ambiani, the Altrebatae, the Belgians in the skirts of the world, Tournay, Spire, and Strasburg have fallen to Germany: while the provinces of Aquitaine and of the Nine Nations, of Lyons and of Narbonne are with the exception of a few cities one universal scene of desolation."³¹

11. LITTLE HORN ANTICHRIST, NOT ANTIOCHUS.—Stoutly refuting Porphyry's application of the Little Horn to Antiochus, Jerome gives the remarkable assurance that "all ecclesiastical writers" of the past agree in expecting Rome's division into ten kingdoms *before* the Little Horn can appear. He places the three uprooted horns in Africa.

"Porphyry places the two latter beasts, representing the Macedonians and the Romans, in the one kingdom of the Macedonians, and divides it: he wishes the leopard to be understood as Alexander himself; the beast which is different from the other beasts, to be four successors of Alexander, and thereafter he enumerates ten kings even to Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes. . . . In vain Porphyry surmises that the little horn, which arose after the ten horns, is Antiochus Epiphanes, and of the ten horns three were rooted up: Ptolemy the sixth surnamed Philometor, Ptolemy Euergetes the seventh, and Artaxerxes king of Armenia, whose forefathers died much before Antiochus was born. We indeed know that Antiochus really fought against Artaxerxes, but that the latter remained in his former kingdom. Therefore we say what all ecclesiastical writers have handed down: that in the end of the world, when the kingdom of the Romans must be destroyed, there will be ten kings who divide the Roman world among themselves, and the eleventh will be raised up, a little king, who will overcome three kings of the ten kings, that is, the king of the Egyptians, and of Africa and of Ethiopia, as we shall point out more plainly in what follows."³²

12. JUDGMENT FOLLOWS LITTLE HORN'S REIGN.—Describing at considerable length the judgment scene of Daniel 7:9 and related texts, Jerome parallels similar scenes in the Apoca-

³¹ Jerome, Letter 123 (to Ageruchia), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, pp. 236, 237. It is interesting to note that he lists ten tribes, though he is not attempting to set forth the ten divisions of the fourth empire of Daniel 7. It is well known that there were many more than ten tribes which first overran Western Rome, but they were always merging and shifting as they settled down into kingdoms. The prophetic interpreters who in later times made their various lists of ten seem to have named the ten kingdoms which they regarded as significant in establishing themselves in the territory of Western Rome, thus forming the foundations of the later nations of Europe.

³² Translated from Jerome, *Commentaria in Daniele*, chap. 7, verses 7, 8, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 25, cols. 530, 531.

lypse and Ezekiel, with God as judge, and the books of judgment involved.⁸⁸

13. JUDGMENT IS FOLLOWED BY SECOND ADVENT.—Jerome sees the judgment sent because of Antichrist's pride and blasphemy, for "the Roman kingdom will be destroyed, because that horn spake great things." "In the one Roman kingdom," he says, "all the kingdoms must be destroyed at one time. He expects this to herald the advent, for there will never be an earthly kingdom, but the fellowship of the saints, and the coming of the triumphant Son of God in the clouds of heaven." For the advent he cites the stone in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar and Acts 1:9-11.⁸⁹

14. ANTICHRIST WARS THREE AND A HALF YEARS.—He interprets the time, times, and half as the time of Antichrist, and the period is regarded as literal years. The future is still foreshortened to his gaze, for he cannot imagine the end of the world being many centuries away; he expects the Antichrist to come soon and the final events to follow immediately.

"And he shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and shall think that he is able to change times and laws. For Antichrist shall make war against the saints, and shall overcome them, and he will lift himself up to such a degree of pride that he will attempt to change the laws of God and the sacred rites, and will exalt himself above all that is called God, making all religion subject to his power.

"And they shall be given into his hand even to a time and times and half a time. A time signifies a year. Times, according to the peculiarity of the Hebrew diction, who themselves have a dual number, prefigures two years. Furthermore a half of a time is six months, during which the saints must be surrendered to the power of Antichrist."⁹⁰

15. SAINTS HAVE NO EARTHLY KINGDOM.—Against the chiliasts Jerome sharply contends:

"The four kingdoms, of which we have spoken above, were earthly. For all that which is of the earth, shall return to the earth. However, the saints will never have an earthly kingdom, but a heavenly. Then let the story of the thousand years cease."⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, verses 9-27, col. 531-534.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, verses 11, 13, col. 533.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, verse 25, col. 534.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

16. ANTIMILLENARIAN, BUT HOLDS SIX-THOUSAND-YEAR THEORY.—Jerome's view of the millennium was somewhat of a figurative character, and not well defined. He says more against the millenarian "dreams" of "the circumcision and our Judaizers," than of his own view on this point. Possibly his reticence is explained by this significant remark:

"If we accept [the Apocalypse] literally, [we] must Judaize; if we treat it spiritually, as it is written, we shall seem to go against the opinions of many of the ancients: of the Latins, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius; of the Greeks, that I might pass by the rest, I shall make mention only of Irenaeus."³⁷

Jerome maintains the old idea of the six-thousand-year duration of the world. He expects this to be followed by a seventh thousand, during which will be reinstated "true Sabbath keeping and the purity of circumcision"—presumably "spiritual," but unexplained. After the seventh follows the eighth thousand years, during which the blessed will receive the reward for their good deeds.³⁸

17. PERSIAN RAM, GRECIAN GOAT, AND GREAT HORN.—Jerome interprets Cyrus of Persia as the higher of the two horns of the Medo-Persian ram of Daniel 8:3, and the hairy goat as Grecia smiting Persia.³⁹ Alexander is the great horn. Then he names Alexander's half brother Philip and three of the generals, as the four successors of Alexander's empire.⁴⁰

18. DANIEL 11 PORTRAYS ANTICHRIST IN LAST TIME.—Confuting Porphyry's attempt to identify Antiochus Epiphanes in the latter portion of Daniel 11, Jerome reveals his own position. While conceding that Antiochus may be considered a type of Antichrist, he contends, "But our [people] think

³⁷ Translated from Jerome, *Commentaria in Isaiam*, Preface to book 18, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 24, col. 627.

In this passage he lists the principal points objected to in chiliasm—"the golden and bejeweled Jerusalem on earth, the establishment of the temple, the blood of sacrificial victims, the rest of the Sabbath, the injury of circumcision, weddings, births, the bringing up of children, the delights of feasts, and the slavery of all the nations, and again wars, armies and triumphs, and the slaughter of the conquered, and the death of the sinner a hundred years old." In the same volume see also columns 290, 351, 377, 522, and in volume 25, columns 837, 982, 986 for similar remarks.

³⁸ Jerome, Letter to Cyprian the Presbyter, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 22, col. 1172.

³⁹ Jerome, *Commentaria in Daniele*, chap. 8, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 25, col. 535.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 536.

that all these things are prophesied of Antichrist who will be in the last time.”⁴¹ With others, Jerome surmises that he will arise from the Jews and come from Babylon, and mentions the belief of “many of ours” that he will be Nero.⁴²

19. **BABYLON IS INTERPRETED AS ROME.**—Since, he says, according to the Septuagint it is written “Daughter of Babylon,” it is permissible that—

“they interpret it not indeed Babylon itself, but the Roman city, which in the Apocalypse of John and in the epistle of Peter is specifically named Babylon, and all those things which are spoken of in relation to Babylon testify that they bear upon her ruin, against whom a sign and the justice of God must be invoked; so that after Zion, that is, the church, has been saved, she shall be eternally destroyed.”⁴³

He speaks of dwelling in Rome, and adds:

“When I dwelt in Babylon, and was an inhabitant of the purple-clad harlot, and lived after the manner of the Quirites, I wished to say something about the Holy Spirit, and to dedicate the little work begun to the pontiff of that city.”⁴⁴

20. **TWO ADVENTS CONTRASTED: THE FIRST IN LOWLINESS, THE SECOND IN GLORY.**—Jerome’s teaching on the advent is clear and simple:

“Moreover, that there are two comings of the Lord Saviour, both all the books of the prophets, and the faith of the evangelists, teach: that first he will come in lowliness, and afterward he will come in glory, the Lord Himself bearing witness as to the things which are to come before the end of the world.”⁴⁵

21. **SEES YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE IN EZEKIEL.**—Attention should be called to an important time principle—that of the year-day reckoning—used by Jerome, but not applied to other time periods. In his exposition of Ezekiel 4:6 he attempts to outline the 390 years of the captivity of the Israelites, represented by Ezekiel’s lying on his left side, beginning with Pekah and ending with the fortieth year of Artaxerxes Mnemon, whom

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, on Dan. 11:21 ff., col. 565.

⁴² *Ibid.*, on verses 25-30, cols. 567, 568.

⁴³ Jerome, *Commentaria in Isaiam*, book xiii, chap. xlvii, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 24, col. 454.

⁴⁴ Translated from Jerome’s Preface to his translation of the book of Didymus on the Holy Spirit, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 23, col. 107.

⁴⁵ Translated from *Épistle 121*, to Algasia, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 22, col. 1036.

he supposes to be the Ahasuerus of Esther. He makes the forty days during which Ezekiel had to lie on his right side refer to forty years, beginning with the first year of Jechoniah and ending with the first year of Cyrus, king of the Persians.⁴⁶

Jerome apparently acquiesces in the application of the year-day principle to the seventy weeks as made by others whom he quotes at great length; but he himself refuses to set forth an interpretation of the seventy weeks, for "it is dangerous to judge concerning the opinions of the masters of the church."⁴⁷ He thereupon gives the interpretations of Africanus, Eusebius, Hippolytus, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and "the Hebrews," so that the reader may choose for himself.

Such is the remarkable witness of the last great expounder of the Historical School of interpretation of the early church. Following Jerome comes the great collapse, as other concepts take over. These soon fill the picture.

IV. Theodoret—Herald of Kingdom at the Advent

THEODORET (c. 386-457), Greek theologian, historian, and exegete, was born at Antioch. He spent twenty years in the monastery of Saint Euprepus in theological study, perhaps with Nestorius as a fellow pupil, and was appointed bishop of Cyrus, in the northern part of Syria, about 423. He became embroiled in a controversy with Cyril of Alexandria over Nestorianism, attempting in vain to mediate between the two parties. Condemned at Ephesus in 431 and deposed by the "Council of Robbers" in 449, he was restored by the General Council of Chalcedon in 451. He wrote commentaries, and a continuation of the history of Eusebius for the years 325 to 429.⁴⁸

He undertook his work on Daniel at the request of friends

⁴⁶ Jerome, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 25, cols. 45, 46. On this point Elliott remarks that Jerome incidentally supports the old Protestant view of furnishing a Scriptural precedent for the year-day theory. (Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 322.)

⁴⁷ Translated from Jerome, *Commentaria in Danielelem*, chap. 9, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 25, col. 542.

⁴⁸ Theodoret was one of a school of church historians covering the period from Constantine to the close of the sixth century—Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius, Theodorus, Lector, and Cassiodorus.

with the purpose of recording what he, who had been taught the Scriptures from childhood, had learned from studying the fathers.⁴⁹ His adherence to the earlier school of interpretation of the outline prophecies is clear, especially as regards the stone kingdom to be established at the second advent.

1. IRON STRENGTH WEAKENED BY ADMIXTURE OF CLAY.—Here is Theodoret's testimony. Identifying the four world kingdoms of Daniel 2, and definitely naming Rome as the iron kingdom, he too stresses the intermingling of the clay as another phase of Rome in weakened, divided form—likewise completely ignoring Porphyry's counterinterpretation.

"The iron he named the Roman kingdom; and this kingdom succeeded to the Macedonian. And to it he assigned the legs, inasmuch as they are at the end of the whole body, and are able to bear up the body. And the bases themselves of the feet are also of iron, but mixed with burnt clay. For this reason it does not suggest a different kingdom, but the same one which will become weaker, and be mixed with the weakness of the burnt clay. But he made a distinction between the materials, showing the distinction to be not that of worth but of strength."⁵⁰

Rome still continues in the weakened, divided period of the feet and toes.

2. CHRIST THE STONE, CUT OUT THROUGH THE INCARNATION.—The fivefold witness in identification of the stone, summoned by Theodoret, is important. He cites Isaiah, David, Jesus, Peter, and Paul to show that Christ is the stone.

"Such is the end of the dream. Moreover it teaches us to commence our interpretation from the last things, and so we ask first who this may be who is called a stone, and which at first seems small, soon became very large, and covered the circle of the earth. . . .

"Therefore we are taught both by the Old and the New Testament that our Lord Jesus Christ has been designated the *stone*. For He was cut out of the mountain without hands, being born of a virgin apart from any nuptial intercourse, and the divine scripture had always been accustomed to name him as having had his origin contrary to nature, the cutting out of a stone."⁵¹

⁴⁹ Edmund Venables, "Theodoretus," in Smith and Wace, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 917.

⁵⁰ Translated from Theodoret, *Commentarius in Visiones Danielis Prophetæ*, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 81, col. 1297.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, cols. 1300, 1301.

3. **STONE CRUSHES NATIONS AT SECOND ADVENT.**—Theodoret wholly repudiates the Eusebian concept of the stone smiting at the first advent, with the stone kingdom established then, and impressively reiterates the earlier interpretation, placing it in direct connection with the *second* advent.

“For it [the kingdom of God], he says, shall never be destroyed, and His Kingdom shall not be left to other people, and it shall break in pieces and destroy all kingdoms, and it shall stand forever. . . . But if they shall maintain that the Lord’s first coming is signified by these words, let them show that the kingdom of the Romans passed away at the same time that the Saviour appeared. For all things are found to be contrary to this, it was strong and did not pass away at the birth of the Saviour. . . .

“If therefore the first coming of the Lord did not overthrow the empire of the Romans, it properly remains that we should understand [by this] His second advent. For the stone which was cut out before without hands, and which grew into a great mountain and covered the whole earth, this at the second advent shall smite the image upon the feet of clay. That is, He will come at the very end of the kingdom of iron, which already has been made weak, and having destroyed all kingdoms, He will consign them to oblivion, and will bestow His own eternal kingdom upon the worthy.”⁶²

4. **FOURTH BEAST SIGNIFIES KINGDOM OF ROMANS.**—Theodoret is quite certain which power was referred to by the fourth beast.

“The fourth beast is called the kingdom of the Romans, neither does he place a name upon it, because the state of the Romans composed of many nations, became master of the whole earth. . . . And as in the image [of the second chapter] iron constituted the fourth material, and *subdued*, and just as iron crushes and destroys all things, so it will crush and destroy all things, and here similarly, it says, the teeth of the beast are of iron, and so it becomes clear that the same kingdom is signified there and here.”⁶³

5. **TEN KINGDOMS ARE CONTEMPORANEOUS.**—And, after having established the fact that the fourth beast is the Roman Empire, he focuses his interest upon the ten horns, which he assumes are ten kings arising simultaneously at the end. If that were not the case, the Little Horn (the Antichrist) could not subdue three at the same time.⁶⁴

⁶² *Ibid.*, cols. 1309, 1310.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, col. 1420.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, cols. 1429, 1432.

6. **LITTLE HORN IS PAUL'S SON OF PERDITION.**—In the Little Horn, which rises among the ten and plucks out three by the roots, he sees a clear indication of Antichrist, who will overthrow these kings. The horn is called small, which shows that he will be born from a small tribe of the Jews. But he will be remarkable, as through the eyes are designated foresight and cunning, by which he will beguile the majority. And the mouth speaking great things signifies arrogance and pride. And just here he connects the "mouth speaking great things" with Paul's teaching concerning the falling away which would come first, that the "man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God," sitting in the temple of God as if he were God.⁵⁵

7. **"ANTICHRIST'S" TIME IS THREE AND A HALF YEARS.**—He makes the "time and times and half a time," the "thousand two hundred and ninety days," to be "three and a half years, in which that horn speaking great things shall bear rule."⁵⁶

8. **SEVENTY WEEKS EQUAL 490 YEARS.**—Theodoret clearly uses the year-day principle in reckoning the period of seventy weeks.

"And so the blessed prophet Daniel is taught that a time of four hundred and ninety years, seen to be from God, must be granted to Jerusalem itself . . . until that wicked and very horrible act was dared. I speak of the cross against the Saviour."⁵⁷

One can scarcely refrain from moralizing on the advantage, yes, the necessity, of historians having access to God's view of the decisive epochs and events of history, and His evaluation of its causes, effects, and relationships, revealed through inspired prophecy, as a guiding light in traversing the oft-times dark mazes of human record, and to keep his perspective clear. What a change in emphasis would often have been noted had such always been the case!

⁵⁵ Theodoret, *In Visiones Danielis Prophetæ Commentarius* (Rome, 1562 ed.), pp. 81, 82.

⁵⁶ Theodoret, *Commentarius in Visiones Danielis Prophetæ*, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 81, col. 1432.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 1473.

V. Sundry Voices Round Out the Period

This recital of the leading testimony of the period is not exhaustive. There were other scattered expressions, but not of moment, because they were largely echoes of these major utterances heard over the Roman world. Some were clear, some were hazy, and others were warped. Here are eight supplemental names: Apollinaris (d. 390), whose work on the millennium was known to Jerome; Gregory Nazianzen (c. 329-c. 389), styling Antichrist the beast; Rufinus (d. 410); Gaudentius (d. probably soon after 410); Prudentius (b. 348); Evagrius, of Gaul (c. 420); and Gelasius of Cyzicus (wrote c. 475).

Evagrius of Gaul was a disciple of Saint Martin of Tours,⁵⁸ and is believed to be the author of a dialogue supposed to have taken place between Zacchaeus, a Christian, and Apollonius, a philosopher. Among the signs of the last times, to which he devotes a number of pages, he mentions the overthrow of the Roman Caesars, quakings of the earth, and signs in the heavens; then Elijah will come, then the three and a half years, and Antichrist, and then the coming of Christ.⁵⁹

The continued use of Jerome's interpretation of the iron-and-clay stage as the weakening of Rome is illustrated in a series of questions and answers on the book of Daniel attributed to PETRUS ARCHIDIACONUS.

The first answer, on the four kingdoms of Daniel 2, follows verbatim Jerome's clear recognition of the new development—the new epoch entered and therefore of the next phase of fulfillment—"which is most clearly acknowledged at this time."⁶⁰ The popularity of this interpretation of Jerome is evidence of a rather general recognition of appropriate prophetic emphasis among those interested in and soundly expounding prophecy.

⁵⁸ "Evagre, Prêtre et Disciple de S. Martin," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 2, p. 121.

⁵⁹ R. Travers Smith, "Evagrius (14)," Smith and Wace, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 423.

⁶⁰ Petrus Archidiaconus, *Quaestiones in Daniele*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 96, col. 1347. Identified in the foreword as possibly Petrus Diaconus, an associate of Gregory I, about 606.

VI. Summary of Early Church Teachings on Prophecies

The first period of prophetic interpretation in the early centuries, which had a marked effect on the beliefs and attitudes of the Christian church, is the keynote of this first volume of *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, for the setting and the development of the prophetic exposition of the period, and the changes which took place in succeeding centuries, are basic to an understanding of the medieval and later periods.

The second volume centers in the epoch of marked concern over the guiding principles of prophecy covering the Reformation and Post-Reformation Era. Then the great Protestant church movement was in formation, and was reforming the faith of its adherents from the departures and perversions that had become dominant in medieval times, when the Papacy was ascendant. The third period embraces the nineteenth century and onward, in connection with the great world-wide revival of the advent expectancy, based on the culmination of all Bible prophecy, which had been recognized through the centuries as in process of progressive fulfillment. This third period is portrayed in Volumes III and IV of this work.

The first half of Volume I is devoted to the first of three vital epochs. The accompanying tabular charts (pages 456-459), placed here midway in Volume I, systematically tabulate the prophetic interpretation of the early church.

The tenacity and general uniformity with which certain positions were held, up until the change of the early interpretation, after Jerome in the fifth century, is very apparent. There are certain obvious deductions to be drawn from the chart.

1. EARLY CHRISTIAN POSITIONS ON DANIEL.—The eschatological interpretation of prophetic symbolism begins with Daniel himself, and therefore bears the unique credentials of inspiration—the first three of the series of four world empires being succinctly identified as Babylonian, Persian, and Greek, and the fourth, unnamed, as the most powerful of all. A tenfold division of empire follows the fourth kingdom, to be super-

EARLY CHURCH PERIOD: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL

No.	Name	Date	Page	Second Advent	Resur- rection	Dan. 2			Dan. 4 "Time"	Dan. 7					Judgment Kgdms. of God		
						4 Metals	Feet & Toes	Stone Kgdms.		4 Beasts	10 Horns	3 Horns	Lit. Horn	3½ Times		Kgdms. of Saints	
1	Daniel the Prophet	6th Cent.	175		Literal	B-(P-G)-4th	Divisions	Kgdms. God	Time=4th	(Same 4 Kgdms.)	Divisions						
2	Septuagint (Paraphrase)	2d Cent. B.C.	175							4 Kgdms.							
3	Talmud, Targum, Midrash									B-P-G-R							
4	Jesus Christ	A.D. 137	137	2 Advents	Literal												
5	Paul the Apostle	1st Cent. c. 100	150	2 Advents	Literal												
6	Josephus, Historian		198			B-P-G-(R)		Mess. Kgdms.	Time=4th	Rome=4th							At 2d Adv.
7	Johanan ben Zakkai	1st Cent. d. 132	132			(B-P-G-R)				Rome=4th							
8	Alkiba ben Joseph		150			B-P-G-R											
9	Barnabas		210								Coming Kgdms.	3 Uprooted	"Black One"				
10	Justin Martyr	c. 165	231	2 Advents	Literal					(B-P-G-R)							2d Advent
11	Irenaeus	c. 202	244	2 Advents	Literal	B-P-G-R	10-fold Div.	After Div.		(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	(Prophecy Ends in 2d Advent)	Antichrist		Very Short	3½ Yrs.	2d Advent
12	Tertullian	c. 240	255	2 Advents	Literal	(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	2d Adv.		(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	3 Supplanted (Spain)	Period between				Coming Kgdms.
13	Clement of Alex.	c. 220	265							B-P-G-R	10 Divisions	3 Kgdms.					Kgdms. Saints
14	Hippolytus	d. 236	270							B-P-G-R							
15	Julius Africanus	c. 240	279							B-P-G-R							
16	Sibyllines	3d Cent. (c. 150)	290			B-P-G-R				B-P-G-R							
17	Second Esdras		286														
18	Origen	c. 254	317	Daily to Soul	Spiritual	(Allegorizes All Prophecies)											
19	Peraphry	c. 304	328			(Not Prophecy but History)				3d=Alex. 4th=	Ptolemies & Seleucids		Antiochus				
20	Cyrian	c. 258	333	2 Advents	Literal			Nearing		(B-P-G-R)	10 Divisions	3 Kgdms.	Antiochus—Type Antichrist				After 2d Adv.
21	Victorinus	c. 304	338	2 Advents	Emphasized												
22	Lactantius	c. 330	354	2 Advents	Literal	(B-P-G-R)	Divisions	Kgdms. God		(B-P-G-R)	10 Kgdms.	3 destroyed	Antichrist		42 Months		Kgdms. Saints
23	Eusebius Pamphili	c. 340	362	2 Advents	Literal	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.			B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.						At 2d Adv.
24	Council of Nicea	325	367	2 Advents						(B-P-G-R)	(After Gelasius)						At Advent
25	Eusebius (Later Views)	c. 340	383	2 Advents	Literal			At 2d Adv.		(B-P-G-R)	(10 Kgdms.)	3 Kgdms.	Antichrist		10½ Yrs.		Present Church
26	Athanasius	c. 373	393	2 Advents	Literal					B-P-G-R	Seleucids						At 2d Adv.
27	Aphrahat	c. 350	403	2 Advents	Literal	B-P-G-R	Divisions										
28	Ephraim	373	406							(B-P-G)-Ptolemies & Seleucids			Antiochus				Future
29	Hilary	368	410							D-P-G-R	Divisions	3 Subdued	Antichrist		3½ Yrs.		At 2d Adv.
30	Cyril	386	413	2 Advents	Literal	(B-P-G-R)		Etern. Kgdms.									
31	Ambrose	397	420	2 Advents	Literal												
32	Chrysostom	407	426	2 Advents	Literal	B-P-G-R	Divisions	Chr. Kgdms. Alex. Succ.		B-P-G-R	8-P-Alex.		Antichrist				2d Adv.
33	Polychromos	430	430		Spiritual					B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.		Antiochus				
34	Indore of Pelusium	450	432			B-P-G-R				B-P-G-R							
35	Sulpicius Severus	c. 420	435			(B-P-G-R)	Pres. Divis.	Fut. Kgdms.									
36	Jerome	420	441	2 Advents	Literal	B-P-G-R	Pres. Divis.	After Destr.		B-P-G-R	10 Named Contempor.	3 Uprooted	Antichrist		3½ Yrs.		Judg.=2d Adv.
37	Theodoret	457	451	2 Advents	Literal	B-P-G-R	Divisions	At 2d Adv.		B-P-G-R		3 Subdued	Antichrist		3½ Yrs.		2d Adv.

The purpose of this tabular charting is fourfold: First, to summarize and bring before the eye in balanced form, in a single two-page spread, the principal prophetic expositions of the leading interpreters of Daniel for the first five centuries of the Christian Era, thus affording a reliable bird's-eye view, or over-all picture. (The same is true with the Apocalypse, in the succeeding opening.) Second, to make possible the comparison of the exposition of any given interpreter with that of any or all others on a particular line or feature of prophecy. Third, to reveal the general progression, or development of interpretation, in all lines throughout the first of these three great epochs, when Bible prophecy was a vital factor in the hopes and expectations of men. And fourth, to enable the reader to summarize and evaluate for himself the evidence of the sources, and thus to draw his own personal conclusions, as well as to check them with summarizations and deductions made by this investigator.

This analytic form of tabulation makes possible an evaluation of the predominant prophetic exposition of the Christian church of the early centuries, along with a few outstanding Jewish expositors (antecedent and contemporary) as a background and for comparison. The chronological sequence of the expositors is followed as they appear in detail in the chapters. And the pagination of the full expositions, scattered through the preceding pages, is given in the fourth column for reference or further checking.

The abbreviations are simple: "B-P-G-R" means *Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome*; "P-G"—*Persia, Greece*; "Mess."—*Messiah*; "Chr."—*Christian*; "Ch."—*church*; "Per."—*period*; "Persec."—*persecuting*. Other abbreviations in the charts are obvious enough to need no defining.

EXPOSITORS OF DANIEL (For Revelation See Next Opening)

Ram. Goat	Dan. 8				Dan. 9			Dan. 11	Dan. 12		Paul		Peter	6000 Yrs.
	Notable Horn	4 Horns	Ecceding Great Horn	2300 Days	70 Weeks	Last Wk.	Cross	2, 3, 4 Powers	1290 d. 1335 d.	Hinderer	Man of Sin	Babylon		
P-G	1st King	4 Divisions	Fierce Kg.		For Jews Of Years	M. Cut Off	(Midst)	P-G (2 G-3) Rome (4th)	Abomination					
P-G	(Alexander)	4 Divisions	Antiochus		(Time Fulfilled)	(Abom. of Desol.)					Now Is	To Come		
												Lawless One		At Close
		4 Divisions	Antichrist		From Persia	To Christ	70th Wk.			Rome	Antichrist	Antichrist	Rome	To Adr.
P-G P-G				Literal Literal Months	To Advent 490 Yrs. 490 Yrs.	Separated To Christ	During	P-G-R-Antichr.	Literal	Literal			Rome	End A.D. 500
			Antichrist		4,900 Yrs.	To A.D. 70						Son of Satan		
										Rome	Antichrist	Antichrist	Rome	Ending
					490 Yrs.	To Christ	Midst							Ending
P-G (P-G)			Romans Antiochus		To Cross						Rome	Antichrist		
					Wks. of Yrs.				Literal	Literal	Rome Rome Rome	Antichrist Antichrist Antichrist		
P-G				1150 Days	490 Yrs.	7 Yrs.	Midst				Rome	Antichrist In Every Ch.		Computed
P-G	Alexander	Successors			490 Yrs. 490 Yrs.			Antichr. at close		3½ Yrs.	Rome	In Church Antichrist	Antichrist	6000

The range of exposition of these two leading books of prophecy, which we are tracing, is thus made possible. Take, for example, Daniel 2, where the meaning of the four symbolic metals—the head of gold, breast and arms of silver, waist and thighs of brass, legs of iron, and feet and toes of iron and clay—is tabulated, together with the meaning of the stone and the time of the smiting. The same is done with the four beast-kingdoms of Daniel 7—the identity of the four; the meaning of the ten horns, the uprooted tree, the Little Horn, the three and a half times, and finally the judgment scene and kingdom of God. So the various symbols, outline prophecies, and time periods, and the related prophetic symbols of Paul and Peter, are here listed, together with the positions held by these expositors on the advent and the related resurrection.

Reading *horizontally*, the major expositions of each writer listed can be followed through, and a comprehensive grasp of his essential teachings on prophecy obtained at a glance. And his views can easily be compared with those who precede or follow after. This provides a convenient basis for comparative study.

Then, by following down the *vertical* columns, a summary of evidence on any given point can quickly be had, and trends, developments, or retrogressions can be traced with ease. This cumulative evidence becomes both impressive and highly significant, as is also the case with the identical four world powers symbolized by the great colossus of Daniel 2, and the paralleling four beast-kingdoms of Daniel 7, or the meaning of the ten horns, the seventy weeks of Daniel 9, the specific view on the second advent, the resurrection which is inseparably related to the advent, and the identity of the Man of Sin with Antichrist.

EARLY CHURCH PERIOD: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL

No.	Name	Date	Page	1 John 2:8	Rev. 2, 3	Rev. 6, 7	Rev. 8, 9	Rev. 11	Rev. 12		3½ Times			
				Antichrist	7 Churches	7 Seats	7th Seal	7 Trumpets	5th Tr.	6th Tr.		2 Witnesses	3½ Days	Woman
1	Justin Martyr	c. 160	231	Apostasy										
2	Irenaeus	c. 200	244	Apostate, Dan		1st Christ								
3	Tertullian	c. 240	255	Personal		6th, end	(Prophecies Span the 2	Advents)	Enoch & Elijah		Church	Christ	Rome	Literal
4	Hippolytus	d. 236	270	From Dan					Enoch & Elijah		Church	Christ		Literal
5	Sibyllines	c. 254	290	Son of Satan										
6	Origen	c. 254	317											
7	Cyprian	c. 258	333	Nearing										
8	Victorinus	c. 304	338	(Nero)	7 Classes Cover Chr. Era	Etern. Rest	Outline Repeated in Vials	Elijah & Jer.	3½ Years	Church	Church	Christ	Rome	Literal
9	Methodius	c. 311	345							Church	Saints	Saints		Mystic
10	Lactantius	c. 330	354	Beast									Overthrown	
11	Eusebius (Later)	c. 340	383											
12	Athanasius	c. 375	393	Prepared										
13	Ephraim	373	406	Succeeds R.										
14	Ambrose	397	420	3-fold					7th (Kgdm.)	Enoch & Elias	Church			
15	Jerome	420	441	Follows Div.										

seded by the “stone,” the everlasting kingdom of God; the four “beasts” being evidently the same four world powers; the ten horns of the fourth beast the ten kingdoms of the division; the Little Horn an arrogant, autocratic, persecuting power; and the saints possessing the kingdom forever, as the sequel. Also the seventy weeks are dated from the command to restore and rebuild Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince. These form the basic setting, or framework, into which all other features are to be fitted.

The elemental principles of prophetic interpretation as laid down in the book of Daniel were transmitted by the pre-Christian Jewish interpreters into the Christian Era and church. Confirmed by the teachings of Christ, and especially by the apostles Paul and John, they became the foundation principles of prophetic exposition among Christians. For example, the four world powers of prophecy, beginning with Babylon; the year-day principle, as first applied to the seventy weeks; the term “king” for kingdom; and a “time” standing for a year—upon these simple elementals the Christian church began to build her own expanding system of interpretation:

(1) In this there was virtual uniformity of belief regarding the identity of the four prophetic world powers of Daniel 2 and 7—as Babylon, Persia, Grecia, and Rome. Unmistakably started by the prophet Daniel himself, this interpretation has persisted first among Jewish writers, and then through a series of the leading scholars of Christian antiquity, who are spread over these five early centuries.

(2) There was in evidence at the time of the barbarian invasions a belief that the feet and toes of the image of Daniel

EXPOSITORS ON REVELATION (For Daniel See Preceding Opening)

1st Beast	10 Horns	Rev. 13 42 Months	2d Beast	666	Rev. 14 3 Angels	Rev. 16 7 Vials	Woman	7 Hills	Rev. 17 Babylon	10 Horns	Rev. 20 1000 Yrs.	Res.	Rev. 21, 22 N. Jer. New Earth	
Antichrist	10 Kgdm.		False Propht. Antichrist	Teitan Lateinos		Last Plagues			Rome	10 Kgdm.	Pre-mill. Pre-mill. Pre-mill.	2 Res. 2 Res. Literal	After Mill. During Mill.	During Mill.
Rome			Antichrist	Lateinos			Rome	Rome	(Rome)		Pre-mill. Anti-mill.	Uncertain	Etern. Kgdm. Gates to Soul	Etern. Kgdm.
Antichrist	Divisions	Literal	False Propht.	Diclux	Elias. etc.	Repeated	Rome	City of R.	Rome			Literal		
Antichrist		Literal	Antichrist								Pre-mill. Anti-mill.	2 Res.	During Mill.	Etern. Kgdm.
Antichrist				Mark of Ant.							Anti-mill.			

2, and the corresponding ten horns of the fourth beast of Daniel 7, represented the division of the fourth world power (Rome). Its breakup, as accomplished in the fourth and fifth centuries, was recognized and recorded as fulfilling at that very time.

(3) It was generally expected that Antichrist would emerge in the wake of the Roman Empire, which had retarded his appearance.

(4) The climax of all the grand lines of prophecy was considered as involving the judgment, the second advent, and the establishment of the kingdom of God by divine interposition, at the end of the age.

(5) The Little Horn of Daniel 7 was associated with the coming Antichrist, though as yet unidentified, but to follow the breakup of Rome.

(6) It was the consensus of opinion that pagan Rome likewise constituted Paul's "hindering," or restraining, power, which had retarded the appearance of Antichrist, variantly called the Man of Sin, Mystery of Iniquity, and Son of Perdition.

(7) Universal, of course, was the identification of the Persian ram and Grecian he-goat of Daniel 8, which Daniel expressly expounded; and Alexander the Great was considered the Macedonian goat's notable first horn.

(8) The seventy weeks were understood as 490 years, on the year-day principle, from Persia unto the Messiah, or thereabouts, and pertaining particularly to the Jews.

(9) All other "time prophecies" were as yet restricted to literal time—the time, times, and a half, or 1260 days, and the 1290, 1335, and the 2300 days.

(10) The glorious coming of Christ was the ardent hope

and expectation of the church, to be accompanied by a literal resurrection at the advent.

(11) Contemporary recognition and concerted emphasis upon the progressive *current* fulfillments of prophecy was evident. For example: When Rome was ruling as the fourth and last of the world powers of prophecy, men in the east and west, and north and south, recognized and proclaimed just where they were in the divine outline of the centuries. And then, as the predicted division of the empire actually took place, men again sensed where they were in the fulfilling prophecy, and left their record. And now, in the fifth century, they awaited with deepest concern the next great step—the appearance of Antichrist, whoever he might be. And they believed that the dread reign of Antichrist would be terminated, and the end of earthly kingdoms accomplished, by the second advent of Christ, with the establishment of His kingdom following.

2. OBSERVATIONS ON EARLY POSITIONS ON THE APOCALYPSE.

—As the general distribution and gradual recognition of the canonicity of the Apocalypse occupied a period of four or five centuries, the study and understanding of its prophetic symbols was inevitably slow and gradual in this early period. Tertullian (*c.* 240) pioneered the way, with his exposition of the woman of Revelation 12 as the church, the man child as Christ, the dragon as Rome, and the Beast of Revelation 13 as the coming Antichrist. Then comes Victorinus (*c.* 304) enunciating what was later to become the key principle of repetition—that the trumpets, vials, and so on, repeat in time—covering the same period in successive sweeps to the end of the age. He likewise held the same positions as Tertullian on the woman, the child, the dragon, and the beast.

The book of Revelation was less systematically covered, in the way of specific interpretation, than was Daniel, but in this early church period the following points were enunciated:

(1) The seven churches are conceived of as representing the church universal, or as seven classes of Christians.

(2) The seals span the Christian Era, the first being Christ and the early church, the last the judgment and the eternal rest.

(3) The principle of repetition was recognized by Victorinus, but the exposition of the trumpets and vials was not specific.

(4) The Two Witnesses were generally regarded as individuals—Enoch and Elijah, or Elijah and Jeremiah. The three and one-half days of the Witnesses were interpreted as years.

(5) The woman of Revelation 12 was quite generally recognized as the church, the man-child as Christ, the dragon as Rome.

(6) The three and one-half times, or 42 months, were generally taken as literal years, although Methodius took the 1260 days as mystic, preceding the new dispensation.

(7) The symbol most fully agreed upon was the first beast of Revelation 13 as the future Antichrist, although Hippolytus understood it as the Roman Empire; the second beast was defined as either the Antichrist or the false prophet, and the number 666 was given the numerical value of a name, such as Lateinos or Teitan.

(8) A personal Antichrist was expected to rule three and a half years, identified variously as a Jew, an apostate, a son of Satan.

(9) The woman Babylon in Revelation 17 was identified as Rome; the ten horns of the beast were ten kingdoms.

(10) Most of the earlier writers placed the millennium at the second advent, bounded by the two resurrections, although Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome were antimillenarian.

The belief in a literal resurrection of the body was firmly fixed; only Origen hinted of a spiritual application in addition to the literal one.

(11) The New Jerusalem was applied generally to the eternal state, or the millennium.

3. DISSENTING OPINIONS.—There were only a few sharply conflicting and discordant voices. Origen, the allegorizing Neoplatonic philosopher of the Alexandrian school, hinted at a

spiritualized first resurrection long before Augustine, and allegorized the Scriptures to such a degree as to invalidate any literal or historical fulfillment of prophecy. And next, Porphyry, the sophist, and a few followers, sought to counter Christianity and to overthrow the prophetic stronghold of the church by denying the prophetic character of the book of Daniel. He contended that it was only a history written afterward, in the time of the Maccabees, but simulating prophecy with intent to deceive; and he limited the third world power to Alexander's personal rule of Macedonia, with the fourth power as his Ptolemaic and Seleucid successors, and the Little Horn as Antiochus Epiphanes.

A revolutionary element was Eusebius' later concept—after the profession of Christianity by Constantine, the cessation of persecution, and the elevation and enrichment of the church—which held that the kingdom must mean the church, being established on earth by political preferment as well as spiritual means, and with consequent obligation to bring the nations into submission to the Christian faith.

As millennialism soon became a thorny and highly debated issue, because of the excesses of the chiliastic concept, revulsion against extreme views led to the first great departures from the early premillennial view—the rejection of the Apocalypse, by some, for a time. Indeed, some of the “chiliasts” had reasonable and restrained ideas of the Biblical millennium, but the name came to have the connotation of extravagance and materialism, because of the exaggerated elements brought in from non-Christian sources. Some of the antimillenarians could have accepted the idea of a thousand-year reign of Christ following the second advent if it had not been for the Jewish and pagan notions which were involved. As it was, all millennialism was discredited. On the other hand, the non-Christian ideas of Antichrist, some of which were just as grotesque as the extreme chiliastic notions, continued in the church for many centuries.

4. CONCLUSION.—We should bear in mind that our knowl-

edge of the early church literature is not complete. Where the writing of one prominent leader has been preserved there were doubtless many others whose writings have not survived the centuries. And further, that where one conspicuous teacher wrote out his convictions, there were probably scores—or perchance hundreds of lesser lights—who only expounded orally, following the essential teaching of these outstanding leaders of thought in their day, whose expositions we have traced. But we may judge the attitude of the majority by the leaders whose works we have. And we should remember the remarkable spread, both geographically and in language—as well as the character—of these prophetic interpreters. Always there have been numerous competent witnesses to contemporary prophetic fulfillment—God never leaving Himself to the testimony of a single witness, no matter how illustrious he might be.

The general picture of the grand prophetic outline, as conceived by the early church writers, is therefore this: In Daniel they found just four world powers, beginning with Babylon and ending with Rome; then Rome's breakup; next the emergence of Antichrist, and finally the destruction of Antichrist by Christ at His second advent, with the accompanying judgment scenes, the literal resurrection of the saints, and the setting up of God's everlasting kingdom. While prophetic interpretation in the early centuries was of necessity centered chiefly in the book of Daniel, this much, however, became clear on the Revelation: The woman was definitely the symbol of the church; the dragon was clearly connected with Rome; and the Beast was either Rome or the Antichrist, soon to come: the outline prophecies extended to the second advent, although the picture was not filled out. So much of the Apocalypse was obviously future in their day that men did not at first expect or attempt to understand many of its portions with any assurance, until it should first "come to pass," or be fulfilled historically. Fuller understanding and exposition was to come in later centuries. Further, the common term "Antichrist" was generally recognized as embracing the triple exploits of the Little Horn

of Daniel 7, Paul's Man of Sin of Second Thessalonians, and John's Beast of Revelation 13. That, to the early church, was obviously the divine plan of the ages. That was their outline and philosophy of history. Around that progressive program all plans and expectations centered. Upon certain details there was difference of opinion, but upon this main outline of the ages there was remarkable unanimity.

However, Origen's allegorization of the prophecies, and then Eusebius' materializing of the kingdom-of-God concept, though denied and fought by the majority at the time, nevertheless began to burrow from within, and in time won out. In the chapter following comes the third step in the great departure in prophetic interpretation, under Tichonius and Augustine, which completely revolutionized the thinking of men on the first resurrection and the millennium. The revolutionary Augustinian philosophy of the thousand years, as the reign of the church in the present age, soon swept over the Roman Catholic Church and dominated the view of Christendom for a thousand years to come—until at last abandoned by the Protestants, but then only when the Reformation was well along.

Revolutionary Concept of the Millennium

Introduced

We now enter the period when for the first time the church in general completely leaves the prophetic trail of the apostolic period, and gets entirely away from the expectation of the Lord's second advent to usher in the millennium. Traditionalism steadily encroaches on the Scriptures. The allegorizing of Scripture has made deep inroads, as reported by the contemporary Eucherius, bishop of Treves (*c.* 450).¹

The popularizer of the new millennial theory was the founder of Latin theology, Augustine, but we must first look at the writings of Tichonius, a little-known personality, but the source of much of Augustine's teaching on the millennium, and of many later prophetic interpretations which followed this new philosophy of history and prophecy.

I. Tichonius' Rules Mold Interpretation for Centuries

1. DONATIST BACKGROUND.—Tichonius was a writer of the late fourth century of whom little is known, but who exercised such a profound influence on the prophetic exegesis of the Middle Ages, especially of the Apocalypse, that we must pause long enough to understand his essential positions. Born in Africa, he belonged to the Donatist group—a schismatic reform party insisting on a vigorous church discipline, personal con-

¹ Farrar, *History*, p. 24.

version, and pure church worship. Arising after the Diocletian persecution, they were named from Donatus, one of the leaders of the strict party, who were unwilling to readmit into membership those who had compromised during the persecutions; and they believed that the sacraments received at the hands of such were invalid. Failing to obtain civil support, they became opposed to intervention by the state in religious matters, and looked with special disapproval upon the close church-state relationships that had developed since Constantine. They considered this to be the devil's work, and refused to have any dealings with the general church. That is the religious background of Tichonius.²

2. TICHONIUS' REVOLUTIONARY "SEVEN RULES."—A man of considerable learning and of much originality, Tichonius was probably the first Occidental historical philosopher who based his ideas on the divine revelation of Scripture, making the book of Revelation the basis of his own particular philosophy of church history.

Among other works, he wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, interpreted almost entirely in the spiritual sense, molded somewhat after Origen. In this work he asserted that the Apocalypse does not so much speak of coming events as it depicts the spiritual controversy concerning the kingdom of God.³

The full text of this commentary has since been lost, but Augustine, Primasius, Bede, and especially Beatus quote sufficiently from it to reconstruct its most essential parts.⁴ The substance has been preserved in the nineteen homilies appended to the Paris Benedictine edition of Augustine.⁵ But the far-reaching influence of this work makes a grasp of its essential positions imperative at this time.

To outline his general conceptions, he laid down his oft-

² Traugott Hahn, *Tychonius-Studien*, p. 100; for the Donatists see Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 208-210.

³ Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration*, vol. 1, p. 27.

⁴ F. C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tychonius*, Introduction, pp. xi, xii.

⁵ Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 326.

quoted "Seven Rules," which make strange reading today, but which exerted a powerful influence for centuries. We must note them, for they become the governing principles of nearly all expositors for hundreds of years.

(1) *De domino et corpore ejus*, that is, "about the Lord and His body," or church.

(2) *De domini corpore bipartitio*, or "on the twofold body of the Lord."

(3) *De promissis et lege*, "on the promises and the law."

(4) *De specie et genere*, "concerning species and genus"; that is, it is permissible to take a "species" of the text, and to understand thereby the "genus" to which it belongs—to reach the abstract thought from the concrete picture. (This led away from all reality to fanciful, symbolic or mystical interpretations.)

(5) *De temporibus*, or "concerning times," which, he held, reveal the mystic measure of time in the Bible—a part of time standing for the whole, as in the three days between the death and the resurrection of Christ—or the mystical value of numbers, especially 7, 10, and 12.

(6) *De recapitulatione*, "on recapitulation," which states, for instance, that in the book of Revelation the narrative is not continuous, but repeats itself and goes over the same ground under new and different symbols. (It was this principle carried to excess, that soon led to the full premise of Augustinianism.)

(7) *De diabolo et ejus corpore*, "on Satan and his body," an exact analogy to Christ and His body. As Christ is represented in His church, the elect, or righteous, so Satan is represented in the *corpus malorum*, the evildoers, or the body of the rejected.⁹

He therewith laid out the tools which were used in the exegesis of the Apocalypse for centuries to come. The theological concept of history was long based on the Tichonius

⁹ These rules appear in Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, book 3, chaps. 30-37, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, pp. 568-573. Probably the best discussion is to be found in F. C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tychonius*.

tradition, and therefore resulted in a sharp division of the world into good and evil. Here are the contrasts:

<i>God</i>	<i>Satan</i>
Christ	Antichrist
angels	demons and evil spirits
<i>Civitas Dei</i>	<i>civitas diaboli</i>
church (invisible)	totality of the wicked
Jerusalem	Babylon
apostles, prophets, learned men, preachers, martyrs, and virgins	kings and principalities of the wicked
the good	the evil
the sanctified and just	the impious
the saved	the damned
the believers	the heretics, schismatics, hypo- crites, false Christians, heathen, Jews. ⁷

These conceptions, which are largely generalizations, led away from the historical interpretation of the Apocalypse. In his exegesis Tichonius was not so much interested in describing historical events in detail as in describing the ways and means of the attack of the diabolical powers—not “how it has been” and “how it will be,” but “what is the situation at any given time.” He held that, when reading the Apocalypse, the reader should sense the strength of his defense against Satan rather than the location of his particular time.⁸

3. SET TIME FOR ADVENT IN A.D. 381.—However, despite the fact that Tichonius laid down these generalizing rules, he was convinced that the return of Christ was at hand, and in fact believed that the great day would occur in the year 381.⁹

4. MAKES CHURCH “SHADOW PICTURE” OF CHRIST.—On Revelation 12 and 13 he remarks that the beast from the bottomless pit is the whole *corpus diaboli*, among heathen and Christians. And after Satan, because of Christ’s intervention, has failed by persecution to extinguish the true church (the woman of Revelation 12 standing on the moon), he produces his

⁷ W. Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie*, pp. 57, 58.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁹ Alois Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium*, pp. 121, 122.

masterpiece of deception—to the seven heads he adds an eighth one. By the woman of Revelation 17, Tichonius means the world church, because she is a *simulacrum Christi*, a shadow picture of Christ, resembling outwardly the true picture, but in reality leading people away from Him. This is because she does not require real repentance, which is, of course, to the liking of the multitude. This deception of Satan is accomplished by the false priests and prophets, who are symbolized by the beast with two horns. Though dogma may be correct, he says, if it does not produce repentance, it is the devil who is working behind it.¹⁰

5. CHURCH TO SEPARATE RIGHTEOUS FROM WICKED.—The last time has now come, he holds, and he calls upon the church in North Africa to arouse the sleeping world by powerful preaching, which would separate the righteous from the wicked, deliver unbelievers to the judgment of God, and lead to persecution at the hands of the wicked. The day of grace is still with us, but after the devil will have entered into his chosen tool, the Antichrist, no one will any longer have a chance.¹¹

As soon as the complete number of saints is reached by the work of this last preaching, Tichonius continues, Satan, who has been limited in his work to the wicked, will be freed, and the pride of the human heart will appear. Man will sin without restraint. Terrific persecutions will set in which, if not shortened for the sake of the elect, would destroy all of them. God finally withdraws His hand and leaves man to himself and the devil. The church will be a place of utter destruction. Tichonius calls the church to take up this great work in order to hasten the day when the final separation will occur.¹²

6. MAKES FIRST RESURRECTION SPIRITUAL.—Tichonius was against chiliasm, which had been the ardent belief of the Christians in the first centuries. However, with the help of his rules of exegesis he could easily overcome this difficulty.

¹⁰ Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 94, 99.

Instead of two literal resurrections, Tichonius makes the first resurrection spiritual, that of the soul, as hinted by Origen, and the second corporeal, that of the body. The first is of those awakened by baptism from the deadness of sin to eternal life, and the second is the general, literal resurrection of all flesh. Consequently, he denies the reign of the literally resurrected saints for a thousand years after the second advent. (Revelation 20.) Thus Tichonius spiritualizes the resurrection and secularizes the millennium. This change is so vital that the covering statement of Gennadius, who lived in the fifth century, is here given:

"He [Tichonius] also expounded the Apocalypse of John entire, regarding nothing in it in a carnal sense, but all in a spiritual sense. In this exposition he maintained the angelical nature to be corporeal, moreover he doubts that there will be a reign of the righteous on earth for a thousand years after the resurrection, or that there will be two resurrections of the dead in the flesh, one of the righteous and the other of the unrighteous, but maintains that there will be one simultaneous resurrection of all, at which shall arise even the aborted and the deformed lest any living human being, however deformed, should be lost. He makes such distinction to be sure, between the two resurrections as to make the first, which he calls the apocalypse of the righteous, only to take place in the growth of the church where, justified by faith, they are raised from the dead bodies of their sins through baptism to the service of eternal life, but the second, the general resurrection of all men in the flesh."²³

7. BEGINS MILLENNIUM BACK AT FIRST ADVENT.—By the principle of recapitulation—the sixth in his series of Rules—Tichonius ingeniously steps back the thousand years over the entire line of the Christian dispensation, dating it from the time of Christ's first advent. Thus he makes the end the beginning, and the beginning the end. Moreover this millennial period he shortens from 1,000 to 350 years, because Christ's three and a half days in the tomb were shortened by employing only parts of the first and third days. This is part of his "Fifth Rule," which puts the part for the whole.²⁴ Reviving probably a Jewish conjecture that a "time" possibly signifies a century,²⁵

²³ Jerome and Gennadius, *Lives of Illustrious Men*, part 3, chap. 18, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 3, p. 389.

²⁴ Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, book 3, chap. 35, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 571.

²⁵ Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 333.

Tichonius assumes each prophetic "time" to be 100 years, and thus three and a half times would be about 350 years. Beginning with the resurrection of Christ, this period would be about expired. So he makes his own day the terminus of prophetic time.

8. NEW JERUSALEM IS THE PRESENT TRUE CHURCH.—Tichonius sees in God and the devil two great powers struggling for mastery of the earth, just as he sees the conflict of mystical Jerusalem and mystical Babylon. But the New Jerusalem, in Revelation 21, is principally the church in its present state, existent, he contends, from the time of Christ's death onward.¹⁶ And the woman of Revelation 12 was the true church,¹⁷ ever bringing forth Christ in her members, exiled for a thousand years (shortened to the 350) to live among the wicked ones.

9. YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE PROJECTED TO THREE AND A HALF DAYS OF WITNESSES.—He interprets the three and a half days of the slaying of the witnesses (Revelation 11:11) to be three and a half years.¹⁸ This makes Tichonius about the first to apply the year-day principle outside of the seventy weeks, irrespective of his interpretation of the events set forth. This was amplified by others to follow.

10. BABYLON FIRST APPLIED TO SECULARIZED ROMAN CHURCH.—When the Roman emperors employed the secular power to enforce the unity of the church, the Donatists protested against civil interference in matters of religion; calling their persecutors "Babylon," they considered themselves the remnant, being persuaded that the end was not far off. In fact, Tichonius wrote his commentary on the Apocalypse, portraying its fulfillment in the light of persecutions of the Donatists as a type of the final time of trouble. Thus, while certain Catholics thought to see Antichrist, or his forerunners, in the Arian emperors and bishops of the church, the Donatist Tichonius applied Revela-

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 335 (also Tichonius' Rule V).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 334.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

tion 13 and 17 to the Roman church and worldly bishops, against whom a decisive stand was to be taken.¹⁹

11. POPULARIZED BY AUGUSTINE.—It may seem extraordinary that the Catholic world should have accepted the “work of a schismatic” as a “textbook of exegesis,” but such is the case with the Rules and basic prophetic interpretations of Tichonius.²⁰ The reason is obviously that they effectively disposed of chiliasm, and indicated a successful course for the theologians of the papal church.²¹

Augustine was deeply influenced by Tichonius. He speaks of his own acceptance of the principles, as follows:

“One Tichonius, who, although a Donatist himself, has written most triumphantly against the Donatists (and herein showed himself of a most inconsistent disposition, that he was unwilling to give them up altogether), wrote a book which he called the Book of Rules, because in it he laid down seven rules, which are, as it were, keys to open the secrets of Scripture.”²²

Aware, however, that the time set for the judgment hour by Tichonius had already passed, he was anxious to spiritualize the different visions in the Apocalypse even more, and to interpret the tremendous struggle pictured there as a spiritual struggle between the church, which represents the forces of light, and the world, which stands for the forces of evil, with the kingdom of God to be realized by the triumphant church. Through the overshadowing authority of Augustine, the rules of Tichonius were popularized and established, and the commentaries on the Apocalypse throughout the early Middle Ages echo largely what Tichonius had already stated, and lost all the fervor of the expectation of the Lord’s coming and the appearance of the New Jerusalem.

The diagram on page 545 will aid in visualizing the tremendous influence which the Rules of Tichonius and his spiritualizing commentary have exercised. This group of medieval expositions forms the connecting link between inter-

¹⁹ Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

²⁰ Burkitt, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xiii.

²¹ Neuss, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 271.

²² Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, book 3, chap. 30, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 568.

pretations of the early church and the interpretations of later Protestantism and Catholicism.

II. Augustine, Reviser of the Millennial Position

AUGUSTINE (Aurelius Augustinus) (354-430), most illustrious of the Latin fathers, was born in Numidia, North Africa, his father being still a pagan but his mother a Christian. After attending the schools of Madaura and Carthage, he became a teacher of rhetoric, practicing his profession in Rome and Milan. His mother's Christian influence had followed him all through his life of licentious dissipation and afterward into Platonic idealism and Manichaeian excesses. Academic skepticism, speculation on man's beginning and the origin of evil, as well as the study of astrology and divination dissatisfied him; until finally he turned to the Scriptures to see what they were like.

This last step he took after he had been elected to a professorship of rhetoric at Milan, in 384, shortly after the Visigothic hosts had crossed the Danube and begun ravaging Roman soil. In Milan, Augustine went to hear Bishop Ambrose preach. In 387, after passing through violent struggles of mind and having tried out the various schools of thought, he was notably converted through the message of the Scriptures, and, as a changed man with changed views, was baptized by Ambrose at Milan at the age of thirty-three. He broke radically with the world, and abandoned his lucrative vocation as a teacher of rhetoric. Then he spent a period in Rome, returning next to Africa, where he spent three years in contemplative study. In 391 he was made a presbyter against his choice, and in 395—the year of Theodosius' death—was chosen bishop of Hippo, continuing as such for thirty-five years. Combining a clerical life with the monastic, he became “unwittingly the founder of the Augustinian order,” whence later came Luther.²³

It was in the midst of Augustine's episcopate that Rome

²³ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 990-994.



BOTTICELLI, ARTIST

AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO, OUTSTANDING LATIN FATHER

The Influence of Augustine's Writings on the Church Has Been Profound, Particularly That of His *City of God*. For a Thousand Years It Dominated Christian Thought (See Pages 473 to 490)

began to break up—the sack of the city by the Goths coming in 410, after eleven centuries of triumphal progress, with many Christians believing the end of the world to be at hand. Augustine's life was, therefore, cast in a transition period of history, when the old Roman civilization was passing away, before the sweeping flood of barbarians had completed the destruction and the new order of things had been formed. Near the close of Augustine's life, Genseric, king of the Vandals, advanced from Spain to North Africa. Augustine died in 430, during the siege of Hippo, in the midst of the Vandal invasion. Soon after this Africa was lost to the Romans, and within a few decades the Western empire had completely crumbled.

I. CREATES A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.—Augustine had many controversies with the Pelagians, Manichaeans, and Donatists,²⁴ standing against them all as the champion of so-called orthodoxy. It was thus that he formed his contact with Tichonius, whose rules of exegesis he later adopted. "In him [Augustine] was concentrated the whole polemic power of the catholicism of the time against heresy and schism."²⁵ The intellectual head of North Africa and the Western church,²⁶ Augustine produced extensive works, which fill sixteen volumes in the Migne collection.

Pre-eminent among these is Augustine's great theodicy and philosophy of history, *De Civitate Dei* (On the City of God).

²⁴ PELAGIANISM was a fifth-century heresy advanced by Pelagius, a learned monk, possibly of British birth. In an attempt to vindicate human freedom and responsibility, Pelagius' followers denied original sin, confined justifying grace to forgiveness, asserted that man's will, without special divine aid, is capable of spiritual good, and that Adam's fall involved only himself. Pelagius was in direct conflict with Augustine, and he and his doctrines were condemned by several synods. (See Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 362-369; Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 785-815.)

MANICHAISM, a form of Gnosticism, was an Oriental, dualistic, and pantheistic religious philosophy originating with Mani, or Manichaeus, and flourishing from the third to the seventh century, and possibly lasting until the thirteenth century. Light and goodness, personalized as God, were represented as in conflict with chaos and evil. Thus man's soul was like light in a body of darkness. The Christian elements were reduced to a minimum, and Zoroastrian, old Babylonian, and other Oriental elements were raised to the maximum. The Christian names employed retained scarcely a trace of their proper meaning. Baptism and communion are supposed to have been celebrated with great pomp. The elect were a sacerdotal class. The effect upon the church at large of Manichaeism was the stimulation of the ascetic spirit, with the degradation of marriage, the introduction of pompous ceremonialism, the systematizing of church doctrine, sacerdotalism (or the belief that ministers of religion are intermediaries between God and man, possessing extraordinary powers), and the consequent introduction of the doctrine of indulgences. Manichaeism, popular in North Africa and Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries, for a time rivaled Catholicism. Augustine had close contact with the Manichaeans, which materially affected his modes of thought. (See Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 194-197.)

For the *Donatists*, see pages 464, 465.

²⁵ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 994.

The expression "city," however, scarcely conveys the meaning of *civitas*, which is a community or state made up of its citizens. Thus the "City of God" was the commonwealth, or kingdom, of God as distinguished from the commonwealth of the world in constituency, character, privileges, present state, and destiny—the relationship of its citizens in this world being that of pilgrims and strangers.²⁶ This was begun in 413, shortly after Alaric's capture of Rome. The pagans were attributing the collapse of Rome to the abolition of pagan worship. Augustine wrote to answer their taunts and to create a new concept of history—the two antagonistic governments, the realm of God and that of the devil—embodying a new interpretation of prophecy, to explain the history of God and the church in the world.

This remarkable treatise, discussing the "kingdom of this world," as doomed to destruction, and the "kingdom of God," as destined to last forever, consumed thirteen years in the making, during the most mature period of his life.

The effect of this treatise is hard to estimate. It projected a new era into prophetic interpretation. Its popularity in pre-Reformation times is disclosed, however, by the fact that between 1467 and 1500, no fewer than twenty editions were published.²⁷ This was the philosophy of history accepted throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, adopted and used by Catholic writers, and finally officially endorsed by Leo XIII.

2. STRANGE COMBINATION OF STRONG OPPOSITES.—Augustine was a strange combination of strong opposites. Marked flashes of genius light up his work, marred by glaring defects and puerilities. In his clear position on sin and grace, he was nearest of all the fathers to evangelical Protestantism, the Reformers, particularly Luther, being strongly influenced by him.²⁸ And through his influence the canon of Scripture was

²⁶ Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 309, 310.

²⁷ Marcus Dods, "Translator's Preface" to *The City of God*, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. xiii; David S. Schaff, *The Middle Ages* (Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 5), part 1, p. 28, note 1.

²⁸ Philip Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 1021.

listed at the councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397).²⁹

Though at first an advocate of religious liberty, and of purely spiritual means of opposing error, Augustine later asserted the fatal principle of forcible coercion, and lent the weight of his name to civil persecution, the bloody fruits of which appeared in the Middle Ages, when his writings became the "Bible of the Inquisition."³⁰ He was perhaps the first to champion the cause of persecution and intolerance by misusing the words, "Compel them to come in," in appealing to the secular arm to suppress the Donatists.³¹ Thus he flung a dark shadow over the church, his intolerance being mainly the result of his distorted views of Scripture interpretation. His name was later adduced to justify the murder of Michael Servetus and to sanction the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.³²

Repelled by the literal interpretation of the Scripture, Augustine snatched up the Philonic and rabbinical rule that everything that appears to be unorthodox must be interpreted mystically. And his acceptance of the Rules of Tichonius led to a system of multiple interpretation that blurred the original sense. Augustine so draws upon Tichonius and so borrows his arguments that portions of his writings "seem an echo" of Tichonius' *Book of Rules*—rules "as baseless as Philo's, and even more so than those of Hillel."³³

Under Augustine the allegorical method degenerated into a means of displaying ingenuity and supporting ecclesiasticism. Once this principle is adopted, a passage may say one thing but mean another. Thus the Bible is emptied of significance, and the reader is at the mercy of the expositor. Unhappily, allegorism became completely victorious under Augustine.³⁴ But even more serious, he laid down the sinister rule that the Bible must be

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1017; see also page 106 of the present volume. Augustine's list of canonical books, which included apocryphal books also, appears in his *On Christian Doctrine*, book 2, chap. 8, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, pp. 538, 539.

³⁰ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 1021; Farrar, *History*, p. 235.

³¹ Augustine, Letter 93, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 1, p. 383; see also Farrar, *Lives*, vol. 2, pp. 402, 403.

³² Farrar, *History*, pp. 235, 236.

³³ Farrar, *History*, p. 24. For Tichonius' Rules, see p. 467.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 237-239.

interpreted *with reference to church orthodoxy*.³⁵ To Augustine is due the "extravagant exaltation of 'the Church,' as represented by an imperious hierarchy," as an extravagant reliance upon external authority substituted a dominant church and an imperious hierarchy for an ever-present Christ.³⁶

Augustine exerted doubtless the most powerful, permanent, and extensive influence of all ecclesiastical writers since the days of the apostles.³⁷ He turned the generations after his time into the channels of his own thinking, becoming pre-eminently their teacher and molder in his concept of the nature of the church.³⁸

3. PANORAMIC PREVIEW OF ESSENTIAL POSITIONS.—Before noting in detail Augustine's various positions—on the prophecies, the resurrection, the millennium, and the kingdom—let the eye sweep in panoramic view over the entire range of the Augustinian scheme, the more easily to discern the relation of part to part through a composite picture.

A new theory of the millennium is here presented—asserted as a present fact, with Revelation 20 referring to the first instead of to the second advent. Tichonius' Rules and his essential exposition are adopted—the thousand years slipped back by recapitulation to the beginning of the Christian dispensation, and dated from Christ's ministry. The first resurrection is made spiritual, taking place in this life; the second is that of the body, at the end of the world. The description in Revelation 20 of Satan's being bound and cast into the bottomless pit (the abyss), is identified with the casting down of the dragon of chapter 12, and is considered as already accomplished. The abyss is the "non-Christian nations." The thrones of judgment are present ecclesiastical sees. *Thus the emphasis is shifted back to the first advent and away from the second, which is increasingly relegated to the background.*

³⁵ See Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, book 3, chap. 10, sec. 15, and *Against the Epistle of Manichaeus*, chap. 5, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 561, and vol. 4, p. 131, respectively.

³⁶ Farrar, *History*, p. 235.

³⁷ Milman, *History of Christianity*, book 3, chap. 10, vol. 3, p. 170.

³⁸ Johannes Huber, quoted in Schaff, *History*, vol. 2, p. 1003.

The church militant is the church triumphant. The camp of the saints is the church of Christ extending over the whole world. The 144,000 are the church, or saints, or city of God; and the Jews are to be converted. The imperial Catholic Church is the stone shattering all earthly kingdoms, until it fills the entire earth. The Old Testament prophecies are claimed for the new ecclesiastical empire. He assents to the four standard empires of Daniel, but makes Antichrist come, nevertheless, at the *end* of the thousand years. Thus the union of church and state becomes a caricature of the millennial kingdom before its time. A new era in prophetic interpretation is thus introduced; this specious Augustinian theory of the millennium, spiritualized into a present politico-religious fact, fastens itself upon the church for about thirteen long centuries. Note the particulars of the substantiating evidence.

4. AUGUSTINE ON THE SECOND ADVENT.—After discussing Christ's coming in judgment he also refers to certain "ambiguous" texts, which seem to refer to the judgment, but may refer to—

"that coming of the Saviour which continually occurs in His Church, that is, in His members, in which He comes little by little, and piece by piece, since the whole Church is His body."²⁹

5. FIRST RESURRECTION SPIRITUAL; SECOND CORPOREAL.—The theory of the spiritual, allegorical first resurrection lies at the foundation of Augustine's structure—the resurrection of dead souls from the death of sin to the life of righteousness. Discussing the nature of the first and second resurrections, Augustine builds upon Matthew 8:22—"Let the dead bury their dead"—which he interprets thus:

"He does not speak of the second resurrection, that is, the resurrection of the body, which shall be in the end, but of the first, which now is. It is for the sake of making this distinction that He says, 'The hour is coming, and now is.' Now this resurrection regards not the body, but the soul. . . . Let those who are dead in soul bury them that are dead in body. It is of these dead, then—the dead in ungodliness and wickedness—that He says,

²⁹ Augustine, *The City of God*, book 20, chap. 5, in *NPWF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 424.

'The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live.'"⁴⁰

"So are there also two resurrections,—the one the first and spiritual resurrection, which has place in this life, and preserves us from coming into the second death; the other the second, which does not occur now, but in the end of the world, and which is of the body, not of the soul, and which by the last judgment shall dismiss some into the second death, others into that life which has no death."⁴¹

So, according to Augustine, there is a single, simultaneous physical resurrection of all men at the last day, instead of a first and a second literal resurrection. Once this thesis was accepted, the historic millennialism was, of course, vanquished.

6. TWO RESURRECTIONS AND THE THOUSAND YEARS.—Discussing the relationship of the resurrections to the thousand years, Augustine refers to the misunderstandings of some concerning the first resurrection, and then says, with reference to Revelation 20:1-6:

"Those who, on the strength of this passage, have suspected that the first resurrection is future and bodily, have been moved, among other things, specially by the number of a thousand years, as if it were a fit thing that the saints should thus enjoy a kind of Sabbath-rest during that period, a holy leisure after the labors of the six thousand years since man was created, and was on account of his great sin dismissed from the blessedness of paradise into the woes of this mortal life, so that thus, as it is written, 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day' [2 Pet. iii. 8], there should follow on the completion of six thousand years as of six days, a kind of seventh-day Sabbath in the succeeding thousand years; and that it is for this purpose the saints rise, viz., to celebrate this Sabbath.

"And this opinion would not be objectionable, if it were believed that the joys of the saints in that Sabbath shall be spiritual, and consequent on the presence of God; for I myself, too, once held this opinion. But, as they assert that those who then rise again shall enjoy the leisure of immoderate carnal banquets, furnished with an amount of meat and drink such as not only to shock the feeling of the temperate, but even to surpass the measure of credulity itself, such assertions can be believed only by the carnal. They who do believe them are called by the spiritual Chiliasts, which we may literally reproduce by the name Millenarians."⁴²

Be it noted that Augustine had previously been a chiliast,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 6, p. 425.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 426.

⁴² *Ibid.*, chap. 7.

but turned against chiliasm because of the "carnal" positions of some of its adherents. The extremism of some has been the bane of the church in all ages.

7. ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF THOUSAND YEARS.—Augustine's concepts of the thousand years are couched in these words, citing Tichonius' Fifth Rule:

"Now the thousand years may be understood in two ways, so far as occurs to me: either because these things happen in the sixth thousand of years or sixth millennium (the latter part of which is now passing), as if during the sixth day, which is to be followed by a Sabbath which has no evening, the endless rest of the saints, so that, speaking of a part under the name of the whole, he calls the last part of the millennium—the part, that is, which had yet to expire before the end of the world—a thousand years; or he used the thousand years as an equivalent for the whole duration of this world, employing the number of perfection to mark the fullness of time."⁴³

It should be borne in mind that, following Tichonius, Augustine regarded the thousand years as a figurative numeral expressive of the whole period intervening between Christ's earthly ministry and the end of the world—a round number, for an indeterminate time, some saying that "four hundred, some five hundred, others a thousand years, may be completed from the ascension of the Lord until His final coming."⁴⁴ It is well to know that Augustine followed the Septuagint chronology; he believed that the sixth millennium was more than half gone, and it is natural that he would expect the end in less than a thousand years.⁴⁵ However, the thousand-year idea later came to prevail.

8. THOUSAND YEARS SPANS THE TWO ADVENTS.—The crux of Augustine's argument is that the millennium of Satan's binding dates from Christ's *first* advent to His second coming.

"From the first coming of Christ to the end of the world, when He shall come the second time, . . . during this interval, which goes by the name of a thousand years, he shall not seduce the Church."⁴⁶

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, book 18, chap. 53, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 394.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, book 20, chap. 7, p. 427; Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 395, 397, vol. 4, p. 137, note 3, p. 325.

⁴⁶ Augustine, *The City of God*, book 20, chap. 8, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 428.

The millennium was therefore no longer a *desideratum*; it was already a realization. Augustine laid "the ghost" of millenarianism so effectually that for centuries thereafter the subject was practically a closed question.⁴⁷

9. DEVIL IS BOUND NOW UNTIL THE END.—"Now the devil was thus bound not only when the Church began to be more and more widely extended among the nations beyond Judea, but is now and shall be bound till the end of the world, when he is to be loosed."⁴⁸

Note particularly Augustine's definition of the abyss, and Satan's binding as expulsion from the hearts of the believers.

"By the *abyss* is meant the countless multitude of the wicked whose hearts are unfathomably deep in malignity against the Church of God; not that the devil was not there before, but he is said to be cast in thither, because, when prevented from harming believers, he takes more complete possession of the ungodly. . . .

"'Shut him up,'—*i.e.*, prohibited him from going out, from doing what was forbidden. And the addition of 'set a seal upon him' seems to me to mean that it was designed to keep it a secret who belonged to the devil's party and who did not. For in this world this is a secret, for we cannot tell whether even the man who seems to stand shall fall, or whether he who seems to lie shall rise again. But by the chain and prison-house of this interdict the devil is prohibited and restrained from seducing those nations which belong to Christ, but which he formerly seduced or held in subjection."⁴⁹

10. DEVIL LOOSED FOR THREE AND A HALF YEARS AT END.—But Satan is to be loosed at the end for a short time.

"For he shall rage with the whole force of himself and his angels for three years and six months; and those with whom he makes war shall have power to withstand all his violence and stratagems. . . . And he ["the Almighty"] will in the end loose him, that the city of God may see how mighty an adversary it has conquered, to the great glory of its Redeemer, Helper, Deliverer."⁵⁰

Immediately following this, Augustine says it is questionable whether there will be any conversions during this three-and-a-half-year period, and again states that the binding began

⁴⁷ Shirley Jackson Case, *The Millennial Hope*, p. 179.

⁴⁸ Augustine, *The City of God*, book 20, chap. 8, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 428.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 7, p. 427.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 8, p. 428.

at "the time of His first coming."⁵¹ He raises the question whether this last persecution by Antichrist, lasting for three years and a half, is comprehended in the thousand years, and concludes that it is neither deducted from the whole time of Satan's imprisonment, nor added to the whole duration of the reign of the saints.⁵²

11. PRESENT CHURCH IS KINGDOM OF CHRIST.—He contends that the heavenly kingdom is now in existence.

"Therefore the Church even now is the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdom of heaven. Accordingly, even now His saints reign with Him."⁵³

"But while the devil is bound, the saints reign with Christ during the same thousand years, understood in the same way, that is, of the time of His first coming."⁵⁴

12. CHURCH RULERS SITTING ON JUDGMENT SEATS NOW.—Augustine applies the text, "And I saw seats and them that sat upon them, and judgment was given" to the rulers by whom the church is now governed, for "what ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and what ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."⁵⁵

13. "BEAST" IS UNGODLY CITY OF WORLD.—What this beast is requires a more careful investigation. It is the ungodly city, the community of unbelievers, as opposed to the city of God and the faithful.

"His image' seems to me to mean his simulation, to wit, in those men who profess to believe, but live as unbelievers. For they pretend to be what they are not, and are called Christians, not from a true likeness, but from a deceitful image. For to this beast belong not only the avowed enemies of the name of Christ and His most glorious city, but also the tares which are to be gathered out of His kingdom, the Church, in the end of the world."⁵⁶

"We have already said that by the beast is well understood the wicked city. His false prophet is either Antichrist or that image or figment of which we have spoken in the same place."⁵⁷

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, chaps. 8, 9, p. 429.

⁵² *Ibid.*, chap. 13, pp. 433, 434.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, chap. 9, p. 430.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 14, p. 434.

The mark in forehead or hand, discussed by Augustine, in another section, is interpreted as freedom from the world's pollutions.⁵⁸

14. GOG AND MAGOG ARE DEVIL'S NATIONS.—Gog and Magog, says Augustine, are not to be understood of "barbarous nations in some part of the world . . . not under the Roman government," but are "spread over the whole earth."⁵⁹ They were a then-present reality, and would break forth against the church in the future.

15. "CAMP OF THE SAINTS" IS THE CHURCH.—The full significance of the following assertion from Augustine should not be lost:

"This camp is nothing else than the Church of Christ extending over the whole world. And consequently wherever the Church shall be,—and it shall be in all nations, as is signified by 'the breadth of the earth,'—there also shall be the camp of the saints and the beloved city, and there it shall be encompassed by the savage persecution of all its enemies."⁶⁰

Quoting in substance and approving the Rules of Tichonius, Augustine, under the Fifth Rule, says of the strange principle of multiplying numbers to get "time universal," "One hundred and forty-four [thousand], which last number is used in the Apocalypse to signify the whole body of the saints."⁶¹

Augustine includes the Jews among those who will be converted.⁶²

16. DEVOURING FIRE IS BURNING ZEAL.—The "fire out of heaven" which consumes the wicked is the firm refusal of the saints to yield obedience to those who would draw them away to the party of Antichrist.

"This is the fire which shall devour them, and this is 'from God;' for it is by God's grace the saints become unconquerable, and so torment their enemies. For as in a good sense it is said, 'The zeal of Thine house hath consumed me' [Ps. 69:9], so in a bad sense it is said, 'Zeal hath possessed the uninstructed people, and now fire shall consume the enemies.'"⁶³

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. 10, p. 431.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 11, p. 432.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, book 3, chap. 35, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, pp. 571, 572.

⁶² Augustine, *The City of God*, book 20, chap. 29, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 448.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, chap. 12, pp. 432, 433.

17. "NEW JERUSALEM" IS CHURCH'S PRESENT GLORY.—Unequivocal is Augustine's declaration that the New Jerusalem has "indeed descended from heaven from its commencement, since its citizens during the course of this world grow by the grace of God, which cometh down from above through the laver of regeneration in the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven."⁶⁴

18. MYSTICAL BABYLON APPLIED TO ROME.—On the other hand, Augustine clearly applies the term "Babylon" to Rome as "western Babylon," and "mystical Babylon," thus:

"Babylon, like a first Rome, ran its course along with the city of God. . . . Rome herself is like a second Babylon."⁶⁵

"Such a city has not amiss received the title of the mystic Babylon. For Babylon means confusion, as we remember we have already explained."⁶⁶

"The city of Rome was founded, like another Babylon, and as it were the daughter of the former Babylon, by which God was pleased to conquer the whole world, and subdue it far and wide by bringing it into one fellowship of government and laws."⁶⁷

19. UNCERTAIN WHETHER ANTICHRIST SITS IN CHURCH.—Setting forth different views held on the identity of Antichrist, or the apostate Man of Sin, and the temple in which he will sit, Augustine inclines toward understanding it to be the apostate body appearing in the church.

"It is uncertain in what temple he shall sit, whether in that ruin of the temple which was built by Solomon, or in the Church; for the apostle would not call the temple of any idol or demon the temple of God. And on this account some think that in this passage Antichrist means not the prince himself alone, but his whole body, that is, the mass of men who adhere to him, along with him their prince; and they also think that we should render the Greek more exactly were we to read, not 'in the temple of God,' but 'for' or 'as the temple of God,' as if he himself were the temple of God, the Church."⁶⁸

20. ROMAN EMPIRE PROBABLY THE WITHHOLDING POWER.—Augustine avoided making an explicit statement as to the withholding power of 2 Thessalonians, because as he expressed

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 17, p. 436.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, book 18, chap. 2, p. 362; see also chap. 22, p. 372.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. 41, p. 385.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 22, p. 372.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, book 20, chap. 19, p. 437.

it, we "have not their knowledge" of what Paul had told the Thessalonians. Therefore he says:

"I frankly confess I do not know what he means. I will nevertheless mention such conjectures as I have heard or read.

"Some think that the Apostle Paul referred to the Roman empire, and that he was unwilling to use language more explicit, lest he should incur the calumnious charge of wishing ill to the empire which it was hoped would be eternal. . . . However, it is not absurd to believe that these words of the apostle, 'Only he who now holdeth, let him hold until he be taken out of the way,' refer to the Roman empire, as if it were said, 'Only he who now reigneth, let him reign until he be taken out of the way.' 'And then shall the wicked be revealed:' no one doubts that this means Antichrist."⁶⁹

21. FOUR PROPHETIC KINGDOMS FOLLOWED BY ANTICHRIST.

—Of the four standard prophetic world powers, Augustine goes no further than to state, "Some have interpreted," and to commend the reading of Jerome.

"In prophetic vision he [Daniel] had seen four beasts, signifying four kingdoms, and the fourth conquered by a certain king, who is recognized as Antichrist, and after this the eternal kingdom of the Son of man, that is to say, of Christ. . . . Some have interpreted these four kingdoms as signifying those of the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans. They who desire to understand the fitness of this interpretation may read Jerome's book on Daniel, which is written with a sufficiency of care and erudition."⁷⁰

22. UNCERTAINTY AS TO THE TEN KINGS.—Augustine was also unsettled as to the ten kings, doubting whether they would be found simultaneously in the Roman world at the coming of Antichrist, and suggesting that "ten" could merely symbolize totality.⁷¹

23. ALLOTTED TIME OF ANTICHRIST'S ASSAULT.—Augustine expects Antichrist to reign three years and a half.

"But he who reads this passage, even half asleep, cannot fail to see that the kingdom of Antichrist shall fiercely, though for a short time, assail the Church before the last judgment of God shall introduce the eternal reign of the saints. For it is patent from the context that the *time, times, and half a time*, means a year, and two years, and half a year, that is to say,

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 437, 438.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 23, p. 443.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 23.

three years and a half. Sometimes in Scripture the same thing is indicated by months. For though the word *times* seems to be used here in the Latin indefinitely, that is only because the Latins have no dual, as the Greeks have, and as the Hebrews also are said to have. Times, therefore, is used for two times." ⁷²

24. DAYS OF CREATION PARALLELED BY AGES OF THE WORLD.—Augustine did not regard the six days of creation as literal, but as a step-by-step revelation to the angels of the various phases of a creation which really occurred all at once.⁷³ But he symbolized the events of the six days by the ages of the world. His enumeration of these ages was followed by later writers through the Middle Ages and into modern times; they were used, with slight modification, by Ussher and incorporated into various Bible chronologies. These periods of Augustine are: (1) Adam to Noah, (2) Noah to Abraham, (3) Abraham to David, (4) David to the Captivity, (5) The Captivity to Christ, (6) Christ to the end, (7) The second advent and the eternal rest.⁷⁴

This "world-week" theory was based on earlier sources, but "Augustine, steeped in Neoplatonism and Pythagoreanism, really prescribed the doctrine for the Middle Ages."⁷⁵ He exerted the greatest influence of any of the early church writers.

25. EXACT DATE OF PASSION FORETOLD BY DANIEL.—It is interesting to observe that Augustine evidently holds to the seventy weeks as employing the year-day principle, for he extends the period to Christ's death.

"Daniel even defined the time when Christ was to come and suffer by the exact date. It would take too long to show this by computation, and it has been done often by others before us."⁷⁶

Hesychius, bishop of Salona, made them end with the second advent, which he believed near at hand.⁷⁷ Augustine condemned such a view, declaring:

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram*, book 4, chap. 35, sec. 56, and book 5, chap. 3, sec. 5, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 34, cols. 320, 322, respectively.

⁷⁴ Augustine, *De Genesi Contra Manichaeos*, book 1, chap. 23, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 34, cols. 190-193. He does not make each age exactly a thousand years.

⁷⁵ Jones, editorial note, in *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, p. 345.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, book 18, chap. 34, p. 380.

⁷⁷ Charles Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-254.

“For, with respect to the Hebdomads of Daniel, I think that this especially must be understood according to time which is now past: for I do not dare to enumerate the years [times] concerning the advent of the Saviour, who is awaited in the end; nor do I think that any prophet has fixed the number of years concerning this thing, but that this rather prevails which the Lord Himself says, ‘No one can know the times which the Father has put in His own power (Acts 1:7).’ ”⁷⁸

Augustine then comments upon the generally accepted Scriptures referring to the second advent, and denominates as a false theory the concept that the weeks of Daniel relate to this event.

26. CHURCH-SHATTERING STONE FILLING WHOLE EARTH.—

In his refutation of the Donatist Petilianus, Augustine applies the prophesied eternal reign of Christ to the present reign of the Roman church, and contends that the stone has already become a mountain and is even now filling the earth.

“But you are so bent upon running with your eyes shut against the mountain which grew out of a small stone, according to the prophecy of Daniel, and filled the whole earth, that you actually tell us that we have gone aside into a part, and are not in the whole among those whose communion is spread throughout the whole earth.”⁷⁹

The significance of this revolutionary position based on Tichonius' Rules, can scarcely be overemphasized. By this application the eyes of men were turned back from the second advent to the first, as the time of the initial smiting of the image. Such an exposition of the stone kingdom was a direct challenge to the interpretation of the Christian scholarship of the first four centuries.

Similarly, in one of his tractates on the Gospel of John, Augustine discourses on the stumbling of the Jews over Christ as a “small stone” that had already been “cut out” of the “mountain” of the Jewish nation, citing Daniel 2. But now, he avers, the Christian church has already become the world-filling mountain in his day. Thus he says:

“The stone was cut out from thence, because from thence was the

⁷⁸ Translated from Augustine, Epistle 197 (to Hesychius), in Migne, *PL*, vol. 33, col. 899.
⁷⁹ Translated from Augustine, *Contra Litteras Petiliani Donatistae*, book 2, chap. 38, sec. 91, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 43, col. 292.

Lord born on His advent among men. And wherefore without hands? Because without the cooperation of man did the Virgin bear Christ. Now then was that stone cut out without hands before the eyes of the Jews; but it was humble. Not without reason; because not yet had that stone increased and filled the whole earth: that He showed in His kingdom, which is the Church, with which He has filled the whole face of the earth.”⁸⁰

Rather excusing the Jews for their lesser occasion for stumbling and being broken, Augustine emphasizes the seriousness of denying the mountain church which is filling the earth, and which is to grind men to powder when Christ appears “in His exaltation.” So he concludes:

“But the Jews were to be pardoned because they stumbled at a stone which had not yet increased. What sort of persons are those who stumble at the mountain itself? Already you know who they are of whom I speak. Those who deny the Church diffused through the whole world, do not stumble at the lowly stone, but at the mountain itself: because this the stone became as it grew. The blind Jews did not see the lowly stone: but how great blindness not to see the mountain!”⁸¹

III. The Earlier Advent Hope Largely Forgotten

Augustine begins his epochal treatise, *The City of God*, with the words:

“The glorious city of God is my theme, . . . a city surpassingly glorious, whether we view it as it still lives by faith in this fleeting course of time, and sojourns as a stranger in the midst of the ungodly, or as it shall dwell in the fixed stability of its eternal seat, which it now with patience waits for, expecting until ‘righteousness shall return unto judgment,’ and it obtain, by virtue of its excellence, final victory and perfect peace.”⁸²

This idea of the kingdom of God as the church ruling on earth was a sweeping, resplendent vision; but it was un-Biblical, unsound, and misleading. And it veered the church tragically away from her historic course. So long as the tremendous fact was acknowledged that only the second advent, ending forever the present world order, destroying all nations, and removing all the righteous through resurrection and translation, would usher

⁸⁰ Augustine, Tractate 4 on the Gospel of John, sec. 4, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 7, p. 26.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 27.

⁸² Augustine, *The City of God*, book 1, Preface, in *NPNF*, 1st series, vol. 2, p. 1.

in the visible kingdom of God, just so long was the second advent hope the focal point of Christian expectation and deliverance. But this was pushed into the background when Augustine's misconceived dream became accepted—the dream of a present spiritual resurrection and a secular millennium introduced through the first advent, together with a spiritualization of the prophecies and the New Jerusalem to accommodate such a picture, and these accompanied by a denial of the earlier views of the prophetic course of events.

Augustine, in his *City of God*, "did more than all the Fathers to idealize Rome as the Christian Zion."⁸² It is true that he did not at all foresee the system that would be built upon that concept; neither do voluminous writers today follow out all their premises to ultimate conclusions. But he provided the materials from which in later times was built the medieval theory and policy of the religio-political state church.

How different the history of the church might have been if it had heeded the emphasis which Augustine placed, according to his light, on faith and divine grace, and the inner communion with Christ, without which sacrament and ritual were valueless. But the medieval church left these teachings for Luther, the Augustinian monk, to carry on into the Reformation, and instead seized upon Augustine's millennial theory and his world-church ideal, which it easily changed from a spiritual to a religio-political empire.

It is not to be supposed that the doctrine of the second advent itself was abandoned or spiritualized away after Augustine's time. The church always held to the Apostles' Creed, with its definite declarations of faith in the return of Christ "to judge the quick and the dead," in the resurrection of the body, the communion of saints, and the life eternal. That much can be assumed for all the writers cited. But they abandoned the idea of the millennium separating the two literal resurrections; and the future, general resurrection and judgment at the second

⁸² Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

advent were pushed out of range—beyond a “thousand years” of indefinite duration.

Thus Augustine’s millennial theory focused the church’s gaze on the kingdom as a then-present reality on earth. This resulted in a tragic nearsightedness which blurred her vision of the future kingdom of Christ to be inaugurated at the second advent.

Gradual Emergence of the Papal Power

Augustine witnessed the beginning of the crumbling of imperial Rome, but his *City of God* concept was a foreshadowing of the churchly counterpart of old Rome, which was to rise into a vast spiritual empire in succeeding centuries. This is therefore a suitable place to trace the gradual growth of the once-humble bishop of Rome into the proud pontiff on the papal throne, ruling as head of the Catholic Church in the very seat of the old Roman Empire.

The transformation of the pagan capital of the world into the ecclesiastical capital of Christendom was a long process, but the cornerstone of the new structure—an empire based on religion—can be seen in the legal establishment of the pope as the “head of all the holy churches,” and the designated corrector of heretics. Future chapters will reveal further stages in the gradual growth of this mighty religio-political structure to its pinnacle in the height of the medieval Papacy. But here we shall trace briefly the outlines of the foundations and witness the laying of the cornerstone in the time of Justinian.

I. Worldly Advance Matched by Spiritual Decline

1. ROME'S UNIQUE CONNOTATIONS AS A CITY.—The ancient city of Rome, founded according to tradition in the eighth century B.C., was for several hundreds of years but of local, minor importance. By the second century B.C., however, she stood upon the threshold of her supremacy of the Mediterranean world; and for five hundred years thereafter she was the

unrivaled metropolis of the last and mightiest of the four prophesied world empires, the seat of its government, and the heart of the then-known world. In pagan days Rome was accounted as everlasting, bearing the proud title of "Eternal City." This idea continued into the time of the Christian emperors, down to the end of the fifth century. Said the historian Ammianus Marcellinus (395), "She shall live so long as men shall exist."¹

Roma Aeterna, the "Eternal Rome," lent its name to the wide domain, where its noted sons held sway over subject peoples, be it at the muddy waters of the Euphrates, in the dark and somber forests of the Teutons, or in the highlands and moors of Britain. And when Rome no longer produced men of outstanding capacity, others of foreign extraction, the emperors of Byzantium and later of Germany, proudly carried the name of Rome at the head of their list of titles.

But still another power, of a different sort, and even more significant, rose to pre-eminence at a period when Rome's fortunes were at their lowest ebb. And this power carried the name of Rome into a different realm, gave it a new significance, raised it to new heights and world-wide fame. This power was the little church of Rome to which Paul addressed his epistle, and which in the course of time should become the seat of a vast ecclesiastical empire.

2. CONSTANTINE'S REIGN THE CHURCH'S TURNING POINT.—Of course, the Roman church in the early days, in the periods of pagan persecution, never dreamed of attaining such a position, but an amazing reversal in imperial attitude toward Christianity in general, and toward the developing Roman Catholic manifestation in particular, took place between the time of Constantine, in the fourth century, and Justinian, in the sixth. Previous to Constantine's edict of toleration in 313, Christians had been at various times cruelly persecuted under pagan edicts. But between the fourth and sixth centuries a succession of

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, book 14, chap. 6, sec. 3, in the Loeb Classical Library, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, vol. 1, p. 37.



TRIUMPHAL ARCH AND JUDICIAL BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE

Noble Triumphal Arch of Constantine Erected at Entrance to Roman Forum Commemorating Victory Over Maxentius at the Battle of Saxa Rubra, or Milvian Bridge, Which Soon Brought Persecution of Christians to an End—a Witness to the Overthrow of the Persecuting Power and Dominion of Pagan Rome (Upper); The Basilica of Constantine (Lower)

laws, not only recognizing Christianity and favoring it, but also making it the state religion, gave legal support to the increasingly presumptuous claims to primacy made by the Roman bishop.

The accession of Constantine found Christianity proscribed and persecuted. The imposing arch of Constantine, built to commemorate the emperor's victory over Maxentius, is still a mute witness to the fourth century as the turning point in the rise of Constantine and the fortunes of the Christian church. The two centuries after this almost unbelievable transition were sufficient to entrench Catholic Christianity in the fundamental law of the empire, and by the time of Justinian, Roman primacy was established so firmly that through succeeding centuries the bishop of Rome progressed from spiritual leadership and temporal rule to the unparalleled power of the Papacy. The leading steps by which this was achieved must now be surveyed to obtain the setting for the emergence of the papal power.

3. MUTUAL RELATIONSHIPS OF EAST AND WEST.—The exigencies of frontier defense had long drawn the concern of the empire toward the troubled East. Diocletian had divided the administration, East and West, with a colleague. Then Constantine, who rarely visited Rome, made his capital in 330 in the "new Rome"—Byzantium by the Bosphorus, now rebuilt and renamed Constantinople. This became a new center of what seemed a second empire in the East, particularly after the system of two emperors was resumed, as under Arcadius and Honorius, with the Western capital placed in Ravenna. Writers naturally refer to the empires of the East and the West; yet, technically, such language is inexact. The empire was, and continued to be, one and undivided. Though there were two emperors, there was only one empire—two persons, but only one power. This point is necessary to an understanding of developments of the time that we are tracing.

"This removal of the capital of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople in 330, left the Western Church, practically free from imperial power,

to develop its own form of organisation. The Bishop of Rome, in the seat of the Caesars, was now the greatest man in the West, and was soon forced to become the political as well as the spiritual head."²

Civil as well as religious disputes were frequently referred to the bishop of Rome for settlement. And the Eastern emperors increasingly recognized his high claims in order to gain his assistance. Thus gradually became established the principle of primacy that ultimately created the medieval Papacy. This was the process.

Growing more and more imperial, the Roman church lost its early purity and simplicity. Her bishops grew more lordly and her system of government more Roman. Ecclesiastical power became the object of her eager ambition. Opulence poured in upon the priesthood. And their intellectual superiority over that of the invading barbarians still further increased their ascendancy. In time, as education declined, they also became the custodians of learning and teaching, reading and preparing treaties and state documents, which advantage they did not fail to capitalize.

4. THE BISHOPS WIELD POLITICAL POWER.—Not content with supporting Christianity by favoring laws, Constantine and his successors had added to her spiritual authority the splendor of political power by inviting the bishops to participate in the administration of civil affairs, and by entrusting to their care interests connected with public order and welfare. And this generosity of the Roman emperors was eclipsed by the sovereigns of the new monarchies arising upon the ruins of the old empire. A series of fresh accessions to the prerogatives and powers of the clergy followed. They were summoned to the councils of kings and political assemblies. The most honorable rank was assigned them, and they exercised an influence in all departments of civil government. The influence of this new sovereignty was felt far and wide. And in the midst of the disorders of the time, the church created a bond of union

² Flick, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 169; see also M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy*, vol. 1, pp. 7, 8; Henry Edward Manning, *The Temporal Power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ*, pp. xxviii, xxix; Döllinger, *The Church and the Churches*, pp. 42, 43.

between nations opposed in character and interests, becoming the rallying point for society.

The weakness of the falling empire but added worldly strength to the aspiring church. As historians constantly assert, the dying empire bequeathed to the church her spirit and power, and furnished her method and organization, until at length both reappear with startling similarity in papal Rome.

5. DIGNITY OF IMPERIAL CITY EXALTS ROMAN BISHOP.—The barbarians beheld in the secularized church the faith they themselves professed, and the representation of that empire which they still revered while at the same time subverting it. The earthly majesty and power of this worldly institution impressed them. Daily the bishops grew in influence in the midst of a shaken and reeling world, and naturally, because of his metropolitan position, the bishop of Rome became increasingly the leader.

As the civil power of Rome waned before the barbaric invaders, this Christian bishopric seemed the sole survivor of the old institutions. It remained while all else failed. Gradually it became the one enduring power among the nations into which the fragments of the old Roman dominion were rapidly being crystallized.³ To these newly evangelized peoples the church of Rome was naturally the mother church, and the bishop of Rome the chief of all Christian bishops. Latin episcopacy was thus enthroned in the old Roman metropolis.

II. Leo I Attempts to Materialize Augustine's Kingdom Claims

1. DECLARES RIGHT TO VACANT ROMAN THRONE.—The Western empire perished through internal weakness and barbarian inroads. National misfortune and imperial favor were the twin causes of ecclesiastical Rome's successful early advance. Alaric the Goth was reluctant to begin his siege of Rome, the eternal embodiment of universal power and past terror to the barbarians. But he found himself, he declares, impelled by

³ Joseph Cullen Ayer, *A Source Book for Ancient Church History*, p. 476.

some hidden and irresistible impulse to accomplish the enterprise—which is significant. When the city succumbed, in 410, there was no great imperial leader to defend it, the throne of the West having been removed to Ravenna. But no barbarian chief really aspired to the role of emperor.

In 452 Rome again trembled, this time before the approach of the Huns under Attila. But the Roman bishop Leo (I) the Great (440-461) prevailed upon him to retire from Italy.⁵ And three years later, when Genseric, leading the Vandals, became master of the capital, Leo's intercession again spared the lives of the Romans. Thus this Roman bishop came to be recognized as a powerful protector, capable and energetic.

These barbarian chiefs did not venture to set themselves up as Roman emperors, and fill the "vacant shrine of the *imperium*." And Leo began to feel that the time had come to materialize the claims of Augustine regarding the temporal millennial kingdom of Christ, and with his avowed vested powers of loosing and binding openly to declare his right to the vacant throne as the fitting seat of Christ's universal kingdom. In this way the Roman church pushed its way into the place of the Western empire, of which it is "the actual continuation."⁶ Thus the empire did not perish; it only changed its form. The pope became Caesar's successor. This was a long stride forward.

2. PRIMACY BASED ON CLAIMS TO PETER'S POWERS.—Earlier in the fourth century, the Roman bishop's precedence among equals, formerly accorded to him, had first been demanded on a new ground that was reiterated time after time until the Roman bishop received supremacy of dominion.⁷ The second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople (381), in Canon 2, had confirmed the various metropolitans—such as those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus—in their respective spheres;⁸ but it

⁴ Sozomen, *op. cit.*, book 9, chap. 6, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 2, p. 423.

⁵ Ayer, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

⁶ Adolf Harnack, *What Is Christianity?* pp. 269, 270.

⁷ Robert Hussey, *The Rise of the Papal Power*, p. 1.

⁸ Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 355.

also decreed (Canon 3) that "the Bishop of Constantinople shall hold the first rank after the Bishop of Rome."⁹

Innocent I (d. 417) had maintained that Christ had (a) delegated supreme power to Peter and (b) made him bishop of Rome, and that as Peter's successor he was entitled to exercise Peter's power and prerogatives, and Boniface I (d. 422) had spoken similarly.¹⁰ At the Council of Ephesus, in 431, the legate of Pope Celestine had proclaimed publicly before all Christendom:

"There is no doubt, and it is noted by everybody, that the holy and most blessed Peter is the leader and head of the apostles, a pillar of the faith, and the foundation of the Catholic Church, and that he received from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the human race, the keys of rulership with which power is given to absolve and to bind sins; who [Peter] till our time and forever lives and exercises judgment in his successors."¹¹

Some twenty years later Leo saw the force implied by this claim, and entrenched himself behind it. He first outlined clearly the extreme limits of the claims of the medieval Papacy to universal rule of the church. Thus the church of Rome moved on toward the spiritual dictatorship of Christendom. More, perhaps, than any other, Leo laid the early foundations of that imposing edifice that towered among the nations for more than a thousand years, when papal bulls instead of imperial decrees began to rule the world.¹²

3. LEO ENVISIONS HEADSHIP OF THE WORLD.—Leo's concepts are well set forth in Sermon 82, "On the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul," before his Roman congregation. Declaring that these were the men through whom the light of the gospel first shone on Rome, he says:

"These are they who promoted thee to such glory, that being made a holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and royal state, and the head of

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 357. In another translation (*NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 14, p. 178) canon 3 reads, "The Bishop of Constantinople, however, shall have the prerogative of honour after the Bishop of Rome." This rendering would not confer rank and authority, but only honor.

¹⁰ Flick, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 182; Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 154.

¹¹ Translated from Actio 3 of the Council of Ephesus, in Jean Hardouin, *Acta conciliorum*, vol. 1, col. 1477.

¹² Flick, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-185; see also Archibald Bower, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 1, pp. 247, 248.

the world through the blessed Peter's holy See thou didst attain a wider sway by the worship of God than by earthly government. For although thou wert increased by many victories, and didst extend thy rule on land and sea, yet what thy toils in war subdued is less than what the peace of Christ has conquered."¹³

Contending that the spiritual extension of the Roman Empire was the carrying out of the divine scheme of Rome as the "head of the world," he continues:

"For the Divinely-planned work particularly required that many kingdoms should be leagued together under one empire, so that the preaching of the world [another Latin text can properly be translated here, "preaching of regeneration"] might quickly reach to all people, when they were held beneath the rule of one state. And yet that state, in ignorance of the Author of its aggrandisement though it rule almost all nations, was enthralled by the errors of them all, and seemed to itself to have fostered religion greatly, because it rejected no falsehood. And hence its emancipation through Christ was the more wondrous that it had been so fast bound by Satan."¹⁴

This sermon became, in turn, a text upon which his successors loved to expand, exulting in the firm foundation laid and the actuality of the establishment of the new Jerusalem that had come down from heaven. And it was a foundation that survived the centuries.

That success attended Leo's scheme to make the seven-hilled city the center of the Christian world, is evident from the imperial authority secured from Valentinian III, in 445, for his *Western* supremacy.

"Since therefore the merit of St. Peter, who is the first in the episcopal crown and the dignity of the Roman city and the authority of the sacred synod, has established the primacy of the Apostolic See, let no unlawful presumption try to attempt anything beyond the authority of that see. . . . By this perpetual sanction we decree that neither should a Gallic bishop nor one of other provinces be permitted to undertake anything against the old customs without the authority of the venerable man the pope of the eternal city, . . . so that whoever among the bishops when summoned to the court by his Roman superior neglects to come, let him be forced to attend by the moderator of the province."¹⁵

¹³ Leo the Great, Sermon 82, chap. 1, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 12, p. 195.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 2, p. 195.

¹⁵ Translated from Valentinian III, *Novellae*, title 16, in *Codex Theodosianus: Novellae Constitutionis imperatorum Theodosii II, Valentinian III* (edited by G. Haenel), cols. 173-176. (According to a variant text, this reads: "Let no presumption try to attempt anything unlawful.")

4. LEO PROTESTS EQUALITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE.—When, however, the general Council of Chalcedon (451) asserted, in Canon 28, the equal dignity and privilege of the see of Constantinople with the see of Rome,¹⁶ Leo indignantly protested, writing letters to the emperor and others, declaring it a deviation from the canons of Nicaea.¹⁷ He wrote to the bishops assembled at Chalcedon that the bishop of Rome was officially “*guardian of the Catholic faith, and of the traditions of the fathers,*”¹⁸ thus asserting guardianship of the unwritten as well as the written rules of faith. But the time of full recognition of Rome’s headship over all the churches had not yet come.

In Leo’s time we have encountered a legal sanction for the pope’s superior jurisdiction in a decree of Theodosius and Valentinian. There had previously been another important edict, that of Gratian and Valentinian II in 378 or 379. Let us now examine the successive steps in the legal recognition of the pope’s supremacy by imperial edicts.

III. Legal Sanctions for Roman Primacy Obtained

Under the reign of Constantine, Christianity had become the religion of the *emperor*; under Theodosius, sixty years later, it had become the religion of *empire*, but legal sanction for the papal claims of primacy were yet to be secured.

1. PROGRESSIVE EDICTS ESTABLISH HEADSHIP.—There were four separate edicts, by different emperors—for imperial edicts were then laws of empire—conferring or confirming the increasing privileges, immunities, and authorities, until the bishop of Rome became the virtually unchallenged head of all churches. These four edicts are:

- a. The edict of Gratian and Valentinian II, in 378 or 379.
- b. The edict of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, in 445.
- c. The imperial letter of Justinian, in 533—becoming effective in 538.

¹⁶ Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 411, 412.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 435-438. These are epistles nos. 104-106, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 12, pp. 74-79.

¹⁸ Leo, Epistle to the bishops at Chalcedon, in Hardouin, *op. cit.*, tom. 2, col. 688.

d. The edict of Phocas, in 606.

2. GRATIAN GIVES RIGHT OF SETTLING APPEALS.—Concerning *a*, the Roman primacy began to be recognized in a limited way by the edict of the Emperor Gratian (who laid aside the formerly pagan dignity of Pontifex Maximus) and Valentinian II, in 378 or 379. This edict, probably issued at the request of a Roman synod, not only confirmed Damasus (d. 384) as bishop of Rome, in opposition to a banished rival claimant, but also provided that certain cases in the churches of the West should be referred or appealed to the pope and/or a council of bishops.¹⁹

This gave various bishops, scattered over the West, occasion to write to the Roman bishops for decision on controverted points, which they answered by decretal epistles and ecclesiastical mandates and decisions. The earliest of these decretals still extant is a letter of Pope Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona in 385.²⁰

"The decretals [commence] with the letter of Pope Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona in 385. Such decretal letters were issued to churches in most parts of the European West, Illyria included, but not to north Italy, which looked to Milan, and not to Africa, which depended on Carthage. . . . It would even appear that a group of some eight decretals of Siricius and Innocent, Zosimus and Celestine, had been put together and published as a sort of authoritative handbook before the papacy of Leo (441-461)."²¹

Thus the authority of the bishop of Rome was greater than that implied in the sixth canon of the Council of Nicaea (325), which recognized the equal authority of the then-leading patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus.²²

An edict of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius I, in 380 or 381 against heretics added imperial recognition of the Petrine theory, on which the Roman bishops based their claim as judge

¹⁹ William K. Boyd, *The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code*, pp. 67, 68; Caesar Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, entry for year 381, sec. 6, vol. 4, col. 453; J. C. L. Gieseler, *A Text-Book of Church History*, vol. 1, p. 380; see translation in Isaac Newton, *Observations Upon the Prophecies of Daniel*, pp. 95, 96; for the Latin text, see Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, cols. 627-629.

²⁰ C. H. Turner, "The Organisation of the Church," *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 1, p. 151.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

²² See Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 388-404.

of the Christian faith, although the Roman bishop was not recognized as sole judge of faith, the Alexandrian bishop being named in connection with Damasus.

"1. *The Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius to the people of the City of Constantinople.*

"We desire that all peoples subject to Our benign Empire shall live under the same religion that the Divine Peter, the Apostle, gave to the Romans, and which the said religion declares was introduced by himself, and which it is well known that the Pontiff Damasus, and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity, embraced; that is to say, in accordance with the rules of apostolic discipline and the evangelical doctrine, we should believe that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit constitute a single Deity, endowed with equal majesty, and united in the Holy Trinity."²³

3. WESTERN CLERGY SUBJECTED TO ROMAN BISHOP.—In *b*—the memorable edict of the Western Emperor Valentinian III, in 445—the subordination of the *Western* clergy to the Roman bishop's primacy is recognized as grounded on Peter's merit.²⁴ This was induced, it is thought, by the Roman bishop Leo. It upholds against a bishop of Gaul the authority of the Holy See, and suggests that the peace of the churches would be preserved if all would acknowledge their ruler. The context shows that it refers to the West, for the dispute was over a Western subordinate, as the expressions "Western Churches" and "both Gauls" indicate. But in this support given the Roman bishop is laid the foundation of future expansions. Thus Ranke says:

"Thenceforth the power of the Roman bishops advanced beneath the protection of the emperor himself; but in this political connection lay also a restrictive force: had there been but one emperor, a universal primacy might also have established itself; but this was prevented by the partition of the empire."²⁵

4. JUSTINIAN ESTABLISHES HEADSHIP OF ALL CHURCHES.—As to *c*—the Justinian decree of 533—it was after the partitioning of the Western empire, that, under the victorious armies of

²³ *The Code of Justinian*, book 1, title 1, 1. This translation is taken from Scott's English version, *The Civil Law*. See also Ayer, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

²⁴ See page 500. The translation of the edict is given in full in Isaac Newton, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-125.

²⁵ Ranke, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 1, p. 8.

Justinian, considerable areas of the West acknowledged him as their overlord. In this period the legal establishment of the bishop of Rome as head of all the churches—now including the East—was accomplished. Then the tide of barbarian conquest rolled again over Italy, effacing the imperial control and leaving the West permanently in the hands of the barbarian masters, and to the pope the exercise of the spiritual primacy and power conferred on him under law by Justinian. This will be more fully treated in section 4 of this chapter, but reference must first be made to the fourth edict of our series.

Under *d*, the edict of Phocas in 606²⁶ merely reiterated and confirmed the Roman bishop's pre-eminence over the rival bishop of Constantinople. But Phocas' reign and authority was confined to the affairs of the East, rather than of the West.

IV. Justinian—Legalizer of Ecclesiastical Supremacy of Pope

Justinian I (527-565), greatest of all the rulers of the Eastern Roman Empire, was a barbarian by birth, but received an excellent education at Constantinople. In about 523 he married the famous actress Theodora. He guided the destinies of the Roman Empire for thirty-eight years, dying at eighty-three. Justinian was nicknamed "the Emperor who never sleeps," because of his tremendous activities and excessive hours of toil. Believing that as a theologian he was superior to any of the prelates of the church of his time, he spent long hours poring over the ponderous tomes of the fathers. But he is perhaps best known to history as a legislator and codifier of law. No reign, however, was filled with more important and varied events and undertakings, which were recorded by Procopius, secretary to Belisarius and Byzantine historian.

The sixth century has well been called the age of Justinian—his reign, like a dividing line, marking the terminus of the ancient world. He is likened to a colossal Janus bestriding the way of passage between the ancient and the medieval worlds.

²⁶ See page 528.

His was an age of transition and innovation, influencing the whole future of Christendom. That it was the acknowledged beginning of a new epoch is recognized by many writers.

1. CONQUESTS LEAVE POPE IN UNDISPUTED HEADSHIP.—Justinian's first great burden was the full restoration of the glory of that former empire which the barbarians had divided, and the recovery of those rights over the West which his predecessors had maintained. This was largely realized through his conquests in Africa, Italy, and Spain. As a result, Justinian became the acknowledged and legitimate overlord of barbarian kings who had established themselves in Roman territory.²⁷ He was armed not only with the heritage of *past authority*, as sole remaining emperor in the Roman world, but now with actual *military supremacy* by reconquest in the West.

His achievements profoundly affected the whole future of Europe, and his intervention altered the entire status of the bishop of Rome. His victories were gained over people who to a large extent adhered to the teachings of Arius. Being subjugated by the sword, they foreswore Arianism and became followers of the doctrine of Athanasius, thereby enhancing the power of the bishop of Rome as they came automatically under his authority. And they found it to their interest to yield to the ecclesiastical leadership of the Roman pontiff. So the misfortunes of the times, however calamitous to others, were in all respects favorable to the papal ambitions.

2. SCOPE OF JUSTINIAN'S FAMOUS "CIVIL CODE."—Justinian's second and far more important achievement was the codification of the vast and confused mass of Roman law. This was accomplished by 529, and resulted in the Code, or Codex, the Digest, or the Pandects, and the Institutes, which together formed the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Body of Civil Law). And "no body of law reduced to writing has been more influential in the history of the world."²⁸

²⁷ Charles Diehl, "Justinian. The Imperial Restoration in the West," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, pp. 4-20.

²⁸ Ayer, *op. cit.*, p. 541; see also Diehl, "Justinian," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, chap. 1; George Finlay, *Greece Under the Romans*, chap. 3, sec. 6, pp. 290 ff.



EPOCHAL COMPILATION OF JUSTINIAN AND THE EMPEROR'S PORTRAIT

Title Page of a Famous Gothofredus Edition of Justinian's *Corpus Juris Civilis*, Containing His Code and (Right) Portrait in Mosaic of the Famous Byzantine Emperor Who Recognized the Bishop of Rome as "Head of All the Holy Churches." This Mosaic Likeness of the Emperor, Made in 547 at Ravenna, on the Walls of San Rafello, Still Stands

The Code was a gathering of imperial constitutions from the time of Hadrian (d. 138) to Justinian's day. Begun in 528, it received imperial confirmation on April 7, 529. But this first Code was imperfect. The second, or revised Code, was duly completed, and in December, 534, was given all the authority

The *Corpus Juris Civilis* (the Body of Civil Law) was made up of (1) The Code or Codex, (2) the Pandects, or Digest, (3) the Institutes, and (4) the Novels, or Novellae.

of law, to the absolute suppression of the first. The *Novellae* were new constitutions, new laws or amendments, put forth from time to time to meet the shortcomings of the Code. These were added throughout Justinian's lifetime, and a few came from his successors. The *Pandects* or the *Digest* of the best rulings of the ancient jurists, completed and published with unlooked-for speed, was dated December 16, 533. The *Institutes* were a manual of civil law arranged for students of law, based on the commentary of Gaius, receiving final ratification in December, 533. Multiplied by the pens of scribes, these were transmitted to the magistrates of Europe, Asia, and Africa. By 554 they were generally recognized as law.²⁹ Said Gibbon:

"The *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes* were declared to be the legitimate system of civil jurisprudence; they alone were admitted in the tribunals, and they alone were taught in the academies of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus."³⁰

3. JUSTINIAN PROVIDES THE LEGAL BASIS.—Justinian's third great achievement was the regulation of ecclesiastical and theological matters, crowned by the imperial Decretal Letter seating the bishop of Rome in the church as the "Head of all the holy churches," thus laying the legal foundation for papal ecclesiastical supremacy.

This last achievement of Justinian's reign was brought about not entirely by his imperial will and his decrees, but by circumstances which seemed to lead naturally and logically to such a development. Justinian had established the seat of government for the western part of his empire at Ravenna, thereby leaving the "eternal city" largely to the jurisdiction of its bishop. Further, the silent extinction of the consulship, which dignity had been revered both by Romans and barbarians, which he accomplished in the thirteenth year of his reign, likewise had the same tendency—that of establishing the influence of the bishop of Rome. Thus the entire conduct, policy, and

²⁹ T. C. Sandars, *Institutes of Justinian*, p. xxxiii.

³⁰ Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 44, vol. 4, p. 465.

exploits of Justinian, who reigned in such an important era of history, focalized in one point so far as the church was concerned—namely, the advancement of the see of Rome. Hence his name properly belongs with Constantine, Theodosius, and Charlemagne as one of the greatest advancers of the papal church.

4. LEGALIZED ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PAPACY.—In tracing the full *legalized establishment* of the Papacy to the acts and reign of Justinian, there is solid and abiding ground on which to stand. As stated, one of the first tasks that Justinian imposed upon himself, after ascending the throne in 527, was to reform the jurisprudence of the empire. With reference to this, Gibbon has said:

“The vain titles of the victories of Justinian are crumbled into dust; but the name of the legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument. Under his reign, and by his care, the civil jurisprudence was digested in the immortal works of the CODE, the PANDECTS, and the INSTITUTES; the public reason of the Romans has been silently or studiously transfused into the domestic institutions of Europe; and the laws of Justinian still command the respect or obedience of independent nations.”³¹

But the real significance of that achievement, as bearing upon our quest in tracing the emergence of papal supremacy, is further set forth by Gibbon:

“Justinian has been already seen in the various lights of a prince, a conqueror, and a lawgiver: the theologian still remains, and it affords an unfavourable prejudice that his theology should form a very prominent feature of his portrait. The sovereign sympathized with his subjects in their superstitious reverence for living and departed saints; his Code, and more especially his Novels [Novellae], confirm and enlarge the privileges of the clergy.”³²

The full significance of this statement should not be lost. In Justinian's Code are incorporated edicts of former emperors in favor of the Roman church, and in the celebrated Novellae, or new laws, the canons of the former general councils are turned into standing laws for the whole empire.³³

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

³² *Ibid.*, chap. 47, vol. 5, p. 132.

³³ J. E. A. Gosselin, *The Power of the Pope*, vol. 1, pp. 79-84.

In so doing, Justinian improved the advantage afforded by his reconquest of Italy to achieve his design of *a universal conformity in religious matters* that would exclude heresy and schism, as well as strengthen his own authority over the Western kingdoms. His object was to secure a unity of the church which should embrace both East and West. He considered there was no surer way of reducing them all to one religion than by the advancement of the authority of ecclesiastical Rome, and by acknowledgment of the head of that church as the promoter of unity among them, whose business it should be to overawe the conscience of man with the anathemas of the church, and to enforce the execution of the heavy penalties of the law. From about 539, the sovereign pontiff and the patriarchs began to have a corps of officers to enforce their decrees, as civil penalties began to be inflicted by their own tribunals.³⁴

Justinian, of course, was well aware that such a profound change could not be achieved merely by co-operation without a certain amount of coercion. The spirit of religious liberty was quite foreign to the age. Therefore we find that Justinian re-enacted the intolerant laws formerly given, and accepted them into his code; for instance, the law of Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, which stated:

"Privileges granted in consideration of religion should only benefit those who observe the rules of the Catholic Faith. We do not wish heretics to absolutely be excluded from these privileges, but that they should merely be restrained, and compelled to accept employment for which the said privileges afford exemption."³⁵

Then there is the more severe law of the year 396 given by the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, which stated:

"Let all heretics know positively that their places of assembly shall be taken from them, whether these are designated under the name of churches, or are called diaconates, or deaneries, or whether meetings of this kind are held in private houses; for all such private places or buildings shall be claimed by the Catholic Church."³⁶

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 160.

³⁵ The Code of Justinian, book 1, title 5, 1 (Scott's translation). (The Latin reads: "We not only wish heretics. . . .")

³⁶ *Ibid.*, title 5, 3.

In proportion as Christianity had become consolidated on the ruins of paganism, the emperors not only protected the public exercise of Christian worship but also confirmed by edicts the laws of the church on faith, morals, and discipline. Thus the general Council of Nicaea had been confirmed by Constantine; the Council of Constantinople, by Theodosius I (the Great); the Council of Ephesus, by Theodosius II (the Younger); and the Council of Chalcedon, by Marcian.³⁷

Other edicts confirmed the primacy of the Holy See, and the sanctification of Sunday and the festivals, together with the canonical penalties decreed by the church against transgression of her laws, so that there was scarcely an important article of faith or discipline not confirmed by imperial decree.³⁸ Temporal penalties had been imposed on heretics, the laws of Theodosius being especially heavy and numerous. And Justinian not only inserted these contributions into his Code, but promulgated others. In the same law in which he placed the canons of the first four general councils among the civil laws of the empire, he decreed that anyone holding unauthorized church services in a private house could lose his property and be expelled from the province, and further that no heretic should have the right to acquire land, upon pain of confiscation of his property, and without hope of restoration.³⁹

V. Establishing Mandate Embodied Permanently in Code

1. CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO PAPAL HEADSHIP DECISION.

—It is essential to understand the precise occasion and circumstance of the imperial letter that at last recognized the bishop of Rome as head of all the churches, East and West. Justinian was about to begin his Vandal wars, and was anxious to settle beforehand the religious disputes of his capital. The Nestorian controversy⁴⁰ had created considerable disturbance. Justinian,

³⁷ Gosselin, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 60.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.

³⁹ Justinian's 131st Novella, chaps. 8, 14. See Appendix C, p. 933.

⁴⁰ The Syrian bishop, Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople in 428, had protested the implications of the name "mother of God" given to the Virgin Mary; and this point, with others, had led to a deep split in the Eastern church. (See Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 337 ff.)

with a personal penchant for theological questions, plunged into the controversy with recourse to persecution to augment his arguments.⁴¹

By imperial decree the Nestorians were placed under a spiritual ban. In their distress some of the anathematized made appeal to Rome. The emperor then sent two Eastern prelates—Hypatius, bishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius, bishop of Philippi—as envoys to Rome to lay the case before Pope John. In the imperial letter which they bore, Justinian ruled in favor of the primacy, or precedency, of the bishop of Rome, which had been contested by the bishop of Constantinople ever since the removal of the capital to that city. In the fullest and most unequivocal form Justinian recognized, maintained, and established by imperial authority the bishop of Rome as the chief of the whole ecclesiastical body of the empire.⁴²

The imperial letter details the “heresy” of the Nestorian monks, and desires a rescript from Rome to Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople, and to the emperor himself, giving papal sanction to the judgment pronounced by the emperor upon the heresy. Justinian expresses his desire to present to his “Holiness” at Rome all matters that concern the church at large. Justinian also states that the patriarch of Constantinople has likewise written the pope as being desirous in all things to follow the apostolic authority of the Roman bishop.

And for the purpose of preserving the unity of the apostolic see, Justinian states that he has exerted himself to unite all the priests of the Eastern church and subject them to the bishop of Rome, and that he does not permit anything pertaining to the state of the church to be unknown “to Your Holiness,” “because you are the Head of all the holy churches.”⁴³ He was,

⁴¹ W. G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*, vol. 2, pp. 702, 703.

⁴² The text of portions of the Code bearing on this subject, including this imperial letter, appears in Appendix C.

⁴³ This is Scott's translation, in *The Civil Law*, in the section which he numbers book 1, title 1, section or chapter 4. But the standard numbering is 1, 1, 8 in *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (as in the Krueger edition). The Latin says literally: “*Vestrae . . . sanctitati, quia caput est omnium sanctorum ecclesiarum*” (to your Holiness, because it [Your Holiness] is head of all the holy churches). For other translations see William Cuninghame, *A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse*, pp. 185, 186; George Croly, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, pp. 168, 169; see also Richard Frederick Littledale, *The Petrine Claims*, p. 293.

of course, already the actual head in the West. Justinian concludes by declaring the doctrine held by the bishop of Rome to be the standard of the faith and the source of unity to all the Christian world.

The emperor's letter to Pope John must have been written before March 26, 533, for, in a letter of that date "to Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople, Justinian speaks of it as having already been written, and repeats his decision to Epiphanius, that all things touching the church shall be referred to the pope of ancient Rome, since he is "head of all the most holy priests of God," and adds that "by the decision and right judgment of his venerable see [heretics] are held in check."⁴⁵

2. ENACTMENT ESTABLISHED IN HEART OF CIVIL CODE.—Pope John's answer to Justinian, which is recorded in the Code,⁴⁶ is our source for the emperor's letter, for it quotes it entire, repeating the language of the emperor, applauding his homage to the Holy See, acknowledging the title—"head of all churches"—conferred on him by the imperial mandate, and commending Justinian's reverence for the "See of Rome," in that he had "subjected all things to its authority." John refers to Justinian's having "promulgated an Edict" against heretics, which was "confirmed by our authority." Thus the transaction was fully understood by both pope and emperor.

Justinian's momentous document to Bishop John II, of Rome, was not left to the dubious fate of the royal archives. Together with John's reply, and the imperial letter to Epiphanius, it was put into the Code, and cast into the form of law. Thus it obtained the stamp of public authority as a law of empire. And this designation of the pope as supreme head of the churches was repeated in various ways in the Civil Code.

⁴⁴ Referred to in Baronius, *op. cit.*, entry for year 533.

⁴⁵ Code of Justinian, book 1, title 1, 7, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Krueger ed.; not in Scott's translation); see also Croly, *op. cit.*, p. 170. For a translation of the beginning of this letter, see Appendix C, p. 932.

⁴⁶ Some have doubted the authenticity of these letters, but reputable authorities use them. (See Flick, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 180.) The fact that both letters are found in the standard modern critical edition of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, that of Mommsen and Krueger, is ample evidence that the best modern scholarship accepts them as genuine.

Its authenticity is sustained by the Preface to the ninth Novella, reading:

"Not only has the former Rome been allotted the origin of laws, but also there is no one who doubts that in her is the peak of the highest pontificate."⁴⁷

And the 131st Novella states:

"Hence, in accordance with the provisions of these Councils, we order that the Most Holy Pope of ancient Rome shall hold the first rank of all the Pontiffs, but the Most Blessed Archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, shall occupy the second place after the Holy Apostolic See of ancient Rome, which shall take precedence over all other sees."⁴⁸

Thus the supremacy of the pope over all Christians received the fullest sanction that could be given by the secular master of the Roman world. From this time, then, is to be dated the secular acknowledgment of the Papacy's claims to ecclesiastical primacy, which became effective generally in 538, by the freeing of Rome from the Ostrogothic siege.

It was thus that Justinian purchased the influence of Rome. Whatever the motive, the deed was done. And it was authentic and unquestionable, sanctioned by the forms of state, and never abrogated—the act of the first potentate of the world.⁴⁹ Thus the pen that wrote that imperial letter gave legal sanction to another Rome that was to have spiritual dominion for even longer than imperial Rome, and was later to climb to the peak of civil as well as religious domination.⁵⁰

3. LEGAL TRANSACTION COMPLETE AND AUTHORITATIVE.—

The title of the pope to supremacy over the church was later questioned in the East by the Patriarch of Constantinople, after the death of Justinian, and was in turn reaffirmed by Phocas in 606, as will be noted in chapter 22. But the establishing edict of Justinian was never rescinded. The importance attached to

⁴⁷ Translated from Novella 9 (collection 2, title 4) of Justinian, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Krueger ed.), Scott's translation, which often seems more of a paraphrase than a translation, is unsatisfactory here.

⁴⁸ Novella 131 of Justinian, 9th collection, title 6, chap. 2 (numbered title 14, chap. 2 in Scott's translation, here quoted).

⁴⁹ Croly, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-342.

⁵⁰ See pp. 398, 399, and chapter 27.

Justinian's Code in this study does not rest so much upon the great body of civil legislation contained therein as upon the incorporation of purely ecclesiastical edicts and regulations, and as a result the latter was given imperial and political sanction. And as the influence of Justinian's Code can be traced in the legislation of many European nations, this intertwining of religious and political power by law remained constant practically till the time of the French Revolution, when it was dethroned in Europe and when the Code of Napoleon a few years thereafter made a distinct separation between the ecclesiastical and the secular spheres.

The time of Justinian is therefore incontrovertibly the time of the beginning of the era of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Papacy. The placing of the letter to the pope in civil law, thereby embodying his primacy in that law, was a remarkable—yes, an incontrovertible—way of accrediting the pope, and of making prominent his new power and dignity.

It should be stressed that the Justinian transaction has all the requirements of completeness, authority, and publicity. Ecclesiastical dominion was conferred not only over the Western church but also over the Eastern—these two grand divisions theoretically embracing the territory of the old Roman Empire—and it was enforceable as far as Justinian's authority extended, for it had all the sanction that could be given by the imperial will, all the formality which belonged to imperial law, and all the authority comprehended under imperial supremacy.

4. REMOVAL OF GOTHIC IMPEDIMENT IN 538.—The beginning of the era of the headship of the Roman bishop over all the churches was not marked by some overmastering event in papal advance, or by an assumption of supreme ecclesiastical control; at that time the pope was hampered by the fact that Arian Ostrogoths were ruling Italy. Rather, it was only by the removal of the impediment of the Ostrogothic control, as their besieging forces were cleared away from Rome, that the Roman pontiff was free to exercise the jurisdiction now legally pro-

vided for through the imperial Code of Justinian. At that time the reinforcing second army of Justinian broke the Gothic siege of Rome, relieving the beleaguered Belisarius, and leaving thenceforth no power save the Papacy that could be said to hold sway through many centuries from the seven hills of the Eternal City.

One year and nine days had been consumed in the siege of Rome by the Goths, ending in March, 538.⁵¹ Thus the ancient seat of empire was preserved for the Papacy, for although Totila, king of the Goths, had resolved to make of Rome, which "surpassed all other cities," but "a pasture land for cattle," Belisarius wrote to dissuade him, and so he refrained from destroying it.⁵² The war against the Goths continued, for Ravenna did not immediately fall—five or six years passing before the remainder of the Gothic empire collapsed;⁵³ but the grave of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy was dug by the defeat of this siege,⁵⁴ the remaining resistance collapsing by 554.⁵⁵ And with the failure of this siege, says Finlay, "commences the history of the Middle Ages."⁵⁶

Bishop Silverius of Rome (536-c. 538) had been elected under the Gothic influence, and while Belisarius was besieged in Rome by the Goths under Witiges (Witigis, or Vitiges), Silverius was accused of favoring the Goths.⁵⁷ So in 537 Silverius was banished by Belisarius; and the deacon Vigilius, favorite of Theodora, was then elected pope.⁵⁸

It is not to be concluded that Vigilius came into office wielding more influence than his predecessors. The time when Roman pontiffs were to be temporal princes playing power

⁵¹ Procopius, *History of the Wars*, book 5, xxiv, in The Loeb Classical Library, *Procopius*, vol. 3, pp. 225-227; Diehl, "Justinian," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, chap. 1, p. 15; Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 41, vol. 4, pp. 323-325; George Trevor, *Rome: From the Fall of the Western Empire*, p. 53.

⁵² Horace K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 17, 18.

⁵³ Diehl, "Justinian," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, p. 18.

⁵⁴ Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 251, 252; Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 41, vol. 4, pp. 323, 324.

⁵⁵ Diehl, "Justinian," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, pp. 18, 19.

⁵⁶ Finlay, *Greece Under the Romans*, p. 295.

⁵⁷ James C. Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 2, pp. 297, 298.

⁵⁸ Hussey, *op. cit.*, p. 146; Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 327; Charles Diehl, "Justinian's Government in the East," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, p. 46.

politics among the rulers of Europe, and demanding allegiance and submission from kings, was far in the future, and even then the Papacy was to have its ups and downs. In 538 the prestige of the popes was at a low ebb under the dominating spirit of Justinian.⁵⁹ It is likely that Justinian never thought of Vigilius as anything more than the docile head of a "department of religion" in his imperial government, and intended to keep the reins the more firmly in his own hands by subjecting the whole church to the jurisdiction of a court favorite.

But the imperial acceptance of the Roman pontiff's assertions of primacy—already largely conceded in the West—had denied the claims of all rivals, and given him official status. Now Vigilius, owing his pontificate to imperial influence, and bolstered by this new legal recognition of the pope's *ecclesiastical* supremacy, marked the beginning of a long climb toward *political* power which culminated in the reigns of such popes as Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII. The temporary nature of Justinian's union of East and West, and the subsequent decrease in the concern of the Byzantine emperors with Western church affairs, only left the pope with a freer hand to develop that power. The change in the character of the Papacy from Vigilius on, and the final result of that change, have been well described: "From this time on the popes, more and more involved in worldly events, no longer belong solely to the church; they are men of the state, and then rulers of the state."⁶⁰

This transaction engendered new energy in Rome. As the Papacy began to assume more of a political character, and entered the path which led on toward temporal dominion, the voice of the Roman bishop took on a new authority throughout all Christendom. The growth of that irresistible tyranny before which Europe would often bow during the subsequent thousand years, was now begun. By enshrining in the imperial law the

⁵⁹ Diehl, "Justinian's Government," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, chap. 2, pp. 46, 47.

⁶⁰ Charles Bémont and G. Monod, *Medieval Europe*, p. 121.

long-claimed primacy of the pope, Justinian placed the cornerstone of that towering ecclesiastical structure that was to cast its shadow through succeeding centuries over the whole of Europe, and that was to intercept the guiding light of the Scriptures by its elaborate ceremonies in all their ancient heathen splendor—its ecclesiastical calendar crowded with thinly concealed pagan festivals, its pilgrimages, saint worship, and adoration of the virgin—and by its insistence on obedience to Rome, as the supreme duties of life.

Antichristian Principle Denounced

by Churchmen

Great changes are seldom made by a single drastic action. More often, in fact, nearly always, they are brought about by a slight veering away from the original course, caused by decisions which had to be made and for which there were no precedents. But these steps, once taken, generally and quite logically lead on to others. The divergence from the original pattern becomes wider, but is still defensible and apparently justifiable. However, it commonly leads to more decisions in the wrong direction. Thus the deviation gains momentum, and finally a course is taken and an end achieved that is far from the one originally intended. Indeed, it is often diametrically opposite to the one set forth by the founder. This very development came to pass, unfortunately, within the Christian church. One such important milestone in the tragic development is to be seen in the life and reign of Pope Gregory I.

“If Leo drew the outline of the mediaeval Papacy, Gregory made it a living power. He issued the first declaration of independence and assumed actual jurisdiction over the whole Western Church.”¹

We find Gregory denouncing as an antichristian principle the claim of one man—the rival Patriarch of Constantinople—to be Universal Bishop. Nevertheless, his energetic policy was destined to build up the Papacy toward the realization of that very principle. And in time the universal bishops at Rome—

¹ Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

as Gregory's successors did not hesitate to call themselves—became temporal princes, and makers and unmakers of kings. The Augustinian ideal of the churchly millennial kingdom came to hold sway—the *Civitas Dei*, under the headship of the Roman pope, ruling on earth, with secular rulers as the temporal administrators of the one kingdom of God on earth. The protest of Gregory against pride and self-seeking was forgotten.

But after several centuries, when corruption and venality became so evident, in the ninth and tenth centuries, as to draw attention to the contrast between the high pretensions and the actual practices of the Papacy, then we again hear echoes of Gregory's epithets. Solitary voices began to cry out sporadically that Antichrist might appear, in all likelihood, in the very seat of the one who proclaimed himself to be the vicar of Christ on earth. Or, even more specifically, that such claims might constitute the fulfillment of what Paul had prophesied in his second epistle to the Thessalonians. Let us look at Gregory I, and then sketch some of the developments which led to the protest voiced at the Synod of Rheims.

I. Gregory I—Proclaimer of Antichrist's Imminence

GREGORY I (c. 540-604), of patrician birth, was noted for his brilliance as a student. By the year 573 he had been appointed prefect of Rome by Justinian. But he soon broke with the world and became an abbot, employing his wealth to establish six monasteries in Sicily and another in Rome. Sent to Constantinople by Pope Pelagius II as his representative in 579, he entered into a prolonged and bitter dispute with the Byzantine Patriarch. The Eastern patriarchs had never really submitted to the popes, but were now in open feud with Rome, for the struggle for the primacy was still on.²

Gregory's pontificate (590-604) was a time of general distress in the political as well as in the ecclesiastical field,

² Hussey, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

though there was a temporary cessation from the controversy over Arianism, Nestorianism, and other theological issues. Gregory was an outstanding organizer, and built well the foundations of increasing power and grandeur for the papal see. In his time only parts of Italy were being governed in the name of the Eastern emperor—by an exarch, resident at Ravenna. The greater portion of northern Italy was overrun by the Lombards, who repeatedly threatened Rome. From these Gregory, by his resourcefulness, saved Rome.³ Unquestionably he was the most prominent and influential figure of his age. His wide interest and missionary fervor can be seen in the fact that he himself wanted to go to convert the Anglo-Saxons to the Roman faith, and after he had become pope he did everything possible to further the spread of Christianity and to extend it over the known world.

I. FOLLOWS AUGUSTINE ON MILLENNIUM AND RESURRECTION.—Gregory's favorite author and guide was Augustine of Hippo. And in harmony with the churchmen of the time⁴ he held and taught the allegorical, or spiritual, view of the present millennium and the world-filling stone. Thus he said significantly:

"The little stone, which, cut out of the mountain without hands, has occupied the whole face of the earth (Dan. ii.35), and which to this end everywhere distends itself, that from the human race reduced to unity the body of the whole Church might be perfected."⁵

Among others, Gregory wrote an extensive treatise entitled *Moralia*, also known as *Morals of the Book of Job*, or *Magna Moralia*. In this he seeks to connect passages from Daniel and the Apocalypse, with Job's Behemoth as Satan, whose tail as Antichrist, now "bound . . . by the dispensation of the divine power." In this he contends that Revelation 20:4 is being fulfilled:

³ James Barmby, *Prolegomena to The Book of Pastoral Rule, and Selected Epistles, of Gregory the Great*, pp. vi-ix in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 12; see also Ault, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, p. 215.

⁴ Gregory interpreted Augustine for the Middle Ages, and was second only to him as a theologian. (Ayer, *op. cit.*, p. 590.)

⁵ Gregory the Great, *Epistles*, book 5, Epistle 43 (to Eulogius and Anastasius), p. 179, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 12.

"He [Satan] is set forth as bound, indeed sent into the abyss, since, concealed in the hearts of the wicked, he is chained by the power of the divine dispensation, lest he should be unbridled to the extent of being able to injure, so that although he rages secretly through them, yet may not break out in violent plunder of pride. But it is intimated how he is to be loosed in the end of the world when it says: And after the 1,000 years were ended, Satan will be loosed from his prison. . . . For by the number 1,000 is expressed the whole period of the Holy church for her perfection, however much it may be."⁶

Since he follows Augustine, Gregory notes only one resurrection. The resurrection in the flesh, both of righteous and wicked, comes at the end of the world. This he discusses at length;⁷ and the judgment, he says, is the gate of the kingdom, where the elect enter their heavenly homeland.⁸

2. ETERNAL KINGDOM AT SECOND ADVENT.—Gregory seems to enjoy describing the second advent, and contrasting it with the first.⁹

"When with the heavens opened, with the angels ministering, and the apostles sitting with Him, Christ will have appeared on the throne of His majesty, all, both the elect and the reprobate, will see Him equally, so that the righteous may rejoice without end concerning the gift of recompense, and the unrighteous weep forever, in the vengeance of punishment."¹⁰

3. GREGORY PREACHES ON LUKE 21.—Gregory's Homily on Luke 21:9-19 weaves in much good advice to the faithful along with the explanations of the signs of the end. God has told us, he says, of the evils preceding the end of the world so that being fortified by knowing ahead of time, we might bear the ills of the world more bravely. The "wars and commotions," of which we are warned, he interprets as the "interior and exterior" troubles, from enemies and from brethren. But the end is not yet, for later, "nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom," followed by earthquakes, pestilence, famine, terrors in the sky, and great signs. The final

⁶ Translated from Gregory, *Moralia*, book 32, chap. 15, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 76, col. 649.

⁷ *Ibid.*, book 14, chaps. 55-59, vol. 75, cols. 1075-1082.

⁸ *Ibid.*, book 6, chap. 7, sec. 9, col. 734.

⁹ *Ibid.*, book 18, chap. 33, vol. 76, cols. 37, 38, and book 10, chap. 31, secs. 53, 54, vol. 75, cols. 951, 952, respectively.

¹⁰ Translated from Gregory, *Homiliae in Evangelia* (Sermons on the Gospels), book 1, homily 20, chap. 7, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 76, col. 1163.

tribulation is to be preceded by many tribulations, in order that they may announce the evil without end. These things come because man has turned to evil use everything given him for the use of life. But before these things happen there will come persecution, for "first the hearts of men, and afterwards the elements, are disturbed."¹¹

4. ANTICHRIST EXPECTED FROM DAN.—Gregory's warnings include the imminence of Antichrist's coming, likewise on the Augustinian basis, at the end of the present "thousand years" of the devil's binding. The subsequent loosing Gregory connects with the appearance of Antichrist and the great tribulation of Matthew 24, which must be shortened.¹² Antichrist, whose fore-runner is Antiochus, is identified with Daniel's Little Horn and Paul's Man of Sin, and he is already living in his members,¹³ Gregory adds. But he expects a future, personal Antichrist, a man from Dan, possessed of the devil,¹⁴ ruling the Jews, and persecuting not only the church but also the converted Jews, many of them won by the preaching of the Two Witnesses, Enoch and Elijah.¹⁵ Antichrist is to elevate himself and work miracles, casting down a third of the stars (of the church) just before the end, but he will be slain by Christ at His second advent.¹⁶

5. LINKS SEVENTH-DAY SABBATH WITH ANTICHRIST.—In a letter written A.D. 602/3, the year before his pontificate closed, in 604, Gregory curiously links the enforced observance of the seventh-day Sabbath and of Sunday with the final acts of Antichrist.

"It has come to my ears that certain men of perverse spirit have sown among you some things that are wrong and opposed to the holy faith, so as to forbid any work being done on the Sabbath day. What else can I call these but preachers of Antichrist, who, when he comes, will

¹¹ *Ibid.*, book 2, homily 35, secs. 1, 2, cols. 1259, 1260.

¹² Gregory, *Moralia*, book 32, chap. 14, secs. 22, 23, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 76, cols. 649, 650.

¹³ *Ibid.*, secs. 26, 27, cols. 651-653, and book 29, chap. 7, sec. 15, cols. 484, 485.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, book 31, chap. 23, sec. 43, col. 593, and book 15, chap. 58, sec. 69, vol. 75, col. 1117.

¹⁵ Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, book 1, homily 12, secs. 6-9, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 76, cols. 920-922.

¹⁶ Gregory, *Moralia*, book 32, chap. 15, secs. 25-27, vol. 76, cols. 651-653.

cause the Sabbath day as well as the Lord's day to be kept free from all work. For, because he pretends to die and rise again, he wishes the Lord's day to be had in reverence; and, because he compels the people to judaize that he may bring back the outward rite of the law, and subject the perfidy of the Jews to himself, he wishes the Sabbath to be observed."¹⁷

Gregory denounces the keeping of either day as the Sabbath of the fourth commandment, although prescribing cessation from labor and devotion to prayer on Sunday. He puts forth the spiritualizing view, often found among certain fathers, regarding true Sabbath observance, as Christians ceasing from sin:

"We therefore accept spiritually, and hold spiritually, this which is written about the Sabbath. . . . But we have the true Sabbath in our Redeemer Himself, the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . We introduce, then, no burden through the gates on the Sabbath day if we draw no weights of sin through the bodily senses to the soul."¹⁸

Thus Gregory connects the enforced Sabbath observance with the preachers of Antichrist, and makes it clear that both days were still being observed by some in Rome in A.D. 603.

Statements like these were all the more readily accepted because Gregory was a great teacher in other fields of theological learning. Farrar pertinently comments, "With him [Gregory] the age of theological originality ceased for five centuries."¹⁹ By interpreting prophecies concerning Antichrist in this manner, Gregory blinded the eyes of the believers to the real Antichrist developing in their very midst, and was himself so blinded that he thought he could see the millennial kingdom of Christ, with Satan bound, being fulfilled in his own chaotic times.

6. LOOKED FOR END AFTER HIS DAY.—Gregory's forebodings concerning the imminence of the last days were, as noted, based on the Augustinian premise. And this belief in the nearness of the end of the present world and the coming judgment was disseminated everywhere through his extensive

¹⁷ Gregory, *Epistles*, book 13, Epistle 1 (to the Roman citizens), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 13, p. 92.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Farrar, *History*, p. 245.

correspondence with emperors, kings, queens, and secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries. These epistles carried great weight throughout Christendom. His warning to Ethelbert (Edilbert), king of the Angles, is a specimen. Here he admonishes of the approaching "end of the present world," the signs of the times, and the coming Judge. He expects these soon, but not "in our days."

"We learn from the words of the Almighty Lord in Holy Scripture, the end of the present world is already close at hand, and the reign of the saints is coming, which can have no end. And, now that this end of the world is approaching, many things are at hand which previously have not been; to wit, changes of the air, terrors from heaven, and seasons contrary to the accustomed order of times, wars, famine, pestilences, earthquakes in divers places. Yet these things will not come in our days, but after our days they will all ensue. You therefore, if you observe any of these things occurring in your land, by no means let your mind be troubled, since these signs of the end of the world are sent beforehand for this purpose, that we should be solicitous about our souls, suspicious of the hour of death, and in our good deeds be found prepared for the coming Judge."²⁰

And again, in writing to the Patricians Venantius and Italica, Gregory asserts that "the end of the world draws near."²¹ Since the judgment is near—*judicio appropinquante*²²—let everyone fear Him whose glory and majesty draw near, for who can hide from Him who is everywhere?²³

7. PROTESTS CONSTANTINOPOLITAN USE OF "UNIVERSAL BISHOP."—A remarkable contest arose between Gregory, bishop of Rome, and the patriarchs of Constantinople and other metropolitan centers. The Byzantine Patriarch John the Faster—so called because of his pious austerities—had summoned a council, about 587, and assumed the title Universal Bishop. And in consequence Pope Pelagius II had disallowed the synod's action. Gregory, his successor, jealous of every assumption by his Eastern rival—not only because Constantinople was not a see founded by an apostle, but also because it was in the imperial capital—followed the example of his predecessor and took a

²⁰ Gregory, *Epistles*, book 11, Epistle 66, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 13, p. 82.

²¹ *Ibid.*, book 9, Epistle 123, p. 37.

²² Gregory, *Moralia*, book 7, chap. 27, sec. 33, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 75, col. 783.

²³ *Ibid.*, book 31, chap. 27, sec. 54, vol. 76, col. 603.

"distinctly authoritative attitude," declaring null and void the synod which had conferred the title upon the Constantinopolitan patriarch.²⁴ Greatly irritated, he strained every nerve to procure from the emperor a revocation of that title.²⁵

He began this vigorous protest about 594, and continued throughout his subsequent life to inveigh against the title Ecumenical (or Universal) Bishop, assumed by the Patriarch of Constantinople.²⁶ This controversy was the result of Gregory's determination to carry through his concept of Petrine rights and duties. He, of course, considered Rome the see of Peter, and the first in rank, but he set forth the theory that Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria were three parts of one apostolic see, which should curb the pretensions of Constantinople.²⁷

8. USERS BECOME PRECURSORS OF ANTICHRIST.—Gregory dispatched five letters of remonstrance—to the patriarch himself, to Sabinianus, his own legate at Constantinople, to Emperor Mauricius (or Maurice), and to Empress Constantina. Failing in his objectives, he sought to arouse the opposition of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch.²⁸ In these epistles he called the title "execrable," "atrocious," "frivolous," "profane," and "proud." He declared that whoever employed it was the "precursor of Antichrist."²⁹

The importance of these statements justifies citation of excerpts from the initial epistle to Bishop John:

"With what daring or with what swelling of pride I know not, you have attempted to seize upon a new name, whereby the hearts of all your brethren might have come to take offence. I wonder exceedingly at this. . . .

"What wilt thou say to Christ, who is the Head of the universal Church, in the scrutiny of the last judgment, having attempted to put all

²⁴ Barmby, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii, xxii, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 12; see also Gregory, *Epistles*, book 5, Epistles 18 (to John, bishop of Constantinople), 21 (to the empress), pp. 166-169, 171-173 respectively.

²⁵ Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, p. 220.

²⁶ According to Barmby (*op. cit.*, p. xxii), this title had previously been given occasionally to patriarchs generally.

²⁷ This was because it was believed that Peter had been bishop at Antioch before going to Rome, and that his disciple Mark had founded the church at Alexandria. (See Barmby, *op. cit.*, pp. xi, xii.)

²⁸ Gregory, *Epistles*, book 5, Epistles 18, 19, 20, 21, 43, pp. 166-173, 178, 179, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Epistle 20 (to Emperor Mauricius), p. 169.

his members under thyself by the appellation of Universal? Who, I ask, is proposed for imitation in this wrongful title but he who, despising the legions of angels constituted socially with himself, attempted to start up to an eminence of singularity, that he might seem to be under none and to be alone above all? . . . (Isai. xiv. 13)."³⁰

This final excerpt, stressing the last hour, the fulfillment of prophecy, and the nearness of the coming king of pride to put an army of priests under his yoke, should be especially noted. We shall meet it again.

"Of a truth it was proclaimed of old through the Apostle John, *Little children, it is the last hour* (I John ii. 18), according as the Truth foretold. And now pestilence and sword rage through the world, nations rise against nations, the globe of the earth is shaken, the gaping earth with its inhabitants is dissolved. For all that was foretold is come to pass. The king of pride is near, and (awful to be said!) there is an army of priests in course of preparation for him, inasmuch as they who had been appointed to be leaders in humility enlist themselves under the neck of pride."³¹

This letter was delivered to John by Gregory's legate Sabinianus, with the statement that only out of consideration for the emperor Mauricius had he written it so mildly. And to the emperor, who favored John, he wrote, "My fellow-priest John, attempts to be called universal bishop. I am compelled to cry out and say, *O tempora, O mores!*"³²

9. SUCH PRIDE DENOTES IMMINENCE OF ANTICHRIST.—To the empress he likewise deplored the pretensions of a fellow bishop.

"It is very distressing, and hard to be borne with patience, that my aforesaid brother and fellow-bishop, despising all others, should attempt to be called sole bishop. But in this pride of his what else is denoted than that the times of Antichrist are already near at hand?"³³

10. THIS ATTITUDE BELONGS TO ANTICHRIST.—In 595 Patriarch John died and was succeeded by Cyriacus. Gregory urged him likewise to "turn away from the pride of a profane name" and to reject the "impious appellation."³⁴ That admonition seems to have brought no response, for a later letter

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Epistle 18, p. 166.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

³² *Ibid.*, Epistle 20, p. 170.

³³ *Ibid.*, Epistle 21, p. 172.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, book 7, Epistle 4 (to Cyriacus), p. 212.

repeats the same counsel, stating the reason in these thought-provoking words:

“Because Antichrist, the enemy of God, is near at hand, I studiously desire that he may not find anything belonging to himself, not only in the manners, but even in the titles of priests.”³⁵

Thus he hinted that such an attitude was connected with Antichrist. And to the demurrer of the emperor against such strictures, Gregory “confidently” reiterated the charge that “whosoever calls himself, or desires to be called Universal Priest, is in his elation the precursor of Antichrist, because he proudly puts himself above all others.”³⁶ He compared this to the pride of Antichrist, who would wish to appear as God. But let us follow this further, as a crucial issue that we are destined to meet subsequently.

Other epistles followed, as Gregory sought the support of the ancient sees of Alexandria and Antioch. In a letter to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, and to Anastasius of Antioch, he referred to the difference between himself and Cyriacus of Constantinople “on account of the appellation of a profane name.”³⁷ Eulogius, in his answer, seems to have disclaimed the “use of proud titles,” and addressed Gregory saying, “As you have commanded,” and calling him “Universal Pope.” Gregory replied that he had not commanded, and begged him not to use such extravagant attributes, for no man had a right to be so called.³⁸

II. CONTROVERSY ENDS WITH PHOCAS' DECISION FOR ROME.

—Five years later we find Gregory again entreating Cyriacus to “make haste to remove from the midst of the church the offence of a perverse and proud title,” adding, “lest you should possibly be found divided from the society of our peace.”³⁹ This last letter to Cyriacus dates from the time when, in 602, the usurper Phocas had secured the Eastern throne by the murder of

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Epistle 31 (to Cyriacus), p. 224.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Epistle 33 (to Mauricius), p. 226.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Epistle 34 (to Eulogius), p. 226; see also Epistle 27 (to Anastasius).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, book 8, Epistle 30 (to Eulogius), p. 241.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, book 13, Epistle 40, vol. 13, p. 101.

Mauricius.⁴⁰ The Roman pontiff wrote congratulatory letters to Phocas, full of flattery, one of which begins:

“Glory to God in the highest who, according as it is written, changes times, and transfers kingdoms, seeing that He has made apparent to all what He vouchsafed to speak by His prophet, *That the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will* (Dan. iv. 17).”⁴¹

Gregory’s adulatory epistles were probably repaid, after his death, by the new emperor’s taking sides with the next pope against the patriarch. Phocas bore a secret grudge against the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the insecurity of his throne made him anxious to have the sanction of the powerful bishop of the West. So Phocas, the Eastern emperor, soon reaffirmed (about 606) the sole right of the bishop of Rome—then Boniface III—to the title of head of all the churches.⁴² Justinian had recognized it in covering principle more than seventy years previous, when he made the Roman bishop the “head of all the Holy Churches,” as has been noted. It was then that the legalized power of the Papacy had really begun, but Phocas’ decree was a reaffirmation. A pillar still stands in Rome, erected in 608, commemorating this act of Phocas.⁴³

But the irony of it all is that soon after Gregory’s death “what he had condemned in his oriental colleagues as anti-christian arrogance, the later popes considered but the appropriate expression of their official position in the church universal.”⁴⁴

12. DENOUNCES PRIDE BUT ADVANCES PAPAL POWER.—As Schaff soundly points out, Gregory, who is said to have first used the “humble-proud title,” *servant of the servants of*

⁴⁰ Pennington, *Epochs of the Papacy*, p. 16; Ayer, *op. cit.*, p. 595; Gibbon, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 64.

⁴¹ Gregory, *Epistles*, book 13, Epistle 31 (to Phocas), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 13, p. 99.
⁴² Baronius, *op. cit.*, entry for year 606, vol. 8, col. 225. Paulus Diaconus and Anastasius, the original historians who recorded the edict, state that Phocas confirmed this title. But the original has not been preserved. Gordon gives 606, Muratori, 607. (Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 162, 163, 302; see also Thomas Oestreich, “Boniface III-VII, Popes,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 660.)

⁴³ This Corinthian fluted column of Greek marble stands on a pyramid of eleven steps in the Roman Forum. Excavation at its base disclosed an inscription, giving its history, its appellation being “The Pillar of Phocas.” (Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 303, 304.)

⁴⁴ Schaff, *History*, vol. 3, p. 329.

God, did not really recede from the position of Leo I but merely claimed less while actually surpassing his boldness and energy. Flick remarks that although Gregory was personally averse to taking the office, and persistently opposed the title Universal Bishop, yet he upheld and extended the Petrine theory to the utmost, and under his able management "papal power was consolidated and made supreme in Western Europe."⁴⁵

Thus the same pope who not only called certain contemporary Sabbatarians preachers of Antichrist but also denounced his fellow patriarch as exhibiting an Antichristian spirit because he claimed the proud title of Universal Bishop, did more than any other of his day to build the fundamental structure of the religio-political empire which was to put that Antichristian assumption into practice on a scale he could never have foreseen.

Strange accuracy of perception—to see that the pretension to universal episcopacy would involve the prostration of all authority before it and the transfer of allegiance from Christ to Antichrist! And strange blindness, not to see that in the struggles for Roman primacy this very Antichristian principle he condemned was being built into the Roman church, and that the hierarchy were the makers thereof! When Gregory closed his remarkable career the Papacy of the Middle Ages was born, and in form strikingly resembled the empire. "He merged the office of Roman Emperor and Christian bishop into essentially one and thus became the real founder of the mediaeval Papacy."⁴⁶

II. Effects of the Saracen Menace

1. THE POPE AND CHARLES MARTEL.—Let us now turn over some pages of the book of history, so as to follow the further development of the church. Hardly had the church recuperated from the violent upheavals caused by the migrations of the barbarians from the north when another more dangerous blow threatened her from the southeast. Out of Arabia, Islam

⁴⁵ Flick, *op. cit.*, pp. 188, 189.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

began its victorious march. Sweeping from Asia through North Africa, and Spain, it began to encircle the Mediterranean and endanger Western Christianity.⁴⁷ The pope was forced to call upon every available military resource to defend the faith from the followers of the Arabian prophet, who were so effectively attacking the Byzantine Empire. The pope was not left without protection. He could not look for help to the east, but help came from the north. It was Charles Martel, father of Pepin, who led the Franks in defeat of the Saracens in Gaul in 732, at the Battle of Tours, which saved Christendom from Islam.⁴⁸ In gratitude Pope Gregory III sent him "the keys of the Confession of St. Peter."⁴⁹

2. SARACEN CONQUESTS STIMULATE STUDY OF PROPHECIES.

—The Saracen inroads upon Christendom considerably weakened the rival patriarchs in the East, who had disputed the Roman bishop's supremacy, and demonstrated the importance of union beneath a central authority. Still another result, bearing upon our quest, was that during the oppressive conquests of the Saracens the prophecies concerning Antichrist were searched anew by the monks and priests⁵⁰—in the hope they would yield perhaps an indication that Mohammed or his fierce followers could be meant by the passages referring to Antichrist.

III. Forged "Donation" Used to Justify Temporal Dominion

The ecclesiastical supremacy of the bishop of Rome, recognized by Justinian in the sixth century, was confirmed by Phocas in the seventh. Quest for temporal dominion by the popes therefore followed in logical sequence in the eighth century. By now, the papal system had established a secure despotism over the minds of men far from the confines of Rome. Truth was firmly reckoned as springing from tradition as well as from

⁴⁷ Pennington, *Epochs*, pp. 20, 21.

⁴⁸ Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 52, vol. 6, pp. 15-17.

⁴⁹ Christian Pfister, "Gaul Under the Merovingian Franks," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, p. 130.

⁵⁰ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. 3, p. 187; Charles Maitland, *op. cit.*, pp. 430, 431.

Scripture, with the pope as the interpreter of both. Everywhere there was national, social, and political confusion. Education had become ecclesiastical, and piety monastic, with sacerdotal authority in the ascendancy.⁵¹

1. PEPIN MAKES POPE A TEMPORAL SOVEREIGN.—When the Lombards seized Ravenna, ravaged Italy, and threatened Rome, Pope Stephen II (752-757)⁵² sought the aid of Pepin, king of the Franks, to “restore” the domain of St. Peter. Pepin drove them back, but the Lombards returned again. Stephen then conceived a new stratagem, warning Pepin in the name of St. Peter and the “Holy Mother of God” not to separate from the “kingdom of God” but to save Rome, promising him long life and glorious mansions in heaven. Pepin responded gratifyingly, being persuaded by Stephen to secure to the pope “the Exarchate, taken away from the Longobards, with Ravenna for its capital, and twenty other towns of the Emilia, Flaminia, and Pentapolis, or the triangle of coast between Bologna, Comacchio, and Ancona.”⁵³ Thus in 755 the Papal States were established, and the pope became a temporal ruler.

This territory was acquired by offering the blessings of the gospel and brandishing threats of eternal damnation. On this Schaff remarks:

“To such a height of blasphemous assumption had the papacy risen already as to identify itself with the kingdom of Christ and to claim to be the dispenser of temporal prosperity and eternal salvation. . . . But by this gift of a foreign conqueror he [the pope] became a temporal sovereign over a large part of Italy, while claiming to be the successor of Peter who had neither silver nor gold, and the vicar of Christ who said: ‘My kingdom is not of this world.’ The temporal power made the papacy independent in the exercise of its jurisdiction, but at the expense of its spiritual character.”⁵⁴

2. THE FORGED DONATION OF CONSTANTINE.—To bring about this acquisition as a *restoration*, Stephen evidently em-

⁵¹ Farrar, *History*, pp. 246, 247.

⁵² Actually Stephen III, but inasmuch as his predecessor lived only four days after his election, he is commonly referred to as Stephen II.

⁵³ Johann J. Ignatz von Döllinger, *The Pope and the Council*, pp. 133-135; G. L. Burr, “The Carolingian Revolution and Frankish Intervention in Italy,” *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, p. 587.

⁵⁴ Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 234, 235.

ployed the legend of the "Donation of Constantine," which is supposed to have circulated for some time before the forged document appeared.⁵⁵ This most famous forgery in European history was probably written soon after the middle of the eighth century, and became extensively known through its incorporation in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (c. 847-853). Portions were also included in certain medieval collections of canon law; in that of Gratian it is placed among the *Paleae*, or authorities added later.⁵⁶

Forgeries—spurious documents, impostures—thus became another major means employed for influencing the rulers of the day, and for the strengthening and consolidating of the superstructure of the papal dominion.⁵⁷ In fact, the next great expansion was largely based on this fabricated Donation of Constantine. Ignorance was so generally prevalent that Rome could safely presume upon the credulity of her spiritual subjects.⁵⁸ One would think that the church would be above such degrading devices as forgeries, especially in view of the fact that power had so markedly played into her hands that she did not really need any illegitimate tricks to bolster her claims. But in spite of it all, for centuries she appealed to this forged document as her title deed to spiritual and temporal dominion, until it was exposed by Lorenzo Valla and others in the fifteenth century.⁵⁹ Of this fraud Gibbon says:

"So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times that the most absurd of fables was received, with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law. The emperors and the Romans were incapable of discerning a forgery that subverted their rights and freedom."⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Warren O. Ault, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, p. 166.

⁵⁶ Christopher B. Coleman, *The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine*, p. 1; A. Van Hove, "Corpus Juris Canonici," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, p. 392.

⁵⁷ See Döllinger, *The Pope and the Council*, pp. 94-150, for a comprehensive and dependable discussion of the whole forgery scheme.

⁵⁸ Pennington, *Epochs*, pp. 52-58; Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 49, vol. 5, pp. 273, 274.

⁵⁹ Valla (d. 1457) was papal secretary and canon of St. John Lateran at Rome. Undaunted by the papal power, in 1440, when he was secretary to Alfonso, king of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples, he exposed the spuriousness of the Donation of Constantine. The first printed edition of this work is that of 1517. See *The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine*, text, with translation by Coleman. Also Nicholas (Krebs) of Cusa sensed its fraudulent character, as did Reginald Pecock. See Johann J. Ignatz von Döllinger, *Fables Respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages*, pp. 107-178; Farrar, *History*, p. 313. After Baronius conceded its spuriousness, further defense ended.

⁶⁰ Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 49, vol. 5, p. 274.

3. EXTRAVAGANT SPECIFICATIONS OF THE DONATION.—In this Donation the city of Rome and the Exarchate of Ravenna were allegedly given by Constantine to Pope Sylvester I (314-335) and to all his successors, supposedly as he declared his intention of transferring his own seat of government to Constantinople. This fantastic document decreed and ordained that the bishop of Rome, upon whom Constantine allegedly conferred the Lateran palace, the tiara, and all the imperial robes and insignia, as well as “all the provinces, districts and cities of Italy or of the western regions,” should hold spiritual supremacy over the four patriarchal sees of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople (which latter see was not yet founded!), and “also over all the churches of God in the whole world.” Thus the pontiff was declared to be chief over all the priests of the world.⁶¹

The document begins in the name of the Holy Trinity, and concludes by consigning to the nethermost hell all who contravene its provisions.⁶² Constantine is alleged to have said:

“And in our reverence for the blessed Peter, we ourselves hold the reins of his horse, as holding the office of his stirrup-holder; and we ordain that all his successors shall wear the same mitre in their processions, in imitation of the empire; and that the Papal crown may never be lowered, but may be exalted above the crown of the earthly empire, lo! we give and grant, not only our palace as aforesaid, but also the city of Rome, and all the provinces and palaces and cities of Italy and of the western regions; to our aforesaid most blessed Pontiff and universal Pope.”⁶³

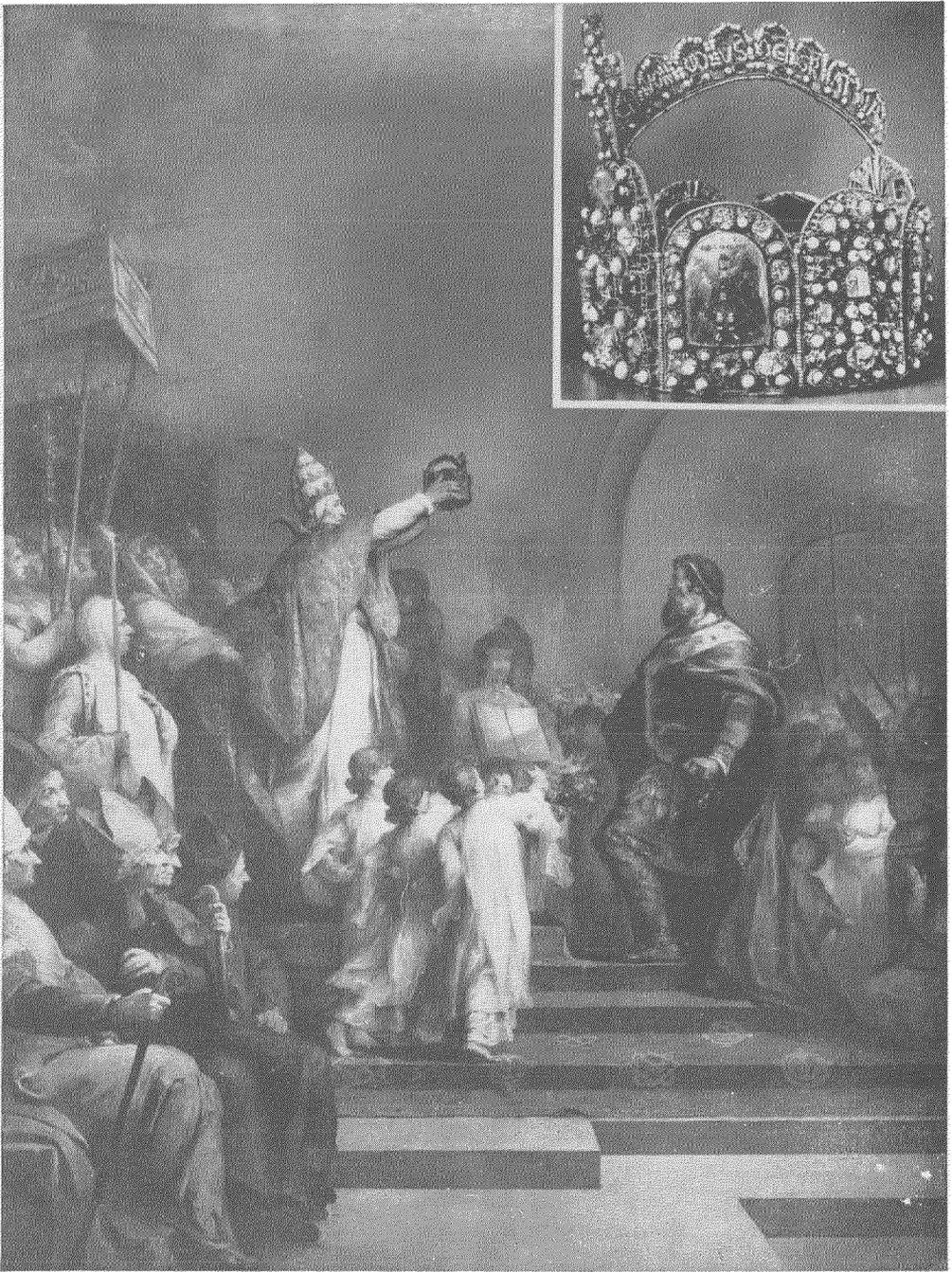
IV. Charlemagne Attempts Christian Theocracy on Augustinian Pattern

Upon the death of Pepin (768), there occurred a Lombard insurrection in Italy. Responding to the request of the pope, Pepin's son Charlemagne (742-814) soon overthrew it, and established his rule over the Lombards. Charlemagne, probably

⁶¹ It should also be borne in mind that the pontifical title “*Vicarius Filii Dei*” first appeared in this Donation, and continued to be included after the exposure of the document in various editions of the *Decretum of Gratian*—such as 1591, 1612, 1687, 1695, 1705, 1717, and 1879.

⁶² Pennington, *Epochs*, pp. 53-56; J. P. Kirschl, “Donation of Constantine,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, pp. 118-121.

⁶³ Translation in E. F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 319-329; part appears in Pennington, *Epochs*, pp. 53-57; see also Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 49, vol. 5, pp. 373-375.



THE CROWNING OF CHARLEMAGNE BY LEO III

The Coronation of Charlemagne at Rome, in 800, by Leo III, as Emperor of the "Roman Empire" Laid the Foundation for Far-reaching Developments and Conflicts. In the Inset Is a Photograph of the Jeweled Crown Said to Be That Used by the Pope to Crown Charlemagne

influenced by the legendary Donation as referred to in the letter from Pope Hadrian,⁶⁴ in 774 increased Pepin's grant by accessions of territory, and was rewarded by the crown of the West. Charlemagne had visited Rome several times. But during the king's fourth and last pilgrimage Leo III carried into effect a design long contemplated—his assertion of independence from the East, which had long ceased to afford him protection.⁶⁵

1. POPE ALIGNED WITH HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.—On Christmas Day in 800, Pope Leo III was seated on his throne in his stately church in Rome, surrounded by his clergy. Charlemagne was kneeling before the altar. Suddenly the pope arose, anointed him, administered the coronation oath in which Charlemagne was pledged to guard the faith and privileges of the church, and placed the imperial crown upon his brow, as emperor of the Romans.⁶⁶ This territory—Italy and those lands acknowledging the overlordship of the German monarch—later came to be known as the Holy Roman Empire. Charlemagne considered himself the successor of the Caesars, and styled himself Augustus. Under the weak successors of Charlemagne, however, the empire dwindled to a merely nominal existence. But it was revived by the German king Otto I, in 962, and continued, despite all the shocks and changes of time, until 1806.⁶⁷

2. RELENTLESS STRUGGLE FOR HIGHEST PLACE BEGINS.—This attempted restoration of the Western empire was one of a series of intrigues by which the pontiffs secured support of the Western world. The act of crowning, of course, implied the right of uncrowning.⁶⁸ Thenceforth the interests of the pope and the emperor were closely united. The effect was seen at once in the augmenting of papal power, as the pope thus

⁶⁴ Hadrian I, Letter 1 to Charlemagne, in Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 12, cols. 819-821; Döllinger, *The Pope and the Council*, pp. 132, 133; Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 250 ff.

⁶⁵ Pennington, *Epochs*, p. 25; Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16; Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 49, vol. 5, pp. 280 ff.

⁶⁶ Baronius, *op. cit.*, entry for year 800, vol. 9, cols. 533, 534.

⁶⁷ Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 251-257, 261-265; Ernest Barker, "Empire," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 8, pp. 404-406, 409.

⁶⁸ Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, p. 253.

obtained recognition of a spiritual empire commensurate with the secular empire of Charlemagne.⁶⁹ King and pope now stood together at the summit of empire. And here began the increasingly relentless struggle for highest place, which continued for centuries, and climaxed in the exaltation of the Papacy over imperial power.⁷⁰ Not until the Reformation was launched did a new era appear.

3. ATTEMPTS TO MATERIALIZE AUGUSTINE'S CITY OF GOD. —Charlemagne's great ambition was to consolidate the Teutonic and Latin races under his own Frankish temporal scepter, linking them closely with the spiritual dominion of the pope. Thus he sought to set up a sort of Christian theocracy, derived from the concept set forth in Augustine's *City of God*, a book that was his delight and study.⁷¹ This explains his great zeal for the advancement of the church. Thus in Charlemagne's empire was to be realized the dream of Augustine—"one God, one emperor, one pope, one city of God"—the millennial reign of Christ.

"Charles looked upon his Empire as a Divine State. He felt that he had been appointed by God as the earthly head of Christians. He read and loved Augustine's book *de Civitate Dei*. He believed that he had set up the *Civitas Dei*, in the second empirical sense, which Augustine placed beside the *Civitas Dei* as the spiritual union of all saints under the grace of God, as a great earthly organisation for the care of common earthly needs in a manner pleasing to God, and for the worthy preparation for the better life in the world to come. Augustine, it is true, had seen the empirical manifestation of the *Civitas Dei* in the universal Catholic Church. Charles saw no contradiction. For him the ecclesiastical body and the secular were one. He was the head. And while Augustine placed the Roman Empire as fourth in the order of world-empires and as *Civitas Terrena* in opposition to the Kingdom of God, for Charles this dualism was no more—his *Imperium Romanum* is no *Civitas Terrena*. It is identical with the earthly portion of the church founded by Christ."⁷²

But the popes aimed next at supremacy over emperors

⁶⁹ Thomas M. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation*, vol. 1, pp. 31, 32; Guinness, *History*, p. 65.

⁷⁰ Flick, *op. cit.*, pp. 307 ff.

⁷¹ Frederic Austin Ogg, *Source Book of Mediaeval History*, p. 111.

⁷² Gerhard Seeliger, "Conquests and Imperial Coronation of Charles the Great," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, p. 628.

to effect their own supreme rule. The medieval church from its origin had absorbed into itself the Roman world empire as an idea and a force, for worldly forces forever aspire to world domination. The church soon developed aggressive characteristics following the pattern Charlemagne had given on how the *Vicarius Christi* on earth must rule.

V. Forged "Decretal Epistles" Affords Supremacy Over Kings

Papal ambition had heretofore been directed to the establishment of ecclesiastical supremacy. But in the ninth and tenth centuries this, as noted, was extended to embrace a new realm of conquest. Already richly endowed by Pepin and Charlemagne, the empire and the Papacy entered a tremendous struggle for supremacy. At first the popes submitted to the authority of the emperor, with excommunication as the weapon commonly wielded in their struggle with the world's great potentates. Gibbon significantly observes, "Under the sacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter, the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Tiber, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate."⁷³

I. PAPAL SUPREMACY BUILT ON FABRICATION OF DECRETALS.—But the boldest of Rome's growing claims had their basis in the False Decretals, or the Decretals of the Pseudo-Isidore, the second of two notorious forgeries. (The first was, of course, the Donation of Constantine.) The effect of these forgeries was tremendous in advancing the temporal rulership and ecclesiastical supremacy of the popes—the Donation of Constantine forwarding the one, and the False Decretals the other.⁷⁴ Two authorities on Rome will suffice.

"Before the end of the eighth century, some apostolical scribe, perhaps the notorious Isidore, composed the decretals, and the donation of Constantine, the two magic pillars of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the popes."⁷⁵

"Upon these spurious decretals was built the great fabric of papal

⁷³ Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 49, vol. 5, p. 268.

⁷⁴ See Migne, *PL*, vol. 130; also *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, edited by Hinschius.

⁷⁵ Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chap. 49, vol. 5, pp. 273, 274.

supremacy over the different national churches; a fabric which has stood after its foundation crumbled beneath it; for no one has pretended to deny, for the last two centuries, that the imposture is too palpable for any but the most ignorant ages to credit."⁷⁶

Ignorance of the true history of the past has been bolstered up by these carefully devised fictions. The forged Donation of Constantine came to be regarded as indisputable as the canons of the Council of Nicaea, and the fabricated decretals of Isidore lay at the basis of all papal law.⁷⁷

The False Decretals were brought forward about 850 by a compiler who used the pseudonym of Isidor Mercator. These purported rescripts, or decrees, contained everything necessary for the establishment of full spiritual supremacy of the popes over the sovereigns of Christendom. Probably no volume ever published has exercised a more injurious influence on both church and state. The False Decretals were the alleged judgments of the popes of former ages, in avowedly unbroken succession from the first century, in answer to various matters submitted to them. Rome was set forth therein as a court of appeal to protect bishops from the tyranny of metropolitans or of civil authorities. These decretals supplied the popes with the means of establishing the superior jurisdiction of Rome and her authority over the faith and practices of Christendom.⁷⁸

2. EXALTED POPE, DEBASED MONARCHS, AND ABSOLVED SUBJECTS.—The author or authors of the volume are unknown, but consummate skill was shown in its construction, as seven genuine papal epistles are included—just enough to give credence to the surrounding sixty-five forgeries.⁷⁹ Popes of the first three centuries are made to quote documents that did not appear until the fourth and fifth centuries, and sixth-century popes from documents belonging to the seventh, eighth, and early ninth centuries.⁸⁰

This forgery was brought into active use by Pope Nicholas

⁷⁶ Henry Hallam, *View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, p. 164.

⁷⁷ Charles Beard, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 4.

⁷⁸ Pennington, *Epochs*, pp. 607 ff.; Salmon, *The Infallibility of the Church*, pp. 447 ff.

⁷⁹ Pennington, *Epochs*, p. 64.

⁸⁰ Louis Saltet, "False Decretals," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, p. 773.

I (858-867), who pressed the issue of the Roman supremacy to the point of absolute monarchy.⁸¹ And the Decretal Epistles were declared by this pope to be on an equality with Scripture.⁸² In the exercise of this supremacy, the pope was to exalt or debase monarchs, and absolve subjects from oaths of allegiance. As Gregory and the Roman Synod of 1080 declared: "We desire to show the world that we can give or take away at our will kingdoms, duchies, earldoms, in a word, the possessions of all men; for we can bind and loose."⁸³

3. DECRETALS MAIN PILLAR OF GREGORY'S STRUCTURE.—

The authority of the Decretal Epistles was supreme until the Reformation, when they were subjected to searching criticism. The fraud was then recognized by learned divines of the Reformed churches, including Bishop Jewel, as well as by antecedent scholars. For a time Catholic controversialists struggled to maintain its authenticity. But the evidence was so overwhelmingly against them that they were at last obliged to admit its imposture, the fraud even being admitted by Pius VI in 1789. Thus they stand condemned by the united voice of Christendom.

Nevertheless, it was on this fraudulent decretal foundation that Gregory VII (1073-85)—the first to assert the authority of overthrowing kings as belonging to the pope—was to build his superstructure, seeking to weld together the states of Europe into a priestly kingdom, of which he should be head, reigning over all.⁸⁴ Döllinger goes so far as to say, "Without the pseudo-Isidore there would have been no Gregory VII."⁸⁵

Weapons are never forged to rust in arsenals; the temptation is too great to use them in order to prove their effectiveness. Thus, the popes began to use these ninth-century Decretals of

⁸¹ Salmon, *Infallibility*, pp. 449, 450.

⁸² Pennington, *Epochs*, p. 60.

⁸³ Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 20, col. 535, anno 1080, translated rather freely in Döllinger, *The Pope and the Council*, p. 110.

⁸⁴ Döllinger, *The Pope and the Council*, p. 109. Gregory VII, however, apparently never quoted the Donation of Constantine in his struggle for the control of the secular power, though Leo IX did, as did also Urban II, in 1091. (See Coleman, *Constantine the Great and Christianity*, p. 178; Döllinger, *Fables*, pp. 134, 135; Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, vol. 4, part 1, pp. 175 ff.; Kirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 121.)

⁸⁵ Döllinger, *The Pope and the Council*, p. 105.

Pseudo-Isidore in making increasingly bolder claims, fortifying their demands with threats of their alleged authority which they were supposed to derive from these decretals. But at times they ventured too far, and overstepped their boundaries, causing an outcry from fearless men within the church, and drawing upon them the epithets which had been set forth in the inspired writings, as men began to recognize the real nature of this power. Here is a classic episode of the tenth century.

VI. Antichrist Seen on Papal Throne

1. CHARGE MADE AT SYNOD OF RHEIMS.—During the pontificate of John XV (985-996), Arnulf, archbishop of Rheims, was charged with high treason toward King Hugh Capet of France. In 991 a council was called by the king, in the church of St. Basel, near Rheims, to decide his guilt. The king had notified the pope of the appointed council, but received no reply. A group of bishops and archbishops were present, and several abbots, with Siguin (Sequinus), archbishop of Sens, as chairman and the learned Gerbert as secretary.⁸⁶ Fortunately the records of the council were preserved.

Arnulf was brought before the council and evidence adduced to prove his guilt. In his defense the Isidorian decretals were produced by certain distinguished clerics, to show that the synod had no right to judge a bishop; only the pope might do so.⁸⁷ But despite the decretals, and without waiting for an answer from the pope, Arnulf, archbishop of Rheims, was deposed. In the prosecution another Arnulf, the learned bishop of Orleans, leading spirit of the council, spoke out with astonishing plainness against Roman claims to jurisdiction. He made a strong and eloquent argument, employing an array of council canons and papal writings to prove that for the decision of local matters a provincial council was sufficient. Standing as the

⁸⁶ Abel François Villemain, *Life of Gregory the Seventh*, vol. 1, pp. 172 ff.; J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 32-34; Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 290-292; Gieseler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 132, 133.

⁸⁷ Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 70; J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 32; Gieseler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 133, note 21.

advocate of ecclesiastical freedom, he denied that the Roman pontiff could reverse the ancient laws of the church.⁸⁸

2. BISHOP OF ORLEANS APPLIES "ANTICHRIST" TO POPE.—Enlarging first upon the degradation and venality of the church in the ninth and tenth centuries, and especially the enormities of recent popes, the bishop of Orleans exclaims, "O wretched Rome! who after having enlightened our ancestors by the light of the holy fathers, hast spread over our times those clouds of darkness that will be a disgrace in after ages!"⁸⁹ After listing the great papal lights of the past, he contrasts the dread miseries "under which we groan at this present." He boldly protests these papal corruptions:

"Looking at the actual state of the papacy, what do we behold? John [XII.] called Octavian, wallowing in the sty of filthy concupiscence, conspiring against the sovereign whom he had himself recently crowned; then Leo [VIII.] the neophyte, chased from the city by this Octavian; and that monster himself, after the commission of many murders and cruelties, dying by the hand of an assassin."⁹⁰

Deploring the fact that shining light had been superseded by darkness, Arnulf then asks whether the "priests of the Lord over all the world are to take their law from monsters of guilt like these [John XII and Boniface VII]." And, in the midst of the council, this bishop of Orleans makes the bold charge of prostitution of the papal office and applies the term Antichrist to the pope in these truly epochal words:

"What shall we say, revered fathers? To what blemish shall we attribute the fact that the first of the Churches of God, once so lifted up and crowned with glory and honour, should be brought down so low and tarnished with shame and infamy? If we severely expect gravity of manners, purity of life, joined to sacred and profane learning, in every man who is ordained to the Episcopate; what ought not to be exacted in the case of him who aspires to be the teacher of all bishops. How, then, is it that those have been put in possession of that most high See, who were not worthy to fill any place whatsoever in the priesthood? What, in your eyes, reverend fathers, is that Pontiff, seated on a throne, and clad in purple and gold? If he hath not charity, and be puffed up with his learning only, he

⁸⁸ J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 33.

⁸⁹ Villemain, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 174.

⁹⁰ Quoted in Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, p. 290.

is Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and demeaning himself as a god; he is like unto a statue in that temple, like a dumb idol, and to ask of him a reply, is to appeal to a figure of stone."⁹¹

Amazing statement from the lips of a Catholic bishop,⁹² uttered in solemn council assembly, concerning the absent pope of Rome! A new epoch of prophetic interpretation in the identification of the Papacy, with the pope as its head, was definitely under way. Antichrist, Beast, Babylon, Man of Sin, and finally, Little Horn were the terms employed by a growing chorus of voices.

3. DECLARES "MYSTERY OF INIQUITY IS BEGUN."—Asserting that the church is "not subject to a wicked pope," Bishop Arnulf continues:

"Let us imitate the great church of Africa, which, in reply to the pretensions of the Roman pontiff, deemed it inconceivable that the Lord should have invested any one person with his own plenary prerogative of judicature, and yet have denied it to the great congregations of his priests assembled in council in different parts of the world."⁹³

Then comes this astonishing declaration, citing Paul's prophecy of 2 Thessalonians 2:

"There is, in the words of the apostle, division not only among the nations, but in the Churches, because the time of Anti-christ approaches; and, as the same apostle says, the mystery of iniquity is begun. It is manifest that in the decay of Roman power and the abasement of religion, the name of God is degraded with impunity by those who are perjured, and that the observance of His holy religion is despised by the sovereign pontiffs themselves."⁹⁴

As a result of this revolutionary speech, Arnulf of Rheims confessed his guilt, and was required by council action to surrender the ensigns of his temporalities and those of his spiritual power, and compelled to read an act of abdication.⁹⁵ The deposed

⁹¹ This English translation is from Villemain, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 175, 176. Various translations are given by Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 290-292; Neander, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 369, 370; and others. For the original text see Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 19, anno 991, col. 132.

⁹² According to Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, p. 292, Gerbert—afterward Pope Sylvester II—was possibly the framer of the speech. Baronius, unable to decide, divides the responsibility, noting in the margin of his *Annales* (entry for the year 992, p. 877), "Horrible blasphemy of Gerbert or Arnulf." But the consensus of evidence indicates Arnulf. (See J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 33, note.)

⁹³ Quoted in Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, p. 291.

⁹⁴ Villemain, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 176.

⁹⁵ Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 70, 71; J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 33, 34; Wilhelm Möller, *History of the Christian Church*, per. 2, chap. 2, vol. 2, p. 181.

archbishop was then sent to prison at Orleans, and Gerbert was chosen archbishop in his place. Pope John XV declared the decrees of the Rheims Synod null and void, but the French bishops held firm. His successor, Gregory V, threatened France with an interdict unless Arnulf was restored. Gerbert was compelled to yield, and Arnulf was finally reinstated in Rheims.⁶⁰ Thus the claims of the Decretals of Pseudo-Isidore triumphed.

The significance of the Synod of Rheims, on prophetic interpretation, is that we find here the echo of Gregory's cry against Antichristian pride, leveled now, however, at the overweening pride of the Papacy itself. And it is the forerunner of other voices, identifying the Papacy with the Antichrist, voices that will be seen to multiply until the chorus reaches a grand crescendo in the Reformation. For the present, having sketched thus far a phase of church development, we must return to examine the development and ultimate reversal of the Tichonian-Augustinian school of prophetic interpretation, with its churchly millennial concept.

⁶⁰ Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, p. 292; Gieseler, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 133, 134; J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 39; Neander, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 371-374.

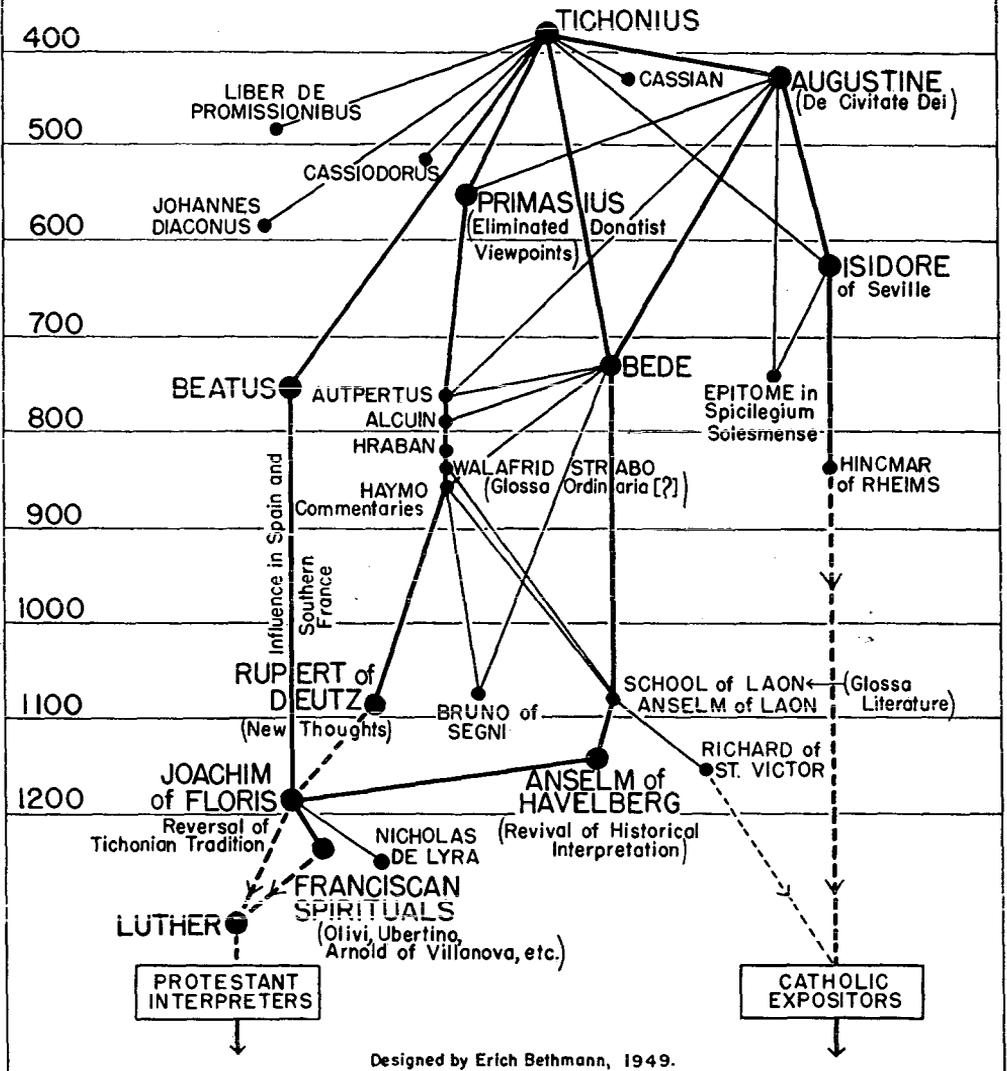
Gradual Reversal of Tichonius Tradition

Tichonius, it will be remembered, started prophetic interpretation in a new direction with his Seven Rules, which influenced Augustine's doctrine of the Christian Age millennium. Tichonius' view, not only of the millennium, but also of the nonhistorical approach to the Apocalypse—finding in its prophecies only abstract principles applicable to the church with little regard to time and place—was the source of the dominant medieval interpretation. We shall here trace the succession of writers who came under this influence until a reawakening to historical realities brought a reversal of this theory. To say that the Tichonian tradition was dominant to the exclusion of any historical approach to the Apocalypse, is not to say, however, that the historical interpretation of the book of Daniel was abandoned; the four empires of Daniel needed no discussion, because they were taken for granted. For that reason we may pass over the references to Daniel and notice the treatment of the Revelation by these Tichonian expositors.

The analytical chart on page 545 will prove to be a material aid in understanding the sequences, developments, and trends of all expositors in the medieval period we are now surveying. It also indicates the outcome of these trends, as they eventuate in the two distinctive but conflicting schools of interpretation—that of the predominant Protestant exposition on the one hand, and Roman Catholic interpretation on the other. The reader may well consult this chart frequently for these relationships, as he progresses from expositor to expositor.

Tichonian "Rules" Mold Prophetic Exposition During Middle Ages

Abandonment of Early Church Historical Emphasis in Exposition After Time of JEROME



Designed by Erich Bethmann, 1949.

CHARTING OF THE TICHONIAN INFLUENCE FOR SEVEN CENTURIES

This Graph Is Designed to Visualize the Molding Influence of Tichonius, and His Rules of Interpretation, Which Held Sway for Seven Centuries. He Introduced a Purely Mystical or Spiritual Exegesis of the Apocalypse, Eliminating Application to Material Historical Events. It Took About Seven Hundred Years Before the Historical Emphasis, or School of Interpretation, Found Entrance Again Into the Ranks of the Roman Church. In Rupert of Deutz and Anselm of Havelberg Its First Beginning Is to Be Found, and Through Joachim of Floris and His Followers, Was Reinstated the Historical Interpretation of the Symbols of the Apocalypse

The first important figure is Primasius, who made Tichonius, the Donatist, respectable by eliminating certain heretical elements and thereby popularizing his theories in the Roman church.

I. Writers of Early Middle Ages Follow Tichonius

1. PRIMASIVS POPULARIZES TICHONIAN TEACHING.—PRIMASIVS (d. 560) of Hadrumetum, primate of Byzacene in North Africa, achieved his fame primarily through his commentary on the Apocalypse.¹ This work is of great importance, because it contains the pre-Cyprian Latin text of the Apocalypse of the early African church, and is of greatest help in reconstructing the highly influential commentary of Tichonius. Furthermore, Primasius is one of the important links in the chain of commentators on the Apocalypse, who has influenced Autpertus, Alcuin, and the Haymo commentaries in later centuries. (See diagram on page 545.)

From the viewpoint of exegesis the contribution of Primasius is not outstanding. To a large extent he copied Tichonius, as he considered his writings a piece of treasure adrift. Tichonius had been a Donatist, and was therefore a heretic in his eyes. Hence he purged Tichonius' commentary of all Donatist elements, and presented it in an orthodox ecclesiastical garb.

Primasius accepts the recapitulation theory and also follows Augustine in the exposition of Revelation 20. But he deviates from Tichonius in some matters, and some historical explanations reappear. For instance, the Two Witnesses of Revelation 11:3 are considered to be Elijah and Enoch, preaching repentance among the Jews. Antichrist comes from Dan.² And in the explanation of chapter 13 we find the expectation of a personal Antichrist.³ The second beast of Revelation 13 is held as related to Simon Magus, and the number of the beast, accord-

¹ *Primasii Commentaria super Apocalypsim B. Joannis* in Migne, *PL*, vol. 68, cols. 794-936. His work was first printed by Eucharius Cervicornus of Cologne in 1535, but a better and more complete edition is that of Basel in 1544.

² Primasius, *Commentaria super Apocalypsim*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 68, col. 867. (Since the writers cited briefly for this period are probably accessible only in the Migne collection, the notes here given include only the page and the column references of that edition.)

³ *Ibid.*, cols. 878, 879.

ing to Primasius, refers to the number of days during which the Antichrist will persecute the church. By a singular method of computing he arrives at 1,225 days.⁴ So Primasius is important because he constitutes the link between Tichonius and a number of later commentators during the Middle Ages.

2. AUTPERTUS—COMPEND OF PREVIOUS EXPOSITIONS.—AMBROSIUS APTPERTUS, sometimes called Anspertus or Ansbert (d. c. 778), distinguished monk of the Benedictine order, was born in southern France and died in southern Italy. He wrote a voluminous work on the Apocalypse⁵ during the pontificate of Paul I (757-767), though it was dedicated to Stephen IV, who had encouraged him in his studies. He knows Victorinus in the recension of Jerome, and is well acquainted with Tichonius, whose general scheme he has retained. But in the main he copies Primasius. This means that he does not go beyond the well-accepted exposition of the church. However, he enriches his commentary by numerous discourses and queries. He also knows Bede.⁶

He does not contribute any original ideas. Rather, his treatise is a compendium of what has thus far been written on the subject. That, on the other hand, makes his commentary of value and importance, as it constitutes a connecting link in the chain of expositions of the Apocalypse spanning the early Middle Ages, and helps us to check on earlier works that are often fragmentary.

3. ALCUIN—AN ENDORSER, NOT AN ORIGINATOR.—The importance of Autpertus is further augmented by ALCUIN, sometimes Ealwhine, or Alkine (c. 735-804), the most influential teacher and educator of the Carolingian period, who follows Autpertus on practically every point. Alcuin, springing from

⁴ *Ibid.*, cols. 884 ff.; see also W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, p. 66.

⁵ The complete commentary is found in La Bigne, *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, vol. 13, pp. 403-657. The editor in Migne speaks of the ten books of the commentary on Revelation by Autpertus (Migne, *PL*, vol. 89, cols. 1265, 1266), but seems not to be certain of Autpertus' authorship (*ibid.*, cols. 1277, 1278), and refers us to volume 17. Here, however, following the works of St. Ambrose, the commentary on the Apocalypse is attributed to Berengaudus. (Migne, *PL*, vol. 17, cols. 843-1058.)

⁶ Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, p. 68. Bede will be discussed in the chapter on British writers (see page 609), but his influence should be kept in mind throughout this chapter.

an old noble family, was born in Northumbria, England. He received the best education the age could provide, under the guidance of the archbishop of York. He soon distinguished himself and was chosen to accompany his venerated teacher to Rome. Returning to England, he was elected rector of the famous school of York, in which he himself had studied. During a second journey to Rome he met Charlemagne, and was invited by him to come to Germany to help the emperor develop his educational plans. He accepted, and became the organizer of the Carolingian reforms.

In 796 he received the abbey of Tours, which became the nursery of ecclesiastical and liberal education for the entire kingdom. He was able to gather brilliant young men around him. And wherever, in the following generation, literary activity is visible, one is almost sure to find a pupil of Alcuin. Among them are outstanding men like Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, Eausald, archbishop of York—and last, but not least, Hraban or Rabanus Maurus, who continued Alcuin's work in the famous school of Fulda. Alcuin was Charlemagne's adviser in all matters pertaining to his educational reforms and as concerned the church. He was equally interested in promoting the authority of Rome as well as the royal priesthood of Charlemagne. He remained his counselor till his death.

One of Alcuin's most far-reaching innovations was the adoption of the principle of patristic authority. Bede, after giving all due respect to the writings of the Fathers, set forth his own opinion and expected to be honored as of like value, for he did not have the concept of a church whose dogmatic authority rested on a collection of books—that is, in the writings of the Fathers. Alcuin, on the other hand, developed a completely different attitude. He considered the patristic heritage as authoritative and binding. Just what his motive was for such a variance in attitude is difficult to ascertain. Perhaps it was his desire to create a uniform, objective, sufficiently authoritative basis for the education of the clergy in the

new realm. He himself surely did not foresee its later far-reaching effects.⁷

Taking this background into consideration, we are better prepared to evaluate correctly the immense influence of Alcuin's writings, even though they merely endorse opinions and expositions made by less-celebrated personalities. This is particularly the case with his commentary on the Apocalypse. This commentary, as found in Migne⁸ is, unfortunately, not complete; it ends with the twelfth chapter and the twelfth verse. As previously mentioned, Alcuin follows Autpertus in the main, and often verbatim, without going into the elaborate detail of the latter. On the other hand, he adds, here and there, material from Bede. That means that the allegorical exegesis—the exegesis which attempted to understand the deeper “spiritual” meaning of the manifold symbols—had taken firm roots. Alcuin became a guiding star for the centuries following.

4. **RABANUS—STRESSES MYSTICAL, NOT HISTORICAL.**—Born at Mainz, **RABANUS MAURUS**, or Hraban (776-856), as he usually called himself, was of noble Frankish stock. He became a deacon in 801, and was ordained a priest in 814. From 822 to 842 he served as abbot of Fulda. He sought to avoid politics, which was not easy in the position he occupied. When that was no longer possible, he resigned, and devoted his time to literary activities. But in 847 the people and the clergy unanimously elected him archbishop of Mainz, which office he accepted reluctantly, and held until his death. Significantly enough, in about his first synodal session, in 847, he stressed the importance of preaching in the vernacular, and not in Latin.

Under him Fulda became the seat of learning, and he himself displayed an immense literary activity. His deepest concern was to understand not only the historical but also this “mystical” sense of the Word, and to show the way from the letter to the “spirit.” Besides other works, he wrote commentaries on all the books of the Bible. Unfortunately, his com-

⁷ H. H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England*, pp. 79-81.

⁸ Alcuin, *Commentaria in Apocalypsim*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 100, cols. 1085-1156.

mentary on the Revelation has been lost. His works occupy six volumes in Migne's collection. He did not claim originality, and habitually gave credit to those from whom he quoted.

In his comments on Second Thessalonians he follows verbatim the opinions of Jerome, omitting, however, to mention Nero as the most wicked Caesar, and speaking of the wicked Caesars in general.⁹ The reason evidently was that the idea of *Nero redivivus*—which was so widely cherished at an earlier period—was by this time completely discarded. He quotes further from Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Ambrosius Autpertus in the same chapter.

5. WALAFRID—INCLUDES ROMAN CHURCH IN 2 THESSALONIANS 2.—With Rabanus' pupil WALAFRID STRABO (807-849) we reach the period of medieval *glossa* literature.¹⁰ Walafriad was cross-eyed, and was therefore called Strabo. His parents were poor, and his early education was gained under most trying circumstances at the monastery of Reichenau. So, when the opportunity of becoming a pupil of Rabanus offered itself, he went to Fulda and soon distinguished himself by the exactness of his work, combined with the ability to write a faultless Latin. He rose in favor, and became the tutor of one of the princes of the emperor. Later he was called to be abbot of Reichenau.¹¹

The *Glossa Ordinaria* is attributed to him, although some set it at a much later period. The *glossa* is an explanatory note, or a loosely running commentary. It became widely used during the Middle Ages. The marginal and interlinear *glossae* were copied from writer to writer, often with meticulous care, and do not therefore give us much new information. But their influence is significant because of their brevity of statement and conciseness of meaning.

Walafriad was, however, in many respects quite original

⁹ Rabanus Maurus, *Enarrationes in Epistulas Pauli*, book 12 (on 2 Thess.), in Migne, *PL*, vol. 112, cols. 571, 572; compare with Jerome, Epistle 121, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 22, col. 1037.

¹⁰ Farrar, *History*, p. 251. A number of scholars, unwilling to place the *glossa* literature this early, attribute its origin to the school of Laon. See page 557.

¹¹ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 40, pp. 639, 640.

in his remarks. For instance, on 2 Thessalonians 2:3 he includes not only the Roman Empire, but gives as an alternative the spiritual empire of the Roman church. This seems to be the very first mention of the Roman church in such a connection.

Thus the *Glossa* explains these phrases of Paul:

"Verse 3.—*Except there shall have come already [a falling away].* He speaks in a hidden way concerning the destruction of the Roman Empire that he might not incite them to the persecution of the church; or, he says this, concerning the spiritual empire of the Roman Church or the departure from the faith. *Unless a fugitive comes first.* Thus certain manuscripts have it. No one doubts that he spoke of Antichrist whom he calls a fugitive; certainly he is a fugitive from God. For if this can be said deservedly of all the wicked, how much more about him! *Son of perdition, Antichrist not by nature, but by imitation.*"¹²

This last phrase needs explanation. Many held that Antichrist will be the natural offspring of the devil. But Walafrid does not share this belief. He only considers him such by imitation.

In his *Glossa* on the Apocalypse he divides the book into seven visions, like Bede, but he goes further, and indicates the divisions in the text. He applies the seven churches spiritually to members of any church, except that, like Bede, he makes the sixth refer to the persecution in the time of Antichrist; similarly he finds in the seals (1) the church robed in baptismal whiteness (the early church?), (2) open persecution, (3) the secret persecution by the heretics, (4) the open and secret persecution of false *fratres* perverting the faith under the garb of religion, (5) the assurance of future victory for the faithful, (6) the obscuration of the true light in the time of Antichrist, (7) the introduction of the seven trumpets.¹³

But in the trumpets a certain historical scheme becomes visible. The theme is the condemnation of the wicked through the preaching which they reject. The first four are in the past: (1) the blindness of the Jews, (2) the turning of the apostles to the Gentiles, (3) the heretics, (4) the apostate members.

¹² Walafrid Strabo, *Glossa Ordinaria*, on 2 Thessalonians, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 114, col. 622.

¹³ *Ibid.*, on the Apocalypse, cols. 716, 721-723, 725 (see also Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, p. 70).

The last three are future, concerning the end, given for the consolation of the present generation: (5) the star falling is Satan, who opens the pit of the heretics, whence rises the smoke of Antichrist's doctrine, the locusts are the disciples of the heretics, and the furnace is Antichrist himself, to purify the good and reduce the wicked to ashes; (6) the Euphrates, the river of Babylon, means the worldly princes through whom Satan works; and (7) the end of preaching in the time of Antichrist is followed by the secret reward of the saints, the eternal Sabbath after the six periods of the church's warfare.¹⁴

The time element given in verse 15—the hour, day, month, and year—he computes to be three and half years, as the period of persecution under Antichrist.¹⁵ We shall frequently come across this same period under later expositors as the time given to Antichrist. The three and a half years of Antichrist, and his doings on earth, Walafrid makes obviously to parallel the three and half years of Christ's ministry on earth. This becomes clear when he assigns the 1260 days of Revelation 12:6—of the woman in the wilderness—likewise to the three and a half years of Christ's preaching.¹⁶ This parallelism between Christ and Antichrist is stressed in many other instances: Christ is born of God by a virgin; so a child will be born of Satan by a polluted woman. Christ performed miracles; Antichrist will do the same. Christ was from Israel; Antichrist will likewise be from Israel, from the tribe of Dan. And here the length of their respective active periods is the same.

Presently we shall learn that Walafrid saw, in the first beast of Revelation 13, Antichrist simulating death, but after three days being carried into the air by demons; and so his deadly wound becomes healed. And in the second beast, Walafrid sees the apostles of Antichrist, whom he disperses all through the world, just as the apostles of Christ went out into all the world.¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, cols. 725-729, 731.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 728.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 732.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, cols. 733, 734.

On Revelation 20 he more or less implies the Augustinian theory, but does not mention the thousand-year period specifically.¹⁸ After Walafrid, the schools of Ferrières, Auxerre, and Laon developed the *glossa* further. It thus became the standard method for centuries during the Middle Ages.

II. Haymo Pursues Accepted Line of Exposition

Not much is known about the life of HAYMO OF HALBERSTADT, bishop in 840-853. He was a fellow student of Hraban, and dedicates his work *De Universo* to him. In 840 Haymo received the bishopric of Halberstadt, in those times a mission district, in close proximity to the heathen population. In fact, its own constituency had been but recently converted to Christianity. Much diligent work was involved in the spiritual leadership in such a district.

Despite the manifold burdens cast upon him, Haymo found time to write extensively, and his writings and commentaries on many books of the Bible are conspicuous for learning and clarity. Indeed, they exercised a profound influence upon the exegesis of the Word for centuries. Although it has since been proved that a number of commentaries attributed to him were probably written by one of his pupils—Heiric of Auxerre, or possibly some other person—they are all known as the Haymo Commentaries, and we shall note them without attempting to decide the question of authorship.¹⁹

Haymo takes Autpertus as the basis for his commentary on the Apocalypse, and finds help for details in the Venerable Bede.²⁰ He endeavors to make an exact analysis of the structure of the book of Revelation. He follows Bede's example in reducing it to seven major divisions, whereas Autpertus had had ten. He did not merely copy his predecessors, but tried to form his own independent conclusions. In general, however, he does not deviate much from the accepted line of exegesis, though in details we find interesting side lights.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, cols. 744, 745.

¹⁹ Kamlah, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁰ Bede will be discussed in connection with English writers in chapter 25.

For instance he explains the names of the seven churches in the following manner: Ephesus, my will and counsel; Smyrna, their song; Pergamos, division of horns; Thyatira, illuminated—that is, the universal church; Sardis, the beginning of beauty; Philadelphia, brotherly love; and Laodicea, the beloved tribe of the Lord.²¹ This is an isolated example.

1. FOLLOWS ACCEPTED INTERPRETATIONS FOR SEALS.—In the seals Haymo follows the accepted interpretation. The earthquake in the sixth seal he explains as the last great tribulation that will come upon the earth. Christ, the sun of righteousness, will be completely darkened; the moon, understood of the church, will be red with the streams of blood of the martyrs during this terrible time; and the stars that fall are the righteous who are unable to stand this severe test of their faith during the last great persecution.²²

2. ANTICHRIST AND THE TWO WITNESSES.—In the fifth trumpet, like many others, Haymo sees the coming of the Antichrist.²³ A more detailed and better description of Antichrist is found, however, in his commentary on 2 Thessalonians 2. Here he states that Antichrist comes from the tribe of Dan, but will be born in Babylon; he will rule for 1260 days, slay the Two Witnesses (Enoch and Elias), and will then be himself slain by Christ or by Michael at the command of Christ. After the death of Antichrist, forty-five days (according to Daniel)—that is, the difference between the 1290 and 1335 days—are given to the elect to repent.²⁴ Probably that period of grace is given that those who have become weak during the terrible time of persecution may have opportunity to confess and to repent.

In his remarks on the death of the Two Witnesses of Revelation 11, he quotes Malachi 4:5 in this way: "*Ecce ego mittam vobis Enoch et Eliam, ut convertant corda patrum ad*

²¹ Haymo of Halberstadt, *Expositio in Apocalypsin*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 117, cols. 962, 970, 972, 976, 985, 989, 993.

²² *Ibid.*, cols. 1030, 1031.

²³ *Ibid.*, col. 1051.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, cols. 779-781.

filius." (Behold I shall send to you Enoch and Elias, that they may turn the hearts of the fathers to the children.)²⁵ According to this quotation, it appears that Haymo must have had a version of Malachi before him—or at least have known about it—in which both names occur. If such were the case, although such a version is unknown to us now, it would explain why many of the early church writers identify the two witnesses with Enoch and Elijah. Tertullian had already connected them with Antichrist. He advanced the idea that their death was only postponed at the time of their translation, because, "They are reserved for the suffering of death, that by their blood they may extinguish Antichrist."²⁶

3. DRAWS CHRIST-ANTICHRIST PARALLEL.—Haymo, like Walafrid, draws the parallel between the period of activity of Christ and Antichrist. As Antichrist will reign 1260 days, so has Christ preached for 1260 days—that is, three and a half years.²⁷ And Haymo's exposition of Revelation 13 is identical in content to that of Walafrid, except that he differs in the matter of the secret number 666. He applies it to *Teitan*, or *Genserikos* in Greek, or *Dic Lux* in Latin.²⁸

4. THE THOUSAND YEARS BRING PERFECTION.—On the thousand-year period Haymo makes these interesting observations: The number 1,000 signifies perfection. It therefore covers the period during which everything will come to perfection. It embraces the entire period from Christ's death to the coming of Antichrist, regardless of the number of actual years. During this period the devil is bound in the abyss, that is, in the hearts of the infidels and all perverse men. There he exercises his full power. With the coming of Antichrist, Satan will be loosed and will seduce all the dwellers of earth. Gog and Magog will appear. And according to Haymo, these are the Getae and the Massagetae, or also the twenty-four nations which were shut out,

²⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 1070.

²⁶ Tertullian, *A Treatise on the Soul*, chap. 50, in *ANF*, vol. 3, pp. 227, 228.

²⁷ Haymo, *Expositio*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 117, cols. 1084, 1085.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 1103.

according to the Alexander legend, beyond the mountains of the Caucasus.²⁹

That, in short, is a survey of Haymo's teaching on the points of greatest interest to us in this study. Haymo's commentaries, and Walafrid's *Glossa*, laid down the direction in Biblical exegesis for a long time to come.

In order to trace the development and reversal of the Tichonian school of interpretation down to the time when the prophecies of the Apocalypse began again to be interpreted through historical events, we shall defer until the next chapter other earlier writers who are outside of this series, and proceed with the *glossa* literature.

III. School of Laon Popularizes Glossa Type of Exposition

After the ninth-century Carolingian period—whose representatives in the field of exposition we have met in Alcuin, Hraban, and Walafrid, and in the Haymo commentaries—we now encounter a revival of theological studies in the school of the Norman monastery of Bec, in France. Lanfranc and Anselm both taught in Bec, and both became leaders of the church in England. The continuation and completion of this school of thought is found in the school of Laon during the twelfth century.

The man who brought this institution to fame was ANSELM OF LAON (d. 1117). Born in Laon, he studied in Bec, later returning to his home town to become a teacher in the cathedral school. At the beginning of his teaching the young clerics were taught just enough to be able to sing and celebrate mass; at the time of his death his pupils were seated on many a bishop's seat, and held professorships all over the Western world. Anselm had become a scholar of international fame, and his main theme was Bible exegesis.³⁰

1. TICHONIANISM MOLDS GLOSSA LITERATURE FOR CENTURIES.—The *glossa* type of literature, or annotation of the

²⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 1187.

³⁰ Kamlah, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.

text of Scripture, was a special feature of Laon. Some hold that this type of commentary originated with Anselm. There were two different kinds of *glossae*—marginal and interlinear. They became so popular that to be well versed in the *glossa* meant to have high scholarly attainment. In fact, the *glossa* ushered in the scholastic system of learning.

In this special literature we also find annotations on the Apocalypse. These, in general, follow Haymo's lead, and show the strong influence of Bede. Through these two authorities the Tichonian tradition became fixed for another long period, as they were both firm adherents to this theory. One name occasionally mentioned in connection with the Laon school is that of MENEGAUDUS. He wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse that is rather elaborate in its beginning chapters, but becomes shorter and more and more abbreviated in the later ones. He follows the *glossa* and contributes no original ideas.

2. RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR BEGINS TO DEVIATE.—The most distinguished commentator on the Apocalypse of this French school of thought, however, is RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR (d. 1173). He was a native of Scotland, though the date and place of his birth are unknown. A disciple of the great mystic, Hugo of St. Victor, he spent practically his entire life within the walls of the Abbey of St. Victor, of which he became abbot in later years. Richard was purely a theologian, and unlike his teacher, was not interested in philosophy. He regarded secular learning as useless in itself, but was willing to avail himself of the deductive and constructive methods taught by Abelard. Among his writings are a work on the Trinity, two books on mystical contemplation, and a commentary on Revelation—*In Apocalypsim Joannis*, in seven books.³¹

This latter work was written before 1150. In it he often cites the *glossa* verbatim, but absorbs it so well that it becomes a vehicle for his own independent concepts.³² He likes to discuss dogmatic problems, on which he offers inserts at some length.

³¹ In Migne, *PL*, vol. 196, cols. 683-888.

³² Kamlah, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Otherwise his style and composition are crystal clear, and he gives a scholarly summary at the end of each vision. According to his opinion, the period from the birth of the church till the end of time is five times repeated; namely, first in the vision of the seven churches, which do not figure, however, prominently in his scheme; second, in the vision of the seven seals; third, in that of the seven trumpets; fourth, concerning the woman, the dragon, and the beasts; and fifth, that of the seven vials.

These five visions have this point in common: they have to do with the state of this temporal world, but the last two visions pertain also to eternity. The sixth vision pictures the *aeterna damnatio malorum* (eternal damnation of the wicked); the seventh, the *aeterna beatitudo bonorum* (eternal bliss of the good).

Then he arranges them in still another way, and ascribes the second, third, and fourth visions to the good, and the fifth and sixth to the wicked. In the fifth their temporal punishment is described, and in the sixth their perpetual or eternal punishment.⁸³ Moreover, he attempts to find an answer as to why the same period should be recapitulated several times, and comes to the conclusion that the seven seals are given particularly to the doctors and teachers of the church, whereas the seven trumpets are more for the hearers and the lay members.⁸⁴ Such was his scheme.

In general, Richard adheres to the spiritualized exegesis, and not to historical interpretation. However, a slight deviation from the Tichonian tradition is already noticeable. For instance, he definitely ascribes the sounding of the first trumpet as preaching to the Jews,⁸⁵ and the second seal as the time of persecution, beginning with Nero and ending with Constantine, and finding its climax under Diocletian.⁸⁶ There is a further interesting remark in connection with the celestial phenomena of the sixth seal. After describing its symbolic value he states that

⁸³ Richard of St. Victor, *In Apocalypsim Joannis*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 196, col. 819.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 798.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 778.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, cols. 763, 764.

it could also be explained literally, and seeks to connect it with the celestial signs of Matthew 24.⁸⁷

3. STRUGGLES TOWARD HISTORICAL POSITION.—In the symbolic woman of Revelation 12 Richard sees the church. The sun is Christ and the moon the world. The male child is also Christ, born of the church, and the retreat of the woman into the wilderness is the secret of a spiritual life.⁸⁸ The beast coming from the sea in Revelation 13 is thought to be the principalities of the heathen, and one of its heads is Antichrist. On the other hand, he holds that the second beast does not arise from among the heathen but from false brethren, who nevertheless continue to believe in one God.⁸⁹ On the thousand-year period Richard is not clear, allowing a spiritual as well as a literal meaning. If the latter should be correct, then the thousand years have already passed. However, he holds that we do not know when the exact time of the coming of the Antichrist will be, or when the loosing of Satan will be effected.⁹⁰

IV. Bruno—Assumes Back-to-the-Bible Attitude

BRUNO OF SEGNI (c. 1049-1123), bishop of Segni (sometimes called Bruno of Asti), was born of noble parentage at Solero, in Piedmont. He received his preliminary education in a Benedictine monastery, completing his studies at Bologna, and was made canon of Sienna. He was then called to Rome, where he became a counselor to four popes. He was a personal friend of Gregory VII and a stanch defender of the claims of the Papacy against the emperor, in the dispute over the investiture. At the Synod of Rome (1079) he induced Berengar of Tours to retract. In 1080 he became bishop of Segni, and in 1095 accompanied Urban II to the council at Clermont, where the first crusade was proclaimed.⁴¹

In 1102 Bruno entered the famous Monte Cassino monas-

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 769.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 800.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 806.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, cols. 853, 854.

⁴¹ J. A. Birkhaeuser, "Bruno, Saint Bishop of Segni," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 3, p. 14.

tery as a monk, and became its abbot in 1107. But after he had severely reprimanded Pope Paschal for his leniency toward Henry V, in permitting the latter the right of conferring ring and crosier upon bishops and abbots, he was asked to resign from his abbacy and return to his bishopric at Segni.

Bruno, however, was not only a politician but a Bible expositor as well. He considered occupation with the Bible and Bible explanation as the center of all theology. He was a declared enemy of all dialectics, and denounced philosophers and heretics in the same breath.⁴² Besides other commentaries on different books of the Bible, he wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, which reveals considerable originality in detail, although it does not deviate much from the generally accepted exegesis of the time. Bruno knew that he was merely beginning again the work on the Apocalypse "*post multos alios*" (after many others).⁴³

Bruno knows Haymo and accepts him as basic, and uses Bede for corrections and additions. He is, however, so original that his sources are often scarcely recognizable.⁴⁴ More than that, he made a different structural analysis of the book. He divides the Apocalypse, according to the seven main visions, into seven books. Six of them comprise the fate of Christ's church, from the resurrection to the return of Christ. And the seventh describes the "*sabbatismus populo Dei*" (rest of the people of God).⁴⁵ Note these divisions:

- 1:1 - 3:22 the seven churches.
 - 4:1 - 8:1 the seven seals.
 - 8:2 -11:18 the seven trumpets and the two witnesses.
 - 11:19-14:13 the woman and the beast.
 - 14:14-19:10 the seven vials and the Harlot Babylon.
 - 19:11-21:8 Christ and the judgment.
 - 21:9 -22:21 the New Jerusalem.
- Some details are worthy of note.

⁴² Bruno of Segni, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 165, col. 648.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, cols. 603-736.

⁴⁴ Kamlah, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.

⁴⁵ Bruno, *Expositio*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 165, col. 638.

1. SCOPE OF THE SEVEN SEALS.—After explaining the first five seals as pertaining to the gradually worsening situation in the church, he sees in the sixth seal the last tribulation, caused by Antichrist, during which many will fall away from Christ, like figs in a storm. And then Christ will appear suddenly, and mankind will see Him face to face.⁴⁶

2. TWO WITNESSES ARE THE TWO TESTAMENTS.—On the Two Witnesses of Revelation 11, Bruno has his own explanation. He says, of course, that literally they are to be taken as Enoch and Elias, but in a spiritual sense they represent the doctors of the church who are strengthened by the two Testaments, which are called the witnesses of the Lord. To these doctors the Lord gives the ministry of prophesying, that they might preach 1260 days, for so many days the Lord Himself preached, and they will preach nothing else but those things which Christ preached during His earthly ministry. They will be clothed in sackcloth in order to kindle the spirit of penitence. They are two olive trees, which never lack the act of mercy. Their fire is the fire of charity, and people touched and devoured by such a fire will turn from enemies into friends. He adds, however, that this fire can also be understood as the vengeance of the divine curse.⁴⁷ This explanation of the Two Witnesses emphasizes his back-to-the-Bible attitude.

3. WOMAN SUSTAINED BY SCRIPTURES.—On Revelation 12 he remarks that the woman is the church, clad in beauty and splendor like the sun, whereas the moon, deficient and transitory, refers to the world which is under her feet. The male child symbolizes the sons of the church. There is no feminine weakness in them, but firmness and strength. Such will overcome vice and evil spirits, and will teach the people of God by a strong and unsurpassable rule. During the period of the woman's flight into a solitary place, who will sustain her if not the sacred volumes of the Scriptures? Read Isaiah, he says, and

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 165, cols. 638, 639.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, cols. 662, 663.

you will find food; read the other prophets, and you will find pastures. The earth that is helping the woman refers to the kindness of Christ.⁴⁸

These are surely refreshing words from the pen of a counselor to popes in the spiritual haze of the eleventh century. They show the deep influence which the Apocalypse has exercised upon all circles during the ages, even at this time. It was by no means a book taken seriously only by outsiders and cranks, but it had a definite part in the main line of religious thinking, and has influenced many in the highest stations of life who directed the affairs of men. On Revelation 13, Bruno follows Haymo.

4. BRUNO AFFIRMS YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLES.—Bruno also proves the right of interpreting a year for a day from Ezekiel 4:6, which he mentions in connection with the slaying of the Two Witnesses and their lying in the streets for three and a half days.⁴⁹

V. Anselm—Prepares Ground for Repudiation of Tichonianism

Biographical data on ANSELM OF HAVELBERG (d. 1158) is meager. Presumably he was from Lorraine, though some believe he hailed from upper Italy. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, was his friend and protector, bestowing upon him the bishopric of Havelberg, situated to the northeast on the river Elbe. This diocese he held from 1129 to 1155. But, significantly enough, before he could occupy his see, he had first to secure it from the Slavs. It was distinctly a frontier station, on the German border to the east. Twice it was devastated, and twice he rebuilt it. It was a mission outpost in the most literal and rugged sense of the word.

More than that, Anselm was a man of deep learning, and evidently of unusual diplomatic skill. He was sent by the emperor as an ambassador extraordinary to Constantinople. And at the same time he was commissioned to represent Rome in a

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, cols. 667 ff.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, cols. 663, 664.

discussion of points of difference with the heads of the Greek Orthodox Church. His disputation with Nicetas (Nechites), archbishop of Nicomedia, was later published upon request of Eugenius III, His *Dialogi*, the three books of this discussion, brought him to fame, and long were considered the best on the subject.

Having thus come into contact with other forms of Christianity, Anselm struggled with the problem of how to explain these differentiations and varieties. This he did in his dialogue *De Unitate Fidei et Multiformitate Vivendi ab Abel Iusto Usque ad Novissimum Electum*⁵⁰ (Concerning the Unity of Faith and the Multiform Expressions of Life From Abel the Just to the Last of the Elect), where he comes to the conclusion that the differences are caused by human frailty, but that God uses these in His great plan for the rejuvenation of the church. Even more are they necessary because progress in recognition of truth is possible only by this means.

I. INTRODUCES NEW PRINCIPLE OF INTERPRETATION.—With Anselm a new scheme of interpretation began to appear—or, rather, the restoration of the old. It was a paralleling, or matching, of the demands of prophecy with the consecutive and continuous development of history.

Anselm saw three great progressive steps during the ages, each ushered in by a revolutionizing catastrophe. First, the earthquake at Sinai brought the law and the exemplary dispensation of the Old Testament, overcoming the idolatrous concept of the heathen therewith. The second catastrophe came on Golgotha, revealing the love of God and His boundless grace. And the third era was to be ushered in by another catastrophe, a catastrophe that would bring the full and eternal vision of God.⁵¹

This new and bold concept of a progressive revelation was a radical turning away from the Augustinian theory of the

⁵⁰ Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 188, cols. 1141 ff.

⁵¹ Dempf, *op. cit.*, pp. 241, 242.

*saeculum senescens*⁵² (aging world), and from the remainder of the *lex-aeterna*⁵³ (law-eternal) teaching.

2. MAKES THE SEALS HISTORICAL.—This was first applied to the seals. There has been common agreement as to the first and the sixth and seventh seals and their meaning. The first was the gospel triumphs; the sixth, the precursor of the last judgment; and the seventh, the beginning of the eternal rest. But the intervening sections had been left blank, so far as any historical sequence is concerned. Now Anselm found in history the missing four.

Although not a commentary on the Apocalypse, the first book of his dialogue takes these seven seals, according to the *Glossa Ordinaria* of Walafrid, and covers the bare skeleton of the seven eras with flesh and blood. He begins to show where and when these periods can be fitted into the history of the church. He sees clearly in the first seal the very beginnings of the church in her purity and virtue, with Christ the conquering One. Under the second seal, red with martyrdom till the time of Diocletian, he sees the martyrs having their forerunner in Stephen, followed by Peter and Paul, Andrew, in Achaia, Bartholomew in India, with many others following them. The cross of Christ, once derided and considered a rock of offense, is exalted, honored, and venerated. Magnificent churches are constructed, and bishops and presbyters recalled from exile to minister in them.⁵⁴

3. HERESY, HYPOCRISY, AND MARTYRS' REWARD.—In the period of the third seal he sees the church blackened by heresy, as Arius, Sabellius, Nestorius, and Eutyches appear and teach false doctrines. But, on the other hand, the most important councils of Nicaea, Antioch, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, which he believes established the sound doctrine of the church, fall under

⁵² The aging period of the world. The life span of this world was compared with the life span of man, and divided into the periods of childhood, adolescence, early manhood, maturity, and senility.

⁵³ The *lex-aeterna* concept involves the theory that God has fixed definitely the number of the blessed spirits in His everlasting kingdom, that, in fact, the elect are those who will replace the fallen spirits. The historical process is subordinated to this predestined eternal law.

⁵⁴ Anselm, *Dialogi*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 138, cols. 1149, 1150.

the third seal. The fourth seal, pale under the impact of hypocrisy, illustrates the degradation of all the lofty ideals of the church by the pride of many who in abominable hypocrisy pollute her fair name. Fortunately others are found—such as Augustine, Rufus of Burgundy, Norbert of Magdeburg, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Benedict of Nursia—who counterbalance this deplorable state. Such men are also found in the Eastern church, among whom he names Basil the Great.

The fifth seal concerns those who have fought and suffered in the cause of God. And the sixth refers to the world convulsed under Antichrist, the most violent persecution ever to come over this world to be during this time of Antichrist. In the seventh the church reposes in infinite bliss in the deep silence of heaven.⁵⁵

4. LAYS GROUNDWORK FOR JOACHIM OF FLORIS.—This teaching of Anselm of Havelberg is certainly a departure from what we are accustomed to find in these medieval fathers. It is no longer the vague *corpus diaboli* (body of Satan) teaching of Tichonius, or merely the factual differentiation of seven eras or orders; but these orders are now transformed into chronological order.⁵⁶

The introduction of concrete historical counterparts is the new element which Anselm has contributed. Under him the exegesis of the Apocalypse passes into the stage of an explanation of church history. Therewith the ground was prepared for the eventual overthrow of the Tichonius tradition. Although Anselm's work does not seem to have made a deep impression in Germany, it certainly exerted an influence upon the revolutionary Joachim of Floris, through whom the complete reversal of the Tichonius tradition was accomplished.

VI. Rupert of Deutz Introduces Different Exposition

With Rupert of Deutz we come to a theologian who recognizes and confesses that the Holy Bible is the center of Christian life, and should be the mainspring of all theology. He considers

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 1152-1157.

⁵⁶ Kamlah, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-69.

neither Plato nor Aristotle to be worth-while textbooks for a Christian theologian, but rather the Bible. And it is not dialectics, but the aid of the Holy Spirit that is to be the key to the understanding of the Scriptures. Without the knowledge of Christ the soul has no place to anchor; and without the study of the Scriptures it is impossible to know Christ. Those were daring words at a time when scholasticism was at its overshadowing height.⁸⁷

RUPERT OF DEUTZ (fl. early 12th century) was born in Germany, probably in Franconia, during the second half of the eleventh century. He was ordained as priest in 1101 and became abbot of Deutz in 1120. The year of his death is variously given as 1129, 1130, or 1135. His greatest work was the *Commentarius de Operibus Sanctae Trinitatis* (Commentary on the Operation of the Holy Trinity), which divides history into three important periods, according to the work of the three Persons of the Godhead. In this he was paralleled by Joachim of Floris, in Italy, soon to be noted. As a side light, it is significant that Rupert did not accept transubstantiation, but taught that only those who accept the sacrament in faith will partake of Christ and receive the blessing, whereas those without faith receive nothing except a piece of material bread and a sip of wine.⁸⁸ Bellarmine later, although not condemning Rupert of Deutz *in toto*, condemned his teaching on the Lord's supper as heretical.

1. MAKES APOCALYPSE RETROGRESS TO OLD TESTAMENT TIMES.—But Rupert is of greatest interest to us because of his commentary on the Apocalypse, written about 1120, when he was abbot of Deutz. It is the only surviving complete commentary of the twelfth century in Germany. He definitely states that he wants to find a way to a better explanation.⁸⁹ Therefore we find new ideas in his work, not merely echoes of the positions of former commentators. Although he certainly knew and used

⁸⁷ Mangold, "Rupert von Deutz," Johann Jakob, in Herzog, *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (1st ed.), vol. 13, pp. 176, 177.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*; see also F. Doyen, *Die Eucharistielehre Ruperts v. Deutz* (1889).

⁸⁹ Kamlah, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Haymo, Bede, and Jerome, he did not simply copy them. He proposed a new handling of the Apocalypse. It differs mainly in teaching that the visions which need an explanation begin, according to him, only with chapter 4. Chapters 2 and 3 he sees as a kind of prologue to the sayings of the Holy One to the churches. They are *dicta*, whereas the other chapters give the *facta*.⁶⁰

Whereas the majority of commentators of the Historical School begin their exegesis as pointing to events in the Christian Era, Rupert has the prophecies retrogress, and sees in the trumpets, for instance, scenes in the history of the people of God during all ages. The first trumpet, he suggests, represents the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha. The second sets forth the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. The third is the outcry of Israel against the Canaanites, and so on. With chapter 10 he finally arrives at the time of Christ.⁶¹ He tries to place as much of it as possible in the early Christian centuries, but on the later periods is seriously confused. In the seven heads of the dragon he sees the following kingdoms with corresponding types:

<i>Kingdom</i>	<i>Type of Antichrist</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Vice</i>	<i>Type of Christ</i>
Egypt	Pharaoh	Dragon	Witchcraft	Moses
Israel	Jeroboam	Golden calf	Idolatry	Elijah
<i>Babylon</i>	Nebuchadnezzar	<i>Lion</i>	Pride	Daniel
<i>Persia</i>	Haman	<i>Bear</i>	Carnality	Cyrus
<i>Greece</i>	Antiochus	<i>Leopard</i>	Fickleness	Maccabees
<i>Rome</i>	Pilate, Nero	<i>Beast</i>	Savagery	1st Coming of Christ
<i>Corpus diaboli</i>	Antichrist	Man	Terror	2d Coming of Christ ⁶²

2. THE DRAGON, WOMAN, AND VIALS.—In the water-spouting dragon, and the earth swallowing the water which he

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 91.

⁶² *Dempl.*, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

shot against the "woman," he sees the heresy of Arius, together with the salvation of the woman by the Council of Nicaea.⁶³ The outpouring of the vials indicates the preachers of the gospel proclaiming the judgment.

3. STANDARD INTERPRETATION OF DANIEL'S BEASTS.—Like other writers of this section, Rupert was more interested in the Apocalypse, but in his work on the procession of the Holy Spirit he mentions the four beasts of Daniel 7 as Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome.⁶⁴

4. DRAWS UPON NON-BIBLICAL SOURCES.—Rupert is unusual in many respects. Others, before him, referred to the Old Testament, because they saw in it topics related to the Apocalypse. But Rupert explains certain figures of the Apocalypse as having their fulfillment in the Old Testament.⁶⁵ Tichonius had said that the recapitulations begin with Christ. Rupert starts them with the beginning of the Old Testament history. At the same time he appears to be the first who is in complete opposition to the Tichonius tradition, before noted, which had avoided all reference to particular events in history. Rupert points to specific events as having been meant by the apocalyptic pictures.

He is also the first who, in his exegesis, uses non-Biblical or later than Biblical sources for events proving the fulfillment of prophecy. Joachim of Floris likewise used that method, and through him it afterward became common usage.⁶⁶ Rupert's commentary is certainly the most original of the twelfth century, bearing no resemblance to the French works, which depend upon the *glossae*.⁶⁷ His book was widely read; Gerhon of Reichersberg is full of praise for Rupert. He was later rediscovered by Cochlaeus.

⁶³ Kamlah, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Rupert of Deutz, *In Apocalypsim Joannis Apostoli Commentaria*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 169, cols. 1059, 1060.

⁶⁴ Rupert of Deutz, *De Glorificatione Trinitatis et Processione Sancti*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 169, cols. 166, 167.

⁶⁵ Kamlah, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Antichrist Colors Medieval Thinking

The preceding chapter discussed the developments of one particular school of interpretation, and continued as far as the twelfth century in order to trace that widespread influence during the centuries that followed. This chapter now returns to the seventh century to assemble various voices, from both the East and the West, dealing with the Apocalypse, regardless of their belief or their adherence to a special school of exegesis.

I. Andreas of Caesarea—Strongly Historical

Among the Greek fathers of the church, interest in the book of Revelation was less pronounced. Therefore we find fewer commentaries on the Apocalypse written by them than by the fathers of the Western church. One rather outstanding exposition, however, is that of seventh-century ANDREAS (or Andrew), archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and another is that of Aretas, likewise a later bishop of the same city. The exact date of the life of Andreas is difficult to establish. It is variously given as between the fifth and ninth centuries. It is clear, however, that he must have lived after the Persian persecutions, and the strife between the Arians and the orthodox court. On the other hand, there is no mention by him of Islam or the Saracens, so that his commentary was, in all probability, written before A.D. 632.

1. SEEKS A CHRISTIAN INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY.—Andreas' exposition, although emphasizing the spiritual and

symbolical values of the pictures and symbols of the Apocalypse, nevertheless does not lose sight of their historical significance. Andreas seriously attempts to arrive at a Christian interpretation of history—a clear indication that he was not controlled by the Tichonian school of the West. We can see this tendency in his singular explanation of the seals, where he sees in the first the victory of the apostolic church over demons and the fiery dragon; in the second, the struggle and warfare caused by the church, as Christ did not come to bring peace but the sword; in the third, grief over the backsliding of many from the true faith, because of their unstableness and slipperiness of mind.

In the fourth seal he sees a literal fulfillment in the horrible plague which swept the empire at the time of Maximian, of which Eusebius speaks; during the fifth seal the martyrs cry for vengeance, waiting in Abraham's bosom until their number is completed; the sixth seal brings us to the time of exceedingly great trouble, when God permits Antichrist to do his destructive work, when, however, the heavens are rolled back, unfolding the good things which are deposited there for the blessed.¹

2. ANTICHRIST IS THE LEOPARD BEAST.—On Antichrist, Andreas is quite specific. He believes that by the dragon is meant Satan; and the first beast rising from the sea is Antichrist; the second, the false prophet.² Among the many names for Antichrist, according to the demands of the number 666, he has also added ἀμνὸς ἄδικος, or the "iniquitous lamb."³ He believes that Antichrist will come from the region of the Euphrates,⁴ will slay the Two Witnesses in Jerusalem,⁵ and will fight the church.

3. THE FOUR KINGDOMS SYMBOLIZED IN THE BEAST.—On verse 2 of chapter 13 Andreas says that the leopard refers to *Greece*, the bear to *Persia*, and the lion to *Babylon*, but that the Antichrist will take hold of them all and ornament himself

¹ Andreas of Caesarea, *In . . . Apocalypsin Commentarius*, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 106, cols. 264-276.

² *Ibid.*, col. 336.

³ *Ibid.*, col. 340.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 301.

⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 316.

with the title of king of the *Romans*, especially as he will overthrow the clay kingdoms, which are weakened by internecine strife, in order to unite them again into one.⁶ He also sees Antichrist in the beast that was, and is, and is not, of Revelation 17:11.⁷ The woman of Revelation 17 he assigns to the old Rome which was built on seven hills, the seven heads pointing to seven Caesars—beginning with Domitian and ending with Diocletian—who have persecuted the church in a most atrocious way.⁸ In connection with Revelation 17:9, Andreas speaks of the seven heads, which are seven mountains, as kingdoms:

"First, by way of example, may be the kingdom of the Assyrians, which had its beginning in Nineveh; second, that of the Medes, in Ecbatana under the rule of Arbaces. . . . This kingdom having been extinguished by Alexander the Great, the kingdom of the Macedonians followed. Moreover, after these the power of the Romans broke forth in ancient Rome, which gradually increased even in the same way, until under Augustus Caesar, after its first kings and consuls, it obtained the absolute rule; which having been held constantly under wicked rulers at length came to Constantine the great. He moreover, after all these tyrants had been destroyed, transferred the ornaments of the Christian kingdom to new Rome."⁹

Then, however, he summarizes by saying they have to be understood as the Assyrians, the Medes under Arbaces, the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar, the Persians under Cyrus, the Macedonians and Greeks under Alexander, the Romans under Augustus Caesar, and New Rome, or Constantinople, under Constantine.¹⁰

But the mystical character of many of his secondary applications must also be noted. The seven heads of the dragon are given as the seven vices opposed to spiritual powers and operations. The ten horns of the dragon denote ten sins contrary to the Decalogue. And the Beast of Revelation 17 is Satan.¹¹

4. UNCERTAIN ON THE MILLENNIUM.—On the subject of the thousand years he recites various opinions, for example, that it

⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 333.

⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 384.

⁸ *Ibid.*, cols. 373, 376.

⁹ *Ibid.*, cols. 380, 381 (translated).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 381.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, col. 321.

comprises the whole time of preaching the gospel from the resurrection of Christ till the coming of Antichrist, though not necessarily precisely one thousand years, but any approximate length of time. Then he adds that what the period really means only God knows.¹² This commentary of Andreas is remarkable, because it shows clearly that the Eastern church followed its own line of interpretation; on the other hand, the many points of similarity—or even exact likeness—prove that in general the teaching and aim of the Apocalypse were well understood.

II. Arethas—Largely Follows Andreas

The second outstanding scholar on the Greek side is ARETHAS (b. 860), who became archbishop of Caesarea (Cappadocia) in 912. A defender of orthodoxy and a powerful promoter of learning, he had great influence at the Byzantine court and among ecclesiastical leaders.

In his commentary on the Apocalypse, which is mostly a compilation, he follows Andreas in the main. He considers the Apocalypse to be a revelation from the world beyond, and finds in each prominent word the possibility of reference to both past and future history. However, he states that they must be justified by the rest of Scripture and by pure Christian thought.

On the Two Witnesses, Elias and Enoch, Arethas remarks that we have no Scriptural proof about the coming of Enoch, but that a generally accepted tradition speaks concerning it, because Enoch went to heaven without tasting death. And the beast from the bottomless pit (Rev. 11:7) will be Antichrist. In his explanation of Revelation 13:2, of the leopard beast, he refers to the rule of Babylon, which is now succeeded undoubtedly by the Saracens, who have their seat of power there, and over whom Antichrist will rule, although he will be the emperor of the Romans.¹³ This must have been written after the establishment of Baghdad as the seat of the Islamic Empire. However, in most respects he follows Andreas.

¹² *Ibid.*, col. 409.

¹³ Arethas, *In . . . Apocalypsin*, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 106, cols. 649, 672.

III. Moslem Belief in Christ and the Judgment

In addition to the Christian and Jewish interpretations, we find in the seventh century that the idea of the return of Christ, preceded by Antichrist, also found entrance into Mohammedan thinking. Baydawi's commentary on the Koran sums it up that 'Isa (Jesus) will descend on a mountain in the Holy Land carrying a spear wherewith he will kill *al dajjāl* (the great deceiver, the Antichrist). Then he will enter the holy mosque and worship. 'Isa will then reign for forty years, and finally die and be buried near Mohammed and Abu Bakr in Medina. And the expectation of the coming judgment day also played a prominent role in Mohammed's message to the Arabs. For many years it was his main topic.¹⁴

IV. "Sargis d'Aberga"—the Four Empires and Seventy Weeks

This is really the title of a widely circulated Ethiopian manuscript rather than a person. It was edited and translated into French by Sylvain Grébaud. Its original has been discovered to be a seventh-century work in Greek, the *Didascalē* of Jacob. Its writing was occasioned by the forced conversion of the Jews under Phocas and Heraclius, and was written in the name of such a converted Jew, who began to study the claims of Christianity, and finally became convinced of these claims by proofs from the Old Testament, and now attempts to convince his brethren through this treatise. The work is in dialogue form, and was translated into Arabic and Slavic, as well as Ethiopic.¹⁵

In the Ethiopian version the texts are replaced by those of the Ethiopic Bible, which frequently differs from the Greek. Furthermore, all concessions under duress are attributed to a strong, choleric governor of Africa and Carthage, called Sargis d'Aberga, of whom nothing is mentioned in the Greek. Research has revealed that under Justinian there was, around 543, a governor of Carthage called Sergius, who was presumptuous

¹⁴ E. W. Bethmann, *Bridge to Islam*, pp. 69, 70, 26. For Mohammed's teaching, see the Koran, Sura 81:1-14; 88:1-16; 82:1-7; 75:1-14, 20-25; 69:13-18.

¹⁵ *La didascalie de Jacob, Texte Grec* (original of *Sargis d'Aberga*, edited by F. Nau) in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 8, p. 714.

and arrogant, and who abused his powers incessantly.¹⁶ The Greek work is dated 640, and the Ethiopic translation 740, which might, however, be a mistake.

This little work is of interest to us only because it shows how clearly and widely the prophecy of Daniel concerning the four kingdoms was understood at the time, and that it was quoted as clinching proof to establish the correctness of the claim that Jesus was the Messiah. It also connects the coming of Christ with the expiration of the sixty-nine weeks. It declares:

“The four beasts of Daniel, which are mentioned in Daniel, are the four kingdoms of the world. Then the ten horns, then the little horn, which is the false Messiah. After that the Son of Man will come on the clouds of heaven to judge the quick and the dead. . . . The golden head is the kingdom of the Chaldeans; the breast of silver, the kingdom of the Medes and Persians; the brass the kingdom of the Greeks, that is, the kingdom of Alexander; the iron legs are the Romans. Are then the sixty-nine weeks passed and has Christ come, or not? And Justus the Jew had to admit, ‘Yes, it must be so.’”¹⁷

And after many other convincing arguments Justus makes the final confession: “I believe in Christ, born of Mary the virgin, at Bethlehem, Juda, 69 weeks after the reconstruction of the temple after the return from the captivity of Babel.”¹⁸

V. Beatus' Illustrated Commentary on Apocalypse

A remarkable contribution, which kept the multiple themes of the Apocalypse alive during the Middle Ages, was made by Beatus, Spanish priest and probably monk, who lived during the latter part of the eighth century. He is known to church history by his determined stand against Archbishop Elipandus of Toledo, who had propagated certain heterodox views about Christ, maintaining that Christ is the Son of God only by adoption. But the fame of Beatus lies not so much in defending the orthodox view as in his commentary on the Apocalypse. This was by no means an original work; rather, it was a record of past interpretations.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 716.

¹⁷ *Sargis d'Aberga (Controverse Judeo-Chrétienne)*, texte éthiopien édité et traduit par Sylvain Grébaut, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 13, pp. 45, 46.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

It contained: (a) a dedication of the work to Bishop Etherius of Osma; (b) a prologue attributed to St. Jerome, which in reality belongs to Priscillian; (c) a second prologue, a letter of Jerome to Anatolius introducing Jerome's re-editing of the commentary on the Apocalypse by Victorinus of Pettau; and (d) very important, a lengthy excerpt from the commentary by Tichonius.¹⁹ In fact, a large part of the original Tichonius material can be reconstructed with the help of this Beatus commentary. Most of the Beatus manuscripts also contain Jerome's commentary on the book of Daniel.

1. VARIOUS PROPHETIC SYMBOLS GRAPHICALLY ILLUSTRATED.—But this would not have been sufficient to elevate the fame of Beatus, nor would it have helped him to survive the wear and tear of the centuries. His commentary had, in addition, one feature which gave it an outstanding position—it was richly illustrated. His illustrations of the entire Apocalypse probably constitute the first great enterprise of its kind, at least on Western European soil. With his pictures he brought life into the manifold figures and symbols of the book of Revelation, and kindled and influenced the imagination of generations to come. Many of these may seem rather crude to us, but they are often highly dramatic. Moreover, modern illustrators cannot claim to have made very material progress in portraying more aptly the Apocalyptic visions of John.

The illustrations of Beatus picture the fearful struggle of the seven-headed beast and the ten-horned monster against the church, as well as the scorpion-tailed lions and dreadful locusts warring against mankind. Antichrist is shown slaying the Two Witnesses, and his fight against the Holy City is depicted, as well as the pouring out of the vials of the seven last plagues, and the binding of Satan. There are also pictured the Lamb on the throne, the holding of the four winds, and Christ's return in the clouds—almost every aspect of the Apocalypse.

¹⁹ Neuss, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 6, 7.

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 nosces. Omnia cum librorū cōca. hūm
 librū credas esse & clauiculā. Quodli
 maliquib; lectore offendi. curcas
 que omnia superu. ignoranti uena
 tribuat. Et si quid aliud supre. hoc
 quoq; dñi illi reuelauit. Nec sunt
 pauca exultat. que ptabili uoy
 nouitat pcepisse docerunt. Quorū
 p̄biqua proinde quibus dāmbocif
 anob; int iecta esse uolunt. ut sermo
 ne pater nri lenientis fir mare tur.
 Hæc ergo scē pater. te pccante obedi
 ficationē studū frūm ab. dicitur
 ut quo cōsor te pfruoꝝ religionis.
 coherede faciam et nri librorū. Am
PROLOGVS IN ROA POC

hæc libris dicit. dñi p̄biqua expolice pccog
 librū credas esse & clauiculā



ORIGINAL IN BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE

EARLIEST ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF PROPHETIC SYMBOLS EXTANT

Beatus, Eighth-Century Spanish Priest Left Earliest Extant Attempts to Picture Prophetic Symbols of Daniel and Apocalypse. Done in Colors That Have Scarcely Faded, They Afford Striking Evidence of the Concepts of Earlier Times (Lower); Opening Page of Beatus' Manuscripts Which Contain the Drawings (Upper)

In style these illustrations belong to mozarabic art, in which the brilliant colors of light green, yellow, red, and strong blues predominate. By admixture and clever combination these have resulted in a multitude of shades and hues, that blend into an exceedingly rich and harmonious symphony of colors.²⁰

2. REALISTIC TO AN UNUSUAL DEGREE.—The *Beatus Commentary*, with its illustrations, was copied again and again during the centuries following. At present twenty-five manuscripts are known to exist, mostly from the tenth and eleventh centuries, though some are as late as the middle of the sixteenth.²¹ One of the most beautiful manuscripts is that of Gregory of St. Sever (eleventh century), now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris.²²

Since many artists have copied these illustrations, we find in different manuscripts considerable variation in the reproduction of the same themes. Often completely new ventures are made, so that a peculiarity of one version may not be found in other copies. For instance, the Antichrist is pictured by one as a knight slaying the Two Witnesses, Elias and Enoch.²³ In another manuscript Antichrist is pictured as a one-eyed giant dressed in priestly garb, with a headgear similar to a miter, standing before the Holy City to make war against her, after the binding of Satan during the thousand years.²⁴ In other pictures we see the binding of Satan, fettered hand and foot, and the snake-dragon bound by an angel who holds in one hand the key of the abyss.²⁵ Most of these pictures are extremely realistic.

Neuss concludes with the thought that in the Old Spanish Apocalypse alone the horrors of the Apocalypse really came to life. Here the uncanny figures of hell fight with convincing fearfulness, and here the beasts and monsters are overcome after a realistic combat. These pictures bear witness to a time during

²⁰ Neuss, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 11.

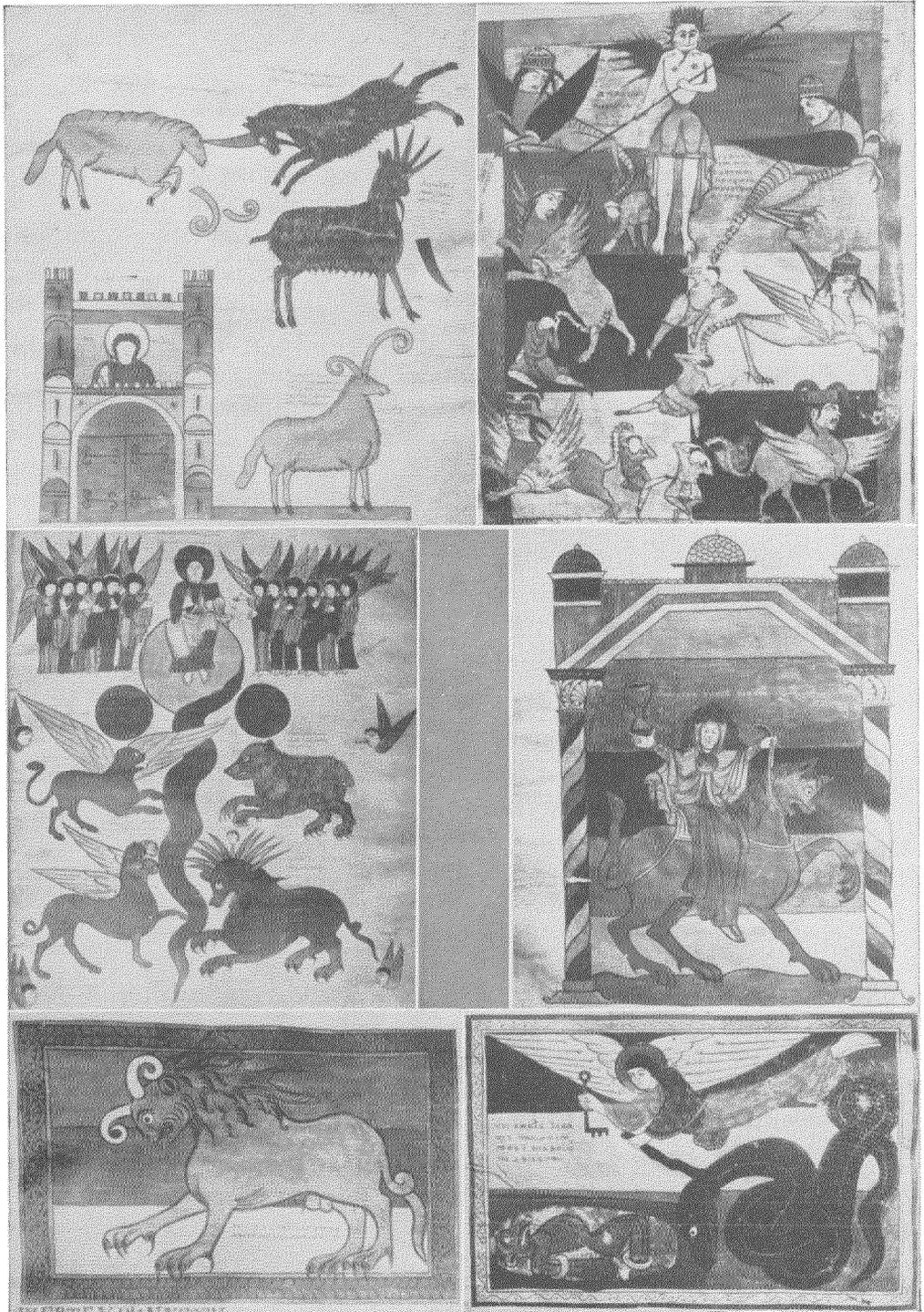
²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 34. From this Paris MS. the illustrations in these pages were secured.

²³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, plates 150, 151, p. CIV.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, plate 189, p. CXXXI.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, plate 185, p. CXXVIII.



SELECTED DRAWINGS FROM BEATUS' WORK

Persian Ram Whose Two Horns Were Broken by the Swift Grecian He-Goat (Upper Left); Strange Prophetic Symbols of Revelation 9 (Upper Right); Woman in White, and Woman in Purple Riding the Beast (Center, Left and Right); Two-horned Beast of Revelation 13, and Dragon Being Cast Into Abyss by Angel of Revelation 20 (Lower, Left and Right)

which the book of Revelation meant absolute reality, a time when people felt that they were involved in a life-and-death struggle with the powers of evil, when Satan and Antichrist were so hated that illustrators were able to picture these figures with such abhorrence that later onlookers more than once felt themselves urged to scratch out the eyes of Satan on some of the illustrations.²⁶ This presents an intensity of religious feeling hardly conceivable in our age.

3. OTHER ILLUSTRATED COMMENTARIES INDICATE INTEREST.—Besides this illustrated work of Beatus, there existed a goodly number of other illustrated commentaries on the Apocalypse, independent of this old Spanish version. There is still extant the Bamberg Apocalypse, a beautiful work, which is dated about the year 1000.²⁷ Then there is also an Apocalypse manuscript of Paris, and another of Valenciennes. Both of these seem to have been written in the ninth or tenth centuries. And in the Apocalypse manuscript of Cambrai, mentioned in a catalogue of the Library of the Cambrai Cathedral in the tenth century, we find forty-six miniatures. Still another manuscript, kept in Trier, seems to have had its origin in northern France,²⁸ likewise in the tenth century. All this proves that interest in the Apocalypse never lapsed, and its visions and symbols influenced the thinking of the times more deeply than has been generally understood.

VI. Berengaud—Geographical Allocation of "Ten Horns"

Leaving the realms of art, we now come to the commentary of BERENGAUD (probably late 9th century), which like others of the time was influenced by the Tichonius tradition. Nevertheless, it contains certain markedly original ideas. Little is known of this writer except that he was a monk of the Benedictine order. His *Expositio Super Septem Visiones Libri Apocalypsis* (Exposition of Seven Visions of the Book of Revelation) is found in Migne as an appendix to the work of Ambrose of Milan.²⁹

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 267.

²⁷ See pages 591-593.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 247-249.

²⁹ In Migne, *PL*, vol. 17, cols. 841-1058.

Migne places this with the works of Ambrosius because he is reprinting an edition which includes works attributed to Ambrose as well as genuine works. Berengaud is certainly much later, as he mentions the Saracens as having overrun Asia and the Lombards as established in Italy.³⁰ Originality marks much of his exposition, with a regular, connected, chronological plan. It is based on the frequently employed septenary division.

1. GIVES LOCATION OF TEN HORNS.—It is in connection with his statement on the Lombards that there appears his very interesting specification of the ten horns mentioned in Revelation 17:12. These kingdoms he connects, significantly enough, with Daniel 7, and then gives the following list and allocation: The Saracens have subjugated Asia; the Vandals, Africa; the Goths, Spain; the Lombards, Italy; the Burgundians, Gaul; the Franks, Germany; the Huns, Pannonia; and the Alans and Suevi have depopulated many places.³¹ Berengaud is obviously one of the earliest expositors to attempt a definite historical designation of the ten horns as divisions of the Roman Empire.

2. BEGINS SEALS WITH CREATION.—After expounding the seven epistles to the churches as lessons of warning and instruction to the church in general, Berengaud turns to the seven seals. His most singular departure is his beginning of the seals and the trumpets with creation. Prior to this most writers on the first seal had explained it as the early triumphs of the gospel. Here is Berengaud's arrangement:

- a. White horse—before the Flood.
- b. Red horse—from the Flood to Moses.
- c. Black horse—from Moses till the first advent of Christ.³²
- d. Pale horse—the prophets, who by their announcement of hunger, sword, and destruction made the people pale; and the horseman whose name is death is Jesus Christ. That even seems strange to Berengaud, but he explains that Christ is not

³⁰ Berengaud, *Expositio*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 17, col. 1000.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, col. 905.

only life for the elect but also death for all sinners, and therefore even this picture of Him is not out of place.³³

e. The souls under the altar—the martyrs, in the first period of the church at the beginning of the New Testament era.

f. The sixth seal—the rejection of the Jews, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the incoming of the Gentiles.³⁴

3. TRUMPET ANGELS PARALLEL SEALS.—The four angels of the sealing message are explained as the four world empires, climaxing with the Roman. Then he comes to the seven trumpet angels, divinely taught preachers—the patriarchs, Moses and the doctors of the law, the prophets, Christ's own era, the primitive teachers of the church, the martyrs under pagan Rome, and the preachers living in the end of the world.³⁵

4. WITNESSES ARE MINISTERS; BABYLON, THE REPROBATE.—With respect to the Witnesses, the measuring of the court and its worshipers is taken to be Christian ministers ministering. Babylon is all the reprobate, and the three and a half days are three and a half years.³⁶ Antichrist is the slayer of the Witnesses. And the travailing woman is the church, with Christ the child.³⁷

5. LEOPARD BEAST, ANTICHRIST; SECOND BEAST, HIS PREACHERS.—Satan attacks the woman's seed remaining at the end of the world, through the beast of Revelation 13, that is, Antichrist. This beast, he implies, is a person, an open infidel, an arrant advocate of licentiousness. The second beast he interprets as the preachers of Antichrist—the two horns being the Jewish and Gentile reprobates. Berengaud disclaims knowledge of the meaning of the 666.³⁸

6. THREE ANGELS ARE GROUPS OF PREACHERS.—The 144,000 are the elect on earth. The first of the three angel messengers of Revelation 14, Berengaud applies to Christ and

³³ *Ibid.*, col. 920.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, cols. 921-923 (cf. Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 373-375).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 934-943, 956.

³⁶ Several have thus already extended the year-day principle to include the three and a half days of the Two Witnesses, making them three and a half years. These are Tichonius, Primasius, and now Berengaud.

³⁷ Berengaud, *Expositio*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 17, cols. 950-960.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, cols. 965-972.

His apostles and preachers before the beginning of the judgment. The second angel refers in a special way, he adds, to the doctors of the church who direct the church during the time of the last persecution. Babylon is here taken to be the "city" of the devil, that is, of all the wicked. Under the third angel Berengaud understands the true and upright preachers during the times of Antichrist, who will not bow before him.³⁹

7. SCARLET WOMAN IS ROME; SEVENTH HEAD, ANTICHRIST. —The beast-riding harlot is explained to be, not only the city of the devil, that is, the whole mass of evildoers, but especially pagan Rome.⁴⁰ The seven heads of the beast are the satanic forces all through the ages, which appeared in the evildoers before the Flood, in those who opposed Moses, in false prophets; the sixth head represents the pagans who persecuted and still persecute the church; and the seventh will be Antichrist. Those seven are only instruments in the hands of Satan; ⁴¹ the eighth, however, is the devil himself with his demons.⁴²

Concerning the thousand years, he remains fully under the influence of Augustine,⁴³ holding the present-millennium-on-earth concept. Although Berengaud had quite original ideas— or perhaps because of these original ideas—he did not exercise a marked or notable influence upon the exegesis of the Apocalypse during the Middle Ages.

VII. Far-reaching Influence of Pseudo-Methodius

One of the most influential books of the Middle Ages, and even beyond, in shaping the ideas of men concerning things to come, appeared under the pen name of "Methodius, bishop of Olympus and Tyrus," who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian. This little treatise was first printed in Basel in 1498. In the same year a German translation appeared in Memmingen, followed by various editions in both Latin and German in the sixteenth century, and even as late as the seventeenth.⁴⁴

³⁹ *Ibid.*, cols. 977-979.

⁴² *Ibid.*, col. 999.

⁴⁴ E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, pp. 4, 5.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 996.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, cols. 1015 ff.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Long before the art of printing was devised this Pseudo-Methodius exercised a tremendous influence. When in 1241 the Tartars stormed over Europe, Thomas of Spoleto recognized in them the Ishmaelites of Methodius. We find traces of "Methodius" in the old oriental literature, in Armenian and Syriac sources, for instance in Solomon of Basra's *Book of the Bee*, about 853.⁴⁵ Well we may ask, What is the reason that this little work could hold attention for centuries? The answer is that it predicts the triumphs of Christianity over Islam, and it contains the most concise world history of the time, from Adam to the end, with inclusion of the main prophecies of Daniel, and a detailed eschatology.

This little work was obviously composed under the vivid impressions produced by the powerful onslaughts of Islam against the civilized world of Eastern Rome. It is written in Greek, but its writer was probably a Syrian.⁴⁶ And the time of writing was about A.D. 676-678, or possibly A.D. 682-686.⁴⁷ It was probably brought to the West by Syrian traders soon after its appearance in the East, because we have early translations of it in Gaul.⁴⁸ At the same time a pseudo-Ephremitic sermon concerning the end of the world, based partly on the Latin translation of Methodius, found extensive circulation in Gaul.

1. THE ABODE OF GOG AND MAGOG.—Now as to his ideas: After giving a detailed chronology of happenings before the Flood—in which he runs parallel to another Syrian source called *The Treasure Cave*⁴⁹—he accepts the four prophetic empires of Daniel, the last of which (the Roman Empire) will remain till the end. In the last days, according to Psalms 68:31, Ethiopia stretches out her hands, and Pseudo-Methodius takes considerable pains to prove how that could come about. He incorporates the Alexander saga—which tells how Alexander,

⁴⁵ Solomon, bishop of Basra, *The Book of the Bee*, translated by E. A. Wallis Budge, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, vol. 1, part 2; see also A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco Byzantina*, vol. 1, pp. 33 ff.

⁴⁶ Sackur, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49; see also Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, pp. 50 ff.

⁴⁸ Sackur, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁴⁹ *Die Schatzhöhle*, edited with German translation by Carl Bezold.

in order to stem the onrush of the wild tribes of the North (the peoples of Gog and Magog)—built mighty iron gates in one of the narrow valleys of the Caucasus. These gates, he contends, will be broken at the end of time, and the hordes of Gog and Magog will stream forth.

2. THE PROMINENT FEATURES OF ANTICHRIST.—After the Persian Empire has vanished, the Ishmaelites will break forth from Yathrib (i.e., Islam) and will overflow everything. But when the disaster has run its course and the tribulation has reached its height, then the Greek, or Roman, emperor will rouse from his stupor to shake off the fetters of the invaders. Peace will reign again. Towns and cities will be rebuilt and flourish. But now Antichrist will appear. He will be born in Chorazin, educated in Bethsaida, and rule in Capernaum.⁵⁰ In somewhat similar language this idea had already been expressed in the Arabic-Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter. This was concluded because those towns had heard the words of Jesus and had seen His signs, and had rejected Him. And Friedländer informs us that these very places were the stronghold of the Minim or Manuth—the antinomian, or free-from-the-law, movement among the Jews in Galilee—a movement which undermined all the precepts of Mosaic Judaism.⁵¹ No wonder that even in Jewish thought these places were considered the right breeding ground for such an abomination as the great deceiver.

Gog and Magog will be loosed from behind the iron gates of Alexander, we are told, and will come close to Joppa (Jaffa). Then God will intervene, and send one of His angelic princes to smite them forever. We also find in Pseudo-Methodius the idea of the emperor laying down his crown on Golgotha, which found widest acceptance during the Middle Ages. Whenever we consider the influence of eschatological ideas on the people of the Middle Ages, and the development of religious thought on their lives, we should never omit Pseudo-Methodius.⁵²

⁵⁰ Sackur, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁵¹ Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁵² Sackur, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43; see also Latin text in Sackur.

VIII. Adso—Depicts Career of Coming Antichrist

ADSO OF MONTIER-EN-DER, France (d. 992), became the leading teacher of the Antichrist tradition during the Middle Ages. He was made abbot of the Cluniac monastery of Montier-en-Der in 960, after he had received a good education in the Abbey of Luxeuil, and had been an instructor of the clergy for some time. He was born of the nobility and was a friend of Pope Sylvester II and of other influential personalities of his age. He was a prodigious writer. But only his *Libellus de Antichristo* (Little Work on Antichrist) is of concern in this study.⁵³

It was written upon request of Queen Gerberga of France,⁵⁴ who sought information about this strange doctrine of Antichrist and about the correctness of the expectations concerning the year 1000. Adso, her court chaplain at the time, collected all the material he could, and presented it to her in the aforementioned form. It is assumed that Adso's *Libellus* was written about 954. So widely was it circulated that, from being copied into the spare parchment pages of other works, it has been variously but erroneously ascribed to Augustine, Alcuin, and Rabanus Maurus.⁵⁵

I. SUMS UP PREVALENT ANTICHRIST BELIEFS.—In his short treatise Adso sums up all the many traits of Antichrist, and the divers teachings about that mysterious figure which were prevalent in his day. In many respects his little work shows similarities to Pseudo-Methodius, and incorporates all those points which, as has been previously noted, are of Judaistic origin.

Just note them: Antichrist becomes the exact antithesis of Christ. Christ was humble; Antichrist will be boastful. Christ came to lift up the meek and lowly, and to justify sinners; Antichrist will come to exalt the unrighteous. Christ came to teach virtue; Antichrist will come to teach vice. In many the spirit of Antichrist has already been revealed—for example, in

⁵³ In Migne, *PL*, vol. 101, cols. 1289-1298.

⁵⁴ Wife of Louis IV (d'Outremer) and sister of Otto the Great of Germany.

⁵⁵ Charles Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 301. In Migne we find it recorded after the work of Alcuin, as *Adonis . . . Libellus de Antichristo* (The Pamphlet Concerning Antichrist by Adso), but a better recension can be found in Sackur, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-113.

Antiochus, Nero, and Domitian—but Antichrist himself will be born in Babylon from the tribe of Dan. In sin will he be conceived, and in sin be born. He will be educated and do his works in Chorazin and Bethsaida. Then he will make his appearance in Jerusalem, place himself above all gods, and persecute the Christians and all the elect for three and a half years. So dreadful will be this persecution that if those days should not be shortened even the elect would perish.

But Antichrist will not appear before the Roman Empire is laid in ruins. The last great king of the Franks is still to come, who will lay down the scepter and crown upon the holy sepulcher. Israel will be converted, and Gog and Magog will be loosened from behind the mountains of the Caucasus. That means the twenty-two (other manuscripts read twelve) peoples that were shut out by Alexander. Enoch and Elijah will come to be effective Witnesses, until they will be killed by Antichrist during the time of his terrorization for three and a half years. Antichrist will sit either in the Jewish temple or in the Christian church, and will finally be killed by Christ or by the archangel Michael at the command of Christ.⁵⁶

2. ANTICHRIST PATTERN SET.—A complete pattern of Antichrist was thus set, which became a standard view for centuries to come.

IX. The Play of Antichrist

The idea of Antichrist's appearing as a person and ruling in Jerusalem, which dominated the imagination of the medieval mind, found expression not only in theological works but also in poetical and theatrical forms. In the middle of the twelfth century, for instance, a play was written in southern Germany called *Ludus de Antichristo* (Play of Antichrist), which depicts the emperor of the West receiving the submission of the kings of France, Greece, Babylon, and Jerusalem. As the time of this age is completed the emperor lays down his imperial crown on

⁵⁶ Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 101, cols. 1294, 1295.

the altar of God in Jerusalem; but the followers of Antichrist, under the latter's guidance, usurp the power and emulate the false miracles of Antichrist himself, gain the following of the heathen, the Jews, and the empire. At this extremity none can help except God. He sends the Two Witnesses, Enoch and Elijah, but Antichrist kills them. Then, just at the moment when Antichrist is ready to proclaim that peace will now reign on earth, as these disturbing witnesses are silenced forever, a clap of thunder supposedly shatters the head of the Antichrist. Christ the Lord has destroyed him.⁵⁷

This idea—that all the world will be united under one emperor before Antichrist appears—is nothing new. It can be traced back to the *Tiburtine Sibylline*.⁵⁸ The old Tiburtine is found in many editions and recensions, but the original document dates back to the fourth century, and celebrates the emperor Constans as the last Roman ruler. Here, perhaps for the first time, the idea is mentioned that the emperor will obtain the dominion over all the world, and at the end of his reign will march to the holy city Jerusalem to lay down his crown on Golgotha.

X. A.D. 1000 Expectancy of End of World

About the time of the Council of Rheims, when the hint was thrown out that the Antichrist might be sitting on the papal throne, the day of judgment at the world's end was anticipated by many. This expectation was based, perhaps, on a literal reckoning of Augustine's indefinite thousand-year period which placed the devil's binding at the first advent of Christ. And incidentally, it was the same Gerbert, secretary of that Council of Rheims, who, as Sylvester II,⁵⁹ occupied the pontifical chair at the passing of the fateful year A.D. 1000. This very name, Sylvester II, carries the mind back to Sylvester I and the tem-

⁵⁷ Dempf, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-258.

⁵⁸ Sackur, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 ff.

⁵⁹ Gerbert of Aurillac entered the ranks of the clergy and studied in Spain, at Rome, and in France. For a time he was master of the cathedral school of Rheims. He became abbot of Bobbio, archbishop, and finally pope (Sylvester II) 999-1004. (Ault, *op. cit.*, pp. 509, 510.)

poral power of Rome gained through the forged Donation of Constantine to Sylvester I.

By reckoning the millennium from the incarnation, the appearance of Antichrist at its close seemed, to such, to be fixed for about the year 1000. Baronius states that this expectancy "was published in Gaul, first preached in Paris, and then circulated throughout the world, believed by many, indeed accepted with reverence by the more simple, but disapproved by the more learned."⁶⁰

Augustine had left the terminus of the thousand years somewhat indefinite, the period being considered a round number or a symbol of the Christian Era. Some reckoned it from the birth of Christ, others from His death;⁶¹ but A.D. 1000 was roughly the terminus if it was to be taken as a definite period. Soon after its close, news of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, in 1009, caused fear and consternation to not a few who supposed the end to be upon them. Likewise with the terrible famine of 1033—considered to be approximately a thousand years after the death of Christ. Between these dates—1000 and 1033—there was much tension and unusual religious activity. And the majority felt greatly relieved when the time had passed uneventfully.

As Baronius has noted, the approach of the year 1000 caused apprehension and consternation to a great number of simple souls. It could have been connected with the misconceptions growing out of Augustine's theory of the millennial reign of Christ, which would end, they presumed, about the year 1000. Or, just as likely, it may have originated with the idea that the world would continue for six thousand years. This idea was widespread, for it had been taught long before by the ancient Persians. Then it found entrance into the Jewish Apocrypha, and later into their Cabalistic literature. And this, in turn, was taken over by the millenarians and other early Christian groups. Such notions had not been forgotten as men

⁶⁰ Baronius, *op. cit.*, anno 1001, vol. 11, col. 2.

⁶¹ Frédéric Duval, *Les terreurs de l'an mille*, p. 71.

approached such a fateful turning point. And the dismal expectancy might have been a blending of both concepts.

I. AGITATION CENTERS IN FRANCE.—Abbo of Fleury declares that in his youth he had heard a preacher in Paris speaking of the coming of Antichrist about the year 1000,⁶² and of the fearful times associated with this event. Baronius cites the witness of the abbot of Fleury to Robert, king of France, thus:

“When in my youth, I heard a sermon preached in church before the people of Paris, about the end of the world. In that sermon it was said that as soon as the thousandth year had ended, Antichrist would come, and soon afterwards the universal judgment would follow. To the best of my power I opposed this preaching from the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the Book of Daniel. . . . The rumor had filled almost the whole earth.”⁶³

In 960 a certain hermit, by the name of Bernard of Thuringia, appeared before an assembly of nobles and princes in Würzburg to warn them of the soon-approaching end.⁶⁴ Furthermore, we are told of a hymn that was sung at the end of the tenth century, emphasizing the approaching day of wrath.⁶⁵ We know, moreover, that there was great religious excitement in the province of Lorraine, a decade or so before that eventful year,⁶⁷ because it was conjectured that the Annunciation would fall on Good Friday, an aspect which led many to think that the world's end was at hand,⁶⁶ but this event was already due in the year 992.

The star witness of the times, on this expectation, was an old monk, Raoul Glaber. He has been cited time and again by later historians, although he was rather gullible about accepting gossip, and his chronicle only alludes to events of a local nature.⁶⁷ Among the calamities of his time, which he describes, we find the following statement in his fourth book: “People believed that the orders of seasons, and the laws of nature, which until

⁶² J. J. Ampère, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 3, p. 275.

⁶³ Baronius, *op. cit.*, anno 1001, tom. 11, col. 3, par. 4; see also Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 64, 65.

⁶⁴ Ch. Pfister, *Etudes sur le règne de Robert le Pieux, 996-1031*, p. 322.

⁶⁵ Emile Gebhart, *Moines et Papes*, p. 4.

⁶⁶ G. L. Burr, “The Year 1000 and the Antecedents of the Crusades,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 6, October, 1900 to July, 1901, p. 432.

⁶⁷ Gebhart, *Moines et Papes*, p. 3.

then had governed the world, had forever relapsed into eternal chaos and they feared that the end of humanity had come.”⁶⁸

But this refers to the great famine of the year 1033, which was so severe that it gave rise to the wildest panic. We therefore see that during these decades here and there minds were highly agitated and concerned. It is clear, however, that there was no such widespread panic—embracing all France, much less the whole of Christendom in its grip—which some writers of the last two centuries have sought to picture. For example, Hagenbach refers to the “almost universal expectation of the approaching end of the world, which was to take place about the year 1000.” Thus he quotes from Lücke:

“The notion began to spread in the Christian world, with the approach of the year 1000, that, in accordance with Scripture, the millennial kingdom would come to a close at the completion of the first period of a thousand years after Christ; that, further, Antichrist would then appear, and the end of the world take place.”⁶⁹

Milman and Mosheim state practically the same. Similarly with Luden in the German, as also Michelet and Lausser in the French.

2. NOT FOSTERED BY CHURCH DIGNITARIES.—Moreover, it was not the official church of the time that sounded the alarm; nor did she lay any general plans that could be construed as inspired by the idea of a soon-approaching climax. Some have argued that, in 909, the dignitaries of the church at the Council of Trosley (or Troli), in France, had become convinced of the approaching end because the minutes carried the preamble, “*Appropinquante mundi termino*” (as the end of the world is approaching). But it can easily be established that this expression belongs to the old formula collection of Marculf, and had been in use back as far as in the sixth and seventh centuries, and also continued to be employed after the year 1000 passed.⁷⁰ It was, however, used only in France, and not in Italy or Germany.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Hagenbach, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 378, 379.

⁷⁰ Burr, *op. cit.*, p. 433; Pfister, *Etudes*, p. 323.

⁷¹ Duval, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

There is evidence, furthermore, that the Council of Rome, in 998, imposed upon Robert, the king of France, a penance of seven years.⁷² Assuredly they did not expect to have it cut short by the soon-coming day of judgment. Neither Pope Sylvester II, the former Bishop Gerbert of Rheims, nor the youthful emperor Otto III, were particularly perturbed by this year of expected doom. On the contrary, they were laying long-range plans for the renovation of the old Roman Empire.⁷³

We must therefore come to the conclusion that any expectation of the coming of Antichrist, the loosing of Satan, and the judgment day occurring in connection with or around the year 1000, was not fostered by the hierarchy of the church or by the doctors of divinity, but found its chief expression among larger or smaller groups of the laity, especially in France. Needless to say, the year 1000 passed without any remarkable occurrence.

3. AN UNJUSTIFIED AND UNPROPHETIC FEAR.—The firmament did not depart as a scroll, and the graves remained unopened. The millennial year 1000 passed without any awful mundane catastrophe, any obvious loosing of Satan, or spectacular manifestation of Antichrist as popularly expected. This would also tend to shake any confidence in the theory of a current ecclesiastical millennium. Later the passing of the twelfth century opened to expositors the opportunity of applying the year-day principle to the prophesied three and a half times of Antichrist, as of 1260 prophetic days, or literal years, without putting the second advent far into the future.⁷⁴ About the year 1260 we really find a much greater expectancy for the coming of the Lord and of a new age than in the year 1000. We shall deal with this important date at greater length, in its place.

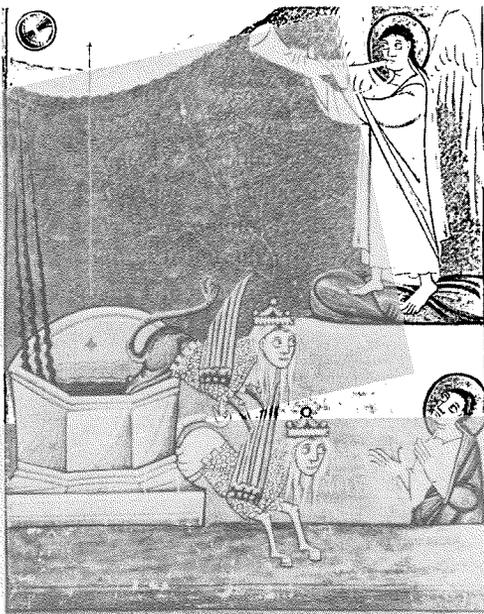
XI. The Illustrated Bamberg Apocalypse

In this chapter we have already dealt with the eighth-century Spanish monk, Beatus, whose illustrations of the Apoca-

⁷² Pfister, *op. cit.*, pp. 322, 323.

⁷³ Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 66, 67.

⁷⁴ Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 381.



Illustrated Bamberg Apocalypse of Eleventh Century

Fifth Trumpet, With Fighting
Locusts Emerging From Well
(Upper Left); Dragon Attacking
the Woman, Who Had Just
Given Birth to the Man-child
(Center); The Woman Fleeing
From the Dragon's Flood
(Upper Right); Leopard Beast
of Revelation 13 (Lower Left);
Two-horned Beast of Revelation
13 (Lower Right)



lypse exerted a profound influence upon successive generations during the Middle Ages. But Beatus, and the school developing after him, were not alone in this field. In southern Germany, at the monastery of Reichenau, art was cultivated and produced its own distinctive style. A beautiful specimen is the illustrated Apocalypse that was finished around the year 1000—probably in 1005 or 1007—and which brought fame to this school. This work is known as the *Bamberg Apocalypse*, because the emperor Henry II presented it to the church of St. Stephen, at Bamberg, in 1020. With its fifty-eight illustrations on the Apocalypse, it constitutes the main part of a larger work.⁷⁵

The illustrations in the Bamberg Apocalypse, compared with those of the Beatus group, contain, in general, less detail. However, their main figures are mostly well proportioned and show a harmony of movement that reveals real artistry. Nonesentials are merely indicated by a few suggestive lines. For instance, the sea is indicated by wavy lines, and the earth by a straight line. This leaves the definite impression that the effect desired is to emphasize the symbolic nature of the entire picture—a point that modern illustrators often fail to take into consideration.

After becoming accustomed to the medieval lack of perspective in drawing, one immediately notices the very careful composition of these pictures by the artist. For instance, the direct attack of the seven-headed dragon upon the woman who had given birth to the man child, in the one picture, and the spewing out the stream of water after her when she is fleeing, in another, show the dragon already on the defensive. In the pictures illustrating the leopard beast of Revelation 13 and the two-horned beast of the same chapter, the dragon character of both is definitely emphasized. In the former it will be noticed that one of the heads is bent, indicating its deadly wound.

In the picture illustrating the outpouring of the plagues the similar postures of the different angels emphasize the

⁷⁵ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, p. 8.



FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS FROM BAMBERG APOCALYPSE

The First Three Plagues (Left); The Great Harlot, Riding the Beast (Center); Satan Bound, Then Loosed (Right)

sameness of their task. However, differentiation is effected by showing various ways of holding the vials. Really grotesque is the binding and loosing of Satan. He is bound, together with the dragon, and the fiery pit rolls into the picture like an immense ball. It reminds one somehow of modernistic symbolic illustrations. All the paintings are done in opaque colors, principally in three—gold, darkish green, and a purple-brown, with many intermediate shades. It is assuredly the work of an outstanding though unnamed artist of that time.

The theme chosen shows the marked influence the apocalyptic visions of John had upon the minds of the people—kings, priests, and laymen alike. This is especially well illustrated by the fact that this work was given by the holy Roman emperor to a noted church in Bavaria. All this shows clearly that the Apocalypse had a much greater place in the thinking and imagination of the people of that century than it has today.

British Expositors Exhibit

Greater Independence

It has seemed desirable to complete the sequence of Continental expositors to the eleventh century, and then to take up the prophetic expositors of Britain, from Bede onward, in a single chapter, since they were more independent. And inasmuch as the beginnings of British Christianity, little known generally, had a bearing on this spirit of independence, it may be well to take a backward glance over the historical development and relationships of the church in Britain during the first seven centuries as a background for Bede and the other interpreters to follow.

I. The Beginnings of Christianity in Britain

From the landing of Julius Caesar on the shores of Britain, in 54 B.C., down to A.D. 410, when the Roman soldiers were withdrawn from the isles, the secular history of Britain can be traced with fair continuity. But for about 150 years thereafter there comes a break in the narrative—a sort of Dark Age. Of the transition by which the provincial Britain of Honorius (d. 423) became the Anglo-Saxon Britain of Ethelbert (d. 616) and Ethelfrid (or Aethelfrith), there is little certain knowledge.

The mists of uncertainty likewise cover the early entrance of Christianity into the British Isles. The exact date cannot be determined, and the mode and the route by which the Christian faith first penetrated these isles is not known. Much has been

written concerning it, and many claims have been made, but uncertainty still prevails. It seems virtually impossible to separate the strands of truth from the tangled skein of conflicting legend. Milman declares: "There can be no doubt that conquered and half-civilised Britain, like the rest of the Roman empire, gradually received, during the second and third centuries, the faith of Christ."¹

Neander says the evidence is against its coming from Rome, concluding that it was rather through Gaul, from Asia Minor,² as its ritual agrees more nearly with the latter.

I. CHURCH EXISTENT FROM SECOND CENTURY ONWARD.—

As noted, just when Christianity was introduced into Britain cannot be stated with certainty. Some scholars claim it was during the first century. If it followed the entrance of Christianity into Gaul, then it was probably toward the close of the second century, for the first churches in Gaul were planted there about A.D. 150. And there seems to be evidence of the influence of Gallic Christianity, which came directly from the East. Tertullian, writing about 202, exultantly mentions the British churches, referring to "the haunts of the Britons—inaccessible to the Romans, but subjugated to Christ."³

Origen also writes of an already existing church there by the third century.⁴ In the fourth century Eusebius of Caesarea similarly alludes to the gospel's having penetrated Britain;⁵ Athanasius was in correspondence with the British Christians.⁶ Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, salutes the bishops of Britain, and regrets that distance forbids frequent communication.⁷ Both Chrysostom and Jerome similarly refer to the Christian faith in

¹ Milman, *Latin Christianity*, book 4, chap. 3, vol. 2, p. 226. Also on early British church history see William E. Collins, *The Beginnings of English Christianity*; John R. Green, *The Making of England*; Arthur W. Haddan and William Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*; Arthur J. Mason, editor, *The Mission of St. Augustine to England According to the Original Documents*; Joseph B. Lightfoot, *Leaders in the Northern Church*; Joseph Stevenson, translator, *The Historical Works of the Venerable Bede*, in *Church Historians of England*, vol. 1, part 2.

² Neander, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 85, 86.

³ Tertullian, *An Answer to the Jews*, chap. 7, in *ANF*, vol. 3, p. 158; Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁴ Origen, Homily 4 on Ezekiel, in Migne, *PG*, vol. 13, col. 698.

⁵ Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel*, book 3, chap. 5, vol. 1, p. 130.

⁶ Athanasius, *Letters*, Letter 56 (to the emperor Jovian), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, p. 568.

⁷ Hilary, *On the Councils*, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 9, p. 4.

the British Isles.⁸ And Theodoret of Cyrus, in his fifth-century ecclesiastical history, includes the British Christians.⁹ So there is continuity and consistency of early contemporary evidence.

As early as 314 three bishops from Britain appeared as representatives at the Synod of Arles,¹⁰ in Gaul. And in 359, at the Council of Ariminum (Ariminium), Rumania, three more British bishops are noted by Sulpicius Severus.¹¹ There is no evidence, however, that any sat in the general Council of Nicaea in 325. And after the withdrawal of the Roman army from Britain, in 410, there was little intercourse for a time between the British Christians and those under the influence of Rome.¹²

2. SETBACKS UNDER THE GERMANIC INVASION.—About 449 the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes from the Continent began to invade Britain. Thus the British Christians were gradually forced back to the western mountain fastnesses of Wales, where they dwelt in communities in semimonastic fashion. Each community was presided over by an abbot, probably a perpetuation of the Celtic clan system. Information concerning the ensuing century is exceedingly scanty. But when an effort was made about the close of the sixth century to bring them into subjection to Rome, the British were found to be very tenacious in their beliefs and practices. They were students of the Bible and were intensely missionary-minded, evangelizing among the Picts of the North, and in France and Germany. And it was the Iro-Scottish Celts, it should be noted, who were so strongly missionary-minded.¹³

Britain had been pretty thoroughly Romanized in secular matters when this invasion by Germanic tribes from the Rhine

⁸ Joseph Stevenson, translator's introduction to *The Historical Works of the Venerable Bede*, in *Church Historians of England*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 28; see also Jerome, Letter 46 (to Marcella), in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, p. 64.

⁹ Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 5, chap. 9, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 3, p. 137.

¹⁰ Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 44; Sir Charles W. Oman, *History of England Before the Norman Conquest*, p. 180; John Williams, *The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry: or The Ancient British Church*, p. 81; Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 34.

¹¹ Sulpicius Severus, *op. cit.*, book 2, chap. 41, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 11, p. 116; Oman, *op. cit.*, p. 181; see also Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 41.

¹² Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 409.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 409-411.

got under way in the fifth century. There had been fine buildings, public baths, and good roads in Britain. Latin was quite generally spoken in the cities. But the invasion radically changed the entire picture. The barbarians swept over the decadent Roman Empire and interposed themselves like a giant wedge across Central Europe, largely isolating Britain. The Roman legions had withdrawn from Britain, and the Picts and Scots had begun to ravage the northern country. Pirates from the West plundered the towns. The Jutes from Jutland occupied East Kent, and then much of the rest of the country. Saxon war bands followed from the German coast, pillaging the southern shores, while tribes of Angles landed on the north side of the Thames and along the eastern coast.¹⁴

The cities and roads fell into decay, for the Germanic invaders were rural peoples. The Christian Celts were driven back, and the pagan gods Woden and Thor were worshiped. Latin disappeared, and a German dialect was substituted. In fact, the civilization of the Romans was largely destroyed.¹⁵ The barbarism of the German forests prevailed. Various sections were ruled by petty kings, with overlordships by the stronger kings. The Anglo-Saxon dialect came to supersede the Latin tongue, and Christianity was to a great degree driven out of a sizable portion of Britain.

3. IONA BECOMES LIGHT OF WESTERN WORLD.—However, by the fifth century Ireland had been Christianized, largely through the efforts of PATRICK (c. 396-469).¹⁶ She began to manifest great missionary zeal, but had little intercourse with the churches of the Continent. About 570 COLUMBA (c. 520-597),¹⁷ Irish evangelist, with twelve companions, came to the isle of Iona, on the southwest coast of Scotland, and founded a

¹⁴ See Oliver J. Thatcher and Ferdinand Schwill, *Europe in the Middle Age*, p. 66.

¹⁵ Thatcher and Schwill, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 67.

¹⁶ The zeal of Patrick in the winning of the Irish resulted in the conversion of Ireland. Patrick, Columba, and Columban rejected the Roman hierarchy and Mariolatry, and recognized no authority outside the Scriptures. But they were highly ascetic and laid much stress on monastic rules. (Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 412-415.)

¹⁷ COLUMBA, of royal descent, was born in Donegal, Ireland. He was a disciple of Patrick. Ordained a priest, he taught near Dublin, and founded numerous monasteries. Finally he settled in Iona (or Hy) in 565, founding his chief monastery there. He evangelized the heathen Picts, and taught the Scots, who had already accepted Christianity. (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*

monastery. And the Picts of Scotland—then called Caledonia—were Christianized, along with a considerable portion of northern England.

Monasteries in those days, it should be remarked, were the chief repositories of knowledge and learning. Here early English literature was cradled. Here the earliest poets received their inspiration. And here, even before that, Hilda (d. 680), abbess of Hartlepool and Whitby, became the chief educator of the Northumbrian church. She presided over a great religious house, a training school for the clergy. No fewer than five of her pupils became bishops.¹⁸ These monasteries of Britain produced many noted scholars, most famous of whom was the Venerable Bede (673-735), of Yarrow, soon to be noted, who had six hundred monks as his pupils.

In 586 the leading British bishops fled to Wales. A large number assembled at Llanddewi Brefi, where the church was reorganized, and centers were established in various places. The few churches in England that escaped the Saxon torch had been converted into heathen temples, and their altars polluted with pagan sacrifices. The missionary effort of this exiled British church was now directed toward the pagans of Central Europe, who had barely been touched by the church of Rome. The monastery of Iona led the way, and for several centuries the Iro-British church was a great missionary force in Europe. Iona became known as the "Light of the Western World." Its first evangelizing company of twelve set out under COLUMBAN,¹⁹ in 585, and settled in the south of France.

It was during this period that the British church first came into conflict with ecclesiastical Rome. This was induced by differences between the teachings and practices of the British missionaries and those of Rome, and by the refusal of the

of the English Nation, book 3, chap. 4, and book 5, chaps. 9, 24, in The Loeb Classical Library, *Baedae Opera Historica*, vol. 1, p. 341, and vol. 2, pp. 237, 377, respectively; Adamnan, *Life of Saint Columba*, in *The Historians of Scotland*, vol. 6, ed. by William Reeves; Charles Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, vol. 3, book 9, pp. 3-168.)

¹⁸ Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 204, 205, n. 46.

¹⁹ COLUMBAN, Columbanus, or Columcilla (543-615), born in Leinster, Ireland, was the Irish missionary to France, Switzerland, and Italy. He founded the monastery of Luxeuil (Vogos) about 590; also that of Bobbio, Italy, where he died. (Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 413; Montalembert, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, book 7, pp. 241-362.)

British to acknowledge the primacy of the pope. A conspiracy was formed to expel them, and Columban and others moved to Switzerland, where they worked among the Suevi and Alemanni. After a time they were driven from there and took refuge in northern Italy, establishing the monastery at Bobbio, in the Apennines. Other British missionaries carried the gospel into Germany, Bavaria, and Thuringia. And centers were established in the Netherlands and others in France. Of the impact of the British church, as it burst upon Central and Western Europe, Green says:

“For a time it seemed as if the course of the world’s history was to be changed, as if the older Celtic race that Roman and German had swept before them, had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors, as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the Churches of the West.”²⁰

This Celtic period of the Northumbrian church throbs with interest. Columba, who started his intensive missions from Iona, labored on for thirty years, and died just after Augustine landed on the shores of Kent. His work was independent of Rome. The influence of the Roman faith, on the other hand, was largely dependent on the extension of the empire, whereas Celtic Christianity was a native growth.²¹ It was thus that Iona was the light of Christendom and the center of the evangelism of the time.

II. Augustine’s Attempt to Romanize Britain

I. GREGORY SENDS AUGUSTINE ON BRITISH MISSION.—But another stream of missionary activity stemming from Rome began moving westward. The Saxon settlement of Britain and the missionary zeal of the Celts in carrying the gospel to the Continent caused Pope Gregory I (the Great) to turn his attention upon Britain. Before his elevation to the pontificate

²⁰ John R. Green, *History of the English People*, vol. 1, pp. 56, 57.

²¹ Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Irish Christianity remained essentially free from Roman domination until the twelfth century, when, along with the English conquest, the yoke of Roman dictation was firmly fastened on the neck of the ancient Irish church. (*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 194, 195.) See also Milman, *Latin Christianity*, book 4, chap. 3; Stevenson, introduction to “The Historical Works of the Venerable Bede,” in *Church Historians of England*, vol. 1, part 2, p. 35.

Gregory had himself purposed to go to Britain to convert the Saxons. In his stead he now sent Augustine, the Benedictine monk (d. 604), to Kent, in southeastern Britain, together with a company of some thirty other missionaries and interpreters. They landed in 597 on the isle of Thanet. The little band then went to Canterbury, where shelter was given them, and assurance of protection.²²

Ethelbert, king of the Saxons, had married Bertha, the Christian daughter of King Charibert of the Franks. She had brought with her a Catholic bishop, and Ethelbert gave them a ruined British Christian church in which to worship. They succeeded in converting Ethelbert. And within a year he and ten thousand of his subjects accepted the Catholic faith and were baptized in the Swale.²³ It was a crucial hour, destined to affect all future British history. It brought England into close connection with the Continent, and especially with the bishop of Rome. With Canterbury as its headquarters, this Roman form of Christianity spread slowly northward from Kent. The boundaries of the two faiths—the Celtic and the Roman—drew nearer to each other. A life-and-death struggle between the two ensued as they came face to face in Northumbria.²⁴

The Catholic missionaries resolutely addressed themselves to the difficult task of subjecting the British Christians to Rome, who proved exceedingly intractable. When other means failed, the Saxon king even used armed force against them.²⁵ This spirit of resistance, it may be added parenthetically, persisted for centuries. In fact, through the later long centuries of Roman domination the English church remained perhaps the least subservient of all the churches. There was a constant protest against foreign aggression, until the yoke was finally thrown off under the English Reformation.²⁶

2. OVERTURES INDIGNANTLY REPULSED.—To the northern

²² Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-64.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 58, 68.

²⁴ Thatcher and Schwill, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70; Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 410.

²⁵ See page 604.

²⁶ Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 53.

barbarians "Rome" was a magic word. It did not so much mean the Papacy to them, or the city of Rome, as Roman civilization. The two terms were regarded as virtually synonymous.²⁷ When the Roman state fell the Christian church was the only power left in the West, and completed its conversion of the pagan peoples in the succeeding years of chaos and misery.²⁸ But the Celtic-British church had drifted out of contact with the church at large, and with Rome in particular. And the mission of Augustine to England in 597, it may be remarked, was but one of many enterprises undertaken by Pope Gregory, designed to remedy the situation. The activities of this founder of the medieval Papacy were amazing in their scope.²⁹

The British church having few relations with other Christian bodies except Ireland, the Celts saw little reason to accept Augustine, the stranger, as overlord. He had sojourned but a short time in Britain, and had made converts only in districts distant from their own. So they refused to surrender their autonomy. They were unwilling to recognize human authority in matters of religion, and repelled Gregory's effort of 597 to bring them into subjection to the pope. They were offended by the pomp and worldliness of the Roman missionaries, steadfastly differing from them in the time of celebration of Easter and following the Eastern mode of baptism. The cleavage was wide.

Augustine had come to Britain with the express design of converting the pagan Saxons to Christ. He had been admitted to episcopal orders at Rome under the specific title of bishop of the English, and was invested by the pope with authority over all native prelates. This recognition he demanded from Dunawd, most eminent of the Celtic scholars, who maintained, on the contrary, that his countrymen owed no allegiance to any other than their own bishop, and supported his position by Scripture.³⁰ It was a critical hour.

²⁷ Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

²⁸ Oman, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

²⁹ Frank M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 103, 104.

³⁰ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 2, chap. 2, in *The Loeb Classical Library, Baedae Opera Historica*, vol. 1, pp. 205, 207; John Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

3. FAILURE OF THE ROMAN MISSION.—Augustine's methods were different from those of the missionaries of the British church. Augustine was instructed by the pope to retain the customs of the heathen; idol temples were simply to be rededicated as Christian churches, and heathen festivals renamed as days of Christian saints. Animals formerly sacrificed to heathen deities were to be slaughtered for festivals of thanksgiving to God.³¹

Augustine soon attempted the subjection of the native British church. Two conferences, both in 603, were held with Augustine over his claims. The first came to nought, the Britons refusing to accede to his demands. Augustine proposed that they acknowledge the pope as spiritual head, and submit to himself as his representative. This the astonished British bishops indignantly refused to do, with these memorable words:

“Be it known, and without doubt unto you, that we all and every one of us are obedient subjects to the Church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity; and to help every one of them, by word and deed, to be the children of God; and other obedience than this I do not know to be due to him whom you name to be pope, or father of fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded; and this obedience we are ready to give and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually; besides, we are under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon-upon-Usk, who is to oversee, under God, over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual.”³²

The tactless Augustine pressed his case, but the British bishops were immovable. Then Augustine moderated his demands, asking only three things: (1) Obedience in the time of celebrating Easter, (2) the practice of baptism according to the Roman form, and (3) joint endeavor in preaching to the English. But the British bishops still refused, asserting, “We will do none of these things, neither will we have you for our archbishop.”³³

The second conference fared no better. Seven British

³¹ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 1, chap. 30, in The Loeb Classical Library, *Baedae Opera Historica*, vol. 1, p. 163.

³² Quoted in John Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

³³ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 2, chap. 2, in The Loeb Classical Library, *Baedae Opera Historica*, vol. 1, pp. 205, 206.

bishops, with the archbishop of Caerleon and numerous learned men, met with Augustine. Their response, according to Bede, was to be determined by Augustine's attitude in greeting them. If he rose and went to meet them, they would yield. But if he haughtily remained seated, they were not to accede to his demands. Augustine remained seated. So they refused to yield or to accept him as their bishop.³⁴ Augustine was furious, and declared:

"If you are unwilling to accept peace with brethren, you will have to accept war from enemies; and if you will not preach the way of life to the nation of the Anglians, from their hands you will suffer the punishment of death."³⁵

This was the opening of undisguised conflict between the Celtic and the Roman churches.³⁶ Not long afterward the Northumbrians under Ethelfrid³⁷ slaughtered twelve hundred British monks in a fearful massacre. Augustine retired to Kent and was superseded by Laurentius, who similarly failed in negotiating with the British and Irish bishops. They did, however, win over Northumbria to the Roman faith for a time. But it was short-lived. The Roman mission under Augustine had failed for the time being.

Stevenson, in the scholarly introduction to his translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, adduces much evidence to prove the prior existence of an "independent Celtic Church" with "a non-Roman origin," in discussing the "Celtic Church in its origin, mission, and jurisdiction."³⁸

III. Romanism Triumphs at Whitby in 664

1. AIDAN OF IONA RECOVERS ENGLAND FROM PAGANISM.—

Paulinus, another Roman missionary, sent by Gregory in 601 to augment the mission of Augustine, advanced northward. But facing difficulties, he abandoned the task, and the night of

³⁴ Sir Henry H. Howorth, *Saint Augustine of Canterbury*, pp. 164, 165.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165; John Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

³⁶ Green, *The Making of England*, pp. 228, 229.

³⁷ John Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 2, chap. 2, in The Loeb Classical Library, *Baedae Opera Historica*, vol. 1, p. 213.

³⁸ Joseph Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 33, 35.

heathenism again settled over that section of the land. Rome's failure became Britain's opportunity. After the turmoil in Northumbria, Ethelfrid's sons found refuge in Iona, and the Columbanus were invited to send a teacher to instruct the people. SO AIDAN (d. 651)³⁹ of Iona, founder of the Northumbrian church, was dispatched in response to the call of King Oswy (Oswald) of Northumbria to evangelize his people. With his helpers Aidan landed in 635 at Lindisfarne, an island off the coast of Northumberland, near Berwick-on-Tweed. There he erected a church and a school, and from this center he went forth preaching, teaching, and establishing other churches and schools. Great numbers were won to the faith. Lindisfarne was now the mother monastery that furnished the missionaries. And for thirty years these missionaries went forth and won much of England to Christ. That is why Lightfoot was constrained to say, "Not Augustine, but Aidan is the true apostle of England."⁴⁰

From Lindisfarne missionaries went to the other sections of England, and these efforts were supported by missionaries from Ireland. Most of Christian England was attached to the Scottish church; Wina of Wessex was in communion with British bishops, and in 664 only Kent and East Anglia were in complete communion with Rome and Canterbury.⁴¹

2. AUGUSTINE'S MISSION ONLY AN INCIDENT.—It seems strange that Roman Catholics persistently assert that English Christianity begins with the incident of 597, the mission of Augustine, when he was sent there as a missionary by Gregory I. Obviously Augustine's mission was merely an incident in a continuing history of what had begun centuries earlier. Britain's spiritual inheritance clearly comes from the British churches.⁴²

³⁹ Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11, 41-49, 195, 196; J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 63; cf. Montalembert, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, book 11, pp. 293-298. This declaration of Lightfoot is challenged by Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 111, but the latter says that there was a marked gap in communication between the British church and the Roman see from 455 to 597. (*Ibid.*, p. 22, note 2.)

⁴¹ WINA, Wine, or Wini (d. 675), bishop of Winchester, was the only bishop in Wessex at this time. (Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 80.)

⁴² William Bright, *The Roman See in the Early Church*, pp. 357-367; John William Willis-Bund, *The Celtic Church of Wales*, pp. 1-48; F. Haverfield, "Early British Christianity," *The English Historical Review*, July, 1896, vol. 11, no. 43, pp. 417-430; Stenton, *op. cit.*

Moreover, the Papacy of Gregory's day was vastly different from the Papacy of later centuries. The claims made later were unthinkable in Gregory's earlier time. There is an enormous spread between the assumptions of the sixth-century Gregory I, Patriarch of the West, and the presumptuous claims of the eleventh-century Gregory VII and twelfth-century Innocent III.⁴³

As noted in chapter 22, though Gregory severely strained the authority of the patriarchal chair, he nevertheless denounced the title of Universal Bishop when used by the rival patriarch of Constantinople, as a proud and pestilent assumption, an act of contempt, a wrong to the entire priesthood, an imitation of Satan, who exalted himself above his fellow angels, and a token of the speedy coming of Antichrist. But as the Papacy grew in its pretensions, its influence in England spread in ever-widening circles until it prevailed.

Gregory's attempt to extend the dominion of the Roman church through his emissary Augustine was ultimately successful. Within a few years a well-organized state church devoted to Rome was developed in the Saxon dominions of Britain. Large numbers of monasteries were founded, and during the eighth and ninth centuries Roman Catholicism was nowhere more vigorous than in those isles. The die was cast at Whitby in 664.⁴⁴

3. FINAL CAPITULATION TO THE ROMAN CHURCH.—The tide had begun to turn as King Oswy extended his rule over Northumberland and Mercia. He married Ingoberga, a Kentish princess, who brought a Roman priest, Romulus, to York. Abbot Wilfrid,⁴⁵ afterward bishop of York, returned from a visit to Rome (c. 653) captivated with the concept of Roman supremacy. The developing struggle between the two faiths—Celtic and

⁴³ Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴⁴ Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 356; Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁴⁵ WILFRID (c. 632-709), Catholic bishop of York, of Northumbrian extraction, made a pilgrimage to Rome at the age of nineteen, and returned after five years to advocate the Roman time and customs of celebrating Easter. The Council of Whitby was carried away by his argument, the king deciding in favor of the Roman party. He was made bishop of York in 668, but later deposed by the king, and returned to Rome in 703. (Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Montalembert, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, book 12, pp. 3-70.)

Roman Catholic—became intense. Prince Alcfind, won to Romanism, persuaded Oswy to convene a conference at Whitby⁴⁶ to decide the issues. Bishop Colman appeared for the native church, and Wilfrid for the Roman. As the authority of St. Peter seemed to the king to outweigh that of St. Columba, Oswy decided he would follow the faith and party of Rome. This he proceeded to impose upon his people. The Scottish delegation went home, however, unconverted to the Roman view.⁴⁷

Assurances of the rights of dissenters were given. But soon the scholarly THEODORE of Tarsus (c. 602-690), consecrated at Rome as archbishop of Canterbury in 669, came to England as head of the Roman party. He organized the church efficiently with Canterbury as the center and all parts bound to Rome.⁴⁸ Beautiful churches were built. Rich vestments and pictures were brought from Rome, and a special teacher arrived to instruct the choirs in chanting. Schools were established to disseminate the Roman influence, which spread rapidly.

Then a pan-Anglican synod was convened in 673 at Hertford.⁴⁹ The opposition to Romanism melted under the silver-tongued eloquence of Theodore, and the church surrendered to him as head. The outwardly united Anglo-Saxon church was now thoroughly organized, the country having been divided into dioceses, with Canterbury as the permanent seat of the archbishopric. From time to time Celtic revivals appeared, but Roman control was now too strong to be overthrown. Adamnan, abbot of Iona,⁵⁰ submitted to reordination, but was soon deposed by his fellow monks because of this. At the beginning of the eighth century the monastery was divided into two rival fac-

⁴⁶ This Council of Whitby (Streanaeschalch) was held to settle these differences; it was attended by Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, Hilda, abbess of the Benedictine Abbey of Whitby, and Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons, who represented the Celtic usage. Wilfrid presented the Catholic view. A recital of the discussion appears in Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, pages 197, 198. See also Herbert Thurston, "Whitby, Synod of," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15, p. 610; Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 100-106; Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁴⁷ Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 481; Thatcher and Schwill, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴⁸ Thatcher and Schwill, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁴⁹ Haddan and Stubbs, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 121; Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 485, 486; Stenton, *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 134.

⁵⁰ ADAMNAN (625-704). Irish author of *Life of Saint Columba*, at twenty-eight joined Columban brotherhood of Iona, becoming abbot in 679. Later he embraced the Catholic view on Easter and the Roman form of the tonsure. (Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 178, 194; William Reeves, Introduction to *Life of Saint Columba*, pp. cxlix, clxi.)

tions: Romanist and British—rival abbots holding sway until 772, when the whole monastery conformed.

Somerset and Devon surrendered early in the eighth century, and North and South Wales followed. The Cornish bishops held out until in the tenth century. And in parts of Scotland, Celtic practices persisted until the eleventh century, when they were suppressed. Some parts of Ireland were not subjugated until the twelfth century. Nathaniel Bacon, reciting how the Britons had told Augustine they would not be subject to him or let him pervert the ancient laws of their church, declares:

“This was the Briton’s resolution, and they were as good as their word; for they maintained the liberty of their Church five hundred years after this time; and were the last of all the Churches of Europe that gave their power to the Roman beast.”⁵¹

So Whitby marked the turning point, and brought about the decline of Celtic influence. There the rivalry between Rome and Iona came to a head. Though the dispute was outwardly over unimportant matters—chiefly the style of the tonsure and the time of Easter⁵²—the underlying issue was actually the alternative of allegiance to Rome or allegiance to Iona. The fiat of Oswy, the king, prevailed. Iona was defeated, and the Celtic brotherhood at Lindisfarne was broken up.⁵³ In this way the Roman church came into control. In the succeeding centuries the Celtic churches, with their walls of timber and thatches of reeds, gave way to sturdy structures of stone built in Roman style. This all resulted in a sense of solidity and at least an outward unity of the church. And this unity of the church was the first step toward the unity of the state. That is why Bede and others approved the submission to Rome.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Nathaniel Bacon, *An Historical and Political Discourse of the Laws & Government of England From the First Times to the End of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 13.

⁵² There was no dispute over the day of the week. But in their calculation the Celtic churches used the old Paschal calendar, which allowed Easter to fall on the fourteenth day of the moon, while the Roman church did not permit it before the fifteenth. (Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 197.) When the cycle of Dionysius Exiguus was adopted at Rome in 527, the Britons knew nothing of it, and continued to use the old cycle. Thus the Paschal controversy arose over the time of Easter. (Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 2.)

⁵³ Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 197; Howorth, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁵⁴ Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 200, 201.

We are now ready for the important testimony of the Venerable Bede.

IV. The Venerable Bede Enters the Field of Interpretation

BEDE, or Beda (c. 673-735), commonly called "The Venerable," and also the "Father of English History," was doubtless the most conspicuous British character of his time. He owes his reputation to the sheer excellence and thoroughness of his writings.⁶⁵ Bede was born at Yarrow, in Durham. At the age of seven he was placed in St. Peter's, a Northumbrian monastery at Wearmouth. Here he was brought up under the discipline of the Benedictine cloister. Bede was then transferred to the sheltered precincts of St. Paul's at Yarrow, where he continued to study under Coelfrith.⁶⁶ His life was thereafter virtually confined to this one institution—for he remained at Yarrow for sixty-three years, or until his death. He was ordained a deacon at nineteen and a priest at twenty-nine, devoting his entire life to teaching and writing. He was said to be master of all the learning of his time. At that time both Wearmouth and Yarrow specialized in the new Gregorian chant, the Roman style of church music.⁶⁷

Bede seemed, however, to blend the evangelic passion of the Celtic missionary with the disciplined devotion of the Benedictine Catholic monk. He was an English scholar with Celtic learning, and with broad ecclesiastical sympathies. His name is closely associated with the history of the English Bible, and he was devoted to Bible study.⁶⁸ But above and through all he was a monk; monasticism colored all Europe at this time, and Bede's very life epitomized the period in which he lived. He was a prolific writer, and is said to have produced perhaps 150 works. There are thirty-six volumes known to us, published in

⁶⁵ Montague Rhodes James, "Latin Writings in England to the Time of Alfred," *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. 1, p. 87.

⁶⁶ A. Hamilton Thompson, *Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings*, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Henry M. Gillett, *Saint Bede the Venerable*, p. 41.

⁶⁸ A. H. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii, 16; Henry Morley, *English Writers*, vol. 1, pp. 349, 350.



J. D. PENROSE, ARTIST

THE VENERABLE BEDE DICTATING TO HIS AMANUENSIS

His Was the Most Notable Exposition of Prophecy of His Century Pointing to a Clearer Understanding

seventy-eight books. He was unquestionably the most eminent scholar of the West, and the great early historian of the Anglo-Saxons. His studies covered theology, prophecy, natural science, history, and language—Greek and Hebrew, as well as Latin. Bede was the first chronicler to reckon his dates from Christ's birth, thus introducing the Dionysian Era into the usage of Western Europe.

“ ‘In chronology,’ says Charles Plummer, ‘Bede has the enormous merit of being the first chronicler who gave the date of Christ's birth, in addition to the year of the world, and thus introduced the use of the Dionysian era into Western Europe.’ ”⁵⁰

Between 691 and 703 Bede devoted his writing to theology. About 703 he produced his *De Temporibus* (Concerning

⁵⁰ James, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

(Times), which contains chapters on the division of time and the calculation of Easter, and ends with the six ages of the world.⁶⁰ About 716 he wrote his exposition of the Apocalypse. His most noted treatise was, of course, his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (Ecclesiastical History of the English People), which he finished at the age of fifty-nine. This comprises five long books—with every scrap of evidence analyzed and verified.⁶¹ As to his standing, A. L. Maycock states:

“In the age of Charlemagne, his works were to be found in every cathedral and monastic library in Western Europe. Historians and theologians relied on him implicitly, incorporating large sections of his writings in their own works. . . . As a commentator he came to possess an authority inferior only to that of the four Fathers of the Western Church.”⁶²

He also adds that Bede's works are to be found in most of the great libraries of Europe.⁶³

I. INFLUENCED BY TICHONIUS AND AUGUSTINE ON THE APOCALYPSE.—Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* (The Explanation of the Apocalypse) is the earliest British exposition of the Revelation (c. 716) that is known.⁶⁴ It is prefaced by a letter to Eusebius, abbot of Yarrow, at whose urgency it was written. Bede conceives the several visions of Revelation to be contemporaneous, not successive. At the outset he cites the rules of Tichonius approvingly, twice stressing recapitulation, and frankly presenting the millennium as the spiritual view propounded by Augustine.⁶⁵ Bede understands the burden of the Apocalypse to be to reveal the conflicts and triumphs of the church.⁶⁶ He divides the book into several natural sections: (1) the seven churches, with the coming of the Lord at the end; (2) the seven seals, the future conflicts and trials; (3) the seven

⁶⁰ A. H. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 112; Morley, *op. cit.*, pp. 352, 353.

⁶¹ Gillett, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁶² A. L. Maycock, "Bede and Alcuin," *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1935, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 403, 404.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Bede, *The Explanation of the Apocalypse by Venerable Bede*, translated by Edward Marshall, based on the Giles Text of 1844.

⁶⁵ Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, Preface, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 93, cols. 129-134.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

trumpets, various events; (4) the woman as the church; (5) the seven last plagues; (6) the great whore, or ungodly city; and (7) the Lamb's wife, the New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven.⁶⁷

2. SEVEN CHURCHES, SEALS, TRUMPETS PARTLY HISTORICAL.—Bede holds that John, banished to Patmos under Domitian, sent messages to the seven churches of Asia which "are figures of the whole sevenfold church," for "in the number seven consists all fullness."⁶⁸ Yet there is a hint of historical sequence, for the sixth church, Sardis, is taken as referring to the time of Antichrist, and the seventh, Laodicea, to the scarcity of faith at the time of the second advent.⁶⁹

Of the seven seals he says:

"In the first seal therefore, [he sees] the beauty of the primitive church; in the following three, the threefold war against her [persecutors, false brethren, and heretics, respectively]; in the fifth, the glory of the victors under this war; in the sixth, those things which are to come in the time of Antichrist; . . . in the seventh, the beginning of eternal rest."⁷⁰

Bede characterizes the first five trumpets as (1) the destruction of the wicked with hail and fire; (2) the devil, cast from the church into the sea of the world; (3) the falling away of heretics; (4) the defection of false brethren;⁷¹ (5) the devil falling from heaven, opening the hearts of the heretics with his blasphemous doctrine and teaching them to rise like smoke to speak their wickedness in high places, and the members of the dragon multiplying as locusts, which torment men like the future persecutors of the last days; this woe is past. The last two are future, in the time of Antichrist and the judgment:⁷² (6) the ancient enemy, and his satellites bound since the death of Christ in the hearts of the wicked, will be loosed by the four angels, and will be permitted to persecute the church every

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, cols. 130, 131.

⁶⁸ Translated from Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 93, col. 135; see also cols. 134, 137.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, cols. 129, 130, 141, 142.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 146; see also cols. 147-149, 154.

⁷¹ Bede, *The Explanation of the Apocalypse* (Marshall trans.), book 2, chap. 8, v. 2, p. 56 (for Latin, see Migne, cols. 153, 154).

⁷² *Ibid.*, chap. 9, vs. 1-12, pp. 61-65 (Migne, cols. 157-159).

moment; the Euphrates, the river of Babylon, is the persecuting power of the earthly kingdom; and (7) the preaching will be finished when both good and evil are rewarded; the seventh announces the eternal Sabbath and the kingdom of God, whereas the first six trumpets, compared to the present ages of the world, announce the wars of the church.⁷³

3. FOUR KINGDOMS NAMED, THREE AND A HALF TIMES LITERAL.—Bede makes four angels (chap. 7:1) the four principal kingdoms, namely, of the Assyrians, and of the Persians, and of the Greeks, and of the Romans.⁷⁴

To him the three and a half times were literal years. And the triumph of the church of Christ is “to follow the reign of Antichrist.” Then Bede refers to Daniel 7, and the four beasts which came up out of the sea. After Antichrist, will come rest for the church—after Daniel’s 1335 days, or 45 days beyond the 1290, when our Saviour is to come “in His own Majesty,” after the destruction of Antichrist.⁷⁵

4. WOMAN, CHURCH; DRAGON, DEVIL; TEN HORNS, KINGDOMS.—The woman of chapter 12 is the church, the dragon is the devil, and the ten horns are “all the kingdoms.” A time, he repeats, is a year; and three and a half times therefore equal three and a half years.⁷⁶ The “lioness” is Chaldeea, the “bear” is Persia, and the “leopard” represents the Macedonians in the application of Daniel 7 to the composite Beast of the Apocalypse.⁷⁷ The 666 he bases on *Teitan* (Greek spelling) as the fateful name.⁷⁸

5. AUGUSTINE’S VIEW OF MILLENNIUM AND TWO CITIES.—Bede sets forth the 144,000 as a finite number for an infinite—those who are completely consecrated to God.⁷⁹ Not only is the Holy City trodden down in the time of Antichrist, but this is

⁷³ *Ibid.*, vs. 13-21; chap. 10, v. 7; chap. 11, v. 15, pp. 65 ff. (Migne, cols. 159-161, 165).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 7, v. 1, p. 44 (Migne, col. 149).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 8, v. 1, p. 55 (Migne, col. 154).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. 12, vs. 1, 3, 14, pp. 80, 81, 85 (Migne, cols. 165, 166, 168).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 13, v. 2, p. 88 (Migne, col. 169).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 18, pp. 93, 94 (Migne, col. 172).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 14, v. 1, p. 95 (Migne, col. 173).

done by the whole body of the wicked.⁸⁰ The leopard beast is also the *corpus diaboli*, the wicked, headed by earthly kingdoms, the Man of Sin of 2 Thessalonians 2; the wounded head seems to be the Antichrist; the image to the beast represents people who worship and imitate the beast in its Antichrist phase.⁸¹ In Revelation 17 the harlot, the multitude of the lost, sits on the beast, whose heads are the kings of the world, and whose eighth head is Antichrist reigning at the end of the age.⁸² The ten kings are rulers who will divide the world among themselves, three of whom will be slain by the Antichrist, rising from Babylon, whom he identifies with the Little Horn of Daniel 7.⁸³ Bede also gives the Augustinian view of the two cities, one from heaven, and one from the abyss.⁸⁴

Bede holds that the Augustinian thousand years of Revelation 20 represent the rest of the sixth thousand-year day in which Christ was born, in which the church reigns and judges with power of binding and loosing in this present time.⁸⁵ He sees the first resurrection as brought about through baptism.⁸⁶ In Revelation 21 the New Jerusalem is established by heavenly grace.⁸⁷ After the ruin of Babylon the Holy City will be placed on a mountain, for the stone cut out of the mountain has broken in pieces "the image of worldly glory" (Daniel 2), and has become the great mountain filling the earth.⁸⁸ Bede frankly states in the preface that he draws on Tichonius and Augustine, and here he discusses Tichonius' Seven Rules. Still tied to the past, Bede is nevertheless far in advance of his contemporaries.

6. SEVENTY WEEKS OF "ABBREVIATED" YEARS.—Bede reckons the seventy weeks like Africanus, as 490 uncorrected or "abbreviated" lunar years (twelve lunar months, or 354 days, each), the equivalent of 475 solar years. He counts this from the

⁸⁰ Migne, chap. 11, col. 162.

⁸¹ Bede, *Explanation* (Marshall trans.), chap. 13, vs. 1-3, 14, pp. 87, 88, 92 (Migne, col. 169).

⁸² *Ibid.*, book 3, chap. 17, vs. 1-11, pp. 117-119 (Migne, cols. 182-184).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, v. 12, pp. 119, 120 (Migne, col. 184).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, v. 18, p. 122 (Migne, col. 185).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 20, vs. 2, 4, pp. 135-137 (Migne, cols. 191, 192).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 5, p. 137 (Migne, col. 192).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 21, v. 2, p. 143 (Migne, col. 194).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 10, p. 145 (Migne, col. 195).

twentieth year of Artaxerxes to Christ. He places the baptism in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, in the midst of the last week, which covers John's and Jesus' ministry, and ends "in the seventeenth or eighteenth year of Tiberius." In this last date he follows Eusebius rather than Africanus.⁸⁹

7. SIX AGES OF WORLD PARALLEL CREATION DAYS.—Bede, who is very enthusiastic about the seven ages of the world, probably follows Augustine on this point. He draws parallels between the events of the six days of creation and the ages of the world, which he enumerates:

- (1) Adam to Noah.
- (2) Noah to Abraham.
- (3) Abraham to David.
- (4) David and Solomon to the Babylonian Captivity.
- (5) Babylonian Captivity to Christ.
- (6) Christ to the end of the world with the persecution of Antichrist in the evening of this age.

(7) The rest of the blessed souls, beginning with Abel but ending in the eternal Sabbath of future blessedness.⁹⁰

Bede stands at the beginning of the Middle Ages, and in his study on the Apocalypse he undertakes the same work as Primasius did 150 years earlier. Therefore we find another ecclesiastical acceptance of Tichonius. Bede is, however, about the first to discover that the number seven is at the base of the structure of the Apocalypse. His influence is far reaching, for he became the standard authority up to the twelfth century.⁹¹

V. Cynewulf's "Doomsday" a Star in the Night

Divergence of opinion still obtains among scholars as to the time when CYNEWULF (probably 8th century) lived, and from what section of England he came.⁹² Some have pictured

⁸⁹ Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, chap. 9, in his *Opera de Temporibus*, edited by Charles W. Jones, pp. 198-201; and also note on p. 344.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 10, pp. 201, 202, and note on p. 345; see also his *De Temporibus*, chap. 16, p. 303 of same volume.

⁹¹ Kamiah, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22.

⁹² Earlier investigators, like Kemble, Grimm, and Thorp, held that he was abbot of Peterboro and bishop of Winchester (992-1008). Later Trautmann, Leo, Dietrich, Grein, and

him as a bishop; others, as a wandering minstrel. The consensus among modern scholars is that he was a Northumbrian poet. There is no conclusive proof as to his position in the church, but he must have been a professional ecclesiastic, as evidenced by his knowledge of liturgy and ecclesiastical literature, and by his emphasis on Christian doctrine as taught by the Western church.⁸³ He is known to be the author of at least four of the finest poems preserved from that period, with various others ascribed to him with varying plausibility. The poem *Christ* in particular possesses a lofty sublimity and power that is unsurpassed in early Anglo-Saxon verse.⁸⁴ These poems are not, of course, on a parity with Dante or Milton. Yet in vividness, hope, love, and tenderness they belong to the same order.⁸⁵ Cynewulf was a scholar, familiar with Latin, and skilled in meter.⁸⁶

So, it may be said that of no other genius in early English literature is less known, for we know less of his life than of his character.⁸⁷ But from his writings it is evident that a decided change came into his life. The Christian faith touched him, and the very current of his life was altered. Irving M. Glen states that he now "turned the course of his song into more serious channels, and applied himself to Scriptural themes and ecclesiastical traditions."⁸⁸ A sense of sin and a dread of the final judgment were linked with an unshaken faith in the perfect justice of God. And this found eloquent expression. Though experts differ on how many other writings are actually his, there is common agreement that *Juliana*, *Elene*, *Christ*, and *The Fate of the Apostles*—each of which has his runic signature interwoven—establish Cynewulf's authorship.⁸⁹

Rieger believed he was a Northumbrian and bishop of Lindisfarne (737-780). (See Marguerite-Marie Dubois, *Les éléments latins dans la poésie religieuse de Cynewulf*, pp. 8-11.)

⁸³ Charles W. Kennedy, *The Earliest English Poetry, a Critical Survey of the Poetry Written Before the Norman Conquest*, pp. 199, 205.

⁸⁴ Charles W. Stubbs, *The Christ of English Poetry*, p. 15.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸⁶ "Cynewulf," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 6, p. 926; see also Kenneth Sisam, *Cynewulf and His Poetry*, p. 24.

⁸⁷ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁸⁸ Irving Mackay Glen, *Beowulf, Cynewulf and His Greatest Poem*, p. 24; Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁸⁹ Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 198. Some of these were found in the Exeter Book (on various subjects in one volume), some in the Vercelli manuscript. The Exeter Book has been known since the death of Leofric, first bishop of Exeter, in 1071, when the library of 60 volumes was transferred to Exeter, where it is still on deposit in the Exeter Cathedral. (Stubbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37; Albert Stanburrough Cook, editor, *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. xiii, xiv.)

Cynewulf's *Christ* is a poem of rare power and beauty.¹⁰⁰ It has three sections: the "Nativity," the "Ascension," and the "Last Judgment," or "Day of Doom." In writing on the "Last Judgment," comprising 798 lines, intensity and dramatic force appear. The flames are real that consume the earth, being pictured as the "destroyer of the world, and the fire-bath of the damned."¹⁰¹ His intensity of feeling is scarcely surpassed by Dante in the sweep and splendor of that great assize. They are swirling verses, full of imaginative power. Here is Stubbs' excellent translation of a few lines:

"Lo, the fire-blast, flaming far, fierce and hungry as a sword,
Whelms the world withal. Then on every wight
Fastens the death-flame! on all fowls and beasts,
Fire-swart or raging warrior, rushes conflagration
All the earth along."¹⁰²

Dr. Glen estimates that "the vigor of faith, the worshipful spirit, the deep pervading reverence indicates that in Anglo-Saxon England, somewhere, two centuries of Christianity had been centuries of amazing spiritual growth."¹⁰³

The grand outline of the third section of Cynewulf's great poem, *Christ* ("Day of Doom"), according to Cook, includes the trumpet call to judgment, and the resurrection of the dead; the coming of the judge; the destruction of the universe; the good and evil drawn to the place of judgment; the sign of the Son of Man in the sight of all; the redeemed gathered to the right, the wicked to the left; the good welcomed to heaven, the wicked consigned to hell.¹⁰⁴

Cynewulf's illuminating poem ends with the final locking of hell and the opening of heaven to the just, with this description of the Perfect Land:

"There is angels' song, bliss of the blessed,
There is the dear face of the Lord Eternal
To the blessed, brighter than all the sun's beaming;

¹⁰⁰ Glen, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Cook, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. xvi.

¹⁰¹ Cynewulf, *Christ*, quoted in Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

¹⁰² Stubbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.

¹⁰³ Glen, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁴ Cook, *op. cit.*, Preface, pp. xlv, xlvi.

There is love of the loved ones, life without death's end;
 Merry man's multitude, youth without age,
 Glory of God's chivalry, health without pain,
 Rest for right doers, rest without toil,
 Day without darkness, bliss without bale,
 Peace between friends, peace without jealousy,
 Love that envieth not, in the union of the saints,
 For the blessed in Heaven, nor hunger nor thirst,
 Nor sleep, nor sickness, nor sun's heat,
 Nor cold, nor care, but the happy company.
 Fairest of all hosts shall ever enjoy
 Their sovran's grace and glory with their King."¹⁰⁵

Such is the song of this Northumbrian bard of the eighth century—the gleaming star of the period. It has the evangelic note.

VI. Gerard of York, Precursor of English Reformation

GERARD OF YORK (d. 1108) sprang from noble Norman ancestry. He became precentor of the cathedral of Rouen, and was a counselor and ambassador for the kings of England. Gerard was the leading supporter of William I, William II, and Henry I in their quarrel with the Papacy over the issue of investitures.¹⁰⁶ Made archbishop of York in 1101, he occupied that see until 1108. Because of his aggressive attitude in defending the rights of the crown, he was drawn into bitter conflict with Anselm of Canterbury, finally losing and having to submit to the claims of the primate. He was one of the great figures of his time and was, intellectually at least, the equal of Anselm of Canterbury. But his character was not free from blemish. For this reason, and because of his vigorous support of the royal against the pontifical power, an unprejudiced verdict upon him is hardly to be looked for, since our chief knowledge of him is from ecclesiastical historians. Such is the conclusion of his biographer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

There exists, however, a very interesting little book, called *Tractatus Eboracenses* (York Treatises), which was attributed

¹⁰⁵ In Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁶ Edmund Venables, "Gerard, or Girard," *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 7, pp. 1087-1089.

to an "Anonymous of York" whom Alois Dempf, German scholar of medieval history, definitely identifies with Gerard of York.¹⁰⁷ This little work contains most revolutionary thoughts for those times, and it is no wonder that it was not well received and soon disappeared. The writer divides time into three eras. First there is the Old Testament era, with a professional priesthood having a typical significance, beginning with Adam and leading to Christ. Then there is the second era, of the New Testament, lasting from the first advent of Christ to the second advent, with the true and universal priesthood. And finally, the third era, that of the eternal Jerusalem, without any priesthood.

The kingdom of the devil is here completely separated from any definite structure in this world, and is considered to be the amoral and sinful life which exists as the sublayer beneath the positive consciousness of God's power in men to bring about the kingdom of God. The grace of God, which leads to the new birth from God, and the Holy Spirit make us at the same time children of God. We become living stones in the true and holy temple of God and of the heavenly kingdom, which is far superior to all temples built of stone.¹⁰⁸

I. UNIVERSAL PRIESTHOOD OF THE LAITY.—In this temple the holy faith of the heart is the altar. We have to bring our faith as a holy sacrifice pleasing to God, that we may become one body. This universal priesthood of all believers, not merely the hierarchy, is the highest kind of priesthood, because the "*corpus Christi, quod est ecclesia in quo omnia membra divino ordine disposita sunt*" (the body of Christ, which is the church in which all members have been arranged in divine order) is the eye and the face of the church; and further, because the garment of baptism, by which we have been clothed with Christ, is incomparably higher than the stole of the priesthood. To hear the Word of God itself, in such a way that it becomes eternal life,

¹⁰⁷ Dempf, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

is much more valuable than merely to hear the preaching. To take part of the body of Christ in the Eucharist is greater than to consecrate it. Thus we become partakers not only of the grace of God but of the nature of God.¹⁰⁰

What, then, is the value of the priesthood? It does not lie primarily in teaching. If the pope were simply set up in order to teach, that would be superfluous, because we have the prophets, the Gospels, and the writings of the apostles, which contain all God's commands. And the knowledge of this is more widespread among us than it is with him. The pope may go to the heathen to teach them. No bishop is subject to the Roman church. He is responsible only to the universal church. Moreover, according to the scale of rank and position in the heavenly kingdom (Luke 22:24), and according to the teachings of Peter himself, the pope is subjected to every human creature. The churches of Rome and Rouen are "one single Peter"; that is, Rome is not superior to Rouen.

2. ROMAN PRIMACY FROM MAN ONLY.—Rome became the mother of all churches only *per potentiam romani imperii et propter urbis excellentiam quae caput est totius orbis* (through the power of the Roman Empire, and because of the excellency of the city, which is the head of all the world). But in the ancient church such was not the case. Then Jerusalem was mother of all the churches. Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem, possesses the honor and the secret of the mother. Zion is the seat of Christ. He Himself is her High Priest, the apostles are His priests, and Stephen is His deacon. From Zion the law is proclaimed. The Roman church has received that preference from men only, not from Christ and His apostles.

The present priesthood is created to fill a special need. Through the devil's instigation many splits occurred, and every priest began to consider his church members his own property and not Christ's property; therefore one priest had to be chosen above all others to avoid schisms and dissensions, but originally

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

the church was led by a general council of the presbyters (*communi presbyterorum consilio*).¹¹⁰ Thus he taught.

Gerard was precocious for his time. He remained the Anonymous of York, but is surely to be counted a forerunner of the Reformation. It is highly probable that Wyclif came across Gerard's tract in Oxford, and was indebted to him. All the main points of the Reformation are here clearly stated—as, for instance, the universal priesthood, the Scripture as basis for religious teaching, the presbytery of the early church, and the fact that sacraments, except the Eucharist, are mere symbols.

VII. Robert Grosseteste—Repeatedly Identifies Papacy as Antichrist

ROBERT GROSSETESTE, or Greathead (c. 1175-1253), most famous of English medieval ecclesiastics, and able bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253), was a native of Suffolk. Of humble origin, he studied at Oxford and also in Paris, and early identified himself with the Franciscans. He was regarded as the most learned man of his time in all Europe.¹¹¹ He was versatile, excelling in law, medicine, theology, literature, music, and natural philosophy, as well as being a master of languages—Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French.¹¹² Grosseteste exercised a profound influence upon English thought and life for centuries after his death. Roger Bacon lauded his knowledge of science, and Matthew Paris paid him high tribute, citing him as a confuter of the pope. He was a great reformer in a corrupt period of the dominant church, a thirteenth-century "Protestant" of highest principle.¹¹³ He believed in the Bible as the foundation of theological instruction, and replied to questioners as follows:

"He answered that, just as skilful builders in laying foundations made careful choice of such stones as were capable of supporting the

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

¹¹¹ Ben C. Bouiter, *Robert Grosseteste, the Defender of Our Church and Our Liberties*, p. 5; T. F. Tout, "Grosseteste," *Dictionary of English History*, p. 546; J. E. Sandys, "English Scholars of Paris and Franciscans of Oxford," *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 226, 227; Samuel Pegge, *The Life of Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 10-19.

¹¹² Matthew Paris, *English History*, vol. 1, pp. 38, 39; H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of the University of Oxford, From the Earliest Times to the Year 1530*, p. 29.

¹¹³ Roger Bacon, *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, vol. 1, pp. 76, 126; Henry William C. Davis, *England Under the Normans and Angevins*, p. 426; Lyte, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 39. Testimonies to his character appear in Pegge, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 ff.

structure above, the Masters Regent in Divinity ought to take the Old and New Testaments as the only sure foundations of their teaching, and make them the subject of all their morning lectures, according to the practice prevailing at Paris."¹¹⁴

Grosseteste became *rector scholarum*, or first chancellor of the Franciscans who played an important part in European affairs because of their training under Grosseteste and the reputation he gave them. Between 1214 and 1231 he held successively the archdeaconries of Chester, Northampton, and Leicester. In 1224 he was given a doctorate in divinity. But in 1232 he resigned all benefices and preferments except Lincoln. He planned to spend the remainder of his life in contemplative study. However, in 1235 he was made bishop of the large diocese of Lincoln.¹¹⁵ This gave him wider scope; yet he continued to have a close relationship to the university.

Grosseteste had an intense faith in the divine mission of the church. His zeal for holiness was the constraining influence of his life. Upon his appointment as bishop he set about reforming the abuses throughout his diocese, and purged the monasteries of incompetents. He formulated rules of conduct, forbidding certain wrong practices.¹¹⁶ This brought him into inevitable conflict with privileged groups. There was even an unsuccessful attempt to poison him, but he was undeterred by this opposition. He witnessed the confirmation of the Magna Charta in 1231,¹¹⁷ and took part in the London Council of 1237. In 1239 the quarrel began between the bishop and the Lincoln chapter, the long struggle ending only with the personal intervention of the pope.¹¹⁸ With Grosseteste conflict was constant.

1. THE CHAMPION OF TRUE LIBERTY.—Grosseteste was a sturdy champion of all true liberty. When the liberties of the national church came into conflict with the assumptions of

¹¹⁴ Lyte, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

¹¹⁵ George F. Holmes, "Grosseteste," M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 1014; Boulter, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13, 18, 35, 43; Francis S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, p. 29; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 10, p. 906, art. "Grosseteste, Robert."

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62; see also Lee Max Friedman, *Robert Grosseteste and the Jews*, pp. 6, 7.

¹¹⁷ Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹¹⁸ Boulter, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-75; Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

Rome, he stood by his own countrymen. In 1247 two papal emissaries came to England to secure money for the pope. These intrusions resulted in riots, and on May 13, 1248, he delivered his celebrated sermon against the abuses of the papal court and the scandals prevalent in the clergy.¹¹⁰ In 1252 he prevented the collection of a tithe, or tenth, imposed upon the clergy by Henry III. When the pope tried to force his nephew into the rich cathedral benefice, declaring he would excommunicate Grosseteste if he failed to accede, the bishop nevertheless refused.¹²⁰ In his rage Innocent IV excommunicated him. Grosseteste then "appealed from the court of Innocent IV to the tribunal of Christ," and paid no further attention to the decree.¹²¹

In his letter of refusal Bishop Grosseteste said, "I . . . refuse to obey, and oppose and resist the orders contained in the aforesaid letters."¹²² Preceding this appears the clear statement:

"Moreover, since the sin of Lucifer, which same sin will at the end of time be that of the son of perdition, Antichrist, whom the Lord will slay with the breath of his mouth, there is not and cannot be any other kind of sin so adverse and contrary to the doctrine of the apostles and of the Gospel, and at the same time so hateful, detestable, and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, as to mortify and destroy souls by defrauding them of the offices and ministry of their pastors."¹²³

The pope was furious, and demanded:

"Who is this raving old man, this deaf and foolish dotard, who in his audacity and temerity judges of my actions? By Peter and Paul! were it not that my innate generosity restrained me, I would precipitate him into such an abyss of confusion and shame, that he should be a subject of talk, and an object of amazement and horror to the whole world. Is not the king of England our vassal, or I should rather say our slave? and he can at his will imprison and consign to ignominy this same old prelate."¹²⁴

Therefore he stood against corruption in the clergy, the injustice of the king, and even against the pope's selling of

¹¹⁰ H. R. Luard, "Grosseteste, Robert," *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 8, p. 720; Boulter, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-109.

¹²⁰ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. 1, pp. 364-366.

¹²¹ Thomas Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, p. 459.

¹²² Matthew Paris, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 37.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

benefits for gold. In fact, for twenty years, as bishop, he was seldom free from struggle with the king or the pope.¹²⁵

2. DESIGNATED PAPAL SYSTEM AS ANTICHRISTIAN.—The conviction was forced upon Grosseteste that the papal system was Antichristian. The pope's evil use of his pre-eminence revolted him, and stirred his soul in protest. In a famous memorial to Innocent IV, *Propositio Roberti Grossthead de Visitatione Diocesis Suae* (Proposition of Robert Grossthead About the Visitation of His Diocese), Grosseteste denounced the papal court. And in his epochal sermon on May 13, 1250, before the pope and the cardinals at the Council of Lyons,¹²⁶ he charged the clergy with being "full of lust, fornicators, adulterers, incestuous, gluttonous" and, in a word, stained with every sort of crime and abomination. Also he charged them with being "teachers of error." Then he solemnly charged that the source of all this was the court of Rome.¹²⁷ Grosseteste is said to have been the author of some two hundred writings, most of which are unpublished. The printed list extends over many pages.¹²⁸

3. APPLIES EPITHET "ANTICHRIST" TO POPE.—At last, in 1253, lying seriously ill at Buckdon, the bishop of Lincoln said to Master John of St. Giles that he "knew, as if by inspiration that the tribulation was coming upon the church in a short time, which we were not provided against." Then he asked for a definition of "heresy," which John was hesitant to give. So the bishop himself supplied it. "Heresy is an opinion selected by human feelings, contrary to the holy scripture, openly taught, and pertinaciously defended." And on this principle he rebuked the Roman prelates, and went so far as to declare that the pope himself ought to be called to account for heresy.¹²⁹ As his illness

¹²⁵ George F. Holmes, *op. cit.*, in M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 1014, 1015.

¹²⁶ Pegge, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹²⁷ Edward Brown, *Appendix ad Fasciculum Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum*, vol. 2, pp. 250, 251.

¹²⁸ The catalogue of Grosseteste's works appears in Pegge, *op. cit.*, pages 263 ff. S. Harri-man Thomson, professor of medieval history in the University of Colorado, presents a technical study of his writings in *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste*.

¹²⁹ Matthew Paris, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 44, 45 (see also Foxe, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 529).

increased he sent for his associates and gave a remarkable address, in which these impressive words occur:

“Christ came into the world to gain souls, therefore, if any one has no fear of destroying souls; does he not deserve the title of Antichrist? The Lord made the entire world in six days, but to repair the faults of man, he laboured for more than thirty years; ought not, therefore, a destroyer of souls to be considered an enemy to God and an Antichrist? By means of that clause ‘Notwithstanding,’ &c., the pope unblushingly annuls the privileges of the holy Roman pontiffs his predecessors, which is not done without prejudice and injury to them; for by so acting, he sets at nought and destroys what it has taken such a number of great saints to build up: lo, he is despised of the saints.”¹³⁰

VIII. Matthew Paris—Likens Roman Court to “Strumpet”

MATTHEW PARIS, or Matthieu (*c.* 1200-1259), considered the greatest medieval English chronicler, was a Benedictine monk of the Abbey of St. Albans. Diplomatist, mathematician, poet, and theologian, he was born on the lands of St. Albans. He was called “Parisiensis” (the Parisian) simply because he received his advanced education in Paris. At the age of seventeen he put on the religious habit of St. Albans.¹³¹ He was a man of marked accomplishments, and exceptional in that he, as a monk, did not leave to history any theological work or commentaries as such. His life was spent mainly at St. Albans, though in 1248 he was sent to Norway with a message from Louis IX to King Haakon VI.¹³² He was the royal historiographer to Henry III.

Matthew’s life was thus devoted to the chronicling of history—history when England was dominantly Catholic. By 1200 the best days of the old monasteries were past. The coming of the friars and the rise of the universities were a sharp challenge to the monks. Then the St. Albans school of history arose, after 1200, and persisted for nearly three centuries. When Matthew came to the institution St. Albans already had a special scribe—Roger of Wendover, who had started to write soon after 1215.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46. Full address appears on pp. 46-49 (see also Foxe, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 363-368).

¹³¹ William Hunt, “Paris, Matthew,” *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 15, pp. 207 ff.

¹³² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 15, p. 97, art. “Matthew of Paris.”

Thus a chronicle of England developed.¹³³ Matthew was diligent, and developed into an expert *scriptor*. When Wendover died Matthew succeeded to the post, beginning to write in 1235. He was alert and kept his eye on public affairs, gathering informa-



Matthew Paris, English Chronicler,
Boldly Attacked the Corruptions of
the Roman Court

tion from all quarters. He derived much of his information from letters of important personages, and from conversations with the participants and chief eyewitnesses. He visited kings, and men of highest rank were eager to tell him of their doings. Portions of the old walls of St. Albans still stand, incorporated as part of a later structure.

English politics were involved and tedious in those days. But Matthew had a vigor of expression, a boldness and a freshness for the time, that was refreshing. For twenty-four years he recorded the chronicles, and has been called the greatest histori-

¹³³ See Vivian Hunter Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris*, pp. 5, 9; M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 897, 898, art. "Matthew of Paris"; Lagarde, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

cal writer of this great historical century in Britain. His industry was untiring, his curiosity insatiable, and his output enormous. His most notable work as a historian was his *Chronica Majora*, or *Historia Major*. Down to 1235 it was a continuation of Roger Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* (Flowers of History). But the years from 1235 to 1250 were compiled by Matthew exclusively from the original sources. He also wrote a *Historia Anglorum*, or *Historia Minor*, extending from 1067 to 1253.¹³⁴

Matthew was noted for his pungent comments and sparkling vignettes.¹³⁵ He was easily the greatest of the English medieval chroniclers, and had few rivals on the Continent. He claimed to be the interpreter of the English people. And the boldness with which he attacked the abuses of the court of Rome is remarkable. Thoroughly English in feeling, and a lover of freedom, he was angered when foreigners were promoted to high places in the church, and when English money was spent in enriching those who brought no benefit to the country. In such cases he spared neither king nor cardinal, royal or papal favorite. The venality of the papal curia, and the oppression of the English church by successive popes, found trenchant expression in his indignant language. He called the Roman court a "strumpet," because it could be corrupted for money.¹³⁶ With him closes our survey of the British writers.

¹³⁴ J. A. Giles, Preface to 1853 ed. of Matthew Paris' *English History* (a translation of the *Historia Major*), p. vi; G. G. Coulton, *A Mediaeval Garner*, p. 280; Galbraith, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 45.

¹³⁵ Galbraith, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹³⁶ Matthew Paris, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 332; see also Lagarde, *op. cit.*, pp. 582, 583.

Two Movements That Strengthen the Papal Power

In order to include the British writers in one discussion, the previous chapter was extended to include Matthew Paris. But before this time in Europe great movements were afoot which had their effect not only on doctrine but also on the relationships of church and state. This chapter will therefore take up the monastic reforms and the rise of scholasticism and the universities.

I. Medieval Monasticism Becomes the Predominant Force

Between the sixth and tenth centuries the Latin church passed through a period of marked decadence, followed by a definite resurgence of power. After the great migration of the barbarian peoples southward and westward, in the fifth century, the Western church was severely shaken and had to emerge again from its prostration. Darkness had spread over Gaul, Italy, and Spain, and security and order had to be restored to some extent before any sustained religious and cultural activity could develop. Such a restoration began to take place under Charlemagne, when schools were established in many places, not alone for the clerics, but for young nobles as well.

Numerous monasteries were founded. In many places monks penetrated unentered regions, cleared the forests, and established new settlements. These monasteries were often the outposts in more than one sense, and became the centers of

medieval learning. Here the art of reading and writing was zealously fostered, and from such centers the courts of princes and of kings were supplied with scribes and learned men. And, quite naturally, the subjects taught in these monasteries were of a predominantly religious nature.

During the period under consideration we find three great monastic movements—the Cluniac Reform movement, then the stricter rule enforced by Bernard of Clairvaux among the Cistercians, and finally the altogether new departure of the Franciscan and Dominican Friars.

Monasticism was one of the predominant characteristics of medieval life. But, whereas in the East meditation was the central occupation of the monks, in the West emphasis was laid upon activity, in addition to prayer. And the monasteries were governed, in general, by the sixth-century rules of Benedict, which required poverty, chastity, obedience, piety, and labor. This rigorous discipline, however, often softened; and indulgence, idleness, and vice followed in its train. Worldliness intruded, education was neglected, and religious service frequently degenerated into an empty formality. And the disrepute that resulted eventuated first in the “Cluniac movement” of reform.

1. CLUNIAC MOVEMENT ASPIRES TO WORLD DOMINION.—The monastery of Cluny, on the border of Aquitaine and Burgundy, was established in 910. Its charter provided that the abbot be chosen by the monks without outside influence, and this institution soon became one of the principal centers of learning. New houses were built up, and the “Cluny congregation” resulted. By the twelfth century more than three hundred monasteries were established, scattered over France, Italy, Spain, Poland, Germany, and England; and by the fifteenth century, 825 were counted. All were under the control of the abbot-general of the parent institution.

The abbots of this famous monastery of Cluny, impelled by the concept of Augustine’s *City of God*, had as their goal

the reform of all the convents and the clergy, and the training of a vast army of monks. More than that, their aim was to get control of the papal chair, and thus to bring to pass Augustine's concept of a millennial kingdom in the form of universal ecclesiastical dominion. Indeed, it was the aspiring spirit of Cluny that lay back of Hildebrand's ambitious dreams of world dominion and his vast crusading projects.¹ Between 1122 and 1156 Cluny reached the height of its power, second only to Rome as the chief center of the Catholic world. The monks of Cluny who came to sit in the papal chair were Gregory VII, Urban II, Paschal II, and Urban V.² Harnack describes the attendant success, the relationship to secular rulers, and then the revolutionary turn under Hildebrand, or Gregory VII.

"The Monastery of Clugny, founded in the tenth century, became the centre of the great reform which the Church in the West passed through in the eleventh century. Instituted by monks, it was at first supported against the secularised monachism, priesthood (Episcopate), and papacy by pious and prudent princes and bishops, above all, by the Emperor, the representative of God on earth, until the great Hildebrand laid hold of it, and, as Cardinal and successor of Peter, set it in opposition to the princes, the secularised clergy, and the Emperor."³

2. MONASTIC POPES CAPITALIZE FOR ROMAN SUPREMACY.

—This powerful force was soon turned, by the monastic popes, to the goal of securing world dominion.

"What were the aims of this new movement which took hold of the entire Church in the second half of the eleventh century? In the first instance, and chiefly, the restoration *in the monasteries themselves* of the 'old' discipline, of the true abnegation of the world, and piety; but then, also, first, *the monastic training of the whole secular clergy*; second, *the supremacy of the monastically trained clergy over the lay world, over princes and nations*; third, *the reduction of national churches, with their pride and secularity, in favour of the uniform supremacy of Rome.*"⁴

And, significantly enough, this ambition aimed at ruling the world after renouncing it, as Harnack observes:

"Thus out of the programme of renunciation of the world, and out of the supra-mundane world that was to permeate this world, out of the

¹ George Waddington, *A History of the Church*, p. 380.

² G. C. Alston, "Cluny," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, pp. 73, 74.

³ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. 6, pp. 3, 4. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Augustinian idea of the city of God and out of the idea of the *one* Roman world-empire, an idea that had never disappeared, but that had reached its glorification in the papal supremacy, there developed itself the claim to world-dominion, though the ruin of many an individual monk might be involved in making it. With sullied consciences and broken courage many monks, whose only desire was to seek after God, yielded to the plans of the great monastic Popes, and became subservient to their aims. And those whom they summoned from the retirement of the cloisters were just those who wished to think least of the world. They knew very well that it was only the monk who fled from the world, and would be rid of it, that could give help in subduing the world. Abandonment of the world in the service of the world-ruling Church, dominion over the world in the service of renunciation of the world,—this was the problem, and the ideal of the Middle Ages!"⁵

It is not too much to state that without the reformatory and energizing influence of Cluny the effeminate church of Rome would not have been able to muster the strength she needed to climb to that apex of power that enabled her to dominate the world and make kings and princes bow to her commands. But, curiously enough, at the very time when she was at the height of her worldly glory it was none other than a monk of Cluny who discerned in all her outward display the utter lack of true spirituality, and who had the temerity to proclaim that none other than the Antichrist had taken possession of her, and had seated himself on her throne. This monk was Bernard of Morlan.

3. BERNARD OF CLUNY: "ROME IS BABYLON."—BERNARD OF CLUNY (OF OF Morlaix), in the Latin form, Bernardus Morlanensis, but often Bernard of Morlan, or Morval (fl. 1120-1150), was famous for his poetical work *De Contemptu Mundi* (The Contempt of the World). Here he declared that the Roman pontiff had become "king of this odious Babylon," causing himself to be adored as God. This bitter satire on the fearful corruption of the age was published again and again. It was built around the theme of the coming of Christ to judgment. Its intent was to inspire men to seek the things of God. It portrayed the enormity of sin, the charms of virtue, the torture of an evil conscience, and the sweetness of a God-fearing life.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Thomas J. Shahan expresses his opinion of it in these words:

"This master of an elegant, forceful, and abundant latinity cannot find words strong enough to convey his prophetic rage at the moral apostasy of his generation, in almost none of whom he finds spiritual soundness. Youthful and simoniacal bishops, oppressive agents of ecclesiastical corporations, the officers of the Curia, papal legates, and the pope himself are treated with no less severity than in Dante or in the sculptures of medieval cathedrals. Only those who do not know the utter frankness of certain medieval moralists could borrow scandal from his verses."⁶

Here is a specimen of Bernard's scathing condemnation of Rome:

"Rome gives all things to all who give all things to Rome, for a price, because there is the way of justice, and all justice is dead. She wobbles like a rolling wheel, hence shall Rome be called a wheel, who is wont to burn like incense with rich praises. . . . The peace that wisdom cannot, money gives you. Money makes agreements and restrains the threatener. . . . If money is given, pontifical favor stands near; if not, that is afar off—that is the law and teaching obtaining there."⁷

And some lines farther on he wails:

" 'Tis right for me to say, to write: 'Rome thou art no more.' Thou liest buried under thy walls and thy morals. Thou art fallen, famous city, sunk as low as thou wast high before, the higher thou wast, the more utterly art thou shattered and cast down. 'Tis right for me to write, to say: 'Rome thou hast perished.' Thy walls cry out: 'Rome, thou art fallen.' Thou, the head, art become the tail; thou the high, liest prostrate before the Omnipotent."⁸

His powerful language at once reminds us of the apocalyptic vision in Revelation 18.

II. Bernard of Clairvaux and the Cistercians—Hierarchy the Ministers of Antichrist

The second spur to a new life, a life based on the old rigor of the monastery, was next given by Bernard of Clairvaux, one of the greatest figures of the twelfth century. (For portrait, see p. 685.) He entered a monastery of the Cistercians, but soon founded a new branch house.

⁶ Thomas J. Shahan, "Bernard of Cluny," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 502.

⁷ Bernard of Cluny, *De Contemptu Mundi*, book 3, lines 601 ff. (Latin edition by H. C. Hoskier, p. 91), translation by Henry Preble, in *The Source of "Jerusalem the Golden"* (edited by S. M. Jackson), pp. 164, 165.

⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 737-743, p. 168.

The Cistercian order, springing from the Benedictines in 1098, was organized at Cistercium (Cîteaux), France, in an attempt to return to the original strictness of the Benedictine rule. It was noted for its austerity and emphasis on manual labor, although it also became notable for collecting and copying manuscripts. The widespread influence of the order stems from the time of Bernard, whose deeply religious spirit, fervent zeal, purity of intention, and most eloquent tongue soon gathered a large number of followers about him. And during his lifetime he was able to witness the springing up of a great number of sister institutions in which the same high standards that he had set were adhered to. And fifty years after his death the movement had grown to the number of 530 abbeys and 650 dependencies.

These Cistercians cultivated the wildest and least accessible districts. In contrast to the Cluniacs, who centralized all authority in the abbot of Cluny, they maintained the position that each monastery was an independent abbey, but they all bound themselves to the pope by oaths of direct obedience. By this step the monk became the auxiliary of Rome, with the control of his organization centered in the pope. This really meant a giving away of the old monastic ideal—which was a complete renunciation of the world, and sole attachment to God.⁹

1. FOUNDS NEW MONASTERY AT CLAIRVAUX.—BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX (1090-1153), who made kings tremble and caused popes to ponder, was a Burgundian, born near Dijon, France, in the feudal castle of Fontaines, which belonged to Tescelin the knight, his wealthy father. Bernard received his early training at the Cathedral School of St. Martins, at Châtillon-sur-Seine. In this school Latin poetry was stressed, both secular and religious, and emphasis was laid on dialectics and on music. This latter training reappears in Bernard's enduring hymns.

Bernard sprang from the fighting caste. He lived in a turbulent, warring world, and seemed destined for the army. But his whole inclination was toward study and a life of devotion to

⁹ Herbert B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, pp. 242-245; G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. 1, pp. 280-282.

God. In the silvery peal of the monastery bells he seemed to hear Christ saying, "Come unto Me"; and in 1112, at the age of twenty-two, he, with a group of twenty-nine other nobles and literati, knocked at the gate of the abbey of Citeaux, ruled by the English abbot Stephen Harding and belonging to the Cistercian reformed group of the Benedictine order.¹⁰ There, where the monks rose at two A.M., and sometimes had but one meager meal a day, Bernard entered upon a life of extreme austerity. The extreme rigors of fasting and manual work, with few periods of rest, nearly broke his health.

During that time Citeaux was growing rapidly, and founding other abbeys. Stephen, the abbot, chose Bernard as leader of a group of twelve monks to establish another abbey in 1115. Bernard, eager to break new ground, chose a deep valley on the river Aube, a tributary to the Seine, called the Valley of Bitterness. This he renamed Claire Vallee, or Clairvaux. Painful years of struggle and shortage at the new abbey followed. There Bernard composed his first sermons. He was stirred by the lawlessness of the church, and moved by the walls of splendor within sight of children undernourished and miserably clad. He attacked the departures of the clergy and was horrified over the spectacle of two simultaneous popes opposing each other.

2. FOSTERS HOLINESS AND EXPOSES EVIL.—Bernard became a revivalist. Although at first speaking to deaf ears, he soon developed into a powerful preacher and persuasive pleader, as we may see in his wonderful series on the Song of Solomon. Bernard cast his soul unreservedly on the pardoning grace of Christ, though he sought to lay hold of Him through the church and through asceticism—the best way he knew. He wrote a number of books and powerful poems, and his influence was far reaching. Even Luther and Calvin paid high tribute to him.

Bernard thundered against the growing scholasticism of the time, which aimed at the discovery of rational truth, while he fostered asceticism, which sought the attainment of holiness. His

¹⁰ Coulton, *Five Centuries*, vol. 1, p. 288.

eighty-six homilies on the Song of Solomon illustrate his quest. His clear spiritual insight and experience are reflected in the long poem from which two great hymns have come down through the centuries—"Jesus, Thou Joy of Loving Hearts" and "Jesus, the Very Thought of Thee"—which are now the common heritage of all Christian bodies.¹¹

Although he was acquainted with the writings of Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory, Bernard was pre-eminently a man of one Book—the Vulgate Bible, which he knew from cover to cover.

Men came to Bernard's monastery for refuge from the chill of the world, that side by side they might keep themselves warm through a purer faith, and many of his sermons had one predominant theme—this evil world and the evil in the church.¹² Bernard preached as often as he could find occasion. His sermons were doubtless taken down by the brethren, with the help of his notes.¹³ Sermons in those days were not conventional. It is said that the preacher's admonitions were often punctuated with interruptions from the hearers, and by rejoinders from the preacher.

According to the times, monasticism was the refuge of most men of learning or discipline. Bernard was a scholar; he was proficient in Latin and was a master of satire, as his letters show here and there.¹⁴ He strove for retirement as other men strive for prominence, but he was constantly drawn out of his seclusion by the appeal of others who needed help. The real Bernard was the man of the cloister, and he considered that his real lifework was interrupted when he came out into public affairs—at the call of duty, as he saw it—to make popes or rebuke them, to

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 301. Music should be good *but plain*, he held, and never such as would distract attention from the words. Bernard gives some interesting directions concerning church music. It should "have nothing of novelty or lightness," but should be "authentic and serious, redolent of hoary antiquity, of grave and Church-like character," "equally distant from rusticity and luscious sweetness." Yet it may be sweet, so as to touch the heart, so long as it is not "trifling." The spiritual meaning of the words must not be obscured by the "levity of the chants" or by a display of the voices. (Bernard, *Letters*, Letter 398, to Guy, Abbot of Montier-Ramey, in *Life and Works of Saint Bernard*, translated by Samuel J. Eales, vol. 3, pp. 97, 98.)

¹² Coulton, *Five Centuries*, vol. 1, pp. 304, 311.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

contend to the death with Abelard, or to preach a crusade.¹⁵

He cried out courageously against entrenched abuses in the church. He protested to Pope Eugenius III that "the court of Rome" was "a sink of litigation and unjust appeals," and to Louis VII he was similarly plain spoken.¹⁶ It must not be forgotten that he lived during the height of the dominance of the all-embracing Roman church, unrivaled because it brooked no rivals. He publicly protested the massacres of the Jews, and made no attempt to excite the populace to the burning of heretics.¹⁷ In the preface to one of Bernard's greatest works, *De Consideratione* (On Consideration), he gives frank and forthright counsel to Pope Eugenius III, who had formerly been one of his pupils.¹⁸

3. BERNARD'S VIEWS ON SECOND ADVENT.—Concerned chiefly with devotional themes, Bernard's writings have little to say on eschatology. He mentions a *twofold* advent—the first, in which Christ comes to save the lost; and the second, "in which He shall come and take us to be with Him."¹⁹ But in another place he speaks of the *threefold* advent—the coming "to men, within men, against men."²⁰ By the central coming he obviously means the entry of Christ into the heart.²¹

4. RESURRECTION AT THE SECOND ADVENT.—At Christ's second advent in glory, Bernard holds, comes the resurrection of the body.²² God's works will remain imperfect until the "consummation of the Church," at the end, for both the lower creation and the ancient patriarchs and prophets await the perfecting of the church²³ by the Bridegroom, whose return is eagerly awaited by the bride, and prayed for daily in "Thy kingdom come."²⁴ Bernard expects Christ to return

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 289, 290.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

¹⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermons for the Ecclesiastical Year*, Sermon 4 (Homily 4 on the Advent), sec. 1, in *Life and Works of Saint Bernard*, vol. 3, p. 273.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Sermon 3, sec. 4, p. 268. (Italics supplied.)

²¹ *Ibid.*, Sermon 5, sec. 1, p. 279.

²² *Ibid.*, Sermon 4, secs. 3, 4, p. 275.

²³ Bernard, *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, Sermon 68, sec. 4, in *Life and Works*, vol. 4, p. 418.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Sermon 73, sec. 3, p. 450.

to the judgment in human form (*forma humana*), in like manner as He went to heaven—to bring salvation to the Jews, to judge the world, and to set up the eternal kingdom, whose subjects are not literal Israel but spiritual.²⁵ Bernard frequently makes allusion to other prophecies, but without definite prophetic interpretation.

5. SPIRITUAL VIEW MOLDS VARIOUS TEACHINGS.—To his congregation of monks Bernard held up the ideal of watching for the Lord's return, with loins girded and lamps burning, whether it be in the first watch (interpreted as obedience to their strict monastic rule), the second watch (purity of motive), or the third (the preservation of unity among themselves).²⁶

But the spiritual or mystical emphasis of the time permeated much that he wrote, as might be expected—for example, "Tomorrow the Lord shall come; and in the morning we shall behold His glory" (Ex. 16:6, 7):

"These words have indeed their own first fulfilment in place and time recorded in the Scripture; but our mother Church has not unfitly adapted them to the Vigil of our Lord's coming in the flesh. . . . When then she either transfers or varies the words of Holy Scripture, that transference is even of as much more weight than the original sense as the truth is more than the figure."²⁷

He explains: "After two days He will revive us, and the third day He will raise us up" (Hosea 6:3), as meaning "three epochs": one "under Adam, another in Christ, the third with Christ"; but he also applies it spiritually to the individual as the days of sin, of present life in Christ, and of "tomorrow," when we shall go forth from the body to be with Christ.²⁸

6. SEES VIRGIN MARY IN REVELATION 12.—Bernard has a curious and apparently original interpretation of the woman of Revelation 12:1, in his sermon for the Sunday in the octave of the feast of the assumption of the Virgin Mary:

²⁵ *Ibid.*, secs. 4, 5, pp. 450, 451, and Sermon 79, sec. 5, p. 486; *Sermons for the Ecclesiastical Year*, Sermon 11 (Homily 4 on the *Missus est*), sec. 2, in *Life and Works*, vol. 3, pp. 332, 333.

²⁶ Bernard, *Sermons for the Ecclesiastical Year*, Sermon 14 (Sermon 3 for the Eve of the Nativity), sec. 6, in *Life and Works*, vol. 3, p. 368.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, secs. 1, 2, pp. 362, 363.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Sermon 13, secs. 2, 3, pp. 355-357.

"Do you think she is the woman clothed in the sun? Let it be, indeed, that the very series of the prophetic vision shows it to be understood of the present church; but it seems clearly to be attributed not inconveniently to Mary. Certainly it is she who as it were clothes herself with another sun. For just as he rises indifferently upon the just and the unjust, so she also . . . shows herself approachable to the prayers of all."²⁹

7. MOON CONSTRUED TO BE THE CHURCH.—It is nothing great, says Bernard, to say that the moon (any defect of frailty or corruption) is beneath the feet of her who must be accepted as exalted above all the angels. The moon, he continues, customarily represents foolishness of mind, "on account of fickleness," and sometimes the present church, because of its reflected light.³⁰

Mary, he adds, is doubtless "the woman once promised by God to crush with the foot of her virtue the head of the ancient serpent." Finally the dragon, through Herod, lies in wait to destroy the woman's Child at His birth.³¹

Then he continues the eulogy, typical of the time, of Mary as mediatrix:

"Assuredly the fleece is the medium between the dew and the ground, the woman between the sun and the moon; Mary is set between Christ and the church."³²

Paul says, "Put ye on the Lord Jesus" (Rom. 13:14); similarly, as Christ, our Sun, remains in Mary, she clothes Him and is clothed by Him.³³

8. SUN AND TWELVE STARS EXPOUNDED.—"It is beyond man" to explain the crown of twelve stars, yet "not incongruously, perhaps, we seem to understand those twelve stars as twelve prerogatives of grace with which Mary is uniquely adorned."³⁴

²⁹ Translated from Bernard, *Dominica Infra Octavam Assumptionis B. V. Mariae, Sermo*, sec. 3, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 183, col. 430.

³¹ *Ibid.*, sec. 4. (The reference to Genesis 3:15 is based, of course, on the Vulgate, which makes the woman, not the Seed, crush the serpent.)

³² *Ibid.*, sec. 5, col. 432.

³³ *Ibid.*, sec. 6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 7, col. 433. The Cistercian order, like the later monastic reform movements, boasted the special patronage of the Virgin, and Bernard himself was a notable devotee and champion of Mary. Yet, although he believed that she was born without sin and lived without sin, he would not believe that she was conceived without sin. His opposition to the new teaching of her Immaculate Conception was the strongest influence in postponing for centuries the final official acceptance of this dogma. (See Coulton, *Five Centuries*, vol. 1, pp. 142, 368, 293, also Bernard's letter 174, to the Canons of Lyons, in *Life and Works*, vol. 2, pp. 512-518.)

9. **PAPAL CLAIMANT CALLED ANTICHRIST.**—Bernard's treatment of Antichrist offers an interesting example of the way in which a preacher, concerned with moving his hearers to right living rather than with formulating systematic theology, sometimes approaches a subject from different angles at different times. Around 1128 we find him disagreeing with Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, who was convinced that Antichrist, and a general persecution in the church, would come in his generation.³⁵

But in 1130, at the death of Pope Honorius II, when Bernard championed the cause of Gregory (Innocent II), against a rival claimant, Peter Leonis (Anacletus), who won control in Rome, he applied the prophetic epithet to the other claimant.

"Behold, Innocent, that anointed of the Lord, is set for the fall and rising again of many (cf. S. Luke ii.34). Those who are of God, gladly join themselves to him; but he who is of the opposite part, is either of Antichrist, or Antichrist himself. The abomination is seen standing in the holy place; and that he may seize it, like a flame he is burning the sanctuary of God."³⁶

"They [who claim "that the whole Church has been led to recognize Peter Leonis"] are lying men whom, with Antichrist their head, the Truth shall destroy with the breath of His mouth."³⁷

10. **APPLIES "BEAST" OF APOCALYPSE TO ANTIPOPE.**—It was in this connection that he wrote concerning this antipope:

"That beast of the Apocalypse (Apoc. xiii. 5-7), to whom is given a mouth speaking blasphemies, and to make war with the saints, is sitting on the throne of Peter, like a lion ready for his prey."³⁸

He even applies the term Antichrist to a bishop who had deserted the cause of Innocent for that of the schismatic contender.

"But whosoever tries to divide those whom Christ has joined together for their salvation proves himself to be, not a Christian, but an Antichrist, and guilty of the Cross and death of Christ."³⁹

³⁵ Bernard, *Letters*, Letter 56 (to Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres), in *Life and Works*, vol. 1, pp. 235-237.

³⁶ Bernard, *Letters*, Letter 124 (to Hildebert, archbishop of Tours [c. 1131]), in *Life and Works*, vol. 1, p. 397.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter 127 (to William, count of Poitou), p. 417.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter 125 (to Geoffrey of Loretto), p. 399; for a similar reference see Letter 126 (to the bishops of Aquitaine), p. 408.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter 126 (to the bishops of Aquitaine), p. 407.

II. LATER SEES ANTICHRIST AS COMING MESSENGER OF SATAN.—In his sermons on the Song of Solomon, written several years after the letters regarding the papal schism, Bernard makes several allusions to Antichrist without specifically identifying him. He is evidently Paul's Man of Sin, for he is to be slain "by the Breath of His Mouth"; but he is also identified as "night," which "signifies the devil, the angel of Satan," who transforms himself into an angel of light.⁴⁰ In another sermon he is described as the demon of noonday who simulates the midday light in order to deceive, and exalts himself above all that is worshiped.⁴¹

Quoting psalm 91, Bernard says that the "terror that walketh by night" was the persecution of the early church; the "arrow that flieth by day" was the teaching of the heretics in the period of the church's elevation; now, in his time, after the church is free from both these evils, she is still contaminated by "the pestilence that walketh in darkness," that is, the insidious corruption of the hypocrites in the church, the "Ministers of Christ" who "are serving Antichrist." This present evil period of walking in darkness is to be followed by "the destruction that wasteth at noonday"—the appearance of Antichrist, who has already seduced the great ones of the church.⁴²

"There remains only one thing—that the demon of noonday should appear, to seduce those who remain still in Christ, and in the simplicity which is in Him. He has, without question, swallowed up the rivers of the learned, and the torrents of those who are powerful, and (as says the Scripture) *he trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth* (Job xl.23)—that is to say, those simple and humble ones who are in the Church. For this is he who is Antichrist, who counterfeits not only the day, but also the noonday; who exalts himself above all that is called God or worshipped—whom the Lord Jesus shall consume with the Spirit of His Mouth, and destroy with the brightness of His Coming (2 Thess. ii.4, 8); for He is the true and eternal Noonday: the Bridegroom, the Defender of the Church, Who is above all, God blessed for ever. AMEN."⁴³

⁴⁰ Bernard, *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, Sermon 72, sec. 5, in *Life and Works*, vol. 4, p. 445.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Sermon 33, sec. 9, p. 220.

⁴² *Ibid.*, secs. 14-16, pp. 222-224.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, sec. 16, p. 224. Bernard later repeats this explanation of the periods of the church, which are reminiscent of an earlier interpretation of the second, third, and fourth seals as the periods of the martyrs, the heretics, and the hypocrites (see page 551); this time he calls

12. MINISTERS OF CHRIST ARE "SLAVES TO ANTICHRIST."—Although ardently attached to the church, Bernard saw in "the pestilence that walketh in darkness," the corruptions and pride of the hierarchy, now grown too flagrant to be kept secret. He was so struck by the marks of antichristianism in the church of Rome that he thus boldly employed all the thunder of his rhetoric to proclaim that its clergy had become the "servants of Antichrist." The eminence of the man made his utterances all the more noteworthy, and possibly exerted an influence later on the developing tendency to look in the church and at the Papacy for the prophesied Antichrist.

Note in the sermon just quoted Bernard's incisive rebuke of the clergy who constitute "the destruction that wasteth at noonday":

"All are her [the church's] friends, and all her enemies; all are her intimates, and all her adversaries; all are of her own household, and none at peace with her; all are very nearly related to her, and yet all are seeking their own interests. They are Ministers of Christ, and they are serving [*serviunt*, are slaves to] Antichrist. They are advanced to honour upon the goods of the Lord, and to the Lord they render no honour at all. From this proceeds that meretricious splendour, that habit fit for a comedian, that magnificence almost royal which you see every day. Because of this you see gold upon the bits of their horses, upon their saddles, and even upon their spurs; yes, their spurs shine more brightly than their altars. Because of this you see fine tables loaded with splendid services of plate, chased goblets, and, also, with viands correspondingly costly; then follow merrymakings and drunkenness, the guitar, the lyre, and the flute. Thence come groaning winepresses and storehouses full and overflowing with all manner of good things. Thence come vases of rich perfumes, and coffers filled with immense treasures. It is for the attainment of such objects that they desire to be, and are, Provosts of churches, Deans, Archdeacons, Bishops, Archbishops. For these dignities are not given for merit, but are disposed of in that infamous traffic which walketh in darkness."⁴⁴

The Cistercian "eschatology was practically that of the early disciples; a close expectation of the Second Coming and a conviction of the imminent appearance of Antichrist; the final

the "noonday demon" the Man of Sin. (See his sermon 6 of the series on psalm 90 [A.V., psalm 91], *Qui Habitat*, secs. 6, 7, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 183, cols. 199, 200.)

⁴⁴ Bernard, *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, Sermon 33, sec. 15, in *Life and Works*, vol. 4, pp. 223, 224.

fight, in fact, seemed already to have begun. Nation was rising against nation; the disastrous earthquake of 1222 seemed a clear fulfillment of Christ's prophecy." ⁴⁵ Loyal to the pope, and most active in the Albigensian crusade, inevitably they were drawn into world affairs, and away from their strict adherence to the original Rule of Benedict. But a new factor was about to be injected at this time.

III. The Friars Overthrow the Old Monastic Ideal

And now, in the beginning years of the thirteenth century, after the monastic reforms of Cluny and the Cistercians, an entirely new expression of the monastic ideal appeared in the form of various orders of friars—in fact, it was a complete reversal of the old monastic ideal. "Live," said the monk, "as if you were alone in this world with God." "Live," said both St. Francis and St. Dominic, "as if you existed only for the sake of others." Their conception of monasticism was so utterly different that the friars were forbidden to enter the walls of any monastery.⁴⁶ The old orders had emphasized retirement from life in the world, and preoccupation with personal salvation amid the quiet austerities of monastic life. The new orders deliberately planted themselves in the heart of the busy haunts of men, and sought to make themselves indispensable to humanity.⁴⁷ They were essentially a company of social workers.

The order of Franciscan Friars sprang, of course, from Francis of Assisi, in Italy, who was born in 1181 or 1182. In 1208 he felt the urge to go out to preach and to heal the sick just as Jesus had done. He and some companions gave up all their worldly connections and went out barefoot to sing and to preach, and to dwell among the despised of mankind. Soon many followed, seeing in this way of life the only remedy for the corruption of the world. This order grew enormously. Then its founding ideals changed, and great churches were built, especially in Italy, to accommodate the vast crowds that came to hear

⁴⁵ Coulton, *Five Centuries*, vol. 1, p. 367.

⁴⁶ Workman, *op. cit.*, pp. 271, 272.

⁴⁷ Ault, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

the now popular Franciscan preachers, or Minorites, as they frequently called themselves.⁴⁸

Another group, the Dominican Order, recognized by Honorius III in 1216, was founded by Dominic of Castille (b. 1170). His burden was to preach the correct doctrine, to establish the true faith, and to erase all heresy from Christ's kingdom. The Dominicans, or preaching friars, came to emphasize intellectualism. They were accomplished Latinists, and were thoroughly trained in theology and canon law. They became especially active in university towns. Some became noted scholars, and obtained professorships at Paris, Oxford, Montpellier, Bologna, and Toulouse. Thomas Aquinas was one of their greatest lights.⁴⁹ Whereas the Dominicans were proud of their libraries, the Franciscans were proud of their sick wards. This perhaps best illustrates the difference between the two orders.⁵⁰

In 1233 the Dominican Order was made primarily responsible, by Gregory IX, for carrying out the work of the Inquisition. As Inquisitors they became a distinct clan, dissociated from the pastoral care of souls. They even had power over priests and bishops, and no appeal could be made from their judgment except to the papal court.⁵¹

Both orders thus appeared in the period when papal might was reaching its climax, along with marked spiritual depravity. These, although willing instruments in the hands of the Papacy, nevertheless emphasized the spiritual side of religious life, thereby seeking to counterbalance and somewhat redeem the evil effects of an ecclesiastical hierarchy that had departed from the simple precepts of Christ.

IV. Scholasticism's Contribution to Papal Power

Having outlined in the preceding paragraphs the tremendous influence of monasticism upon the upsurge of papal power, we have now to notice another strand of influence which helped to form the tightly woven pattern of Roman Catholicism.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 489-491.

⁴⁹ Joseph R. Strayer and Dana Carleton Munro, *The Middle Ages*, p. 312.

⁵⁰ Ault, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

⁵¹ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 523.

I. CATHEDRAL SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES EMERGE.—Along with the growth of the towns, large churches and cathedrals were erected into which generations of skilled workmen contributed their best efforts. Then schools came to be attached to these cathedrals, which often outshone the purely monastic schools. Tours, Orléans, Rheims, Chartres, and Paris became famous for such training, and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the greatest scholars of the age came from these cathedral schools.

And during this period yet another type of institution entered the picture—the universities. These sprang up on the soil of the cathedral schools, but were of independent growth. Their organization was patterned after that of the guilds. They became, in fact, the literary guilds, each representing a community of intellectual workers. At first they centered around groups of brilliant and enthusiastic teachers. The famous school of medicine, at Salerno, was perhaps the first on European soil to resemble the later universities. And in the twelfth century a group of students of law in Bologna organized and formed an association, out of which developed the University of Bologna.⁵²

A similar institution was founded in Paris, which became the center of theological studies, but it soon came under supervision of the church. Oxford, Cambridge, Toulouse, Valencia, Naples, Salamanca, and others followed. During the late Middle Ages, Paris became the most important educational institution in Europe, so that a saying of the thirteenth century ran: "The Italians have the Papacy, the Germans have the Empire, but the French have the University."⁵³ At Prague, Vienna, and Heidelberg universities were established by the princes. So, by the fourteenth century there were forty-five separate universities in Europe.

The courses of studies in these centers of learning were based on the so-called seven liberal arts. At that time, however, the term "arts" did not have the same connotation as it has

⁵² Strayer and Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

today. "Arts" merely meant the different branches of learning taught at that time. These were divided into two groups: First came the trivium, embracing grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics—in other words, the sciences of language, oratory, and logic. The quadrivium comprised the second group, consisting of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The period of study extended over seven to nine years. Four to five years were required for the degree of *baccalaureus artium* (B.A.), and three to four more for the *magister artium* (M.A.).

To receive a Master's degree, the candidate was required to know most of the philosophy of Aristotle, that is, the ethics, metaphysics, and politics. After having received his Master's degree, the student then went on to the higher faculties of theology, law, or medicine. The course of theology at Paris required a minimum of eight years before the degree of Doctor was conferred upon the student.⁵⁴ However, the bulk of the clergy was not materially affected by the universities. The country priests, and many city priests as well, did not commonly come to them.

2. PHILOSOPHY BECOMES MASTER OF RELIGION.—In the cathedral schools, and later in the universities, dialectics were applied intensively to the religious field, and great efforts were made to translate dogma into rational concepts and revelation into a philosophy. That is, an attempt was made to understand and to interpret all religious truth by philosophical reasoning. Scholasticism really began with the conflict between traditionalism and free inquiry. Philosophy was at first considered to be the handmaid of religion, but soon became its master, leaving its imprint on all dogma and interpreting all doctrine.

In defining a doctrine and deciding a case Aristotle and his metaphysics was the final authority more often than the Bible. Thus scholasticism was established as a philosophico-theological system, professing to revive the vanished science of dogma. The variations of the syllogism were sedulously

⁵⁴ Ault, *op. cit.*, pp. 506, 507.

studied, in order to acquire facility in reasoning about dogma. But scholasticism retained the monopoly.⁵⁵

This era of scholasticism is often divided into three periods: its infancy, from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries; its maturity, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth, when the great universities and religious orders were flourishing; and its decline, from the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth centuries.⁵⁶ Among the great names of the first period are Anselm, Abelard, and Peter Lombard. The second period embraces Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus; and the third period includes William of Occam.⁵⁷

3. SCRIPTURE MADE TO SUPPORT EVERY EXTRAVAGANCE.—

The Bible was considered to have a deep, mystical meaning, and its plainest verses were allegorized to such an extent that nothing of the simplicity of the Word remained. Theology developed more and more into a system of mental gymnastics, and subjects of no practical importance were discussed to unbelievable lengths. For instance, they sought to establish the very hour when Adam sinned, or whether an angel can be in several places at the same time, and so on. Gross perversions resulted. Legates trampled upon the decrees of emperors on the basis of "feed my lambs." The plural of "keys" was proffered as proof that the pope had kingly as well as pontifical power. The forged Donation of Constantine was considered only a just restitution. And the Inquisition was defended with the words, "They gather them in bundles and burn them."⁵⁸

Orthodox scholasticism treated the letter of Scripture—even its plainest portions—as an enigma, destroying the meaning of the Old Testament in an attempt to make it speak the language of church tradition. Useless and irrelevant parallels resulted, with plays on words and idle Jewish fancies. Farrar refers to this way of explaining the Scripture as not only the

⁵⁵ Lagarde, *op. cit.*, pp. 538, 539.

⁵⁶ Farrar, *History*, p. 467.

⁵⁷ David S. Schaaf, *op. cit.*, part 1, pp. 592, 593.

⁵⁸ Farrar, *History*, p. 298.

“helpless secondhandness of the mediaeval commentators, but also the absurdity to which their systematic allegorising often led them.”⁵⁹ This naturally nullified all understanding of prophecy. Under scholasticism every part of Scripture was subjected to a multiple exposition, borrowed from Jewish Talmudism and Cabalism, or traced back to Origen and his triple meaning—which the scholars now expanded to four or five. Thus they made the Scriptures a book of deep mysteries, with seals that only the priests and monks could unlock, thereby keeping them out of the hands of the multitude.

Verily the scholastics had woven interminable webs. They were afflicted with boundless prolixity, and ponderous tomes were produced. They were cursed with a mass of verbiage, word-splitting, tyrannical dogmatism, and wordy wars about nothings—the number of angels that could dance upon the point of a pin, whether man in the resurrection will receive back the rib he lost in Eden, or what happens to a mouse which eats a crumb of the consecrated host.⁶⁰ Nothing short of a revolutionary reformation could shake the walls of such a structure and rescue the Scriptures from centuries of misuse.

4. BATTLE BETWEEN “NOMINALISM” AND “REALISM.”—Such endless and profitless discussions brought scholasticism into grave disrepute, and justly so. But the main battle in that age was really fought out on a different issue. It was waged around the philosophical concepts of what were termed “nominalism” and “realism.” To grasp the intent of these terms, we must understand that “nominalism” defended the premise that the general conceptions at which we arrive—the “universals,” as they were called in medieval language—are mere names, and have no real or objective existence. This meant that the general conception of *tree* exists only in one’s mind, and that there is no reality to support the conception.

The same principle was applied to esthetics and ethical conceptions. For example, beauty and ugliness are both simply

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁶⁰ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 594.

conceptions of the mind, gotten from the observation of objects which are considered either beautiful or ugly. But beauty and ugliness do not exist in themselves. This doctrine found expression in the statement *universalia post rem*, that is, the abstract becomes known after the concrete.

The other side was represented in "realism." This, in its unmodified form, states that our conceptions of the universals have a real existence, that they, in fact, are creative types—exemplars in the divine mind, from which spring the diversity of the actual types. In other words, a tree exists, unspecified, and all the many kinds of trees, as birch, beech, and oak trees, are only the offspring of this original conception of a tree. This maxim was stated in the words *universalia ante rem*, that is, the universals exist before the individual, concrete object.

This difference may seem to be of trifling importance in our age, but it would be fallacious to underestimate its concern to the Fundamentalists of their day, as they might be termed, bent on defending the reality of spiritual truth. The Nominalists were the Rationalists, accepting as reality only what could be grasped by the senses. In modern parlance we would call it the struggle between the principle of faith and the evidence of science.

V. Berengarius—Battles Transubstantiation; Labels Rome "Seat of Satan"

Before the controversy between the two schools of scholasticism began to flare up there were always men who would not accept certain doctrines propagated by the church which were mainly based on the miraculous. Instead, they defended the position that reason should have its rightful place in the development of religious thought.

One such was BERENGARIUS (Berengar) or Berenger of Tours (c. 998-1088), canon of the cathedral at Tours, and later head of its school. Afterward he became archdeacon of Angers, France. He had publicly and resolutely maintained the merely spiritual character of the holy supper. Of deep learning, he

came to the conclusion that the rather common teaching of transubstantiation was untrue—that the bread and wine were not changed and that Christ's presence in the Eucharist was only spiritual, not material.⁶¹ The dogma of transubstantiation was not yet formally pronounced by the Catholic Church, though it was tacitly regarded as the correct position.

The disclosure of his views to his pupils created a sensation which resulted in the extension of many warnings and entreaties to Berengarius, for his views began "corrupting" the French, the Italians, and the English.⁶² His greatest controversy was with Lanfranc of Normandy, later archbishop of Canterbury from 1070 to 1089. The ebb and flow of the prolonged controversy lasted for thirty years, through eight pontificates, or until 1080, when Berengarius retired to live a solitary life until his death at the age of about ninety, in 1088.

I. SEE OF ROME DENOMINATED "SEAT OF SATAN."—In this battle with the hierarchy, especially after the council at Rome in 1059, Berengarius denounced the contemporary pope and the Roman church in severest language. In fact, he went so far in this controversy as to call the Roman church "*vanitatis concilium, et ecclesiam malignantium, . . . non apostolicam sed sedem Satanae*" ("council of vanity, and church of malignants, . . . not the apostolic see, but the seat of Satan").⁶³ A writer in 1088, the death year of Berengarius, leaves an account of the various condemnations and recantations in which this brief but illuminating paragraph occurs:

"But Berengarius, according to his custom, did not fear to return to his own vomit, and beyond all heretics, he presumed to blaspheme Roman pontiffs, and the holy Roman church, by words and writings. Actually the holy pope Leo he called, not Pontifex, but 'pompifex' and 'pulpifex'; and the holy Roman church, the council of vanity, and the church of malignants; and he did not fear to call, by speech and pen, the Roman see [seat], not Apostolic, but the seat of Satan."⁶⁴

⁶¹ Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 554 ff.; J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 351 ff.; Waddington, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-294.

⁶² Thomas Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

⁶³ J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 362, n. f.

⁶⁴ Translated from *De Berengarii Haeresiarum Damnatione Multiplici*, attributed to

2. FORCED TO RECANT; REVERTS TO CONVICTIONS.—The allusion to returning “to his own vomit” refers to his several recantings under papal council pressure, followed by his repudiation of these recantings. Though forced to capitulate, he reverted again and again to his convictions. The full force of this reference can best be perceived by listing and noting the nine councils, under four popes, before which he was cited, personally or in absentia, for admonition and disciplinary action.

(1) *Rome* (April, 1050), under Leo IX. Berengarius was not present; his letter to Lanfranc was read; Berengarius was deprived of church communion and condemned.

(2) *Vercelli* (September, 1050). Berengarius refused to attend; he was condemned a second time without a hearing; also a book of John Scotus on the Eucharist was condemned.

(3) *Paris* (1050). Former judgment against Berengarius was confirmed. Berengarius was threatened with death unless he retracted; he was deprived of the temporalities of his benefice.

(4) *Tours* (1054, formerly dated 1055). At this council Berengarius made his first retraction, which was soon abandoned. He escaped condemnation through the aid of Hildebrand, the papal legate, who was satisfied with the admission that the consecrated bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ.

(5) *Rome* (1059), under Nicholas II. There were 113 bishops present; Berengarius signed a profession of faith concerning the Eucharist, but soon reverted to his former position.

(6) *Poitiers* (1075 or 1076), under Gregory VII. Berengarius narrowly escaped with his life.

(7) *Rome* (1078). Berengarius made a confession of the faith. Gregory VII wanted to give him peace, but his cardinals demanded full recantation, or death.

(8) *Rome* (1079). There were 150 bishops present; Berengarius was compelled to subscribe to a formula, which he soon repudiated upon return to France.

(9) *Bordeaux* (1080). Once more before a council he made a final confession.⁶⁵

Bernaldus, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 148, col. 1456; see also Hardouin, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, part 1, cols. 1014, 1015.

⁶⁵ (1) Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 103; Hardouin, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, part 1, cols. 1015, 1016.

(2) Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 264; Hardouin, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, part 1, cols. 1017, 1018.

(3) Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 23; Hardouin, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, part 1, cols. 1021, 1026.

(4) Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 176; Hardouin, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, part 1, cols. 1041, 1042; Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 556, 557.

(5) Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 103, 104; Hardouin, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, part 1, col. 1064.

(6) Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 57; Hardouin, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, part 1, cols. 1551, 1552.

(7) Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 106.

(8) Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 106; Hardouin, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, part 1, col. 1585.

(9) Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 100; Hardouin, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, part 1, cols. 1587, 1588. For a sketch of the actions of the councils see Lagarde, *op. cit.*, pp. 434, 435.

It was during this prolonged battle, be it noted, that Berengarius' remarkable statements were made concerning Antichrist. He died in sorrow over his vacillation.⁶⁶

VI. The Battle Within Scholasticism

ANSELM OF CANTERBURY (1033-1109), a native of Piedmont, went to France, and became a monk. He studied under the famous Lanfranc, and succeeded him as abbot of the monastery of Bec and later also as archbishop of Canterbury, becoming thereby the head of the church in England. He was meek and humble, and of spotless integrity. At the same time he loudly defended the rights of the church against those of the crown. He was pre-eminently a scholar, however, and in the history of theology he stands as the father of orthodox scholasticism.

He was a representative of extreme "realism," in order to meet the nominalistic tendency of his time. Dogma should not be probed by reason, and reason should be subordinate to tradition, which to him was equal to revelation. The task of scholastic theology, according to him, was to show the logical development of the doctrines of the church as translated by the Fathers, and to give a dialectical demonstration.⁶⁷ This finally became the norm of all orthodox theology in the Roman church.

PETRUS ABELARD (Pierre de Palais, or Petrus Palatinus, 1079-1142) placed reason above the authority of tradition. Born near Nantes, France, he must be noted as one of the boldest thinkers of the Middle Ages, who sought to break down the authority of tradition⁶⁸ and the veneration of the Fathers. A professor at twenty-three, he helped to develop the restless spirit of speculation, and became a master in dialectics, taking as his motto, "By doubting, we arrive at truth."⁶⁹ He was the first great critic. The prophets did not always speak under the Spirit of

⁶⁶ Mosheim, *op. cit.*, century 11, part 2, chap. 3, sec. 17, n. 2, vol. 2, pp. 382, 383.

⁶⁷ C. A. Beckwith, "Anselm, Saint, of Canterbury," *The New Schaff-Herzog*, vol. 1, pp. 188-190.

⁶⁸ Farrar, *History*, p. 259; Lagarde, *op. cit.*, pp. 570, 573.

⁶⁹ Farrar, *History*, p. 261.

God, he held. Even Peter made mistakes. Why should not the Fathers also have made mistakes? In his book *Sic et Non* (Yes and No), he presented the contradictory opinions of the Fathers, and opened the way to criticism of the patristic texts.

The didactic faculty was predominant. If the principles, "Reason aids faith" and "Faith aids reason," are to be taken as the inspiration of scholastic theology, then Abelard was inclined to emphasize the former.

Abelard brought searching logic to bear on the whole range of contemporary theology, and challenged the old concepts. He exerted his influence over some five thousand students, some of whom were later bishops, and one was even a pope (Celestine II). That brought him often into conflict with the more orthodox, and one of his strongest opponents was Bernard of Clairvaux. Both men saw plainly enough what was at stake in the conflict of principle. If Bernard's principle should prevail, then authority should be the only guide of the Christian conscience and the appeal even to historical facts would be treason and heresy. If Abelard's principles should prevail, they must undoubtedly lead to the modernist's view and evolve doctrines entirely incompatible with the authoritarian position. Here, already in the twelfth century, we have the beginnings of the struggle of Ultramontanism against Modernism.⁷⁰ Abelard was tried as a heretic, and condemned at the Council of Sens in 1141, and ordered to silence and retirement in a monastery.

1. PETER LOMBARD—FATHER OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.—Next we come to one who is outstanding, not so much for his originality, as for his industry in the collection of all available theological knowledge, thus rendering a remarkable service to the church. This is PETER LOMBARD (c. 1100-1164), who was born at Novara, Italy, and studied in Bologna, Paris, and Rheims. He was sponsored by Bernard of Clairvaux. He eagerly read Abelard, but was not so polemically inclined as to take sides. Rather he was interested in spanning the whole field of theology.

⁷⁰ Coulton, *Five Centuries*, vol. 1, pp. 296, 297.

He systematically covered the entire ground of dogmatics, and is considered the father of systematic theology in the Catholic Church. His four books of *Sentences* became the most popular theological textbook, and these were held in esteem as high as were Calvin's *Institutes* later in the Reformed Church. Lombard's *Sentences* and Thomas Aquinas' *Summa* were studied and expounded more than the Scriptures.⁷¹

As an index to the scope of Peter Lombard's influence, it may be noted that 152 commentaries were produced by the Dominicans and about as many by the Franciscans.

2. PETER COMESTOR: STRESSES LITERAL, HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION.—PETER COMESTOR (d. about 1178) was praised to the pope as being among the three most cultured men in France. His works include commentaries on the Gospels and a Biblical history. Comestor's exposition of Daniel 2 delineates the gold, silver, brass, and iron as Babylon, Persia, Grecia, and Rome in standard form. On the ensuing divisions and the still future establishment of the kingdom of God he quotes Josephus as saying that the stone is believed by the Hebrews to be their future kingdom.⁷²

He applies the beast symbols of Daniel 7 to the same series of world kingdoms, with the ten horns as ten divisions of the Roman kingdom at the end, and the Little Horn as Antichrist (out of Dan, born in Babylonia), who uproots three kings and kills the Two Witnesses, Enoch and Elijah, and rules three and a half years.⁷³

VII. Scholasticism's Apex Under Albertus Magnus

The next two figures to be noted, who exerted a determining influence upon the development of Catholic dogmatic teaching, are two Dominicans—Albertus Magnus and his even more illustrious pupil, Thomas Aquinas.

The literary giant of his time was ALBERTUS MAGNUS (1193

⁷¹ Farrar, *History*, p. 263; Lagarde, *op. cit.*, p. 577.

⁷² Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, *Historia Libri Danielis*, chap. 2, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 198, col. 1449.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, chap. 6, cols. 1453, 1454.

or 1206-1280). Born in Swabia, he taught theology and philosophy at Cologne, and also for a short period in Paris, was made bishop of Ratisbon, but resigned soon thereafter, that he might return to his professorship in Cologne.

He was a keen student of nature, and wrote effectively on botany, zoology, meteorology, and astronomy. His knowledge was often faulty, though some of his statements have proved to be prophetic of modern discoveries. Because of his vast learning he was called the *Doctor Universalis*. He sought to harmonize the philosophy of Aristotle with the dogmas of the church. He considered theology, however, as the truest science, and even more than a science—as wisdom. He wrote a number of commentaries; among them were two on Daniel and the Apocalypse.

His commentaries were a verse-by-verse explanation, following the method of the *glossa*, giving not so much his own opinion and explanation as the different possible explanations. For instance, the "ten days" mentioned in connection with the Smyrna church can be the present life of man, which should pass through ten forms of development, or it can mean the Roman rulers, who are indicated by the ten horns of the beast (starting with Nero and ending with Diocletian), or the forms of tribulation which the church must suffer—and after enumerating seven specific tribulations, he adds three of a general nature, namely, the world, the flesh, and the devil.⁷⁴ Often he follows Bede or Haymo or others. Frequently interesting sidelines open up, as for example under Jezebel, mentioned in the Thyatira church, he sees the heresy of Mohammed.⁷⁵

Similarly, in his explanation of the fifth trumpet he remarks that the smoke rising from the pit is Antichristian teaching, and the locusts are the forerunners of Antichrist.⁷⁶ The forty-two months mentioned in Revelation 11 refer to the ruling time or period of Antichrist.⁷⁷ In the woman in the sun he sees the church in her struggle against Satan.⁷⁸ The twelve stars on her head are the twelve apostles of Jesus. But he also gives another

⁷⁴ Albertus Magnus, *In Apocalypsim B. Joannis Apostoli*, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 38, pp. 511, 512.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 520.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 614, 615.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 639.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 652.

explanation, as referring to Mary the virgin—and he mentions Bernard's Mariology in this connection.⁷⁹ We see, therefore, that his explanation is not original, but is rather a compendium of the opinions of others.

In the leopard beast of Revelation 13 he sees Antichrist, and in the second, lamblike beast he understands the preachers of Antichrist.⁸⁰ In the matter of the thousand years he follows Haymo, who said that it comprises all the time from the Passion of Christ to the end of this *saeculum*,⁸¹ while the believers are living in faith with Christ during that period.⁸² This is, of course, the old Augustinian view that still held general sway. There is here no progress in prophetic interpretation but simply a reiteration of the generally accepted opinion dominant during the Middle Ages. The rejuvenation of prophetic research will obviously come, not through the learned masters of theology and philosophy, but through individuals perturbed by the excesses of their times, and ever searching for a hope which would give them courage to continue their way in this weary world.

VIII. Thomas Aquinas, Codifier of Theology

Albertus Magnus had opened new fields of investigation, and gathered an enormous amount of knowledge. But an organizing genius was needed to make the material available for the church in general. This genius came upon the scene in the person of his pupil THOMAS AQUINAS (1225-1274). He was born near Naples about 1225, went to Monte Cassino, later to the university of Naples, and then entered the Dominican Order in 1243. There he sat at the feet of Albertus Magnus, who recognized his coming greatness. Thomas, in his later life, became the most eminent divine of the Latin church, next to Augustine.

In his teachings, especially in his famous work *Summa Theologica*, we have, with but few exceptions, the doctrinal tenets of the Latin church, in their perfected exposition, just as we find them later in the decrees of the Council of Trent,

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 654.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 670.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 755.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 756.

there in their final redaction. Thomas is revered in the Catholic Church as the *Doctor Angelicus*.

Just as monasticism underwent a radical change during this period, and became more and more an instrument in the hand of the hierarchy, so scholasticism provided the scholars that helped the church to crystallize her doctrines and to establish her foundations. At the same time it is noteworthy that these scholars sprang mostly from the ranks of the new orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans.

Thomas Aquinas was not important as a prophetic expositor; his commentary on Daniel is not particularly original, although an occasional detail shows his individual touch. His exposition on the Apocalypse was largely incorporated in his *Summa Theologica*, especially in the Supplement to the third part, which, after his death, was compiled from an earlier work. What makes him important is the fact that the *Summa* is still regarded as the greatest codification of Catholic doctrine, and is used to this day in Catholic schools and colleges. That is not to say, of course, that every word, written from his medieval viewpoint, is considered authoritative, but the theological principles are still the same.⁸³

His exposition of Daniel is the old, familiar interpretation, for which he cites Jerome, Augustine, and others, but his scholastic method is apparent in the formal treatment of the material. In each section he organizes the discussion in such subdivisions as the "original cause," the "final cause," the "material cause," the "formal cause," the "arguments," the "doubtful opinions," the "moral opinions," and the like.

1. HOLDS HISTORICAL VIEW ON FOUR EMPIRES.—Up to Daniel 7, he says, the first coming of Christ is referred to, but from here on the second advent is dealt with, including the time of Antichrist, who is the Little Horn ruling over seven horns.⁸⁴

⁸³ See various essays on the use of the *Summa* in religious education in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Appendix, following the Supplement in vol. 3 of the complete American edition. They cite the Supplement on a par with the rest; for its origin, see note to Supplement, vol. 3, p. 2573.

⁸⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *Expositio in Daniele*, chap. 7, p. 32, in *Opera*, vol. 18.

The four kingdoms of Daniel 2 and 7 are the usual Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome; and the stone is the kingdom of Christ, which will last through all generations.⁸⁵ The ten horns are the ten future kings in the time of Antichrist; Egypt, Ethiopia, and Africa are uprooted. The time, times, and half a time are the three and a half years of the Antichrist's kingdom. And in one Roman Empire, because of Antichrist's proud words, all kingdoms are to be destroyed. Then the saints are exalted at the advent of the Son of man; all the earth is subjected to the churchly power, and perhaps the prelates and members of monastic orders will be holy like the apostles of Christ.⁸⁶

He doubts Porphyry's theory of Antiochus as the Little Horn of chapter 7.⁸⁷ But he makes Antiochus the Little Horn of chapter 8, coming out of the Seleucid division of Alexander's empire, with the 2300 days as the time of his devastation of Jerusalem. This horn is also Antichrist, and his three-and-one-half-year persecution is equated with the 1290 days.⁸⁸

2. SEVENTY WEEKS LUNAR YEARS TO CHRIST.—The 70 weeks are 490 "abbreviated," or lunar, years from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes. The seven weeks are the building under Nehemiah; in the last week Christ is baptized after three and a half years, and crucified at about the end (in the second half). Citing Jerome and Bede, he reckons the 490 lunar years, or 475 solar years, to extend to the eighteenth year of Tiberius.⁸⁹

3. FOLLOWS AUGUSTINE ON ANTICHRIST.—In chapter 11 Aquinas finds Antiochus as a type of Antichrist. He cites Jerome for a Jewish Antichrist from Babylon. This is the Man of Sin who will stand in the temple and make himself as God, pretending to be the Messiah, but secretly worshiping the devil. He will persecute the saints, and break three of the horns, but will be killed when he ascends the Mount of Olives.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 2, p. 15; chap. 7, pp. 33, 34.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. 7, p. 36.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, chaps. 8, 12, pp. 38, 40, and 58, respectively.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 9, pp. 43-45.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 11, pp. 53-55.

In the *Summa* there are scattered references to Antichrist. He is the Man of Sin, the fullness of wickedness, into whose humanity Satan infuses his wickedness by suggestion, not by personal union or indwelling. Antichrist is a "member" of the devil but is the "head" of the wicked.⁹¹ Enoch and Elijah are believed to have been taken to the earthly paradise, in the atmospheric heaven, where Adam dwelt, where they will live until the coming of Antichrist.⁹²

4. AQUINAS' VIEWS ON THE LAST THINGS.—In the posthumously edited Supplement are included the sections on last things. At the end of the age comes the second advent, with the cleansing fire which reduces to ashes the bodies of all, both bad and good, and cleanses the earth, followed by the resurrection of all and the glorification of the saints, and after the judgment the casting of the wicked into the fire for eternity.⁹³

The place of judgment will probably be the Mount of Olives, so that the Saviour will return to the earth on the spot from which He ascended.⁹⁴ The promise of sitting on twelve thrones includes all who, like the apostles, leave everything to follow Christ in "perfection of life," referring especially to voluntary poverty. And the "twelve tribes" are all the other nations, because they were called by Christ to take the place of the twelve tribes.⁹⁵ Christ will come to judgment in His glorified human body; the "sign of the Son of Man" is the sign of the cross.⁹⁶

After the sounding of the seventh trumpet comes the resurrection; then the motion of the heavenly bodies will cease, but they will be brighter, and the world will be glorified. There will be left no corruptible bodies (animals, plants, minerals, and mixed bodies), but only the elements, the heavenly bodies, and man.⁹⁷ The blessed will see God spiritually, not with the bodily

⁹¹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, part 3, question 8, art. 8, vol. 2, p. 2081.

⁹² *Ibid.*, q. 49, art. 5, p. 229, and part 1, q. 102, art. 2, vol. 1, p. 501.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, Supplement, q. 74, arts. 8, 9, and q. 76, art. 2, vol. 3, pp. 2872-2874, and 2880, respectively.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, q. 88, art. 4, p. 2933.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, q. 89, arts. 1, 2, 5, pp. 2939, 2940, 2943.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, q. 90, art. 2, p. 2947.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, q. 91, arts. 2, 3, 5, pp. 2951, 2954, 2957.

eyes, and their "many mansions" correspond to the various grades of blessedness.⁹⁸

The time of the judgment and the end of the world is reserved to God. The signs are uncertain, for, says Augustine, those mentioned in the Gospels refer also to the fall of Jerusalem and the daily spiritual coming of Christ to His church. It is impossible to fix the time by year, century, or thousand years; expressions like "the last hour" do not indicate the time, but mean the last state of the world, which is indefinite.⁹⁹ It is possible that the sun, moon, and stars may be darkened as a warning, but all the signs of the judgment are to occur within the time occupied by the judgment, after the death of Antichrist and preceding the coming of Christ.¹⁰⁰

The Augustinian thousand years constitute the present age, wherein the saints now reign with Christ; their first resurrection was that of the soul, and their bodily resurrection is future. The former calculations mentioned by Augustine—four hundred, five hundred, or one thousand years from Christ—are false; the 1260 days are indefinite, denoting the duration of the church, by analogy with Christ's ministry of three and a half years.¹⁰¹

Thus we see that Thomas Aquinas followed the old interpretation of Daniel's empires, but the Augustinian view of the Apocalypse. In spite of the fact that this eschatology was compiled from old sources, such as the fathers and the *glossa*, it is in the form of the *Summa* that these doctrines are circulated today in the Catholic Church.

IX. Scholasticism in Transition—Roger Bacon and William of Occam

The climax of the influence of scholasticism was reached with Thomas Aquinas. Then, beginning with Roger Bacon and William of Occam—although both were well versed in scholas-

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, q. 92, art. 2, q. 93, art 2, pp. 2965, 2970.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, q. 88, art. 3, p. 2937.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, q. 73, arts. 1, 2, pp. 2863, 2864.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, q. 77, arts. 1, 2, pp. 2883, 2884.

tical methods and still belonged to this period—we begin to observe a new element emerging, an urge for factual truth instead of speculative philosophizings. This finally led to a reversal of scholasticism's trend, and helped to usher in a new age. Both these men, consequently, and especially Roger Bacon, were in advance of their times, and did not receive the respect and honor due them.

I. ROGER BACON ASSAILS SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY.—BORN of wealthy parents at or near Ilchester, England, ROGER BACON (c. 1214-1274) studied at Oxford and Paris. He was influenced by Grosseteste, the famous exegete and bishop of Lincoln,¹⁰² and also by Adam Marsh. He became a noted professor, and entered the Franciscan Order. He had wonderful insight, for his time, into natural science, which he made one of his main fields of investigation. Often misunderstood, he encountered numerous difficulties. In time he was forbidden to write any further. Later he was even held under arrest in a monastery.

In 1266, by request of Pope Clement IV, he sent his *Opus Majus* to Rome, followed shortly by the *Opus Minus*, and *Opus Tertium*. In his *Opus Majus* he very frankly criticizes the evils of the current methods of study. Among these he enumerates the preponderance of speculative philosophy. Theology is a divine science, he holds. Therefore it should be based on divine principles, and not exhaust itself in hazy philosophical distinctions. He inveighs against general ignorance of the theologians of the original languages and their high regard for Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences*, and their almost complete negligence of the Holy Scripture. The Bible is an inexhaustible fountain of truth, from which all human philosophers, even the heathen, have drawn their knowledge directly or indirectly; therefore no science can be true if contrary to the Holy Writ.¹⁰³

But it is largely in the field of natural science that Bacon's light shines, in his treatises on the principles of optics, the celes-

¹⁰² See p. 621.

¹⁰³ Theophilus Witzel, "Roger Bacon," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 13, p. 114.

tial bodies, and their distances from one another. In this connection he also proves that the Julian calendar is inaccurate and urges its revision. Furthermore he computes the long-accepted crucifixion date for A.D. 33 by means of lunar tables; assuming that the later rabbinical Jewish calendar was in force back in the time of Christ, he calculates the lunar Passover date astronomically so as to put Nisan 14 on Friday.¹⁰⁴

This date was used by later prophetic expositors as a pivotal point for the seventy weeks—for it was not until some centuries later that the applicability of the rabbinical computation was challenged¹⁰⁵—but Bacon does not connect it with prophecy. Yet he evidently refers to the seventy weeks when he says, “The prophecy of Daniel by a computation of years evidently extends up to Christ; for he came after that time.”¹⁰⁶ He cites 2 Esdras 7:28, 29 for four hundred years from Ezra to Christ.¹⁰⁷

But Bacon’s prophetic interpretation is mostly incidental to his interest in natural science, such as his remark that “an equality of elements” in resurrected bodies “excludes corruption for ever.”¹⁰⁸ When he wishes to impress the leaders of Christendom with the importance of promoting experimental science as an aid to faith and a weapon against the enemies of the faith,¹⁰⁹ he says:

“The Church should consider the employment of these inventions against unbelievers and rebels, in order that it may spare Christian blood, and especially should it do so because of future perils in the times of Antichrist, which with the grace of God it would be easy to meet, if prelates and princes promoted study and investigated the secrets of nature and of art.”¹¹⁰

This is necessary, he contends, because Antichrist, like the Tartars and Saracens, will use astronomy and science; if the pope would use these means to hinder the ills of Christianity, blessings would result, and life would be prolonged.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus* (Burke trans.), vol. 1, p. 231, and table.

¹⁰⁵ The Jewish calendar problem will be discussed in Volume IV.

¹⁰⁶ *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, vol. 2, pp. 808, 809.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 809.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 624.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 632, 633.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 634.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 417, and vol. 2, p. 633.

He recommends chronology as necessary to trace the history of the world and the time of Christ, and to avoid the errors of Jews, Saracens, and those who will follow Antichrist, and says that "all wise men believe that we are not far removed from the times of Antichrist,"¹¹² but the subject needs more study.

"If the Church should be willing to consider the sacred text and prophecies, also the prophecies of the Sibyl and of Merlin, Aquila, Seston, Joachim, and many others, moreover the histories and the books of philosophers, and should order a study of the paths of astronomy, it would gain some idea of greater certainty regarding the time of Antichrist."¹¹³

Bacon describes Antichrist in terms of the old traditions concerning the races of Gog and Magog, from the north around the Black Sea, and those behind the Caspian gates of Alexander, who will break forth and devastate the world, and will exalt as God of gods "a leader [Antichrist] who will come with a foul and magical law"—the next law after that of Mohammed—and who will "destroy the other laws" and rule for a short time.¹¹⁴

2. WILLIAM OF OCCAM DENIES NEED FOR PAPACY.—The second man, likewise an Englishman, who made a deep impression upon his contemporaries, and whose influence was felt for many centuries thereafter, was WILLIAM OF OCCAM, or Ockham (c. 1280-1349). Born in Surrey and educated at Oxford, he, like Bacon, joined the Friars Minor and was a professor in both Oxford and Paris. His fame as a philosopher and logician rose to such heights that he was called the "Invincible Doctor," and in the quarrel between the Minorites and the curia, over the question of poverty, he sided with others against the pope. In 1323 he was summoned to the papal court at Avignon and imprisoned there for more than four years. Shortly before the reversal of his excommunication by John XXII, in 1328, was announced, he escaped with some other leading spirits to Italy, and found protection under Louis of Bavaria, who had broken with the Avignon authorities. As a counselor to Louis, he developed the ideas that he had already enunciated in Paris.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 417.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 289, and vol. 2, pp. 644, 645.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

Occam advocated a clear separation between spiritual and secular authorities, and tried to prove that the political pretensions of the Papacy were contrary to the will of Christ. He also contended that the Papacy itself, in its Roman and monarchical form, was not necessary to the church, which might quite as well be governed by collective authority.¹¹⁵ He aimed at a restoration of the strict form of nominalism, which held that no "universal" is a substance existing outside of the mind. At the same time he declared that scientific proof of dogma is impossible. Authority, reason, and experience are sources of religious knowledge. He was in some respects a forerunner of Luther, and Luther spoke most highly of him, calling him his "dear teacher," and declared himself to be of Occam's party.¹¹⁶ Surely all these movements were necessary in order to prepare the way for a new approach, and to make possible the Reformation destined to come in due time.

¹¹⁵ Lagarde, *op. cit.*, pp. 563, 564.

¹¹⁶ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 2, p. 193.

The Summit of Papal Power Attained

I. Three Medieval Builders of Papal Destiny

In the previous chapter our attention was focused upon two of the most important factors molding medieval life—*monasticism* and *scholasticism*. At the same time we realized how, in spite of their divergencies and their internal struggles, both were utilized to strengthen the crystallizing structure of the papal church. We now turn specifically to *ecclesiasticism* and to the three great architects of the medieval papal edifice, and consequently of the growing power of the Roman Catholic Church. They are Gregory VII (1073-1085), Innocent III (1198-1216), and Boniface VIII (1294-1303).

Despite the turbulent times, these three popes, whose pontificates were spread over a period of more than two hundred years—with each separated about a hundred years from the other—succeeded in erecting the enduring structure of the Roman church as it stands to the present time. It is true that the Roman church existed before Gregory VII, but it had a materially different physiognomy. Through Gregory its face was altered, and it became the *Roman church*, the world power. Gregory left his indelible mark upon it.

1. TREMENDOUS TRANSITION HOUR IN EUROPE.—The period of these two hundred years was filled with most momentous events. It was a time of deep religious fervor, the era of the crusades, and the establishment of the Latin kingdom in Con-

stantinople. It was a period of mighty kings and emperors, as William the Conqueror and Frederick Barbarossa, Richard the Lion-hearted and Frederick II. It was the age of the first awakening of nationalism. Philip the Fair of France is one of its representatives, and it marks the rise of the cities and the decline of the knights and feudal barons.

It was a period when recourse was had to the notorious ecclesiastical forgeries, but also a time when, dissatisfied with the existing institutions, many started out in imitation of Christ (*imitatio Christi*) as mendicant friars. It was the time of a new spiritual awakening under Joachim, and of a very real end-of-the-world expectancy, around 1260, and of fearful apprehensions regarding the terrible times to be experienced by the coming of Antichrist and the loosing of Satan. It was a time of strange fanaticism, which flared up suddenly, when thousands of penitent sinners marched through the towns lacerating their naked backs with lashes and chains. Strong lay movements started, attempting the return to apostolic simplicity, oft intermingled with erroneous notions—like that of the Albigenses.

It was a time also when the Inquisition—the first organized spy system and man hunt—started in the name of Christ. It was a time when the plague visited Europe several times, decimating its population, while hunger stalked the land. During these two centuries there climbed to the throne of Peter three men who proved entirely capable of facing the challenge of their times, of mastering the circumstances, and of shaping the destiny of the church and, indeed, of the whole Western world for centuries to come, for better or for worse.

2. GREGORY'S GRANDIOSE CONCEPT OF CHURCH.—The first, as noted, was Gregory VII, known as Hildebrand, the monk of Cluny, pope-maker and power behind the throne long before he himself took the reins into his own hands. Born near Florence and said to be of humble parentage, he went for a time to Cluny, the monastery where gathered the restless spirits who longed for a reformation of the church. There in the solitude of the dark

forests and in the seclusion of the cloister he dreamed his dream of the church as the bride of Christ the King, of the church as the executor of the divine will, the visible representative of God on earth. Therefore the church should be recognized as the highest social order in the world—higher than princes and dukes, higher than kings, higher even than the emperor. The church, in short, should rule the world.

3. CELIBACY FIRST OF THREE RADICAL "REFORMS."—But Hildebrand was not only a daydreamer; he was a practical builder. He was stern and austere, frugal in his habits, with unbending energy, and having conceived his goal, no obstacle could cause him to swerve from his objective. If the church should ever fulfill this position on earth, she must be reformed, he reasoned. She must become a unified body, with officers worthy of this high calling. She must become an *ecclesia militans*, a fighting church. She must become an army, and every soldier in it must be free from the encumbering burdens of ordinary life.

Therefore, as soon as Gregory was raised to the seat of Peter he began with his three great reforms. In March, 1074, at a synod in Rome, he opened the battle. He decreed strict celibacy for the priests, prohibited all future sacerdotal marriage, required married priests to dismiss their wives or cease to read mass, and ordered the laity not to attend their services.¹ Enforced celibacy is, of course, anti-Biblical, but celibacy had from ancient times been considered higher and more praiseworthy than marriage.

Gregory aimed to separate the clergy more definitely from the world, to withdraw them from family squabbles and disputes, to disentangle bishops from the state of private warfare, and to detach every minister of the church from all earthly bonds, so that he could give his sole allegiance to that one great spiritual body, the church. When this decree became known throughout the Western world, a storm broke out all over Europe. In Germany, Gregory was called a heretic, and a mad-

¹ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 40.

man. In France his legates were beaten and spit upon. In Spain he found very strong resistance, and even in Rome the decree could be enforced only with the greatest difficulty.² But Gregory remained unperturbed. With an iron will he enforced his decree. When princes and bishops were unwilling to enforce it, he roused the laity against the married clergy until they were driven out from their parishes, often tortured and mutilated, and their legal wives branded as harlots and their children as bastards.³

Gregory's will prevailed; celibacy became an established fact in the Roman Catholic Church, and the priest's sole attachment thenceforth became God and His representative on earth, the church. The priest became a pliable, willing instrument in the hand of whoever wielded the power in the church.

4. SIMONY AND LAY INVESTITURE ATTACKED.—His second reform was directed against the evil practice of simony; that is, selling church offices to the highest bidder—a practice against which many popes had fought in vain. Closely connected with this was Gregory's third reform, the abolishment of lay investiture. In this way Gregory thought to eradicate simony forever, and at the same time to emancipate the church from the bondage of the secular powers.

According to the feudal system, which was built upon land tenure and mutual obligation of lord and vassal, the church, which often owned a considerable portion of the land, was bound to bear the burden which such land tenure entailed. Kings and secular lords considered themselves as patrons of the church, and claimed the right of appointing and investing its officers. Thus the bishop became the vassal of the lord, had to swear allegiance to him, had to serve at the court, and had to furnish troops for the defense of the country.

In those appointments the king was often influenced by political, financial, and family considerations. And often men not at all fit for the priestly office were made bishops and abbots.

² Flick, *op. cit.*, pp. 453, 454.

³ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 42.

Many churchmen before Gregory considered this state of affairs deplorable, but it was for Gregory to snap these fetters and free the church from the bondage of the state, to make bishops and clergy subservient to the popes alone, and to claim the property of the bishoprics as the property of the church. From this it was only one step to proclaiming that the land is God's, and therefore the representative of God on earth should invest kings and emperors with their divine prerogatives.

II. Classic Example of Pope's Overbearance

This question of lay investiture quite naturally led Gregory into a head-on collision with the emperor. But Gregory was prepared for it. We all know what followed. Henry IV of Germany flatly refused to acquiesce to this papal demand. He pronounced the deposition of Gregory at the Synod of Worms in 1076. However, he did not have the power to follow up his threat, as he was himself excommunicated by the pope, and all his subjects were absolved from their allegiance to him. Here are the proud words of the "vicar" of Christ:

"I now declare in the name of the omnipotent God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that Henry, son of the Emperor Henry, is deprived of his kingdom of Germany and Italy. I do this by thy authority and in defense of the honor of thy Church, because he has rebelled against it. He who attempts to destroy the honor of the Church should be deprived of such honor as he may have held. He has refused to obey as a Christian should; he has not returned to God from whom he had wandered; he has had dealings with excommunicated persons; he has done many iniquities; he has despised the warnings which, as thou art witness, I sent to him for his salvation; he has cut himself off from thy Church, and has attempted to rend it asunder; therefore, by thy authority, I place him under the curse. It is in thy name that I curse him, that all people may know that thou art Peter, and upon thy rock the Son of the living God has built his Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."⁴

As the German Diet decided on the forfeiture of the throne, if Henry could not clear himself by February, 1077, he was forced to capitulate. Hearing that Gregory was on his way to

⁴ Ogg, *op. cit.*, p. 273; text in Michael Doeberl, *Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*, vol. 3, p. 26; see also Hardouin, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, col. 1566; and Migne, *PL*, vol. 148, cols. 74, 75.

Germany to force the issue, Henry hurried over the mountains with his wife and infant son, in one of the coldest winters, through a hostile country, and waited three days bareheaded and barefooted within the walls of Canossa, in Tuscany, Italy, before he was absolved. Gregory then revoked the ban of excommunication, and Henry took an oath fully acknowledging the papal claims.⁵

Gregory remained the victor, yet he too had overstepped his actual powers. Rebellion was rife against him, kings and barons turned away from him, and he had to flee from his eternal Rome. A counterpope was proclaimed, and Gregory died in exile, a bitter man. But in spite of his personal misfortune, the idea he had proclaimed and for which he had fought was never lost; it became the guiding star for the Roman church ever after.

III. Assumptions Expressed in "Dictatus Papae"

Gregory's conception of the nature of papal power and of the Papacy's destined place in the world is expressed in the *Dictatus Papae*, or the *Dictates of Hildebrand*. This was based on the premise that if the temporal states were too weak to be capable of rendering justice, the church should assume the management of civil government, with the right to coerce or to depose sovereigns.⁶ These pretentious points were not written by Gregory himself, as their date has been fairly well established as 1087, but in spite of the uncertainty of their authorship, they represent Pope Gregory's views as accurately as if they were written by his own hand. Here are some of the amazing claims and assumptions:

- "1. That the Roman Church was founded by God alone.
- "2. That the Roman bishop alone is properly called universal.
- "3. That he alone has the power to depose bishops and reinstate them.
- "4. That his legate, though of inferior rank, takes precedence of

⁵ Gregory's own description of the episode, translated into English, is available in Henderson, *Selected Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pages 385-388. Ogg, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-278. See also Draper, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 18-20.

⁶ Ogg, *op. cit.*, pp. 261, 262.

all bishops in council, and may give sentence of deposition against them.

"5. That the Pope has the power to depose [bishops] in their absence.

"6. That we should not even stay in the same house with those who are excommunicated by him. . . .

"8. That he alone may use the imperial insignia.

"9. That the Pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes. . . .

"11. That the name which he bears belongs to him alone.

"12. That he has the power to depose emperors.

"13. That he may if necessity require, transfer bishops from one see to another. . . .

"16. That no general synod may be called without his consent.

"17. That no action of a synod, and no book, may be considered canonical without his authority.

"18. That his decree can be annulled by no one, and that he alone may annul the decrees of any one.

"19. That he can be judged by no man.

"20. That no one shall dare to condemn a person who appeals to the apostolic See. . . .

"22. That the Roman Church has never erred, nor ever, by the testimony of Scripture, shall err, to all eternity. . . .

"26. That no one can be considered Catholic who does not agree with the Roman Church.

"27. That he [the Pope] has the power to absolve the subjects of unjust rulers from their oath of fidelity."⁷

IV. Innocent III, the Master of Christendom

One hundred years had to pass before another pope of equal caliber to Gregory VII ascended the papal throne. He was a young man—only thirty-seven years of age—from the illustrious family of the Count of Segni, and named Lothario. He was destined to become Innocent III, the most powerful of all the pontiffs and the achiever of that daring goal of theocratic rule over all the world which Gregory VII had envisioned. Under him the Papacy reached its culmination—the peak of controlling power. He had been ordained a priest but a single day prior to the placing of the tiara upon his head, having previously

⁷ *Dictatus Papae*, in Ogg, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-264. Text in Doeberl, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pp. 17, 18. NOTE: It should be observed that Justinian's recognition of the Roman bishop's headship of all the churches is here reiterated in (2); also, the exclusive use of the imperial insignia, based on the "Donation of Constantine" in (8); that this is the first claim to exclusive right to the use of the title pope, once applied to all bishops (J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, vol. 1, p. 274), in (11); and that claim is explicitly made to authority over the highest temporal power, in (12).

served as cardinal, archdeacon, and chief adviser to the pope.

Innocent III ruled from 1198 to 1216. He had studied law in Paris and Bologna, and was not only a conspicuous scholar, but a man born to rule. It has been said that Gregory was the Julius Caesar, but Innocent III was the Augustus of the papal empire. The ambitious scheme that Gregory VII had projected, Innocent actually brought to realization. In fact, in sheer audacity he surpassed Gregory. Under him the see of Peter became the throne of the world, and from his chancery letters to kings and rulers, cardinals and bishops went forth almost daily. He brought all Europe under his heel.

"Order, method, unswerving resolution, inexorable determination, undaunted self-assertion, patience, vigilance, and cunning, all co-operating to the accomplishment of a single well-defined object—and that object the unlimited extension of the political power of the Pontiff of Rome—had achieved a signal triumph over the irregular, the selfish, and the impulsive political opposition of the secular powers."⁸

He contended that not only the *whole church* was entrusted to Peter⁹ but the *whole world* as well. That is, the pope was not only the vicar of Christ, but even the vicar of God on earth¹⁰—thereby meaning that through Christ spiritual power over souls was bestowed upon him, but as vicar of God, who is the ruler of the universe, temporal power as well was vested in him. And to enhance this claim he used, with tremendous effect, two terrible weapons at his disposal. One was excommunication; the other, the interdict.

I. TERRORS OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND INTERDICT.—*Excommunication* meant that a private individual who came under its condemnation was thereby made a social outcast. None was allowed to give him shelter, and he was not only excluded from all legal protection but was likewise deprived of the sacraments of the church. And as life eternal, according to medieval belief, was possible only by partaking of the sacraments, the person ex-

⁸ Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, vol. 5, pp. 321-368, quoted in Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 566.

⁹ Innocent III, Letter to Patriarch of Constantinople, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 214, cols. 759, 760.

¹⁰ Innocent III, Letter to Bishop Faventin, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 214, col. 292.

communicated was thereby consigned to perdition. By now the life of the layman, whether king or serf, was completely in the hands of his father confessor.

The other weapon was the *interdict*, which was directed against a city, a region, or a kingdom. It was used to force a ruler to obedience. All religious rites, except baptism and confession, were suspended. It practically stopped all civil government, for the courts of justice were closed, wills could not be made out, and public officials of all kinds were forbidden to function. It lay like a dread curse over the land or the city.¹¹ Under Innocent it began to be employed for political purposes as well. This is illustrated in the well-known papal conflicts with Philip Augustus of France and John of England, both of whom were brought to submission through interdicts, the latter being deposed and forced to surrender his kingdom to the pope and receive it back under annual payment as a feudal fief held in vassalage to the pope.¹²

2. SUMMONS FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL (1215).—But even more important than his almost unrestricted political sway over Europe, were his unceasing endeavors to increase the religious power of the Latin church. In this field the crowning event of his life was the summoning of the Fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, the most splendid gathering of its kind held for many centuries. Four hundred and twelve bishops and eight hundred abbots and priors attended, as well as a large number of delegates representing absent prelates. Representatives of Emperor Frederick II, Emperor Henry of Constantinople, and the kings of England, France, Aragon, Hungary, and Jerusalem, and other crowned heads were likewise present.¹³

3. TRANSUBSTANTIATION ESTABLISHED.—Among many other actions two of utmost importance were taken. One was the exact definition and canonization of the dogma of *transubstantiation*. Thenceforth any divergent definition of the dogma of the

¹¹ Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 578.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 551-555; Ogg, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

¹³ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, pp. 174, 175.

Eucharist would be heresy. The other was the legalization of the Inquisition.¹⁴

Transubstantiation means that the actual body and blood of Christ are truly contained in the sacraments of the altar, under the mere forms of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood of Christ by divine power exercised by the priest.¹⁵ This is not the place to enlarge upon the subtle reasoning of the churchmen over the fine points of this dogma. However, the end result stands out clearly—it increased the power of the priest to its utmost limit, and made him the sole mediator between God and the people.

This was because his ministering hands alone were regarded as able to work this supreme miracle, to transform the bread and the wine into the real body and blood of Jesus Christ, recreating, so to speak, the Son of God in order that the faithful might partake of His real body, without which there was no salvation. Thus, in reality, the “keys” of heaven and hell were placed in the hands of the priest. That is precisely what the church has been teaching ever since. In the works of St. Alphonse de Liguori, of the eighteenth century, we read:

“The dignity of the priest is also estimated from the power that he has over the real and the mystic body of Jesus Christ.

“With regard to the power of priests over the real body of Jesus Christ, it is of faith that when they pronounce the words of consecration the Incarnate Word has obliged himself to obey and to come into their hands under the sacramental species. We are struck with wonder when we hear that God obeyed the voice of Josue. . . . But our wonder should be far greater when we find that in obedience to the words of his priests—*Hoc est Corpus Meum*—God himself descends on the altar, that he comes wherever they call him, and as often as they call him, and places himself in their hands, even though they should be his enemies. And after having come, he remains, entirely at their disposal; they move him as they please, from one place to another; they may, if they wish, shut him up in the tabernacle, or expose him on the altar, or carry him outside the church; they may if they choose, eat his flesh, and give him for the food of others. . . .

“Never [here he quotes St. Laurence Justinian] did divine goodness give such power to the angels. The angels abide by the order of God, but

¹⁴ Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

¹⁵ David S. Schäff, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 714.

the priests take him in their hands, distribute him to the faithful, and partake of him as food for themselves.' " ¹⁶

4. THE INQUISITION ESTABLISHED BY COUNCIL ACTION.—The action second in importance taken by the Fourth Lateran Council, under Innocent's guiding hand, was the canonical establishment of the Inquisition, or the systematizing of persecution of heresy by council action, the work of extermination being denominated "sacred," for the prosecutors were called the "Holy Office." The fight against heretics had been a long-established practice in the Roman church. But now it was thoroughly fixed by the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council. Previously the Synod of Tours in 1163 had introduced the beginnings of inquisitorial methods, and had forbidden Catholics to mingle with the Albigenses. But it was left for Innocent III to institute the "Holy Office," as the Inquisition was called.

In his famous opening sermon at this notable council of 1215, Innocent employed the vivid symbolism of Ezekiel 9—the man clad in linen applying to the pope passing through the church and seeking out the righteous, to set a mark upon them. And the six men, with the slaughter weapons, were the bishops who punish all not thus marked with the ban and with death.¹⁷

Having thus clearly indicated the action he wished taken, Innocent III opened the third canon adopted with an anathema upon heretics of all names. It enjoins princes to swear to protect the faith, on pain of losing their lands. The same indulgences were proffered to those taking part in the extermination of heretics as for those participating in the crusades. Bishops were instructed to make the rounds of their dioceses at least once a year for the express purpose of searching out heresy.¹⁸

Although presumably acting upon the principle of keeping the faith pure, the church assumed a power which did not belong to her. She set brother against brother. She invaded the sanctity of the realm of conscience, and set in motion a move-

¹⁶ Alphonsus de Liguori, *Dignity and Duties of the Priest*, pp. 26, 27.

¹⁷ Innocent III, Sermon in the 4th Lateran Council, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 217, cols. 676-678.

¹⁸ Fourth Lateran Council, canon 3, in H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, pp. 242-244; see also Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal, *A Source Book for Mediaeval History*, pp. 208-215; David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 520.

ment that resulted in the indescribable agony of countless millions, and the shedding of veritable streams of blood. The very result as became evident in subsequent times was extermination of the Albigenses, to be followed by the slaughter of unnumbered Waldenses, of the Moriscos in Spain, and later of thousands of Protestants over Europe. And all this in the name of Christ, the most compassionate!

5. LEAVES CHURCH AT PINNACLE OF POWER.—Shortly after the close of the council Innocent died, being only fifty-six years of age, but leaving the papal church at the very summit of her power, and having strengthened her foundations as far as earthly wisdom could devise. Thus by the time of Innocent's death the theocratic principle was fully established. It was then generally conceded that the bishop of Rome was the representative of God on earth, that the pope and priesthood really constituted the visible church, and that the title of the church to its possessions was invulnerable. It was likewise conceded that the pope is the ultimate judge in all spiritual matters, and the dispenser of temporal honors, the sole guardian of the faith and the supreme judge of secular matters, with power to repress and extirpate gainsayers.¹⁹

"No other wearer of the papal tiara has left behind him so many results pregnant with good and ill for the future of the Church. Under him the Papacy reached the culmination of its secular power and prerogatives. The principles of sacerdotal government were fully and intelligently elaborated. The code of ecclesiastical law was completed and enforced. All the Christian princes of Europe were brought to recognise the overlordship of the successor of St. Peter. All the clergy obeyed his will as the one supreme law. Heresy was washed out in blood. The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and the dreams of Hildebrand had been realised. Yet in this very greatness, wealth, and strength, were the germs of weakness and disease which were eventually to overthrow the great structure reared by Innocent III. and his predecessors."²⁰

6. INNOCENT'S INTERPRETATION OF "BEAST" AND "666."—A word as to Innocent's pontifical interpretation of prophecy

¹⁹ Milman, *Latin Christianity*, book 9, chap. 1, vol. 5, pp. 168-175; David Hume, *The History of England*, vol. 1, chap. 11.

²⁰ Flick, *op. cit.*, pp. 566, 567.

is in order. In his Convocatory Bull, to this Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, Innocent gave new impetus to the crusaders by stating that Mohammed was clearly the Man of Sin, and that his kingdom would last 666 years. Here is Innocent's interpretation:

"There has arisen a certain son of perdition, the false prophet Mahomet [Machometus], who by worldly allurements and carnal pleasures has turned many from the truth; and though his imposture still continues to flourish, yet we trust in the Lord, who has already granted us a sign for good, that the end of this Beast is drawing near; for his number, according to the Apocalypse of John, is limited to 666, and will soon be brought to an end by the operation of the sevenfold Spirit, who, with the flame of charity, will rekindle the hearts of the faithful, now growing cold: for of that number nearly six hundred years are now elapsed."²¹

Quite apart from the truth or error of interpretation involved, two points should be noted in passing: First, Innocent spelled Mohammed's name *Machometus*, showing that he was not trying to derive the name from the numerical value of the letters—as did others with "Maomet" after the revival of Greek learning—but made the 666 mean years. Second, he interpreted the Beast not as an individual of brief duration, but as a power and empire, both secular and spiritual, already in existence some 600 years—contrary to the usual Catholic teaching concerning the Beast as Antichrist, conceived to be a single individual. And, third, Innocent places the beginning of the Beast's period back in the seventh century, instead of wholly in the future for three and a half years, as had then become customary. Such is an interesting interpretation of the Papacy's most powerful pope.

Thus the age of Innocent III ended. He was never surpassed by any of his successors. Perhaps Boniface VIII surpassed him, although not in greatness, but only in sheer audacity.

This was the peak of papal achievement in world affairs, which very attainment drove men to a restudy of inspired prophecy to find the meaning of it all.

²¹ English translation in Charles Maitland, *op. cit.*, p. 325; for the original Latin see Innocent III, *Regesta*, book 16, year 1213, Letter 28 in Migne, *PL*, vol. 216, col. 818.

V. Boniface VIII Sets the Capstone of Presumption

Nearly another century had passed since the reign of Innocent III. Papal power was at its culmination point, the church of Christ virtually ruling the world with a rod of iron. But that very assumption of world rulership made many wonder whether it were still the true church of Christ, or whether another power had taken possession of the church, and was now ruling under a pious guise. Movements like those of Joachim of Floris, the Spirituals, and the Waldenses had sprung into prominence, looking and earnestly hoping for a new age, or a reformation of the church, or a new beginning in simplicity and purity.

Finally, on April 4, 1294, the hermit Peter di Murrhone was raised to the papal throne and occupied it as Celestine V. Clad in his monkish habit, and riding on an ass, he proceeded from his mountain retreat to Aquila, where he was crowned.²² He was a person of simplicity and of great humility, his sole desire being the salvation of the souls of men. All the spiritually-minded at this time hoped that now the longed-for *papa angelicus* had appeared. But, alas, Celestine was unable to cope with the wickedness of the world and with the intrigues and machinations that always surrounded the see of Rome. He soon sensed his incompetence, and thinking that he might even lose his own soul, he abdicated, an unheard-of step for a pope to take.

1. BONIFACE MOUNTS PAPAL THRONE IN SPLENDOR.—The one who followed Celestine V was an old man, nearly eighty years of age, yet full of vigor, assumptive and vainglorious, overbearing and implacable, and destitute of spiritual ideals. He was from the house of Gaetani, and carved his place in history under the name of BONIFACE VIII (1294-1303). He rode to the Lateran not on an ass but on a white palfrey, with a crown on his head, robed in full pontificals. Two sovereigns walked by his side—the kings of Naples and Hungary. The festivities were of unusual splendor.²³

²² David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 208.

²³ *Ibid.*, part 2, p. 10.

Putting forward claims that surpassed in arrogance those of either Gregory VII or Innocent III, he found it impossible to make them good. Citing Jeremiah 1:10 as authority for disinheriting kings and transferring kingdoms, he claimed to be the final arbiter of the disputes of Christendom. In the "preamble of a Bull giving away the island of Sardinia," Boniface states: "Being set above kings and princes by a divine pre-eminence of power, we dispose of them as we think fit."²⁴

2. PAPACY'S MOST PRESUMPTUOUS BULL.—His were the most presumptuous claims ever made by any pontiff, not so much that these were substantially new, but never before were they set forth with such clearness and actual bluntness as appears in Boniface's famous bull, *Unam Sanctam*. In it, says Schaff, "the arrogance of the papacy finds its most naked and irritating expression."²⁵ This bull was issued by Boniface on November 18, 1302, during his historic struggle with Philip the Fair, of France, though the struggle had begun back in 1296. And although it was written in powerful phrasings, it did not have the desired effect upon the stubborn king of France, as will be noted shortly.²⁶

3. UNPARALLELED CLAIMS OF UNAM SANCTAM.—This bull, in fact, establishes the authority of the Papacy over princes in its extreme form. It gives her the full right to wield both swords, and it proclaims everyone outside the Roman church to be a heretic. Here are some of those high claims given verbatim. The *Unam Sanctam* begins thus:

"Unam sanctam ecclesiam catholicam et ipsam apostolicam urgente fide credere cogimur et tenere, . . . extra quam nec salus est, nec remissio peccatorum." "Urged on by our faith, we are obliged to believe and hold that there is one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church. . . . Outside of her there is no salvation nor remission of sins."²⁷

²⁴ Decretals of Gregory, book 1, title 33, chap. 6, translated in Salmon, *Infallibility*, p. 461.

²⁵ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 2, p. 20.

²⁶ Oswald J. Reichel, *The See of Rome in the Middle Ages*, pp. 275-278.

²⁷ The Latin, as well as the English translation, is taken from David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 2, pp. 25-28 (see also *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Extravagantes Communes, book 1, title 8, chap. 1).

The second paragraph of the English translation continues:

"That in her and within her power are two swords, we are taught in the Gospels, namely, the spiritual sword and the temporal sword. For when the Apostles said, 'Lo, here,'—that is, in the Church,—are two swords, the Lord did not reply to the Apostles 'it is too much,' but 'it is enough.' It is certain that whoever denies that the temporal sword is in the power of Peter, hearkens ill to the words of the Lord which he spake, 'Put up thy sword into its sheath.' Therefore, both are in the power of the Church, namely, the spiritual sword and the temporal sword; the latter is to be used for the Church, the former by the Church; the former by the hand of the priest, the latter by the hand of princes and kings; but at the nod and sufferance of the priest. . . .

"But this authority, although it be given to a man, and though it be exercised by a man, is not a human but a divine power given by divine word of mouth to Peter and confirmed to Peter and to his successors by Christ himself. . . . Whoever, therefore, resists this power so ordained by God, resists the ordinance of God, unless perchance he imagine two principles to exist, as did Manichæus, which we pronounce false and heretical."²⁸

And then comes the final climactic statement:

"Porro subesse Romano Pontifici OMNI HUMANAË CREATURAE declaramus dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis." "Furthermore, that EVERY HUMAN CREATURE is subject to the Roman pontiff,—this we declare, say, define, and pronounce to be altogether necessary to salvation."²⁹

4. CLAIMS CHAMPIONED TO THIS DAY.—Through the issuance of this bull the guiding principles of the church of Rome were fully set forth. It was not merely an outburst of medieval pompousness in bombastic grandiloquence, but a bull that the Roman church is proud to claim as declaring her basic principles to this very day. In the *Catholic Encyclopedia* we find:

"The question has been raised whether it be lawful for the Church, not merely to sentence a delinquent to physical penalties, but itself to

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 27. The Latin is on pages 27, 28 as follows:

"In hac ejusque potestate duos esse gladios, spirituales videlicet et temporalem, evangelicis dictis instruimur. Nam dicentibus Apostolis: Ecce gladii duo hic [Luke 22:38], in ecclesia scilicet, cum apostoli loquerentur, non respondit Dominus, nimis esse, satis. Certe qui in potestate Petri temporalem gladium esse negat, male verbum attendit Domini proferentis: Converte gladium tuum in vaginam. [Matt. 26:52.] Uterque ergo est in potestate ecclesiae, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem pro ecclesia, ille vero ab ecclesia exercendus, ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis. . . .

"Est autem haec auctoritas, etsi data sit homini, et exerceatur per hominem non humana, sed potius divina potestas, ore divino Petro data, sibi que suisque successoribus in ipso Christo. . . . Quicumque igitur huic potestati a Deo sic ordinatae resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit, nisi duo, sicut Manichæus, fingat esse principia, quod falsum et haereticum judicamus."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 27. (Small capitals not in the original.)

inflict these penalties. As to this, it is sufficient to note that the right of the Church to invoke the aid of the civil power to execute her sentences is expressly asserted by Boniface VIII in the Bull 'Unam Sanctam.'"³⁰

5. CLAIMS PREROGATIVES OF CAESAR.—Boniface had his legates all over Europe, and in his political deals he sought to carry into practice what he had set down in writing. When the ambassadors of Albert I, the newly elected German emperor, requested the papal sanction, Boniface VIII is said to have received them, seated on a throne, having a crown on his head and wearing a sword. He exclaimed, "I, I am the emperor."³¹ Is it to be wondered at that the prophecy of Daniel concerning the Little Horn speaking great things was already finding a new and ready explanation?³²

6. ANAGNI BECOMES COUNTERPART TO CANOSSA.—But in the conflict with Philip the Fair, of France, Boniface went too far, and met his match. Philip was not disposed to give way to the papal demands. Before Anagni, Boniface's native city—to which he had withdrawn with his cardinals to escape the summer heat of Rome—Philip's keeper of the seals appeared at the head of a troop of armed men, and the cry resounded, "Death to Pope Boniface! Long live the King of France!" The people sided with the soldiers, and the cardinals fled in terror.

Boniface, however, put on the stole of St. Peter, placed the imperial crown upon his head, and with the keys of St. Peter in one hand and the cross in the other, planted himself on the papal throne. The people soon reversed themselves, the French were driven out, and Boniface was again at liberty; but never again did he have such extensive sway over the earthly rulers.³³

So the decline of the medieval Papacy as the supreme ruler and arbiter of Europe really began with Boniface VIII. Could his ambitious claims have been made good, the power of the empire would have shifted over to the Papacy, with supremacy

³⁰ G. H. Joyce, "Pope," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 12, p. 266.

³¹ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 2, p. 13.

³² See pages 796 ff.

³³ Reichel, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-278.

over the state system of Europe. But it was not to be. Anagni was the dramatic counterpart to Canossa.³⁴

In 1300 Boniface had also established the jubilee year, in which heaps of gold and silver were brought in by the pilgrims in the hope of gaining indulgences. This abuse was aggravated by the frauds that were soon introduced into the traffic.

VI. Papal Exploits Induce Prophetic Application

It was during these epochal centuries of the Middle Ages, when the power of the Papacy was mounting ever higher and higher, its spiritual claims more extravagant, its rule more intolerant, and its audacious assumptions more and more daring, that a new concept of its character began to dawn on an increasing number of clerics in different lands.

The papal theory that made the pope alone the representative of God on earth, the overlord of emperors, was claimed through succession from Peter,³⁵ and supported by arguments from the power of the keys, the forged Donation of Constantine, the coronation of Pepin and of Charlemagne, and from such figures as sun and moon, body and soul.

"It was upheld by Nicholas I., Hildebrand., Alexander III., Innocent III., and culminated with Boniface VIII. at the jubilee of 1300 when, seated on the throne of Constantine, girded with the imperial sword, wearing a crown, and waving a sceptre, he shouted to the throng of loyal pilgrims: 'I am Caesar—I am Emperor.'"³⁶

It was this unveiling of the Papacy's real character and obvious aims that caused spiritually-minded monks and abbots, as well as bishops and archbishops, to cry out, one after another, against these unconcealable papal departures from earlier simplicity and purity. It was these that impelled strong men to protest her advancing encroachments upon the rights of men and the prerogatives of God, and eventually to apply increasingly to her those prophetic symbols—such as the Mystery of Iniquity, Man of Sin, Beast, Babylon, Harlot, and Antichrist.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 409, 410, 277.

³⁵ James T. Shotwell and Louise R. Loomis, *The See of Peter*, pp. xxiii, xxiv. For the early development of the Petrine theory, see the source documents and discussions comprising the whole volume.

³⁶ Flick, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

It was during this peak of the Papacy that we shall find Eberhard calling the see of Rome the fateful Little Horn of the prophet Daniel, in chapter 7, which is described as overthrowing kings, treading down the whole earth, wearing out the saints, and speaking "great words against the most High."

One after another among the most learned and godly of her sons—with hearts breaking because of her unconcealable departures, and minds horrified by her bold trampling of the right and her relentless drift from God—not only spoke out against it all, but wrote it down in searing words, that all men might read and heed their application of those vivid symbols and epithets to the now clearly corrupted church of Rome. These increasing voices we shall note with considerable fullness in the remaining chapters of this volume and still further in Volume II.

Furthermore, this rising tide of protest was found not only *within* the church—scattered all the way from Britain in the north down to Italy in the south, and from France in the west clear across the expansive face of Europe—but *outside*, among such dissentients as the Waldenses, who had about the clearest perception of all, as will shortly be seen. And even among the Jews the conviction came to be expressed by one famous Jew, Don Isaac Abravanel, before the Reformation had formulated its clear position, that the Little Horn of Daniel 7 was none other than the "rule of the pope."³⁷ Such was the threefold cord of testimony to the prophetic significance of the Papacy.

So it was clearly the audacious acts and mounting arrogance of the Papacy herself that drew forth these indicting applications of prophecy to her ambitious career. It can therefore be summarized that it was the cumulative effect of the pontificates of Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII that brought about a new phase of prophetic interpretation, which now centered in the identification of the Antichrist of prophecy under its multiple names, which were all alike applied to one and the same power—the Roman Papacy.

³⁷ See *Prophetic Faith*, vol. 2, pp. 223-229.

Joachim of Floris— New Interpretation

With JOACHIM OF FLORIS (Flora, or Fiore) we reach the most outstanding figure among the medieval expositors of prophecy. With him we definitely come to a turning point. The old Tichonius tradition, which had held rather undisputed sway for seven hundred years, is now replaced with a completely new concept. Born near Cosenza, Italy, about 1130, Joachim became abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Corace, from 1178 to 1188, founded his own order with the approval of the pope, and died in his own monastery, San Giovanni di Fiore, in 1202. These are the incontestable facts of his life. His pilgrimage to Jerusalem and his travels to Constantinople may well have taken place, but their actuality has not been fully established, according to some. As abbot and scholar, not as politician, Joachim had close contact with three popes—Lucius III, Urban III, and Clement III—as well as with the imperial court under Henry VI.¹

The impetus given to prophetic interpretation by Joachim, together with the completeness and availability of his authentic writings, calls for greater adequacy of discussion and citation than is customary in this period. To Joachim, then, we now turn to understand the man, his times, and his contributions. He is important not only contemporarily, for the new era that he introduced, but for his far-reaching influence upon exposition for centuries to come.

¹ H. Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Floris*, p. 13.

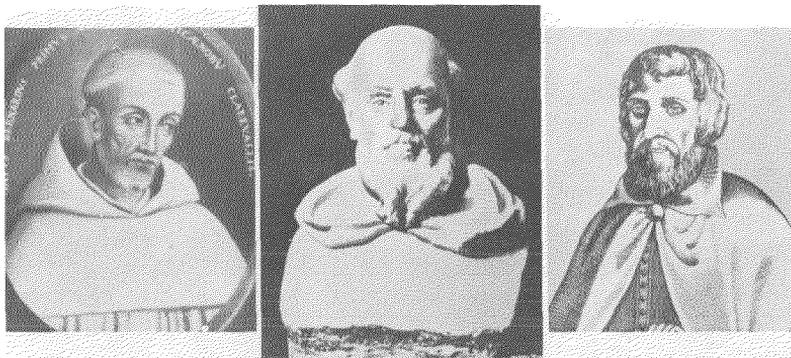


MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED TREATISES OF JOACHIM OF FLORIS

Manuscript Copy of Joachim's *Concordia* (Upper Left); Printed Edition of Pseudo Joachim on *Isaiah* (Upper Right); Joachim on the Apocalypse (Lower Left); Joachimite Treatises Reflecting Joachim's Teachings (Lower Right); Joachim's *Concordia* (Printed), First to Apply Year-Day Principle to the 1260 Days (Bottom)

I. Outstanding Expositor of the Middle Ages

I. CALLED AND SET APART TO PROPHETIC EXPOSITION.— Joachim gained far greater repute as an expounder of prophecy than any other personage of the Middle Ages. Indeed, in the later Joachimite school of prophetic interpretation a unique restoration of prophecy to power and influence took place ac-



THREE GREAT MEDIEVAL FIGURES

Illustrious Spokesmen on Prophecy From the Middle Ages—Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), Joachim of Floris (d. 1202), and Arnold of Villanova (d. c. 1313). See Pages 632, 743 ff. for Bernard and Villanova

companied by a remarkable penetration into ecclesiastical and even secular literature. Strange as his teachings may seem to modern ears in many respects, certain major points nevertheless continued for centuries to influence the minds of men respecting the divine counsels. Not only the "Joachimites" and the Spiritual Franciscans, but also Dante, Wyclif, Cusa, Huss, and some of the Reformers were definitely molded by certain principles enunciated by Joachim.²

Joachim formed one of the first links of a long spiritual chain extending through St. Francis, the Spirituals with their apocalypticism and poverty, and on "to the later forms of

² Döllinger, *Prophecies*, p. 106; W. Beveridge, "Joachimites," Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, p. 567.

ascetic, mystic, and antiecclesiastical movements that preceded the Reformation and even persisted afterwards.”³

Joachim is said to have been by turns a courtier, traveler, missionary, and contemplative hermit. He made a pilgrimage in early life to the Holy Land⁴ at a time when Jerusalem was still held by the successors of the Crusaders, though threatened by the surrounding Moslems. According to the account of this early visit, he was converted after seeing some calamity, possibly a pestilence; and this pilgrimage had a definite influence on his interest in prophecy—indeed, it was there that the conception of a call to the exposition of prophecy first came to him.⁵

Born of wealthy parents, Joachim was, in his youth, introduced to the court of Roger II of Sicily. But after a short residence there he broke away in disgust and went on his pilgrimage to Egypt and the Holy Land, retracing Christ's footsteps and giving himself over to severe ascetic exercises. On his return Joachim joined the Cistercian monks, first as a lay brother and volunteer preacher, and finally as a priest and abbot.⁶

About 1177 he became abbot of the Cistercian Abbey at Corazzo. Having already entered upon a period of intense Bible study and contemplation, especially in the interpretation of the hidden meaning of Scripture, Joachim found the duties of his office an intolerable hindrance to this higher calling. In 1182 he appealed to Pope Lucius III to relieve him of the temporal care of the abbey, and obtained permission to dwell in any Cistercian house.

2. RETIRES FROM ABBACY TO PURSUE STUDIES.—Already noted for his Scriptural “research and explication,” Joachim, with express permission from the pope, retired from the abbacy,

³ George La Piana, “Joachim of Flora: A Critical Study,” *Speculum*, April, 1932 (vol. 7, no. 2), pp. 259, 260.

⁴ Buonaviti has pointed out that this controverted pilgrimage to Jerusalem is proved by a statement of Joachim himself, in his book on the four Gospels. (Ernesto Buonaviti, Introduction, p. xxii, and footnote, p. 93, in his modern edition of Joachim, *Tractatus Super Quatuor Evangelia*.)

⁵ Edmund G. Gardner, “Joachim of Flora,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8, p. 406.

⁶ Coulton, *Five Centuries*, vol. 2, pp. 114, 115.

and gave himself exclusively to his studies at the Abbey of Casamari, where the monk Lucas—afterward archbishop of Cosenza—was assigned as secretary. Day and night Lucas and two other monks assisted Joachim as scribes on the three major works upon which he was engaged simultaneously. For a year and a half he applied himself to "dictating and correcting," though continuing to perfect the books until the time of his death. These writings were *Liber Concordiae Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* (Book of the Harmony of the New and Old Testament), *Expositio . . . in Apocalipsim* (Exposition of the Apocalypse), and *Psalterium Decem Cordarum* (Psaltery of Ten Strings).

Two other popes—Urban III, in 1185, and Clement III, in 1187—urged him to complete his work and submit it to the Holy See. In 1192 he was summoned by the Cistercian leaders to appear to answer the charge of apostasy.⁷ Later, with the approval of Celestine III, Joachim founded a new monastery of stricter rule at Fiore, or Flora (in the instep of the Italian boot), which became the center of thirty or forty monasteries.⁸ In 1200 Joachim publicly submitted his writings to the examination of Innocent III, but died before any judgment was passed.

It is still an unsettled question whether Joachim attained great fame during his lifetime,⁹ but after his death his influence rose on the crest of the Franciscan wave. He had a high reputation as an expositor and was even revered by many as a prophet.

3. DISCUSSIONS WITH KINGS AND PRELATES.—It was inevitable that in later years traditions should cluster about Joachim. In these traditions Joachim was assumed to have exercised a powerful influence over important personages, secular as well as ecclesiastical. According to Roger de Hoveden, his reputation at length reached the ears of Richard I, called the Lion-hearted, king of England, who resolved to hear for him-

⁷ J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 340.

⁸ Henry Bett, *Joachim of Flora*, pp. 16, 17.

⁹ La Piana, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

self, and engaged Joachim in discussion over the interpretation of the prophecies.¹⁰ Both Richard the Lion-hearted and Philip Augustus of France, on their way through the Mediterranean to the Holy Land for the Third Crusade, in 1190, are said to have held conferences with Joachim at Messina, wherein Richard was greatly impressed by the prophecies of the Apocalypse. And in 1191, it might be remarked, Sicily was a halfway house for the crusading princes. Another story relates that Joachim caused Henry VI to desist from his cruelties, and that Henry requested him to expound the prophecy of Jeremiah.¹¹

English and French bishops of high standing were said to have sought his advice, and his predictions were said to have caused a great stir, even in the distant north, before his writings were widely known. Perhaps his contemporaries knew that he was said to have declared to the king of England and his bishops that an Antichrist would soon appear, and would usurp the papal chair.

Hoveden gives this sketch of the views expounded during Richard's visit with Joachim. Revelation 12 and 17 were under discussion. The symbolic woman of Revelation 12, Joachim asserted, is the church, clothed with Christ, the Sun of Righteousness. The church's head, crowned with twelve stars, is Christ, whose crown is the Catholic faith preached by the twelve apostles. The dragon is the devil, working principally through seven persecuting powers—Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mohammed, Melsermut, Saladin, who at that time possessed Jerusalem, and Antichrist. These seven are also the heads of the beast in Revelation 17. Saladin, Joachim averred, will lose the Holy City within seven years of the capture of Jerusalem, and Antichrist, the last of the seven, is already born in the city of Rome, and is to be elevated to the Apostolic See in fulfillment of 2 Thessalonians 2:4.¹²

¹⁰ Roger de Hoveden, *Annals*, entry for 1190, vol. 2, pp. 176-180.

¹¹ J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 340. This evidently refers to the pseudo-Joachim commentary on Jeremiah long ascribed to him.

¹² Hoveden, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 177, 178; see also Paul Fournier, *Etudes sur Joachim de Flore et ses doctrines*, p. 5, note 2. Fournier does not endorse Hoveden's account, but considers it an exaggeration or distortion of Joachim's thought by later narrators.

Richard replied with the usual concept of Antichrist as a Jew, from the tribe of Dan, to reign in the temple at Jerusalem.¹³ A number of bishops and other learned ecclesiastics joined in the controversy. Many arguments were adduced on both sides, the matter remaining undecided.¹⁴ Thus the keen interest in prophecy engendered by Joachim's innovations in exposition is attested. Significantly enough, it was the concern of eminent statesmen as well as of churchmen.

4. ONLY A STUDENT WITH KEEN UNDERSTANDING.—Dante (d. 1321) voiced the general opinion of his age that Joachim had been "endowed with prophetic spirit." But Joachim himself asserted that he was no prophet, in the proper sense of that term; that he had only the spirit of understanding, of deep penetration and knowledge, or of rightly interpreting the prophetic content of the Old and New Testaments, and of construing the course of events in the world and the church from the prophecies, types, and analogies of the Bible.¹⁵

According to Döllinger,¹⁶ Joachim was a keen theologian, trained in careful study of the Scriptures, although in order to make his writing appear to have come from special illumination, others maintained that he was destitute of scholastic training. But Buonaiuti rejects the traditional view that Joachim was a noble, and regards him as having risen from the peasantry. He bases this on Joachim's calling himself a *homo agricola* (a farmer) from his youth up.¹⁷ Certainly Joachim's mystic or spiritual illumination did not take the place of study, but rather led to closer examination of Scripture. The mystics, it might be added, claimed to see divine truth through the inner vision of the soul, by reflecting, brooding, and waiting for light. Joachim, and the Joachimite school that followed the trail that he blazed, exemplified Mysticism, believing that the world was growing old, and that the time of her change was at hand.

¹³ Hoveden, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 179.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

¹⁵ Döllinger, *Prophecies*, p. 107; J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 340, 341.

¹⁶ Döllinger, *Prophecies*, p. 106.

¹⁷ Cited in La Piana, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

Later Joachim was variously adjudged. He was called a pseudo prophet by Baronius, but he was supported by early papal approbation of his works; his prophetic teachings were not disparaged by the Fourth Lateran Council's condemnation of his teaching concerning the *Trinity* (1215). Half a century after his death his teachings were condemned by a French council (Arles, 1260), but they were never condemned by a pope.¹⁸

Although his writings made little impression during his lifetime, thirty years after his death he became the oracle of his time, and continued to hold the place of paramount interest in wide circles for about a century thereafter. His two principal books were printed in Venice in 1519 and 1527 respectively, but no longer occasioned any unusual notice. In the nineteenth century he was so little known that some scholars denied that he had ever written anything, and others attributed to him many of his followers' writings of a much later date. Thorough investigation by Denifle and others, and more recently by Grundmann and Buonaiuti, has sifted the evidence so that we are now able to get a true picture of his writings and his influence.

To sum it up briefly: Joachim was the turning point marking the return of the historical view of prophecy as opposed to the Tichonius-Augustine view.

In Joachim we find "a typical and complete renaissance of the apocalyptic spirit with which the early Christian generations were saturated"; his motives were not primarily theological, but he used whatever theology was concerned with his interpretation of history.¹⁹

II. Joachim Restores Historical View

1. AUGUSTINE AND THE CHURCH'S SOVEREIGNTY.—As mentioned, Joachim's writings constitute a definite turning point. A new era begins with him, not only in prophetic interpreta-

¹⁸ Döllinger, *Prophecies*, pp. 107-110, 122.

¹⁹ Ernesto Buonaiuti, *Gioacchino da Fiore* (Rome: Collezione Meridionale Editrice, 1931), p. 8, translated in *La Piana, op. cit.*, p. 270.

tion, but in a much wider sense—in the whole religious and philosophical outlook of Europe. To evaluate Joachim correctly, one must understand the medieval Catholic philosophy of life and of history, a philosophy that was formulated by Augustine, and that exerted a controlling influence over the centuries following. Augustine, of course, had lived in the atmosphere of the declining Roman paganism, with its many cults and theories of life. At the same time the still young Christianity was struggling to find the satisfactory formulas for expressing its own set of beliefs. It was defining its aims, rejecting false claims, and setting up barriers to protect itself from the onrush of detrimental foreign ideas and isms which ever sought entrance into the church under the garb of respectability.

Augustine, having himself gone through that welter of divergent philosophies, realized at the time of his conversion that the life and sacrifice of Jesus Christ is the central theme and cardinal doctrine of Christianity. The life and sacrifice of Christ, not as a mere historical event but as a metaphysical reality, meant to him that it stands outside of any historical continuity. History, and even the entire cosmic world process, loses its significance, he felt, because faith deals in the ultimate with the salvation of the individual and the life beyond. The life problem of each individual is, as it were, put vertically between heaven and hell, not horizontally between past, present, and future. The individual's acceptance of Christ, and his partaking of the grace offered by Christ, are alone important, and nothing else. That naturally leads to the idea that it is completely irrelevant to consider what will happen in history, as in fact, nothing essentially new can happen, because this truth—salvation through Christ—is the last and final revelation before the ushering in of eternity.

It is easy to understand how this intriguing concept, even if not originally intended to be so, laid a sure foundation for the church, giving her finality and sovereignty. She, as avowed steward and guardian over Christ's work and sacrifice, must,

as a matter of course, become the sole arbiter in all transitory matters. There can be no higher authority than the church, for she alone deals with eternal values, and the only fact that matters—the salvation of the soul. This was the philosophical position of the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, and is to the present time.

Such premises being granted, this position was practically unassailable. It is no wonder, therefore, that all historical considerations in prophetic interpretation became nearly extinct. The time element no longer mattered. And this fundamental proposition, which Augustine had laid down, was not challenged until the coming of Joachim, who was destined to become the counterpole to Augustine.

2. JOACHIM'S AGES OF FATHER, SON, AND SPIRIT.—Joachim, working on his *Concordia*, had, according to his own claim, a divine illumination during one Easter night, which gave him a new insight into many connections and relationships of the divine plan with humanity, which formerly were dim. Joachim conceived the Trinity—God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit—as the great pattern for all that was, and is, and ever will be on this earth. To him the whole history of mankind must be considered under this guiding principle. There exists, therefore, an age of the Father, an age of the Son, and an age of the Holy Spirit. Each age has its initial period and its period of maturity. The period of maturity of one age is, to a certain degree, the initial period of the following age. Thus the ages merge into one another without any sudden break, and the historical continuity is preserved.²⁰

History thus becomes an essential part and plays an important role in Joachim's concept of the progressive development of revelation. This is an idea which appeared, in its beginnings, in Anselm of Havelberg. Although there is no direct evidence that

²⁰ Joachim, *Liber Concordie Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* (Book of the Harmony of the New and Old Testament) fol. 8 v. (This work will hereafter be referred to as *Concordia*.) See also Grundmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 65. Complete photostat copies of those exceedingly rare genuine Joachim writings—the *Concordia* (1519 printed ed.) and *Expositio . . . in Apocalipsim* (1527 printed ed.)—are in the Advent Source Collection, secured from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the British Museum in London, and the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

Joachim derived this idea from Anselm, it is entirely possible that he was acquainted with the latter's work.

Joachim's exegesis, says Grundmann, is based on the same method that his predecessors used for moral and dogmatical purposes, but is distinguished by its essentially prophetic basis, and is amazingly imaginative and original. His allegorical treatment interprets everything in terms of his historical theory. Buonaiuti says Joachim's allegorism merely applied traditional principles of patristic exegesis, but his "boundless exegetical virtuosity" leads "to a highly original and personal teaching."

"The symbolistic orgy in which Joachim indulges becomes a kind of rite of initiation to a new, solemn, triumphal epiphany of the new gospel. Hence, Joachim's works must not be considered or studied as if they contained an ordinate exposition and an organic justification of a system, but rather as the passionate appeal of a preacher of conversion."²¹

Joachim's theory of three ages has similarity to the divisions of "before the law," "under the law," and "under grace." But it is not the same, and should not be confused therewith. According to Joachim, the age dominated by the Father was still a carnal period of this world's history. At the same time, however, it was a period preparatory to the revelation of spiritual things. The age dominated by the Son was partly carnal and partly spiritual, but the coming age was already foreshadowed. This would be the age of the Holy Spirit, which he expected to begin around his own time. In this era the full revelation of spiritual things would become a reality, and each individual would have a part in it, sharing in it directly and freely, without need of intercessors. The Spirit of God would be the guiding principle in the affairs of men.

"For there was one time in which man lived according to the flesh, that is, up to Christ, [a time] whose beginning was made in Adam; another in which they lived between both, that is, between the flesh and the spirit, namely up to the present time, whose beginning was made from Elisha the prophet or Uzziah the king of Judah; another in which they live according to the spirit, up to the end of the world, whose beginning was from the days of the blessed Benedict.

²¹ Buonaiuti, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, p. 194, translated in La Piana, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

"And so the fructification or [peculiar qualities] of the first time, or as we say better, of the first state, [was] from Abraham even to Zacharias the father of John the Baptist, the beginning from Adam. The fructification of the second state from Zacharias up to the 42d generation, the beginning from Uziah or from the days of Asa under whom Elisha was called by Elijah the prophet. The fructification of the third state from that generation which was the 22d from Saint Benedict up to the consummation of the age, the beginning from Saint Benedict."²²

He assigns these three ages not only to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,²³ but also particularly to three "orders" of men with the third a period of monasticism:

"The very changes of times and works attest three states of the world. It is permitted to call this whole present time one; so the three are orders of the elect. . . . And of those orders indeed the first is that of the married, the second of the clerics, the third of the monks. The order of the married was begun from Adam; it began to fructify from Abraham. The order of the clerics was begun from Uziah; . . . it fructified, however, from Christ who is the true King and Priest. The order of the monks according to a certain proper form, since the Holy Spirit is its author, exhibited the perfect authority of the blessed; it began from the blessed Benedict . . . whose fructification is in the times of the end."²⁴

As Christ preached the first gospel, so Joachim conceived of himself and others as announcing the final gospel.²⁵ Joachim's theory of earth's history was of three ages: The first age was that of the Old Testament; the second, that of the New Testament; and the third would be that of the eternal gospel—with no new book, but with a gospel proceeding from the Old and New Testaments, only read with purer and clearer eyes.²⁶

Psalms would help them find in their Bibles the everlasting gospel, guided by the Spirit. As the second age was the age of faith, so the third should be the age of love—despite calamities and bloodshed. Only the elect would survive.²⁷ The concept is rather remarkable from any point of view. It may well be noted that there was greater freedom of expression than later, particularly from the time of the Council of Trent forward, and Joachim wrote far more freely, of course, in

²² Translated from Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 8 r.

²³ Joachim, *Expositio*, fols. 5 v, 6 r; see also the diagram of the three periods of Father, Son, and Spirit in the *Concordia*, fol. 21 v.

²⁴ Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 8 v.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

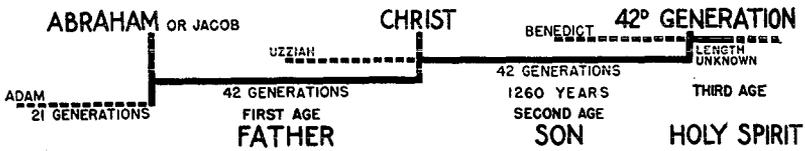
²⁵ Coulton, *Five Centuries*, vol. 2, p. 116.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

Calabria than he could have done at the University of Paris.²⁸

3. **SHIFTED ACCENT TO GOD IN HISTORY.**—Moreover, by shifting the accent to God's *revelation in history* Joachim raised history to a supreme place of importance. He himself began to look into the past in order to find the confirmation for his hypothesis. And in his profound studies in the Bible he saw the key to this historical problem in the figures given as "forty-two months," or "1260 days." These, he saw, were the God-given time limits, and contained the holy numbers 3 and 7. They should therefore be considered as basic for all important computations. Hence, each age encompasses forty-two generations, each having an initial period and a period of maturity. The twenty-one generations of the initial period and the forty-two of the first age are of unknown length; the forty-two generations of the second age, at thirty years each, are 1260 years.

4. **JOACHIM'S SCHEME OF THE AGES.**—This is what his scheme for the world's history looks like:



	ADAM	ABRAHAM OR JACOB	UZZIAH	CHRIST	BENEDICT	42 nd GENERATION
	21 GENERATIONS					LENGTH UNKNOWN
		42 GENERATIONS		42 GENERATIONS		
		FIRST AGE		SECOND AGE		THIRD AGE
		FATHER		SON		HOLY SPIRIT
				1260 YEARS		
First Age (of the Father)	Adam to Abraham	Abraham to Uzziah		Uzziah to Zacharias		
		Period of fructification, at the same time initial period of the second age.		Christ to Benedict of Nursia; founder of monasticism in Europe		
Second Age (of the Son)		Period of fructification from Benedict to 1260 (1266)		From 1200 (1260) to Day of Judgment		
Third Age (of the Spirit)						
						(42) generations ²⁹

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 118-120.

²⁹ Dempf, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

The first period of the second age does not quite fit with the time involved, which shows that it is not the exact number of years which are important in his reckoning, but that he takes the generation as a unit. Furthermore, he was not out to compute the exact time of the end, but was interested in finding the order and the dynamic of all that happens between the beginning of the world and its end. Therefore, having established the parallelism of structure between the first two periods, it might well be assumed that the third age would have a similar development.³⁰

The grand plan of God in history thus being established, it was easy to subdivide the different ages and to establish similarities. Here again a tabulation will illustrate his concepts.

	First Era	Second Era	
	Prechristian Leaders	Christian Kings and Leaders	Antichristian Leaders
1st period	Jacob, Joshua, Moses, Caleb	Christ Peter, Paul, John	Herod Nero
2d period	Samuel, David	Constantine, Sylvester	Constantius, Arius
3d period	Elijah, Elisha	Justinian, Benedict	Chosroes, Mohammed
4th period	Isaiah, Hezekiah	Gregory, Zacharias, Pepin, Charlemagne	The New Babylon
5th period	Ezekiel, Daniel; Captivity in Babel	Henry VI	Saladin
6th period	Zerubbabel	Bernard	6th & 7th—Kings of the Apocalypse
7th period	Year of Jubilee	the DUX	The Antichrist ³¹

As can be seen, historical events and historical personalities again become of importance, and history now finds a place in the interpretation of the figures of the Apocalypse. This is truly a radical turning away from the old Tichonius tradition, and is clearly the establishment of a historical method of inter-

³⁰ Grundmann, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³¹ Dempf, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

pretation. Here also—and this is important—Papal Rome is mentioned for the first time as the “new Babylon,” and that on the basis of a methodical study of the Bible. It is not simply flung as a derogatory epithet against an adversary, but is a genuine interpretation of prophecy.

5. THE EVANGELICAL IDEAL OF THE THIRD AGE.—We may well ask: In what way did Joachim conceive the third age (that of the Holy Spirit) would be fulfilled? In what way would it differ from the previous age of the Son?

The second age covers the era of the medieval church, with the hierarchy and its world claims. It was an era when spiritual and carnal things were still interwoven. The church, according to Joachim, had never been wholly pure and spiritual, and was not even expected to be so during this second age, for it was “between the flesh and the spirit.”³² The church needed ceremonies and sacraments, and therefore Joachim fulfilled all his obligations with meticulous care. He was careful to submit his writings for the approval of the pope, to avoid the accusation of schism.

But the third age would be a new age. This new era would set in, supported by a new, monastic, purely evangelical society, which would raise life to a new spiritual basis. Not a clerical society, not bishops and cardinals who fight for worldly gains, but a new monastic order would dominate life in this period, which would have as its sole aim the *imitatio Christi*. A new form of life and a new society would spring up. Joachim’s call was not so much, “Repent, turn back to the old sources,” but to change and become new, reach the higher goal. *Oportet mutari vitam, quia mutari necesse est statum mundi*. (It is fitting that the life be changed, since it is necessary that the state of the world be changed.)³³

This conception of the progressive development of revelation was, of course, diametrically opposed to the old Augustinian concept, and rocked the church to its foundations.

³² Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 8 r.

³³ *Ibid.*, fol. 21 v; see also Grundmann, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

Joachim saw definitely where this new conception would lead, and he shrank from its consequences. So he couched his phrases most carefully, in order to remove the sting of offense. But in spite of his extreme care, and in spite of his acceptance of the church in its current form as fulfilling its rightful place during the second era, this concept disclaimed the finality of the church, with her clergy and hierarchy and the sacraments necessarily administered by human means, because in this spiritual era, soon to come, a better, more advanced, really spiritual form of worship had to supersede the then-present forms.⁵⁴

Actually Joachim saw no conflict between this idea and his loyalty to the papal church, for he expected the new spiritual church to be welcomed by the pope, just as the child Jesus was embraced by Simeon in the temple.⁵⁵ But when the implications of his doctrine came to be carried by his successors toward their logical conclusions, the two main pillars of the church were badly shaken. The later Joachimites were moved to speak bitterly of the hierarchy, which fell short of their standards and which persecuted them for their ideals.

Benz's treatment of Joachim is summarized by La Piana:

"The problem of the Church, the Sacraments, and the Papacy in the new dispensation, destined to disappear because the *ordo spiritualis* would take their place, is the truly revolutionary doctrine of Joachim. For, by prophesying the imminent coming of an age of pure evangelic morals, he provided his contemporaries with a kind of standard by which they could judge and criticize the papal Church. Furthermore, he gave to the monastic orders the right to consider themselves as the bearers of the spiritual Church, to affirm their independence from the Church of the Pope, nay, to consider it as the anti-Christ. In other words, the attitude toward the Church of the later Joachimites, was contained in germ in Joachim's own teaching."⁵⁶

La Piana qualifies this with the observation that antisacerdotal and antipapal currents were older than Joachimism, and that Joachim taught unquestioning obedience to the ecclesiastical authorities, and refers to the fact that Joachim expected papal approval for the new order.

⁵⁴ Joachim, *Tractatus*, p. 86.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵⁶ La Piana, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

Joachim assigned a place of importance to monastic reform in the preparation for the new spiritual economy.³⁷ In this he showed his Cistercian background, for he was "the faithful interpreter and the bold herald of that social and religious palingenesis which the Cistercian rule introduced into Latin Catholicism of the late Middle Ages."³⁸

Troubled by the laxness which had already crept in among the Cistercians, he founded his own Florentian order to restore the full original austerity. Buonaiuti observes that Joachim's dream of "liberty from worldly cares," to be perfected only in the great Sabbath, was the contemplative but active and constructive spirit of the Cistercian tradition. That movement liberated large rural masses from feudal bondage, gave them a work reclaiming the land, and gave to the work a spiritual value. Bernard was too occupied by manifold ecclesiastical and political activities. But Joachim was "the great interpreter of the revolution contained in germ in the Cistercian rule." He "found in the monastic *libertas* the ideal state of man in the coming age of the Spirit."³⁹

The future twofold order, lay and clerical, which Joachim expected would "live by rule, not indeed, according to the form of monastic perfection, but according to the institution of the Christian faith,"⁴⁰ would enjoy the vision of peace and rule the earth,⁴¹ for it was "the people of the saints of the most High" (Dan. 7:27) to whom was to be given the blessed vision of peace and the dominion from sea to sea.⁴²

We might sum up Joachim's influence on later times under three heads: the historical element, the spiritual-evangelical element, and the chronological element. We have seen how Joachim's three ages placed the emphasis on history. His third-age concept was also to influence later movements, such as

³⁷ Buonaiuti, footnote in Joachim, *Tractatus*, p. 35.

³⁸ Buonaiuti, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, Introduction, p. xi, translated in La Piana, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁴⁰ Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 80 r.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 95 v.

⁴² Joachim, *Tractatus*, p. 101; cf. p. 35.

the Franciscans,⁴⁸ and even to some extent the antisacerdotal heresies, by its ideal of the spiritual life and the imitation of Christ. Attention must be called here to the chronological element in Joachim's historical interpretation, particularly his 1260-year period, which paved the way for the application of the year-day principle to the longer time periods of prophecy.

6. APPLIES YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE TO THE SYMBOLIC TIME PROPHECY.—Under Joachim an epochal advance was made in the symbolic-time aspect of prophetic interpretation. Heretofore, for thirteen centuries the seventy weeks had been recognized generally as weeks of years. But the first thousand years of the Christian Era did not produce any further applications of the principle, among Christian writers, save one or two glimpses of the "ten days" of Revelation 2:10 as ten years of persecution, and the three and a half days of Revelation 11 as three and a half years. But now Joachim for the first time applied the year-day principle to the 1260-day prophecy.

Time was required for the development of the later conception of the setting of that time period. Thirty-five years after Joachim's death Eberhard was to point out the Papacy as the fulfillment, historically, of the prophesied specifications of Daniel's Little Horn symbol. This had no connection with Joachim's interpretation. But eventually the growing identification of papal Rome as the predicted apostasy, under the terms *Antichrist*, *Babylon*, *Beast*, *Man of Sin*, and *Mystery of Iniquity*, resulted in the application of the 1260 years as the era of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the papal Little Horn. This conception of the Little Horn, soon to come, gave the clue to the time placement of the 1260 years as developed in Reformation times and afterward.

Joachim provided the basis for the historical method of interpretation of the time relationships of prophetic symbols, as applied to both nations and churches when he extended to this period the Biblical principle of a day for a year, which

⁴⁸ The influence on the Spiritual Franciscans will be traced in the next chapter.

had in the early centuries been applied only to the seventy weeks. To the early expositors, who expected the end soon, or within a few centuries, all time perspectives pertaining to last things were foreshortened, for they could not conceive of the world's lasting long enough to cover time prophecies of such length as 1260 years. Joachim himself never extended the year-day principle to the 2300-day prophecy, probably for the similar reason that he expected the end of the age sooner.⁴⁴ But only three years after his death, as we shall see, an anonymous work attributed mistakenly to him makes the number 2300 refer to twenty-three centuries, and within a relatively few years more, other writers applied the year-day principle to the 1290, 1335, and 2300 days as well. Thus the principle which he enunciated was later employed by the leading Protestant expounders of prophecy, though he had made an application of its meaning and chronological placement which they, of course, rejected.

Let us now turn from the general survey of Joachim's contributions to consider some of his specific prophetic interpretations.

III. Joachim's Exposition of Leading Prophecies of Daniel

1. FOUR EMPIRES OF DANIEL 2 SPECIFIED.—In his *Concordia*, Joachim outlines the four prophetic empires of Daniel 2, which Daniel "wonderfully explained." The gold he interprets as the kingdom of the Chaldeans, Medes, and Persians; the silver, as that of the Macedonians, from Alexander to the time of the Maccabees; the third, as the Roman Empire. The Saracens who seized the territory of the Romans, Joachim regards as the iron kingdom that is to strike at Babylon.⁴⁵

"This statue . . . certain of the fathers have so explained that they attributed the iron to the Roman Empire as ruling all the kingdoms. For there was not, in that time, any kingdom of the Saracens, through which

⁴⁴ Alfred-Félix Vaucher, *Lacunziana*, p. 58.

⁴⁵ Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 127 r, v.

now, almost daily, the gold and silver and brass are being ground to pieces."⁴⁶

2. EARTH-FILLING STONE IS YET FUTURE.—The phase of the iron and clay, Joachim says, is "the last kingdom, which will be in the time of antichrist." Joachim parts company with Augustine by placing the filling of the earth with the heavenly stone kingdom, or mountain, as yet future:

"But that kingdom [of iron and clay] will last a short time, even until that stone, which was cut from the mountain without hands, falls upon it, and with the arms with which it formerly conquered the Roman empire conquers and destroys it. . . . So therefore that precious stone, which will descend from heaven, is to fill all the earth, when the universal kingdoms of the nations have been destroyed which fought against it."⁴⁷

3. UNUSUAL EXPOSITION OF DANIEL 7.—Different ones have had different opinions, Joachim declares, concerning the beasts of Daniel 7, which have been handed down to posterity. Once more he seeks to connect the Saracens with the fourth beast, as well as to tie them in with the ten-horned apocalyptic beast. The ten horns and the Little Horn are future kings, but the exposition of the eleventh king is hazy. In Daniel's first three beasts he sees the Jews, the Romans, and the Arian kingdoms respectively.⁴⁸

4. ALEXANDER THE GREAT, HORN ON GRECIAN GOAT.—"He who interpreted the vision at the petition of Daniel, declared the he-goat of the goats to be the kingdom of the Greeks. But that the great horn was the first king, that is, Alexander, who was to smite Darius, king of the Persians and the Medes."⁴⁹

5. ANTIOCHUS NOT INTENDED BY LITTLE HORN.—"Antiochus must not be considered as the one concerning whom it was spoken. Although iniquities will have increased, a king will arise, impudent in face, and understanding propositions: even though this may seem possible to be considered according to the literal sense, yet that one is the Antichrist, whose type Antiochus held. For Antiochus did not lay waste the whole world, whom so few soldiers of the Jews so strenuously resisted, even more than could be believed; but of that one concerning whom it is written: Who is exalted, and stands up against all that is called God, or what is wor-

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 127 r.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 127 v.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 127 v, 128 r.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 128 v.

shipped, so that in the temple of God he sits, showing himself as if he were God."⁵⁰

6. MYSTERY OF 1335 DAYS NOT YET CLEAR.—“And blessed is he who waits and comes to the thousand three hundred and thirty-five days. I say one thing more fearlessly—that when these mysteries are completed the seventh angel will sound with a trumpet, under which all the sacred mysteries which have been written will be fulfilled, and there will be a time of peace in the whole earth. Concerning explaining the true mystery of this number, let no one annoy me; let no one compel me to go beyond the decreed limit; for God is powerful to make His own mysteries more clear yet.”⁵¹

IV. Exposition of Apocalypse Presents Notable Advances

1. SEVEN PERIODS PARALLEL SEVEN OLD TESTAMENT DIVISIONS.—In the “Prologue” to his *Expositio . . . in Apocalipsim*, Joachim expressly states that he does not enter upon this work presumptuously, but by authorization. In the “Introductory Book,” Joachim summarizes the three ages of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: (1) From Abraham to John the Baptist; (2) from John the Baptist to the fullness of the Gentiles; and (3) from the expiration of that time to the consummation. His idea of the harmony of the two Testaments is illustrated by his application of the seven seals⁵² to the sevenfold division of the Christian Era, paralleling seven Old Testament divisions from Abraham onward. This needs to be grasped as the setting for his further exposition.

(1) From Christ's resurrection to the death of John the apostle. (Paralleling Jacob to Moses and Joshua.)

(2) From the death of John to Constantine. (Paralleling Moses and Joshua to Samuel and David.)

(3) From Constantine to Justinian. (Paralleling Samuel and David to Elijah and Elisha.)

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 135 r.

⁵² It is to be noted that these seven periods are interpreted in connection with the seals and trumpets but not the seven churches. Joachim speaks of Peter's five churches (the principal sees) and John's seven as if they were the literal churches; yet again he refers to the former as five general orders—apostles, martyrs, doctors, virgins, monks—and the latter as seven special orders devoted to the religious, that is, the monastic, life. (Joachim, *Expositio*, fols. 17 v, 18 r.)

(4) From Justinian to Charlemagne. (Paralleling Elijah and Elisha to Isaiah and Hezekiah.)

(5) From Charlemagne to the present days. (Paralleling Isaiah and Hezekiah to Judah's captivity.)

(6) From present days to the smiting of new Babylon. (Paralleling the Jews' return to Malachi's death.)

(7) The last state, the Sabbath of the Lord's saints, until the coming of the Lord. (Paralleling Malachi's death to Zacharias the father of John the Baptist.)⁵³

2. SEVEN SEALS SPAN CHRISTIAN ERA.—Joachim gives a further exposition of the seven *seals* under chapter 6, which may be summarized thus:

(1) The white horse: The primitive church; Christ, the rider; heralded by the Apostolic order.

(2) The red horse: The pagan Roman priests; the devil or the Roman emperors, the rider; the order of martyrs.

(3) The black horse: The Arian clergy; the balances, the Arian disputations, the barley, wheat, oil, and wine, are the historical, typical, moral, and anagogical interpretations; the order of Catholic doctors.

(4) The pale horse: The Saracens; Mohammed, the rider; the order of hermits and virgins.

(5) The altar: The Roman church clergy and monks; the martyrs under persecution in Spain (ending in Joachim's time).

(6) Judgment of Babylon (of whoever attacks the Roman church); persecution.

(7) The last Sabbath of rest; silence of the contemplative life.⁵⁴

Referring to the angel of Daniel 12:7, Joachim compares this "time, times, and a half" with the periods of Revelation:

"The seven seals are contained in these forty-two generations; and it is nothing else to say: in the time, and times, and dividing of time will

⁵³ Joachim, *Expositio*, fol. 6 v. A fairly complete epitome of Joachim's teachings on the Apocalypse from the *Expositio* appears in Elliott, volume 4, pages 386-421. Numerous footnotes give the Latin extracts of the original, with the precise reference to our 1527 edition. And there is a comprehensive table, or chart, on page 421. For a less detailed summary of Joachim's doctrine, see Bett, *op. cit.*, chapter 3.

⁵⁴ Joachim, *Expositio*, fols. 113 v to 120 r, 123 r.

be fulfilled all the wonders of that one, than that which another angel, or perhaps, one and the same, says under the sixth angel sounding the trumpet: There shall be time no longer, but in the voice of the seventh angel, when the trumpet shall begin to sound, the mystery of God shall be consummated. O wonderful concord under the sixth seal! the angel is said to take this oath in the Old Testament; and under the opening of the sixth in the New."⁵⁵

3. SEVEN TRUMPETS AGAIN COVER CHRISTIAN ERA.—Under the *trumpets*, Joachim again retrogresses to the beginning of the gospel dispensation. The locusts of the fifth trumpet, of his own day, he understands to be the schismatics or heretics, specifically the Patarines, who were the "Manichæan" or Catharist type of heretics. "These are those heretics who are commonly called *Pathareni*, that is, among some; and among others are called by different names."⁵⁶

4. TWO WITNESSES ARE TWO ORDERS.—The *Two Witnesses* of Revelation 11 are possibly the traditional Enoch and Elijah, more likely Moses and Elijah, Enoch being represented by the angel of Revelation 10. These three are reckoned the same as the flying angels of chapter 14.⁵⁷ But Moses and Elijah are most likely spiritual—an order of clerics and one of monks. Joachim identifies the "everlasting gospel" as the gospel "in the Spirit," belonging to the third age of the contemplative church.⁵⁸ The forty-two months of treading down the city are the same as the time of Daniel's Little Horn, and the Witnesses' preaching is three and a half years.⁵⁹ When Enoch and Elijah come twelve men will be chosen, like the patriarchs and apostles, to preach to the Jews; and there will be most famous monasteries, like the twelve tribes and the twelve churches (the five churches of Peter and the seven of John). In this connection he mentions five principal Cistercian houses.⁶⁰

5. WOMAN IS CHURCH, DRAGON IS DEVIL.—The *travailing woman* of Revelation 12 is in general the whole church, and in

⁵⁵ Joachim, *Concordia*, fols. 133 v, 134 a.

⁵⁶ Translated from Joachim, *Expositio*, fol. 130 v; see also fol. 131 r.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 146 r, v, 147 v.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 95 v.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 145 v, 146 v. The 1260 days, on the year-day principle, are covered fully in Section V.

⁶⁰ Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 57 v.

particular the church of hermits and virgins.⁶¹ The dragon is the devil, the body is all the wicked multitude, and the seven heads are seven successive persecuting kings through the period of the church. The ten horns are the ten kings to come; the tail is the last tyrant (Antichrist); the man-child is Christ.⁶²

6. BEASTS ARE USURPATIONS OF KINGLY AND PRIESTLY POWERS.—The *first beast* of Revelation 13 is a combination of the four beasts of Daniel. The lion means the Jews; the second beast, the pagans; the third beast, the Arians, whose four heads are the (Arian) Greeks, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards; the fourth beast, the Saracens.⁶³ The head wounded and healed is the Saracens. They seem to have revived in his time after earlier defeats, but perhaps this is a future spiritual wounding, with the revival in the time of the eleventh king.⁶⁴

The *second beast* of Revelation 13 is the sect of the false prophets, and his two horns are an imitation of the expected Enoch and Elijah.⁶⁵ When the new Babylon (Rome) has been given into the hand of the beast to smite, when the eleventh king rules among the Saracens, then the false prophets will have their opportunity. They will go over to the civil power and betray the Christian religion.⁶⁶ Just as the first beast will have his final Saracen king, so the beast with two horns will have a false pontiff, who will be Antichrist.

“Truly it seems that just as that beast which comes up from the sea is to have a certain great king from his sect who is like Nero, and a quasi emperor of the whole world, so the beast which will come up from the land is to have a certain great prelate who is similar to Simon Magus, and a quasi universal pontiff in all the world, and he is that Antichrist concerning whom Paul says that he will be lifted up and opposed above everything that is called or that is worshiped, so that he sits in the temple of God showing himself as if he were God.”⁶⁷

⁶¹ Joachim, *Expositio*, fol. 154 r, v.

⁶² *Ibid.*, fols. 156 r, v, 157 r.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, fols. 162 r, v, 183 r, v.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 164 v, 165 r. It is curious to note that Joachim here (fol. 164 v) mentions a star shower in 1015 [i.e., 1095?] as a sign encouraging Urban and the Crusaders. His attitude toward the Saracens is noteworthy. It is possible, he says, that the Christians will prevail over them by preaching, not fighting. (Joachim, *Tractatus*, p. 117.)

⁶⁵ Joachim, *Expositio*, fol. 166 v.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 167 v.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 168 r (see English paraphrase in Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp. 408, 409). We see here that he identifies the Man of Sin with Antichrist. Elsewhere he makes Herod a type of both. (*Tractatus*, p. 67.)

Some doctors, he continues, say that the eleventh king is Antichrist, but Joachim is willing to accept that also. The dragon is one, but he has many heads, and there are many Antichrists. Elsewhere Joachim hints that Antichrist will usurp the place of the pope.

"Antichrist will usurp for himself the kingdom of Christ, saying that he is the Son of God, and he will sit as Lord in His temple, seeking to extinguish the vicar of Christ and those who were on his side, and persecuting them from city to city. . . .

"Perhaps since there will be many Antichrists, someone would say that in Absalom was meant not only that greatest persecutor whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of His mouth, but someone else according to which we read that some have usurped the Roman see, and we find that this has happened recently under the emperor Frederick [Barbarossa, says Buonaiuti]. I think, however, that a considerable multitude of Greeks and Jews will already have been collected for the use of the church when that happens."⁶⁸

7. NUMBER 666 NOT YET REVEALED.—The *image* is a tradition made by the false prophets in memory of the first beast, saying that it was the kingdom which was to remain forever.⁶⁹ Of the number 666, says Joachim, we must wait and know the name before speculating as to the number; but the number is not revealed. Yet he continues with a colorful speculation on the 666 as the whole period between Adam and Antichrist.⁷⁰

8. THE THREE ANGELS AND THE EVERLASTING GOSPEL.—Joachim says that the *three angels* may be future, because the first is said to have "the everlasting gospel," but he thinks that the first angel of Revelation 14 comes at the opening of the fifth seal (either the announcer of the woes, or the angel of Revelation 10), but the other two at the opening of the sixth seal, the time of Antichrist—the Two Witnesses who preach 1260 days.⁷¹ Perhaps, he says, they are Moses, Enoch, and Elijah, who will come as three great preachers in the end of this second age, announcing the everlasting gospel, the fall of Babylon, and the wrath poured on the worshipers of the beast.⁷² The eternal gos-

⁶⁸ Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 95 r, v.

⁶⁹ Joachim, *Expositio*, fol. 168 r.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 169 r.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 173 r.

⁷² *Ibid.*, fol. 147 v.

pel, he says elsewhere, is that of the Spirit; the literal gospel is temporal, not eternal.⁷³

9. GOD'S SEAT HAS BECOME SEAT OF BEAST.—The *vials* are made to parallel the seals and the trumpets, beginning with the early church again, but considered as the outpouring of God's wrath in the same periods.⁷⁴ One point is of interest in the fifth vial, which is poured out upon the false ones among the clergy and conventuals, who, under the form of the church, which is God's seat, have become the seat of the beast, which is the kingdom of Antichrist ruling at least from the beginning of the church in his members. Another is that the sixth is poured on the Roman Empire, whose peoples are the river of Rome, the new Babylon.⁷⁵ The seventh plague cleanses the air, or the spiritual church, which remains after the judgment on Babylon.⁷⁶

10. HARLOT SYMBOLIZES THE REPROBATE OF ROME.—The *Harlot* of Revelation 17 is understood as Rome, in the sense of all the reprobate who blaspheme the church of the just—Jerusalem—who sojourns among them. She is not only the city of Rome, or all of it—far from it—but the whole multitude of wicked men, those born of the flesh, in the whole extent of the Christian empire.⁷⁷ The "kings of the earth" are bad prelates who compromise with the wicked ones.⁷⁸ In the seven heads of the scarlet beast (the same as the beast of chapter 13 and of Daniel), he sees successive persecuting kingdoms of unbelievers—the Judaic, the pagan Roman, the four Arian powers (Greek, Gothic, Vandal, Lombard), and the Saracen kingdoms.⁷⁹ It is to the sons of Babylon within the Roman church and empire to whom the doom of Roman Christendom belongs.⁸⁰ Babylon's destruction by the beast brings the liberation

⁷³ *Ibid.*, fol. 95 v. The Joachimites later called Joachim's writings the Eternal Gospel. (See Bett, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50, 103.)

⁷⁴ Joachim, *Expositio*, fols. 187 ff.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, fols. 189 v, 190 v.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 191 v.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 194 r, 195 r, 198 r.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 194 r.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 196 v.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 198 r.

of the just and the conversion of the Jews.⁸¹ But before the establishment of the kingdom there is one more tribulation yet to come.

11. OVERTHROW OF BEAST AND ANTICHRIST.—After the rejoicing over the destruction of Babylon comes the final battle of Antichrist, the beast in the phase of the seventh king. He is uncertain whether Antichrist is the sixth or the seventh head, but he thinks that it involves both the beast and the false prophet (identified elsewhere as the Saracen quasi emperor and the heretical quasi pope). Christ will conquer those nations personally or through His saints.⁸²

“Indeed we are certain, and all the church of the righteous unshakably hold that He is to come in the glory of His Father to judge the living and dead, and the world with fire, but whether in the time of Antichrist or afterward it is doubted by many. . . . I, however, think that He Himself will come to destroy him, on account of what He Himself says in the Gospel: ‘But immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light.’ For if He did not say ‘Immediately’ the question would remain doubtful enough on this point. But since this is said, it seems that while Antichrist is still reigning, Christ will come that He Himself might put an end to his reign and his blasphemy.”⁸³

Joachim is uncertain whether the armies accompanying Christ are the dead who are in Christ, or those who were raised at the time of His resurrection, or, as he rather thinks, the earthly saints.⁸⁴ After the beast and the false prophet are cast into the lake of fire, and the rest cut down by the sword from His mouth, none are left except a “small people,” for in the seventh period none except the saints are living.⁸⁵

12. A NEW NOTE ON THE MILLENNIUM.—In Revelation 20 the seventh period of the world is portrayed, which is the third age of the Spirit. This is not the actual seventh millenary from the world’s creation, Joachim says, but the seventh age of the

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 204 r.

⁸² *Ibid.*, fol. 207 r.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, fol. 207 r, v.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 207 v.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, fols. 209 v, 207 v.

world, really of indefinite length, possibly very short, dated from the overthrow of Antichrist and the beast.⁸⁶

Joachim combats the chiliastic idea of a future earthly kingdom of a thousand years. He thinks those who make this seventh age the seventh thousand years are wrong according to the Greeks and the Latins, because the former claim more and the latter less—evidently a reference to the difference between the Septuagint and Vulgate (Hebrew) chronology of the world. He contends that the seventh age is not a specific time but that there will be a sabbatical period after the overthrow of the beast and the false prophet.⁸⁷ The final judgment of the Antichrist is not at the last moment of the world, for the end of the world does not always mean the very last time but the time of the end, or the last age.

“Already more than a thousand years have passed from [the time] when the blessed John said, ‘Little children, it is the last hour.’ Therefore there will be a time after the fall of Antichrist, but whether in the end of this time the Lord will come to judgment, or in the beginning, some have thought it ought to be doubted rather than defined.”⁸⁸

This third age, with probably the personal advent of Christ at its beginning, and only the saints—those living the contemplative life—left in the church, differs radically from Augustine’s present millennium. He insists that Satan is to be bound, and suggests the possibility that the period may not be reckoned by recapitulation from the first advent.⁸⁹ Yet he reconciles it in some measure with Augustinianism, for he is a loyal son of the church, not an attacker of the traditional beliefs. The dragon began to be bound—some part of him, at least—at Christ’s death, but he is completely bound only when all the seven heads have been conquered “from that day or hour when the Beast and the False Prophet are cast into the lake of fire,” and the sabbatic seventh period therefore “began in part on the Sabbath when Christ rested in the sepulcher; [it will begin]

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 209 v-211 r.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 211 r.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 210 r; see also fol. 84 v. This repeated statement about the time interval since the apostle John is almost the same as that used in the Waldensian poem “The Noble Lesson.” See p. 873.

⁸⁹ Joachim, *Expositio*, fol. 210 v; see summary on fol. 16 r.

according to its fullness, from the ruin of the Beast and the False Prophet.”⁸⁰ Thus the thousand years extend to the loosing of Satan and the battle with Gog and Magog.

“The Holy Spirit has already bound the devil in part, and He will bind him more fully in that day, . . . until the time is fulfilled which is signified by the thousand years, from the time of the Lord’s resurrection to the time of his [Satan’s] loosing; shutting him up in the hearts of the tribes of the Scythians.”⁸¹

During the seventh, or sabbatical, age, when the devil is bound fully, the saints of the Most High reign in the spiritual “vision of God” in which the martyrs and certain of the righteous have been living since the hour of their death, during the thousand years. (The “dead who are in Christ,” the “perfect,” rise to heaven without delay.)⁸²

“And this the kingdom of happy vision and of peace, which will be given according to its fullness to the multitude of the just after the ruin of the seventh king, takes its beginning from the very time of the resurrection of the Lord, and is rightly said to remain for a thousand years, so that the same time is understood of the imprisonment of the dragon, and of the kingdom of the saints, since also one is distinguished from the other by the cause. Yet the rest of the dead do not live with Christ until the thousand years are completed, for to the righteous pertains the judgment of the Omnipotent.”⁸³

13. “THOUSAND YEARS” NOT LITERAL.—The perfect number 1,000 merely indicates fullness, not a future literal period, for the seventh age may be very short—possibly short enough to allow the same Man of Sin to take part in the battle at the end, when Satan is loosed and attacks the saints, and God will finally wind up the affairs of this earth in the general judgment.⁸⁴

“Seeing that the Lord will come, who will illuminate the secret things of darkness, and will manifest the plans of the hearts. But in whatever manner it may be considered, yet this altogether holds true that at the time of the end of the world the devil will lead (away) these nations, and will lead them against the church of the elect, which will be loved by

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 211 r.

⁸² Joachim, *Tractatus*, pp. 79-81.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 210 v, 211 r.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 211 v; see also fol. 16 r.

⁸³ Joachim, *Expositio*, fol. 212 r.

Christ, just as Rachel by her husband, so that he [the devil] will bring upon them and upon himself temporal and eternal judgment, lest he further have time and place for persecuting the church."⁸⁵

14. NEW HEAVEN AND EARTH THE BLISSFUL STATE.—The *new heaven and earth*—in the blissful state, when the tares are gathered from the wheat—means the saints who no longer live according to the flesh, and the rest of the faithful who expect to see the kingdom through God's mercy. The *New Jerusalem* is still distinguished as the church in its earthly state,⁸⁶ similar to Augustine's view.

V. Year-Day Principle for Five Months and 1260 Years

1. FIVE MONTHS OF 150 PROPHEPIC DAYS ARE LITERAL YEARS.—In his work on the Apocalypse, Joachim applies the year-day principle to the five months of Revelation 9, referring to the locusts as the heretical Catharist *perfecti*. The location of this 150-year period is admittedly unknown, for he does not know whence this sect came—only that it has existed a long time.

"But wherefore the five months? Possibly because five months have 150 days; and sometimes a day is wont to designate a year; truly thirty days, one generation of years. Probably, therefore, five months signify five generations of years, namely 150 years, because it is a long time from whence that sect was fostered, although we do not know whence it originated or grew."⁸⁷

But Joachim's most noteworthy use of the year-day principle is in connection with the 1260 days. The key to his whole chronological scheme is the symbolic period variously named as forty-two months, three and one-half times or years, and 1260 days. He calls this "that great number which contains all these mysteries. For there are 42 months or 1260 days, and they designate nothing else than 1260 years, in which the mysteries of the New Testament consist."⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 212 v.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 215 v.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 131 v.

⁸⁸ Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 118 r.

2. THE 1260 DAYS ARE 1260 YEARS "WITHOUT DOUBT."—Having established a concord, or correspondence, of events, between the Old and New Testament times in the seven seals, Joachim tries to formulate a correspondence of time. The forty-two generations⁹⁹ of the Old Testament age of the Father are taken as a type of forty-two spiritual generations of the New Testament age of the Son, which is 1260 years if thirty years are counted for each generation. In connection with the 1260 days of the symbolic woman—the church—of Revelation 12, hidden in the seclusion of the wilderness, Joachim makes a remarkable application of the year-day principle, destined to reverberate through the centuries following:

"The generations of the church, under the space of 30 years, are to be taken each under its unit of thirty; so that just as Matthew includes the time of the first state under the space of 42 generations, so there is no doubt that the time of the second ends in the same number of generations, especially since this is shown to be signified in the number of days during which Elijah was hidden from the face of Ahab, and during which the woman clothed with the sun, who signifies the church, remained hidden in the wilderness from the face of the serpent, *a day without doubt being accepted for a year* and a thousand two hundred and sixty days for the same number of years."¹⁰⁰

3. ANTICIPATED BY JEWISH YEAR-DAY APPLICATION.—Application of the year-day principle to the longer time periods of Daniel had appeared first among Jewish expositors some three centuries before any Christian interpreters are known to have so applied it. Nahawendi, in the early ninth century, was evidently the first to interpret the 1290 and 2300 days as years. Then Saadia, Jeroham, Hakohen, Jepheth ibn Ali, and Rashi of the tenth century applied it not only to the 70 weeks but also to one or more of the 1290-, 1335-, and 2300-day periods. And Hanasi and Eliezer, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and Nahmanides in the thirteenth, similarly extended it to the longer time periods of Daniel.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ A reference to Matthew 1:1-17.

¹⁰⁰ Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 12 v. (Italics supplied.) The italicized phrase reads, in the original, "*accepto haud dubium die pro anno.*"

¹⁰¹ See *Prophetic Faith*, vol. 2, p. 216.

That Joachim had Jewish contacts is not unlikely, but we have no conclusive evidence as to the source of his interpretation of the 1260 days as 1260 years.

To what extent Joachim and the Joachimites, who likewise applied the year-day principle to these same periods, were acquainted with or aware of these interpretations, we do not know. But it is most likely that they had some knowledge of this application. That there were some exchanges of ideas between the two groups is evident, as, for instance, in the debate between Nahmanides and Fra Pablo in 1263, before King James of Aragon. The significance of these interpretations will become increasingly apparent in Volumes II to IV.

4. EXPECTS THE PERIOD TO END BEFORE 1260.—Joachim would seem to imply that the third age, that of the Spirit, would begin about the year 1260, although he is inclined to expect it earlier than that. He refuses to be dogmatic about it. Note what he says immediately after the sentence in which he lays down the principle "a day without doubt being accepted for a year." He prefers rather to remain uncertain as to whether Zacharias and his son John the Baptist should be counted as two generations of the forty-two—and therefore the third age placed only forty generations, or 1200 years, after Christ—or whether there are two more generations left after that time. And in the latter case he wonders whether the two remaining generations will run the same length as the others or will be shortened for the elect's sake, possibly to three and a half years.¹⁰²

It is clear that in Joachim's opinion the second of the three ages is about to end in his day, and the critical period is to be expected between 1200 and 1260, beginning about 1200,¹⁰³ but it is not clear how the year 1200 fits into the scheme.

On the one hand he seems to compute the full 42 months to the year 1200.

"For as we have written above in this work, from Adam to Jacob were 21 generations, from Jacob indeed to Christ 42 generations. Likewise from Uzziah to Christ 21 generations, and from Christ to the time of this tyrant, as our opinion holds, as it were 42 generations. These forty-two

¹⁰² Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 12 v.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, fol. 40 v; see also Fournier, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24; Vaucher, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

generations are of thirty years each, and are called forty-two months, or 1260 days, or a time and times and half a time. . . . There are from Adam, in all, up to the year 1200 from the incarnation of the Lord, 105 generations, although the two last are of uncertain time and moment."¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, he seems to reckon 1260 years from Christ, with the year 1200 at the end of the fortieth generation, where he places his own time on a tabulation,¹⁰⁵ with forty-one and forty-two yet to come, but he is uncertain whether these final two run the full thirty years each, ending in 1260, or whether they are shortened. He suggests elsewhere that the sixth and seventh periods, which begin together, may be very short, spanned by the time of Antichrist.¹⁰⁶

As to the problem of how he can reckon 1260 years from Christ ending about the year 1200, he gives an intriguing and typically medieval explanation in his work on the Gospels. He is discussing the forty-two generations from Abraham to Christ, or rather to Joseph, as listed in Matthew 1. He notes that the list of forty-two generations contains only forty names, and brings up several irrelevant parallels to show that this passage contains a mystery.¹⁰⁷ So, he continues, the number forty is held in the sum, but "the consummation of mysteries is extended to the forty-second number."

The number of generations of the church up to the conversion of Israel corresponds to the number of months during which Elijah prevented rain, and during which the woman, the church, fled from the dragon into solitude. She spends forty of these months in peace, of a sort, but two in a period of darkness in connection with the consummation of the mystery at the sounding of the seventh trumpet—the period of tribulation followed by the darkening of the sun and the moon, and the falling of the stars, and the rest, whose length no one knows.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Joachim, *Concordia*, fol. 134 r.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 11 r, v.

¹⁰⁶ See page 709.

¹⁰⁷ For example, the Israelites had forty-two stopping places between Egypt and Canaan, but made the journey in forty years. He does not notice that the forty-two generations are the sum of three divisions of fourteen generations, each of which is reckoned *inclusively*, according to a common custom of ancient times. (See Appendix A, part 1, page 917, for other examples of this method of counting.)

¹⁰⁸ Joachim, *Tractatus*, p. 15.

It is clear that Joachim himself never intended to press a precise year for the epoch of the Spirit. But after his death the specific year, 1260, came to be considered by Joachim's followers as the fatal date that would begin the new age, so much so that when it passed without any notable event some ceased to believe any of his teachings.

5. BECOMES PROPHET OF THE NEW AGE.—Joachim's teachings would have remained without great significance or influence were it not for the fact that a few years after his death Francis of Assisi preached the evangelical ideal with unsurpassed force. He seemed to be the direct fulfillment of the coming *Dux* (leader) in that new era of the Spirit predicted by Joachim. Joachim's writings now became important, and he became the prophet of the new and final age of the world. People began to look for the opposite pole to the Spiritual Franciscans, and believed they had found it in the emperor Frederick II. If he should die in 1260, he certainly would be the Antichrist, they thought. Numerous writings sprang up under Joachim's name, and these pseudo-Joachim writings were even more widely canvassed in Franciscan circles.

It was the Franciscan principle not to remain secluded in stately cloisters but to mingle freely among the common people, there to preach and to help. Therefore these ideas became widely known among all strata of the population. What Joachim had still avoided in pinning prophecy down to exact dates, these Franciscan Spirituals no longer did. Concerning this significant development we shall hear in a later chapter. But one thing is certain: Joachim of Floris stands at the turning point of an epoch—the turning point from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance and modern times, a transition which he was instrumental in achieving. His hope had been that the new age would be the age of the Spirit; he did not imagine that it would become the age of science. Now let us consider the subsequent influence of his teachings.

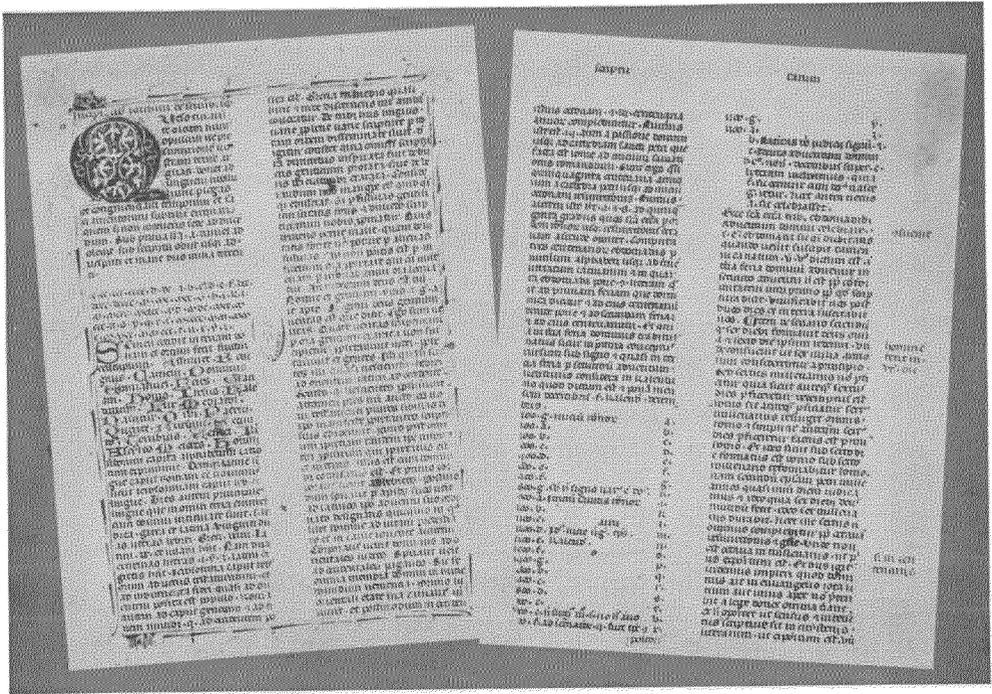
Strange Teachings Among the Joachimites and Spirituals

I. "De Semine" Emphasizes Twenty-three Centuries

Before dealing with the writings which usher in the era of the Joachimites we must first carefully note a little work long attributed to Joachim, and written only three years after his death. In reality it belongs to a quite different category of writings. This treatise is called *De Semine Scripturarum*, or in some manuscripts *De Seminibus Scripturarum* (On the Seed, or Seeds, of the Scriptures), and is of a rather mystical nature. It has a definite bearing upon our investigation as the earliest instance found, among *Christian* writers, of the interpretation of the 2300 days as a period of 2300 years. The date of this treatise is given in the text as 1205, although at least in the Vatican manuscript of it here cited, it also appears later as 1304/5, but the latter is obviously a copyist's error for 1204/5.¹ The internal evidence clearly points to the earlier date. The very chronological schemes in which these dates occur require it. Further, the writer prophesies the beginning of a new era with the year 1215, yet to come, during which time both Jerusalem and Rome will be delivered from their material and spiritual enemies, meaning from the simoniacal clerics.²

¹ *De Seminibus Scripturarum*, fol. 7 r, col. 1, lines 44-46, fol. 13 v, col. 2, lines 15, 16. The manuscript used here (Vat. Latin 3819) is the abridged form with the variant title *De Seminibus*. It contains no folio numbering whatever. A complete reproduction in microfilm is in the Advent Source Collection.

² See F. Kampers, "Zur 'Notitia saeculi' des Alexander de Roes," *Festgabe Karl Theodor von Heigel*, p. 108; and Beatrix Hirsch-Reich, "Zur 'Notitia saeculi' und zum 'Pavo,'" *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vol. 38 (1920), pp. 581, 582.



PSEUDO-JOACHIM MANUSCRIPT ATTRIBUTED TO MONK OF BAMBERG

Opening Page of *De Semibus Scripturarum*, First Known Christian Treatise That Explains the 2300 Days of Daniel 8:14 as Twenty-three Centuries (Left); Later Page of Same Document, Showing Interesting Numerical Key, Beginning in Left Column (Right)

In its general trend *De Semine* defends extreme papal power, although at the same time it condemns simony in strong terms. On the other hand, it makes highly favorable remarks about Charlemagne and the Ottos, and dedicates a large portion of its space to Emperor Henry II and his spouse Kuni-gunde, and the events connected with Henry's establishment of the bishopric of Bamberg. This leads Kampers to assume that the author might be a monk of Bamberg.³ Franz Wilhelm, on the other hand, believes that the author was a German residing in Italy.⁴ Beatrix Hirsch-Reich, who has prepared a critical edition of the work not yet published, based on more than a dozen manuscripts, says that the archetype is a manuscript found at Bamberg, and that it is extant in a long and a short recension, the latter with an added introductory para-

³ Kampers, "Zur 'Notitia saeculi,'" p. 109.
⁴ Franz Wilhelm, "Zu Jordanus von Osnabrück," *Mitteilungen, des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vol. 24 (1903), p. 368.

graph.⁵ Precisely who the author was seems impossible to determine from the evidence at present available.

I. CONTENTS UNLIKE JOACHIM'S TEACHINGS.—If it were not for the introductory passage of this little book, "*Incipit liber Joachim . . .*," and for its later acceptance as Joachim's by the Spirituals, hardly anyone would assume any particular relationship between it and the abbot's writings. In fact, it has little in common with the true Joachim.⁶ The teaching on the Trinity is there, but it has not become the foundation of a grand system, as in Joachim. Nor do we find the division of the history of the world into three great periods, but rather into four; and it ignores Joachim's preoccupation with the forty-two months and the 1260 days as numbers of central interest. On the other hand, we find in its odd computation, based on a play with the letters of the alphabet in a rather cabalistic style, an element completely absent in the genuine writings of Joachim; and its central figure is the 2300 days—which Joachim ignored—interpreted as twenty-three centuries extending to the sixteenth.⁷

Where did our unknown author's ideas come from? Alfred Vaucher—a careful Swiss scholar, to whom I am indebted for access to this pseudo-Joachim treatise and to the other Joachimite material on the 2300 years—is of the opinion that these notions probably did not come from Joachim at all, but were rather derived from the same sources as Joachim's—Jewish cabalism. It is not necessary to suppose that the conception of the 2300 days as 2300 years was derived from reading Joachim's calculation of 1260 years. For not only had earlier Jewish writers attached numerical values to the letters of the alphabet, and applied the year-day principle to the 1260, 1290, and 1335 days, but also a contemporary writer, Eleazar ben Judah Kalonymus (c. 1176-1238), who was a disciple of Saadia Gaon, the early popularizer of the year-day principle among the Jews,

⁵ Cited in Vaucher, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁶ Kampers, "Zur 'Notitia sæculi,'" p. 112.

⁷ Joachim's 1260 years never led him to extend the year-day principle to the longer period of the 2300 days, probably because of his belief in the imminence of the end. (Vaucher, *op. cit.*, p. 58.)

occupied himself with Messianic calculations, and was supposed to have written a work on the alphabet.⁸ At least six previous Hebrew expositors had calculated the 2300 days symbolically, applying the year-day principle.

2. TWENTY-THREE CENTURIES FROM THE TIME OF DANIEL.

—The entire work is based on the Latin alphabet, the twenty-three letters of which (as the “seed” of the Scriptures which produce a hundredfold) are curiously made to signify the twenty-three centuries from the earliest days of Rome, or approximately from the time of the prophet Daniel, on to the expected end. The whole chronological scope is stated at the end of the introductory paragraph: “Under the first letter, *a*, Daniel grew up; under the second he died; unto the evening and the morning, two thousand three hundred.”⁹

This same sentence is found at the end of the work, followed by the explanation that *a* means 100; *b*, 200; and so on through the alphabet. This mention of Daniel and 2300 occurs only at the end in the long recension, but in the abridged recension at the beginning also.¹⁰ If, as Miss Hirsch-Reich thinks, the Joachimite who abridged the original added this introductory paragraph as a preface, the body of the work would begin with a series of Roman numerals from 100 to 2300 equated with the letters of the alphabet:

“c.ccc.cccc.d.dc. *a.b.c.d.e.f.* dcc.dccc.dcccc.m.mc.mcc. *g.h.i.k.l.m.*
mccc.mcccc.md.mdc.m[d]cc.m[d]ccc. *n.o.p.q.r.s.* m[d]cccc.mm.mmc.mmcc.
mmccc. *t.u.x.y.z.*

“The seed fell into good ground and springing up brought forth fruit a hundredfold.”¹¹

Then comes an acrostic: “Assumet. Benignus. Carnem. Dominus. Emmanuel,” and so on through the alphabet. In Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, continues the author, which were the languages inscribed upon the cross, the prophetic Scriptures have been sown over the whole world. Since the seeds, or

⁸ Vaucher, *op. cit.*, p. 60. For the earlier Jewish writers on these periods see Volume II of the present work.

⁹ Translated from *De Seminibus Scripturarum* (short recension, Cod. Vat. Lat. 3819), fol. 1 r, col. 1. (See reproduction on page 718.)

¹⁰ Vaucher, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹¹ *De Seminibus*, fol. 1 r, col. 1.

letters, produce a hundredfold, he reckons a hundred years for each letter, but he does not say why he takes years as the unit. Beginning with *a*, the discussion proceeds through the alphabet, filled with symbolism of numbers and letters, of vowels and consonants, and of metrical schemes. Under *s* there is an extravagant eulogy of the emperor Henry II and his wife, comparing the latter to the celestial woman of Revelation 12. There are philosophical side excursions, including the old notion of the resurrection day as the "eighth day," and the "octonary" of the New Testament supplanting the "septenary" of the Old Testament.

3. SEVEN LETTERS BEFORE CHRIST.—Throughout this strange mixture, however, runs a definite though fanciful time scheme. If no one knows the day or hour, neither do I, says the writer, "but I know concerning the years."¹² Few dates are given, and the location of events within the centuries is indefinite, but the general characteristics of the periods are unmistakable. The interval from the founding of Rome to the incarnation is represented by the first seven letters of the Latin alphabet, which stand for seven centuries;¹³ Christ comes under the eighth letter, *h* (*homo*), as the new divine Man, the promised Seed in whom all the families of the earth were to be blessed.¹⁴

Under *i* and *k* (the second and third centuries of our era) there is persecution; the "red color in God's picture" is covered with black, but the sun, hidden hitherto by the mountains, shines forth through *l* (*lux*), the light of God, when under Constantine and Sylvester peace is restored to the church, and the two swords (referring to Luke 22:38) are confederated in the priesthood and the kingdom.¹⁵ In the next century, characterized by the green color, there follow the "confessors and virgins," and the Arian controversy concerning the Trinity, which is symbolized by the triple letter *m*.¹⁶ The sixth century,

¹² *Ibid.*, fol. 1 v, col. 1, lines 48, 49.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 3 r, cols. 1, 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 5 r, cols. 1, 2, fol. 8 r, col. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, fol. 2 v, col. 1, fol. 3 r, col. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 5 r, col. 1.

n, is identified through the mention of "the abbot Benedict";¹⁷ by the seventh century, *o*, identified with Gregory the Great, the Catholics have spread over the world in the seven hundred years (inclusive) since the *h* century, heresies are quiescent, "for no one sits upon the whole world except him who holds the see of blessed Peter";¹⁸ under *p* (*pax*), there is peace after so many tribulations from pagans and heretics; *q* represents temptation and trial by persecution.¹⁹

4. SEES EMPEROR AND EMPRESS IN REVELATION 12.—Under *r* (*rex*), referring to "a king discerning between peace and war," the difference is shown between "pontiffs and princes who wished to prohibit the small and humble from the praise of the Lord," and those who receive the scourge (*flagellum*) of trial and humiliation as a test before receiving the kingdom.²⁰ Under the letter *s* the Saviour cures those who submit themselves voluntarily to the scourge.²¹ At this point the treatise launches into a six-page eulogy of Emperor Henry II and "his most noble wife Kunigunde." The author relates how in this century (the eleventh) "the most holy emperor Henry" bent over like the letter *s*, from the height of his power, and founded bishoprics and monasteries; he waxes enthusiastic over the royal couple's supposed espousal of celibacy.²²

T, the form of a cross, represents the century in which so many religious orders rose—such as the Cistercians—taking up the cross of Christ. In this century the region of Jerusalem was taken.²³ Just as Christ is on the cross under the letter *t*, He expires under *u* (or *v*), the last of the vocals. Christ, the *Via*, *Veritas*, *Vita* (the Way, the Truth, and the Life) was crucified, he says, thirty-three years after the annunciation. The twofold *U* represents His first coming in humility and His second in glory.²⁴

5. AUTHOR EXPECTS ANTICHRIST BEFORE RESURRECTION.—

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 8 r, col. 2, fol. 8 v, col. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 9 r, col. 2.

²¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 10 r, col. 1.

²³ *Ibid.*, fol. 13 r, cols. 1, 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 8 v, col. 2, fol. 9 r, col. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 9 v, cols. 1, 2.

²² *Ibid.*, fol. 10 r, col. 2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 13 v, col. 1.

Our author places himself in the *u* century (the thirteenth), and begins to use future tense for *x*, under which letter he expects Jerusalem, captured by the "pagans," to be restored to the Christians.²⁵

The corruptions of the church are to be ended by the second advent.

"After the time of the martyrs He purged her [the church] from the terror by night; after the time of the heretics He purged her from the arrow flying by day, which is the craftiness of the heretics; up to now, however, we hope that He will purge her from the trouble walking in darkness, that is, from hidden heresy of the simoniacs. Last of all He will purge her from the evil demon of noonday, which is Antichrist. . . . This will be before the general resurrection of all."²⁶

Under *x*, before Antichrist comes, the Jews are to be converted; under Antichrist they, with many other Christians, will apostatize. *X* is the fullness of the Gentiles, the end of the Latin letters.²⁷ But *y* and *z* added from the Greek alphabet, mean the union of all the world under Christ, and then eternity.²⁸

6. ALPHABET ENDS IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—At the end of the entire alphabet the sum of twenty-three centuries is reached. This is shown by a tabulation of the Latin letters with the Arabic numerals 100, 200, 300, and on through 2300. This chronology would seem to make the alphabet end with the sixteenth century. Were it not for the sequence, the unfamiliar notation would make the numbers unintelligible without a dictionary of medieval manuscript forms.

Following the tabulation, we find mention of the 6000-year theory:

"In six days God formed all things, and on the sixth day He made man, on the sixth day He redeemed him. . . . Just as under the sixth day man was formed, under the sixth millenary man will be reformed. For according to the epistle of Peter, we indicate a thousand years as one day, and so, because in six days God made the world, so it will last six thousand years. It is conceded that that sixth will not be completed at all because of the eighth of the resurrection and of glory."²⁹

²⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 13 v, col. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 14 r, col. 2. This wording is reminiscent of Bernard of Clairvaux. See page 640.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 17 r, col. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 16 v, cols. 1, 2, fol. 17 v, col. 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 18 r, col. 2.

At the end comes the final restatement of the chronology of the alphabet:

"What is *Dic* [speak] but the Word incarnate? The book of life. Christ is through D, 500, through I, 100 [he must mean 1000],³⁰ through C, 100, which combined fill up 1600. . . . To these add 700 years from the foundation of the city [Rome] up to Christ, and you will have the sum of the alphabet and the number of Daniel demonstrated. This is 2300, and the book of life ends, whose beginning is like the end.

"For in the beginning it is said under the first letter, *a*, Daniel grew up; under the second he died; unto the evening and the morning, two thousand three hundred. For *a* signifies 100, *b* 200, *c* 300, *d* 400, and so on to the end of the alphabet, so that every element adds 100 upon the year.

"[Here is] ended the book of Joseph [*sic*] on the seeds of the Scriptures."³¹

7. PROTOTYPE OF LATER YEAR-DAY INTERPRETATION.—It is noticeable that the word "days" is not used with the expression "two thousand three hundred."³² The time is not reckoned from a definite year to a specific ending date; rather, the century is the unit. These twenty-three centuries, then, may be regarded as a *prototype* of the later year-day interpretation of the same period by Arnold of Villanova; but this author does not arrive clearly at the year-day principle.

The elements of his interpretation are subjective and quite fanciful: the seed producing a hundredfold, the twenty-three letters, the twenty-three centuries, "to the evening and the morning, two thousand three hundred." But there is no definite basis for a conclusion. There is no equation "2300=days=years." Still, it may be that this curious theory offered the clue—perhaps combined with Joachim's year-day application to the 1260 days—without which Villanova might not have taken the next step. In any case, it is in the latter's discussion of this

³⁰ One thousand is required here in order to total 1600. This is the more likely because our scribe makes the same error in copying the tabulation in which occurs the sequence 900, 100 [*sic*], 1100. (See fol. 18 r, col. 1.)

³¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 18 v.

³² It is either translated from the Hebrew, which reads literally, "until evening morning two thousand and three hundred," or is quoted from an old form of the Vulgate "unto evening and morning, two thousand three hundred." The word *days* in the Authorized Version is a free translation of the Hebrew phrase *evening morning*, but the Vulgate inserts *et* between, and makes "unto evening and morning" a modifier. The later Vulgate inserts the word *days* also at the end, which Jerome apparently did not do.

very work, his *Introductio in Librum [Joachim] De Semine Scripturarum*, that Villanova sets forth Daniel's 2300 days as 2300 years, and cites Ezekiel's "a day for a year" as the basis of reckoning, as the next chapter will show.

And herein, perhaps, lies the significance of *De Semine Scripturarum*, and its resurrection—that Arnold of Villanova and Pierre Jean d'Olivi found it valuable enough to use it, and also that Alexander de Roes adorned his tractate *Notitia Saeculi* with long quotations extracted from it.

II. Pseudo-Joachim Commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah

Strange as it may seem, Joachim did not rise in fame so much by his own writings as by those which were later falsely attributed to him. Among the most outstanding of these pseudonymous writings are the two commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah. These established Joachim's reputation as a "prophet," and were quoted again and again by the Joachimites and the Franciscan Spirituals, who succeeded them. They were, in reality, the pattern for innumerable tracts and pamphlets of like nature, appearing from then on till the time of the Protestant Reformation.

Why did these pseudo-Joachim writings find greater acceptance and a wider circulation than the genuine writings of the noted abbot of Fiore? And what are the main differences between them? Just this: The genuine writings of Joachim were more in the realm of abstract thinking and theorizing. They were an attempt to find a new solution to the perplexing problem of the outworking of the plan of God in human history, and of the realization of God's will in the material sphere. They were an attempt to harmonize divine revelation with everyday facts, and they expressed the strong hope that in a future age, soon to come, the complete fulfillment of all that had been predicted by revelation will take place.

To think along the lines of general principles and abstractions is in most cases too difficult for the untrained mind of the common man. He wants tangible facts and figures and

things he can visualize. He wishes to lift the curtain, not from the distant future, but from his immediate future. He is interested in what is going to happen within his own lifetime. This need the writers of these commentaries both sensed and sought to supply. They were good Joachimites. They sought to write in the spirit of Joachim, but what they produced was clearly a substitute, which finally led men in a direction far away from the one intended by Joachim.

1. PAINTS GLOOMY PICTURE OF CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS.—Of the two pseudo-Joachim commentaries, the one on Jeremiah is the earlier. It is mentioned by Salimbene in 1248, by Albert of Stade in 1250, and by William of St. Amour in 1255.³³ Kampers dates it as between 1244 and 1247,³⁴ whereas the commentary on Isaiah is generally dated 1266, or shortly before. Both are very much alike in general structure and in attitude toward their own time. They paint a most gloomy picture of the general degeneration, corruption, and depravity of their own day. They point to the worldliness of the church, and charge the ambition and lustfulness of her ministers as the cause of the prevailing evil. The emperor Frederick II is considered the scourge of God to punish the fallen church.

Here is one of the differences between the two commentaries, which is regarded as a clue to the later dating of the Isaiah commentary. The earlier Jeremiah commentary sees in Frederick II the seventh head of the dragon, which is also the Antichrist, whereas the Isaiah commentary includes Frederick and his successors, as represented by the red dragon, yet who is not himself the Antichrist but only his forerunner or his vicar; both, however, consider him to be the Little Horn of Daniel 7, and the king of fierce countenance of Daniel 8.³⁵

2. YEAR 1260 LOOKED TO AS END OF PERIOD.—Both commentaries mention the year 1260 as the end of the forty-two

³³ Bett, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³⁴ Kampers, *Kaiserpropheten und Kaisersagen im Mittelalter*, pp. 95 ff.; Gründmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.

³⁵ K. Friderich, "Kritische Untersuchung der dem Abt Joachim von Floris zugeschriebenen Commentare zu Jesajas und Jeremias," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, vol. 2, pp. 486, 487.

generations or months, as Joachim himself had particularly avoided doing. The Isaiah commentary says that at that time Elijah will come or the seventh angel will sound the summons to judgment at the coming of the Judge.³⁶ The Jeremiah commentary speaks of the affliction of the holy city, that is, the Roman or general church, during forty-two months, ending in the year 1260.³⁷ "In 60 years will be ended the affliction of the church," it says, and speaks of a particular tribulation of three years and a half. This reference to sixty years shows that, whenever this work might have been written, it is put back ostensibly to the time of the genuine Joachim.

3. STRICTURES ON THE PAPAL COURT.—Both commentaries, although upholding the orthodoxy of the Catholic faith, attack the papal system without mercy; so much so that the Protestant church historian Flacius, in 1562, and Arnold in his history of the church and her heretics (1740), considered Joachim to be a true "prophet."³⁸ Here are sample strictures:

"The papal court outstrips all others in intrigues, machinations, extortions, and blackmailing. It is full of hedgehogs, hawks, and cunning, covetous hooting owls."³⁹

"And as the Roman Church asserts to have preeminence among all others, just as Judah claimed the same among the tribes of Israel, therefore in a special manner is the Roman Church the woman in golden dress, riding on the scarlet colored beast; she is the harlot who, without discrimination, commits adultery with all the princes of the world."⁴⁰

And in another place we read, "Because of avarice and lust the church went to Egypt and Assur, to receive from the French rich benefices and from the Germans power and great honor."⁴¹ According to this pseudo Joachim, the beginning of all this disaster springs from Pope Sylvester, who raised the church to

³⁶ Pseudo Joachim, *Eximii Profundissimique Sacrorum Eloquiorum Perscrutatoris ac Futurorum Prenunciatoris Abbatis Joachimi Florentis Scriptum Super Esaiam Prophetam* (Of the Distinguished and Most Profound Investigator of the Sacred Communications and Predictor of Future Events, Abbot Joachim of Floris, a Writing on Isaiah the Prophet), fol. 33 v.

³⁷ Pseudo Joachim, *Interpretatio Praeclara Abbatis Joachimi in Hieremiam Prophetam* (The Famous Interpretation of Abbot Joachim on Jeremiah the Prophet), fol. 45 v.

³⁸ Friderich, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 458, translated.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

worldly glory. The day on which Sylvester received the patrimony was the one on which the church ate from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. It would have been better for Sylvester not to be born at all.⁴² All this is in striking contrast to the genuine writings of Joachim, who lauded Sylvester because under him the church began to enjoy the freedom of worship.⁴³

4. FRIVOLOUS POPES DANIEL'S ABOMINATION.—Most unlike Joachim's unflinching respect is this attitude toward contemporary popes.

"Now, frivolous popes are sitting in the chair of Peter; their hearts are hardened, they inflict the severest wounds upon the church without the least care; they despise the incense and the myrrh; their desire is gold, in order to mix strong drink in golden cups with Babylon, the world; and they defile with their outrages and depravity all sons of the church. To them the prophecy of Daniel refers in the expression, the 'abomination of desolation.' " ⁴⁴

5. A FERMENT IN THEOLOGICAL THINKING.—But the judgment will come, this Joachimite continues. *The Imperium Romanum*, that is, the empire of the Germans, these new Chaldeans, will be the scourge in the hand of God to punish the church. Their emperor (Frederick II) will be the destroyer.⁴⁵ Then follow many predictions of a local nature. The empire will be reduced to a most miserable state by the invasion of the Saracens, who, according to the Isaiah commentary, will be destroyed in turn by the Mongols and Tartars.⁴⁶ Thereupon peace will reign between the kings of Europe; the church will sit in their midst as the true light from heaven, following her original calling to contemplation and poverty. This blessed state will be interrupted only by the coming tribulation, caused by Gog and the last Antichrist, whence will follow the resurrection.⁴⁷

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 469.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 471.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 481.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 497.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

He also lashes out against the Crusades, declaring that the popes under pretext of desiring to rescue desolate and rejected Jerusalem, which Jesus declared would be destroyed, are seeking to gain temporal advantage to themselves.⁴⁸

These concrete, down-to-earth interpretations of the prophecies had a tremendous effect upon the common people, and gave strength to the Joachimite movement. They became a constant ferment in the development of theological thinking during the next centuries, and without doubt helped materially to prepare the ground for the Reformation in the sixteenth century. It must be remembered that succeeding generations derived their ideas of Joachim's teaching largely from these more extreme spurious writings which were believed to be his.

III. Characteristics of the "Pope Book"

The ideas of Joachim had opened the vision of many to expect a new and better state to come. The claim of the Roman church—to be the final and supreme institution on earth, and to have the last word in all matters religious—was, by such, no longer held valid. Critics arose in many places. Some were moved by a pure and pious zeal. Others were stirred by egotistic and revolutionary motives, and many by purely malicious joy in having the chance to criticize those who claimed superior or really divine powers. The more insignificant these critics, the more they attempted to make their products appear authentic by covering themselves with the "prophet's" mantle.

1. A POPULAR ILLUSTRATED TRACT.—Among these interesting products is the *Liber de Pontificibus Sive Praedictiones Venerabilis Joannis Joachim Abbatis Florentis* (Book of the Popes, or Predictions of the Venerable John Joachim, Abbot of Floris), an illustrated tract of the pseudo-Joachim school appearing under varying titles. First printed in Latin, and in Italian as well, it was reprinted many times prior to the sixteenth century. Internal evidence leads to the conclusion that it

⁴⁸ Neander, *op cit.*, vol. 4, p. 189.

could hardly have been written before the time of Clement V, who changed the seat of the Papacy to Avignon, in 1309.⁴⁹

It contains many impressive illustrations picturing the popes overstepping their rights and trampling upon the true and faithful. Through its many redactions the editors made every effort to bring it up to date; as for instance, we find among the predictions against the Turks, mention of a dream, which Mohammed II had on the eve of capturing Constantinople (1453), a proof that this prediction was slipped in after the downfall of the Byzantine Empire.⁵⁰ Therefore, although it is impossible to attribute this book to Joachim, or to allocate to any of these predictions a definite date, it shows the tremendous influence which the concepts of Joachim exercised upon a large section of the people even one hundred or one hundred and fifty years after his death.

2. CARTOONS OF THE POPES.—A Venice edition of 1639 contains thirty illustrated "prophecies," half of which are attributed to Joachim, and the other half to a fictitious bishop, "Anselm of Marsico."⁵¹ These illustrations could classify as medieval cartoons, for they approach this mode of art in their conception. To correctly understand their implications today would require a detailed study and knowledge of the exact time of their origin, which is impossible to establish with any accuracy. We shall therefore restrict these observations to descriptions of just a few of these *Vaticinia*. Number 6, for instance, represents the pope, with a (Gallic) cock climbing his staff having the tines of a pitchfork with which the pope is stabbing a dove carrying an olive branch. In his other hand, close to the keys, he is holding an eagle well plucked.

Number 9 shows the pope with the tiara on his head, and at the right a smaller person with a body like a dragon, likewise crowned with a tiara, while a lamb is suffering under the blows of the pope's cross-staff. And the caption informs the reader

⁴⁹ J. C. Huck, *Uberrin von Casale und dessen Ideenkreis*, p. 95.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁵¹ *Vaticinia, Sive Prophetiae Abbatis Ioachimi, & Anselmi Episcopi Marsicani*, edited by Pasqualino Regisimo. (Unpaged.)

that the pseudo prophet is doing much harm because the pope with his "evils" has "wounded the most gentle lamb with most cruel blows."

Number 15 represents a horrible winged dragon with a human face. It is crowned, though not with a triple crown, and drags down a cluster of stars with its tail. The tail ends in an eagle's head biting a sword.

And Vaticinium number 30 illustrates a pope taking the triple crown and placing it on the head of a leopard beast, possibly of Revelation 13. These and many similar pictures must have made a deep impression upon the public at that time.

IV. The Influence of Joachim on the Franciscans

Joachim had not only gone back to the historical interpretation of the apocalyptic portions of Bible prophecy, but he had introduced a completely new element into theological thinking. With this three-ages theory he laid the foundation for the concept of a progressive development of revelation—the age of the Father, the age of the Son, and the coming age of the Spirit—succinctly stating that the revelation of Christ, and even His words, would be superseded by a higher and more pertinent revelation of the Spirit, which would no longer be hampered by the impediment of words.

1. CHALLENGE BROUGHT BY FRANCIS OF ASSISI.—Strange to say, these revolutionary concepts did not cause any marked agitation during Joachim's lifetime. And they probably would have remained confined to his own small circle, without noticeable effect on the course of the world, had not another great figure appeared on the historic scene about this time. This was Francis of Assisi, possibly the greatest figure the Roman church brought forth during the Middle Ages. He was disgusted with the world and distressed over a church that was ruled by feudal lords, who called themselves bishops and pastors of the flock, but who did not care for the lambs, except to shear them in order to live a life of splendor and self-aggran-

dizement. Francis set out to live the life of Christ in poverty, and gave himself without stint to preaching, singing, and healing. He went to the weary and heavy-laden to cheer their hearts and raise their spirits.

This was doubtless the greatest and noblest attempt to reform the church ever made from within. Francis' way of life was a heroic effort to imitate the life of Christ. It was a call to reform, and was revolutionary in the highest degree. It upset all well-established and age-honored modes of life in the church. It presented an inescapable challenge, because either the simple way of life—with all its poverty, and without any intention of acquiring riches and power—followed the true pattern of life given by Christ; or, the church—in all her pomp and splendor, and in her endeavor to dominate the world, enforcing her will upon princes and kings—was executing the true will of Christ her Lord. This was the alternative; there was no third road.

Francis had many followers. The meek and lowly flocked to him. The church could not disregard him; nor could she openly deny the principles for which he stood. She could not condemn an exemplary life, so she had to accept him. But at the same time she knew that these two principles of life—her own and his—were irrevocably apart. Something had to be done. Perhaps time would mend the break. Or, the ardor and zeal of the followers of Francis would most likely wane; then they could be led back to the old, established way of the church. Eventually the order became patterned after the regular monastic orders, but there was a stricter group which long clung to Francis' original ideals.

2. FRANCISCANS BELIEVED FULFILLING JOACHIM'S PREDICTION.—This realignment would have been accomplished much earlier had it not been for the fact that the ideas of Joachim had found entrance into the Franciscan circles. These ideas strengthened and fortified them in the belief that their order had come as a fulfillment of prophecy. It came about in this way. In the year 1241 an abbot of the Fiore (or Floris) order,

hearing of the approach of the emperor Frederick II, whom he and many other Joachimites considered as possibly the predicted Antichrist, fled to Pisa in order to prevent the precious writings of Joachim from falling into the hands of the emperor.

This abbot found shelter in the convent of the Minorites at Pisa, and began to study Joachim's writings with the Franciscan brethren. Here he found a deeply interested audience, and soon a goodly number became enthusiastic followers and believers in Joachim's teachings. Among them were Salimbene, Rudolf of Saxony, Bartholomeus Guisculus, and Gerard of Borgo San Donnino. Pisa thus became the center of Joachimism among the Franciscans.⁵²

The Franciscans were earnest and aggressive preachers. They mingled chiefly with the common people. And those who had accepted the ideas of the Joachimites soon spread them all over Italy, southern France, and Catalonia. About 1250 Joachim's writings reached England, being sent to Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln.⁵³ Record has been preserved of a simple man, generally called Asdenti, sitting in a tollhouse on the road to Parma. He was a sincere and pious soul, without higher education but with an enlightened spirit, eager to understand the sayings of those who spoke on prophecy—such as Joachim, Merlin, and Methodius, as well as Daniel and John of Patmos.⁵⁴ Another, Hugo Provincialis, lived in a small, fortified place between Marseille and Nice; and in his little room lawyers and judges, physicians and other intellectuals of the surrounding district, met together on holidays to learn from him the teachings of Joachim and the secrets of Holy Scripture.

A new hope stirred their hearts—the hope of the soon coming of a new age. They felt that they were living in a transition period, a period still fraught with many perils. But the rays of a new dawn were breaking over the horizon. Joachim became their prophet, and they believed that the spiritual church of the Minorites was the fulfillment of the prediction

⁵² Ernst Benz, *Ecclesia Spirituality*, pp. 175, 176.

⁵³ Döllinger, *Prophecies*, pp. 111, 112.

⁵⁴ Benz, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

of Joachim concerning the coming kingdom, and that the ideal of Franciscan poverty was the fulfillment of the real evangelical life.

Joachim's references to a future spiritual order, and even to a twofold order, formed the basis for the conviction, which spread through the thirteenth century, that the fulfillment of those prophecies was to be found in the new orders of friars, the Franciscans and Dominicans.⁵⁵

3. SPECULATION ON FREDERICK II AS ANTICHRIST.—At first these circles believed that Antichrist had already come in the person of the emperor Frederick II, although not commonly recognized. However, the year 1260 would bring the climactic change. The true nature of this emperor would be plainly revealed to all the world. He would then be recognized as the Antichrist.

In the long struggle between the German emperors and the Roman hierarchy Frederick II had again attempted to challenge the papal claims by placing the rights of the emperor and those of the state above those of the church.⁵⁶ In order to strengthen his case, he and his chancellor, Peter of Vineia, made extravagant claims. They compared, for instance, Frederick's town of birth, Jesi, with Bethlehem, from which the *Dux*, or leader, would come. The emperor was described as the perfect man, the center and hub of the world. In the eyes of the faithful this would mean that he had usurped the throne of Christ, and hence would become the Antichrist.⁵⁷ Daniel 7:24, 25 and Daniel 8:23-25, as well as Daniel 11:44, were thought to find their fulfillment in him.⁵⁸ But when Frederick died before 1260, this passing speculation as to his being the Antichrist broke down, and he was thenceforth simply regarded as Frederick the cursed, the bringer of the plague, the schismatic.

The untimely death of Frederick brought consternation to

⁵⁵ Buonaiuti, footnote in Joachim, *Tractatus*, p. 95.

⁵⁶ See pages 793 ff.

⁵⁷ Benz, *op. cit.*, pp. 227 ff.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 215.

the ranks of the Minorites. Salimbene, who had once been one of the most ardent followers of Joachim, lost out completely and abstained from further prediction of coming events. On the other hand, we are indebted to him because, through his chronicle of this period (1167-1287), much detailed evidence has come down to us.⁵⁰

It is a valuable source for understanding the events then taking place and the forces at work during the early thirteenth century in Italy. It affords, moreover, a clear insight into the conditions that prevailed among the different groups of Franciscans, and hence among the Joachimites.

V. Odd Figures Among the Joachimites

Having given this brief account of the literature of the Joachimite period, we shall now consider some of the leading actors.

1. SALIMBENE OF PARMA (1221-c.1288).—Salimbene, whose chronicle has just been mentioned, entered the Franciscan order early in life. Coming into touch with Joachim's ideas, he became an enthusiastic Joachimite. Like many others of his time, he considered the pseudo-Joachim commentary on Jeremiah as genuine, and therefore based his eschatological expectations largely upon statements found therein. He believed, for example, that in A.D. 1260 the emperor Frederick II would appear openly as the Antichrist. When, therefore, he heard of the death of the emperor many years before the expected date, it shook his faith so severely that he turned away from Joachimism, embracing again the orthodox views of the church. From then on he began to deride his former convictions.

However, Salimbene had drunk so deeply from that source that the underlying philosophy of Joachim's teaching never left him. It is clearly discernible in his writings. He retained

⁵⁰ Bett, *op. cit.*, p. 98. The title is *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam* (Chronicle of Brother Salimbene of Adam). Complete edition found in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, volume 32. The principal portions are translated, or sometimes summarized in English by G. G. Coulton in his *From St. Francis to Dante*.

the basic idea of Joachim—that the prophetic books, especially the Revelation, constitute the key to the understanding of the outworking of the plan of salvation in history. He did not, however, adopt Joachim's idea of definitely fixed epochs, and consequently his explanation became vague and quite unsound.⁶⁰

Moreover, having returned to the fold of the church, he tried to parry the attack that was launched against her through the followers of Joachim. To illustrate: Whereas the pseudo-Joachim writings understood the symbol of the "whore" of Babylon to refer to the hierarchical church, which had drunk deeply from the chalice of worldliness, Salimbene explained the great "harlot" in the following manner: "It is possible to understand under the whore of Babylon every soul who commits a deadly sin."⁶¹ Accordingly, the Antichrist was not in the church, as such, but rather the satanic power that wrought evil among Christians, causing them to fall.

On the other hand, Salimbene uses exceedingly strong words against the prelates, which is illustrated by this episode which he relates. At a certain church council of his time a letter from hell was supposed to have been tossed into the midst of the participants, having the following heading and content: "The princes of darkness to the prelates of the Church: Many thanks to you, because as many as have been committed to your care, just so many have been transferred to us."⁶² That means that the clerics are the bankers of Satan, who transfer the believing souls to him.

2. GERARD'S "INTRODUCTION" BRINGS ON CRISIS.—The second man to be mentioned in this connection is GERARD (Gerardino) OF BORGO SAN DONNINO, of the group of Franciscans at Pisa. He accepted Joachim's teaching enthusiastically, and threw the emphasis on the year 1260; but, unlike Salimbene, he never lost his faith in the soundness of this new doctrine, even when events contrary to the expectation and hopes of these early Spirituals occurred.

⁶⁰ Benz, *op. cit.*, p. 213; see also Döllinger, *Prophecies*, pp. 113, 114.

⁶¹ Benz, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 222.

In his deep veneration for Joachim, Gerard decided to publish the three main works of his master—the *Concord of the Old and New Testaments*, the *Psaltery of Ten Strings*, and the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*—to which he added an *Introduction*. This was apparently a very harmless and quite legitimate act, but actually it had most revolutionary consequences. He called his work *Liber Introductorius in Evangelium Aeternum* (Introductory Book on the Eternal Gospel). The title was based on Revelation 14:6, but was construed to refer to the writings of Joachim. In it we find the most radical ideas of Joachim treated as if their fulfillment were already in process.

This *Evangelium Aeternum* abolishes the *Evangelium* of Christ. The message of the Spirit, in the age of the Spirit, supersedes the message of words. Christ's words remain fully significant only until 1260. From then onward, he asserts, those who continue to live are no longer required to accept the New Testament. According to Gerard, the prophecies of Joachim become the "everlasting gospel," and his writings will become the canon of the new spiritual church.⁶³ The Roman, or papal, church will be abolished, and will be superseded by the spiritual church, whose representatives are the Franciscans, through whom the complete turnabout will be made possible. That, of course, was more than the official church could tolerate.

By the publication of this *Introduction* he became the mouthpiece of a large group of Franciscan Spirituals. He became their hero, and that at the very moment the church began to consider them as dangerous innovators, if not indeed heretics. Moreover, Joachim himself, although resting in his grave for more than half a century, also came under suspicion.

Gerard's work was published either in 1254 or 1255. And in the very year 1255 a commission of cardinals were called together in Anagni to investigate the matter. They left exact protocols through which we come to know the content of his teachings, as his original work is no longer available. The five

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 250 ff.; see also Döllinger, *Prophecies*, pp. 124-126.

points condemned are: (1) Joachim's idea of three periods of salvation; (2) the change from a clerical church to a spiritual church; (3) passages which refer to Peter and John as types of systems; (4) eschatological teachings which do not conform to the teachings of the church; (5) the superseding of the gospel of Christ by the gospel of the Spirit.

Gerard himself suffered a terrible fate. He was deprived of his office as lector, forbidden to preach, and afterward sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. There, in prison, his life ended after eighteen years of misery.⁶⁴

3. WILLIAM OF ST. AMOUR INJECTS RADICAL NOTIONS.—Still another strong figure, although not a Joachimite, in that tense thirteenth-century controversy was WILLIAM OF ST. AMOUR. Around 1250 he was a professor of the University of Paris, becoming the most eminent of the secular doctors. He wrote with bitter satire against the mendicant friars. But finally both his and the university's case was lost; the pope decided in favor of the friars. So William was banned from Paris. In spite of his hostility against the Franciscans, he nevertheless shared the apocalyptic notions that were afloat. And, like the Joachimites, he believed that the year 1260 would be of extreme significance—a belief which he based on Revelation 11:3 and 12:6.⁶⁵ In 1266 he issued another little book, called *Liber de Antichristo et Ejusdem Ministris* (The Book of Antichrist and His Ministers). In this book he vigorously condemns the teaching of Joachim, although his own treatise is itself full of dark prophetic speculations, and even imaginations. When he died he was buried in his home village outside the church, in the spot where excommunicated persons and suicides were interred.⁶⁶

4. JOACHIMISM PRODUCES FRANCISCAN SPIRITUALS.—In this short survey we have sought to cover men and events up to the fateful year 1260. We have seen how the teachings of Joachim

⁶⁴ Bett, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 107; Döllinger, *Prophecies*, p. 126.

⁶⁵ Bett, *op. cit.*, p. 88 (see also Döllinger, *Prophecies*, p. 123).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

began to influence wider and ever wider circles. At first his teachings were confined to his own rather small order, and these followers we can truly call Joachimites, or as they are sometimes referred to, Joachites.

As is always the case with a new doctrine, it does not long remain in its pure or original form. The *epigoni*, or followers, of a genius either subtract or add to his thought—perhaps because of not understanding the full meaning of his ideals, or because of their inability to conform to them. We have found therefore, among the circles of the Joachimites, persons unknown to us by name who took up the pen and wrote additional works under his name, still in the spirit of Joachim, but diluting some of his essential ideas. These may properly be called pseudo-Joachim writings. Furthermore, it is well to remember that, at no two periods of its existence, does Joachimism stand for precisely the same definite ideas. It was a spiritual movement, always in flux, and affording considerable latitude for divergencies of opinion.

When the teaching of Joachim entered into the ranks of the Franciscans, they acted as a ferment. Among these Franciscan friars there was already considerable agitation between those who persisted in following the very strict rules concerning absolute poverty laid down by Francis, and those who sought to relax these rules in order to bring them into conformity with those of other monkish orders. Now, when Joachim's ideas of a third age became known—a new age of the Spirit, brought about and ushered in by a new order—these concepts were eagerly accepted by the more rigorous segment among the Franciscans.

This group assimilated them and began to place full emphasis upon the need of realizing these spiritual aims. They became generally known as Spirituals. The Spirituals are consequently a direct product of the impact of Joachimism upon deepest Franciscan piety. They were at first just a group of Franciscans, but by the very nature of these new teachings they soon came into such strong opposition to the dominant church

that they were branded as heretics, and in time became a separate group or sect.

Other small groups sprang up, more or less loosely connected with the Spirituals, or claiming adherence to the ideals of the Spirituals, but often running to extremes and bringing the whole movement into disrepute.

VI. The 1260 Expectancy

In a previous chapter we noted how, around the year 1000, different groups became agitated, especially in France, believing that this ominous date might usher in the end of the world and bring about the long-desired millennium. However, the commotion around the year 1000 was slight compared with that of A.D. 1260. The 1260 days, or the forty-two months, are more frequently mentioned in the prophecies than the 1000 years, and more definitely attached to certain important events, and therefore received much greater attention than the latter number. We have likewise noted that the year 1260 loomed large in the expectations of the Joachimites and early Spirituals. And when that fateful date drew near, new movements appeared, stirring large areas of the population out of their apathy.

1. FLAGELLANTS ON THE MARCH IN A.D. 1260.—In 1259 a violent epidemic ravished the cities of central and northern Italy. This was considered by many as a special sign of the times, and was connected with the widespread expectation of the beginning of a new era in 1260, as taught by Joachim and the Spirituals. Suddenly, and quite spontaneously, in this crucial year, large processions of men in all walks of life marched through the cities lashing and scourging their naked backs with leather thongs until the blood flowed. This practice started in Perugia, spread like wildfire through all the cities of central and northern Italy, crossed the Alps into Germany, went down the Rhine valley, and on as far east as Bohemia and Poland. These Flagellants, as they were called, believed that by self-

inflicted pain and suffering they could do penance for their sins and therewith prepare the way for a new life.⁶⁷

2. FREAKISH VIEWS OF GUGLIELMA AND SEGARELLI.—Not only did incohesive movements like that of the Flagellants make their appearance in 1260, but also groups with a definite teaching. One of these was inspired by a woman called GUGLIELMA, appearing in Milan in 1260, and gathering a large band of disciples around her. She was reported to have worked miracles and to have been marked by the *stigmata* of the wounds of Christ. Her disciples began to assert that she was the incarnation of the Holy Spirit, and expected her to initiate the third age. The day of Pentecost was celebrated as a special festival. But she died at Milan in 1281.⁶⁸

Another group of much greater influence started in 1260. It originated under GERARD SEGARELLI, a tradesman of Parma. Devout but ignorant, he marched through the streets with a company of brethren crying, *Penitencagite* (Do penance). They definitely proclaimed Joachimite ideas and doctrines. At first they were protected by the bishop of Parma. In time, however, as their teachings spread, the bishop became alarmed, and confined Segarelli to his palace in 1280. Later he set him at liberty. But the council at Würzburg denounced him and his followers, and he was thrown into the prison of the Inquisition. He recanted, but was nevertheless burned at the stake on the 18th of July, 1300.⁶⁹

3. DOLCINO—STRANGE NOTIONS BASED ON APOCALYPSE.—The followers of Segarelli found a new leader in DOLCINO OF NOVARA, who assumed that the prophecy of Joachim regarding the beginning of the new age had been fulfilled in Segarelli. Dolcino proclaimed that the church would now be superseded by an apostolic brotherhood whose only bond would be love. During the age of the Spirit all outward ordinances would pass

⁶⁷ Rufus M. Jones, "Flagellants," in Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, pp. 49-51; see also Herman Haupt, "Flagellation, Flagellants," *The New Schaff-Herzog*, vol. 4, pp. 323-326; Döllinger, *Prophecies*, p. 100.

⁶⁸ Bett, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-150.

away, and the life of the Christian would be a life of liberty inspired by love. Some of Dolcino's followers believed that Frederick of Sicily would become emperor and enter Rome at Christmas of the year 1335; that he would appoint ten kings, in accordance with the prophecies of the Apocalypse about the dragon with the ten horns; and that he would put to death the apostate pope and monks. Then the church would be restored to apostolic purity; whereupon Antichrist would appear. But he would fall, and the whole world would then be won to Christ.⁷⁰ The year 1335 was derived, of course, from the prophecy of Daniel.

Dolcino himself began to proclaim that the tribulation of the church would begin around 1303, and that the faithful were then to hide themselves until the grievous persecutions were past. So they banded together and lived by foraging in the neighboring country. Thereupon a crusade was proclaimed against them. But it took four campaigns before they were overwhelmed. Most of Dolcino's followers were killed, and he himself was burned at the stake. We have only the accounts of enemies; therefore nothing favorable to him has come down to us. But he must have had some good points; else his preaching would not have drawn such a large following.

Another group that could be mentioned in this connection, although they have nothing to do with prophetic interpretation, are the Fraticelli or little brethren. They are an extreme fringe of the Minorites. Not content with the asceticism of the latter or pleased with their attitude toward the hierarchy, they took more radical positions in both matters, and separated themselves from the Minorites. Their radicalism attracted many malcontents of various colors, which led to their condemnation and persecution by the official church. Their field of activity was mainly in central Italy.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-157; see also Döllinger, *Prophecies*, pp. 103-106.

Villanova—

A Physician's Contribution

Our study now turns to a group of writers in the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. The earliest of this group was not in the main stream of Joachimism; he was not a churchman but a layman and scientist. It was Villanova, the celebrated Spanish physician and alchemist, who made a still further application of the year-day principle that had been stressed for the 1260 year-days by Joachim of Floris a century prior, and had been extended in effect, though not in specific application, to the 2300 days by the pseudonymous *De Semine*. Villanova asserted the year-day equation as a basic rule for the 2300 days. This was a noteworthy advance.

I. A Colorful Medieval Figure

ARNOLD OF VILLANOVA, or Arnaldus of Bachuone (c. 1235-c. 1313), is well known to history as a brilliant scholastic physician, adept in alchemy and astrology, but less known as a lay theologian, reformer, adviser and ambassador of kings and popes. He was one of the most colorful figures of the Middle Ages. Little is known of his early life, but Spain appears to have been the land of his birth. Of humble origin, he grew up in poverty. He probably took his medical training in Italy and Spain. Villanova was also versed in Hebrew and Arabic. His early history is obscure, but we find him, in 1285, called as a famous physician to treat Peter III, king of Aragon. He then

practiced at Montpellier and taught medicine at the university. He traveled extensively over Europe.¹

1. A MEDICAL PIONEER IN EXPERIMENTAL METHODS.—As a physician Villanova was a genuine pioneer of experimental science. Although he followed the traditional medical theories of Galen and the Arabs, he was always ready to abandon theory for empirical methods based on keen observation of actual cases. He had a touch of the modern spirit in spite of the admixture of medieval quackery which he partly believed in and partly used to satisfy his patients.² He discredited magical spells, but he fought magic with countermagic; and he wrote on alchemy and astrology, out of which modern chemistry and astronomy were to emerge only after centuries of slow progress.

Many of his medical works exhibit an extraordinary amount of common sense and scientific approach, such as his study of the causes of disease. He wrote on diet and hygiene. In *De Esu Carnium* (On the Eating of Meats) he contended against the critics of the vegetarian diet used by the Carthusian order, showing that meat is not necessary and often harmful. In his *De Regimine Sanitatis* (On the Rule of Health) he recommended washing the mouth after every meal, and bathing newborn infants daily. He gave special attention in this work to hydrotherapy—cold baths, vapor baths, showers, and the like. Some of his ideas were revolutionary and centuries ahead of his time.³

2. LAY THEOLOGIAN AND REFORMER.—It was not, however, Villanova's medical methods or his astrology but his theology which in his later years incurred the enmity of the ecclesiastics. He was only a layman, but he was fond of polemics, and felt called upon to reform the Catholic Church of his day, especially the religious orders. He fought for the spirit against the letter. However, his speculations on prophecy fur-

¹ Henry E. Sigerist, Introduction, *The Earliest Printed Book on Wine*, pp. 7, 8; Heinrich Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII*, pp. 193-195; Bett, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-137.

² Finke, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-198.

³ Emmanuel Lalande (under the pseudonym "Marc Haven"), *La vie et les oeuvres de maître Arnaud de Villeneuve*, pp. 56, 119, 120.

nished the occasion for his conflict with the theologians. In 1299 or 1300 he was sent to Paris as the ambassador of James II of Aragon, with a mission to the king of France. While there he got into trouble with the Parisian Dominicans over his theological treatises predicting the coming of Antichrist about 1378 (?). Arnold was arrested, released on bail, tried, convicted, and forced to recant, and his treatise was condemned. He protested the sentence on the ground that he was the ambassador of a king.

Arnold sought the intervention of Pope Boniface VIII. The pope was diplomatic, and furthermore, he was a sick man. He upheld the sentence but released the famous doctor, whom he then appointed as his physician in ordinary. Arnold held this post till 1302, and during the years from 1302 to 1311 he occupied high positions in the service of popes and kings, treating their ailments and serving on political missions. His feud with the Dominicans continued, but his influence in high places saved him.⁴

The ecclesiastics suspected him of heresy, not only for his prophetic interpretation, but also for his attacks upon their polluted lives and principles, for he denounced "the worldliness of the clergy with as much energy and eloquence as any Waldensian."⁵

In 1309 he is said to have appealed to Pope Clement V at Avignon to heal the schism among the Franciscans in behalf of the stricter "Spirituals"—who held to the "evangelical poverty" of Francis' original rule and were persecuted by the order at large. At this time he is supposed to have predicted the advent of Antichrist in the first forty years of the century just begun, and the end of the world within the hundred years,⁶ although this chronology disagrees with his writings on the subject. Either he changed his mind between 1301 and 1309, or this account is erroneous.

⁴ Bett, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 135; Sigerist, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9.

⁵ A. S. Tuberville, "Heresies and the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, c. 1000-1305," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6, p. 709.

⁶ Bett, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 137.

Finally he took refuge with Frederick III of Sicily, whom he urged to reform his court, and who actually accepted his advice. His enemies wished to have him burned at the stake, but he always had friends among powerful rulers. Not until 1316, a few years after his death, did the Inquisition, at Tarra-gona, condemn thirteen of his theological writings as heretical. About 1311 or 1313 Pope Clement V fell seriously ill. Sus-pending the French condemnation of 1309, Clement sought Villanova's medical skill. But the latter died on the voyage to Genoa, on his way to the bedside of the pontiff, probably by drowning.⁷

Villanova was a prolific writer. Hauréau lists seventy-eight printed and forty-five unpublished or lost writings—some of which are doubtless spurious.⁸ Collections of his works were printed at Lyons in 1504 and 1520, and at Basel in 1585. Many of his writings have never been published, and are still avail-able only in manuscript form.

3. JOACHIMITE AND EXPOUNDER OF PROPHECY.—Villanova was a zealous Joachimite on some points. He was a pioneer ex-pounder of the prophetic numbers of Daniel. He continued, on, as noted, past Joachim's initial contribution and the inter-mediate step taken in *De Semine*, to apply the year-day princi-ple definitely to the 2300 days as well as the 1290 and the 1335 afterward.

II. Villanova's Commentary on "De Semine"

About 1292 Villanova wrote a commentary on what he thought was a genuine work of Joachim. This short treatise bears the formidable title: *Introductio in Librum [Joachim] De Semine Scripturarum, Quod Est de Prophetis Dormienti-bus Sive de Dormientium Prophetiis* (Introduction to Joa-chim's Book *De Semine Scripturarum*, Which Is Concerning the Sleeping Prophets or Concerning the Prophecies of the

⁷ Sigerist, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10.
⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Sleeping Ones).⁹ The argument of this little work seems involved enough to the modern reader, but as compared with *De Semine* it betrays the scientific mind of the author. He begins by describing *De Semine* in truly medieval terms:

"Therefore in the mysteries of numbers and the significations of letters of the alphabet, which the author touches in the course of this work, this wonderful net of divine wisdom is set forth for us. . . . For there will appear the wheels of Ezekiel, so that no doubt we see a meaning within a meaning and a mystery within a mystery."¹⁰

But when he comes to the point of proving that the twenty-three letters of the alphabet mean twenty-three centuries, he lines up his arguments in a comparatively systematic way.

1. ARGUES FROM REASONS, SIGNS, AUTHORITY.—On the thesis that the unit—root or seed—of the Scripture is the letter, and that not one "iota" or "apex" (i or vowel point—jot or tittle) is to pass from the law until all things are fulfilled, he contends that everything symbolized by the letters of the alphabet must be fulfilled, and then time will end. That each letter means a century is proved (1) by reasoning, (2) by sign, and (3) by authority. It is reasonable, he proceeds, that as the roots of a tree contain, potentially, the complete number of the fruit, so the roots of the Scripture when multiplied agree with the fruits of the Scripture, which fruits are (1) the explanation of the works by which the elect are saved and (2) the manifestation of the coming of Christ incarnate. The works are contained as seed in the ten commandments, and ten multiplied by itself is one hundred.

As for the incarnation of Christ, it can be proved by three signs which he draws from *De Semine*: (1) that the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew language agree with the number of centuries from the origin of that language (the confusion of

⁹ This work seems never to have been printed. A complete microfilm (from Cod. Vat. Lat. 3824, fols. 1-12) is in the Advent Source Collection. For the date see Finke, *op. cit.*, p. CXVIII. In this Vatican manuscript the name Joachim has been deleted from the heading, probably by someone who later found that *De Semine* was pseudonymous, but it appears clearly at the end: "Explicit introductio in librum Joachim, etc. Deo gracias." Villanova obviously regards Joachim as the author, for he refers in the text to the *Concordia, Expositio*, etc.

¹⁰ Translated from Arnold of Villanova, *Introductio in Librum [Joachim] De Semine*, fol. 1 r, col. 1, line 22 to col. 2, line 2.

tongues) to the birth of Christ; (2) that the number of centuries from the origin of the Latins (the founding of Rome) agrees with the seven letters from *a* to *g* up to the time of Christ, whose letter is *h* (*homo*, man); (3) that the twenty-three letters of the Latin alphabet—the most efficacious sign—agree with the prophetic number revealed to Daniel:

"For to him, as an old man, was revealed in sum the number of time from his time up to the end of the world, when it was said to him as it is read in the 8th chapter of the same book, that *up to the evening and the morning, two thousand three hundred days.*"¹¹

He adds that Daniel's age at the time of the vision is not precisely known, but that he is approximately placed by the Roman and Jewish historians and chronologists.

"Therefore that author [of *De Semine*] wishing to leave what was uncertain and to accept what was certain concerning the time of Daniel, in order to signify this, said that Daniel grew up under the first letter *a* and died under the second. As if he had said that to Daniel, who certainly was contemporary in part with the first and second centuries of the Latins, it was revealed that from those times up to the evening and the morning are two thousand three hundred days. It is established, moreover, that in this number there are so many centuries, and no more, as the Latins have in the alphabet, namely 23."¹²

2. TWENTY-THREE CENTURIES FROM DANIEL TO SECOND ADVENT.—These letters of the alphabet, he continues, were given to the Latins not only to foretell the first advent of Christ, but particularly the second advent, "when twenty-three centuries have been completed from the time of Daniel." This is, of course, the central theme of the pseudo-Joachim *De Semine*.

Furthermore, the angel said to Daniel that the vision of the evening and the morning is true, and again that "in the time of the end the vision will be fulfilled." What are the evening and the morning? "Evening," he says, "is the end of time or the consummation of temporal things," and "the morning of perfect splendor and light is the beginning of eternal things."¹³

¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 6 v, col. 2, lines 25-32. The Latin reads *usque ad vesperam et mane, dies duomilia trescenti*. Note that this contains the word *dies* (day), unlike the same quotation in *De Semine*. (Compare page 724.)

¹² *Ibid.*, fol. 7 r, col. 1, line 20 to col. 2, line 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, fol. 7 v, col. 1, lines 1-5.

Our commentator, having now finished his "reasons" and "signs," turns to his "authority" for the reckoning of twenty-three centuries for twenty-three letters: "the authority of the divine scripture, Luke 8. . . . 'The seed fell upon good ground and brought forth fruit a hundredfold,' " ¹⁴ so that each letter would mean a hundred days or months, as the case may be.

"But hundreds of days or months do not suffice for the completion or consummation of the mysteries of the Sacred Scripture, for already all things would have been fulfilled, which is clearly false even from the predictions, because according to this the second advent of the Lord would have passed, even time would be no more, neither of which is true. Therefore it is necessary that they are centuries of years." ¹⁵

3. A STEP BEYOND "DE SEMINE"—2300 YEAR-DAYS.—Villanova goes on to state explicitly the year-day principle:

"When he says 'two thousand three hundred days' it must be said that by days he understands years. This is clear through the explanation of the angel when he says that in the end the vision will be fulfilled, from which he gives it to be understood by clear expression that in that vision by days are understood years." ¹⁶

It would be absurd, he continues, to reckon a period extending to the time of the end by 2300 ordinary days, which would not even total eight years. Then as additional Scripture authority, he quotes Ezekiel 4:6:

"It is not unaccustomed, in the Scripture of God, for days to understand years. Nay, it is certainly usual and frequent. Whence also the Spirit in Ezekiel testifies: 'A day for a year I have reckoned to you.' " ¹⁷

So speaks the Joachimite theologian. But in Villanova the scientist crops up characteristically. He wishes to clinch the year-day argument with what seems to him valid astronomical evidence. Like many moderns, he believes on Scriptural authority, but rejoices when he can find scientific evidence to add to his faith. The Spirit of God did not interpret a day as a year without solid reason, he says.

"For do not philosophers say that a day is a 'bringing' of the sun over the earth, and that a natural day is one revolution of the sun from

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, lines 30-32.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 7 v, col. 2, line 34 to fol. 8 r, col. 1, line 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 8 r, col. 1, lines 14-20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 2, lines 11-22.

one part of the orbit to the same? Therefore according to these definitions a day can well and conveniently be called, in the absolute, that bringing of the sun over the earth or through the circuit of the earth in which the sun revolves perfectly in its own orbit from point to point. . . . There is not but one such perfect revolution of the sun, namely, the one which it completes in its own orbit in a year."¹⁸

Consequently, a year more accurately fits the definition of a day:

"Therefore, since a year is the measure of the time in which the sun revolves in its own orbit from point to point, according to this it could absolutely be called a day; that is, the only and perfect revolution of the sun from point to point in its orbit."¹⁹

Thus Villanova, in his exposition of the twenty-three letters of *De Semine* as twenty-three centuries, goes a step beyond the original. He takes the 2300 as days, which he interprets as years by applying the day-for-a-year rule cited specifically from Ezekiel; and he proves by systematic arguments that the 2300 could not be taken for literal days, but rather for symbolic days, meaning solar years.

He does not in this booklet take up any other prophetic period. Much of the latter part of the work is devoted to a discussion of the number 1000 and the 7000-year theory based on the days of creation. Not until 1297—in the same year as Olivi, or two years after, according to the varied dating of the latter's work²⁰—did Villanova apply the year-day principle to the 1290 and 1335 days of Daniel 12.

III. Calculates Time of Antichrist From 1290 Years

In 1297 Villanova wrote the first part of his *Tractatus de Tempore Adventus Antichristi* (Treatise on the Time of the Coming of Antichrist)²¹—the tract which was to bring upon his head the wrath of the Paris theologians.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 8 r, col. 1, line 23 to col. 2, line 12. This reasoning is based on the fact that after one complete day the sun and earth are again in the same position in relation to each other, but not in relation to the stars. Not until the completion of a year, after the sun has passed through all the signs of the zodiac, is it again aligned in the same relation to the stars. He, of course, believed that the earth was at the center of the universe and that the sun's apparent motion around it was actual.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 8 r, col. 2, line 29 to fol. 8 v, col. 1, line 2.

²⁰ See page 764.

²¹ Finke, *op. cit.*, pp. CXXIX-CLIX, prints most of the work (omitting a good portion

It is concerned largely with the approximate time of Antichrist by means of the 1290 days interpreted as years. He now uses the year-day principle, as he has worked it out five years earlier for the 2300 days, as a basic rule to apply to the 1290 and 1335 days. The two main points of the argument are to show that the days are years, and to locate the starting point of the period from the taking away of the Jewish sacrifices after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

Villanova first leads up to the subject by way of Christ's great prophecy of Matthew 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21. He says that after the personal reign of Antichrist and the great tribulation, will come the darkening of the sun and the moon and the falling of the stars, accompanied by the roaring of the sea and the "withering" of men with fear, and then the sign of the second advent. The day and hour of the end is not revealed, he continues; yet Christ gives a hint when He refers to the prophecy of Daniel concerning the abomination, namely, the Antichrist.²² Then, since Daniel is cited by Christ as authority, it is sufficient to believe what he wrote concerning the year of the end in Daniel 8.

1. REITERATES YEAR-DAY ARGUMENT FOR 2300.—He refers to the 2300 days as the duration of the world:

"In the third year of King Belshazzar there were revealed to him the years of the duration of the world under these words: 'Up to the evening and the morning, two thousand three hundred days.' By a day, however, he understands a year."²³

Continuing, he repeats the arguments from the sun's orbit, and from Ezekiel's "day for a year" and the angel's statement to Daniel that "in the time of the end the vision will be fulfilled." If one knew, he says, how many years passed from the third year of Belshazzar to Christ, one could add the years from

of part 1). This is taken from the complete manuscript in Cod. Vat. Lat. 3824, fols. 50-78. Photostats of part I complete (fols. 50 v to 68 r) are in the Advent Source Collection. The date of part I appears in the manuscript on fol. 56 v, col. 2, line 30 (and in Finke, *op. cit.*, p. CXXXI). The second part (fols. 68 r to 78) was added in 1300, after the trouble with the Dominicans of Paris. (In Finke, *op. cit.*, p. CLIX.)

²² Villanova, *Tractatus . . . Antichristi*, fol. 59 v, col. 2 to fol. 60 r, col. 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, fol. 60 v, col. 1, line 33 to col. 2, line 6.

Christ to the present, and compute how many remain of the 2300 years until "the year in which all generation and corruption will cease and time will be no longer."²⁴ He expects this before the close of the fifteenth century—at least a century earlier than the computation of *De Semine*—for he places that starting point at some uncertain time more than eight hundred years before Christ (actually three hundred years too early). Because of this uncertainty he turns to another method.²⁵

If he cannot locate the end of the 2300 years, he will calculate the time of Antichrist. The key is furnished by the 1290 and 1335 days of Daniel 12, which are years.

"From the time when the continual sacrifice will have been taken away, and there will have been set up—that is, up to the time when will be set up—'the abomination upon the desolation' namely, of the faithful people, 'a thousand two hundred and ninety days.' And here, just as above, by a day a year is understood, which is clear through what precedes, since it says 'And when the dispersion of the power of the holy people, all these things will be completed.'" ²⁶

2. CONNECTS 1290 WITH 70 WEEKS.—Disagreeing with "many blind watchmen" who date the 1290 years from the death of Christ, as the taking away of the continual sacrifice, he connects it rather with the destruction of the temple and the fall of the city "through Titus and Vespasian in the forty-second year after the passion or ascension of Christ."²⁷ He begins the period with the taking away of the continual Old Testament sacrifice when the Jews lost the Promised Land—the only place where they were allowed by law to sacrifice; this was "in the midst of the week," probably in the fourth year after Jerusalem's fall,²⁸ that is, the forty-sixth year after the crucifixion of Christ.

In placing this event he brings in the "one week" although he does not offer a complete interpretation of the seventy weeks. He merely says that "after 62 weeks, Christ will be

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 61 r, col. 1, lines 11-24.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 1, line 33 to col. 2, line 7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 61 r, col. 2, line 28 to fol. 61 v, col. 1, line 5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 61 v, col. 1, lines 24-26, and col. 2, lines 29-34.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 62 r, col. 1, lines 3-33.

killed," after which follow the war and desolation and the confirming of the covenant in one week.²⁹

Daniel 9, says Villanova, gives the time of the first advent of Christ, just as Daniel 12 gives the time of Antichrist; the seventy weeks are weeks of years which point out the time of Christ's first advent and death.³⁰

3. END OF 1290 YEARS IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY.—After some discussion he summarizes:

"What, however, suffices us here is this, namely that when 1290 years have been completed from the time when the Jewish people lost possession of their land, there will stand, as the Lord says, the abomination of desolation, namely Antichrist, in the holy places, which will be about the 78th [*sic*] year of the following century, evidently the 14th [century] from the advent of the Saviour. I cannot determine how many [years] before or how many after, for the reason that I do not know how many years after the overthrow of Jerusalem the Jewish people lost the land of promise. Yet it is certain from the words of the prophet that that number will be completed within the century mentioned or the following, by understanding for days lunar or solar years."³¹

This, as written, would end the 1290 years in 1378, but it was definitely not 1378 originally. The 78 is a correction over an erasure, and the original number is uncertain.³² Whatever Villanova's date was here, he claimed for it no "certainty or necessity," but only "possibility having evidence of the more probable and sane understanding,"³³ but he repeats with emphasis that "it is certain, as was clear above, that Daniel under the name of days gives us to understand years and not usual

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 61 v, col. 2, lines 12-25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 66 r, col. 2, and fol. 67 r, col. 1 (also in Finke, *op. cit.*, pp. CXXXVI, CXXXVII).

³¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 62 v, col. 1, line 28 to col. 2, line 18 (also in Finke, *op. cit.*, p. CXXXII).

³² It appears again as 78th (*septuagesimum octavum*) in the final column (*ibid.*, part 2, fol. 78 v, col. 1, lines 27, 28), but here *septuagesimum* is clearly a correction for *sexagesimum*, sixty, and the word *octavum* is also a correction for a shorter word. Was it originally 66th? The number appears again in the next treatise (*De Misterio Cimbolorum*) immediately following in the same manuscript (fol. 92 r, col. 2, lines 8, 9) as 68th, but here again there has been a correction, and a different manuscript of this latter tract (B. N. Paris Latin 15033), fol. 210 (227) r, line 15, gives 1376, clear and unerasured.

What was the original figure? The date 1368 would be 1290 years after A.D. 78, which is three and one half years after the forty-second year from A.D. 33; Villanova would be likely to calculate from A.D. 33, since he was familiar with *De Semine*, which refers (fol. 7 r, col. 1, lines 8, 9) to "Christ's age of thirty-three years" at His crucifixion. But 1376 or 1378 seems out of line with any possible crucifixion date. Finke thinks that the original figure—probably 1376—was changed later to 1378 because of the Great Schism, which began then. (See Finke, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 211.)

³³ Villanova, *Tractatus . . . Antichristi*, fol. 63 r, col. 1, lines 8-13.

days," and adds that "such an understanding agrees with the common concepts of men and the truth of Sacred Scripture commonly known."³⁴

4. CITES SIBYL FOR FOURTEENTH CENTURY ANTICHRIST.—Quite characteristic of Villanova's medieval outlook is his addition of arguments from the Babylonian Sibyl, from whom "Augustine and the rest of the holy doctors have accepted particularly the fullness of the signs of the judgment." She goes, he says, "through the successive kings of the Greeks and the Romans, and describes the advent of the beast, namely Mohammed," the rise and maturity of the Dominicans and Franciscans, the advent of Antichrist, and finally the coming of the heavenly Lamb and the general judgment. He finds some of her predictions fulfilled in the political events of his day, and enumerates only four events that have not yet been fulfilled: the forced reunion of the Greek with the Latin church; the scattering of the "barbarian nation" (the Saracens), which he regards as imminent; the coming of Antichrist; and the second coming of Christ to judgment.³⁵

By allowing at least twenty-four years between these four events he is certain that Antichrist will come before the end of the following (the fourteenth) century, "about the aforementioned terminus." The fact that his reign is not to last as long as a century, fits in with the fifteenth-century ending of the 2300 days and of the other number of Daniel 12, the 1335 years. This last number he reckons from the same starting point as the 1290, ending it in "the time of universal tranquillity and peace of the church, in which throughout the whole world truth will be known and Christ will be worshiped, and 'there will be one shepherd and one fold.'" This will be at the opening of the seventh seal; and following the silence of half an hour (as if a half year, or the middle of the century), and then will come the sudden tribulation of the judgment.³⁶

³⁴ *Ibid.*, lines 21-32.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 64 r, col. 2, and fol. 64 v, col. 1 (Finke, *op. cit.*, pp. CXXXII, CXXXIII).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 64 v, col. 2, and fol. 64 r, col. 1 (Finke, *op. cit.*, p. CXXXIII).

5. ARGUES FOR FOURTEENTH CENTURY FROM AUGUSTINE'S SIXTH MILLENNIUM.—After this 1297 exposition was attacked by the Dominicans at Paris, and Villanova escaped punishment through influential friends, he wrote part 2, in which he answers his critics and reiterates his arguments. This peppery reply assails the Paris theologians on their own ground. If they accuse him of error, in saying that the end is near, he can show that they are accusing the church of error in preaching the Crusades, for unless the end of the times of the Gentiles is near, how can the "faithful people" regain the Holy Land from the unbelievers? If they cite Augustine, so can he. Did not Augustine reckon the sixth millennium from about a century before his own time? That would put the end of it in the fourteenth century, the century which, he reminds them, is to begin at the end of the present year, 1300. Therefore he expects the expiration of the times of the Gentiles and the scattering of the Mohammedans in the near future, and the conversion of the Jews in the end of the age.³⁷

6. CALLS OPPONENTS FORERUNNERS OF ANTICHRIST.—Villanova declares his fidelity to the pope and accuses his opponents. He does not identify the Antichrist, but points out his forerunners as he lashes out at the Paris theologians who have tried to silence him:

"For who of the faithful is ignorant, since the Chaldeans and barbarians are not ignorant, [of the fact] that the Roman pontiff is Christ on earth? . . . How, therefore, without the greatest ruin of the Catholics, can those despise his authority who have been chosen for the protection of the Lord's vineyard? Can it be argued from this that the persecution of Antichrist already hastens exceedingly, since he is to be specially armed with a whole phalanx of his iniquity against the apostolic see as against the chief and personal see of Jesus Christ, and he is to speak great things against the chief pontiff as against the God of gods in the church militant. Are not such despisers of the apostolic see the exact forerunners of Antichrist?"³⁸

Villanova ends the second part of this work with a concluding section in which he invites the reader to consider

³⁷ *Ibid.*, [part 2], in Finke, *op. cit.*, pp. CXLVIII-CLI, CXLII.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. CLVII.

three things carefully: "Whether the assertions set forth in it are possibly true, whether they may be proved in an orthodox way, and whether they are effective to lead the hearts of mortals to a contempt of earthly things and a desire for heavenly things, which is the principal purpose, and one appropriate to the bride of Christ"; then he closes with a concise nine-point summary of the work.³⁹

IV. Urges Preachers to Explain Prophecies

Villanova was far from cowed by the opposition of the theologians. In 1301 he not only appealed to the pope but restated his arguments in the *Tractatus de Misterio Cimbalarum Ecclesie* (Treatise on the Mystery of the Church Bells), which he sent with an accompanying letter to various leading churchmen and princes, including the Dominicans of Paris and other orders.⁴⁰ In this he protested more strongly than ever his loyalty to the church, and urged the preachers of the church to fulfill their responsibility to explain to the people the prophecies of the end.

I. BELLS ARE PREACHERS SOUNDING GOD'S MESSAGE.—The symbolism of the title is explained thus:

"Since the material *campanae* or *cymbala* (large or small bells) denote the preachers of the church, it can reasonably be said that because the church rings the small bells a long while in matins and afterwards the large ones, it commemorates by a convenient sign the grade and order of those preachers."⁴¹

The matins, he continues, would represent the period of darkness before Christ, and the bells—first smaller and then larger—the patriarchs and later the prophets who sounded forth the message of God. One of the larger bells was Daniel, who

³⁹ In Finke, *op. cit.*, pp. CLVII-CLIX.

⁴⁰ See Finke, *op. cit.*, p. CXX.

This work follows the preceding treatise in the same Vatican manuscript (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3824), fols. 78-98. (Complete photostats of this are in the Advent Source Collection, as well as complete microfilm of another manuscript of it once belonging to the Monastery of St. Victor of Paris, now in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fond Latin 15033), fols. 183 (200)-224 (241).)

⁴¹ Translated from Villanova, *Tractatus de Misterio Cimbalarum* (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3824), fol. 79 r, col. 1, line 28 to col. 2, line 3.

sounded forth "not only the advent but even the fruit of that advent under a certain number of weeks," and then Christ's coming multiplied the sound of the great bells in the temple of God as the virginal dawn brought forth the sun.⁴²

2. PROPHETIC PERIODS END IN WORLD'S EVENING.—In the church the same order was observed, and the preaching of the apostles and evangelical men continued. Reaching his own time in prophetic interpretation, Villanova points out that the evening of the world draws near when the two greatest vesper bells, Enoch and Elijah, will sound forth in the time of Antichrist.⁴³ *Usque ad vespere et mane, dies duo milia ccc*—to the evening and the morning, 2300 days, he says, refers to the evening of the world, and to Antichrist, 1290 days from the taking away of the continual sacrifice, etc.⁴⁴ The prophecy is ambiguous until one determines the starting point and meaning of the term *day*, which may, he explains, mean a day, a whole period of time, a thousand years, or a year (citing Ezekiel 4:6); and that year may be either lunar, solar, or "hebdomadal," which he explains as 365 weeks of days, months, or years.⁴⁵

3. CITES AUGUSTINE, DANIEL, FOR CHRONOLOGY.—In this tract Villanova is not on the defensive. Ignoring opposition, he is trying to arouse the church bells to sound forth the message of the nearness of the end, and thus give the people what he considers "meat in due season."⁴⁶ It is not difficult, he urges, to find an opening to announce the time of the end of the age, for Augustine's dating of the sixth millenary would make the end less than two centuries away.⁴⁷ If one wishes to use Daniel's visions, let him first study the Scriptures to determine the starting point, and the sort of day used in computation of the 2300 days to the evening of this age and morning of the next.⁴⁸ It would be reasonable to start from the time of the vision, and

⁴² *Ibid.*, fol. 79 r, col. 2 to fol. 79 v, col. 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, fol. 80 r, col. 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 80 r, col. 2, lines 26-34.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 80 v, cols. 1, 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 90 v, col. 1.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 91 r, cols. 1, 2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 2.

if Daniel used *day* to mean year, the century may be determined.

"Yet it will be safer for preachers, if they wish to assert something in a common audience concerning the last times of the world through the words of Daniel, to dismiss this prophecy concerning the end of the world and accept that which is concerning the time of Antichrist."⁴⁹

The chronology which he offers for the 1290 days is the same as in the tract on Antichrist, on the supposition that Jerusalem fell in the forty-second year after the cross, and that a covenant made with the Jews was broken three years later, in the midst of a week of years, or in the forty-sixth year after the cross; the period is ended, however, in the sixty-eighth year of the fourteenth century.⁵⁰ The year number⁵¹ in this manuscript is likewise a correction from the original, and in the Paris manuscript of this same work it reads "seventy-sixth" with no erasure.⁵²

As for the year-day reckoning, he argues that a day could not here be reckoned as an ordinary day, as the whole period, or as a hebdomadal year.⁵³ It is necessary, he contends, since the Scripture is true, that the exposition of it should agree. If Daniel uses days for lunar or solar years, the prophecy agrees with Augustine, and to this the Sibyl agrees as well.⁵⁴ Thus Villanova makes a bid for orthodoxy according to the standard authorities of his day.

Informed, then, by these arguments, the preachers of the church can probably assert that by a day Daniel means a lunar or solar year—the difference between them being only about two years at the end.⁵⁵

4. CHRISTIANS ARE TO UNDERSTAND DANIEL.—With these proofs, cries Villanova, the preachers can announce boldly the nearness of Antichrist; nevertheless they have remained mute,

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 91 v, col. 1, line 28 to col. 2, line 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 92 r, col. 1, line 2 to col. 2, line 16.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, col. 2, lines 8, 9.

⁵² The Paris manuscript (B. N. Lat. 15033) carries the date in question on folio 210 (227) r, line 15. For the confusion concerning this date, see page 754 of the present work.

⁵³ *Ibid.* (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3824), fol. 92 r, col. 2, line 24 to fol. 93 r, col. 1, line 8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 93 r, col. 1, lines 12-30.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 93 r, col. 1, line 30 to col. 2, line 18.

frightened by Daniel's saying that the book is sealed.⁵⁶ Then he argues at length that this fear is unreasonable. Let the preachers study the Scriptures, and they will understand, for it is the wicked who are not to understand. The words of Daniel are not to be closed to the Christian people. The Jews, who declared that Daniel's words could not be understood because the seventy weeks proved the time of the first advent of Christ, would ridicule and insult any Christians who would concede that, for they would say our faith concerning Christ was empty.⁵⁷

Furthermore, he argues, another fear which restrains a preacher is removed by the Scripture, for Daniel says that the book is sealed only to the prescribed time, and then "many shall pass through it and knowledge shall be multiplied." And if a preacher fears to be caught in a mistake by proclaiming a determined time for the last persecution, he can preach cautiously—for the hearts of mortals are frightened—and he will be preserved from falsehood. If he says, "Watch and be cautious for many believe that the last times are here," he will then speak with Catholic moderation.⁵⁸

5. PREACHERS MUST STUDY SCRIPTURES.—But he ends with the exhortation to ring out the message of the Scriptures like large bells in the vespertime of the world.

"It is therefore the conclusion of all these sayings that the preachers of the church ought to study the Scriptures and their expositions so diligently that they may not, like a small bell at the evening of this world make an imperceptible sound; . . . let them imitate the great bells, so that as if with a thundering sound they may warn all the citizens to take part in the praises of the heavenly Lamb."⁵⁹

And he adds, discreetly, as a final token of loyalty to the Papacy: "From whose throne, namely, the summit of the Roman see, He makes the mystery of the church bells, briefly explained, to be given out to the rest."⁶⁰ Villanova's loyalty to the popes, to say nothing of his value to them as physician, was

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 93 r, col. 2, line 18 to fol. 93 v, col. 1, line 8.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 94 r, col. 1, line 9 to col. 2, line 26.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 96 v, col. 2, line 32 to fol. 97 r, col. 2, line 6.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 97 v, col. 2, line 32 to fol. 98 r, col. 1, line 17.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 98 r, lines 17-22.

to save him from the wrath of his ecclesiastical enemies, but his attempt to rally the orders to his prophetic message failed.

V. Contends for 2300 Year-Days

1. STILL FIGHTING IN 1305.—Included in the same manuscript as his two preceding expositions is another work written in 1305,⁶¹ *Antidotum Contra Venenum Effusum per Fratrem Martinum de Athecca* (Antidote Against the Poison Poured Out by Brother Martin of Athecca). In chapter 3 he finds eleven mistakes. The third, he says, is "the argument which he uses to disprove the exposition of the numbers of Daniel written by me in my treatises," namely, that in the 2300 days and the 1290 days "the Holy Spirit takes a day for a year."⁶²

2. DECLARES INDEPENDENCE OF THE GLOSSA.—He ridicules as "worthy of a cowherd" the argument of Martin, that the "common glosses" interpret those as ordinary days, for there can be more than one interpretation. Daniel himself, he contends, says that "many shall pass through it and knowledge shall be manifold" (Dan. 12:4), and the common gloss says that what is applied to Antiochus in type is also applicable to the Antichrist at the end.⁶³ His opponent's fourth error, he continues, is saying "that none of the doctors have explained [the Scriptures] as I explain them." In defense he cites "Bede, in his book of numbers, and Joachim, in his book *De Semine Scripturarum*," who are not at variance with him, and names some excellent writers among "the moderns" who "accept this exposition as Catholic," or orthodox.⁶⁴

Villanova could never convince the Inquisition that his writings were Catholic. His theology was denounced by the Inquisition after his death. Nevertheless, his teachings exerted a great influence on the Spirituals, and were passed on to later

⁶¹ Finke, *op. cit.*, p. CXXVII.

⁶² Arnold of Villanova, *Antidotum* (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3824), fol. 245 r, col. 2, line 26 to fol. 245 v, col. 1, line 5.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, fol. 245 v, col. 1, lines 5-21.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 245 v, col. 2, line 25 to fol. 246 r, col. 1, line 17.

writers. His works in the library of Cardinal Cusa are testimony to the influence of his year-day application to the 2300 days on Cusa's more widely known interpretation of that prophetic period. His was another of those insistent and persuasive voices ringing out in the early gray light of dawn before the sunrise of reviving prophetic exposition after the dense night of the Dark Ages.

The Second Generation of Spirituals

I. Olivi—Leading Light of the Spirituals

We now turn to the greatest figure belonging to the second generation of the Spirituals—PIERRE JEAN D'OLIVI (1248-1298). Born in Sérignan, a town of Languedoc, in southern France, he entered the order of the Franciscans in 1260, and received the finest theological training of his time. He was attracted by the teachings of the Spirituals, and soon became their outstanding exponent. Olivi recognized the serious mistake of depreciating and minimizing the lofty ideas of Joachim and his followers as those of an insignificant or even a heretical sect. He gave a new impetus to the heroic fight to bring these ideas to the knowledge of all, and to build them into the larger framework of the church, that they might receive general recognition and acceptance.

The Spirituals had not only always felt that they were called of God to high missionary endeavor, but also that their supreme task was to reform the church. So they tried to bring representatives of their movement, or at least sympathizers with it, into important positions in the church. In this they at times succeeded. But when the hermit pope, Celestine V, resigned in 1294, and Boniface VIII stepped into his place, the Spirituals had finally lost, because Boniface began almost immediately to suppress and to persecute them. This, in brief, is the historical background of the times during which Olivi worked, and dur-

ing which he attempted once again to raise the banner of the Spirituals.

1. ROMAN CHURCH MUST BE ANTICHRIST.—Olivi wrote a number of works. Two, however, are of chief interest to us. One is a letter addressed to the sons of Charles II of Naples, of the house of Anjou (c. 1295). The territory of Charles II, it should be added, had become a haven for the persecuted Spirituals. The other work is entitled *Postilla in Apocalypsim* (Commentary on the Apocalypse), and its date is variously given as 1295, 1297, or 1299—the latter date being, of course, just after Olivi's death.¹

In these two treatises we find the grand ideas about the manner and the processes through which God reveals Himself, and realizes His will in history. The essence of all history, he held, is rebirth or regeneration, which is always accomplished by suffering and death.² This was most completely demonstrated through the incarnation of Christ. In like manner, and only under the same principle, will spiritual powers find their full realization in this material world. Olivi believed that in his own day—the fifth “epoch,” extending to the end of the thirteenth century—would be seen the complete reign of the church, and that the time of trouble and of Messianic travail was at hand.

This would be signified by the opening of the sixth seal and the sixth trumpet, as well as the outpouring of the sixth vial. And, as in the six hundredth year of Noah the fountains of the great deep were broken up and the windows of heaven were opened, so in like manner must the “whore of Babylon” be drowned by a flood, when under the sixth head of the beast which carries the great courtesan, the ten horns or kings of the earth receive power for one hour. They will then hate the woman and destroy her. Thereafter these kings will fight with the Lamb, but the Lamb will overpower them and gain the

¹ For Olivi's remark about thirteen centuries from Christ, of which number only three years remain, see page 767.

² Benz, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

victory—because the Lamb is the King of kings.³ Thus Olivi's expectations were tied into the symbolism of the Apocalypse.

Although he employed harsh words to rebuke and brand the hierarchical church, these words, however, related solely to the then-existing status of the church. He did not see the child of deception in her in the earlier stages, but his condemnation fell upon the then-present feudal church of Rome, as the carnal church of the "fifth" period, one which must come to an end, and must, of necessity, be followed by the Church of the Spirit.⁴ The cause of the decadence in the church, lust for power and wealth, was most markedly apparent in the general practice of simony.

The Church of the Spirit, freed from the poisoning influence of temporal possessions, as proclaimed by the Spirituals, and most eloquently defended by Olivi, was not to be considered a sect. Rather, she was regarded as the natural successor of the feudal church, because the latter had neglected her solemn task and forgotten to hold aloft the torch of truth. So the Spirituals were not a sect, Olivi averred, but the purified and sanctified church, which would soon obtain its rightful place, because it would have its historical position in the plan of God with mankind.

With this and similar statements he sought the transfer of authority from an individual primacy in the hierarchical church to a group primacy in the Church of the Spirit. If, therefore, the history of the Franciscan Order in general, and that of the Spirituals in particular, was the history of the church, then the Roman church who was persecuting the followers of Christ was the church of Satan, and must be the Antichrist.⁵ The Roman church, he reasoned, must consequently be the whore of Babylon, the Beast from the bottomless pit.

These statements were not merely theological derivations, but the result of a series of severe persecutions and cruel priva-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 263 (see also Döllinger, *Prophecies*, pp. 126-128).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 286.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

tions to which the Spirituals were exposed for more than half a century.⁶ It was to them clearly the fifth period of the church, during which the pope and his clerics persecuted the Christlike lives of His true followers. It was indeed the midnight hour of spiritual darkness.⁷

However, these courageous endeavors of Olivi were of no avail; he was not able to reform the church. The Church of the Spirit became a sect, and later its heritage was kept alive among the Beghards and Beguines. Olivi's great theological concept became thus derided as that of a despised sect. Olivi, however, was highly venerated by his followers, and after his death in 1298 his burial site became the mecca of pilgrimage, until the friars dug up Olivi's bones and destroyed the shrine.

Pope John XXII (1316-1334) ordered an inquiry, conducted by a commission of doctors, who condemned sixty articles of Olivi's work on the Apocalypse.⁸ However, at the close of the fourteenth century the opinions of Olivi were vindicated by Bartholomew of Pisa. But his writings remained under the ban until Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484), himself a Minorite, ordered them examined afresh, and declared them orthodox.⁹

2. BABYLONIAN ROME HASTENING TO DESTRUCTION.—Olivi deals with the seven ages of the church, together with the progressive development of paralleling Antichristianism and Christian principles, to the last climactic struggle—this to be followed by the new world, or age of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ The Babylon of the Apocalypse Olivi uniformly represents as the corrupt church of Rome, hurrying to ruin. And he describes her destruction in pointed terms, as the following citation attests:

“She is Babylon, the great whore, because wickedness thrives and spreads in her, not only intensively but extensively; so that the good in her are like a few grains of gold in a vast sand-heap; and as the Jews in Babylon were captives, and grievously oppressed, so will the spirit of the righteous, in this period, be oppressed and afflicted beyond endurance, by the count-

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 325.

⁸ J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, pp. 437, 438; Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 271; Livarius Olier, “Olivi, Pierre Jean,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 11, pp. 245, 246.

⁹ Dollinger, *Prophecies*, p. 128.

¹⁰ Neander, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 621, 622.

less host of a fleshly church, which they are enforced to serve against their will. The Babylon which stood in heathendom, made all men drunk with her idolatries; so that Babylon, which is the fleshly church, has made herself and all the people in subjection to her drunk, and led them astray by her shameful carnalities, simony, and worldly pomp. And as, previous to her fall, her malice and her power grievously oppressed the spirit of the elect, and hindered the conversion of the world, so will her overthrow be to the saints as a release from their captivity.'"¹¹

3. APOCALYPSE COMMENTARY BASED ON JOACHIM'S.—Olivi's *Postilla in Apocalypsim* (Commentary on the Apocalypse) became the favorite book of the Spirituals. It was based on Joachim's treatise on the Apocalypse, and portrayed the carnal church as ripening for judgment and awaiting the victory of the spiritual order; yet it did not follow Joachim in detail.

Olivi's third state, the age of the Spirit, shows a difference from Joachim in respect to its duration, for it was expected to be a long period:

"The state of the church from the condemnation of Babylon, that is, the carnal church, up to the end of the world ought to have so much space of time that the whole world and all Israel may be converted to Christ, and that time may ascend from the sea by appropriate stages up to the meridian, and then by appropriate stages descend to so great an evening and night of iniquity that scarcely will He find faith on the earth, and that through the abundance of evil Christ will as it were be compelled to come to judgment. For far be it [from the truth] that the third principal state of the world, bearing appropriately the image of the Holy Spirit, should be momentary or so ridiculously and disproportionately abbreviated."¹²

Olivi's longer outlook is exemplified by his late dating of the 2300 days, as will be seen later. He, of course, had to find a later ending than Joachim's for the 42 generations, or 1260 years. Olivi begins them from the seventh year after the death of Christ, to which date he assigns the elevation of Peter to the Primacy, that is, his acceptance of the *cathedra* at Antioch, and later Rome. Thus they would end thirteen centuries from Christ, from which number "only three years remain."¹³

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 624, 625, quoting Olivi.

¹² Translated from Pierre Jean d'Olivi, *Postilla in Apocalypsim* (B. N. Paris, MS. Lat. 713), fol. 18 r, col. 1, line 32 to col. 2, line 15. (Complete microfilm in the Advent Source Collection.)

¹³ *Ibid.*, fol. 134 r, col. 1, lines 17 ff.

II. Doctrines Draw Roman Doctors' Censures

When Olivi's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* was referred, as mentioned, to a commission of Roman doctors of theology in 1318, they returned to John XXII their censure of sixty articles drawn from his work, on the basis of which the *Commentary* was condemned and suppressed as blasphemous and heretical. It is well that Olivi was dead, or he would doubtless have fared as did the four Minorite monks who were "reduced to ashes" one year later for sharing the same views. Here are some of the views concerning the Roman church which drew the censure of the commission.

1. CALLS ROMAN CHURCH BABYLON.—Condemning Olivi's position, as cited in his own words, regarding "the judgment of the great Harlot and the seven-headed Beast," and his declaration of "the solemn marriage of the Lamb with His Bride, to take place after the destruction of the great Harlot"—as pointing to "the time of the rejection and ruin of Babylon, of the reformation of the church, and the restoration of her Christ in His primeval beauty."—"Censure III" of the Roman doctors declares it heretical on three significant counts: 1. It calls the Roman church, which is the universal church, the great Harlot. 2. It pretends that it is to be damned. 3. It teaches about a new marriage of the Lamb with His bride; whereas this union is now daily taking place, and will be completed in heaven.¹⁴

Olivi's statement, "When Babylon, the Harlot, with the Beast which bears her, reaches her summit, then will her night become darkest," calls forth the commission's "Censure IV," with this elaborated statement:

"This article contains two heresies: First, so far as it relates to this, that when Babylon the harlot and the beast bearing her shall be at their highest, then will be her darkest night; because, as will appear more plainly later from his own words, in that whole treatise, by Babylon he understands the Roman Church and the universal Church obedient to her, which we designate as the Catholic Church; which is not Babylon, the city of the

¹⁴ Letter of the theologians censuring Olivi's commentary, printed in Etienne Baluze, *Miscellanea*, vol. 2, p. 259.

devil, but the city of God, not a harlot but a virgin, not carried by the devil but by Christ, not gloomy or pertaining to the night, but lighted up by faith and established in the day of grace."¹⁵

The place referred to as "later" is probably the passage condemned in "Censure XLVI," where Olivi speaks of the second angel of Revelation 14, who announces the fall of Babylon, the "carnal church" which persecutes "spiritual men."

"The carnal church is for this reason called Babylon here and farther on, in the 17th and the 18th chapter, and not only there but also in the 19th chapter she is called a great harlot. . . . The spirit of the righteous ones of this time is in difficulty beyond measure and oppressed by the supremacy and the predominance and the innumerable multitude of the carnal church, whom they must serve whether they wish or not; further, because publicly and most shamelessly she is untrue to her bridegroom Christ, as will be dealt with more fully farther on. Whence also here it is added 'who has made all nations drunk with the wine of her fornication,' because . . . the carnal church has inebriated herself and all nations subject to her and corrupted them with her filthy carnalities and simoniacal greed and earthly glory of this world. And . . . she burns in wrath against spiritual men and against the forces and inpourings of the Holy Spirit."¹⁶

2. COMPARES CARNAL ROMAN CHURCH TO SYNAGOGUE.—

Olivi speaks of the enemies of the Franciscans "at the time when his [Francis'] rule is to be . . . attacked and condemned by the church of the carnal and proud ones, just as Christ was condemned by the wicked synagogue of the Jews. For this must precede the temporal removal of the church, just as that preceded the removal of the synagogue."¹⁷

The doctors reply, in "Censure XXIII," that the Roman church, which Olivi blasphemously qualifies as being carnal and haughty, is not capable of imitating the Synagogue which condemned Jesus Christ.

3. FALSE PROPHETS WILL CLAIM SUCCESSION FROM ANTIQUITY.—

Olivi draws fire because of his somewhat sarcastic pic-

¹⁵ Translated from Baluze, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 259; the statement under censure is from Olivi, *op. cit.*, fol. 11 r, col. 2. In the following quotations the source reference to the Olivi manuscript is given first, then the Baluze reference to the censure, but the translations of Olivi's statements are made from the printed extracts accompanying the censures.

¹⁶ Olivi, *op. cit.*, fol. 154 r, col. 1; Baluze, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

¹⁷ Olivi, *op. cit.*, fol. 81 r, col. 1; Baluze, *op. cit.*, p. 262. Taking exception elsewhere to Olivi's expression "Babylon, that is to say the carnal church," "Censure VII" likewise condemns calling the church Babylon "by which he [Olivi] means the Catholic church." (Olivi, *op. cit.*, fol. 16 r, cols. 1, 2; Baluze, *op. cit.*, p. 259.)

ture of the pseudo prophets among the orders whom he expects as the two horns of the second beast, and because of his making the image to the beast a pseudo pope.

"When, however, the apostate beast from the land of the monastics will ascend on high with two horns of the pseudo-monks and pseudo-prophets falsely similar to the true horns of the Lamb, then will the temptation of the mystic Antichrist be strongest. For there will rise then false Christs and false prophets who will cause the cupidity and carnality or carnal glory of the worldly beast [from the sea] to be worshiped by all.

"And they will give for this purpose great signs: first, indeed, [signs] of their own ecclesiastical authority to which will seem to be opposed disobedience and obstinacy and schismatic rebellion; second, of the universal knowledge of all their masters and doctors and of the whole multitude, or of the opinion of all, to which will seem to be opposed [anything] stupid and foolish and heretical; third, they will give signs of reasons and of scriptures falsely twisted, and even the signs of a sort of superficial and ancient and multiform religion established through long succession from antiquity; so that with these signs they will seem to cause the fire of the Lord's wrath to fall upon their opponents, and on the contrary they will seem to cause a fire as it were of holy and even apostolic zeal to descend from heaven upon their disciples.

"They will even decree that those who will not obey be anathematized and cast out of the synagogue, and if it is necessary, be handed over to the secular arm of the first beast. They will even appoint that an image to the first beast, that is, a pseudo pope, elevated by the king of the first beast, be worshiped, that is, that he be believed more than Christ and His gospel, and that he be honored in an adulatory way as God of this world."²⁸

"Censure XLIV" dismisses this false pope as blasphemous, denies any "mystic" Antichrist preceding the real one, and regards the "first," "second," and "third" remarks as uncomplimentary insinuations against the church.

4. PSEUDO POPE MAY BE ANTICHRIST.—It is no wonder that the churchmen condemned Olivi's views of Revelation 13. He goes further on the subject of the false pope. Although he does not vouch for it, he says that certain ones believe, from many things written by Joachim (he evidently means pseudo Joachim) and from a supposed secret opinion expressed by St.

²⁸ Olivi, *op. cit.*, fol. 149 v, col. 2, line 31 to fol. 150 r, col. 2, line 7; Baluze, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

Francis, that Frederick II would so live again in one of his descendants that he would rule the empire and France, and would establish the pseudo pope. The resulting upset of the church would be the earthquake at the opening of the sixth seal. This would partly fulfill the falling away of 2 Thessalonians 2, inasmuch as almost everyone would abandon obedience to the true pope and follow the false one, who will not only be heretical but be schismatically introduced in an irregular election.¹⁹

Later he cites an opinion which takes the pseudo pope a step further:

"And certain ones think that not only the mystic Antichrist but also the true and great one will be the pseudo-pope, head of the false prophets, and that through the advice and cooperation of him and his false prophets the empire will be acquired by that king through whom he will be established in his false papacy. But that king who will establish him will make him, beyond this, to be worshiped as God."²⁰

5. CALLS ROME SEAT OF BEAST.—Commenting on the fifth vial of Revelation 16, Olivi mentions the four horses of the first four seals as the first four periods of the church, after which "the Roman church has raised her seat above all the churches of the East." In the fifth period, he says, signified by Daniel's four beasts and the war upon the saints, "the seat of the beast and of all her followers has magnified itself and has prevailed by its multitude and by its power, until she has abolished the seat of Jesus Christ, while she claims to honor it by a vain conformity of name and place." The forthrightness of his strictures is really remarkable.

The commission's rejoinder, as "Censure XLVIII" concludes the excerpts as follows:

"This article reveals four heresies. 1. In that it makes the seat of the Beast to prevail over the seat of Jesus Christ, that is to say, the Catholic or Roman church, which, having become the seat of the Beast, would cease to be the church of Jesus Christ. 2. In that it says that her government will be darkened, for although many of its conductors are in deep

¹⁹ Olivi, *op. cit.*, fol. 150 r, v; Baluze, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

²⁰ Olivi, *op. cit.*, fol. 165 v, col. 1, lines 9-17; Baluze, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

darkness, her reign however is always luminous, always venerable, and will never be overthrown. . . ." ²¹

III. Survey of Teachings on the Apocalypse

Having considered certain of Olivi's specific interpretations condemned by the church, it will be profitable to summarize some of the other points.

1. CHURCHES, SEALS, TRUMPETS ARE SEVEN PERIODS.—Olivi, like Joachim, believed that he was living near the end of the fifth of seven periods of the church's history. These he saw symbolized by the seven churches, the seven seals (depicting the early hardships, pagan persecutions, the Arians, the hypocrites, etc.), and the seven trumpets (the sevenfold preaching in these successive states of the church). ²²

2. TWO INTERPRETATIONS OF 1260 DAYS.—In Revelation 11 he sees the Two Witnesses as Enoch and Elijah preaching three and one-half years, during the period of Antichrist (42 months, or 1260 days). ²³ But in Revelation 12 he does not make the period of the woman's flight the same short period. The woman, who brings forth the man-child, Christ, is specifically the virgin Mary, but in general the church. ²⁴ The 1260 days here, equal to 42 months of 30 days each, are compared—after Joachim—to the time from Abraham to Christ; using 42 months of 30 years each, we have 1260 years. "A day is taken for a year. Thus Ezekiel 4:6." Here he mentions also the 70 weeks as years. ²⁵ As already mentioned he expected the 1260 years to end in three years from the date of writing. ²⁶

3. YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE APPLIED TO 1290 AND 1335.—Olivi may have first, if not practically simultaneously with Villanova, applied the year-day principle to the 1290 and 1335 days. ²⁷ It would be interesting to know whether he and Villanova had

²¹ Olivi, *op. cit.*, fols. 163 v, 164 r; Baluze, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

²² Olivi, *op. cit.*, fols. 7 r, 74 r-76 v, 94 r.

²³ *Ibid.*, fol. 119 r, v.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 127 r-130 v.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 13 r, col. 1.

²⁶ See page 767.

²⁷ See page 751.

any contact on this subject before 1297. As it is, without further information we can only wonder who had the idea first. Olivi's interpretation of both the symbolism and the dating of the period differs considerably from Villanova's.

"From the time when the continual sacrifice was taken away and the continual abomination of desolation was placed among the nations are 1290 days. Blessed, however, is he who looks to and arrives at the 1335 days. And yet a little while before he [Daniel] had said that the end of these wonders of the vision evidently would be permitted in a time, times, and half a time, that is, after $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, which without minute details make 1260 days but with minute details make 1277 or 1278 with the bissextile day.²⁸ By saying this those numbers of Daniel can be said to be taken first indeed from the destruction of the synagogue and its continual sacrifice in the holy death of Christ, or from the flight of the church from Judea or from her legalism, and from the abominable desolation. . . . And this means the time of the church from the death of Christ, or the aforesaid flight of the church, up to the great Antichrist, concerning whom that vision of Daniel about the end attempts something further, and truly up to the blessed silence after the death of Antichrist and the full conversion of Israel and of the whole world upon the opening of the 7th seal."²⁹

He explains further that the 1260 and 1290 days are the same three-and-one-half-year period counted in two ways; if the difference between the shorter reckoning and the fuller computation (by a 365-day year) is reckoned as a full 30-day month added to the 1260 days, the result will be 1290 days. Therefore, he says, some teach that the 1290 years are the time from Christ's death to Antichrist.

"This, however, to one noticing the various beginnings to the various endings of these numbers, is not ever certain unless it is precisely proved that this number, just as it ends in Antichrist, precisely begins from the death of Christ. This, however, or its opposite the . . . evidence will prove in its own time."³⁰

From this we see that Olivi takes the 1290 years as merely a variation of the 1260 years, both symbolized by 42 months, or three and one-half years. But the 1335 years extend beyond the

²⁸ He evidently means that without including the few extra days, that is by reckoning 30-day months, three and one half years can be considered as 1260 days; but by reckoning the full 365 days to a year, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 365 = 1277\frac{1}{2}$ or 1278 counting leap year.

²⁹ Olivi, *op. cit.*, fol. 136 r, col. 1, line 25 to col. 2, line 20.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 136 r, col. 2, line 32 to fol. 136 v, col. 1, line 6.

ending of the shorter period at the time of Antichrist, and reach to the seventh period. All three periods are calculated on the year-day basis.

"The addition, indeed, of 45 days, that is, of years, which with the above number makes 1335, seems to extend to the Jubilee of peace, that is of grace, the seventh state. And John says blessed is he who about the last things reaches the evening with faith and hope. For John promised: Blessed is he who 'looks to' [this time], in order that it might not be believed that he is blessed who without hope and love arrives at the end of those days or years."³¹

In addition to this year-day interpretation Olivi is willing to admit a literal application to the three and one-half years of Antichrist's persecution, allowing either 1290 or 1260 days' duration, depending on the mode of computation:

"Second, the aforesaid numbers can be begun from the beginning of the persecution of Antichrist which is to last three years and a half, in which perhaps will be 1260 days in one way, and in another way 1290. Certain ones, on the other hand, by comparing those numbers with the numbers of the Apocalypse probably think that those three years and a half will have various beginnings and various endings for the blinding of the wicked and for the stronger trial and the raising up of the elect. Just as also the years of the preaching of Christ are begun by one from the preaching of John, by another, however, from the baptism of Christ, and by another from the imprisonment of John."³²

4. THE TWO BEASTS, SECULAR RULERS AND FALSE CHRISTIANS.—After this side excursion into the numbers of Daniel, Olivi returns to Revelation 13. The first beast, rising from the sea of infidel or pagan nations, is "the bestial crowd and sect," "the beast Judaic and pagan and Arian or heretical," through whom the dragon, Satan, operates.³³ The second beast is not from the sea of unbelief but from the land of Christianity; his head is the false prophet, a king belonging to the beast.³⁴

The beast from the sea represents the kings of the nations; but the second beast, the wicked rectors of false Christians.³⁵ Other points of this chapter have been discussed under the cen-

³¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 136 v, col. 1, lines 7-15.

³² *Ibid.*, lines 16-30.

³³ *Ibid.*, fol. 141 v, col. 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 146 v, col. 1. (He cites Joachim for the beast's heads.)

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 147 r, col. 2.

sured articles, and similarly enough has been given there on the subject of the woman of Revelation 17 and 18.³⁶

5. THREE DATINGS FOR THE BINDING OF SATAN.—After the condemnation of the Harlot, the Beast, and the false prophet comes condemnation of the dragon—the binding of Satan and the rule of the saints for a thousand years with Christ. Then follow his loosing at the end of the world to tempt the world and to persecute the saints, and finally the condemnation of evil.³⁷

In the Sabbath of peace after the death of Antichrist “the power of the devil who disturbs the world and the church will be bound much more than in former times, and finally . . . the final judgment and the renewal of the earth, about the end of things, and the city of God about the consummation.”³⁸

But the binding of Satan, which opens the millennium, is reckoned from three different starting points:

“It is referred to three times: first the death and resurrection of Christ, when Christ bound his power in order that he might not be able to detain the holy fathers any longer in the underworld limbo nor shut up other saints there when they died, and that he might not be able to hinder the conversion of the nations to the Lord as he had done formerly from the beginning of idolatry to Christ.

“Second, it is clear that it refers to the time of the expulsion of idolatry from the world under the time of Constantine; for from then he was not able to seduce the nations to worshiping demons and idols as he had done before.

“Third, it is referred to the time of the death of Antichrist in the seventh state, in which he will be bound that he might not be able to seduce the world and to tempt the church as he had done in the other six states of the church.”³⁹

Some say, he adds, that this binding of Satan in the time of Sylvester and Constantine agrees with the 1260 years of the woman in the wilderness, or the church among the Gentiles, or with the 1290 days, and ends the thousand years about 1300; but they do not end the period with the final Gog and Magog.

³⁶ See pages 768-772.

³⁷ Olivi, *op. cit.*, fol. 186 v, col. 1, lines 1-13.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 23-28.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, col. 2, lines 6-24.

And much less do they know whether the seventh state, from the death of Antichrist to the last Gog, is literally a thousand years.⁴⁰

6. THEORY OF 6000 YEARS AND "DE SEMINE" CITED.—Leaving that question, he mentions the tradition of 4000 years from Adam to Christ and the Jewish idea of 6000 years, according to which 700 years are left. Here he cites "Joachim" for the *De Semine* alphabetical system—22 Hebrew letters representing centuries B.C., followed by 23 Latin letters which extend from the founding of Rome to the end of the age.⁴¹

"Up to the evening and the morning, 2300 days, and the sanctuary will be cleansed, for by taking a day for a year there are 23 centuries of years."⁴²

But he changes the interpretation slightly. By omitting the last two letters, y and z, which are Greek, he runs the 1260 years from the ascension of Christ to the letter x, the cruciform letter which points to the crucifixion of the church under Antichrist in the fourteenth century.⁴³

7. SHIFTS 2300 YEARS TO BEGIN WITH ANTIOCHUS.—The 2300 he takes as *both days and years*; as literal days in the period of Antiochus' treading Jerusalem underfoot and as years from the same time—two centuries before Christ, and 15 centuries before Olivi's own time—to the evening of the age, still 700 years in the future.⁴⁴

Thus we see that Olivi adopts the year-day principle for the 2300 days, but he places the period differently from either *De Semine* or Villanova. By beginning it in the second century B.C. he extends it many centuries farther than they did. But he ends the 1260 years, and possibly the thousand years, in 1300. This, then, is another insistent voice stressing the year-day principle and applying it to the longer time periods.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 188 v, col. 1, line 3 to col. 2, line 7.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, col. 2, lines 7-27, fol. 189 r, col. 1, lines 17-26. He uses the title *De Seminibus Scripturarum* as it appears on the Vatican manuscript 3824.

⁴² *Ibid.*, fol. 189 r, col. 1, lines 29-31.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, col. 2, line 29 to fol. 189 r, col. 1, line 18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 189 v, col. 2, line 26 to fol. 190 r, col. 1, line 8.

IV. Ubertino Becomes Leader of the Spirituals

UBERTINO OF CASALE (b. 1259) was born at Casale, in the diocese of Vercelli. At the age of fourteen he entered the Franciscan Order. Being an enthusiastic and brilliant youth, he was sent to Paris, where he studied for nine years. Returning to Italy, he became a lecturer in Tuscany, and came under the influence of John of Parma. Later he became acquainted with Olivi, accepted his positions, and became his stoutest defender. After Olivi's death he became the recognized leader of the Spirituals.

He was called to be a pastor in Perugia, loved and respected by many. Yet, on the other hand, he caused deep resentment in wide circles by his violent criticisms of the popes and the hierarchy. Finally, in 1304, he was no longer allowed to preach, and was banished to a little village in the mountains. There he wrote his chief work, *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae Iesu Christi* (Tree of the Crucified Life of Jesus Christ), which was completed in 1305. In it we sense the spirit of Joachim, and find that sometimes even his words are borrowed.⁴⁵ On the other hand, this work strongly defended the ideas and principles of Olivi, without bringing in much new material.

One thing is certain, Ubertino belongs to the great movement that was started by Joachim and carried on further by the Joachimites, and which found its full expression among the Spirituals. It was this movement of the thirteenth century which revealed the great hunger of many souls for a more spiritual conception of Christianity, and their deep yearning for a pure and holy worship. Ubertino, in turn, influenced Dante, who by his poetical genius pictured life and death in the most lucid as well as the most somber colors, but whose real aim was to bring about a renovation of Christianity from within.

Ubertino, after having completed his book, was accepted in the service of Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, a protector of the Spirituals. Later he was summoned by the pope to Avignon,

⁴⁵ Huck, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25; Bett, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 142.

with other Spirituals, to discuss the issues between the two parties in the Franciscan Order. The result, after two years of discussion, was made public in the papal bull *Exiivi de Paradiso*, of May 6, 1312, and in the decisions of the Council of Vienne of the same year. Here in this council the opinions of Ubertino about absolute poverty of the friars were to a large extent vindicated.⁴⁶

However, his fortunes changed upon the accession of John XXII to the papal throne. The latter, after a long dispute, finally excommunicated him. Ubertino fled, was for a time with the forces of Ludwig of Bavaria, and probably went with him on the campaign to Italy. However, from this time on (1328), nothing definite is known of Ubertino.⁴⁷

1. INFLUENCED BY JOACHIM.—As already mentioned, he was deeply influenced by Joachim, and often restated the latter's prophecies, and those of pseudo-Joachim writings in the light of his day. The apparent failure of Joachim's expectations concerning the year 1260 presented little difficulty to Ubertino. If not from the incarnation, then the period should be dated from the crucifixion—which would extend the date to 1293⁴⁸—for he found a significant event in the very next year.

2. POPES IDENTIFIED AS "BEASTS" OF APOCALYPSE.—It was Boniface VIII, ascending the papal throne in 1294, who was to Ubertino the "mystical Antichrist."⁴⁹ Boniface, who is not named, may be identified by his "horrible innovation" of rejecting Pope Celestine V, and forcing, or at least inducing, him to abdicate; Ubertino therefore regards him as a usurper. He considers that Boniface, in canceling the privileges of the Franciscans, has killed the Spirit of Christ in His "middle coming," that is, in the evangelical life; and that the two slain Witnesses,

⁴⁶ Huck, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19; Bett, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 143.

⁴⁷ Hieron. Golubovich, "Ubertino of Casale," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15, pp. 116, 117.

⁴⁸ Ubertino, *Arbor Vitae*, book 5, chap. 8, "Iesus Falsificatus," sig. F_{2v}; also in the abridged reprint from book 5, *Tractatus Ubertini de Casale de Septem Statibus Ecclesie*, chap. 4, fol. LXVII r; see also Döllinger, *Prophecies*, p. 114; Edmund G. Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics*, p. 219.

⁴⁹ See Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics*, pp. 220-222.

Enoch and Elijah, preachers of the "third advent," are already represented spiritually by Dominic and Francis, the preachers of "second" or middle advent, who lie dead in the corrupt state of their sons.⁵⁰

He distinctly identifies this persecuting pope not only as the "mystic Antichrist" but also as the beast from the sea, having seven heads, seven vices, and ten horns (his presumption against the Ten Commandments), the wounded head being his pride, because of the charge brought against him that he had secured his see by ousting his predecessor.⁵¹

The two-horned beast from the earth Ubertino believes to be the host of the "ambitious religious," who for the sake of earthly gain have proclaimed the legitimate authority of the usurper.⁵² And he also sees in Boniface's successor, Benedict XI, the second beast of Revelation 13, for he connects the number 666 with the name Benedict. Because the latter's reputation for sanctity makes him more acceptable among the people in general, he is the lamblike beast, but of the same wickedness as the first.⁵³

Ubertino here has a double application; he expects a future "open Antichrist" according to the tradition, who will judge concerning Babylon, who will slay Enoch and Elijah, preachers of the advent, and who is represented by the beast of Revelation 13. But he sees also a "mystic Antichrist" preceding him, a pope who is the clerical beast from the sea, persecuting the two spiritual Witnesses, Francis and Dominic. The second beast in this sense means the false religious, who bolster the authority of this pope by the same false signs mentioned by Olivi—ecclesiastical authority, the wisdom of the doctors, and rational arguments.⁵⁴ Thus we find Ubertino following Olivi, sometimes almost verbatim, and yet going beyond him. He applies the beast and the Antichrist to a pope—not a future anti-

⁵⁰ Ubertino, *Arbor Vitae*, book 5, chap. 8, sigs. F_{2v}, F_{3r}; *Tractatus*, chap. 4, fol. LXVII r, v.

⁵¹ Ubertino, *Arbor Vitae*, book 5, chap. 8, sig. F_{3v} (omitted from the abridged *Tractatus*).

⁵² *Ibid.*, sig. F_{4r}.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, sig. F_{6r}.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. F_{4r}. Cf. page 770.

pope, rival of a legitimate pontiff, but the recognized pope of Rome.

3. CITES "DE SEMINE" FOR 2300 YEARS.—Ubertino invokes the authority of Joachim, whom he supposes to have written *De Semine*, for the 2300 years. He locates the period, however, similarly to Olivi, from the time of Antiochus, and reckons 700 years yet to pass after his own time.⁵⁵

4. FOLLOWS OLIVI ON MILLENNIUM.—On the binding of Satan, Ubertino uses almost Olivi's exact words. Mentioning Augustine's alternative interpretations of the thousand years—the sixth millennium or the whole Christian Era—he has varying possibilities for the millennium, beginning with the death of Christ, the time of Constantine, or the last days.⁵⁶

V. John of Paris Opposes Villanova

JOHN OF PARIS, also called "Quidort" (d. 1306), a French Dominican, was professor of theology at the University of Paris. He is renowned chiefly because of the prominent part he played in the controversy between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. The pope was then doing everything within his power to advance the doctrine of papal absolutism, both in matters spiritual and in matters temporal. Philip, however, not only denied the papal claims but scorned the attempt of Boniface to frighten him by issuing bulls against him and his kingdom. The University of Paris sided with the king, and John of Paris, one of Philip's most outspoken friends, published *De Potestate Regia et Papali* (Concerning Royal and Papal Power).⁵⁷

In this John contended that "the priest, in spiritual things, was greater than the prince; but in temporal things the prince was greater than the priest, though he definitely considered the priest to be the greater of the two."⁵⁸ He also held that the pope

⁵⁵ Ubertino, *Arbor Vitae*, book 5, chap. 12, "Jesus Pauper Firmatus"; *Tractatus*, chap. 8, fol. LXXVIII r.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. LXXVII v, LXXVIII r. Cf. p. 775.

⁵⁷ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 2, p. 40.

⁵⁸ M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 973, art. "John of Paris."

had no power over the property of either the church or her subjects. John also stood for the independent power of individual bishops and priests, and denied that it is derived through the mediation of the pope alone, but rather springs directly from God through the choice or concurrence of the various communities.

For this he offered Biblical reasons, challenging the principle of the primacy of Peter and his successors. Peter received Paul. It was not Peter who sent forth the great apostles but Christ, and their commission came not from Peter but from Christ Himself. John even declared the pope accountable to a worldly power for his conduct in the papal chair, and advanced the concept of the right of the state to force the abdication of a pope who brought scandal to the church. And if the pope would not yield, he should be compelled to by force of secular rulers through commanding the people to refuse obedience to him as pope.

This aroused the hatred of the church, and he was made to feel the strong arm of Boniface. Having questioned, in the pulpit, the dogma of the real presence, he was prohibited from preaching by the bishop of Paris. An appeal to the pope, of course, proved futile.⁶⁹ John was a token of a growing revolt against the extreme claims of the medieval Papacy.

John of Paris also wrote a *Tractatus de Antichristo* against the views of Villanova. In this, he mostly repeats the ideas of pseudo Methodius about Antichrist, which views were widespread in this period of the Middle Ages. He mentions the use of the year-day principle by the Joachimites in connection with the 1260 days. If they reckon these years, he says, from the ascension of Christ, in the year 34, they would end in 1294, during which time the church is fed by the holy Eucharist, which will be taken away during the terrible time of Antichrist. Or, if they begin with the time when John received the vision in A.D. 96, the period would end in 1356. He mentions similarly

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 973, 974; David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 2, p. 40.

a calculation of the 1290 years from A.D. 76 to 1366. But he rejects these calculations.⁶⁰

He also mentions the 2300 days, and says that if the year-day principle should be applied to this number, it would bring us to the year 1741, beginning the computation with 559 B.C., when Cyrus ascended the throne in Persia. However, he rejects this idea, probably because he saw no way of harmonizing it with the other, and preferred the explanation of Porphyry, who expounded this prophecy as having found its fulfillment in Antiochus Epiphanes.⁶¹ So the battle line sways back and forth over the year-day principle.

VI. Anonymous Tract Against Joachimite Commentaries

In this connection reference might be made to an anonymous tract against the doctrine of Joachim and Olivi as expressed in their commentaries. This small work follows John of Paris' *De Antichristo* in a manuscript collection in Avignon. It mentions *De Seminibus* and discusses the 2300 years, also the 1290 and the 1335.⁶²

VII. Archbishop Aureoli Attempts to Answer Attacks by Spirituals

PETER AUREOLI, known as *doctor facundus* because of his eloquence, became archbishop of Aix, France, in 1321. Aureoli deserves particular notice here, because he was about the first prominent spokesman of the dominant Catholic Church to break away from the generally held Tichonius tradition of exposition, and accept certain basic positions of Joachim and Olivi regarding the exposition of the Apocalypse. Like Joachim, he professed to see in the Apocalypse a divine revelation concerning the completion of the plan of salvation *in history*. In order to meet the Spirituals on their own ground, he openly

⁶⁰ John of Paris, *Tractatus de Antichristo*, fols. XLVIII v, XLIX r. Does this 1366 for the end of the 1290 years refer to the original of Villanova's much corrected dating? See pages 754, 759.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 49 r, v.

⁶² Bibliothèque du Musée Calvet, Avignon, MS. 1087, fols. 222 v, 223 r. See Vaucher, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

accepted Joachim's view that the different symbols in the Apocalypse point to definite events in history.⁶³

1. UNUSUAL HISTORICAL APPLICATIONS.—How he attempts to fit them to actual history is interesting and unusual. For example, in the seven angels of the seven churches he sees the following persons: The first angel is Timothy, representing the first church. The second is Polycarp, representing the second church. The third angel is Carpus of Pergamon, and the fourth is Irenaeus. Under Jezebel he sees the Montanist prophetesses, Prisca and Maximilla. The fifth angel is identified as Melito of Sardis, the sixth as Quadratus of Philadelphia, and the seventh as Sangar, bishop of Laodicea.⁶⁴

Even more interesting, but likewise out of the ordinary, is his explanation of the vision of the throne of God in Revelation 4: The throne is the Roman church, as the most noble and head of all churches; the precious stones point to the stability of faith; the rainbow surrounding the throne is the covenant which Christ made with Peter: "But I have prayed for thee; that thy faith fail not." The four and twenty seats, he says, indicate the sum total of the bishoprics; the lightnings, thunderings, and voices are the great number of learned theologians and saints; the seven lamps before the throne, the seven sacraments; and the four living creatures, the four patriarchal sees of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople, which surround the Roman See. The Lamb, which was sacrificed, he believes to be the Eucharist, which is daily brought before the throne of God in all the churches.⁶⁵

2. SEEKS CONTINUOUS HISTORICAL SEQUENCE IN APOCALYPSE.—Aureoli attempts to bring all the symbols mentioned in Revelation, into chronological sequence. Thus he breaks with the Tichonian recapitulation theory. Hence he makes the seven seals end with Constantine, and has the trumpets denote heresies developing in the centuries immediately following.

⁶³ Benz, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 435, 436.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

The great red dragon, according to his explanation, is the Persian king Chosroes, who subjugated Palestine and killed more than 90,000 men, but was later overcome by Heraclius of Byzantium. Chosroes, he believes, is also the first beast of Revelation 13; whereas the second beast is Mohammed, who fought against Christianity.⁶⁶

The angel with the everlasting gospel he curiously declares to be St. Boniface (Winfrid, or Wynfrith), who went forth to convert the Germans to the Catholic faith. The second angel points out the falling away of the Greeks from the right faith, and the third angel he allocates to Pope Constantine and his decision in the iconoclastic controversy. The patience of the saints Aureoli connects with the reconstruction of the abbey of Monte Cassino. The seven vials are treated in a similar manner. For example, the dragon and the other apocalyptic beasts, in Revelation 16, are identified as the Saracens and Turks, when their armies laid waste the whole Eastern Empire.⁶⁷ And the beast of Revelation 17 Aureoli explains as the sultan of Egypt, the woman riding upon it being the sultan of Persia. And Babel, he says, means Islam in general.

3. UNCERTAIN ON THE MILLENNIUM.—The strong angel of Revelation 18 is identified as Godfrey of Bouillon, when he entered Jerusalem victoriously and reconquered the holy places.⁶⁸ Aureoli is not sure how to place the thousand-year period correctly, and make it fit to his scheme. He is inclined to compute it as beginning with the time of Constantine; but that would give him only a few years until Antichrist should appear, which seems improbable to him. Therefore, he adds that this period must belong to the secrets of the Holy Spirit, which will be revealed in due time.⁶⁹ Anyway, he believes that practically all symbols given in the Revelation have already found their historical fulfillment, except the coming of Antichrist and the great day of judgment.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 447, 448.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

This little work by Archbishop Aureoli is obviously the first definite attempt of the Roman church to find an answer to the attacks of the Joachimites and the Spirituals, and to meet and overcome them with their own weapons. Most important in this connection is that he refuted the Joachimite teaching of the three stages in the development of Christ's kingdom, and held fast to the orthodox view of the two dispensations of the Old Testament and the New Testament, followed by eternity.

The chapters on Joachim, the pseudo-Joachim writings, and the Spirituals have taken us down to the beginning of the fourteenth century. It was necessary so to follow the thread of prophetic interpretation through in order to gain a unified view of the new trend begun by Joachim and continued by his spiritual successors. But in so doing much has been unavoidably omitted in relation to that period. We now turn to some of those omitted problems.

Antichrist a System, Not an Individual

The preceding four chapters have carried the survey of Joachimite writers to the peak of development in the second generation of Spirituals, who around 1300 were proclaiming the fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecies in their own day and the near future. The reversal of the Tichonius-Augustine tradition was complete in the Joachimites, the historical view of prophetic interpretation was in the ascendant, and the finger of prophecy was being pointed at the worldly church, the monastics, and even the popes.

But this chapter must pause for a backward look before going on to consider the attitudes of certain groups outside the main body of the church—the reforming and antisacerdotal heretics and schismatics who had gained momentum and were increasingly clashing with ecclesiastical authority by the thirteenth century, and who, driven underground, would nevertheless seep later into the springs which were to feed the Reformation. We must turn back to look at some aspects of ecclesiastical and political development which had a bearing on both the Joachimite movements and the schismatic tendencies of the time.

Even as the maturing power of the Papacy neared its peak, as Rome was perfecting its organization, its canon law and its Inquisition, and fastening the supreme control of its priesthood, through spiritual penalties, on all Christendom, there

emerged a titanic struggle for supremacy between the popes and the emperors.¹ This struggle, with first one and then the other antagonist in the ascendancy, formed part of the background of the Joachimite prophetic exposition, and at the same time it gave rise to still another development in prophetic interpretation—one which, along with the Joachimite emphasis on the year-day principle, pointed toward the later pre-Reformation and Reformation views regarding the historical Papacy.

I. Papal Departures Awaken New Suspicions

In previous chapters we have observed how the Roman church consolidated her positions, and how she came very close to attaining her ambitious aim of transforming the Christian world into a close-knit theocracy, ruled by the pope. When, however, in the course of political events and general developments, the national states of Europe deprived her of her final victory, she had, nevertheless, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, established well-defined guiding principles for all her future activities. Her attitude toward all problems concerning church policy became fixed, and has since that time undergone only very minor changes.

I. FORGERIES PERMEATE CANON LAW.—Mention should be made, in this connection, of the famous *Decretum Gratiani* (Decretum of Gratian). This work of the Benedictine monk, Gratian, was issued about 1150 from the University of Bologna, Europe's leading law school. It thenceforth became the standard textbook, or manual, for the guidance of Roman Catholic theologians. For six centuries it was the court of appeal on all questions of canon law, just as Protestants appeal to Holy Scripture.

The growth of canon law extended over centuries, and its sources are as multiform as are those of Roman civil law. These embrace the Scriptures, the early pseudo-apostolic writings, the

¹ See chapter 27.

traditions of the primitive Christian community, the writings of the Fathers, together with ecclesiastical customs—and most important of all, the decretals of the popes and the decrees of the councils.

First, these collections were assembled in historical sequence. Then, in time, they were brought into topical arrangement. And after the time of Charlemagne gaps were often filled with citations from forged documents. The two best known among such forgeries were the False Decretals of Isidore of Seville and the Donation of Constantine. Beginning with the tenth century, many such compilations of canon law had been made, but all were superseded by the famous *Decretum Gratiani*, which accomplished for canon law what Peter Lombard's *Sentences* have done for theology.²

Gratian's work was soon supplemented by various compilations, and these in turn were superseded by the codification made under order of Gregory IX, in 1234. This codification preserved Gratian's *Decretum* intact. Arranged in five books, it became the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (Body of Canon Law). A new and authentic edition, decreed by the Council of Trent, and completed in 1580, was introduced by these words of Pope Eugenius III, in a papal bull:

"It shall not be lawful to make any addition to this work, or to change or transpose anything in it, or add any interpretation to it; but as it is now printed in this our city of Rome, let it be preserved uncorrupt for ever."³

No single book has exercised greater influence in the Roman church, its system of laws constituting the Papacy in essence. Yet Pennington shows that of 107 alleged decretal epistles of popes of the first four centuries, eighty-four were forgeries, with only twenty-three genuine. Gratian has quoted as authority sixty-five of the forgeries and one of the genuine epistles, basing 324 canons on the forgeries and 11 canons on

² David S. Schaff, *The Middle Ages*, part 1, pp. 765, 766; G. K. Brown, *Italy and the Reformation to 1550*, p. 10.

³ Pennington, *Epochs*, p. 71.

the genuine! ⁴ Such is the amazing picture presented by this Decretum.

2. PAPAL ARROGANCE BRINGS NEW PROTESTS.—The persistent assumption of the Roman church—of being the supreme force in ruling the world, and the highest authority in deciding not only spiritual but purely worldly matters—brought the church, by the very nature of the case, into conflict with her own primitive positions. The higher she rose in worldly power, the farther she departed from her earlier spiritual inheritance. And men in all walks of life began to see the vast discrepancy between the teachings of Jesus—and His simple life dedicated to the service of humanity and pulsating with the divine stream of love—and the pompous behavior of the professed vicars of Christ, who used political devices of all descriptions to enhance their power, and employed fire and sword to annihilate opponents and dissenters.

The more courageous of these men spoke out loudly against the abuses of the hierarchy and yearned for a reform of the church or for a new age to come. These movements in the church we encountered in the preceding three chapters. This entire development likewise definitely shifted the accent in prophetic interpretation of certain of the figures in Daniel and the Apocalypse, especially those referring to Antichrist.

We have noticed that all through the earlier part of the Middle Ages, almost without exception, Antichrist was anticipated to be the personification of all satanic powers. He was also expected to come from the East, to rule for three and a half literal years. Under him the most gruesome persecution of the church would finally occur, with his destruction at the ushering in of the great judgment day.

3. GUIBERT OF NOGENT ON ANTICHRIST.—The early Crusaders, for example, strongly believed that they were fulfilling a divine mission by establishing a Christian kingdom in Jerusalem, and thereby hastening the coming of Antichrist, and

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

indirectly the return of Christ in glory. A clear witness to this was GUIBERT OF NOGENT (1053-1124), bishop of Puy, one of the fiery preachers of the First Crusade. Hear him:

“For it is clear that Antichrist is to do battle not with the Jews, not with the Gentiles; but, according to the etymology of his name, He will attack Christians. And if Antichrist finds there no Christians (just as at present when scarcely any dwell there), no one will be there [at Jerusalem] to oppose him, or whom he may rightly overcome. According to Daniel and Jerome, the interpreter of Daniel, he is to fix his tents on the Mount of Olives; and it is certain, for the apostle teaches it, that he will sit at Jerusalem in the Temple of the Lord, as though he were God. And according to the same prophet, he will first kill three kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia, without doubt for their Christian faith. This, indeed, could not at all be done unless Christianity was established where now is paganism [meaning Mohammedanism].”⁵

Therefore, reasons Guibert, the Christians should conquer Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia (the three horns of Daniel 7), so that “the man of sin, the son of perdition, will find some to oppose him.”

The “times of the Gentiles,” when “Jerusalem shall be trodden down,” means their rule over the Christians, or else “the fulness of time for those Gentiles who shall have entered secretly before Israel shall be saved.”

“These times, most beloved brothers, will now, forsooth, be fulfilled, provided the might of the pagans be repulsed through you, with the cooperation of God. With the end of the world already near, even though the Gentiles fail to be converted to the Lord (since according to the apostle there must be a withdrawal from the faith), it is first necessary, according to the prophecy, that the Christian sway be renewed in those regions, either through you, or others, whom it shall please God to send before the coming of Antichrist, so that the head of all evil, who is to occupy there the throne of the kingdom, shall find some support of the faith to fight against him.”⁶

4. CRUSADES USED TO INCREASE INFLUENCE.—At the same time the Papacy capitalized upon the Crusades as a means of gaining influence in the Greek and Armenian churches, and spreading the influence of Latin Christianity eastward. But, according to Harnack, the ardor of the earlier Crusades was

⁵ Quoted in A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade*, p. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

the direct result of the Cluny monastic movement. The supremacy of the church must be established. "It was the ideas of the world-ruling monk of Cluny that guided the crusaders on their path."⁷ And Ranke states:

"Now the high priest [Pope] put himself at the van of the warlike knights, who although in a different sense were still bearing the Frankish name. He crowned himself as emperor and received by their bow the twofold adoration. In like manner as the great caliphs on whose order Jerusalem was conquered, the pope attempted to present to the world in his person also the worldly unity of the people which were bound together in like faith."⁸

5. THEATRICAL PLAYS ON ANTICHRIST.—The general public was well acquainted with these ideas of Antichrist. They were even propagated by means of theatrical plays, for instance, the *Ludus de Antichristo*, previously mentioned.⁹ But when the Crusades did not bring the expected results, voices began to be heard loudly disclaiming the idea of a personal Antichrist, and stressing the need for another explanation. One highly outspoken voice was that of Gerhoh of Reichersberg.

II. Gerhoh of Reichersberg—Worldly Church Is Antichrist

GERHOH OF REICHERSBERG (1093-1169) was born in Polling, Upper Bavaria. He received his education in various schools of learning, and was accepted as a teacher in one of the cathedral schools. Later he became abbot of Reichersberg. Full of zeal in aiding the church to attain her rightful station among men, he fought in the forefront of the battle for realization of the ideals and demands of Rome. On the other hand, however, he was not satisfied with the laxity and worldliness of the church, and minced no words in condemning unrighteousness. He was a friend of bishops and rulers, and liked at the court of Rome; nevertheless popes and prelates had to put up with his severe criticisms.

⁷ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. 6, p. 8.

⁸ Translated from Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, vol. 8, pp. 84, 85.

⁹ See page 586.

Gerhoh held a highly spiritual concept of the church. He idealized her as an immaculate bride, loyal to her bridegroom. Therefore the corrupted worldly church constituted a new Babylon. And the bishops who carried on wars, and fought and meddled in worldly affairs, were bound with a twofold chain—the chain of the feudal vow and the chain of fear. In reality, nothing should belong to the bishop except the tithe. And that tithe should be divided into three parts, one for the clerics, another for building churches, and a third part for widows and orphans.

In 1142 Gerhoh wrote his *Libellus de Ordine Donorum Spiritus Sancti* (Booklet on the Order of Gifts of the Holy Spirit). Here he explains that the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit are the seven trumpets. Five times, now, the trumpets have voiced the victory of the church—the victory of the apostles, of the martyrs, of the doctors; and now in the sixth period they will proclaim the victory over the Simonists and Nicolaitans. Pope Gregory VII has already called for a more spiritual kingdom, but the victory is not yet complete. The full freedom of the church has not yet been achieved, he reasons.

Gerhoh lived in an extraordinarily agitated time. In the decades between 1140 and 1160 fell the unhappy Crusade of 1147 to 1149, the rebellion of the Romans under Arnold of Brescia,¹⁰ the schism between two rival popes, and the schism between the two philosophies of nominalism and realism. In his time also the Antichrist was a subject of fear and apprehension; the play *Ludus de Antichristo* had become popular. Gerhoh, however, did not approve of the latter. In his *Libellus de Investigatione Antichristi* (Booklet About the Investigations of Antichrist), in 1162 or 1163, he tries to prove that Antichrist should be conceived of neither as a person nor as coming from Dan or from Babylon. These terms should be understood in a spiritual and broader way.

Antichrist is the spirit of the time, the spirit of worldliness

¹⁰ See pages 812, 813,

in the church. The struggle between the emperors and the popes, and between popes and counterpopes, is the unleashing of the forces of Gog and Magog, he thought. Like Joseph in Egypt, who had been freed from the dungeon and lifted to Pharaoh's chariot, so the church was in the same manner lifted by Constantine onto the royal horse. In the church, however, times of elation and times of sufferings alternate, and now a mingling of the two powers has taken place. The spiritual and temporal forces have been interwoven. Bishops are pastors of the flock as well as worldly judges. That is a clear indication of the workings of this unspeakable beast of Revelation, whose mysterious number is 666, a number which signifies threefold worldliness.¹¹

In this, Gerhoh becomes a forerunner of the later interpretation, pointing away from a personal Antichrist of Jewish origin to a spiritual but apostate force. To him the worldly church is symbolized in the figure of Antichrist. But the full and revolutionary force of such a statement became understood only gradually. The church had to make more extravagant claims before men could gain the clearest understanding as to who this dire figure of Antichrist might be. We have seen how the Spirituals among the Franciscans were thinking, for a time, that Antichrist might find its personification in Emperor Frederick II, which, in a way, was a return to the former conception of an individual. It will be well at this point to turn the spotlight briefly upon that life-and-death struggle between the Papacy and the empire in the days of Frederick II (1194-1250).

III. Frederick's Battle With Pope Regarding Antichrist

Frederick II, ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, having become an orphan early in life, was brought up under the special care of Pope Innocent III. He received the imperial

¹¹ Dempf, *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 259.



EMPEROR AND POPE WHO EXCHANGED PROPHETIC EPITHETS

Frederick II (Left), German Emperor and Outstanding Figure of Thirteenth Century, Engaged in Mortal Contest for Supremacy With Pope Gregory IX (Right), Each Hurling the Epithet of Antichrist at the Other

crown in 1215. Proclaiming a universal peace in Germany, he took a vow to go on a crusade. However, he found many reasons to delay his departure. Finally Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241), in the first days of his pontificate, demanded that Frederick depart for Palestine. For failing to go forward the emperor was placed under the papal ban. However, in 1228 he started on the crusade, and gained possession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth by diplomacy, and crowned himself king of Jerusalem.

But Frederick faced trouble at home. Upon his return he was again excommunicated for disobedience to the pope. In 1231 he established a real kingship in Sicily. And with Germany and Sicily in his hands, he gained control of the cities of Lombardy, including Milan, in 1237. In 1238 he laid claim to Sardinia. His ideal was to establish imperial might again, according to the pattern of ancient Rome.¹² Gregory, on the other hand, was just as determined to have all power centralized in the Papacy, and he therefore sought to turn the German people and princes against the astute and learned Fred-

¹² Döllinger, *Prophecies*, pp. 101, 102; J. C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, p. 168.

erick, freeing them from their oath of allegiance in 1239.¹³

1. EMPEROR MAINTAINS POPE IS ANTICHRIST.—Frederick was charged by the pope with ingratitude and heresy, copies of the charge being sent to all the leading personalities of Europe. But the emperor defended himself with vigor. In a circular letter he had recourse to the Apocalypse, maintaining that the pope was Antichrist. It was a terrific struggle. The emperor expostulated over the “wickedness of Babylon,” while the pope in turn called Frederick the “beast from the sea” (Rev. 13:3), with the name of blasphemy on his forehead—the very forerunner of Antichrist.¹⁴

2. FREDERICK BEMOANS WICKEDNESS OF BABYLON.—In a letter to Richard of Cornwall, Frederick II calls upon mankind to witness the “wickedness of Babylon,” proceeding from the “elders of the people.”

“Cast your eyes around you: attend, ye sons of men, and grieve over the scandal of the world, the quarrels of nations, and the universal banishment of justice; since the wickedness of Babylon comes forth from the elders of the people, who appeared to be its rulers, in that they turn judgment into bitterness, and the fruits of justice into wormwood.”¹⁵

3. GREGORY DENOMINATES FREDERICK BEAST FROM SEA.—Gregory, in a long, “invective letter” to the archbishop of Canterbury, then castigates Frederick as the “beast” from the sea, of Revelation 13.

“There has risen from the sea a beast, full of words of blasphemy, which, formed with the feet of a bear, the mouth of a raging lion, and, as it were, a panther in its other limbs, opens its mouth in blasphemies against God’s name, and continually attacks with similar weapons his tabernacle, and the saints who dwell in heaven. This beast, endeavouring to grind everything to pieces with its claws and teeth of iron, and to trample with its feet on the universal world, formerly prepared secret battering-engines against the faith; and now it openly sets in array the engines of the Ismaelites, turning souls from the right path, and rises against Christ, the Redeemer of the world (the records of whose Testament, as report declares, he endeavours to destroy by the pen of heretical wickedness).

¹³ Döllinger, *History of the Church*, vol. 4, pp. 48-50.

¹⁴ Dempf, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

¹⁵ Cited in Matthew Paris, *English History* (A.D. 1239), vol. 1, p. 201.

Cease, therefore, to wonder, all of you, to whose ears the slanders of blasphemy against us which have emanated from this beast have reached . . . because he now aims at blotting out the name of the Lord from the earth; but, that you may be the better able to oppose his lies by open truth, and to confute his deceits by the arguments of purity, carefully examine the head, the middle, and the lower parts of this beast Frederick, the so-called emperor."¹⁶

4. **FREDERICK RETORTS POPE IS ANTICHRIST.**—In Frederick's circular-letter reply he succinctly states in the introduction that Gregory himself is in verity the Antichrist who misquotes prophecy. Here is his remarkable statement:

"Even as there exist two lights on the heavens, the greater light and the lesser light, so Providence has placed two ruling powers upon this earth, the Priesthood and the Emperorship, the former to warn and guide humanity, the latter for protection, but both to serve the cause of peace in the world. 'But,' continues the Emperor, 'that one who sits on the priestly chair, and who is anointed with the oil of flattery above his fellows, that great Pharisee, the present pope seeks to annul all that originated under the leadership of heaven. He seeks to eclipse our majesty by trying to accuse us of leaving our faith. He, who carries but the name of a pope has ventured to compare us with that beast which rose up out of the sea, which had upon its heads the name of blasphemy. (Rev. 13.) (I reply) And there went out another horse that was red and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another. For, ever since the time of the exaltation of this present pope he has not at all proved to be a father of mercy and compassion, but a destroyer and an offender to all the world. He is that great dragon, who deceives the whole world, the Antichrist of which he has dared to call us the fore-runner, that second Balaam who is ready to betray and to curse for money. He is the prince of darkness who misquotes prophecy, who misstates the Word of God."¹⁷

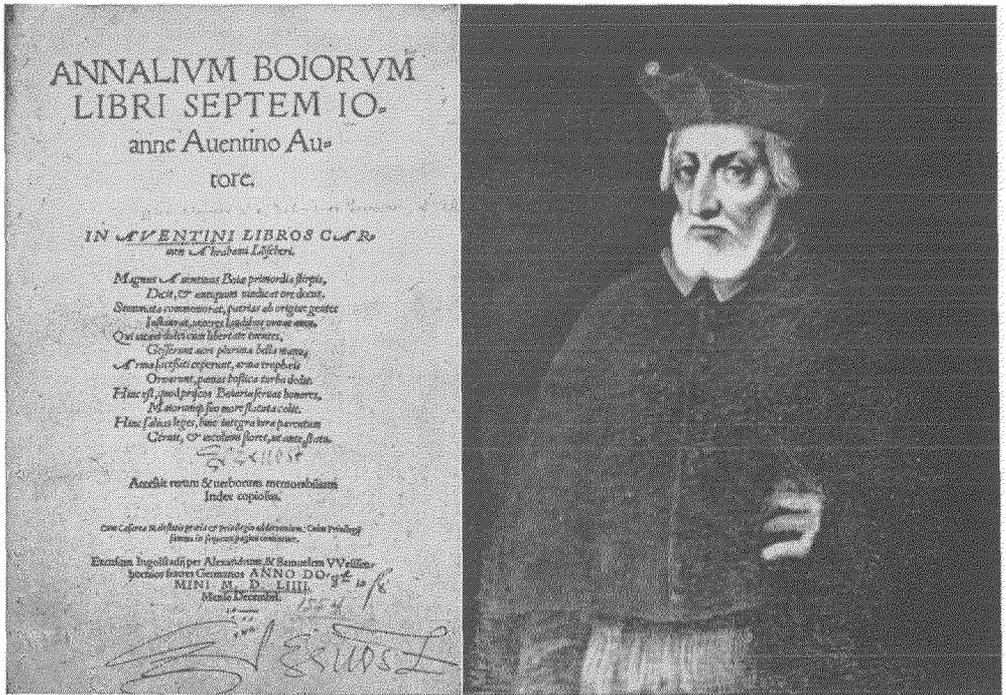
IV. Eberhard Interprets Papal System as Little Horn

In the midst of this tremendous struggle between the emperor and the pope one great ecclesiastical figure towers conspicuously. It is EBERHARD II, archbishop of Salzburg (1200-1246), chief spokesman for the emperor among the German bishops, and one of Frederick's chief counselors.

Frederick had conquered nearly all the states of the church

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 214.

¹⁷ Translated from Johann M. Schröckh, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte*, part 26, p. 373.



EBERHARD II, FIRST TO APPLY LITTLE HORN TO HISTORICAL PAPACY

Eberhard II, Thirteenth Century Archbishop of Salzburg, Chief Supporter of Frederick II and Initial Expounder of the Little Horn of Daniel 7 as the Historical Papacy; Auentinus' Annals of Bavaria, in which This Remarkable Exposition of the Prophecy of Daniel 7 Appears

when the pope summoned a council to meet at Rome in 1241. In a summons requesting Salzburg to be represented at the papal council—a document which is still preserved in the Salzburg ecclesiastical office—Eberhard was ignored by the Roman Curia. As a countermove Eberhard appeared at a diet in Verona, called by Frederick. Some clerics sided with the papal party, but Eberhard took his stand by the side of the emperor, though it brought him many vexations. His whole position toward Rome was endangered, not because of doctrinal controversies, but because of his fidelity to the emperor.¹⁸

1. SETTING OF EBERHARD'S "LITTLE HORN" INTERPRETATION.—His boldest statement, however, was made at a synod of Bavarian bishops held at Regensburg, or Ratisbon, in 1240 or

¹⁸ Josef Hirn, "Erzbischof Eberhards II. von Salzburg Beziehungen zu Kirche und Reich," Jahresbericht des k.k. Ober-Gymnasiums in Krems (1875), pp. 30, 31.

1241; where he gave utterance at the same time to a new interpretation of some lines of prophecy. Here, during this council, Eberhard, in a brilliant oration preserved by Aventinus, or Turmair, in his noted Bavarian Annals,¹⁰ clearly sets forth this identification of the prophecy of the Little Horn. In this striking presentation Eberhard not only openly calls the pope a wolf in shepherd's garb, the Son of Perdition, and Antichrist, but also gives his revolutionary exposition of the pope as the Little Horn of Daniel 7.

Eberhard returns to a neglected exposition taught before Augustinianism had crowded the earlier views out of the current belief—the interpretation of the breakup of the fourth kingdom as the division of the Roman Empire among the barbarian kingdoms. Only now, instead of looking *forward* to the coming of an unidentified individual Antichrist as the prophesied Little Horn, Eberhard looks *back* over the centuries since Rome's dismemberment and sees in the historical Papacy, as a system or line of succession, the fulfillment of the predicted Little Horn, coming up among the ten divisions of Rome, and uprooting three. Such is the bold outline.

Eberhard's Regensburg Council speech, in 1240 or 1241, came at approximately the same time that the pope attempted to convoke the Council of Rome, which was thwarted by Frederick. And at the First General Council of Lyons (1245) the emperor was again excommunicated by the pope; Eberhard was excommunicated subsequently, and died under the ban in 1246. Burial in consecrated ground being refused, he was buried in common ground in an annex of the parish church in Rad-

¹⁰ Eberhard is not named in the record, but is referred to as the *Archimysta*. In the well-known medieval Latin dictionary *Glossarium . . . Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, by Charles Dufresne du Cange, the term "archimysta" is set forth as an expression of Aventinus, used as a synonym for archbishop.

As to the reliability of these ANNALS, Johann Turmair, better known as Aventinus (1477-1534), the "Father of Bavarian History," studied at the universities of Ingolstadt, Vienna, Krakow, and Paris. After tutoring for Prince William IV, he was appointed historiographer of the royal court of Bavaria. Thus he was enabled to gather the materials for his *Annales Boiorum*, completed in 1521. Their antipapal tone hindered publication, as Aventinus openly confessed sympathy for Luther's doctrines. Arrested in 1528, then released, he lived a rather unsettled life until he died in Regensburg in 1534. (Patricius Schlager, "Thurmair, Johannes," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14, p. 713; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 2, p. 794, art. "Aventinus.")

stadt. Some forty years later, in 1288, his remains were transferred to the consecrated ground of the Salzburg Cathedral.²⁰ In the *Annals of Convent Garsten* his obituary states that he was "a man of great learning" who "ruled his see most nobly forty-six years."²¹ Let us examine the details of his statements.

2. CALLS PONTIFF A SAVAGE WOLF IN SHEPHERD'S GARB.—The hidden character of the popes is set forth in Eberhard's speech at Regensburg:

"Under the title of Pontifex Maximus, we discern, unless we are blind, a most savage wolf, with the garment of a shepherd; the Roman priests [*flamines*] have arms against all Christians; made great by daring, by deceiving, by bringing wars after wars, they slaughter the sheep, they cut them off, they drive away peace and harmony from the earth, they stir up internal wars, domestic insurrections from below, day by day they weaken more and more the energies of all, so that they revile the heads of all, they devour all, they reduce all to slavery."²²

3. GREGORY VII LAID FOUNDATIONS FOR ANTICHRIST'S RULE.—Declaring that the more powerful priests "rave with the freedom of a despot," Eberhard adds that there is injustice, wickedness, and ambition among the Roman priests under the appearance of piety. They use "the covenant, consecrated by the name of God, for deceiving men," to cheat and defraud, and to lead men to "resist the sovereign majesty" established by God, and thus show contempt of appointed civil government. Gregory VII is then charged with laying the foundations of Antichrist's rule.

"Hildebrand, one hundred and seventy years before, first laid the foundations of the empire of Antichrist under the appearance of religion. He first began this impious war, which is being continued by his successors even until now. They first drove out the emperor from the pontifical elective assemblies and transferred them to the people and the priests."²³

The apostle Paul, Eberhard continues, admonished us to be "subject to one another in the fear of Christ," but the pontiff teaches that "those who lord it over the conquered

²⁰ Joseph Rainier, "Salzburg, Archdiocese of," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 13, p. 412.

²¹ Hans Widmann, *Geschichte Salzburgs*, p. 351.

²² Translated from Ioannes Aventinus, *Annales Boiorum Libri Septem*, p. 683.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 684.

should serve him," while, in contrast, "the Supreme Majesty assumed the form of a servant that He might serve His disciples."

4. PRIESTS OF BABYLON SIT IN TEMPLE OF GOD.—Connecting Babylon and Antichrist with the Man of Sin sitting in the temple of God, Eberhard reaches his climax when he connects these symbols of Antichrist with the Little Horn and its lawless proclivities—its flouting of established law and its ordination of its own laws—all revealed in the secrets of the Holy Writings to those who will understand. Of the popes he says:

"Those priests [*flamines*] of Babylon alone desire to reign, they cannot tolerate an equal, they will not desist until they have trampled all things under their feet, and until they sit in the temple of God, and until they are exalted above all that is worshipped. . . . He who is servant of servants, desires to be lord of lords, just as if he were God. . . . He speaks great things as if he were truly God. He ponders new counsels under his breast, in order that he may establish his own rule for himself, he changes laws, he ordains his own laws, he corrupts, he plunders, he pillages, he defrauds, he kills—that incorrigible man (whom they are accustomed to call Antichrist) on whose forehead an inscription of insult is written: 'I am God, I cannot err.' He sits in the temple of God, and has dominion far and wide. But as it is in the secrets of the holy writings, let him that readeth understand: the learned will understand, all the wicked will act wickedly, neither will they understand."²⁴

The significance of Eberhard's expression should not be lost—that men were "accustomed" in his day, to call the pope "Antichrist." He was but voicing dramatically what had become a widespread conviction and open declaration.

5. PAPAL HORN ARISES AMONG ROME'S DIVISIONS.—The historical dismemberment of the Roman Empire, so strangely ignored in the preceding centuries, not only because of Augustinianism but also because of creation of the Holy Roman Empire, which was meant to be its successor, is put in its rightful place by Eberhard. The ten divisions of Rome that he listed differ from later enumerations, as is also the case with the three horns, but it is the first attempt of its kind of which we have

²⁴ *Ibid.*

record. And Eberhard's conclusion from the outline is, "What is more clear than this prophecy!" Note it:

"Ten kings exist at the same time, who have divided the circle of the earth, formerly the Roman empire, not for ruling but for destroying. There are ten horns, that which seemed incredible to divine Aurelius Augustine; the Turks, the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Africans, the Spaniards, the Gauls, the English, the Germans, the Sicilians, the Italians possess the Roman provinces and have cut off the Roman colonists in these parts. And a little horn has sprung up under these, which has eyes and a mouth speaking great things; he reduces to order the three most powerful kingdoms of Sicily, Italy, and Germany, and compels them to serve him; with an unendurable lordship he plagues the people of Christ, and the saints of God; he mingles divine and human things, he sets in motion the abominable and the detestable things. What is more clear than this prophecy? All the signs and wonders which that heavenly teacher of ours pointed out to us (unroll the chronicles) have been fulfilled long ago."²⁵

It must be apparent that Eberhard's building upon earlier prophetic interpretation on this point of the dissolution of the Roman Empire had an important bearing on his attitude toward the Papacy. If the Roman Empire had not yet fallen, the Antichrist and the Little Horn could not have come; if, as Eberhard said, the dissolution of Rome had occurred centuries ago, these prophesied powers could be looked for in history.

V. The Revolutionary Implications of Eberhard's Interpretation

Why was this such a revolutionary idea? Why was the church so slow to realize that the Roman world power was a thing of the past? During the barbarian invasions Jerome had cried out that the Roman world was falling,²⁶ but he had not lived long enough to see the accomplished fact. Indeed, long after his lifetime men could not bring themselves to believe that Rome had fallen. The spell of the Eternal City was upon even her conquerors, and after a lapse of several centuries Charlemagne made the unsuccessful attempt at restoring it. The fiction of the "Holy Roman Empire," which, to repeat the cliché,

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 685.

²⁶ See page 445.

was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire, was never a restoration, much less a continuation, of the real Roman power.

1. REASONS FOR LATE DEVELOPMENT.—Although the church after Jerome's day was certain that the fourth empire was Rome, and that the next stage was the dissolution of that empire, it was somewhat blinded by this persistence of the illusory afterimage of Rome's continuance. It is doubtless true that Jerome's influence actually operated to hinder the historical view for the simple reason that his commentary on Daniel, which was later enshrined in the medieval *Glossa Ordinaria*²⁷ (so often referred to as "the common gloss") places the divided kingdoms and the Little Horn in the future, although to him the end seemed near;²⁸ and that future tense, remaining static on the margins of the Vulgate Bible for centuries, kept prophetic exposition forever looking ahead for the fulfillment.

Further, the formation of a concept of the Little Horn or Antichrist as a long growth of a religio-political empire emerging from gradual apostasy in the church would necessarily be a late development.

(1) The conviction of the imminence of the end would not have allowed the earlier expositors to imagine such a long period, even if the initial stages of such a process had been recognized.

(2) The popular traditions of an individual Antichrist—a Jew, an unbeliever, or a semi-demon—ruling for a short period as despot and persecutor, although derived largely from non-Christian sources,²⁹ would tend, in combination with the expectation of the speedy dissolution of all things, to condition the early church against an interpretation involving Antichrist's long development in history.

(3) In the nature of things, such a fulfillment could never be perceived until a long time after it had begun to develop,

²⁷ Walafrid Strabo's *Glossa Ordinaria* incorporated Jerome's commentary on Daniel. (See Migne, *PL*, vol. 114, cols. 63, 64.)

²⁸ See page 446.

²⁹ See pages 293-301.

for not until its maturity could a system of that kind fill the specifications of the prophecy.

(4) Probably the most powerful influence that would prevent the earlier development of a historical interpretation of the Little Horn and the Antichrist was the Augustinian view, which completely changed the direction of prophetic interpretation and dominated the church from Augustine's time on.³⁰ The concept of the millennium as fulfilled in the earthly church and of the hierarchy as rulers of the kingdom of God on earth blinded men to the departures of the church and made it seem all the more unthinkable that the bishops of Rome, the most venerated prelates of Christendom, could so depart from the original faith as to be represented by such prophetic symbols.

2. EBERHARD SEES PEAK OF PAPACY.—Not until the apostasy and corruption in the church became more and more evident, and the pride and power of the pontiffs of Rome had grown until it not only used the temporal sword on dissenters, but even sought to make vassals of kings and emperors, could the accusation be raised that the pope was exhibiting the traits of Antichrist. Not until a Gregory VII had claimed to be Vicar of Christ with authority over kings, and an Innocent III had set himself up as Vicar of God over the whole world, wielding the two swords of spiritual and civil penalties over great and small,³¹ did Eberhard stand forth to level his finger at the Papacy as the Antichrist and the Little Horn "speaking great words against the most High."

He could not have made that application in the infancy of the Papacy. The claim to primacy, the imperious tone, and the political influence were already growing in the time of Gregory I, but the prophetic expositors of that day could hardly have applied to him the epithet with which he denounced the pride of a fellow prelate. In spite of Gregory I's denunciation of the claim to universal bishopric as a manifestation of Anti-

³⁰ See pages 473 ff.

³¹ See chapter 27.

christian spirit,³² the application was not made to the Roman popes when they afterward assumed the same dignity.

The modern conception of religious liberty had not developed, and its early gleams in the pre-Constantinian church had been lost in the deceptive glitter of political power under the Christian emperors; consequently the sinister aspect of the persecution of minorities was lost on the church. Not until the papal sword, after centuries, had been wielded with increasing ruthlessness upon multiplied victims, did the description of the Little Horn wearing out the saints become attached in men's minds to the Roman See.

3. THIRTEENTH-CENTURY DISILLUSIONMENT.—But in the thirteenth century the corruptions of the hierarchy had long been apparent. Men had become weary of the worldliness of the clergy, the avarice, the simony, the injustice. The failure of the monastic reforms to cure the corruption of the church increased the protest of the laity against the contrast between the life of the clergy and the Christian ideal of self-renunciation and service, a protest which expressed itself variously, in the voluntary poverty of various lay groups, such as the Waldenses, in the wistful dreams of Joachim, and in the original zeal of the Franciscan and Dominican friars. These ideals, even among those loyal to the pope, such as Joachim, inevitably threw the worldly Papacy into an unfavorable light by contrast—at least for many who had eyes to see.

It was natural that Eberhard in Germany, in contact with the emperor, saw more clearly than did Joachim in Italy the menace of the Papacy's struggle to control both spiritual and civil power, and doubtless there he had more opportunity to hear the pontiff called Antichrist in the contest with Frederick. But his "Little Horn" application was not merely name-calling. He was not an enthusiast for voluntary poverty, for he was an influential archbishop; nor was he a disillusioned Joachimite, for Joachim's writings—genuine or pseudo—had not yet spread

³² See chapter 22.

so far. But he was in a position to see three things: (1) that Rome had fallen long ago when her domain was divided into barbarian kingdoms; (2) that the Little Horn rising out of the divided successors to the empire, growing "among them" and coming into power "after them," was connected with the breakup of Rome, which no illusion of a Holy Roman Empire could push into the future; and (3) that the description of the Little Horn, with "eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things," "whose look was more stout than his fellows"—a kingdom among kingdoms, yet diverse from the rest, and at the same time a religious power, speaking "great words against the most High," and a persecuting power wearing out the saints—fitted the Papacy most remarkably. And the reader of medieval history as it is written today—even allowing for bias on the part of a supporter of Frederick—can see that the picture is not overdrawn.

Eberhard's historical interpretation of the Little Horn and the Antichrist doubtless had less circulation in Italy, and especially in papal circles, than in Germany. The Joachimites at first looked to Frederick as the Antichrist, and not until the Spirituals had experienced persecution do we find the application of the term "mystic Antichrist" to a future pseudo pope and then an individual, actual pope.

Eberhard was not the first to call a pope Antichrist, for he says that he was accustomed to that. Gerhoh of Reichersberg a century earlier had applied the term to the worldliness in the church and to the contest between pope and emperor. But Eberhard was a pioneer in seeing in the Little Horn, which sprang out of the divided kingdoms of the fourth prophetic empire, the Roman Papacy, which had slowly emerged to world power out of the breakup of the Roman Empire many centuries in the past.

Both true and false concepts of the continuance of Rome powerfully influenced not only churchmen but statesmen, but the position taken by Eberhard in 1240—that the breakup of Rome gave rise to a group of smaller kingdoms, among whom

afterward came up the religio-political power of the historical Papacy as the Little Horn—became the standard interpretation of fourteenth-century Wyclif in Britain,³³ then of sixteenth-century Luther and most of his associates, and next of Cranmer, Knox, and the bulk of the British Reformers.³⁴ Practically all the post-Reformation writers on the Continent and in Britain and America declared the same.³⁵ Even the Jewish expositor Don Isaac Abravanel of Spain, in 1496, made a like explanation.³⁶

This Reformation view was the sort of belief which helped to nerve men to withstand the powerful forces under the command of the Papacy, and to go to the stake rather than yield to her spiritual despotism; for Protestant martyrs dared not obey her injunctions or follow in her apostasies, and thus incur the displeasure of Heaven. Therefore they no longer feared her anathemas.

³³ See *Prophetic Faith*, vol. 2, p. 55.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, chart on p. 528.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 784, under "Little Horn"; also vol. 3, p. 252, under "Little Horn."

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 228.

Heresies and Evangelical Reform Movements

In our studies so far we have dealt largely with the broad, accelerating stream of Christianity as it was generally accepted in the Western church. We have followed its turbulent course and have witnessed its growing power, along with the church's increasing world-mindedness. We saw how fearless men stood up making every attempt within their power to alter its devastating course; to reimbue the church with the spirit of self-negation and Christlike humility. But their efforts in most cases fell short; the greed for power in man and the desire for glory were stronger than the self-effacing love of Christ.

However, beside this broad, sweeping stream of the general church there were always other streams and streamlets through the ages, through which virile Christianity attempted to express itself. These streamlets were mostly branded as sects, or even as heresies, by the general church, and it is true that their adherents often held erroneous notions. But in most cases their lives were exemplary, and their ultimate aim was to serve God according to the dictates of their conscience along the lines of their understanding of spiritual things. These groups were the connecting link between the early and the Reformation churches. C. A. Scott gives a discerning description of the submerged Scriptural church as—

“that continuous stream of anti-Catholic and anti-hierarchical thought and life which runs parallel with the stream of ‘orthodox’ doctrine and organization practically throughout the history of the Church. Often dwin-

dling and almost disappearing in the obscurity of movements which had no significance for history, it swelled from time to time to a volume and importance which compelled the attention even of unsympathetic historians. The initial impulse of such reaction and of successive renewals of its force was probably practical rather than intellectual—an effort after a 'purer,' simpler, and more democratic form of Christianity, one which appealed from tradition and the ecclesiastics to Scripture and the Spirit. . . . The notes common to nearly all the forms of this reaction [were] the appeal to Scripture, the criticism of Catholic clergy in their lives, and of Catholic sacraments in the Catholic interpretation of them, and the emphasis on the pneumatic [spiritual] character and functions of all believers."¹

I. Strange Teachings of Cathari and Albigenses

One of these groups was the Cathari, which spread under various names in Italy as Patarini, Concorrezani, and Bagnoliesi, and in Septimania (southern France) they became known as Albigenses. Here they had become a formidable force by the twelfth century and were able to defy the official church with impunity for a certain period. They enjoyed full protection of the counts of Toulouse and many other nobles. Being fully convinced that the medieval church was totally corrupted, they held that only outside of her could true salvation be found. In 1167 they held a council at St. Felix de Caraman, near Toulouse, where a representative from the East, Nicetas, or Niquinta, consecrated several Cathari bishops by the laying on of hands, the baptism of the spirit, or the *consolamentum*, as they called it.²

The Albigenses by now had become a force that swept the country, so that Bernard of Clairvaux lamented that the churches were forsaken, and were falling into ruin; the flocks had left the priests, and often had gone over to the heretics. The Albigenses, and other heretical groups, came increasingly into prominence from the twelfth century onward because the church, made more acutely aware of them, and finding ecclesiastical discipline breaking down before the swelling tide

¹ C. A. Scott, "Paulicians," in Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. 9, p. 697.

² O. Zöckler, "New Manicheans," *The New Schaff-Herzog*, vol. 8, p. 145.

of dissent which threatened to overwhelm Catholicism in many areas, felt compelled to devise more effective methods of stamping out the heresy. She used all means at her disposal—persuasion and coercion, preaching and the sword—which led to a terrible crusade of wholesale murder and plunder. And finally came the Inquisition, resulting in the virtually complete extermination of the Albigenses and the laying waste of one of the most flourishing provinces of France to such an extent that it never completely recovered. It may be of interest to list some dates:

1148—Council of Rheims: the protectors of the heretics in Gascony and Provence excommunicated.

1163—Council of Tours, declaring the Albigenses should be imprisoned and their property confiscated.

1165—Disputation at Lombaz, with no agreement.

1167—Council of Albigenses at Toulouse.

1178—Another attempt at peaceful settlement.

1179—Third Lateran Council, summoned to use force against the heretics.

1181-82—Crusading army sent against heretics in Languedoc, with scanty results.

1206—Dominic de Guzman [founder of the Dominicans] goes out with others to preach to the Albigenses; but is, however, rebuffed. They affirmed, on his questioning, the identity of the church of Rome with the Babylon of the Apocalypse.³

1207—The papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, murdered. Innocent III orders crusade; 20,000 knights and 200,000 footmen assemble. War carried on with utmost ruthlessness. After the storming of Beziers 20,000—some say 40,000—were massacred. War turns into a fight between the king of France and the counts of Toulouse.

1229—Peace; Septimania becomes a dependency of France. The Inquisition takes over.

³ J. Bass Mullinger, "Albigenses," in Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 282. The Cathari are quoted as calling the church the beast, the harlot, and a nest of serpents. (Salvus Burce, *Supra Stella*, in J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektiengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, pp. 63-65, 71, 72.)

1250—From the middle of the thirteenth century the name Albigenses gradually disappears.

What were the doctrines of the Albigenses that made them so obnoxious in the eyes of the orthodox? The Cathari, of which the Albigenses were a group, likewise had strong connections with Bogomiles in Bulgaria and the Eastern half of the Roman Empire. In these Eastern groups through the influence of Gnosticism and Manichaeism a dualistic view of the universal forces was accepted, and this view was also cherished by the Cathari in general, either in its pure form of two gods, the god of good and of light, and the god of evil and of darkness, or in a somewhat milder form, accepting one supreme god having two sons, Satanael, the elder, and Christ, or Michael, the younger. A whole cosmogonic drama was developed. In one of the phases Christ came from heaven and assumed only a material body; in reality He brought His spiritual body from the higher world, and in this He conquered Satanael, His brother, who had succeeded in seducing a number of angels from the abode of light.

The Cathari discarded the Old Testament; they lived by the New. They regarded as deadly sins the possession of property, association with men of this world, lying, war, killing of animals except snakelike creatures, eating of animal food except fishes, and above all, sexual intercourse. Therefore they discouraged marriage. The *perfecti* (perfected) were very strict, and if, after his admission, a "perfected" should commit a single sin, he would be lost forever. Therefore many preferred suicide by fasting, to life at the risk of everlasting damnation.

But these strange Catharist beliefs were not necessarily held by all Albigenses; possibly they were current mostly among the *perfecti*, who in comparison were few in number. The connection between the differing groups of Albigenses and the older Manichaeism is not clear, and Catholic charges against them were likely somewhat exaggerated. Certainly their wide influence stemmed from their upright, unworldly lives, in contrast to the ways of the corrupt Catholic clergy; and undoubt-

edly many of them—particularly those in contact with Petrobrusians or Waldenses—were true evangelicals, with the dualistic elements reduced to a minimum. At least they were genuine martyrs to their protest against the Roman church, and they attempted, according to their light, to live by New Testament ideals.⁴

II. Peter of Bruys—Stanch Defender of Gospel

Beside this movement of the Cathari, which was dualistic in its conception and which in spite of the many excellent characters it produced, cannot be claimed as purely a gospel movement, there were heard other voices who cried aloud in the general degeneration of the times for a return to the simplicity of the gospel. One of these stanch defenders of gospel truth was PETER OF BRUYS (fl. 1105-1126). His followers were called Petrobrusians. We know nothing of his youth; our only information comes from Peter the Venerable, his opponent.

He was a powerful preacher and made the four Gospels the cornerstone of his preaching; then followed the Epistles. He did not, however, regard the Old Testament too highly. He recognized only the baptism of adults; those who had received baptism in infancy had to be rebaptized. He rejected transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and even the Lord's supper. He abhorred the veneration of the cross and of relics, as well as prayers for the dead. He was not opposed to marriage; he obliged priests who accepted his teachings to take a wife. He disparaged images, saint worship, fasting, and holy days.

His great dislike for crosses and crucifixes led him into rashly burning a number of them, which so outraged the populace that eventually he was seized and burned to death on a heap of crosses which he had lighted.⁵ His followers seem to have been absorbed by the more widespread and better organized Waldenses, as we shall see in the following chapter.

⁴ Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 545-551; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 1, p. 528, art. "Albigenses"; Mullinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 281, 282; for sources, Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2.
⁵ Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 559-562; Lagarde, *op. cit.*, p. 449; Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 282.

III. Henry of Lausanne—Reformer Before Reformation

Another eloquent preacher was HENRY OF LAUSANNE (d. c. 1148). He was a man of deep learning and extraordinary oratorical powers, combined with marked modesty and piety. In 1101 he appeared in Le Mans and from the bishop obtained permission to preach. He preached against a formal Christianity and demanded the fruits of repentance. This led him to warn against false guides and against the reliance upon relics, indulgences, and the like.

He was a reformer before the Reformation, seeking a spiritual awakening and revival, and many were deeply influenced by him. He wandered through France, came to Languedoc, where he probably came in close touch with Peter of Bruys, and is thought to have worked with him. His followers were called the Henricians; and sometimes Albigensian notions were wrongly attributed to them. About 1135 he was arrested by the archbishop of Arles, and brought before the Synod of Pisa, which refused to condemn him. But he was sent to Bernard of Clairvaux for a while. Soon he departed from there and continued his work of preaching for another ten years.⁶

IV. Arnold of Brescia—Separation of Church and State

Another figure in this medieval pattern of life was ARNOLD OF BRESCIA (c. 1100-1155). As a young, enthusiastic cleric he came in touch with Abelard, the great speculative thinker and rationalist, and many of the latter's ideas must have influenced him deeply. But whereas Abelard was a philosopher, Arnold was a practical preacher and a politician. Although less able in intellectual power than his teacher, he was more dangerous in his practical drift. Baronius calls him the father of political heresies.

Arnold, deeply stirred by the corruption of the church, zealously opposed the worldly-minded clergy and monks, and

⁶ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, pp. 483, 484; Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 560, 561; A. Hauck, "Henry of Lausanne," *The New Schaff-Herzog*, vol. 5, p. 228.

preached the lofty ideal of a holy and pure church, a renovation of the spiritual order after the pattern of the apostolic church.⁷ He claimed that the church should be without possessions and live from the tithes and voluntary offerings. Her calling is spiritual, not worldly. Whereas Hildebrand aimed at the theocratic supremacy of the church, Arnold desired her complete separation from the state.

Arnold practiced what he preached, and his powerful sermons caused considerable agitation among the people of Lombardy—so much so that Innocent II at the Lateran Council in 1139 felt himself forced to take preventive measures. Arnold was charged with inciting the laity against the clergy and was banished from Italy as a schismatic, but not condemned as a heretic. He went to Paris, began to preach, was forced to leave the country, fled to Zurich. But even there Bernard of Clairvaux denounced him, declaring that his speech was honey but his doctrine poison.⁸

After some years he appeared in Rome and became entangled with the Roman Republican movement, in fact, became their fieriest supporter. When this movement was crushed he was imprisoned, killed, and burned, and his ashes were thrown into the Tiber. Gerhoh of Reichersberg mourned him and said they should at least have done to him as David did to Abner (2 Samuel 3), and allowed him to be buried and his death to be mourned over, instead of causing his remains to be thrown into the Tiber. The Arnoldists, probably his followers, continued for some years, but after they were branded as heretics by the Council of Verona in 1184, they disappeared.

V. A Reaction Against the Corruptions of the Church

It would be too much to say that one cause could be assigned to the various uprisings against the dominant church in one form or another. The picture is more complex than

⁷ Neander, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 148, 149. He is believed to have been unorthodox on infant baptism and the sacrament of the altar. (Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 564.)

⁸ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 100.

that. But by the twelfth century there was undoubtedly emerging a reaction against the corruption and worldliness of the church. Whether the increase in the degeneration of the Roman church was the main factor, or whether a combination of local conditions of that period caused the opposition to break forth more strongly, it is undeniable that the submerged elements were increasingly ready to accept the idea that the church had departed from its early purity, and a longing grew for a return to the earlier, simpler gospel as it had existed in the long ago—the ideal of evangelical poverty, of forsaking the world and following in the footsteps of Christ. This ideal expressed itself even within the church in the Franciscan order, for example.

In the survey of the development of prophetic interpretation through the centuries it has become evident how the eschatological views of the church changed, both influencing and being influenced by the changing background of the expanding and ever more powerful church and its relations with a changing world. The church of the Middle Ages could not, in the nature of things, be exactly the same as the early church, living under changed political, social, and economic conditions after the breakup of the Roman Empire, but the difference was unfortunately a change for the worse, and in the growing opinion of many, worse than it had any right to be.

It might be well to review briefly some of the most noticeable ways in which organized Christianity departed from its original state.

In the early centuries the church believed generally in the simple evangelical truths of the gospel and defined its doctrines only gradually. Worship was relatively simple—prayer, Scripture reading, preaching, hymn singing, the Lord's supper, and baptism. Its ministers were at first pastors, but later the title of "bishop," which had meant simply overseer, or pastor, came to mean a ruler of a group of churches. A hierarchy developed, with the bishops of such centers as Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, and Rome in the lead—Rome gradually taking precedence. The growth of power within the church and then in

the empire operated to lower the standards of the hierarchy, and the application of the pagan philosophy to Biblical interpretation opened the way for innovations and heresies, while the influx of half-converted pagans as the church became popular brought degeneration.

Fundamental changes in organization took place as the church grew. A sharper distinction between clerics and laics was drawn; the power of the episcopate increased. Favored and protected by the emperor, the church was put in possession of pagan temples and loaded with wealth, the hierarchy exalted. The climax was reached when the emperor Justinian supported the Roman bishop's claim to primacy over the whole church.

The practices of the public church service were likewise affected, particularly as Christianity was substituted for paganism as the state religion. Idol worshipers brought old practices into the church. The temples were adorned with pictures, and later sculptured images, which became the objects of veneration, and the ritual was enhanced with pagan elements. The ceremonial splendor of pompous ritual worship was introduced to captivate the pagans. To conciliate the votaries of polytheism, the Christian hierarchy thought it expedient to leave the popular superstitions in vogue, and adapt them to Christianity. Images, processions, relics, pilgrimages, votive offerings, and penances were taken over; veneration of saints and saints' bones, and asceticism.

Doctrine as well as worship underwent continual modification. The Lord's supper, originally designed to commemorate the sacrifice of Christ, gradually became a so-called sacrifice for the remission of sins for both living and dead. Gross superstitions gained ground in the nominal church; quasi-magical sacraments, good works, and saints' intercession were looked to for salvation. Increasing veneration for the opinions of the fathers, and the pretensions of the councils to fix the sense of Scripture, climaxed in the exaltation of tradition at the expense of the Scriptures.

Thus, by the absorption of these corruptions, Christianity

was gradually supplanted by what has aptly been called a baptized paganism.⁹

VI. Independent Spirit of Southeastern France and Northern Italy

It would be interesting to know just what factors operated to make certain territories, more than others, nests of discontent with the secularized church, areas where we find repeated outcroppings of the spirit of antisacerdotalism, of yearning for the return of the church to the old ways, and of independence of the increasingly centralized hierarchy. Such an area in the Middle Ages was what is now northern Italy and southwestern France. We find various voices and movements for reform, but we do not have sufficient information to trace their continuous history and their interrelationships. Unauthorized and persecuted minorities do not leave an abundance of records, for their enemies tend to destroy their writings and to question and to challenge those that remain. All this conspires to make their study particularly difficult, but the more important and necessary.

In the succeeding pages we shall trace a series of proto-Protestants whose roots go back into the history of north Italy and southeast France. We have found roots of protest in that region before the Middle Ages began, as testified by Jerome, in the time of Vigilantius,¹⁰ with organized opposition to the unscriptural innovations of the dominant church of the day. The archdiocese of Milan, which at one time stretched westward far enough to embrace the valley dwellers of the Cottian Alps, was a nest of independence from the time of the fourth century, and we learn from Pope Pelagius I (about 555) that the bishops of Milan and Aquileia did not come to Rome for ordination, for "this was an ancient custom" of theirs.¹¹

⁹ See pages 381, 382.

¹⁰ See page 819.

¹¹ Translated from a fragment of a letter of Pelagius I, in J. D. Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 9, col. 730. See also Thomas McCrie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 9.

And about 590 several of the bishops of northern Italy refused to adhere to the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, rejected the communion of the pope, and renewed their declaration of independence of the Roman church.¹²

The independence of northern Italy, from the fourth century onward—when Rome's claims began to be pressed—was a challenge to that ecclesiastical supremacy that had been sought for several centuries, and finally was achieved under the emperor Justinian. By imperial authority all priests and bishops—so far as Justinian had power and jurisdiction—were subjected to the bishop of Rome, and were to be instructed and corrected by him.¹³ Rome spread out until she dominated much of Europe, but here, in Italy itself, was an insubordination and an open defiance that was intolerable and perilous—the more so since it was near home, in the very land where the Papacy had its seat.

I. PROMINENCE AND INDEPENDENCE OF MILAN.—In the early centuries of the Christian Era, Milan, situated in the midst of the plain at the foot of the Alps, and commanding the natural gateways between Italy and the countries north and west, was hardly less important in the north of Italy than Rome to the south. When Rome lost its controlling position in the empire, Milan assumed an almost independent status. In the period of the divided empire its powerful diocese was virtually independent of the church of Rome. From Constantine onward for a time Milan was honored almost constantly by the presence of emperors. Under Ambrose, who became one of the most powerful figures of his time, began a struggle between temporal and spiritual interests. During the supremacy of the kingdom of the Lombards the Roman pontiffs steadily increased their power, before which the Ambrosian church had to succumb in the end.¹⁴

¹² Peter Allix, *Some Remarks Upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont*, chap. 5.

¹³ See pages 510 ff.

¹⁴ See page 419.

This independence of Milan is likewise noted by Turner:

“Just about the same time with the commencement of the continuous series of councils whose canons were taken up into our extant Latin codes, commences a parallel series of papal decretals . . . with the letter of Pope Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona in 385. Such decretal letters were issued to churches in most parts of the European West, Illyria included, *but not to north Italy, which looked to Milan*, and not to Africa, which depended on Carthage. . . . Each district in the West had its separate Church Law as much as its separate liturgy or its separate political organisation; and it was not till the union of Gaul and Italy under one head in the person of Charles the Great, that the collection of Dionysius, as sent to Charles by Pope Hadrian in 774, was given official position throughout the Frankish dominions.”¹⁵

This independence was possible because the see of Rome in the early centuries embraced only the capital and surrounding provinces. Even after the Roman bishop's claim to primacy came to be recognized over all the West, and even farther, his direct episcopal jurisdiction could be exercised only over his archdiocese. For hundreds of years the powerful archdiocese of Milan—including the plains of Lombardy, the Piedmontese Alps, and part of France—was nonsubservient to the papal chair. Thus the independence of these outlying districts provided the opportunity for a freedom which was impossible nearer Rome. And the mountainous regions in this territory provided a haven for independence.

How early the Alpine valleys and the foothills were inhabited by seekers for liberty, and to what extent the older usages and beliefs of the church persisted there from primitive times, we have no contemporary historical sources. But it is not impossible to suppose that the evangelical tendencies noticeable later were to an undetermined extent a genuine survival.¹⁶

According to the claims of later Waldenses, the early Christians, under pagan Rome's persecutions of the second, third, and fourth centuries, had found in the valleys of the Cottian Alps, separating Piedmont and Dauphiné, a citadel fashioned

¹⁵ Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 182. (Italics supplied.)

¹⁶ Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 541.

by Providence. By the fifth century, they contended, the dwellers of the valleys still held the essential doctrines and practices of the primitive church, and in so doing, they witnessed against the growing superstitions and perversions. They contended that the church of Rome had long ago departed from the primitive faith and that they really constituted the successors of the apostolic church.

2. VIGILANTIUS' EARLY DISSENT SENT FORTH FROM THE ALPS.—Vigilantius of Lyons, in Aquitaine, and presbyter of the church of Barcelona in Spain, had a controversy with Jerome about 396.¹⁷ In 406 Vigilantius published a treatise against superstitions, celibacy of the clergy, the veneration of martyrs' relics, burning of tapers, vigils, and the like,¹⁸ and his audacity drove Jerome, nurtured in adulterated Christianity, to frenzied defense of the relics of the saints:

“Does the bishop of Rome do wrong when he offers sacrifices to the Lord over the venerable bones of the dead men Peter and Paul, as we should say, but according to you, over a worthless bit of dust, and judges their tombs worthy to be Christ's altars? And not only is the bishop of one city in error, but the bishops of the whole world, who, despite the tavern-keeper Vigilantius, enter the basilicas of the dead, in which ‘a worthless bit of dust and ashes lies wrapped up in a cloth,’ defiled and defiling all else.”¹⁹

But the significant point is that Vigilantius wrote from a region situated “between the Adriatic and the Alps of King Cotius,”²⁰ a region which, as Faber points out, “formed a part of what was once styled Cisalpine Gaul.”²¹

This district to the east of the Cottian Alps is precisely the country of the Waldenses. Here, according to Faber, the secluded mountain and valley folk presented a striking contrast to the wealthy inhabitants of the cities of the plains corrupted

¹⁷ See Jerome's letters to Vigilantius and Riparius, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 6, pp. 131-133, 212-214; also his treatise *Against Vigilantius*, chaps. 1-4, pp. 417, 418 of the same volume.

¹⁸ Cited by Jerome in *Against Vigilantius*, chaps. 1, 4, 9, 10, pp. 417, 418, 421; see also George Stanley Faber, *An Inquiry Into the History and Theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenes*, pp. 291, 292.

¹⁹ Jerome, *Against Vigilantius*, chap. 8, p. 420.

²⁰ Jerome, Letter to Riparius, chap. 2, p. 213.

²¹ Faber, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

by an opulent clergy.²² Seclusion in a mountainous district naturally has a tendency to preclude change and innovation; opinions and practices are handed down from father to son. That the innovations of the great city churches were not so acceptable to the churches of the mountains and the country is apparent from the protest of Hilary that he feared a city Antichrist.²³

Declaring Vigilantius "a forerunner of the Reformation," and one of the earliest of the protesters, Gilly places him in that line of dissentients which parallels the line of those who perpetuated "another gospel"—the pro-Roman fathers, the schoolmen, and later the Jesuits. He places Vigilantius in that—"sacred and indestructible line of Christianity, which has continued since our Lord's promise of the duration of His Church, uncorrupted by those who boast of their succession from the Church of the Fathers, the Church of the Schoolmen, and the Church of Rome: often being *in* the visible Church, and yet not *of* it. The Wilderness-church, and the succession of Witnesses in sackcloth, have been predicted from the first, and this implies a condition the very reverse of Ascendancy, and Supremacy, and Prosperity. The succession of pure Gospel Truth has been perpetuated by despised and humble witnesses." ²⁴

Faber concludes, as the result of his researches:

"Through the medium of the Vallensic Church, which, at the very beginning of the fifth century, not to speak of even a yet earlier period, subsisted where it still subsists, in the region geographically defined by the angry Jerome as lying between the waters of the Adriatic Sea and the Alps of King Cottius, we stand connected with the purity of the Primitive Church." ²⁵

Coming to the ninth century, we shall find some of this north Italian community constituting a part of the flock of Claudius (Claude), bishop of Turin, the attacker of image worship. Later we find the outlying districts practically separated from the Roman church, functioning as an independent church in the wilderness, and retaining the simpler ways of the early church.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 293, 294.

²³ See page 409.

²⁴ W. S. Gilly, *Vigilantius and His Times*, p. vi.

²⁵ Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 593, 594.

VII. Claudius Discourages Dependence on Rome

CLAUDIUS (d. 839), bishop of Turin, and sometimes styled "Bishop of the Valleys," was born in Spain. A talented preacher, he was for some years chaplain at the court of Louis the Pious, the successor of Charlemagne. Upon the advancement of Louis to the throne of empire, he made Claudius the bishop of the important metropolis of Turin, about 822, during the pontificate of Paschal I, who opposed him. Claudius' diocese included the plains and mountain valleys of Piedmont. Thus the mantle of Ambrose and Vigilantius descended upon him. With dismay he beheld the papal encroachments bowing the necks of men to its yoke, and the people bending their knees to its idols. In the very territory where Vigilantius had inveighed against the errors of Jerome, Claudius now led a strong movement to promote and perpetuate the same reforms. As a result, capitulation of the independence of his church to the yoke of Rome was stayed, and the evangelical light continued to shine at the foot of the Alps.²⁶

I. GREATEST BATTLE FOUGHT OVER IMAGE WORSHIP.—Claudius was an "indefatigable student of Holy Scripture."²⁷ By pen and voice he constantly proclaimed truth and opposed error. He maintained that there is but one Sovereign of the church—the Lord in heaven; that Peter had no superiority over other apostles; that human merit is of no avail, but that faith alone saves. He repudiated tradition, prayers for the dead, and relics. He contended that the Lord's supper is simply a memorial of Christ's death, not a repetition. He fought strenuously against image worship, kissing the cross, et cetera. He specifically denied Roman primacy.²⁸ Thus he has come to be called the "Protestant of the ninth century."²⁹

It was over *iconolatry*, or image worship, that Claudius

²⁶ Allix, *Churches of Piedmont*, chap. 9; M'Clintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 371; J. A. Wylie, *The History of Protestantism*, vol. 1, p. 21.

²⁷ Wylie, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 21; Gilly, *Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont*, Appendix 3, pp. xii-xvii.

²⁸ Allix, *Churches of Piedmont*, chap. 9; Wylie, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 21.

²⁹ Waddington, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

fought his greatest battle, resisting it with all the logic of his pen and all the force of his eloquence. The worship of images had been decreed by the second Council of Nicaea (787),³⁰ but was rejected in certain sections. The Council of Frankfort (794), called by Charlemagne, with 300 western bishops participating, took its stand against image worship.³¹ Claudius' attack on image worship is best described in his own words:

" 'Against my will I undertook the burden of pastoral office. Sent by the pious prince, son of the holy Church of God, Louis, I came into Italy, to the city of Turin. I found all the churches (contrary to the order of truth) filled with the filth of accursed things and images.' . . . 'What men were worshipping I alone began to destroy.' . . . 'Therefore all opened their mouths to revile me, and if the Lord had not helped me, perhaps they would have swallowed me alive.' " ³²

Fearing the effects of the superstition and idolatry taught and practiced at Rome, Claudius endeavored to keep his own diocese from being further infected. To this end he told his people that they ought not to run to Rome for the pardon of their sins,³³ nor have recourse to the saints or their relics;³⁴ that the church is not founded upon St. Peter or the pope,³⁵ and that they ought not to worship images.³⁶

2. PROCLAIMS EVANGELICAL FAITH AND EXALTS WORD.—

Claudius wrote several books to refute his opponents.³⁷ He maintained the doctrine of justification by faith,³⁸ denied the infallibility of the church, declared it heresy to depart from the Word of God, and affirmed the presence of a multitude of such heretics in his day,³⁹ which he declared to be within as well as

³⁰ Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 411; for the Latin original see Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 13, cols. 377-380.

³¹ Canon 2. See Landon, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 282, 283; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 13, col. 909.

³² Translated from excerpts from Claudius' book entitled *Apologeticum atque Rescriptum . . . Adversus Theodemirum Abbatem*, cited by his contemporary opponent Jonas of Orleans in his *De Cultu Imaginum* (Concerning the Worship of Images), book 1, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 106, cols. 315-317.

³³ *Ibid.*, cols. 365, 366, 370, 383.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, cols. 380-382.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 375-378, 385, 386.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, cols. 325-330. See Philip Schaff, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 472, 473.

³⁷ A list of Claudius' writings appears in Allix, *Churches of Piedmont*, pp. 64, 65; also in Gilly, *Narrative*, Appendix 3, p. xiv. His *Enarratio in Epistolam D. Pauli ad Galatas* (Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians) is published in full, but the manuscripts of his commentaries on the epistles are in the Abbey of Fleury near Orleans; those on Leviticus, at Rheims; and several copies of his commentary on St. Matthew, in England and elsewhere. Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 310, 311.

³⁸ Claudius, *Enarratio in . . . Galatas*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 104, cols. 863-868.

³⁹ Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-313.

outside the church. Claudius' attitude toward the crucifix is illuminating:

"God commands [us] to bear the cross, not to worship it; they wish to worship it because they are unwilling to bear it either spiritually or corporally."⁴⁰

His position on the supremacy of the pope is likewise succinctly stated:

"For we know that this sentence of the gospel of the Lord Saviour is ill understood, where he says to the blessed apostle Peter '*Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven.*' (Matt. xvi). On account of these words of the Lord, an ignorant race of men destitute of all spiritual knowledge, wish to go to Rome for the attainment of everlasting life. . . . The ministry belongs to the superintendants of the church, as long as they sojourn in this mortal body."⁴¹

Claudius flatly denied the authority of tradition. The written Word was to him the one standard of truth, his burden being to deliver the unadulterated Word of God. In this he was declared by contemporaries to be promulgating the doctrine of Vigilantius, as appears from the two treatises against Claudius by Jonas, bishop of Orleans, and by the French monk Dungali,⁴² who declared that his influence extended all over Italy, France, and Germany.⁴³

Dungali continually referred to Claudius as teaching the same as Vigilantius. And Rorenco, prior of St. Roch at Turin (c. 1630), employed to inquire into the origin of the opinions and connections of the mountaineer Vallenses, declared that "Claude of Turin was to be reckoned among these fomentors and encouragers,"⁴⁴ as the principal destroyer of images.

3. MAINTAINS TRADITION OF NORTH ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE.—In addition to the purity of the faith, Claudius had held for the independence traditional to the churches of north

⁴⁰ Translated from *Apologeticum*, cited by Jonas, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 106, col. 351.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, cols. 375, 379. See also H. D. Acland, "Compendium of the History of the Vaudois," p. xxix, in Henri Arnaud, *The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois of Their Valleys*; Allix, *Churches of Piedmont*, p. 83.

⁴² See *Dungali Reclusi Liber Adversus Claudium Taurinensem*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 105, cols. 458-530.

⁴³ Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 239.

⁴⁴ Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-328, citing from the original.

Italy. For they remained free in his day, though most other churches had become subservient to Rome. Milan still used the Ambrosian liturgy and pursued her course in independence of Rome.⁴⁵ Claudius was joined, in these protests against image worship, by his contemporary on the other side of the Alps, Agobardus, archbishop of Lyons from 810 to 841.⁴⁶

The papal power had not yet established supremacy in northern Italy; nor had it yet proceeded to deeds of blood to enforce its ever increasing control, for not yet had the secular power surrendered itself to be the instrument of death at Rome's bidding—which marked the culminating achievement of the papal power. Thus Claudius "suffered not unto blood."⁴⁷ After his death (c. 839), however, the battle was but languidly maintained. His mantle was not taken up by any outstanding leader, and came to trail in the dust. Attempts were made to induce the bishops of Milan to surrender in spiritual vassalage to the pope.

When, a century or so later, the religionists of the plains entered the pale of Roman jurisdiction, some protesters fled across the Alps and descended to the Rhine and the diocese of Cologne. Still others retired to the Piedmontese Alps, and there maintained both their Scriptural faith and ancient independence, "spurning alike the tyrannical yoke and the corrupt tenets of the Church of the Seven Hills," considering that Rome abandoned what was once the common faith of Christendom, and that to them who remained in the old faith belonged the "indisputably valid title of the True Church."⁴⁸

VIII. Capitulation of the Milan Diocese

1. MILAN RESISTS FOR CENTURIES.—It has been noted that the powerful diocese of Milan—originally including the plains of Lombardy and the Piedmont Alps and southern Gaul—

⁴⁵ McCrie, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁴⁶ *Agobardi Episcopi Lugdunensis Liber de Imaginibus Sanctorum*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 104, cols. 199-228; see also Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 232.

⁴⁷ Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 238.

⁴⁸ Wylie, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 24, 25.

was for centuries practically autonomous and not subservient to the papal claim.⁴⁹ McCrie states:

"The supremacy claimed by the bishops of Rome was resisted in Italy after it had been submitted to by the most remote churches of the west. The diocese of Italy, of which Milan was the capital, remained long independent of Rome, and practised a different ritual, according to what was called the Ambrosian Liturgy."⁵⁰

And Davison adds:

"Abundantly conscious of the prestige she had enjoyed more or less intermittently since the days of the Roman Empire, she [Milan] was little inclined to submit to any interference or surveillance, lay or ecclesiastical, local or foreign. At this time [11th century] she was one of the strongest cities not only of Italy, but of western Europe. Her influence extended from Mantua to Turin, while her archbishops claimed jurisdiction over more than a score of dioceses. . . .

"Up to this time [1045] the Milanese Church, jealous of its Ambrosian ritual and of the prestige of its famous archbishops, had resisted the efforts put forth by the popes for uniformity of organization."⁵¹

Rome's attempt to subvert the "ancient custom" complained of by Pope Pelagius I, in 555—that the bishops of Milan did not go to Rome for ordination⁵²—resulted in still wider estrangement. Platina, speaking of the eleventh century, admits that "for almost 200 years the Church of Milan had separated herself from the Church of Rome."⁵³

2. SUBJUGATION IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.—Even then the subjugation of the Milan diocese was accomplished only over the protest of its clergy, and tumult on the part of the people. The clergy and people affirmed that the Ambrosian church ought not to be subject to the laws of Rome; that under their fathers it had always been free, and could not with honor surrender its liberties. And the people broke out into clamor and threatened violence to Peter Damian, the deputy sent to effect their submission.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Allix, *Churches of Piedmont*, chap. 1.

⁵⁰ McCrie, *Reformation in Italy*, p. 9.

⁵¹ Ellen S. Davison, *Forerunners of Saint Francis*, pp. 98-100.

⁵² Letter in Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 9, col. 730.

⁵³ Translated from *Platinae Historia de Vitis Pontificum*, folio [clxj], verso.

⁵⁴ Baronius, *op. cit.*, Anno 1059 (1609 ed.), vol. 11, col. 277.

McCrie summarizes the whole situation in these significant words:

"It was not till the eleventh century that the popes succeeded in establishing their authority at Milan, and prevailed on the bishops of that see to procure the archi-episcopal pall from Rome. When this was proposed, it excited great indignation on the part of the people, as well as of the clergy, who maintained that the Ambrosian church had been always independent; that the Roman pontiff had no right to judge in its affairs; and that, without incurring disgrace, they could not subject to a foreign yoke that see which had preserved its freedom during so many ages."⁵⁵

But long after that north Italy was regarded as infested with heresies, for the spirit of independence would not be downed. And Milan long remained a center for later reactionary groups.

There were many such groups in the west, as we have seen—some genuine heretics, some semipolitical or social reformers, some connected with eastern groups like the Paulicians, some tinged with Manichaeian ideas.

IX. The Humiliati and the Waldenses

These different movements that we have considered had in part strongly heretical conceptions or were partly inspired by some great personality, and were therefore short-lived. But of the nonconforming groups the purest of all was that of the Waldenses, who were less heretics than schismatics, even their enemies admitting their general orthodoxy while denouncing their resistance to the hierarchy. The Passau Inquisitor compresses the issue into a single sentence, as he declares in the thirteenth century:

"They [the "Leonists"] live righteously before men, they believe well everything concerning God and all the articles which are contained in the creed; only they blaspheme the Roman Church and the clergy."⁵⁶

⁵⁵ McCrie, *Reformation in Italy*, p. 9.

⁵⁶ *Reineri Ordinis Praedicatorum, Contra Waldenses Haereticos, Liber*, chap. 4, in *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* (hereafter abbreviated to *MBVP*), vol. 25, p. 264. The term "Passau Inquisitor" is applied to the monk Reiner (Reinerus, or Reinerius Saccho) and to the anonymous colleague in the Inquisition at Passau, whose writings were formerly attributed to Reiner.

Because of their importance the Waldensians will be discussed at greater length in the following chapters, but another group must be mentioned first.

Perhaps about the time when Milan was coming under papal control, there was arising in Lombardy a party under the name of the Humiliati—the humiliated or humble ones. Nothing is known definitely of their origin, and little of their views. They seem to have been at first a semicommunal lay movement, centering in Milan and other north Italian cities, mostly engaged in wool weaving. They abstained from oaths and dressed in simple, undyed wool garments. Celibacy was not required, but poverty was enjoined—not the rejection of all possessions, but labor for the bare necessities of life and for the support of the cause.

By the close of the twelfth century, after their preaching had been forbidden by the pope, part of the Humiliati disregarded the ban, and were excommunicated at the Council of Verona, along with the Waldenses of Lyons. The other part, the “orthodox Humiliati,” who were later given a rule (under three orders: lay, monastic, and clerical) by Innocent III, with limited permission to preach, does not concern us; but the “false Humiliati,” who withstood the pope, fused with the Waldensian movement.

The bull of excommunication in 1181 or 1184 implies that “those who falsely call themselves the Humiliati or the Poor Men of Lyons” were one party. This would indicate that they were already in, or on the verge of, union with the Poor Men of Lyons in that complex of groups, now known under the name Waldenses, the most important and the most successful representatives of the western protesters who scattered as an “unreformed” church through the very heart of Western Europe, survived in sufficient numbers to constitute links of evangelical truth between the early church and the Reformed churches of the sixteenth century.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ On the Humiliati see Emilio Comba, *History of the Waldenses of Italy*, pp. 68, 69; Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 566; see Davison, *op. cit.*, chap. 5.



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WALDENSIAN MISSIONARY TRAINING SCHOOL IN PIEDMONTESE ALPS

HARRY ANDERSON, ARTIST

In the Innermost Angrogna Valley, Nestled High Amid the Eternal Snows, Waldensian Youth Were Trained as Missionaries to Bear the Gospel to the Far-flung Lands of Europe in the Middle Ages. The Waldensian Candlestick Insigne Appears on the Wall Behind Their Teacher

Ancient Roots of the Waldenses of Italy

I. Waldenses a Stock With Many Branches

The name Waldenses belongs today to a relatively small group of evangelical Christians inhabiting a few Alpine valleys near Turin. But that name evokes memories of an ancient and honorable ancestry, whose devotion, perseverance, and suffering under persecution have filled some of the brightest pages of religious history, and have earned immortality in Whittier's charming miniature and Milton's moving sonnet. But the Waldensians of old were not confined to the Italian valleys where live their modern remnant; they were scattered over Europe among many peoples and in varied circumstances. Their boundaries are now hard to define, for the name has been applied to many groups more or less connected with one another. And the very name has been a center of bitter dispute as to whether it points to the origin of that movement in Peter Waldo and his group of lay preachers called Poor Men of Lyons.

1. VARIOUS EXPLANATIONS OF ORIGIN.—The whole question of Waldensian origins has suffered from a scarcity of source materials and an excess of controversial bias. The older Protestant historians were led, in their zeal to find in the Waldenses a visible "apostolic succession" from the early church, to take unsound positions in support of Waldensian antiquity; the Catholics, on the other hand, zealous for the defense of their

own apostolicity, made the most of Waldo as the founder in their efforts to brand the movement as innovation and heresy.

The Roman Catholic controversialist Bossuet contended that the Waldenses owed their origin to Peter Waldo and had no existence in any part of the world prior to his time, but Thomas Bray charged that "it was only the malice of their enemies, and the desire to blot out the memorial of their antiquity, which made their adversaries impute their origin to so late a period, and to Peter Waldo."¹

The more critical historians, who cared nothing for proving apostolic succession, either Catholic or Protestant, surveyed the extant source material. They saw on the one hand the Waldensian traditions ascribing their origin to the time of Sylvester and to the apostasy of the church on the occasion of the apocryphal Donation of Constantine, and on the other the statements of the Catholic Inquisitors that the Waldenses had received their name from Peter Waldo, about 1170; consequently, they concluded that the Waldensian heresy was no older than the name of Waldo, and that the movement began entirely with his Poor Men of Lyons.

But further research in the field of medieval heresies has made it clear to many historians that the Waldensians in Italy are not to be traced back merely to Waldo but to earlier evangelical movements.² The English historian Beard, cataloguing the Waldenses under the term "Biblical Christians," expresses it thus:

"The more accurate research of recent years traces the origin of the Waldenses to a double fountain, the streams from which soon mingled, and were thenceforth hard to be distinguished. On the one hand, there were the Vaudois, the 'men of the valleys,' who still hold their ancient seats in the mountains of Dauphiné and Piedmont; on the other, the so-called 'Poor Men of Lyons,' the followers of Peter Waldo, a rich merchant

¹ Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *The History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 110, 120; see also Faber, *op. cit.*, p. 464; Thomas Bray, footnote in his translation of Jean Paul Perrin's *Histoire des Vaudois*, in *History of the Ancient Christians Inhabiting the Valleys of the Alps*, p. 24. This controversy over origins was intense between Archbishop Ussher (1581-1656) and Bishop Bossuet (1627-1704) in the seventeenth century, and between S. R. Maitland (1792-1866) and G. S. Faber (1773-1854) and W. S. Gilly (1790-1855) in the nineteenth century. See also Gilly, *Narrative*, p. 20.

² For a survey of sources on Waldensian origins with a chart, see Appendix D.

of that city, who gave himself up to apostolic work and adopted an apostolic simplicity of living. But the Waldenses, whatever their origin, were from the first Biblical Christians. They translated the Scriptures into their own tongue, and expounded them in their natural sense only. They maintained the universal priesthood of the believer."³

But it is not enough to find only two sources. It is clear that the contemporary documents divide the Waldenses into two principal branches, the Poor Men of Lyons and the Poor Men of Lombardy, but they also use other subordinate designations, some of the older party names. The Italian branch was complex in itself. Even those who trace the name Waldenses to Waldo recognize that his followers combined with older evangelicals in Italy, and that the movement known under the name of Waldenses was a fusion of elements from a number of older groups—such as the Humiliati, the Arnoldists, the Petrobrusians, the Apostolicals—who accepted Waldo's leadership.⁴

The north Italian Waldenses, with whom those in Austria, Germany, and Bohemia were more closely connected, were more independent of the Catholic Church, and differed in other respects from those in France, doubtless on account of their earlier sources of dissent. This multiple source evidently accounts for the fact that they denied that they originated in Waldo's Poor Men of Lyons. That is the crux of the whole problem.

Peter Waldo was obviously not the founder of the churches of the Piedmont valleys, which were in existence long before him. We have seen how north Italy had a long tradition of independence and of evangelical principles which broke forth into antisacerdotal reactions from time to time. It is in this sense that the Italian Waldenses were the spiritual descendants of the earlier evangelicals, of Claudius, of Vigilantius, and of

³ Charles Beard, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 24.

⁴ Henry C. Vedder, "Origin and Early Teachings of the Waldenses, According to Roman Catholic Writers in the Thirteenth Century," *The American Journal of Theology*, July, 1900 (vol. 4, no. 3), pp. 476, 477; Walter F. Adeney, "Waldenses," in Hastings, *op. cit.*, vol. 12, p. 666; Wilhelm Preger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Waldesier im Mittelalter," *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 13, part 1, pp. 209, 211; Davison, *op. cit.*, pp. 257, 252, 253.

Jovinian.⁵ Yet they were stirred into action and organized for aggressive propaganda by Waldo.

2. WALDO BECOMES SOURCE OF NEW MISSIONARY IMPETUS. —The rich converted merchant of Lyons, PETER WALDO (Valdes, Valdesius, Waldensis), is credited with founding the Poor Men of Lyons, whom the Passau Inquisitor specifies as being called Leonists.⁶ He began his evangelical labors about 1173. Peter's experience was similar to that of Luther, who, having finished his course of philosophy at Erfurt, found his whole life attitude profoundly affected when a stroke of lightning, in a violent thunderstorm, induced him to withdraw from the world and enter the Erfurt monastery. The story of Waldo's conversion is that on some public occasion at Lyons, when the citizens were gathered together, one of their number suddenly dropped dead. This made a profound impression upon his mind, and his contact with a ballad singer who sang of the piety and voluntary poverty of St. Alexis brought him to a decision to devote his life to following Christ literally.

Waldo distributed his substance among the poor, and devoted himself to the profession of the gospel. Having employed part of his wealth on the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular, he distributed them among his countrymen. He also enlisted reciters and expounders of these translations, sending them forth as traveling preachers. These Poor Men of Lyons, when reprimanded for their lay preaching, warned that God must be obeyed rather than the prelates, and eventually they came to denounce the Roman church as the Babylon of the Apocalypse.⁷ The obtaining of the Scriptures gave boldness and confidence. They could show that they were not advancing new doctrines but simply adhering to the ancient faith of the Bible. Forbidden to preach by the archbishop of Lyons, Waldo

⁵ Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 558, 559, 566.

⁶ *Reineri* . . . *Contra Waldenses*, chap. 5, in *MBVP*, vol. 25, p. 264; the anonymous chronicle of Laon, "Ex Chronico Universali Anonymi Laudunensis," entry for 1173, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* (hereafter abbreviated to *MGH, Scriptores*), vol. 26, p. 447.

⁷ *Reineri* . . . *Contra Waldenses*, in *MBVP*, vol. 25, pp. 264, 265; see also Faber, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

appealed to the pope, Alexander III, who sanctioned the vow of poverty, but not the unauthorized preaching. Walter Map (Mapes), a Welsh delegate at the Third Lateran Council, tells of seeing several deputies of Waldo, who presented portions of the Scriptures in the "Gallic" tongue to the pope. Unable to obtain papal authorization to preach, they went forward without it.⁸

Finally Waldo and his followers were scattered after they had been excommunicated and exiled by the archbishop of Lyons in 1184. Leaving Lyons, Waldo took refuge in Dauphiné. Persecution forced his retreat to Belgium and Picardy, and from thence to Germany. Finally he settled in Bohemia, where he died.⁹

His followers spread over southern France, Piedmont, and Lombardy, where they "mingled with other heretics, imbibing and spreading" the teachings of older sects.¹⁰ Thus the name Waldenses came to embrace various groups, some more evangelical than the Poor Men of Lyons. Peter's followers became supporters of the principles of the valleys, and boldly resisted the corrupt innovations of Rome. So in time Peter's new French society joined hands with the ancient valley dwellers of Italy.

Until the days of Peter Waldo the valley dwellers of north Italy seem not to have moved much from their secluded homes, save into the lowlands of Turin or Vercelli. Now a new impulse was given. With the appearance of the Poor Men of Lyons, a new order of preacher-missionaries was instituted, who instead of remaining at home from generation to generation, went forth into the world at large, carrying the gospel aggressively into every quarter of Europe. Of this powerful missionary characteristic, there is abundant historical testimony from their enemies alone—the Passau Inquisitor, Pilichdorf, Map,

⁸ Laon chronicle, entry for 1178, *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 26, p. 449; Walter Map's "*De Nugis Curialium*," translated by Montague R. James, pp. 65, 66.

⁹ J. A. de Thou, *Jac. Augusti Thuanii Historiarum Sui Temporis*, vol. 1, book 4, sec. 16, p. 221; see also J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi, *History of the Crusades Against the Albigenses*, p. xxxii.

¹⁰ This is referred to by Stephen of Bourbon, by the proceedings of the Inquisition of Carcassonne, and by other early sources to be cited in Appendix D.

Burchard of Ursperg (formerly confused with Conrad of Lichtenau), Thuanus, and so forth.¹¹ Large numbers of French Waldenses, harassed by incessant persecution, migrated into the valleys of Dauphiné and on beyond to dwell with their brethren, but they also continued to go forth into other countries.

3. ANCIENT ITALIAN SECT REVIVED UNDER PETER.—The comparatively late Poor Men of Lyons were clearly the disciples of Peter Waldo. But Burchard, provost of Ursperg (d. 1230), tells, in a chronicle entry for the year 1212 formerly attributed to Conrad of Lichtenau, that these Poor Men (or Leonists or Valdenses) had long since *sprung up in Italy*.¹² This, concludes Faber, was previous to their becoming celebrated in France under the impulse of Peter—the Gallican branch springing out of the parent stock, which had long flourished in the Valdis (Valden, Vaudra) of the bordering Cottian Alps of northern Italy.¹³

This accounts for the Passau Inquisitor's language as he states that the Leonists are of the ancient heretics, older than either the Arians or the Manichaeans, but that the Poor Men of Lyons, as well as the members of the older sect, are also denominated Leonists, and are modern heretics, having been founded by the opulent merchant of Lyons.¹⁴ Thus in France the followers of Waldo were no older than he, but the stock of which they were a continuation reaches back to earlier times. Walter Map in 1182 first mentioned their name, Waldesians, as connected with their leader Valdes. He had met some Waldensians at the Third Lateran Council at Rome in 1179.¹⁵

4. WALDENSES—ONE STOCK WITH MANY BRANCHES.—As noted, the followers of Waldo mingled with various other groups, and the name Waldenses covered many local varia-

¹¹ Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 466-477, in detail; also Morland and Gilly.

¹² *Burchardi et Cuonradi Urspergensium Chronicon*, chronicle of the year 1212, in *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 23, p. 376.

¹³ Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-365, 460.

¹⁴ *Reineri . . . Contra Waldenses*, chaps. 4, 5, in *MBVP*, vol. 25, p. 264; see also Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 460, 461.

¹⁵ *Walter Map's "De Nugis Curialium,"* pp. 65, 66.

tions and fusions of evangelical parties. Doubtless some of the older local names persisted, and that is why their contemporaries used different names in describing them. Nevertheless, the name Waldensians has been rather broadly used by some writers to designate widely separated groups. Historians of a century or so ago were inclined to extend the coverage—sometimes correctly, sometimes not—much farther than more modern writers.¹⁶ Often it is difficult to know whether an apparently farfetched identification is the result of an error, a linguistic corruption of names, a local popular usage, a term of ridicule applied by enemies, or even an isolated case of genuine contact between minor groups of which source evidence is now lost.

We cannot say, for example, that in a given place there were not cases of Waldenses and Albigenses mingling or worshipping together, and that sometimes Cathari were not absorbed into the Waldensian movement. Undoubtedly the two groups were sometimes confused in the minds of their earlier opponents, but it must be noted that the Waldenses were distinctly separated from the dualistic Albigenses or Cathari in the records of the Inquisition and, according to one chronicle, even opposed them "most sharply."¹⁷ There was, on the other hand, a definite connection between the older Waldenses and such late groups as the "Waldensian Brethren," or "Picards"—Bohemian Brethren who had procured ordination from a Waldensian bishop, and who undoubtedly absorbed Waldensian elements. These were called Waldensians by their enemies and

¹⁶ Perrin lists the various names by which they were called by their adversaries, as follows: Waldenses, Albigenses, Chaignards, Tramontanes, Josephists, Lollards, Henricians, Esperonists, Arnoldists, Siccars, Fraticelli, Insabbathas, Patarins, Passagenes, Gazares, Turlupins; likewise, by the countries in which they dwelt: Thoulousians, Lombards, Picards, Lyonists, and Bohemians. And to make them odious they were charged with confederacy with ancient heresies, and called Cathari, Arians, Manichaeans, Gnostics, Adamites, Apostolics. (Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 25; see also Samuel Morland, *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont*, pp. 12, 13; Antoine Monastier, *A History of the Vaudois Church*, pp. 51, 52.) As a term of general reproach it was used as a synonym for misbelief, sorcery, etc. In this sense Joan of Arc was condemned as a *Vaudoise*. (Alexis Muston, *The Israel of the Alps*, vol. 1, p. 13, n. 1.)

¹⁷ See two extracts from the records of the Inquisition at Carcassonne, in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, pp. 3, 6, 286, and a specific statement of the difference in the *Tractatus* of the Inquisitor David of Augsburg on p. 316 of the same volume (or in Wilhelm Preger, "Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über der Waldesier," *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 14, part 2, p. 211); also William of Puy Laurens, *Chronique*, prologue, p. 206.

by Luther, who admired them, and they even used the popular designation in some of their own writings, as minority groups often do.¹⁸

The ramifications of the Waldenses as they spread over Europe cannot be fully traced. There were many branches springing from a common protest—the reaction against the corruptions of the dominant church—and the absorption by the Waldenses of members from other groups in various localities probably causes considerable confusion of designations.

In France, because of their voluntary poverty, they were called Poor Men of Lyons, and in north Italy there were the Poor Men of Lombardy. In some cases they were nicknamed in the vernacular, as, for example, *siccars*, or pickpockets. Because they did not observe the holy days of the church, it is said, they were sometimes called *Insabbatati*.¹⁹

II. Older Italian Waldenses Form Connecting Link

Although it is frequently stated that the Waldenses separated themselves from Rome, it would be more accurate from their point of view to say that Rome, degenerating, gradually departed from the original principles of the church maintained by the proto-Waldenses long before Peter Waldo of Lyons. They continued for centuries without a separation from Rome, until Rome attempted to force her errors. Then they "went out of Babylon." In her attempt to sustain the claim of unchangeableness and antiquity, Rome has resorted to the con-

¹⁸ See page 853.

¹⁹ Though some think this term refers to a kind of slipper they wore as a distinguishing mark, others dissent, especially the older investigators. Eberhard of Bethune says they are called Xabatateses, from xabatata, referring to shoes (*MBVP*, vol. 24, p. 1572) but Monastier cites Natalis Alexandre as saying that they were thus named because they "celebrate no sabbath or feast-days, and do not discontinue their work on the days consecrated among the [Roman] Catholics to Christ, the blessed virgin, and the saints." (Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 51.) Perrin says: "The Waldenses rejected the Romish festivals, and observed no other day of rest than Sunday; whence they were named 'Insabbathas,' regards not of the Sabbaths." (Perrin, *op. cit.*, book 1, chap. 3, p. 25.) They generally disregarded the church's festival days, considering them to be man-made, except perhaps Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost. (Citations in Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-285.) On the other hand, most of them kept Sunday (*ibid.*, pp. 283-286 and note 1179, p. 355) because they regarded it as based on the fourth commandment. And there were those classed as Waldenses in the broader sense—the Passagii and some among the "Waldensian Brethren," or Picards, of Bohemia—who took that commandment quite literally and observed the seventh day of the week (extracts in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, pp. 327, 662).

tention that the Waldenses were late innovators, thus denying the Vaudois contention that they are the spiritual link that unites evangelical Protestantism with the teachings of the primitive church, just as she claims that Protestantism is without credentials or antiquity—as but of yesterday, forsaking the mother church by a revolution, miscalled a reformation. But the Waldensian principles of doctrine and worship were those which antedated papal ritualism and error.

1. TRADITION OF DISSENT FROM ROME.—In north Italy, as noted, evangelical tendencies were repeatedly coming to the surface. That ecclesiastical independence of the ancient see of Milan, built up by Ambrose, enabled that region to remain a haven for the preservation of greater purity of faith and worship. There, in the Cottian Alps, Vigilantius found a hearing for his protest against growing superstition, and there Claudius, later attacking the worship of images, was accused of reviving the teachings of Vigilantius. There flourished reforming and schismatic groups proud of their ancient heritage of freedom.

That the older Lombardian Waldenses reached back as a connecting line to Claude of Turin, and even to Vigilantius before him, is the considered conviction of various investigators. Thus A. H. Newman makes Claudius “a connecting link” between these early Reformers and the evangelicals of the twelfth century.²⁰ The Waldenses are by several clearly connected with the antecedents Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne. Waldo’s followers simply became the rallying point for other earlier groups, such as the Petrobrusians, Arnoldists, and Humiliati. These became fused together, and this union eventuated in a great spiritual and missionary impulse that nothing could check.

2. PRE-WALDO ROOTS OF WALDENSES.—Much of the early Waldensian testimony as to their antiquity and origin was admittedly destroyed in the dark days of papal persecution. But

²⁰ Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 558.



WALDENSIAN COLLEGE, TORRE PELLICE, AT ENTRANCE TO VALLEYS

Beautiful for Situation, This Waldensian College Is Nestled Conveniently on the Slopes of the Foothills Which Merge Into the Alpine Peaks With Their Eternal Snows (Upper); Statue of Henri Arnaud, Leader of the Glorious Return in 1690, With Waldensian Library at Right (Lower)

sufficient evidence remains, coupled with the attesting witness and candid admission of their enemies, to constitute satisfying evidence of their pre-Waldo rootage in northern Italy. An analysis of the available contemporary source statements of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries is rather technical for inclusion in the running text of this chapter. It is therefore given in detail with source references in Appendix D, and is there visualized by means of an analytical chart. The sources naturally comprise the only fair basis for a sound conclusion. The opinions of authorities are interesting and helpful, but they are not decisive. Too often prejudice or bias or ecclesiastical leaning overbalances evidence.

III. Organization and Missionary Ministry

The Italian and French Waldenses, united during Waldo's lifetime, did not long remain in one body. The French Waldenses regarded him as the founder of the whole sect, but the Lombards had a slightly different form of organization and retained their own ideas on the Eucharist—that it was invalid if administered by an unworthy priest. Further, they did not, as did the French, eschew manual labor. After an attempted reconciliation in a conference at Bergamo in 1218, the two groups went their separate ways for a long time.²¹

"The French Waldenses were still afraid of schism; for fear of the church they feared to cross the Rubicon. Their brethren in Milan, on the contrary, had learned in a good school that conciliation was a snare. They could not consent to a protest without issue, and they were not far from anticipating that separation which was to take place in the days of the Reformation."²²

1. INFLUENCE PENETRATES SURROUNDING COUNTRIES.—In Italy the Waldensian witnesses against the corruptions of Rome were spread over the towns of Lombardy, and in Naples, Sicily, Genoa, and Calabria. They had regular correspondence with brethren in other countries. Waldensian believers were dis-

²¹ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 497, 498.

²² Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

persed in not only Italy but Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Moravia, and Bohemia. Their principal center, however, was at Milan.²³ Later, after persecution increased, the center was in the Alpine valleys, for persecution did not become drastic there until the beginning of the fourteenth century, and the worst came after the Reformation.²⁴

In view of the claims of the Waldenses to being the true church, with a valid ministry and organization, it is necessary briefly to survey the qualifications of that ministry, and the efficacy of that organization as it functioned in the valleys of northern Italy.

2. TRAINING SCHOOL IN SECLUSION OF PRA DEL TOR.—The Waldensian ministers, or pastors, were called *barbes*, or *barbas*, which was a title of affectionate respect, originally meaning “uncle.”²⁵ There was once a training center in Lombardy, but there remain to this day the traces of a school of the *barbes* at Pra del Tor, in Piedmont, behind the well-nigh inaccessible pass of the secluded Angrogna Valley,²⁶ which served the three-fold purpose of citadel, college, and meeting place of the annual synod. There the encircling mountains shut out the world, fostered habits of contemplation and study, and opposed everything soft and yielding.²⁷ One of the old stone table tops around which the young missionary-pastors sat as they studied and transcribed the Word of God can still be seen by the visitor to Pra del Tor, as reproduced on page 838. And the old stone foundations of the ancient training school are still pointed out. There was also a large cavern in the mountainside, which sometimes served as a lecture room.

From this sanctuary, one of the most secluded spots of Europe, the intrepid young preachers sallied forth upon their sacred missions, crossing the Alps, the Apennines, and the Pyrenees to spread the evangelical message which afterward came

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-75, 66.

²⁴ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, pp. 498, 499.

²⁵ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 18.

²⁶ Monastier, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 94; Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 18.

²⁷ Gilly, *Waldensian Researches*, p. 438.

to fruitage in the Reformation.²⁸ This preaching undoubtedly paved the way for Huss, Luther, and Calvin.²⁹

3. WELL-ROUNDED TRAINING PRECEDES ORDINATION.—

These young men were painstakingly trained, with the Scriptures as their basic study and text. They were required to memorize whole Gospels and Epistles—particularly Matthew and John, some of the general Epistles and some from Paul, with parts of David, Solomon, and the prophets.³⁰ Printing not yet being known, a part of their time was spent in laboriously copying portions of the Scriptures by hand, which they were later to distribute when they scattered over Europe as missionaries. Each transcribed copy must serve many, because of the difficult task of reproduction.

This period of instruction, occurring in the first two or three years, was followed by a similar period of retirement and further study, before they were set apart to holy ministry by the laying on of hands.³¹ Not until then were they qualified to administer the Word and the sacraments.³² During this period they were also instructed in Latin, their own Romance vernacular, and Italian; ³³ they likewise learned some trade or profession, so as to provide for their own wants, particularly when traveling.³⁴

Many of these youth became proficient in the healing art, as physicians and surgeons. Morland throws an illuminating word on their combining of medical and missionary work, as well as on the breadth of their general training.

“Those *Barbes* who remained at home in the *Valleys*, (besides their officiating and labouring in the work of the Ministry) took upon them the disciplining and instructing of the youth (especially those who were appointed for the Ministry) in Grammer, Logick, Moral Philosophy, and Divinity. Moreover the greatest part of them gave themselves to the study

²⁸ Gilly, *Narrative*, p. 255.

²⁹ Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³⁰ Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 238. Art. II, “Concerning Pastors or Ministers,” from an early Waldensian Discipline of the Valley Churches of Piedmont, gives a comprehensive statement of training, duties, and privileges. Morland, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 74.

³¹ Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 19.

³² Article IX in *Confession of 1508*, in Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³³ Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 19, 20.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

and practise of Physick, and Chirurgery [surgery]; and herein they excelled (as their Histories tell us) to admiration, thereby rendring themselves most able and skilfull Physicians both of soul and body. Others of them likewise dealt in divers Mechanick Arts, in imitation of St. *Paul*, who was a *Tent-maker*, and *Christ* himself."³⁵

4. EMERGED TO FILL A MANY-SIDED MINISTRY.—When their training was over, and after certification of character³⁶—for only true men were to be consecrated to the office—they were set apart to the ministry by the imposition of hands, and any who later fell into gross sin were expelled from the church and the preaching office.³⁷ Very few pastors were married; as a rule they were not, so as to be free for travel.³⁸

Sometimes these young *barbes*, after their training, entered the great universities of Europe to propagate quietly their evangelical truths, many being expert dialecticians.³⁹ In their ministry they preached, visited the sick far and near, administered the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, and instructed the children. In this they were assisted by laymen. In their communities they had a considerable number of schools.⁴⁰ They also had a form of oral confession, for the comfort of those who sought their advice, but the Waldensian did not, like the priest, say, "I absolve thee," but "God absolve thee from thy sins."⁴¹ The *barbes* served as arbiters in disputes, and disciplined the unruly, even to excommunication.⁴² If problems could not be handled locally, they were brought before the synod.⁴³

In their public worship the congregation often prayed in unison just before and after the sermon.⁴⁴ They sang "hymns and paraphrases," though most of their singing was outside of

³⁵ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 183. This must have represented the peak; the training in Reformation times was more elementary, according to Barbe Morel.

³⁶ Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

³⁷ Georges Morel, Letter to Oecolampadius, translated in Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 290, 291; Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

³⁸ Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 20; art. 19 of 1508 "Confession," in Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Morel, quoted in Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

³⁹ Wylie, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 29.

⁴⁰ Gilly, *Narrative*, p. 211; Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁴¹ Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 266, 267, and, quoting Morel's letter, 291.

⁴² Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁴³ William Beattie, *The Waldenses*, p. 60.

⁴⁴ Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 20.

the church service.⁴⁵ They used no prayers of the church except the Lord's prayer. And the Bible was freely recited in the sermons of the *barbes*.

5. ANNUAL SYNOD DIRECTS ALL PASTORS AND MISSIONARIES.—An annual synod,⁴⁶ or general assembly, usually held in September,⁴⁷ was composed of all the *barbes* available, with an equal number of laymen—sometimes as many as 150 each. A frequent place of meeting was the same secluded, mountain-encircled valley of Angrogna. These synods were presided over by a general director, with the title of president or moderator, who was named at each synod.⁴⁸ There was no hierarchal distinction, only the recognition of age, service, and ability.⁴⁹ And they themselves chose the leaders who were to govern them.⁵⁰

At these synods young men were examined, and those that appeared qualified were admitted to the ministry. Those who were to travel to distant places or churches, usually by turn, were designated. As a rule these missions were for two years, but one did not return until another had taken his place.⁵¹ Similarly, at the synod, changes of pastoral residence in the valleys or distant churches were made, the pastors commonly being changed or exchanged every two or three years.⁵² The *barbes* never attempted important tasks without the advice and consent of their leaders.⁵³ *Regidors* (elders) were chosen to collect alms and offerings, these being taken to the general synod for distribution, for the *barbes* serving as pastors were usually supported by voluntary contributions—that is, their food and clothing were supplied.⁵⁴ Here also the condition of their various parishes was reported, and plans were laid for coming years, and assignments made for various posts.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; Beattie, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁴⁶ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Gilly, *Narrative*, pp. 209, 210; Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁴⁷ Pierre Gilles, *Historie ecclesiastique des églises réformées, recueillies en quelques vallées de Piedmont*, chap. 2.

⁴⁸ Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 20.

⁴⁹ Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁵⁰ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁵¹ Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁵² Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 20; Morel's letter, quoted in Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁵³ Gilles, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁵⁴ Monastier, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94; Acland, *op. cit.*, p. lxxx; Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

6. ALL WERE MISSIONARIES TRAINED IN EVANGELISM.—The Waldenses were evangelistic as well as evangelical. They were a missionary group, not only maintaining the light in their own mountain retreats, but carrying it throughout Europe. Each *barbe* was required to serve as a missionary, and to be initiated into the "delicate duties" of evangelism. This training was secured under the guidance of an older minister, burdened to train his younger associate aright.⁵⁵ It was an old law of the church that before becoming eligible as a *barbe* to a home charge, a man should serve a term as missionary, and the prospect of possible martyrdom was ever set before him.

The missionaries visited scattered companies of Waldenses; but their chief work was to evangelize. They spread out in every direction—into Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, and even Bulgaria and Turkey.⁵⁶ Their paths were marked with congregations of worshipers and with the stakes of martyrdom; we can trace their principal stations by the light of the blazing piles.⁵⁷

The Catholic Bernard of Fontcaud bitterly complained that they "continued to pour forth, with daring effrontery, far and wide, all over the world, the poison of their perfidy."⁵⁸ Before the Inquisition closed in on them they engaged in public debates with the Catholics.⁵⁹ They were cast in heroic mold.

Later they went forth, concealing their real mission under the guise of merchants, artisans, physicians, or peddlers of rare articles obtainable only at distant marts, such as silks or jewels. Thus they had opportunity to vend without money or price, the Word of God, always carrying with them portions of the Scriptures, usually their own transcriptions. The well-known story of distributing the Bible among the higher classes, in the

⁵⁵ Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 19, 20; Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁵⁶ Valerian Krasinski, *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland*, vol. 1, p. 53. See also Jean Leger, *Histoire générale églises évangéliques des vallées de Piémont*, book 2, pp. 336, 337; Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 385.

⁵⁷ Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75.

⁵⁸ Bernard of Fontcaud, *Adversus Waldensium Sectam*, in *MBVP*, vol. 24, p. 1585. See translation in Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁵⁹ Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 54, 55.

guise of peddlers of jewels, comes to us from the Passau Inquisitor.⁶⁰ The coarse woolen garments and naked feet of the peddler were in sharp contrast to the priestly purple and fine linen.

Whittier has beautifully pictured the scene:

“ ‘O lady fair, these silks of mine are beautiful and rare,—
The richest web of the Indian loom, which beauty’s queen might wear;
And my pearls are pure as thy own fair neck, with whose radiant light
they vie:
I have brought them with me a weary way,—will my gentle lady buy?’ ”

“ ‘O lady fair, I have yet a gem which a purer lustre flings,
Than the diamond flash of the jewelled crown on the lofty brow of kings;
A wonderful pearl of exceeding price, whose virtue shall not decay,
Whose light shall be as a spell to thee and a blessing on thy way!’ ”⁶¹

IV. Persecution Follows Control of Secular Powers

When Rome was climbing, first to legally recognized headship of all the churches, and later to mastery of the nations, her hands were full. But time cared for that. As Rome’s power grew dissent increased, and consequently the Inquisition was established early in the thirteenth century. Then as the Scriptures in the vernacular came to be made available to the people by the Waldenses, and as the developed and revealed character of the Papacy was openly exposed as the fulfillment of inspired prediction, Rome was stirred to her very depths against these thorns in her side. Having at last achieved power over the nations as well as the churches, together with the instruments of coercion, she turned the full force of the secular arm upon the Waldensian and other “heretics” in a relentless attempt to subdue or to annihilate them. Thus Rome, unwilling to tolerate these burning and shining lights, loosed her fury upon them, and sought to put out the torches that flamed amid the papal darkness of apostasy. It was relentless warfare.

⁶⁰ *Reineri . . . Contra Waldenses*, in *MBVP*, vol. 25, p. 273. See translations in Monastier, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-103, and Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-280.

⁶¹ John Greenleaf Whittier, “The Vaudois Teacher,” *The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier*, p. 3.

"Unfortunately, the Inquisition also was spreading everywhere on their track, putting out, one by one, the torches that were gleaming in the darkness. . . . With all that a light does still hold on to burn upon yonder 'Alpine-altar.'" ⁶²

As the Waldensian expansion was checked by persecution in various parts of Europe, some gave up, some betrayed their brethren, some died for their faith, and some were driven underground, to a measure of outward conformity cloaking their secret faith. Many attended church occasionally to avert suspicion—perhaps muttering imprecations instead of prayers—went to the priest for marriages and baptisms, but met secretly with their brethren and received the ministrations of the traveling Waldensian missionaries. ⁶³

As persecution increased, many evangelical witnesses retired from the plains of Lombardy to the wilderness of inaccessible seclusion in the Piedmontese Alps and the near-by mountainous parts of France. There they remained hidden, though active in the more populous sections. Nowhere was there more steady, long-continued, and successful opposition to Rome than there, where evangelical truth had had a succession of witnesses, dating back before the great apostasy. It was there that the true "church in the wilderness" found one of her retreats, while most of Christendom was bound under the dominion of the papal church.

1. INDEPENDENCE OF ROME MAINTAINED IN ALPINE FASTNESSES.—The province of Piedmont is so named because it is situated *ad pedes montium*, or "*pie d'mont*," at the foot of the mountains—the Alps which separate Italy from France. The plains of Piedmont are studded with towns and villages. And behind them rises this mountain range in sublime grandeur, with glacier summits, and masses of granite sometimes rent in two, creating vast chasms through which racing cataracts pour. Here, within this rampart of mountains, amid the wildest and most secluded Alpine fastnesses—which God had prepared in

⁶² Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

advance and over which He had watched—the remnant of the evangelical church of Italy maintained its independence of the spreading Roman apostasy, and held aloft that lamp which continued to burn through the long night that descended upon Christendom. And as a lamp gathers brightness in proportion to the deepening darkness, so the uplifted torch of the mountain dwellers became increasingly conspicuous as the night of papal darkness deepened.

When God has a special work for a people to do He often makes their outward environment favorable to its performance. So it was with the Jews in Palestine, at the crossroads of the nations. And thus it was also with the Waldenses in their mountain fastnesses between Italy and France. In mountainous districts men cling longest to old customs and faiths, and are least affected by the changing world about; so these Alpine fastnesses formed a retreat in which the faith could be preserved. At the same time their central location afforded access both north and south, and east and west.

2. WALDENSIAN VALLEYS NEAR OLD ROMAN ROAD.—The valleys occupied by the Waldenses lay not far from the old Roman road leading over the passes of the Cottian Alps, the principal ancient line of communication between the primitive churches of northern Italy and southern France. It would have been the route followed by Paul if he journeyed overland from Rome to Spain. Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, who was sent to Rome to report the state of the Gallic church, perhaps trod this mountain path. Ambrose, who made repeated journeys from Italy to Gaul, must have passed near here.⁶⁴ Its location was strategic.

The Councils of Arles (314), Milan (346-354), Aquileia (381), and Turin (397) all called for the use of this celebrated mountain pass. Bergier's outline of the route⁶⁵ makes it clear that it would have been possible for messengers and pilgrims

⁶⁴ Gilly, *Waldensian Researches*, pp. 49-56.

⁶⁵ Nicolas Bergier, *Histoire des grands chemins de l'empire romain*, book 3, pp. 452-455, 467-471.

journeying between Italy and France, Spain, and Britain to be brought into near contact with the inhabitants of these valleys by means of the road, which was from early times the principal and central pass into Gaul.⁶⁶ Thus the country of the Waldenses lay near a historic path of vital European travel.

A well-nigh impregnable fortress had thus been provided, in the purpose and providence of God, in the very center of Roman Christendom. This made both for protection and for persecution. Even from the top of the famous cathedral of Milan a magnificent view may be had, on a clear day, of the Alps of Piedmont, among the highest in Europe, stretching east and west as far as the eye can see. Approached from the south, across the plains, the Alps rise like a barrier chain in the background, stretching like a great wall of towering magnificence along the horizon. Some summits shoot up like spires; others resemble massive castles. Forests nestle at their base and mantle their slopes, while eternal snows and glaciers crown their summits. And the setting sun touches with gold their crowded peaks, until they glow like torches and burn like a wall of fire along the sky line.

Here, among these mountains, lie the Waldensian valleys that run up into narrow, elevated gorges, winding among the steeps and piercing the clouds that hover around the Alpine peaks—the mountain temple of the Vaudois, often crimsoned in those memorable days of old with the blood of martyrs. These were the long-time refuge and the home of the Israel of the Alps.⁶⁷

3. INTERRELATED VALLEYS FORM FORTRESS OF AMAZING DESIGN.—These Piedmontese valleys where the Waldenses long flourished, and still live, are seven in number, separated by high mountain ridges. The first three run out like the spokes of a wheel, from the hub. These are the *Luserna*, or Valley of Light,

⁶⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, *op. cit.*, book 15, chap. 10, secs. 3-8, in Loeb Classical Library, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, vol. 1, pp. 183, 185.

⁶⁷ Many impressive descriptions of the valleys have been penned—such as in Morland, Gilly, Muston, Wylie, and Beattie—and they are here epitomized, augmented by the writer's personal observations in the valleys.

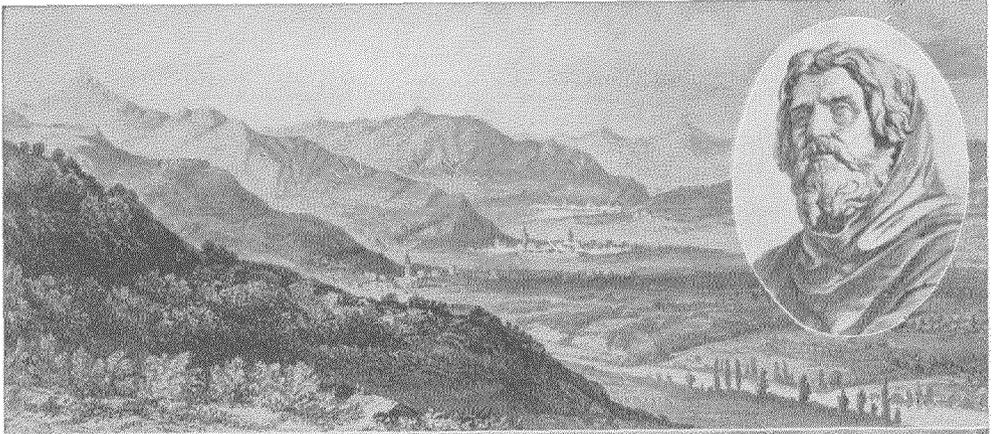
enclosed by a wall of mountains; the *Rora*, or Valley of Dews, like a vast cup, fifty miles in circumference, with the rim formed of craggy peaks; and the *Angrogna*, or Valley of Groans, the innermost sanctuary of all, which will be especially noted. Beyond that lie four others forming the rim of the half wheel and enclosed by a line of lofty mountains that constitute a common wall of defense around the entire territory. Each valley is a fortress with its own entry and exit, its caves and mighty rocks. But these valleys are so related that one opens into the other, forming a network of fortresses. They constitute a rough triangle—a fan-shaped group of valleys resting against the giant Alps. Experts declare that the highest engineering skill could scarcely have better adapted the several valleys so as to form a fortress of amazing strength. It is impossible to survey the scene and not perceive the trace of providential design plainly stamped upon it.

No other spot in Europe was so adapted to protection as this mountain home of the Waldenses. Strongholds and inaccessible glens, through which no stranger could find his way, formed an asylum fortified by the God of nature. The entrance to each is guarded by mountain ranges, perpendicular rocks, mountain peaks, and frightful precipices, and escape is provided through a labyrinth of paths, forests, rocky beds of torrents, and caverns. Impenetrable mists frequently settle down over all like an obscuring blanket. Thus were the Waldensians preserved from destruction in the times of persecution. The Waldensian writer Leger states:

“The Eternal, our God, having destined this land to be in a special way the theatre of His marvels, and the haven of His ark, has by natural means most marvelously fortified it.”⁶⁸

4. WALDENSIAN AND CATHOLIC CHURCHES SYMBOLIZE CONTRASTING DIFFERENCES.—To the traveler approaching from Turin toward the town of Torre Pellice, there opens an impressive mountain portal—the entry to the Waldensian terri-

⁶⁸ Translated from Leger, *op. cit.*, book 1, p. 3.



MILAN CATHEDRAL AND PANORAMA OF WALDENSIAN VALLEYS

Topographical Sketch of Geographical Layout of Waldensian Valleys, With Traditional Portrait of Peter Waldo, as Inset (Upper); Multi-spired Gothic Cathedral of Milan, From the High Tower of Which the Snow-capped Piedmontese Alps Can Be Seen in the Distance on a Clear Day (Lower)

tory. A low hill in front serves as a defense, while behind it rises the great Mont Vandelin, upon whose slopes, shooting up like a stupendous monolith, is Castelluzzo, like a sentinel standing guard at the gate of this renowned region. It irresistibly fills

the eye, and is hallowed by the memory of its countless martyrs, for from its top Waldenses were hurled to their death. On a hill to the right are the ivy-clad ruins of the old Catholic fort, built to overawe the inhabitants. Here, in the Middle Ages, stood a high tower from which the town derives its name—*Torre* meaning “tower.”

Torre Pellice is the present headquarters of the Waldensian valleys, and the present Catholic and Waldensian churches of the town symbolize the contrasting differences. The Roman church exhibits a large picture of the Virgin Mary pointing to a very material-looking heart, with the words below, “Refugium peccatorum” (Refuge of sinners); whereas the text over the door of the Waldensian church reads, “This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.” John 17:3. And the basic difference in outlook is likewise illustrated by the texts outside the respective cemeteries. The Waldensian has, “The dead in Christ shall rise” (1 Thess. 4:16); the Catholic has, “The small and the great are there, and the servant free from his master” (Job 3:19, from the Vulgate).

5. MISSIONARY TRAINING COLLEGE AT PRA DEL TOR.—Far up in the heart of these mountains was situated the Angrogna Valley retreat, called Pra del Tor, walled in by virtually impenetrable peaks. Here their *barbes*, or pastors, met in annual synod, as we have seen. And here was the site of their ancient college, where their missionaries were trained, and after ordination were sent forth to other lands to sow the gospel seed. Its secluded position, and the ease with which it could be defended, made it a mighty fortress in times of persecution, and the scene of many a fierce combat at its entrance. A bleak, unscalable mountain runs directly across the entrance to the valley, through which some great convulsion of nature has rent a fissure from top to bottom—a deep, dark, narrow chasm through which the Angrogna torrent pours.

Entering this dark chasm, one must proceed along a narrow ledge on the mountain's side, hung halfway between the

torrent thundering in the abyss below and the summits that tower above. Journeying thus for two miles, till the passage widens, one arrives at the gates of the Pra. There, opening into a circular valley, is this inner sanctuary of the Waldenses, reserved for the true worship of God, while most of Italy was venerating images. Thus it was that Rome had before its very eyes a perpetual witness of the early faith from which it had departed. Here the Waldensian church—hidden in the “wilderness” of her mountain fortresses in the “place” prepared for her, where “the earth” helped the symbolic “woman”—entered her “chambers” and, shutting the “doors” of the everlasting hills about her, kept her lamp alight amid the bulwarks of impregnable rocks and eternal snows. It has been aptly said of this Alpine refuge:

“The Supreme Architect formed it, sinking its foundations deep in the earth and rearing high its bulwark. He stored it with food, placed His witnesses in it, and bade them keep their mountain citadel inviolate and their lamp of truth unquenched.”

V. The Waldenses and the Reformation

But returning to the narrative, we find that the passing of time brought other voices into the chorus of dissent. The troubadours of the Middle Ages joined with the Waldenses in condemning the iniquities of the church.⁶⁹ The Joachimites and their offshoots denounced the corruptions of the ecclesiastics, and Dante added his voice. It is curious that the early gleams of the revival of letters in the time of Petrarch shone on Calabria, one of the sections of Italy where the Vaudois had found an asylum.⁷⁰ Whatever we may think of the argument for a Waldensian origin of Wyclif's doctrines,⁷¹ it is certain that the seeds sown broadcast in Germany helped to prepare the way for the spread of the Reformation, and that the Bohemian evangelical faith owed a great debt to the Waldenses.

⁶⁹ McCrie, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷¹ Acland, *op. cit.*, p. xliv.

1. THE WALDENSIAINS AND THE BOHEMIAN BRETHREN.—Comenius, a Bohemian bishop, tells how, about 1450, before the Reformation, certain Hussite separatists, followers of Peter Chelcicky, in their anxiety to have their pastors ordained by those who had continued in purity from the apostles, sent three preachers to Stephen, a bishop of the Vaudois. And Stephen, with others officiating, conferred the vocation and ordination upon three Bohemian candidates by the imposition of hands. Although there was no organic affiliation with the main body of Waldenses, there was a fusion of Waldensian elements in these Bohemian and Moravian Brethren. They were spoken of as Picards, Waldensian Brethren, or simply Waldensians, by their contemporaries, both friends and foes, and even mentioned the commonly known terms by way of identification in some of their own publications.⁷²

The Waldenses were repeatedly recognized as connecting links between the early and the Reformation churches by both the Reformers and the pre-Reformation leaders. This line of transmission has been epitomized in this way:

"Thus in the Valleys of Piemont, Claudius Arch-Bishop of Turin, and he to his Disciples, and they to their succeeding Generations in the ninth and tenth Centuries: in another part of the World, Bertram to Berengarius, Berengarius to Peter Brus, Peter Brus to Waldo, Waldo again to Dulcinus, Dulcinus to Gandune and Marsilius, they to Wickleif, Hus and Jerome of Prague, and their Schollars the Thaborites to Luther and Calvin."⁷³

When the Lutheran Reformation broke upon the world, the Waldenses, who had been virtually hounded from the face of Europe, and remained only in the Alps in any number, awoke from their sleep and stretched out their hands to their comrades in other lands. Now they could come forth openly and complete their break with Rome. They wrote to the Re-

⁷² Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 80; Josef Mueller, "Bohemian Brethren," *The New Schaff-Herzog*, vol. 2, p. 214; see Catholic documents in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, nos. LIX, LXI, pp. 635-641, 661-664; Martin Luther, foreword to a work by these Brethren entitled *Rechen-schaft des Glaubens, der Dienste und Ceremonien der Brüder in Böhmen und Mähren*, in *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämtliche Schriften* (Walch ed.), vol. 14, cols. 334, 335 and footnote. In the full title of this last-named work, given in the footnote, these "Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia" add the fact that they are also called, by some, Picards or Waldenses.

⁷³ Morland, *op. cit.*, sig. A₄v.

formers, giving account of themselves and asking questions.

"When the sun of the Reformation arose, the Waldensian light was shining still, if not as brightly, at least as purely as in the past; but in the presence of the new sun, it might well appear to have grown paler. Morel testifies to this with childlike simplicity, and an ingenuous joyful expectation, which recalls that of the prophets of old: 'Welcome! blessed be thou, my Lord,' he writes to the Basle reformer; 'we come to thee from a far off country, with hearts full of joy, in the hope and assurance that, through thee, the Spirit of the Almighty will enlighten us.'"⁷⁴

2. CHAMFORANS CONFERENCE OF WALDENSES AND REFORMERS.—Upon learning of the progress of the Reformation in Switzerland and Germany, the Vaudois of Piedmont rejoiced in the returning of this large group to the Word of God, and hastened to gather information concerning them. In 1526 they sent Barbe Martin, of Luserna, who brought back certain printed books of the Reformers.⁷⁵ In 1530 they deputed other *barbes*, including Georges Morel and Pierre Masson, to visit and confer with the Reformers at Basel and Strasburg, and to present in Latin a statement of their beliefs and practices.⁷⁶ They had several long conferences with Oecolampadius, Bucer, and others, asking many questions on the positions of the Reformers, and rejoicing in the evangelical answers given.

In 1532, two years after the Augsburg Confession, a great six-day synod, or assembly, was held at Chamforans, in the Piedmontese valley of Angrogna, attended by representatives of the Vaudois of Italy and France, and by the French Switzerland representatives, Farel, Olivétan, and Saunier, who rejoiced that the Israel of the Alps had proved faithful to their trust.⁷⁷ This meeting of the two churches—the old and the new—brought new life and hope to the Waldenses.

3. FRENCH BIBLE THEIR GIFT TO REFORMATION.—During this synod the Waldenses drew up a short "confession of faith,"

⁷⁴ Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁷⁵ Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁷⁶ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 185. See Georges Morel, Letter to Oecolampadius, in A. Wilh. Dieckhoff, *Die Waldenser in Mittelalter*, pp. 363-369. For a discussion of the letters of Georges Morel and Pierre Masson to Oecolampadius and Bucer, and their replies, see J. H. Todd, *The Books of the Vaudois*, pp. 8-20.

⁷⁷ Adeney, *op. cit.*, p. 668; Wylie, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 447, 448.

to supplement their older confessions.⁷⁸ Examining Vaudois manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments in the vernacular Romaunt, the Reformed representatives urged that the whole Bible be made available in French through a printed translation. To this the Vaudois agreed, as their own books were only in manuscript.⁷⁹ Pierre Robert, called Olivétan—one of the delegates from Switzerland—was appointed to superintend the translation. For this he retired to a remote village in the valleys. The preface bears date of the seventh of February, 1535, and is sent forth “from the Alps.” This Bible, printed in Gothic characters at Neuchâtel, Switzerland, and costing the Vaudois 1,500 golden crowns, was their gift to the Reformation.⁸⁰

VI. Massacre of 1655 Arouses British Investigation

The adherence of the Waldenses to the Reformation at the Chamforans Synod of 1532 drew upon them the eyes of the Roman Curia and led to action. But the armed expeditions of 1534 and 1560-61 were successfully hurled back. This led to treaties and a period of relative tranquillity. However the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, established by Gregory XV in 1622, included among its objectives the “Extirpation of Heretics.” In 1650 a branch was established at Turin.⁸¹ The tranquillity ended in the “Bloody Easter” massacre of the Piedmont, in 1655, which aroused the British to energetic intervention.

By an edict authorized by the duke of Savoy (who was also Prince of Piedmont), dated January 25, 1655, all Waldenses were ordered to become Catholics or give up their property and leave the best portion of their valleys within a few days, under pain of death—and that in the dead of Alpine winter. On April 17, 15,000 of Pianezza's troops marched in, and on the 24th the terrible atrocities began. Butchery, torture, and en-

⁷⁸ Monastier, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-148; Wylie, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 448; Leger, *op. cit.*, book 1, p. 95.

⁷⁹ Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁸⁰ Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 100, 101.

⁸¹ Leger, *op. cit.*, part 2, chap. 6, pp. 72, 73; Wylie, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 449-481.

slavement was the dreadful fate. The battles continued on into May, June, July, when an army of 1,800 invested La Torre. Lofty Mount Castelluzzo, standing sentry at the entrance to the valleys, with its base covered with forests, and its peak a mass of precipitous rock, had a cave, high on its face, into which hundreds of Waldenses fled, only to be trapped by their persecutors, dragged forth, and rolled down the awful precipice. Thus Castelluzzo became a giant Waldensian martyr monument.⁸²

1. BLOODY EASTER INSPIRED MILTON'S POWERFUL SONNET.

—It was the horrors of this spot that impelled the blind John Milton, Latin secretary to Oliver Cromwell, and then at the peak of his poetical achievements, to write the lines of his gripping sonnet titled "On the Late Massacher in Piemont." This sublime protest was heard where nothing else made any impression. It has been described as one of the most powerful sonnets ever written:

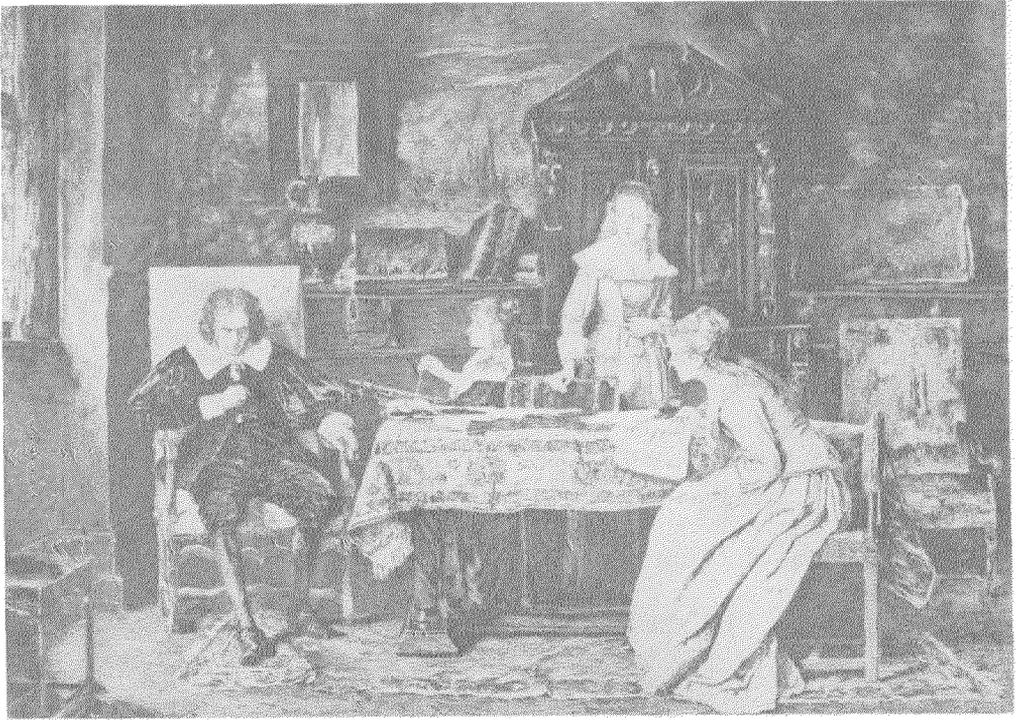
"Avenge O Lord thy slaughter'd Saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold,
Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our Fathers worship't Stocks and Stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groanes
Who were thy Sheep, and in their ancient Fold
Slayn by the bloody Piemontese that roll'd
Mother with Infant down the Rocks. The moans
The Vales redoubl'd to the Hills, and they
To Heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes so
O're all the *Italian* fields where still doth sway
The triple tyrant: that from these may grow
A hunder'd-fold, who having learned thy way,
Early may fly the *Babylonian* wo."⁸³

2. CROMWELL'S ENERGETIC ACTION ENDS THE PERSECUTION.

—All Protestantism was stunned and incensed by the dreadful

⁸² The details of the butchery are too sickening and revolting to recite, even in generalities. The completely documented narrative of the dreadful persecutions leading up to and climaxing in the Massacre of 1655 appears in Monastier, *op. cit.*, pp. 262, 263, 267-283; see also Morland, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-384, 519-534; Leger, *op. cit.*, part 2, pp. 108-137, 186-198. Leger, a Vaudois pastor, who was an eyewitness to the massacre, wrote out the full story in his history. The original of these depositions was given by Leger to Sir Samuel Morland, and by him placed in Cambridge University.

⁸³ *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works*, ed. by H. F. Fletcher, vol. 1, pp. 43, 44. Even this poem contains prophetic interpretation; it applies the epithet "Babylon" to the "triple tyrant," the Roman pontiff.



MILTON, THE BLIND POET, DICTATING TO HIS DAUGHTERS

John Milton, Poet and Latin Secretary to Oliver Cromwell, Profoundly Stirred by the Wanton Slaughter of the Waldenses in 1655, Wrote His Powerful Lines—"Avenge O Lord Thy Slaughter'd Saints"

tidings. Deep sympathy and strong indignation were awakened. A wave of protest swept over Europe. The Reformed countries moved as one man. Almost all the Protestant churches humbled themselves before God by a day of fasting and prayer in behalf of the valleys. Liberal offerings were taken to care for the remnant, Switzerland leading the way.⁸⁴ Sweden, Germany, and Holland were all moved. But in Britain, Cromwell, the lord protector of England, took upon himself the alleviation of their sufferings. He ordered a day of fasting and prayer to be kept throughout England, and started a subscription for funds for their relief to the amount of more than £38,000.⁸⁵ At Cromwell's direction Milton, then his Latin secretary, wrote letters

⁸⁴ Monastier, *op. cit.*, pp. 283, 284.

⁸⁵ Morland, *op. cit.*, pp. 552, 553, 596; Monastier, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-286.

of state in powerful phrasings to the rulers of Europe. Proclamations were issued, the second of which was printed as a broadside, written when the events were "hot in memory and indignation was flaming." English public opinion was swiftly formed, and help resulted from Cromwell's proclamations.⁸⁶

Sir Samuel Morland was sent by the British Government to interpose through personal appeal to the duke of Savoy and the king of France, and if possible to stop the persecution, and after investigation to lay the case before the Protestant world. Morland bore with him Cromwell's letters of astonishment and sorrow over the barbarities. He visited the valleys and saw the situation with his own eyes, and addressed the duke in a powerful plea, which included these words:

"The Angels are surprised with horreur! men are amazed! Heaven itself seems to be astonied with the cries of dying men, and the very earth to blush, being discoloured with the gore-bloud of so many innocent persons! Do not, O thou most high God, do not thou take that revenge which is due to so great wickednesses and horrible villanies! Let thy bloud, O Christ, wash away this bloud!"⁸⁷

Arriving at Turin in June, and at Geneva in July, Morland delivered so effective a protest that the edict of the duke of Savoy was withdrawn in August, 1655. A treaty brought the military operations to an end, and the Waldenses were allowed to return to their form of worship without further loss of life or property.⁸⁸

VII. The "Glorious Return" of 1689-90

Upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Louis XIV demanded that his neighbor, the duke of Savoy, eliminate the Waldensian church. When the Waldenses resisted the edict to destroy their churches and banish the pastors and teachers, they were crushed by a combined force of troops from France and Savoy. Thousands were slain, and thousands of the im-

⁸⁶ Richard W. Hale, *Poetry, Prose and History*, pp. 5, 6.

⁸⁷ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 370. (The complete correspondence of Cromwell and Morland with these rulers appears on pages 539-709.)

⁸⁸ Monastier, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-288.

prisoned men, women, and children died. The surviving three thousand were allowed to take refuge in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. In 1689 about a thousand of the exiles, led by their pastor and military commander, Henri Arnaud, set out to return to Savoy. They drove off the French troops who attacked them, wintered on a mountain at the end of the San Martino valley, and continued the warfare. By the spring of 1690 most of the Waldenses had recovered their homes, and many other exiles returned.⁸⁰ The duke of Savoy made peace with them, and in 1694 granted them religious liberty.

These seventeenth-century tribulations of the Waldenses are outside the range of this volume, but a brief account of them has been included in order to round out the story, to show how the earlier training of these people bore the fruit of constancy under the most terrible persecutions which inspired the Protestant world. From the time of the Reformation they have formed a branch of the Calvinistic Protestants, and in modern times they have acquired the full rights of Italian citizenship.

⁸⁰ See Arnaud, *The Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois of Their Valleys*.

Waldensian Defiance of Rome

I. Waldensians Claim Apostolicity

The Waldensians claimed to have been always independent of Rome, never to have been under bondage to the papal jurisdiction, and never to have assented to its errors. And having denied its usurpations, they denounced Rome increasingly as the very apostasy of Babylon, and finally as Antichrist. The comparison was odious and dangerous. The very foundation of the papal structure was threatened. This assertion of a rival line of spiritual transmission, paralleling her own vaunted apostolic succession—of a contemporaneous line of truth that matched and countered the growing departures and apostasies marking the centuries of papal climb to power and pre-eminence—was a denial, a rebuke, and an intolerable threat to the universal headship of all the churches.

I. WALDENSIAN CLAIM MADE ROMAN CHALLENGE INEVITABLE.—The Waldensian claim of being the true church of Christ, the spiritual successor to the apostles, and the parallel-
ing assertion that the Roman church had become the apocalyptic Harlot¹ and the synagogue of irreclaimable malignants was

¹ "Expelled from the Catholic Church they [the Poor Men of Lyons] affirmed that they alone were the church of Christ and the disciples of Christ. They say that they are the successors of the apostles and have the keys of binding and loosing. They say that the Roman church is the harlot Babylon, and all those obeying her are damned." (Translated from David of Augsburg, *Tractatus*, chap. 5, in Wilhelm Preger, "Der Tractat des David von Augsburg über der Waldesier," *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 14, part 2, p. 206.)

bound to stir the wrath of Rome. The Waldenses claimed a succession, however, not so much of men as of evangelical truth. It was not a transmission through an episcopate but a perpetuation of divine principles deposited in one glorious, heavenly Mediator, and derivable from Him to all believers. It was therefore inevitable that conflict should come between such proponents and the Papacy, which laid exclusive claim to apostolicity, primacy, perpetuity, unity, and universality.² Those who refused to submit to that authority were necessarily rebels, schismatics, and heretics.

2. THE TRUE AND FALSE CHURCHES.—The Waldenses claimed to be the true church of the Scriptures persecuted by the false church, which professed to be the woman clothed with the sun but which was really the impure Babylon the Great. Wherever else she may have fled into the wilderness, the true church must also be found within the territory of Romanism, where oppression and persecution would be brought directly to bear upon her. This conclusion was obvious, and not to be rejected unless the prophetic premises outlining the two churches are set aside.

We do not, of course, admit the contention of Rome, that she is the true and only church of Christ, in view of all the foreign and adverse influences that have molded the Roman church. However, God never left Himself without witnesses to the truth and spirituality of His work of redemption among mankind. These influences are to be found within and without the pale of the dominant church. It is the church in the heart of men renewed by the Spirit of God; to all outward appearances it is often the church in the wilderness, sometimes in little groups, sometimes combining in larger communions, so that at times two churches existed. Certainly the alleged fulfillment in the Papacy of Christ's specifications for His true church, in universality, perpetuity, apostolicity, and purity, is

² For these asserted marks see *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*, part 1, chap. 10, "Of the Ninth Article," questions 10-16, Buckley translation, pp. 98-104; James Cardinal Gibbons, *Faith of Our Fathers*, chaps. 2-6.

so contradictory to fact, in the light of our previous study, as to warrant the charges brought by the Waldenses that the two churches of history are the two churches of prophecy.

3. MATERIALS SCANTY FOR WALDENSIAN DOCTRINES.—The witness of the Waldenses is both intriguing and vital. Their consciousness of their own role in fulfilling prophecy, as well as their interpretation of prophecy; the difficulty of clear discernment of their spiritual forefathers in the early centuries of witness in the Dark Ages; their fidelity to and preservation of the Word, and its evangelical truths; their protest against doctrinal and organizational apostasy; the resultant persecution against them throughout their witness; and the attempts of their enemies to destroy and discredit their writings—these all conspire to make the study of their beliefs particularly important.

We have very little Waldensian literature left. Much of their doctrine we must piece together from accounts of their enemies. Their original vernacular translations of the Scriptures are lost, and the vernacular writings that have survived come mostly from the valleys of Piedmont, where the remnant of the Waldenses were sheltered by their craggy ramparts, and thus their writings alone were preserved from the oblivion which overtook their sister communities in other parts of Europe. It is not in the province of this work to study the Waldensian literature in general; our quest is their doctrines, and particularly their prophetic interpretation as revealed in their doctrines.

Before proceeding to this study, however, something must be said of the language and form of the writings themselves.

II. Vaudois Literature and Language

1. MORLAND'S EMBASSY SECURES DOCUMENTS AND PRODUCES HISTORY.—Sir Samuel Morland, Cromwell's special ambassador to the duke of Savoy on behalf of the persecuted Waldenses, was urged by Archbishop Ussher, who had started

his own collection, to acquire whatever manuscripts he could find while on his visit to the Waldensians. Morland did so, and upon his return brought a collection of these writings to England in 1658. As the result of this mission Morland produced his famous history, based on his researches and on the original source documents secured. It was an official report to the British nation, dedicated to Cromwell.³ The world owes a great debt to this Cromwell expedition and to Morland's diligence, which resulted in gathering this remarkable exhibit of the writings of the Waldenses of the Cottian Alps—creeds, confessions, treatises, and sermons in the Vaudois dialect. From these documents he drew many extracts for his remarkable history,⁴ which was written to demonstrate (1) *the antiquity of their origin*, and (2) *the apostolicity of their faith*. These manuscripts, which were assembled in the form of books labeled "A," "B," "C," et cetera, were deposited by Morland in the Cambridge University Library. This is his statement:

"The true Originals of all which were collected with no little pains and industry, by the Authour of this History, during his abode in those parts, and at his Return, by him presented to the publick Library of the famous University of *Cambridg*."⁵

2. "ROMAUNT" LINK BETWEEN LATIN AND MODERN LANGUAGES.—The language of the writings of the Piedmont Waldenses was a form intermediate between the Latin and the modern Romance languages. Under the impact of the barbarian conquerors from the north, during the dismemberment of Western Rome and in the following centuries, the Latin of the conquered, as well as the dialects of the conquerors, had undergone a profound change. Latin, which for centuries had

³ Samuel Miller, "Recommendatory Letter," *History of the Ancient Christians*, preliminary pp. 5-7; Morland, *op. cit.*, "The Author's Epistle Dedicatory," sig. A_{2r}.

⁴ Gilly, *Waldensian Researches*, pp. 136, 137; Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 369, 370; Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 363.

⁵ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 94. Far-reaching implications followed the misplacement and seeming loss, on the part of the Library, of the first six of these books of manuscripts. In fact, they were not located until almost two centuries later, though they were in the Library all the time. Meantime, gratuitous conclusions were reached and serious charges made by Roman Catholics, and echoed by certain Protestants, concerning the good faith of the Waldenses and antiquity and genuineness of these writings. Unfortunately, the two-century loss of these documents led to serious suspicion on the part of some historical writers, and affected the standing of the Waldenses among casual students. (Todd, *op. cit.*, Preface, pp. x-xiii; Henry Bradshaw, "Discovery of the Long Lost Morland Manuscripts," reprinted in Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-223.)



WHERE THE WALDENSES LIVED AND SUFFERED FOR THEIR FAITH

Old Waldensian Stone Church in Innermost Angrogna Valley (Upper); Title Page of Master Copy of Bull of Innocent VIII Calling for Complete Extirpation of the Vaudois, and Page Showing Authenticating Seal (Lower Left); Stone Table Top Formerly Used by Students in Waldensian Training School (Inset); Stone Houses in Typical Valley Scene (Center Right); Entrance to One of the Caves Used as Place of Worship and Refuge in Time of Persecution (Lower Right)

been the language of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, had suffered a definite decomposition. The so-called *Lingua Romana*, the *Romaunt*, or early Romance vernacular was the result, according to the older theory,⁶ but it is now believed that rather than one intermediate language there were from the first a number of dialects which grew directly out of the common spoken Latin in the various regions.⁷ The term *Romaunt* is referred to here because Gilly, whose *Romaunt Version* is cited, uses the terminology based on the older theory current in his day.

Gradually, as time passed, the many varieties of local patois settled down to well-defined forms, with accepted rules and grammar, until the modern French, Spanish, and Italian were formed—roughly from the eighth to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.⁸ The older term “Romaunt” and the modern “Romance” refer to the languages which grew out of the “vulgar Latin” of the Gallic, Italian, and Spanish provinces of the Roman Empire.

3. LANGUAGE OF REFORM AND OF VERNACULAR SCRIPTURES.

—The medieval Romance dialects not only contributed to the revival of letters in the Middle Ages—Provençal was the language of the song-poems of the troubadours—but far more important, they furnished the vehicle for the early attempts to reform the corruptions of the church, both by preaching and by the circulation of religious treatises in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which is our immediate concern. The homilies of the councils of Tours and Rheims were translated into “Romaunt” under the urge of Charlemagne.⁹

Walter Map states that at the Third Lateran Council some “Valdesians” presented to the pope a book of portions of the Scriptures with glosses, written in the “Gallic” tongue.¹⁰ The Passau Inquisitor of the thirteenth century complains that a

⁶ George Cornewall Lewis, *An Essay on the Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages*, pp. 19, 25, 30, 31.

⁷ Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 161, 162.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37; see also William S. Gilly, Introduction to his edition of *The Romaunt Version of the Gospel According to St. John*, p. iv. Heavy draft has been made upon this work.

⁹ Gilly, *Romaunt Version*, Introduction, pp. v, vi.

¹⁰ See page 833.

leading citizen of Lyons taught the New Testament "in the vulgar tongue."¹¹ Finally, the first of the vernacular translations of Scripture were prohibited by ecclesiastical authority at the Council of Toulouse in 1299.¹² Gilly also clearly believes that as early as the twelfth century the complete New Testament was in the "Romaunt,"¹³ the first vernacular version since the fall of the empire, though there were earlier partial translations.

Claude Seyssel, archbishop of Turin, who visited the Waldenses of the Piedmontese valleys in 1517, boasted that he was the first prelate in the history of man to visit them episcopally. Seyssel refers repeatedly to books in the vulgar tongue by which the Waldenses were confirmed in their hostility to the Roman church.¹⁴

4. WALDENSIAN LANGUAGE AN ALPINE DIALECT.—The Vaudois dialect was an intermediate Romance idiom distinct from its original, with a characteristic suppression of certain final consonants indicating a loss of some original terminations. Experts have differed as to whether its source was France, as would be expected if Waldo's followers settled the valleys and brought with them the speech of Lyons, and some of the arguments have been colored by controversy. Böhmer says that the Alpine Waldenses show affinities for the Lombard group, and that the language of their later manuscripts belongs not to Lyons but to the east Provençal branch, in the Cottian Alps.¹⁵ Comba, citing various authorities, says that the progress of linguistic science returns to the opinion of Raynouard that the Waldensian language was Provençal, although the modern dialect is being transformed under French and Italian influence.¹⁶ This becomes, therefore, an evidence of their Alpine origin.

¹¹ *Reineri . . . Contra Waldenses*, in *MBVP*, vol. 25, p. 264; see also Gilly, *Romaunt Version*, Introduction.

¹² Canon 14. See Gilly, *Romaunt Version*, Introduction, p. vi.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

¹⁴ See Gilly's quotation from Seyssel, reprinted in Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 170.

¹⁵ H. Böhmer, "Waldenser," in Herzog, *Realencyclopädie* (3d ed., edited by Albert Hauck), vol. 20, p. 821.

¹⁶ Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 166.

III. Waldensian Statements of Belief

1. WALDENSES HELD CARDINAL DOCTRINES.—The Waldenses held firmly to: (1) the absolute authority and inspiration of the Scriptures; (2) the trinity of the Godhead; (3) the sinful state of man; (4) free salvation by Jesus Christ; (5) faith working by love.¹⁷ These points could not have been considered heretical; indeed, some of their enemies admitted their orthodoxy.¹⁸ But the Waldenses operated on certain basic principles which inevitably brought them into conflict with the churchly authorities: (1) the duty to preach, regardless of ecclesiastical regulation; (2) the authority and popular use of the Scriptures in the language of the people; (3) the right of laymen, and even women, to teach; (4) the denial of the right of a corrupt priest to administer the sacraments.¹⁹ They also rejected oaths, the death penalty, and some of them purgatory, prayers for the dead, the invocation of saints, and similar practices. They seem to have varied on the question of the real presence, the number of the sacraments, and infant baptism.

2. DIFFICULTIES IN DETERMINING DOCTRINES.—The differences in the accounts that have come down to us are traceable not only to actual variations among the scattered Waldenses in different times and places but also to the fact that much of our information comes from the reports of their enemies, because most of the Waldensian writings were destroyed. And some Catholics undoubtedly confused them with other heretics.²⁰ The viewpoint and purpose of each Catholic writer must be taken into account in evaluating such records of Waldensian beliefs and practices, as well as the fact that some of the information was extracted from ignorant, frightened, and sometimes tortured witnesses.

3. WALDENSIAN CONFESSIONS OF FAITH.—The beliefs of the Waldensians should be found best expressed in their con-

¹⁷ Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 20, 21, citing manuscripts in Dublin and Geneva for each.

¹⁸ See page 826.

¹⁹ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, pp. 502-505.

²⁰ See page 835.

fessions of faith, but those which we have leave much to be desired. The confession dated 1120 by Morland and Leger, is really much later. The second that he prints is undated; the only other dated before the Reformation is the one presented to King Ladislaus of Bohemia in 1508, but it is given in a later form, as "amplified," in 1535.

The confession labeled "1120" affirms belief in the Apostles' Creed, the Trinity, the canonical Scriptures (which are listed), God the Creator, justification through Christ our "Advocate, Sacrifice, and Priest," the resurrection and the judgment, rejection of purgatory as invented by Antichrist, and of other human inventions (such as saint worship, the mass, and other ritual practices), the two sacraments only, and subjection to civil rulers. According to Perrin and Muston, it was really derived from Morel, the envoy whose consultation with the Protestant leaders has been mentioned, and whose original statement of belief will be quoted in full in this chapter.²¹

Morland's Confession of 1508 and 1535 comprises a statement of beliefs, and the reason for the separation from Rome, representing not the old-line Waldenses of Italy, but the "Waldensian Brethren" or "Picards," Bohemian Brethren whose founders had received ordination from a Waldensian bishop.²²

(1) The canonical Scriptures the rule of faith; (2) the catechism, based on the Decalogue and the Apostles' Creed; (3) the Holy Trinity; (4) sin; (5) repentance; (6) justification by faith in Christ; (7) faith and works; (8) the true church scattered throughout the nations, menaced by Antichrist; (9) a ministry preaching by precept and example, duly ordained; (10) the Word of God the basis of faith; (11) sacraments invalid without inward quickening of the Holy Spirit; (12) baptism, including children; (13) the Eucharist in both kinds, Christ's body and blood respectively; (14) the power of the church; (15) the rejection of those human traditions which ob-

²¹ See page 854 and note 76, also pages 870, 871 for Morel's statement of faith. For the confession, see Morland, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-34; Perrin, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-214; for its connection with Morel, see Perrin, *op. cit.*, p. 51 n, and Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 478, 479.

²² See page 853.

scure the glory of Christ; (16) obedience to the secular power ordained to govern political and temporary affairs; (17. 18) repudiation of saint worship and fasts; (19) celibacy and marriage equally meritorious; (20) probation only in this life; no purgatory.²³

Specifically concerning the Antichrist of prophecy, article 8 states:

"That *Antichrist*, that man of sin, doth sit in the Temple of God, that is, in the Church, of whom the Prophets, and *Christ* and His Apostles foretold, admonishing all the godly, to beware of him and his Errours, and not suffer themselves to be drawn aside from the Truth."²⁴

4. LETTER OF 1218 STATES BELIEFS.—The earliest dated Waldensian document which discusses their beliefs is a Latin letter, the *Rescriptum*, written by the Lombard Waldenses to brethren in Austria giving an account of the council at Bergamo in 1218, when the Poor Men of Lyons and the Poor Men of Lombardy agreed to disagree about Waldo, church organization, and the Eucharist. This document reveals the fact that although neither disputed the change of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ, the Italians were more evangelical and less conservative than the Poor Men of Lyons, for they demanded a minister with a pure life as a condition of the validity of the sacrament, whereas the Lyonnais relied on the words of consecration; the Lombards gave less importance to baptism, particularly of children, and they held that a man should not leave his wife (to become a traveling pastor) without mutual consent.²⁵

5. CATHOLICS LIST "ERRORS" OF WALDENSIAN TEACHINGS.—We shall be driven to Catholic sources to find comprehensive lists of Waldensian teaching.²⁶ One document of 1398 shows the Austrian Waldenses as repudiating ninety-two points of Catholic doctrine and practice, including the following items:

²³ Epitome of twenty articles given in full in Morland, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-57.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51.

²⁵ *Rescriptum Heresiarcharum Lombardia ad Leonistas in Alemannia* (Letter of the Heresiarchs of Lombardy to the Leonists in Germany), in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, pp. 42-52.

²⁶ For such lists of "errors," see Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-285; David of Augsburg, *op. cit.*; Döllinger, *Beiträge*, passim; *Reineri . . . Contra Waldenses*, chap. 5.

They believe that their authority to preach comes from God alone, not the pope or any Catholic bishop.

They believe that they are the representatives and legitimate successors of the apostles of Christ.

They condemn the Roman church because from the time of Pope Sylvester it had and held possessions.

They believe that the Blessed Virgin and the other saints in the homeland are so occupied with joys that they can think nothing about us, that they cannot intercede for us, that they are not to be invoked, honored, or served.

They deny purgatory and dismiss as of no account vigils, masses, prayers, and alms for the dead, the kissing of relics, pilgrimages, indulgences, and excommunications.

They believe that the pope is the head and origin of all heretics and that all Catholics are heretics.

They believe that there is no superior sanctity in consecrated buildings, holy water, blessed palms, ashes, candles, et cetera.

They reject oaths; they denounce kings, princes, et cetera, for judicial homicide, and the pope for sending Crusaders to fight the Saracens.

These articles are held by the heresiarchs [that is, the Waldensian ministers], but by their believers more or less according to their capacity.²⁷

6. WALDENSIAN TEACHINGS AT TIME OF FIRST CONTACTS WITH REFORMATION.—At the time of contact with the Reformers, Barbe Morel's letter to Oecolampadius (1530) furnishes a short but comprehensive statement of Waldensian belief:

"With regard to our articles of beliefs, we teach our people, as well as we can, the contents of the twelve articles of the Symbol, called the Apostle's [*sic*] Creed, and every doctrine deviating from it is looked upon by us as heresy. We believe in a God in three persons; we hold that the humanity of Christ is created and inferior to the Father, who wished by means of it to redeem mankind; but we admit at the same time that Christ

²⁷ Summarized from a report of Peter the Inquisitor in Preger, "Beiträge," vol. 13, part 1, pp. 246-249; also in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, pp. 305-311.

is both very God and very man. We hold also that there is no other mediator and intercessor with God than Jesus Christ. The Virgin Mary is holy, humble, and full of grace; the same with the other saints; and they await with her in heaven the glorification of their bodies at the resurrection. We believe that, after this life, there is only the place of abode of the elect, called paradise, and that of the rejected, called hell. As for purgatory it was invented by anti-Christ, contrary to truth, therefore we reject it. All that are of human invention—such as Saints' days, vigils, holy water, fasts on fixed days, and the like, especially the mass—are, as we think, an abomination in the sight of God. We believe the sacraments to be the signs of a sacred thing, or a visible figure of an invisible grace, and that it is good and useful for the faithful sometimes to partake of them, if possible; but we believe that, if the opportunity to do so be lacking, a man may be saved nevertheless. As I understand it, we have erred in admitting more than two sacraments. We also hold that oral confession is useful, if it be observed without distinction of time and for the purpose of comforting the sick, the ignorant, and those who seek our advice, according to the Scriptures. According to our rule, charity ought to proceed as follows:—First, everyone must love God, above all creatures, even more than his own soul; then his soul more than all else; then his neighbour's soul more than his own life; then his own life more than that of his neighbour; finally, the life of his neighbour more than his own property."²⁸

IV. The "Noble Lesson" Epitomizes the Waldensian Faith

Though a poem of 479 lines, in rhythmical verse like that of the troubadours, the *Noble Lesson* was equivalent to a confession of faith, of evangelical heritage, handed down from former generations. It was evidently written for reading in church assembly, because it begins with "Hear, Brethren, a Noble Lesson." The word for "lesson" is *leyçon*, from *lectio*, the Latin word meaning "a reading in assembly."²⁹ It could have been composed only by those who knew the genius of true Christianity in contradistinction to the errors of Rome, to which it makes reference.

²⁸ Morel, *op. cit.*, translated in Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 291, 292. For the Latin letter, see Dieckhoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-369.

²⁹ For the original text, see *La Noble Leçon*, edited by Edouard Montet. Complete English translations appear in Morland (with parallel Romaunt and English columns, pp. 99-120); also in Perrin, as translated in *History of the Ancient Christians* (pp. 263-271). Elliott (vol. 2, pp. 390-394, following Raynouard) and Faber (pp. 399-414) give extracts. It appears in paralleling Romaunt and French in Perrin (*Histoire des Vaudois*, pp. 253 ff.), and in Leger (pp. 26-30). There are several manuscript copies (see Gilly's "First Letter on the Noble Lesson," in Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 167)—two at Cambridge, one each at Dublin, Geneva, and Grenoble, and, in addition, the one from which Ladoucette took his extract in his *Histoire, topographie, antiquités, usages, dialects des Hautes-Alpes*, p. 299.

"O Brethren, give ear to a noble Lesson.
 We ought always to watch and pray,
 For we see the World nigh to a conclusion.
 We ought to strive to do good works,
 Seeing that the end of this World approacheth.
 There are already a thousand and one hundred years fully
accomplished,
 Since it was written thus, *For we are in the last time.*"³⁰

In its scope the *Noble Lesson* may be summarized as setting forth the Trinity, the fall of man, redemption through divine grace, free will, the unchangeable character of the Decalogue, the incarnation, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, the descent of the Holy Spirit, the Scriptures, the ministration of the Word, and the day of judgment.³¹ It holds essentially what was taught by the apostolic church before the Waldensians, and what the Reformers taught after them. It is a connecting link between the two. Leger calls it an epitome of the Old and New Testaments.³² And Allix says, "I defy the impudence of the Devil himself to find therein the least shadow of Manicheism."³³

1. POEM INDICATES TWELFTH-CENTURY LIMITS.—The *Noble Lesson* was composed in the local Romaunt dialect of the Alps, not that of the Lyonnais, and because of its clear language, says Muston, it must have been written by the inhabitants of the mountains, not by strangers. He places its composition between the utmost limits of 1100 and 1190, and therefore rules out Waldo's disciples—for in 1100 they were not in existence, and 1190 was but six years after their banishment from Lyons in 1184³⁴—too short a time to master a new language, for the *Noble Lesson* is recognized as one of the masterpieces of the time.³⁵

³⁰ *The Noble Lesson*, translated in Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

³¹ Gilly, *Waldensian Researches*, pp. 141, 142; Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 390 ff.

³² Leger, *op. cit.*, book 1, p. 30.

³³ Allix, *Churches of Piedmont*, p. 181.

³⁴ The only contemporary document giving detailed information on Waldo's first spiritual impulse and subsequent action, the Laon chronicle (*Chronicon Universale Anonymi Laudunensis*), under the years 1173, 1178 in *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 26, pp. 447-450, establishes this fact: Peter took his vow of poverty in 1173, and was subsequently excommunicated; but he first began to have associates in 1177.

³⁵ Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 16.

That the *Noble Lesson* dates from the twelfth century is indicated by the lines:

"There are already a thousand and one hundred years fully accomplished,
Since it was written thus, *For we are in the last time.*"³⁶

Scholars state that this dating line—"a thousand and one hundred"—is a genuine part of the text, and no interpolation. The eleven hundred years is not the principal question, but the starting point of the period. Some have taken it as beginning with the Christian Era, and thus ending in A.D. 1100;³⁷ but others think it is to be computed from the time of John's first epistle, when the expression, "It is the last time" (1 John 2:18), was written. This would bring the beginning date some sixty years after the cross, and terminate the period about 1190, or perhaps 1200. In any event, in the twelfth century or immediately after the end of it, eleven complete centuries had run out, from whichever starting point.³⁸

These two lines are interesting in view of the fact that Joachim makes a similar statement twice in his *Expositio*. He says that "already more than a thousand years have passed since the blessed John said 'Little children, it is the last hour.'"³⁹ Evidently he, writing in the latter part of the twelfth century, reckoned the writing of First John as late in the first century. If our Waldensian poem was written at the end of the twelfth century, the same starting point would give an interval of approximately 1100 years. In the light of this similarity to Joachim's expression, it would be interesting to know whether there was any contact, or a common source.

Comba points out—although he does not seem to know of these Joachim statements—that the end of the twelfth century was a most logical time for our poet to expect the approach of the end, for the expectation was abroad at that time, and Joachim himself looked to the year 1200 as a significant

³⁶ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

³⁷ Morland, Leger, Allix, Monastier, Raynouard.

³⁸ Faber, *op. cit.*, p. 388; Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 366 ff.

³⁹ Joachim, *Expositio*, fol. 210 r; see also fol. 83 v. Can there be some significance in the report of the chief *barbe's* residence in Calabria?

date.⁴⁰ That is why Comba thinks this date is correct, and discounts the critics' attempt to make the line read "a thousand and four hundred." True, one manuscript at Cambridge reads four hundred, but two have one hundred, and the fourth, with the erasure, cannot be read as four as was supposed, nor as anything at all, says Chaytor. And Comba explains the four hundred as a reasonable error for a later copyist.⁴¹

2. INTERNAL EVIDENCES FOR DATING.—Corroboration of this self-dating of the *Lesson* for the twelfth century by certain rather decisive internal evidences has been offered—of language, idiom, versification, theological sentiment, and historical fact. By purely literary criteria, according to Raynouard, it stands the test⁴²—dialect, style, and form of verse. It employs certain terms, as for example *baron* for nobility, *fellon* for wicked, *hostal* for house, and *saragins* [saracens]⁴³ for barbarian, corresponding to the language and contemporary writings in the Piedmontese section at the time. There has been much discussion of the language.

The phrase "all the cardinals" is another evidence mentioned by Faber. The name and office had long existed, but not a college of cardinals with the power of electing the pope. That was first instituted by Nicholas II (1059-1061),⁴⁴ and so had been in vogue about forty years when the twelfth century began. There is also reference to "Jews and saracens"—the term "Saracens" at that time being frequently applied to gentiles, for in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Saracens were the unbelievers par excellence in the current vocabulary.

There are, furthermore, certain conceptions and historical facts of the century that are evaluated in detail by Elliott and

⁴⁰ For Joachim, see pages 713-715.

⁴¹ Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-237; H. J. Chaytor, Introduction to *Six Vaudois Poems*, pp. xij, xiiij.

⁴² François J. M. Raynouard, "an indisputably competent judge," pronounced it a twelfth-century document "beyond all cavil," on this technical basis (*Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, vol. 2, pp. cxxxvii-cxliii), which decision was accepted by Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. 1, chap. 1, sec. 33. In this conclusion, they are joined by Senebier and other linguists. See also Thomas McCrie, *Reformation in Italy*, pp. 20, 21.

⁴³ Raynouard, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 86, 92, 81, 93, respectively.

⁴⁴ Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 411, 412, 395, 396.

Faber,⁴⁵ for example: The persecutions mentioned—plunder and imprisonment, and not primarily torture and death—of such a character that they fit the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but not later centuries. The first bull against the Waldenses was only issued by Pope Lucius III in 1184. And the deferring, by Catholic neighbors, of confession to the priest until the deathbed, was a habit that could scarcely have existed after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, wherein annual confession, at least, is enjoined.⁴⁶ The concept of Antichrist as someone yet to come is different from the amplified and clarified picture in the treatise on Antichrist, which portrays him as already here. Similarly, Gilly mentions the practice of reading the Scriptures in the vernacular, which evidently had not yet been forbidden in general.⁴⁷ James I, king of Aragon and count of Provence, in 1213 prohibited the circulation of the books of the Old and New Testaments translated in the Roman dialect.⁴⁸ Then came the general ecclesiastical prohibition of Toulouse, in 1299.

The twelfth- and thirteenth-century idea of the imminent end of the world and the approaching day of judgment is reflected in the *Noble Lesson*. We have seen how Joachim stirred up the expectation of the end of the age to come soon after 1200, with a period in which Antichrist would prevail over the saints for a brief time.

3. ILLUSTRATIVE EXCERPTS FROM THE "NOBLE LESSON."—Three excerpts must suffice, though the whole should be read. The poem declares that after the apostles certain teachers who "showed the way of Jesus Christ" had continued, "even to the present time"—without any suggestion of a rediscovery or revival. Here also the Waldenses are mentioned by name. These evangelical protestors were marked out for persecution and reviled under the term Vaudés:

⁴⁵ Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 344-385; Faber, *op. cit.*, book 3, chap. 9.

⁴⁶ Canon 21, in Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 260; Mansi, *op. cit.*, vol. 22, cols. 1007-1010.

⁴⁷ Gilly, *Roman Version*, p. xv.

⁴⁸ See Gilly's "Second Letter on the Waldensian Mss.," in Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

"They say, that such a person is a VAUDES [in the Romaunt: *Ilh diçon qu'el es Vaudes*], and is worthy of punishment: and they find occasion, through lyes and deceit, to take from him that which he has gotten by his just labour."⁴⁹

The great apostasy is dated from Sylvester, with its spurious offers of pardon. Thus:

"All the Popes that have been from *Sylvester* down to the present one, and all the Cardinals, and all the Bishops, and all the Abbots, even all such put together, have not so much power as to be able to pardon a single mortal sin. It is God alone who pardons; and no other can do it."⁵⁰

Then as to Antichrist, the hearer is admonished to "be well advised when *Antichrist* shall come; to the intent that we may give no credence either to his doings or to his sayings."⁵¹ And on the last things:

"Many signs and great wonders shall be from this time forward to the day of judgment. The heaven and the earth shall burn; and all the living shall die. Then all shall rise again to an ever-enduring life: and every building shall be laid prostrate. Then shall be the last judgment, when God shall separate His people."⁵²

Can there be some significance in Antichrist's being referred to in the *future* tense about the year 1200? In view of Joachim's teaching concerning the momentous events to be expected between 1200 and 1260, there might be. But if so, the hint of a future Antichrist is not the only interpretation of that symbol found among the Waldensians.

V. Prophetic Terms of Beast, Babylon, and Antichrist

In various Catholic writings listing the "errors" of the Waldenses we find them accused of applying uncomplimentary prophetic epithets to the Catholic Church. If the strongest terms, in the treatise *On Antichrist*, cannot be placed exactly, there are at least strong hints in other documents which are dated.

⁴⁹ Translation in Faber, *op. cit.*, p. 408; also in Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 392. For the original, see *La Noble Leçon*, p. 60.

⁵⁰ Quoted from Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 393, following Raynaud's translation.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

1. WALDENSES HAVE "COME OUT OF HER."—Salvus Burce, in a work dated 1235, contends with the Poor Men of Lyons and the Poor Men of Lombardy. He says that the Cathari call the church Harlot, nest of serpents, and Beast, "and you foolish ones say that same thing."⁵³

"Perhaps the heretics say: 'We have come out of the vile harlot, namely, from the church of Rome, and let us see concerning the prelates of the very beast.'"⁵⁴

2. AUSTRIAN WALDENSES CALL CHURCH APOCALYPTIC HARLOT.—The Passau Anonymus, writing about 1260 in Austria, does, incidentally, a bit of prophetic interpreting himself by calling the heretics Antichrists. He begins his enumeration of the errors of the Poor Men of Lyons:

"First, they say that the Roman Church is not the Church of Jesus Christ, but is a church of malignants. . . . And they say that they are the Church of Christ, because they observe the teaching of Christ, of the gospel, and of the apostles in word and example. . . . Sixth, that the Roman Church is the harlot of the Apocalypse because of her superfluous adornment which the Eastern Church does not care for."⁵⁵

David of Augsburg reports the epithet "harlot," as has already been mentioned.⁵⁶

3. ANTICHRIST APPLIED TO CATHOLICS.—In a list of questions issued for the guidance of Inquisitors in prosecuting heretics, certain points are outlined for examining Cathari, and then the list for Waldenses contains the following significant queries:

"Whether the Roman church is the Church of Christ or the harlot. . . . Whether the church of God fell in the time of Sylvester. And who restored it. Whether Pope Sylvester was Antichrist."⁵⁷

These questions show clearly what the Waldenses were reported as teaching, and the belief that a pope *was* Antichrist in the distant past hints of the new interpretation of the Antichrist that was developing, and that was carried further in the

⁵³ Salvus Burce, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵⁵ Translated from *Reineri* . . . *Contra Waldenses*, chap. 5, in *MBVP*, vol. 25, p. 265.

⁵⁶ See page 860.

⁵⁷ Document no. XX in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, p. 320.

treatise on Antichrist. Thus the testimony of their enemies helps to fill out the picture of the Waldensian prophetic interpretation.

At the time of the Reformation we come to Morel's aforementioned letter. In its summary of Waldensian beliefs we find the term Antichrist applied to the Catholic Church collectively, or at least to the clergy, and the phrases "Antichristian ceremonies" and "abominations of Antichrist" designating the Catholic ritual.

Note that purgatory is the invention of Antichrist. Further references to the Catholic Church as Antichrist are found in the same letter.

"We ourselves do not administer the sacraments to the people—they are Papists [Latin, members of Antichrist] who do this; but we explain to them as well as we can the spiritual meaning of the sacraments. We exhort them not to put their trust in anti-Christian ceremonies, and to pray that if they be compelled to see and hear the abominations of anti-Christ, it may not be imputed to them as a sin, but that such sort of abominations may soon be confounded to make room for truth, and that the Word of God may be spread abroad. Besides, we absolutely forbid our people to swear. All dancing is prohibited, and, generally speaking, all kinds of games, except the practice of the bow or other arms. Neither do we tolerate vain and lascivious songs, delicate clothing, whether striped or checked, or cut after the latest fashion. Our people are generally simple folk, peasants, having no other resource but agriculture, dispersed by persecution in numbers of places very distant from each other."⁶⁸

VI. The Treatise on Antichrist

The exact date of this treatise cannot be established; it bears no date in the text. The year 1120 was assigned, first by Perrin and then by Leger, in this wise: The treatise was received by Perrin in the same book or packet with a *Confession of Faith*, and certain other documents, with the general date "1120" affixed by the collector. But the affixing of a single date to several undated manuscripts is not, of course, determinative.

⁶⁸ Translated in Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 292, 293. It is to be noted, that this was the situation of the remnant in Piedmont at the time of contact with the Reformers, after severe persecutions. There are accounts of Waldensian celebration of the Eucharist. Either this had been restricted to meetings of ministers, or the practice had been discontinued in Morel's time.

The absence of an exact date does not affect its genuineness, for its author does not claim to be writing in 1120. There are, however, three accompanying tracts—on purgatory, invocation of saints, and the sacraments—which are obviously of later date, for they refer to a thirteenth-century work.⁶⁹

In this treatise the spirit of false Christianity manifest in the papal church is none other than the Beast and Babylon, predicted by Daniel and John, and therefore the great Antichrist—Paul's Mystery of Iniquity—not an individual infidel Jew as Antichrist. The principle which grew into the papal system, in its "infancy" in apostolic times, had now grown to the full stature of the Man of Sin, the Mystery of Iniquity, which could not in earlier centuries be so easily discerned, for it was at first only a "falling away."

The Man of Sin had not yet fully developed when, under Constantine, the church was elevated by the state; nor even when, under Justinian, the Roman bishop was recognized as head of all the churches. But at the time when the Papacy was waxing most powerful, from the days of Hildebrand, who exalted himself to be head of the nations as well, the worldliness and corruption in the hierarchy were matched by the loss of faith in the church, the rising chorus of protest, and the cry for a return to evangelical poverty and simplicity.

What ecclesiastics saw from within the church with more or less haziness, the Waldenses saw from without with crystal clarity. The wonder would have been if they had remained blind to a fulfillment of prophecy so plain and palpable that even men within the apostate church recognized it. Such a treatise was therefore to be logically expected. Both Waldenses and Albigenses agreed that the church of Rome was the whore of Babylon designated in the Apocalypse, as we have seen from several sources.

1. ANTICHRIST STIGMATIZED AS FALSEHOOD AND DECEIT.—
The opening words of the treatise comprise an unsparing

⁶⁹ Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-373; Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 363, 364.

description of his character as falsehood or hypocrisy in the church:

"*Antichrist* is a Falshood worthy of eternal Damnation, covered over with a shew of Truth, and of the Righteousness of *Christ*; and his Spouse, contrary to the way of Truth, Righteousness, Faith, Hope, and Charity, as likewise to moral Life, and to the ministerial Truth of the Church, administred by the false Apostles, and resolutely upheld by the one and the other Arm of Secular and Ecclesiastical Power; or else we may say, *Antichrist* is a Deceit which hides the Truth of Salvation in substantial and ministerial matters; or, that it is a disguised contrariety to *Christ* and his Spouse, and every faithfull member thereof."⁶⁰

2. PAPAL CHURCH FULFILLMENT OF PROPHETIC PREDICTIONS.—*Antichrist* is declared to be not an individual but a whole system, as the whole congregation of hypocritical ministers and laity, described under the symbols of Daniel, Paul, and John. Here is the remarkable identification:

"And so it is not any one particular person, ordained to such a Degree, Office, or Ministry, it being considered universally; but it is *Falshood* it self, in opposition to the *Truth*, covering and adorning it self with a pretence of Beauty and Piety, not sutable to the Church of *Christ*, as by the Names, and Offices, the Scriptures, the Sacraments, and many other things may appear. Iniquity thus qualified with all the Ministers thereof great and small, together with all them that follow them, with an evil heart, and blindfold; such a Congregation comprised together, is that which is called *Antichrist* or *Babylon*, or the *fourth Beast*, or the *Whore*, or the *Man of Sin*, the *Son of perdition*."⁶¹

3. MUST EMBODY COMBINED SPECIFICATIONS OF PROPHECY.—After listing the various Biblical expressions that describe the papal clergy and the worldly character of the false church, the treatise declares that *Antichrist* must embody the combined specifications of prophecy.

"*Antichrist* could not come in any wise, but all these forementioned things must needs meet together, to make up a complete hypocrisie and falshood, *viz.* the worldly wise men, the Religious Orders, the Pharisees, Ministers, Doctours, the Secular Power, with the worldly people joyntly together. And thus all of them together make up the Man of sin and error completely."⁶²

⁶⁰ *Of Antichrist* (sometimes known as *Qual cosa sia l'Antechrist*), translated in Morland, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 143.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 143 (see also p. 158); Leger, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁶² Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

4. HAS GROWN FROM EARLY EMBRYO TO FULL-GROWN MAN.—Existing only in embryo in apostolic days, and so lacking parts and facilities, he later grew to full age.

“Although that *Antichrist* was conceived already in the Apostles time, yet being but in his infancy as it were, he wanted his inward and outward members; . . . he wanted yet those hypocritical Ministers, and humane Ordinances, and the outward shew of those Religious Orders. . . . he wanted the secular strength and power, and could not force nor compell any from the truth unto falshood. And because he wanted many things yet, therefore he could not defile or scandalize any by his deceits, and thus, being so weak and tender, he could obtain no place in the Church. But growing up in his Members, that is to say, in his blinde and dissembling Ministers, and in worldly Subjects, he at length became a complete man, grew up to his full age, to wit, then when the lovers of the world in Church and State, blinde in faith, did multiply in the Church, and get all the power into their hands.”⁶³

5. MAN OF SIN LONG SEATED IN THE CHURCH.—After referring to Antichrist’s defrauding of God and of “Christ as Mediator,” fostering idolatry, and stirring hate and violence against “those that love the truth,” the treatise sets forth Antichrist as having already fulfilled Paul’s specifications of the Man of Sin—and not still to be waited for:

“According to the Apostle we may truly say, This is that man of sin complete, that lifts up himself against all that is called God, or worshipped, and that setteth himself in opposition against all truth, sitting down in the Temple of God, that is in his Church, and shewing forth himself as if he were God, being come with all manner of deceivableness for those that perish. And since he is truly come, he must no longer be looked for; for he is grown old already by God’s permission.”⁶⁴

6. CITY OF BABYLON ALREADY SUFFERING FROM DIVISION.—This treatise declares that Antichrist “begins even to decay, and his power and authority is abated” by “divers persons of good dispositions, sending abroad a power contrary to his,” and that God “puts division into that City of *Babylon*, wherein the whole generation of Iniquity doth prevail and reign.”⁶⁵

7. ATTACKS TRUTH AND PERSECUTES SAINTS.—Enumerat-

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 145.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146; Leger, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁶⁵ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

ing the "works" of Antichrist as taking away the truth, changing it into falsehood, and covering falsehood with a semblance of truth, the treatise *Of Antichrist* charges that this "perfect and complete" wickedness surpasses any other power up to the "time of Antichrist," and is Christ's most effective enemy, oppressing the true church.

"The holy Mother the Church with her true Children, is altogether troden under foot, especially in the Truth, and in what concerneth the true worship in the Truth, and the Ministry, and the exercise thereof, . . . the holy Church is accounted a Synagogue of Miscreants, and the Congregation of the Wicked is esteemed the Mother of them, that rightly believe in the Word. Falshood is preached up for Truth, Iniquity for Righteousness, Injustice passeth for Justice, Error for Faith, Sin for Virtue, and Lyes for Verity."⁶⁶

8. ROBS GOD, CHRIST, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT.—Antichrist robs God of "the worship properly due to God alone." He "robs and bereaves *Christ* of His Merits"—of grace, justification, regeneration, remission, and sanctification. He "attributes the Regeneration of the Holy Spirit unto the dead outward work." He puts forth the mass and a "patchwork" of Jewish, heathenish, and Christian ceremonies. He parades works and resorts to simony. Then follow the seventh and eighth works:

"The seventh Work of *Antichrist* is, that he doth not govern nor maintain his Unity by the Holy Spirit, but by Secular Power, and maketh use thereof to effect spiritual matters.

"The eighth Work of the *Antichrist* is, that he hates, and persecutes, and searcheth after, dispoils and destroys the Members of Christ."⁶⁷

9. ELECT OF GOD STILL IN ANTICHRIST'S BABYLON.—Then are enumerated the devices by which Antichrist's true character is concealed—plausible confession of faith, antiquity of succession, extent of control, apostolic authority, outward holiness, writings of the ancients, and the authority of councils. Consequently, many of God's elect are still in Babylon.

"The Elect of God, that desire and do that which is good, are detained there, as in *Babylon*; and are like unto Gold, wherewith the wicked *Antichrist* doth cover his Vanity, not suffering them to serve God alone,

⁶⁶ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

nor to put all their hope in *Christ* alone, nor to embrace the true Religion.”⁶⁸

10. CHRISTIANS BOUND TO SEPARATE FROM ANTICHRIST.—Antichrist covers his “lying wickedness” lest he be “rejected as a Pagan,” under which he acts his villanies, which necessitates separation.

“Now it is evident, as well in the *Old*, as in the *New Testament*, that a *Christian* stands bound, by express Command given him, to separate himself from *Antichrist*. For, the Lord saith, *Isai* 52. Withdraw, withdraw your selves, go forth thence, touch no unclean thing, go forth from the midst of her; cleanse your selves, ye that bear the Vessels of the Lord.”⁶⁹

11. CALLED TO JOIN HOLY CITY OF JERUSALEM.—Then follow parallel texts from *Jeremiah* 50 (“flee out of *Babylon*, and come out of the land of the *Chaldeans*”), *Leviticus* 20 (“separated you from the rest of the nations”), *Exodus* 34 (“Make no friendship [or alliance]”), and others. Many references are cited from the *New Testament*, climaxing with *Revelation* 18 (“*O my people*, come forth out of her, and be not partakers of her sins”). Then follows this paragraph:

“Also the Lord commands our separating from him, and joyning our selves with the holy City of *Jerusalem*: therefore knowing such things, the Lord having revealed them unto us by his Servants, and believing this Revelation according to the holy Scriptures, and being admonished by the Commandments of the Lord, we do both inwardly and outwardly depart from *Antichrist*, because we know him to be the same; and we keep company and unity one with another, freely and uprightly, having no other intent and purpose but purely and singly to please the Lord, and to be saved: and by the Lords help, we joyn our selves to the Truth of *Christ* and his Spouse.”⁷⁰

12. IMPELLED BY CONSCIOUSNESS OF TWOFOLD TRUTH.—Declaring it essential to set down the causes of the separation and the “kinde of Congregation” they themselves have in contrast, the treatise declares separation is for “the real Truths sake of the Faith.” Then follows a statement of evangelical faith in the Triune God, salvation through Christ, the communion

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 154, 155.

of saints, the ministering of pastors to congregations in convenient place and time, and the preaching of the Word of the gospel. Next comes a list of the errors and impurities of Antichrist, who "hath reigned a good while already in the church 'by Gods permission.'" This is accompanied by an extensive catalogue of Antichrist's evil teachings and practices that well covers the range of Catholicism, climaxing with the religious orders and rules. Here is the "fourth Iniquity":

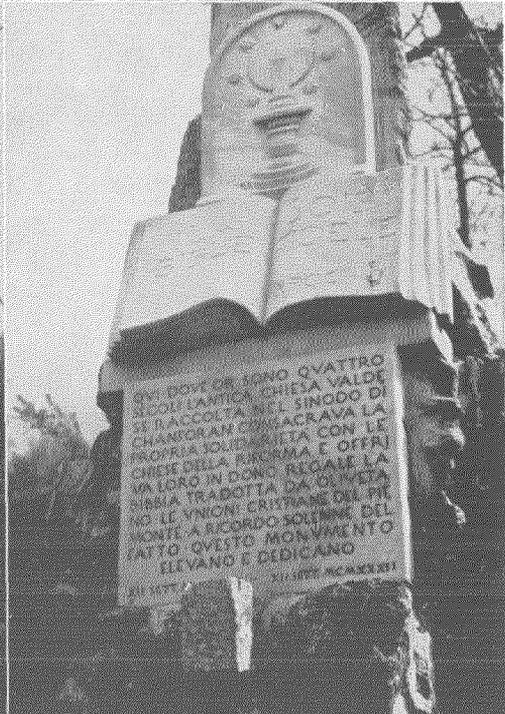
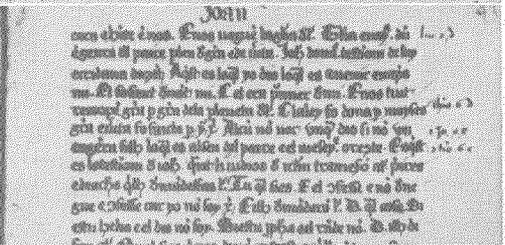
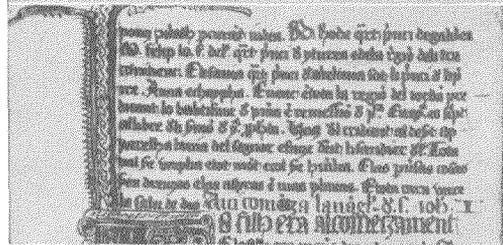
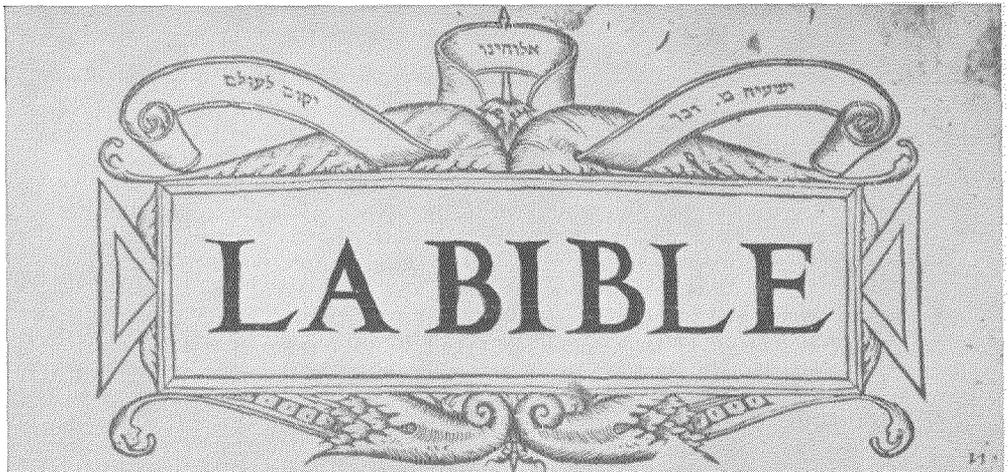
"The fourth Iniquity of *Antichrist* is, that notwithstanding his being the *fourth Beast* formerly described by Daniel, and the *Whore of the Revelation*, he nevertheless adorns himself with the Authority, Power, Dignity, Ministry, Offices, and the Scriptures, and makes himself equal with the true and holy Mother the Church, wherein Salvation is to be had ministerially, and no where else."⁷¹

What an amazingly comprehensive and balanced statement of the prophetic platform of the ostracized Wilderness Church! It is interesting to note that the Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century, in the full glory of evangelical light, expressed similar views. And the seventeenth-century British investigators like Morland, and leaders like Cromwell and Milton, whose attention was called to the Waldensians by their persecutions, openly agreed with them that the Papacy is the prophesied Antichrist of Daniel, Paul, and John. Two extracts must suffice to indicate how Morland shared their prophetic views:

"That this is the *Desart whither the woman fled* when she was persecuted by the *Dragon with seven heads and ten horns*. And where she had a place prepared of God, that they should feed her one thousand two hundred and sixty daies: That here it was that the Church fed, and where she made her Flocks to rest at noon, in those hot and scorching seasons of the nine and tenth Centuries; Then it may be thou wilt begin to believe with me, that it was in the clefts of these Rocks, and in the secret places of the stairs of these Valleys of *Piemont*, that the *Dove of Christ* then remained, where also the *Italian Foxes* then began to spoil the Vines with their tender Grapes, although they were never able utterly to destroy or pluck them up by the roots."⁷²

"This little flock of Christ in the Valleys of *Piemont*, by reason of

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 159; Leger, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
⁷² Morland, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. vi, vii.



WALDENSIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE REFORMATION

Part of Title Page of Bible Translated Into French in 1535, the Waldensian Gift to the Reformation (Upper); Portion of Pages of Manuscript of Gospel of John, Copied in the Medieval Language of the Waldenses (Center); Monument in the Angrogna Valley Commemorating the Meeting at Chamforans, in 1532, Between the Emissaries of the New Reformation Movement and the Waldenses (Lower Left); Close-up Showing the Insigne of the Waldenses (Lower Right)

the remoteness and obscurity of their Country, and habitations (adding thereto the natural *genius* of those plain and simple people, which was not at all to effect high things) did for many *Centuries* together, peaceably enjoy, or at least preserve amongst them the purity of that Doctrine which was left them by *Christ* and his *Apostles*; and therefore when once the *seaven horn'd beast rising out of the bottomless pit*, began to shew it self in the world, and corruption to be foisted into the Church by the *Roman* Clergy, those *true Nathaniels*, could by no means drink down such abominations, but did with all their might resist and oppose the same, and that oft times, even unto blood; and upon this account, and this alone, was it, that they became first the objects of their enemies' hatred, and afterwards the subjects of their *Antichristian* fury."⁷³

An idealized picture of primitive purity amid degeneration and corruption? Perhaps. But it is not too much to say that the Waldensian witness in the face of torture and death stands in luminous contrast to the murky darkness of papal misconception and intolerance. Most appropriate were the Waldensian insigne—the lighted candle in the midst of the seven stars—and their motto, *Lux Lucet in Tenebris* (Light Shines in Darkness). This is what we would expect; it is what we find. And it was the twofold consciousness of the all-sufficiency of Christ and the ominous character of Antichrist that held the Waldenses on their course in the face of mounting persecution, and impelled them to witness to this twofold truth, even if it meant the sacrifice of life itself.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

Summing Up the Evidence of Volume I

In surveying so many centuries, from Old Testament prophecy to the Renaissance, this volume has necessarily hurried the reader by forced marches over too vast a territory to permit a proper perspective of the route that has led to the present point of vantage. After the journey from day to day through the underbrush of details, over rough trails, across plains where sometimes the track fades to almost invisible marks, up one path and then down another, we must look back to view the picture as a whole from the eminence on which we stand, and trace the towering peaks, the dark valleys, and the landmarks which show us the course of the trail from the beginning of the journey.

We have seen, to begin with, that prophecy is not simply a magic formula by which to foreknow or forecast coming events; it is a speaking for God. Sometimes the message from God involves no foretelling at all; sometimes it is of specific and immediate application. Sometimes it is an inspired preview, in miniature, of major events in the divine plan of the ages, or the advance schedule of the master plan of redemption in action, centering around the two epochal advents of Christ: the first, which provides the divine sacrifice for sin and assures the redemption of man; and the second, which is to bring the plan of redemption to completion by the resurrection of the righteous dead and the translation of the righteous living, the

eradication of sin and the inauguration of the reign of righteousness forevermore.

I. Early Church Positions on Daniel¹

1. THE SEQUENCE OF KINGDOMS.—Daniel's master prophecies, in chapters 2 and 7, set forth a basic outline of prophecy from his day onward until the consummation of all things at the end of the age. Starting with the Neo-Babylonian Empire, they outline a series of four world powers from Daniel's day onward, the fourth kingdom to be superseded by a division into numerous smaller kingdoms, ever quarreling among themselves. In the seventh chapter appears a new element of persecution by a religio-political power—a power among the kingdoms which persecutes the people of God. But both chapters end with the everlasting kingdom of God, set up after the destruction of the earthly kingdoms and the judgment.

These earlier positions of the grand outline persisted in the church through the centuries—the four world powers of Daniel 2 and 7 (and the last three of the four empires in chapters 8 and 11), then the breakup of the Roman fourth, to be followed by the cruel dominance of Antichrist, and that in turn by the beneficent reign of Christ. Even the antecedent and paralleling Jewish interpretation holds to the same four empires, the division of the fourth, and finally the establishment of the Messianic kingdom forever.

In the outline prophecies Daniel does not give the identity of each nation in the line of the great empires of prophecy, but he does identify the first in the series as Babylon. With the first one established the sequence can easily be determined, and the book elsewhere actually names Persia and Greece as the second and third world powers succeeding Babylon. There can be no mistake on the first three. So only the fourth, in chronological sequence, is left to ascertain, and certainly no guesswork is necessary to find the dominating world power

¹ See pages 455 ff. for a summary and charts of the early period.

which succeeded Alexander's. The universal interpretation of the early church identified Rome as the fourth. With the breakup of the fourth into multiple nations comes the Little Horn, rising among the divided successors of the Roman Empire. It is a political power, like the rest of the horns, with a look "more stout than his fellows," and the strength to prevail against them; yet it is "diverse from the rest," for it is also a religious power, concerned with the times, laws, and people of the Most High, speaking great words against God and persecuting godly people.

And to this day the main points of divergence and conflict between Protestant and Roman Catholic prophetic interpretation are, first, the identity of that Antichristian Little Horn of Daniel 7, and the passages that parallel it, and the time and length of its reign—whether literal or prophetic time; and second, the nature of the kingdom of God—the time of its establishment and the nature, circumstances, and results of that establishment.

2. THE TIME PERIODS OF DANIEL.—The fixed starting point of this series in Daniel 2 and 7 is indisputably established as Babylon. But Babylon was superseded by Persia, and Daniel's later prophecies—recorded in chapters 8, 9, and 11—all obviously start with Persia. And the connected time prophecies all fit into the master outline prophecies against this background, such as the seventy weeks of Daniel 9, applying to the Jews before Christ, and recognized by them as weeks of years.

Thus the foundations of Daniel's great outline, and the year-day principle of the great time prophecies, as laid down by Daniel and subsequent Hebrew leaders, were carried over into the Christian church, becoming its priceless heritage, though likewise held by a paralleling line of Jewish expositors extending over the Christian Era.

But the 1260-, 1290-, 1335-, and 2300-day periods of Daniel 7, 8, 9, 11, and 12, and corresponding periods in the Apocalypse were not yet regarded as years in the early church. They would not have thought such long periods possible, for time was fore-

shortened to the gaze of the early churchmen, who expected the end of all things soon. The extension of the year-day principle to these other periods could not have occurred until such datings would seem to be within possibility, but eventually it was inevitably so extended by Joachim and his followers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The oft-repeated 1260 days, and the 1290-, 1335-, and 2300-day periods come sharply into view just at the close of Volume I, and there are also included the lesser periods of the ten year-days of Smyranean persecution, the five months, the hour, day, month, and year of Revelation 8 and 9, and also the three and a half days of Revelation 11.

3. CONTEMPORARY RECOGNITION OF FULFILLMENT.—Jesus said, "When it is come to pass, ye may believe." Perhaps one of the most conspicuous lessons of all prophetic testimony through the years is the contemporary recognition, or interpretation, of each major epoch or event in the prophetic outline *at the very time of fulfillment*.² The 70 weeks were accepted by the early church as a period of years fulfilled in connection with Christ's first advent. Rome was recognized as the fourth empire of Daniel's outline prophecies, as a present reality, and the next stage was looked for in the breakup of the empire. Rome's identity as the fourth empire was discerned during her rule not merely by one or two individuals but by a chorus of widely distributed voices, diversified and continuous. The testimony of these witnesses was set forth in various languages—Latin, Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew—and was spread all the way from Africa in the south to Britain in the north, and from Gaul in the west to Syria in the east. Then Jerome records the breaking up of the empire, although the picture is incomplete, and Sulpicius Severus sees the clay being mixed with iron. This phenomenon—the announcement of contemporary fulfillment—repeats itself again and again. That is the clear, composite testimony of the early centuries.

² See page 144.

II. Prophecies of Revelation Belatedly Expounded³

1. CONSTITUTES THE COMPLEMENT TO DANIEL.—The Apocalypse, written centuries later, came gradually to be seen to constitute the complement of the earlier prophecies of Daniel, amplifying the details of the career of the Roman fourth empire in the prophetic series, and spanning the Christian Era from the first to the second advent, emphasizing particularly the events of the latter days.

2. SAME CHARACTERISTICS OF REPETITION IN TIME APPEAR.—And, as in Daniel, the same characteristic of repetitive lines begins to appear in the interpretation of Revelation—these seven churches representing the church in general, but the seven seals apparently spanning the Christian Era, and the seven trumpets and vials repeating each other, as seen by Victorinus.

The dragon of Revelation 12 was commonly accepted as pagan Rome—the fourth in the series of four world powers of Daniel. The first three had come and gone, and the powerful fourth kingdom in the series was now ruling with an iron hand, to be followed by the emergence of the Antichrist, whoever he would be. The woman in white, of Revelation 12, was commonly understood as representing the pure church, and the unchaste woman in scarlet, of Revelation 17, Rome. The Beast of Revelation 13 was generally regarded as one of the multiple symbols of Antichrist that would cruelly persecute the saints. On these points there is essential unity.

3. THE CONTROVERSY OVER CHILIASM.—It was chiefly around chiliasm—the doctrine of a thousand-year reign of the saints with Christ on earth after His second advent—that the conflict raged.⁴ The extravagance, grossness, and materializing of the interpretation by many of the chiliasts caused the Apocalypse itself to be temporarily discredited. Consequently the exposition of the outline prophecies of the Apocalypse was tardy

³ See pages 458, 459.

⁴ See pages 301-308, 324-326.

in development, but during the early medieval period it began to receive much careful attention, and the sevenfold outline was minutely worked out from the time of Joachim onward.

According to the belief of the early church, the millennium is a thousand-year transition period in the process of earth's restoration, consequent upon the second advent, and in turn succeeded by the everlasting state.

That some in early, as in modern, times abused the doctrine of the millennium, does not vitiate the fact that it was for centuries the common faith of the primitive church in its purest days. Reflecting the concepts of the age, some extreme chiliasts taught that the first resurrection was followed by a thousand years of eating, drinking, and being merry on earth in an unregenerated state. But the name "chiliasts," simply derived from "thousand years," was indiscriminately applied to both extremists and moderates. The doctrine of a millennium after the first resurrection must not be denied as an early Christian belief because perverted by some of its friends and grossly misrepresented by its enemies.

4. RELATIONSHIP OF MILLENNIAL PERIOD TO ADVENT.—

The early church followed the Apocalypse when it regarded the thousand years as that measure of time dividing the great events of a vast transition period, lying between the close of the present dispensation and the eternal ages to come, but made mistakes in the nature of the event. The *beginning* was to be marked by four events: (a) The first resurrection, of the blessed and holy dead, at the second advent. (b) Satan bound, shut up, and sealed for a thousand years. (c) The nations deceived no more till the thousand years are finished. (d) Thrones and judgment given to the saints.

The *close* of the thousand years is similarly marked by a corresponding quartet of events: (a) The resurrection of the rest of the dead, the wicked, after the thousand years are finished. (b) Satan loosed when the thousand years are expired. (c) The nations of the resurrected again deceived by false prospects. (d) The camp of the beloved city compassed about.

Evidently certain events, combined in one and the same scene in Daniel's general outline, were by the same revealing Spirit sundered one thousand years apart in the amplified visions of John, which opened a new and expanded vista.

But the chiliasts went beyond Revelation 20 to apply to the millennium a number of unrelated Old Testament texts; also many of them added certain elements derived from non-Christian sources concerning a fabulous golden age of carnal and material prosperity which disgusted the expositors who were seeking a spiritual or allegorical meaning for the prophecy. Indeed, the cruder concepts of extreme chiliasm, based unconsciously on Jewish and pagan traditions, reacted, with the opposite philosophical and allegorical tendency also derived from outside Christianity, to cause all belief in a future millennium to be labeled heresy and to hasten the trend toward allegorizing the Scriptures. Although the doubts concerning the Apocalypse were neither universal nor permanent, the anti-millenarian reaction led to the most far-reaching prophetic departures from the early church position. These trends are visualized in the two tabular charts on pages 894-897.

III. The Tichonius-Augustine Influence

1. THE MILLENNIUM SHIFTED TO FIRST ADVENT.—In the time of Tichonius and Augustine the resurrection was spiritualized, the prophecies allegorized, the kingdom materialized into the established church. And now the devil's binding for a thousand years was declared to have been a historical accomplishment some four centuries previous—an entirely new and revolutionary concept, the third and last of the great steps in departure from the earlier concept of the church. Augustine's enunciation of the Tichonian view became the standard Roman Catholic thesis—that the millennium began at the first advent, instead of being yet to commence at the second advent; that the first resurrection is spiritual (of souls dead in sin raised to spiritual life); and that the kingdom of God is already es-

EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL

No.	Name	Date	Page	Dan. 2				Dan. 7					Judgment Kgd.-God
				4 Metals	Feet & Toes	Stone Kgdms.	Time	4 Beasts	10 Horns	3 Horns	Lit. Horn	3½ Yrs.	
1	Augustine	d. 430	604	(B-P-G-R)				B-P-G-R	Kingdoms		Antichrist	3½ Yrs.	Eter. Kgdms.
2	Gregory I	7th Cent.	520	(B-P-G-R)	Multi. Kgdms.	Cath. Ch. Church	Present	B-P-G-R			Antichrist		
3	Andreas	7th Cent.	570	(B-P-G-R)				B-P-G-R			Antichrist (Antichrist)		
4	"Sargis d'Aberga"	7th Cent.	573	B-P-G-R				B-P-G-R	Divisions		False Messiah		Judge All Men
5	Walafrid	d. 849	551	(B-P-G-R)				B-P-G-R			Antichrist		
6	Venerable Bede	d. 735	611	(B-P-G-R)		Church		B-P-G-R			Antichrist		
7	Nahawendi *	8-9th Cent.	11, 196					(B-P-G)-R	Listed				
8	Haymo	d. 853	554	(B-P-G)-R				B-P-G-R					
9	Berengaud	9th Cent.	580	(B-P-G)-R			Mess. Kgdms.	B-P-G-R					
10	Eliezer *	8-9th Cent.	11, 199	B-P-G-R				B-P-G-R					
11	Saadia *	d. 942	11, 200	B-P-G-Gog				B-P-G-Gog	10 Kings		Cruel King		
12	Jehoram *	10th Cent.	11, 201										
13	Hakohen *	10th Cent.	11, 202										
14	Jepheth Ibn Ali *	10th Cent.	11, 206	B-P-G-R	Rome & Arabs	Mess. Kgdms.		B-P-G-R	10 Thrones		Mohamm. Titus	=1335 Yrs.	
15	Rashi *	d. 1105	11, 210	B-P-G-R	Divisions	Mess. Kgdms.		B-P-G-R	10 Rom. Kgdms.				
16	Abraham bar Hiyya *	d. 1136	11, 211	B-P-G-(R)	Rome & Ishm.	Mess. Kgdms.		B-P-G-(R)	10 Kings		Titus		
17	Abraham Ibn Ezra *	d. 1167	11, 212					B-P-G-R					
18	Rupert of Deutz	12th Cent.	566					B-P-G-R					
19	Bernard (Clairvaux)	d. 1153	636	B-P-G-R				B-P-G-R	10 Div.	3 Kings	Antichrist	3½ Yrs.	Saints Exalted
20	Peter Comastor	d. 1178	653	B-P-G-R	Divisions	Kgdms.-God	Future	B-P-G-R	10 Kgdms.	3 Kgdms.	Antichrist	3½ Yrs.	
21	Thomas Aquinas	d. 1274	656	B-P-G-R				B-P-G-R			Antichrist		
22	Joachim of Floris	d. 1202	692	BP-G-R-Sar.	Final. Kgdms.	Heavenly	Future	Jews, Romans, Arians, Saracens	Fut. Kgdms.		Antichrist, Not Antiochus	1260 Yrs.	
23	"De Semine"	c. 1205	719								Antichrist		
24	Pseudo-Joachim Comm.	c. 1248	725								Antichrist		
25	Arnold of Villanova	1292	749				(Proclaims 2300 Year-Days to Evening of This Age and Mornng of Next.)						
26	Pierre Jean d'Olivi	d. 1298	764										
27	Ubertino of Casale	1305	778									1260 Yrs.	
28	Eberhard II (Salzburg)	d. 1246	796					(B-P-C)-R	Listed	Named	Papacy		
29	Waldenses	12 Cent.	860					4th=Rom. Ch.					

* Jewish expositors treated in Volume II

The accompanying tabular charts, like those for the first four centuries appearing on pages 456 to 459, present a composite, panoramic view of fundamental prophetic exposition in these more complex and difficult centuries of the early Middle Ages. Careful comparison with prior and subsequent interpretation is thus made possible, and developing trends, indicative of things to come, can clearly be seen. Sound general appraisals can consequently be made.

Read *horizontally*, the chart affords a comprehensive sweep of each expositor's positions at a glance. Read *vertically*, it gives the sum total of the evidence presented from major expositors in this period, on a given point. Progressive or retrogressive trends can be traced.

The same obvious abbreviations are employed: "B-P-G-R" for Babylon, Persia, Grecia, and Rome; "P-G" for Persia and Grecia; "Kgdms." for kingdom; "Per." for period; "Ch." for church; "Chr." for Christian; "Pag." for pagan; "Fr." for from; "AC" or "Antichr." for Antichrist; also, "Sar." for Saracens; "Ishmael" for Ishmael; "Iniq." for iniquitous; "Apos." for apostasy; "Rep. Rome" for Republican Rome.

The centuries covered by the accompanying tabulations form the connecting link between the early church exposition of the past and the pre-Reformation and Reformation positions to come, which are the full and logical outgrowth of the Joachim breakaway from the dominant positions of these obscure Middle Ages. The fundamental pattern of prophetic interpretation was but slowly changed during the course of these connecting centuries. But the trend was inexorable.

For hundreds of years prior to Joachim, the prophetic interpretation of Daniel was largely static; and with the Tichonian-Augustinian innovation ascendant

established as the present Roman Catholic Church. The thousand years Augustine saw as either the sixth thousand years of the world, or the indefinite period of the Christian Era.

2. ECLIPSE OF HISTORICAL VIEW OF PROPHECY.—While the early church positions on Daniel were preserved in Jerome's commentary, which was regarded as the ultimate during the early medieval period, they were virtually nullified by the

EXPOSITORS OF DANIEL (For Revelation, See Next Opening)

Notable Horn	Dan. 8	Dan. 9			Dan. 11	Dan. 12		Paul		
	Exceeding Great Horn	2300 Days	70 Weeks	Last Week	Cross	Abomination	1290 Dys.	1335 Dys.	Hinderer	Man-Sin
			To Cross						Rome (?)	Apostasy in Ch. Antichrist
			69 Wks. to Chr.							
			475 Solar Yrs.	Bap. Midst	At End		Literal	To Advent To 2d Advent	Rome or Ch.	Antichrist Antichrist
		2300 Yrs.					Yrs. to 1358 Antichrist d.	+ 45 Days		Corpus Diaboli
		2300 Yrs. + 2	490 Yrs. Fr. Exile Years				1290 Yrs. 1290 Yrs.	1335 Yrs. 1335 Yrs.		
	Mohammedanism	2300 Yrs. Literal Yrs. +	Sabbatical Yrs. to Titus 490 Yrs.				1290 Yrs. Literal Yrs. From C.E. 62	Literal Yrs. to Mess.		
		Yrs. to 1468 Uncertain	Wks. of Sabbatical Yrs. 490 Yrs.				Yrs. to 1358 Uncertain	Yrs. to 1403 Uncertain		
	Antiochus & Antichr.	Literal	475 Solar Yrs.		At End	Antichrist	3½ Yrs.			Antichrist Antichrist
Alexander	Antichrist	23 Centuries (From Daniel's Time, Ending in 16th Century.)				==Popes		Hazy		Antichr. Rom, Beast
(2300 Yrs. From Daniel to End	in 15th Cent.) Yrs. to c.2000 Yrs. to c.2000		Yrs. to Christ Wks. of Yrs.	Fall of Jer.		==Antichrist	Yrs. to Antichr. =1260 Yrs. =1260 Yrs.	Yrs. (From 46 Yrs. After Cross to 14th Cent.) Yrs. to 7th State		Pseudo Pope
										Papacy Papal Church

there were few new advances in the exposition of Revelation. Shortly before Joachim new ideas began to appear, and the breakaway gradually followed.

For Daniel, the same basic series of the four world powers holds for chapters 2 and 7, with the reign of the Roman church as the ever present kingdom of God. Diversity of view obtained over the identity of the Little Horn, but even so, it generally stood for Antichrist, whoever that was or would be. Paul's Man of Sin was likewise this Antichrist.

The understanding of the seventy weeks as years continued unchanged. The extension of the year-day principle to the longer prophetic periods, a gradual though natural and logically sound development, was first projected by six Jewish expositors before Joachim (inserted here in chronological order from Volume II). From the basic contention of the 1260 days as years, pioneered by Joachim in Christian exposition, the application of the year-day principle to the 1290, 1335, and 2300 days by his followers was only a matter of time.

The shift of view concerning Antichrist—from an individual, a Jew of the tribe of Dan, to the pope and to the papal system—was gradual but inevitable.

In the Apocalypse the scarlet woman of Revelation 17 was generally Rome in some form, and Babylon, finally ecclesiastical Rome. But the New Jerusalem was still the ever present church.

So these charts disclose a definite transition, which was in one sense a gradual turning back to the earlier church views, and in another a progression toward revolutionary positions. However, the breakaway from the overshadowing grip of the Augustinian millennium was but gradual, and was not completed in fact until long after the period covered by this volume.

Tichonian-Augustinian theory, and the previous allegorization of Origen, which together put the emphasis on the nonhistorical approach to the Scriptures. The Apocalypse was regarded as being fulfilled in principles rather than events. The kingdom of God was already set up, according to the official teaching of the church, and nothing remained before the final judgment but the brief reign of Antichrist. These emasculating,

EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD: LEADING POSITIONS OF PRINCIPAL

No.	Name	Date	Page	1 John 2:8	Rev. 2, 3	Rev. 6, 7	Rev. 8, 9	Rev. 11	Rev. 12	Child	
				Antichrist	7 Churches	7 Seals	7 Trumpets	2 Witnesses	Woman		
				(City of God vs. City of World)		(Recapitulation Theory Applied to Rev. 20) (Kgd. of God—Present Religio-Political Fact)		3½ Yrs.		Tr. Ch.	Members
1	Tichonius	I. c. 380	468	Devil-Possess							
2	Augustine	d. 430	546	Apostasy in Ch.							
3	Primasius	d. 560		From Dan							
4	Gregory I	d. 604	520	From Dan		(Antichrist Imminent—End Approaching)					
5	Andreas	7th Cent.	570	Fr. Euphrates		Christian Era				Church	
6	Beatus	8th Cent.	575	Priest-knight				(Saracens)			
7	Walafrid	d. 849	551	From Dan	Christian Era	Intro. Trumps.	1st 4 Past	Antichrist	3½ Yrs.	Church	Christ
8	Venerable Bede	d. 853	554	From Dan	To 2d Advent	Christian Era	Deflections	Antichrist		Church	
9	Haimo	d. 853	554	From Dan		6th Last Trib.		Antichrist		Church	
10	Berengaud	9th Cent.	580		Ch. in General	Creation to Gentile Era	Fr. Patriar.	Early Fath.	Martyrs	Chr. Ministers	3½ Yrs.
11	Aethas	d. 860	572	Fut. Emperor		(Follows Aethas in General)				Enoch & Elias	3½ Yrs.
12	Adso	d. 992	585	From Dan						Enoch & Elias	3½ Yrs.
13	Berengarius	d. 1088	649		(See of Rome Is	"Seat of Satan")					
14	Richard (St. Victor)	d. 1173	558		Cover Chr. Era	Christian Era		Christ. Era		Church	Christ
15	Bruno of Sagni	d. 1123	560		(Uses Haimo & Bede)	Apog. in Ch.				Church	Sons of Ch.
16	Anselm	d. 1158	563			Seven Eras	Heaven				
17	Rupert of Deutz	12th Cent.	566	Personal		(New Handling of Apoc.	Heaven			Church	
18	Robert Grosseteste	d. 1253	624	Papal System			Begins in O.T.)				
19	Bernard (Clairvaux)	d. 1153	636	Antipope (Also a Future Antichrist in Church)							
20	Peter Comestor	d. 1178	653							Virgin Mary	Christ
21	Albertus Magnus	d. 1280	654		(Jezebel= Mohammedanism)			Forerunners of Antichrist	Enoch & Elijah	3½ Yrs. Per. of AC	Ch. Vir. Mary
22	Thomas Aquinas	d. 1274	656	Jew From Bab.			(End)		Enoch & Elijah		
23	Innocent III	d. 1216	676					Christ. Era	Cathari	2 Orders of	(42 Months=
24	Joachim of Floris	d. 1202	692	Quasi Pope		Epochs of Chr. Era	O. T. Periods)	Christ. Era	(17th, Peace)	3d Age	3½ Times)
25	Pseudo-Joachim Comm.	c. 1248	725	Fred. etc.							
26	Arnold of Villanova	d. 1292	749	Future Person	Christian Era	Christian Era	Aft. 1290 Yrs.	(Antichrist	Comes Before 6th Seal)	Enoch & Elijah	3½ Yrs.
27	Pierre Jean d'Olivi	d. 1298	764	Roman Church			Jubilee	Christ. Era	Carnal Ch. Upset of Ch.	Enoch & Elijah	
28	Ubertino of Casale	d. 1305	778	Boniface VIII						Enoch & Elijah	(Francis & Dominic Also)
29	Eberhard II (Salzburg)	d. 1365	796	Papacy							(True Church Implied)
30	Waldenses	12 Cent.	860	Roman Church							

spiritualizing views tended to bring about not only a complete submission to the rule of the church as the rule of Christ but also a loss of further historical interpretation of prophecy in the events and sequences of the centuries.

These historical views begin to be revived only as we come to the forerunners of Joachim, and they were elaborated in Joachim's 1260 year-days and his seven historical periods based on the seven seals, et cetera, of Revelation. The thirteenth-century Joachimite school which followed him went beyond him in applying apocalyptic symbols to the church, and the contemporary bishop Eberhard saw the Papacy in the Antichrist. The historical interpretation of prophecy continued to thrive, particularly in schismatical and heretical circles, and passed into pre-Reformation and Protestant thinking.

Succinctly stated, the Christian Era up to the fourteenth century embraces three phases: (1) the early church teachings, (2) the subsequent deflection in the Tichonius-Augustine tradition, and (3) the medieval restoration of much that was lost. And to this were added new advances in prophetic interpretation, laying the foundation for the great advance to match the soon-coming Protestant Reformation days, when the floodlights of understanding began to be focused on the Scriptures, including the prophecies.

Discussion of the interpretation of Revelation 13 has been

EXPOSITORS ON REVELATION (For Daniel, See Preceding Opening)

Rev. 12 3½ Times		Rev. 13 2d Beast			666	Rev. 16 7 Vials	Woman	Rev. 17 Beast	Babylon	1000 Yrs.	Rev. 20 1st Res.	Events at Close	Rev. 21, 22 New Jerusalem
Satan Cast Down	350 Yrs. at 1st Adv.	Corpus Diaboli Ungodly City of World Antichrist	False Priests Antichrist (?) Simon Magus	1225 Days		World Ch. World Ch.		Roman Ch. City Rome	350 Yrs. Spans 2 Adv. Augustinian	Spiritual Spiritual Augustinian	Adv. A.D. 381 Antichr. 3½ Yrs.	Present Church Present Church	
Sat.=Rome		Antichrist	False Prophet	Iniq. Lamb	Antichr. Time	Rome	Antichrist		Augustinian Uncertain	Augustinian	Antichr. Appears Antichr. Appears		
Devil	3½ Yrs. 3½ Yrs.	Antichrist Corpus Diaboli Antichrist	Apostles of AC Antichrist Apostles of AC	Teitan Teitan		The Lost	Head=AC Head=AC		(Augustinian) Augustinian Aug. Era	Spiritual	Antichr. Comes	By Heavenly Grace	
		Infidel Antichr. Bab. (Saracens)	AC's Preachers	Unknown		Pap. Rome		Reprobate	Augustinian				
		Heathen (Head, AC) Antichrist	False Brethren						Uncertain		Uncertain		
Arianism									Non-Aug.				
Herod (Moon=Church)		Anti-pope											
Satan		Antichrist	AC's Preachers						Augustinian				
Devil	Indef. 1260 Yrs.= 42 Mos.	Mohammed (also Man of Sin & Antichrist) Combination of Dan.'s beast	False proph- ets AC	Years Since Mohammed Indef.	Cover Chr. Era Beast in Ch.	Rep. Rome	Same as Daniel's	Rep. Rome	Augustinian	Spiritual	Satan Loosed Gog & Magog	Present Church	Mt. Olives
Fred. etc.	1260 Yrs. 1260 Yrs.	Mohammed Secular Rulers	False Prelates	Image=Pseudopope	Beast in Rome	Rom. Ch.		Rom. Ch.	Satan Bound		Satan Loosed		
	1260 Yrs.	Boniface VIII Roman Church	Monks; Benedict	Benedict		Rom. Ch.		Papacy Roman Ch.					

deferred in order to combine the Beast with the Little Horn of Daniel 7 and the Man of Sin of Second Thessalonians, for these three prophecies, together with the Antichrist of John's epistle, were generally considered together as portrayals of the same persecuting power.

IV. Emphasis on Antichrist Occasioned by Multiple Prophetic Treatment

There was widespread identification of Antichrist with multiple symbols, figures, and terms, used by Daniel, Paul, and John. Long anticipated and feared, it was gradually identified with the religio-political Little Horn of Daniel 7, the Man of Sin, Mystery of Iniquity, and son of perdition of 2 Thessalonians 2, and with the Beast, and the Scarlet Woman, Babylon, of the Apocalypse.

I. ANTICHRIST IDENTIFIED WITH THREEFOLD PORTRAYAL.—The reasons for the acceptance of the descriptions of the Little Horn, the Beast, and the Man of Sin as a composite portrayal of the same power become clear when the parallels are tabulated as follows:

(1) *Source.*—The Little Horn grows out of the head of the ten-horned fourth Beast, which was overwhelmingly recognized as Rome; the Antichrist was identified as the last phase of the seven-headed Beast from the sea having also ten horns

like the Roman Beast of Daniel; the Man of Sin owes its rise to the removal of the hindering power likewise identified with Rome.

(2) *Time of Origin.*—The Little Horn comes up among the divided successors of the Roman “fourth kingdom”; the Beast receives his “power, and his seat, and great authority” from the dragon, which was identified as Satan working through pagan Rome; the Man of Sin is revealed after the fall of the hindering Roman Empire.

(3) *End.*—All three are destroyed at the second coming of Christ in the final judgment.

(4) *Religio-political Power.*—The Little Horn, rising as a kingdom among other kingdoms, is nevertheless “diverse” from the rest, for it is also religious, blaspheming God, exercising authority over the saints, times, and laws of the Most High; the Beast is a composite of Daniel’s beasts, which are kingdoms, and it wears crowns, but it also demands and receives worship; the Man of Sin is not mentioned in a political setting, but he is certainly a religious figure, demanding worship.

(5) *Blasphemous Presumption.*—The Little Horn has “a mouth that spake very great things,” “great words against the most High”; the Beast has “a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies”; the Man of Sin exalts himself against God.

(6) *Time of Dominance.*—The Little Horn is given power over the saints of the Most High “until a time and times and the dividing of time”; the Beast is given power “forty and two months.” Both these time periods are equated in Revelation 11 and 12 to 1260 prophetic days, or 1260 years on the year-day principle.

(7) *Warring Against God’s People.*—The Little Horn “made war with the saints, and prevailed against them”; to the Beast “it was given . . . to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him.”

(8) *Great Power.*—The Little Horn looks “more stout than his fellows,” and subdues three of them; the Beast is very powerful, for “who is able to make war with him?” and the

Man of Sin comes "with all power and signs and lying wonders."

(9) *Demands Divine Homage*.—The Little Horn sets himself over the saints, times, and laws of the Most High; the Beast causes multitudes to worship him, and the Man of Sin sets himself up as God, above all that is worshiped.

2. NON-CHRISTIAN IDEAS OF ANTICHRIST INCORPORATED.—The importance of these Antichrist prophecies to the church was occasioned not only by the threefold treatment but also by the fact that they were the next stage expected all through the period of this volume. The early church looked for the kingdom of Antichrist as the fifth of the great world-influencing powers of prophecy following the breakup of Rome. Its identification was not too clear, and unfortunately the non-Christian traditions⁵ which crept into the Antichrist concept were perpetuated for centuries.

The traditional idea of a Jewish tyrant, a monster, or a semi-demon persisted, in spite of the application to Antichrist of the prophecy of 2 Thessalonians 2, in which Paul, significantly, did not speak of a future political despot, as the Jews expected, but of a spiritual power, the result of apostasy. For in the early church the hindering power was recognized as the succession of Roman emperors, after whose removal the Man of Sin was to be revealed in connection with a falling away, or apostasy, whose beginning Paul could see already working—a mystery of iniquity which was to culminate in a man enthroned in the very temple of God, exalting himself as God and demanding homage due only to Deity.

But after all, it is not surprising that folklore should be stronger than Pauline theology during the Dark Ages, and Antichrist was a popular character in folklore. The fantastic tales of the pseudo-Methodius⁶ type can be traced throughout the Middle Ages. And so it was that one type of extra-Biblical elements which crept into Christian eschatology caused a re-

⁵ See pages 293 ff.

⁶ See pages 582 ff.



PAUL CUMMINGS, PHOTOGRAPHER

SECOND ADVENT PAINTING, HIDDEN FOR CENTURIES, RESTORED

This Ancient Painting of the Second Coming of Christ, Formerly in the Nave of the Penn Church at Bucks., England, Was Plastered Over and Long Forgotten. Hundreds of Years Passed Before It Was Rediscovered and Restored to Full View. Similarly, the Early Church Views on the Hope and Expectation of the Advent and the Kingdom of God Were Later Obscured and Well-nigh Forgotten. Centuries Passed. Then Men Again Discovered the Unfolding of Prophecy in the Course of Human Events, and Restored It to Its Rightful Prominence in the Church. Such is the Impressive Lesson of the Old Painting at Penn

vulsion against early millennialism, and another type perpetuated a warped idea of a fantastic future Antichrist.

V. Loss and Recovery of Historical View

1. INTERPRETATION REMAINS STATIC AFTER AUGUSTINE.—

We have seen how in the wake of Tichonius and Augustine prophetic interpretation became static. The exposition of Daniel stood just where Jerome had left it, and the understanding of the Apocalypse remained in a state of arrested development. The historical approach to the Apocalypse had been clearly indicated before Tichonius, but now men no longer looked to events for the fulfillment of the prophecies. The series of empires had already been passed, the stone kingdom of Daniel and the millennium of the Revelation were regarded

as already in progress, and there was nothing yet in sight to fulfill the popular concept of the terrible Antichrist and his hordes of Gog and Magog. Perhaps there were popular forebodings about the Mohammedans and the like, but the writers of prophetic exposition were following in the footsteps of Tichonius and largely ignoring the historical meaning for the allegorical and spiritual application.

Walafrid Strabo's *Glossa* in the ninth century (or perhaps even later, if Walafrid was not the author) enumerated the seven seals but only the mention of Antichrist under the sixth gives any hint of historical sequence; as was presented in the early church, here was a hint in the trumpets of successive periods, but the picture was not filled out. The *Glossa* was long quoted as authoritative. Haymo a little later followed the same scheme.

2. HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS DEVELOP GRADUALLY.—Then Berengaud, late in the ninth century, launched out a little further into historical interpretation when he made the seals, the trumpets, and the seven heads of the beast refer to periods beginning with the creation—a sort of harking back to Augustine's seven ages of the world—and he named and located the ten horn kingdoms as the already-existing divisions of Rome.

Otherwise prophetic interpretation slumbered on as before, until Arnulf, almost at the end of the tenth century, started the echoes with his Antichrist epithet flung at the pope. But silence fell again until the twelfth century, when things began to stir.

In half a century we find Bruno of Segni quoting Ezekiel's year-day principle for the three and one-half days of the Two Witnesses, Rupert of Deutz working out historical sequences (in the Old Testament again) for the seven heads and seven seals; the two Bernards pointing respectively to the present church as Babylon and a present papal claimant as Antichrist; Richard of St. Victor suggesting that the seven churches, seals, trumpets, et cetera, cover the Christian Era five times.

Then came Anselm of Havelberg, forerunner of Joachim's three ages, filling in Walafriid's outline with historical fulfillments. Before the century closed we have Joachim's three monumental works, which completed the reversal of the Tichonius-Augustine tradition and began the extension of the year-day principle and the historical view of prophecy, through which the next advances in prophetic interpretation were to come.

It is true that between Augustine and 1100 there had been some writer on prophecy in practically every century. But these, for the most part, merely reflected the departures from the early positions, introduced by Augustine, and added little to any understanding of the times. They were simply echoes.

3. THE DAWN OF PRE-REFORMATION VIEWS.—Thus we may say that in the twelfth century the early gray light that heralds the first approach of dawn appeared, following the somber black of the Dark Ages. Men began dimly to see again the faint outlines of larger prophetic truths that had now been shrouded in darkness for hundreds of years. Slowly the gleams of day appeared, a streak here and a streak there, as men still groped in the shadows and stumbled in their walk while anxiously awaiting the day. Familiar prophetic landmarks were seen again, looming hazily in the shadows. Details became clearer as the dusky gray turned to the early white light of day; and while the lowlands were yet in partial shadow, the earliest beams of the yet unseen sun began to touch the distant peaks with roseate hue in promise of the full sunlight yet to come. The night had passed and the early dawn of day had come.

Too much must not be expected of these men of the Middle Ages, living before even the gray light of the Renaissance had broken upon the world. All the greater honor, then, to such stalwarts whose spiritual restlessness sought out the revealing light of the Word on the times, and searched for a reliable understanding of their day. Their spirits chafed under the perverseness of the times and the corruptions of the church. To them the prophecies promised light and hope and understanding. Without the fuller perspective and knowledge of later

students of prophecy, some of them pointed the way ahead to clearer understanding.

So we enter the second epochal period of prophetic emphasis and exposition that was soon to expand and grow luminous under Wyclif and his pre-Reformation contemporaries in Britain, and under Milicz and Huss in Bohemia, and those who succeeded them, but which was to reach its fullness of influence, power, and glowing, guiding light only under the Reformation.⁷

VI. Joachim Traces Prophecy in History

Joachim's contribution lay more in the forces he set in motion than in his voluminous, involved, and fantastic exposition. Indeed, the end results of his influence were entirely different from what he would have wished, and the doctrines attached erroneously to his name by his followers carried more weight than his own genuine teachings.

1. PIONEER OF YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE.—Joachim as the first Christian writer applied the year-day principle to the 1260 days (though he was anticipated by Jewish expositors over some three centuries). Within three years of his death the 2300 days were reckoned as twenty-three centuries in *De Semine*, from which Villanova, at the end of the thirteenth century, derived the year-day principle of Ezekiel as a basic scale to be applied to other periods—a principle used for the 1290 and 1335 days by Olivi and followed by Ubertino and other Spirituals, and later incorporated into standard Protestant exegesis.

2. SEES FUTURE BINDING OF SATAN.—He spoke, for the first time since Augustine, of a future binding of Satan, yet clung to the old theory also, and placed the thousand years in the past. Although he himself did not set a date, his writings caused widespread expectation of the end of the age in 1260, and later in 1300.

⁷ See Volume II.

Joachim brought into vogue the interpretation of prophecy in the light of historical fulfillment, a principle which remained basic long after his specific and fantastic applications were forgotten.

3. EVANGELICAL IDEALS IN CONTRAST WITH REALITY.—Joachim's ideal of a new age of spiritual values was rejected by the degenerate church but cherished and striven for by reforming elements, and it exerted not a little influence on movements that contributed eventually to the rise of the Reformation. And, ironically, the very works which he submitted humbly to the popes for approval, which contained not a word of disloyalty to the Roman church or the Papacy, drew such a picture of the ideal church in the Age of the Spirit that the painful contrast between Joachim's dream and the actual conditions led his followers to repudiate ecclesiastical corruption, greed, and intrigue and to point the accusing finger at the church as scarlet Babylon and at the pope as the Antichrist.

VII. "System" Concept Gradually Supplants "Individual" View of Antichrist

Indeed, aside from the impetus given to the historical approach to prophecy, the most noticeable element of prophetic interpretation from the thirteenth century on into the Reformation was the progressive identification of the Roman church with Babylon and of the Papacy with the multiple prophetic symbols of the Antichrist, the Little Horn, the Beast, and the Man of Sin. It was, in fact, the logical outcome of the restoration of historical interpretation, but it was a gradual growth, which could have been established only by the testimony of the passage of time.

1. ANTICHRIST ENTHRONED IN CHURCH.—It was inevitable that Antichrist should at the beginning be anticipated simply as an individual, and that the 1260 days should likewise be regarded as literal time (three and a half years) consistent with the life of a single person. The Antichrist was early connected

with these other prophetic figures, but the *historical* identification of this power was not made until between the tenth and thirteenth centuries—the climax of the multiple application coming with the dramatic accusations of Archbishop Eberhard of Salzburg, in 1240.⁸ Yet the finger of accusation and identification had long been pointed in the direction of ecclesiastical Rome.

To begin with, Tichonius, out of his Donatist experience, saw the secularized church as Babylon, and Augustine mentioned the possibility that the Man of Sin would sit in the temple of the church, but these interpretations were not followed up. In the late ninth century, Berengaud's identification of the ten horns of Revelation 17 and Daniel 7 as the kingdoms which divided the Roman Empire, such as the Goths, Vandals, et cetera, was a step toward placing the Little Horn in the past also, but it seems to have been unnoticed.

Then in 991 Arnulf, bishop of Orleans, sounded his battle cry against the degradation of the church, in which he described the proud pope as "Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and demeaning himself as a god," and declared that "the mystery of iniquity is begun."

2. CHURCH AS BABYLON; "MYSTIC" ANTICHRIST AS FALSE POPE.—In 1120 Bernard of Cluny's bitter satire *De Contemptu Mundi* cried out against fallen Rome, characterizing the pope as "king of this odious Babylon." Ten years later Bernard of Clairvaux, championing the cause of Pope Innocent II, denounced Anacletus, the antipope, as Antichrist and Beast of the Apocalypse, although he later also mentioned a future Antichrist.

Joachim, as loyal to the Papacy as Bernard of Clairvaux, expected Antichrist as a future usurper, a false pope from the heretics; he saw the Little Horn as the final king of the Saracens and Babylon as the worldly people throughout the Christian empire. Some of the works which were ascribed to him

⁸ See chapter 32.

half a century later went much further, calling the Roman church Babylon or the current popes the abomination of desolation, although at this same time, when the pope and Frederick II were flinging the epithets Antichrist and Beast at each other, the Joachimites in Italy were expecting Frederick to emerge as the Antichrist in 1260. Eberhard's trumpet blast against the Papacy seems not to have affected them; fifty years later Olivi repeated Joachim's idea of Antichrist as a false pope, that is, the "mystic" Antichrist preceding the "great Antichrist" of tradition, although unlike Joachim, he characterized the Roman church as Babylon and the seat of the secular Beast. A little later Ubertino indicated Boniface VIII as this "mystic Antichrist" and the Beast.

3. EBERHARD SEES PAPACY AS MULTIPLE ANTICHRIST.—But Eberhard's interpretation, if it did not penetrate to the Joachimites in Italy, was significant as the forerunner of later pre-Reformation and Reformation positions. It was natural for persecuted minorities like the Franciscan Spirituals, the Albigenses, and the Waldenses, to use such terms as Babylon and Antichrist to describe their oppressors, but Eberhard, a learned archbishop and man of affairs, had nothing in common with them. Neither was his characterization of the Papacy merely the rhetoric of controversy. It came in the setting of the contest between pope and emperor, but it was true prophetic exposition based on a keen analysis of the Little Horn of Daniel and the parallel prophecies, and a keen insight into history. Eberhard applied to the religio-political empire of the Papacy the threefold description of the Beast, the Man of Sin, and the Little Horn.

4. SPECIFICATIONS MINUTELY FULFILLED IN PAPACY.—Others before him had used the names, but he enumerated the prophetic specifications that had been fulfilled in the historical Papacy, particularly in the papal empire from the time of Gregory VII. He based this identification not only on the characteristics but also on the fact that the Papacy rose to power after the fall of the Roman Empire, among the king-

doms which fell heir to the Roman territory. Thus Eberhard pointed to a historical fulfillment; these prophecies had foretold of persecuting and presumptuous power that would arise under certain circumstances and display certain characteristics, and when he saw that these specifications had been met in detail in the historical Papacy he discarded the popular concept of a future individual Antichrist, and declared that here was the fulfillment—that what the prophets had spoken had come to pass. He draws a remarkably full picture. He does not touch the prophetic period of the three and one-half times, but he applies nearly all the specifications of the multiple prophecy.⁹

5. LONG DEVELOPMENT OF LITTLE HORN.—This religio-political principle, which had existed in embryo in the time of the early church, said Eberhard, became an empire in the time of Hildebrand. The Little Horn, which had burrowed its way up among the divisions of the Roman Empire during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and which had enthroned itself in the church, was not only domineering the saints but presuming to control the state. Its reign was thus announced as an accomplished fact. It is one that should be pondered by every Christian student.

Were these declarations fantastic, or were they premised on a sound basis? Did they point in the right direction? Did the historical development vindicate such an assumption? Had the church already in the time of the apostles begun to travel a path that was to develop a spirit so utterly foreign to that of the One who breathed out His life in humility on the hill of Golgotha that it would finally lift itself to the throne and reach for the sword? That such had been the story of the centuries up to Eberhard's time is a remarkable fact.

6. FULFILLMENT DECLARED ONLY AFTER LONG CENTURIES.—We have seen how the time finally came when prophetic interpretation pointed out that a religio-political power answering to this description had gradually grown up in the estab-

⁹ See list on pages 897-899.

lished church, in the old seat of empire and patterned upon its lines. But this historical identification was not made, of course, until long after the early church period. No one could see such a development from the early trends until centuries afterward. Eberhard did not point to the rise of the Little Horn as a contemporary fulfillment, but as one which had taken place long ago. At the time when the Papacy was enthroned in the church, men could not see in it the upthrust of the Little Horn among the ten horn kingdoms. With minds fascinated by the dominant Augustinian theory of a then-present millennium, with all its spiritualizing and allegorizing involvements, and by the extra-Biblical traditions of Antichrist, they had their eyes fixed upon a future tyrant to appear briefly at the end of the indeterminate thousand years of the church's present reign.

Gregory I set the course for the ship of the church of Rome, and the succeeding popes strove to fulfill Augustine's dream of the city of God—the millennium established on earth, the world ruled by divine precepts dispensed by God's duly ordained representatives. As they increasingly succeeded in realizing their ambitions, their expanding power was accompanied by worldliness and corruption. And when the pinnacle was reached in a papal empire,¹⁰ the Antichristian characteristics became plain enough to see, and accusations were increasingly leveled at the Papacy.

The dominant hierarchy, intermingling the world and the church, persecuted the dissenters, who sought to perpetuate the pristine purity of the early gospel. The latter were not a single group; they were scattered widely, and varied in character, often flourishing in secluded spots that offered shelter and possible refuge from the raging storm of persecution that sought to overwhelm them. In the history of the church we find the perpetual conflict between the dominant, worldly church and the underground streams of varied and persistent antisacerdotal or reforming schisms and heresies.¹¹

¹⁰ See chapter 27.

¹¹ See chapters 33-35.

When this conflict came to a head, from about the time of Eberhard and onward, we find systematic persecution developing, and irrepressible dissent breaking forth in spite of it, until finally the pre-Reformation movements were to merge into the mighty Protestant revolution. And the identification of the papal system from Scripture prophecy was the militant rallying cry in the great struggle for spiritual freedom.

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This assemblage has resulted in the unique Advent Source Collection—the largest single collection in its particular field, ever brought together in one place—which is now housed in the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, of Washington, D.C. Its value, it should be added, has been enhanced by the loss or destruction of not a few of the originals in Europe, through the desolating ravages of World War II. This assemblage provided the working materials and the needed apparatus.

Moreover, because of the multiple language problem, there had to be constant collaboration with specialists in the extensive work of locating, securing, translating, analyzing, organizing, and finally in putting the findings into acceptable manuscript form for publication. Then it had to be revised and strengthened by the aid of constructive criticism from competent readers; and this, in turn, followed by painstaking checking, not only of all direct quotations and their context, but all paraphrases, names, dates, and historical facts and allusions, and a thousand other details. This has called for extensive aid from still another group of experts.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

Notes on the Neo-Babylonian Period

I. The Chronology of Nebuchadnezzar's Accession¹

1. NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S REIGN ASTRONOMICALLY FIXED.—The date of 605 B.C. for Nebuchadnezzar's accession is based on Ptolemy's canon and on a Babylonian source document—a clay tablet bearing a series of astronomical observations dated in the thirty-seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. The astronomical data on this tablet enable us to identify definitely Nebuchadnezzar's thirty-seventh year as 568/67 B.C. Thus the first year of his reign was 604 B.C., that is, the lunar year 604/3, spring to spring, for the Babylonian calendar year began on Nisan 1,² from a spring new moon.

This same date, 604/3 B.C., long known as the first year of Nebuchadnezzar from Ptolemy's canon,³ and corroborated by this ancient tablet, was the basis upon which older historians arrived at 606 as the accession date. This figure was based on theological grounds in an attempt to reconcile a supposed conflict between Nebuchadnezzar's accession date and Daniel's narrative. And this astronomical tablet helps to demonstrate that the conflict does not really exist in the light of newer knowledge.

2. SUPPOSED BIBLE CONTRADICTIONS FORMERLY ANSWERED BY COREGENCY.—Hostile critics long contended that the book of Daniel was untrustworthy because it called Nebuchadnezzar "king" in the *third* year of Jehoiakim, which would be, according to Jeremiah, before Nebuchadnezzar began to reign (Dan. 1:1; Jer. 25:1); also because Daniel, after "three years" of training at the court of Babylon, was already installed as one of the "wise men" in the *second* year of Nebuchadnezzar, when he saved himself with them from the death sentence by interpreting the king's dream. (Dan. 1:1-7, 18-20; 2:1, 12, 13.)

Formerly a standard reply of the theologians to this criticism was that the supposed discrepancy could be eliminated by assuming that Nebuchadnezzar, who is known to have been in command of the army at the time

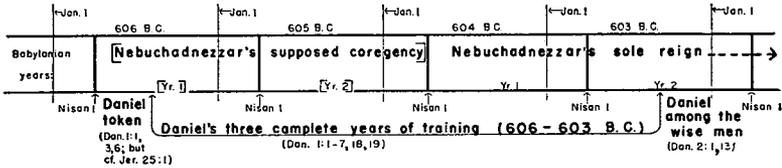
¹ See page 36.

² The Babylonian observations of the sun, moon, and five planets, locating the 37th year in 568/67 B.C. (and therefore the first year in 604/3) are given in entries dated from Nisan 1, year 37, through Nisan 1, year 38, thus showing that the regnal year ran from New Year's day. See the German translation and table of dates in Paul V. Neugebauer and Ernst F. Weidner, "Ein astronomischer Beobachtungstext aus dem 37. Jahre Nebukadnezars II. (—567/66 [568/67 B.C.])." *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, May, 1915 (vol. 67, part 2), pp. 34-38, 66.

³ See page 235.

of his father's death, must have also shared the throne as coregent for two years.⁴

The defenders of Daniel agreed with the critics that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar began in 604 B.C. according to Ptolemy, but they regarded that as the *first* year of his *sole* reign; if he had had a two-year coregentship with his father, the *first* year of his *coregency* would have begun in 606 B.C. Then, assuming that he took Daniel captive near the beginning of his coregency, in 606, the three years of Daniel's training would end in 603—the *second* year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign. Here is a diagram of the old explanation:



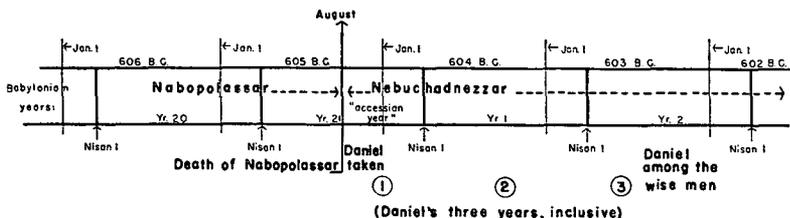
The theory of the coregency seemed to be the only alternative to accepting the critics' charge of Biblical contradictions. Still the critics were in a position to retort that if either of the two "first" years of Nebuchadnezzar (of his coregency or of his sole reign) was equivalent to Jehoiakim's fourth year, then Daniel's captivity would have to begin in either the second or the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and not in "the third year of Jehoiakim," as Daniel 1:1 indicates.

3. FIRST YEAR FOLLOWS "ACCESSION" YEAR.—But the spade has again come to the support of the Bible. Archaeology has in recent years made it clear that the Bible statements which indicated what older writers naturally regarded as a paradox—that Nebuchadnezzar could be king in the year preceding the one which was officially and generally known as the *first* year of his reign—agreed perfectly with the established dating of that time. The Babylonians, who dated their clay-tablet documents by the years of the king's reign, were accustomed to designate the unexpired portion of the calendar year after the old king's death as his successor's "beginning of kingship," or in modern phraseology, his "accession year." The official "first year" of the new reign thus meant the following first *full* calendar year, beginning with the New Year's day (Nisan 1) after the accession,⁵ at

⁴ The idea of the two-year coregency is credited to Petavius, about 1627. William Burnet, writing in 1724, sets forth a certain dating as correct "if with Petavius, in order to make up the Seventy Years of the Babylonish Captivity, we begin Nebuchadnezzar's Reign two years sooner than the common account, in his Fathers Life time, and yet allow Nebuchadnezzar but forty-three years Reign, according to Ptolomy's [sic] canon, and Berosus." (William Burnet, *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy*, p. 147. Italics supplied.) This apparent solution was quoted from one authority to another during three centuries, until it came to be taken for granted, and it was forgotten that such a coregency was based on an assumption rather than on actual historical evidence.

⁵ Sidney Smith, "Chronology: Babylonian and Assyrian," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 5, p. 655. This dating practice was discovered from the numerous dated tablets excavated

which time the new king "grasped the hands of Bel" and was regarded as officially invested by the god with full kingly powers. This may be visualized as follows:



4. THREE YEARS END WITH SECOND YEAR.—Thus Nebuchadnezzar's "accession year," about eight months long according to the Babylonian calendar, would last from his father's death, in the late summer of 605 B.C.,⁶ to the following spring, when his first year began. Daniel's three-year training period would therefore end in the second year of the reign if thus counted *inclusively*, that is, including the first and last partial years of the series. This ancient method of reckoning, which is attested repeatedly in the Bible and elsewhere, is illustrated by Christ's well-known "three days" in the tomb, namely, part of Friday, all of Saturday, and part of Sunday; and by the "three years" of Shalmaneser's siege between the fourth and sixth years of Hezekiah. (2 Kings 18:9, 10).⁷

By this reckoning, then, the three years of Daniel's training, beginning with his captivity in the third year of Jehoiakim, would be the same as the first three years credited beyond dispute to Nebuchadnezzar: namely, (1) his accession year, (2) his first year, (3) his second year. (See second diagram.) There is no need for any conjectural coregency to save the Bible record from the critics' charge of contradiction, for with Nebuchadnezzar's accession in 605 B.C., preceding his first year, 604/3, the supposed inconsistency has disappeared.⁸ This is another example of

in Babylonia. This accession-year system seems to have been used by the Jews also in the latter part of the kingdom of Judah.

⁶ About August 7. See Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 45*, p. 9.

⁷ On the inclusive reckoning and the accession-year regnal system, see Edwin R. Thiele, "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, July, 1944 (vol. 3, no. 3), pp. 142, 143. The same author presents the whole problem of Daniel 1 in his less technical "Solving the Problems of Daniel 1," *The Ministry*, August, 1941 (vol. 14, no. 8), pp. 7, 8, 47, and September, 1941 (vol. 14, no. 9), p. 18.

For this material on Nebuchadnezzar's "accession year," here in Appendix A, and for the two illustrative diagrams used, I am indebted to Julia Neuffer. See her discussion of this whole question in *The Ministry*, February, 1949 (vol. 22, no. 2), pp. 37-40.

⁸ It is interesting to note that although up-to-date reference books give Nebuchadnezzar's reign as 605-562 B.C., occasionally even yet some modern book, in which exact chronology is not at issue, will give 604-561, taken presumably from an older reference work, and derived from the canon date for the first year of the reign. This was formerly the accepted dating, based on the assumption that the "first year" was that in which the reign began. Not until comparatively recent years have the excavated Babylonian documents disclosed that, by Babylonian reckoning the "first year" meant the first full calendar year after the date of accession.

This accession-year discovery has resulted in a parallel change in the modern dating of the capture of Babylon by the Persians in the days of Belshazzar. Current reference books almost universally date it in 539 B.C. instead of the old 538, because the accession-year docu-

newer archaeological discoveries supporting the Bible against older critics whose attack was based on lack of knowledge.

II. The Religion of Babylon⁹

1. BIBLICAL SYMBOLISM AND BABYLONIAN RELIGION.—The relation between the prophetic symbolism of Daniel and the Babylonian point of view is well phrased in a parallel expression of Millar Burrows, of Yale, in his discussion of the Genesis account and the Babylonian creation myths: "What the [Biblical] writer has done is to express the monotheistic faith of Israel in terms of the world-view of his day, the only terms which could have any meaning for him or his readers."¹⁰ He speaks of the two narratives as "related," but points out that "the differences between the Hebrew and Babylonian accounts of creation are even greater than their resemblances."¹¹ After similar remarks on the Flood story, he continues:

"Again there is little reason to believe that the Hebrews derived their ideas directly from the Babylonians, but that both Babylonian and Hebrew accounts go back ultimately to a common origin can hardly be questioned. Those for whom the account in the Bible is a record of actual events are free to say that the inspired Hebrew narrative preserves the true story of what happened, while the Babylonian story is a corrupt and degenerate version."¹²

Scholars remark on the difference between the lofty ethical and religious tone of the Hebrew narrative and the polytheistic, superstitious, and fanciful elements of the Babylonian myths. This has been well expressed by G. Frederick Wright, in relation to the Flood story:

"Among them all, the narrative in Genesis stands out conspicuous for the grandeur and beauty of the divine attributes revealed, in connection with the catastrophe. . . .

"In the biblical account, nothing is introduced conflicting with the sublime conception of holiness and the peculiar combination of justice and mercy ascribed to God throughout the Bible, and illustrated in the general scheme of providential government manifest in the order of nature and in history; while, in the cuneiform tablets, the Deluge is occasioned by a quarrel among the gods, and the few survivors escape, not by reason of a merciful plan, but by a mistake which aroused the anger of Bel. . . .

"Close inspection of these peculiarities [fourteen of which the author has enumerated] makes it evident that the narrative in Genesis carries upon its face an appearance of reality which is not found in the other accounts."¹³

In this connection it might be remarked, with Barton of the University of Pennsylvania, "There is no better measure of the inspiration of the Biblical account than to put it side by side with the Babylonian."¹⁴

How, then, did these seeming similarities to mythology come to ap-

ments are interpreted as placing the fall of the city in the latter part of the preceding year. There is no real discrepancy in the chronology, for 538 is still, as formerly, accepted as the first year of the Persian Empire, as well as 604 for the official first year of Nebuchadnezzar. It is well therefore to remember that older authorities will be found dating such reigns from the first year, and recent authorities from the preceding accession year.

⁹ See page 40.

¹⁰ Millar Burrows, *What Mean These Stones?* p. 284.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹³ G. Frederick Wright, *Scientific Confirmations of Old Testament History*, pp. 160, 176, 179.

¹⁴ George A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, pp. 297, 298.

pear in the Bible? There was a time, after the early finds of Mesopotamian archaeology, when the "Pan-Babylonian" theorists were inclined to find a Babylonian source for all religious and cultural ideas of ancient times, including the Biblical accounts of creation and the Flood, and other allusions.¹⁵ But later excavations in other parts of the Near East have to a great degree changed the picture. The experts have by no means become Fundamentalists, but they are ready to acknowledge the overenthusiasm of the earlier Assyriologists. And they no longer insist unanimously that the parallels between Genesis and the Babylonian creation and Flood myths necessitate a derivation of the Biblical accounts from Babylonian.

The Bible traces the descent of the Hebrews through Abraham, who came from Mesopotamia, where the basic ideas of the origin of the race must have been the property of their common ancestors. The eminent American archaeologist, W. F. Albright, speaks in harmony with this when he says that the earlier material of the first part of Genesis, dealing with creation and the origin of the human race, "is mostly inexplicable unless we suppose that it was brought from Mesopotamia to Palestine by the Hebrews before the middle of the second millennium," and he points out that "Mesopotamian parallels are many and striking, though they never suggest direct borrowing from canonical Babylonian sources."¹⁶ This does not seem to be so very far away from the following statement from the British expert, L. W. King:

"Those who support the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch may quite consistently assume that Abraham heard the legends [of creation, deluge, etc.] in Ur of the Chaldees. And a simple retention of the traditional view seems to me a far preferable attitude to any attempt to rationalize it."¹⁷

As for the figurative poetic allusions which some scholars cite as evidence of borrowing from Semitic mythology—such as God's punishing "Leviathan the crooked serpent" of the sea (Ps. 74:13, 14; Isa. 27:1)—Burrows says:

"Echoes of other mythological conceptions . . . in the Old Testament are all in late and poetic books, in which the highest religious conceptions are expressed. . . . They do not, therefore, show a contamination of Hebrew faith. . . . Such allusions to early myths are comparable in significance to the Puritan Milton's allusions to classical mythology."¹⁸

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BABYLONIAN RELIGION.—In order to understand the religious background of Nebuchadnezzar's day, it may be

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

¹⁶ William Foxwell Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, pp. 180, 181.

¹⁷ Leonard W. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition*, p. 137.

¹⁸ Burrows, *What Mean These Stones?* p. 285. Today, for example, no minister would be accused of believing in pagan mythology because he might employ such literary figures as cutting the Gordian knot, opening Pandora's box, standing between Scylla and Charybdis, invoking the Muse, bringing in a Trojan horse, cleansing the Augean stables, or such terms as labyrinth, sirens, Achilles' heel, or the Pillars of Hercules.

profitable to glean a few interesting bits of information about the Babylonian religion, principally from Stephen H. Langdon.¹⁹

The Babylonians inherited their religion from earlier ages and adapted it to the glorification of Marduk, patron deity of the city of Babylon. For the earlier Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia, and the still earlier non-Semitic Sumerians, the highest place among the gods was not held by Marduk, but rather by three great deities of sky, earth, and water.

Langdon points out that the later Sumerian pantheon of five thousand gods dwindles, as archaeology proceeds backward into the remote past, to an earlier five hundred, and then still further back, down to four, three, and even two gods—Anu, the god of heaven, and his consort. The trinity—An (Anu), god of heaven, or the sky; Enlil, god of the earth and of winds and storms; and Enki (or Ea), god of the fresh waters under the earth—ranked above the other later gods, who were all regarded as descended from Anu, the high god—evidently the original deity, says Langdon. The fully developed pantheon of Sumerian times was continued by the later Semitic dynasties, and when Babylon became the center of power and culture, for all Mesopotamia, from the time of Hammurabi (during the second millennium B.C.), the Babylonian adaptation of the old theology prevailed.²⁰

Anu tended to recede into the background as removed from the human sphere, and eventually became a remote principle of theology rather than a personal deity to be worshiped.²¹ Enlil, the second god in rank, whose cult centered at Nippur, was called "the Great Mountain," "the lord of the lands." His temple at Nippur was called "the House of the Great Mountain of the Lands." He tended to become a monotheistic deity through one school of thought; but a rival school, through the political supremacy of Babylon, elevated Marduk into the place of both Enlil, "the elder Bel," and his son Ninurta, and indeed regarded Marduk as the supreme manifestation of deity.

Thus Marduk became the Bel (Baal, or "Lord") of the Babylonian and Assyrian religion, acquired the basic attributes of Enlil, the storm-god, and replaced Enlil's son, Ninurta, the sun-god-slayer of Tiamat, the dragon of primeval chaos.²²

When the warlike Assyrians gained political ascendancy, and Babylonia became a mere vassal state of the Assyrian Empire, the priests of

¹⁹ Langdon is by no means conservative in his treatment of the Bible—he regards certain Old Testament "myths" as derived from those of Babylonia—but he has made a contribution to the conservative view in presenting evidence which points unmistakably to monotheism as the original Sumerian and Semitic religion, based on the worship of An or Ilu (El), originally meaning sky god, high god, or god in the generic sense. In this he complements the findings of other scholars (see Wilhelm Schmidt's *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, English edition of 1935), in rendering obsolete the earlier theories of the late evolution of Biblical monotheism from "primitive" star worship, totemism, animism, or similar origins. For Langdon's treatment of monotheism, see his *Semitic Mythology*, pp. xviii, 65, 88-93, and particularly the reprint of his discussion of monotheism (from the *Evangelical Quarterly*, April, 1937), incorporated as Appendix I in Charles Marston, *The Bible Comes Alive*, pp. 259-274.

²⁰ Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

²¹ See Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 292; *Cuneiform Texts From Babylonian Tablets*, part 24, Introduction, p. 10.

²² Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 156; also pp. 102, 115, 130, 131.

Nineveh gave their national god Assur the role of dragon slayer in the Assyrian versions of the creation epic.²³ Still Babylon continued to be the religious and cultural metropolis of the empire, and even the Assyrian overlords found it politically wise to submit to receiving Marduk's authorization of their rule. Later, in the hour of Assyria's decline, Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, revolted and re-established the power of Babylonia. In this final, short-lived renewal of her leadership—the Neo-Babylonian Empire, which reached its peak in Nebuchadnezzar's day—Marduk rose higher than ever. Even when the Semitic empire gave place to the Aryan Persians, Cyrus came in as the avowed champion of Marduk and cultivated the worship that had been neglected by Nabonidus.²⁴ And the old religion persisted in the city of Babylon still later, after Zoroastrianism replaced idolatry under the Persian Empire. The Chaldean priesthood, conciliated by the Persians, and patronized even after Alexander's time by the Seleucid kings, continued to make Mesopotamia a center of schools of astronomy and astrology down to the classical period.²⁵

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 161, 278, 279.

²⁴ G. Buchanan Gray, "The Foundation and Extension of the Persian Empire," *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 4, chap. 1, pp. 12, 13.

²⁵ See Cumont, *Astrology and Religion Among the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 11, 26, 27, 70-72, 80, 81.

APPENDIX B ·

Development of the New Testament Canon¹

I. Historical Beginnings of the New Testament

1. CIRCUMSTANCES CALLING FORTH THE WRITING.—Each book of the New Testament was written first for a specific time and purpose, as the apostles wrote letters of warning or instruction to particular churches or individuals, because of certain conditions—errors, strife, or heresy such as Judaizing or budding Gnosticism. Paul's Epistles, for example, were called forth by definite local circumstances in Asia Minor, Greece, or Italy, although they offered opportunity for general spiritual instruction. They were preserved at first only by ones or twos in various local churches; that is probably why his Epistles were not mentioned in Acts. Evidently they were not initially written to be published.

The widely separated New Testament writers never consulted as to what to write. There was no consultation or collusion. Yet there is a simplicity and an essential harmony, combined with individuality, a unity in diversity, and a sublimity in the product that is absolutely inexplicable unless their combined writings be accepted as the message of God, coming from a common source of inspiration, and each supporting and supplementing the other.

These inspired writings are words both of God and of men—inspired by God, but given through a human medium, and influenced, in what was written and when, by the exigencies of the time, the circumstances of the author, and the needs of his readers. We should therefore seek to understand the human author and his historical background. Yes, we must definitely reckon with these origins in our study—particularly of the Synoptic Gospels, Second Thessalonians, and Revelation—if we are to understand difficult phrases, allusions, and so forth.

2. CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE WRITING.—The order of our English New Testament books is not chronological; it simply follows the order of the Vulgate. The early Greek manuscript collections differ at various times and places, and the later italic words or phrases appended, as well as chapter headings, differing in various Greek manuscripts and versions, are in cases inaccurate, as reverent scholars testify.

Paul's Epistles were evidently the first New Testament books to be

¹ See p. 101.

committed to writing—probably beginning with the letters to the Thessalonians. Then, one by one, the New Testament books came into existence. The Synoptic Gospels (Mark, Matthew, and Luke) were possibly not written for another decade, during which time other Epistles appeared, probably First and Second Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans. The four Gospels and Acts are naturally and logically placed first in the New Testament. Although the historical material on which the Gospels are based was current orally before the writing of Paul's Epistles, the Gospels in their permanent form are believed to have been written later.

There was no previous arrangement about who should write, and when, and to whom. But the order is so natural and real, and so evidently superintended by the Holy Spirit, that one can only marvel. The silence of the Synoptic Gospels concerning Paul's earlier Epistles means nothing, for they deal only with the life of Christ, and reference to later events was not relevant. Besides, they were probably slow in becoming known, for communication was slow and transmission precarious. The Acts implies an innate consciousness of a foundation securely laid. Then Paul, Peter, and John write their parting messages to the church. Finally comes the Apocalypse, opening to view the church's course and the conflict ahead, together with the surety of final triumph. Thus the New Testament closes. Hope has its foundation in fact, and love's divine revelation is complete.

With this general bird's-eye view before us we shall now trace in condensed form the evidence on certain individual books,² some of which are addressed to individuals, some to churches, and others to groups of church believers or to Christians in general. The exact dates of the various books are not known, and are placed differently by authorities.

3. PAUL'S LETTERS.—One is impressed by the dominance of Paul, until he passes out of view probably by A.D. 68. Then, after Peter's death, John fills the latter part of the first century with his gracious messages—with the Revelation as the valedictory of Holy Writ. The Pauline Epistles (all except one, if we count Hebrews as Paul's) fall into four groups:

(1) First and Second Thessalonians—in which he deals with the second advent—written during the second missionary journey.

(2) First and Second Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans—on the Judaizing tendency which sought to fasten ceremonialism and legalism on Christianity—written during the third missionary journey.

(3) Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon—the first three on the person of Christ as opposed to the Gnostic heresy which degraded Jesus from His true place in the Godhead—written during Paul's first imprisonment.

(4) First Timothy, Titus, and Second Timothy—on practical prob-

² For an approximate outline, drawn from many authorities, see the chart on pages 98, 99, in which the setting of the individual books can more easily be visualized. It presents the first century by a time scale, tabulating the leading contemporary events and persons, and the approximate chronological order of the writings. Here may be seen the various natural groupings of the writings by periods, and their obviously logical projection to meet local or general conditions.

lems of church order, doctrine, and life—written during his second imprisonment.

Paul's Epistles form the nucleus of the New Testament. Their usual order in the canon was originally based on length and supposed importance—those to churches being placed before those to individuals. They cover, some think, a sixteen-year period, but the dates of some are impossible to certify. The Pauline Epistles were universally acknowledged (even by the Ebionites and Encratites) until the comparatively recent period of rationalistic criticism.³

4. FIRST THESSALONIANS THE FIRST OF PAUL'S EPISTLES.—Paul wrote his first letter to the Thessalonians from Corinth, during his second missionary tour, after he had left Athens.⁴ This Epistle, with its description of the second coming and the resurrection of the righteous, was evidently misunderstood by its readers to teach that the "day of Christ" was at hand.

5. SECOND EPISTLE CLARIFIES THE FIRST.—Second Thessalonians, likewise written from Corinth, probably soon after the return of the bearer of the first Epistle, was intended to clarify the misunderstood meaning of "sudden," in 1 Thessalonians 5:3, and the misapplication of Paul's words concerning the imminence of Christ's second advent. Strongly prophetic, it discloses great intervening events, especially concerning the Man of Sin, the great climax of the warning. It warns against forged epistles, showing how to identify his genuine letters.⁵

6. THE FOUR GOSPELS.—The four Gospels, written by two apostles and two companions of apostles, were not the cause but the effect of the apostolic witness; the data of these books had circulated orally for some time before their writing.⁶ They are authentic, inspired records of the life, teachings, and work of Jesus. Each Gospel has a specific object, presenting selected events for Jews, Romans, or Greeks, respectively, but they all set forth Jesus, the Son of man and Son of God.

If the three Synoptics were written and published before A.D. 70, John's Gospel must have been written at least thirty years later, or a generation after the death of Paul. The fourth Gospel is the most wonderful of them all for simplicity, beauty, and power. If the events of Jesus' life did not happen as narrated, then these writers were surely greater

³ Ten Pauline Epistles were included in the Gnostic Marcion's canon (*c.* 140); thirteen—all except Hebrews—in the Muratorian list and the Old Latin Version (*c.* 170); Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria omit only Philemon—doubtless because of its minor importance—and Tertullian excludes Hebrews; Origen and Eusebius give fourteen, although they refer to doubts regarding Hebrews; the Syriac Peshitta and the canons of the fourth-century councils of Laodicea, Hippo, and Carthage likewise give fourteen, just as we have them.

⁴ The line of witnesses recognizing its authenticity or genuineness reaches back probably to Ignatius, including Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, Marcion's catalogue (*c.* 140), the Muratorian canon (*c.* 170), the Syrian (160?), and Old Latin (*c.* 170). It has been challenged only by destructive critics of modern times.

⁵ The italic note at the close is an evident mistake—an addition based on Paul's words in 1 Thessalonians 3:1—for the sojourn at Athens was a past event. Paul was joined by Silas and Timothy at Corinth. A similar line of witnesses recognize the genuineness of Second Thessalonians. It has been challenged by modern critics more than the first Epistle.

⁶ There is reason to think that scattered collections of "Sayings of Jesus" may have existed then. (Cf. Luke 1:1.)

geniuses than Shakespeare. Their narratives bear the indisputable stamp of truthfulness and accuracy.⁷

Originally the genuineness of the writings was attested by the autographs—for example, Paul's expression "with mine own hand" (2 Thess. 3:17; 1 Cor. 16:21; Gal. 6:11)—as well as by the internal evidence, the meaning of the content to the original recipients. Thus the Epistles and the Gospels, at first known only locally, came to be copied and gathered in small collections.

Celsus, a second-century Epicurean or Platonic philosopher, in a work attacking Christianity, refers to the Gospel account so often as to give us the principal facts of the life of Christ. Such is the inadvertent testimony of an enemy.

II. The Growth of the New Testament Canon

1. EARLY COLLECTIONS—SECOND CENTURY.—Gradually the collections of Pauline Epistles, and later the Gospels, came to be ranked along with the Old Testament as inspired Scriptures; then other books were added. Five well-defined groups were recognized by the close of the second century: (1) the four Gospels, (2) the Acts of the Apostles, (3) the general Epistles, (4) the Pauline Epistles, and (5) the Apocalypse. Let us note the chronological aspects of the various collections and the acceptance of (not the writing of) individual books or groups.

There is evidence that the four Gospels had been brought together by Christian leaders in Asia Minor as early as the second century, and the author of the early Epistle ascribed to Clement of Rome alludes to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, as well as passages in various other New Testament writings, such as Hebrews, Romans, Corinthians, First Timothy, Titus, James, and Ephesians. This list is extended by Ignatius, a little later (John, Philipians, First Thessalonians, Philemon), and by Polycarp, Papias, and others,⁸ till we come to the period of the more voluminous writers. In fact, an uninterrupted series of such writings from this early period onward contains allusions to, or quotations from, each of the twenty-seven New Testament books. So, in the first half of the second century there is general recognition of the importance and acknowledged status of the various apostolic writings, crystallizing the idea that the Gospels and the Epistles parallel the law and the prophets.

The early apologists recognized the canonicity of the apostolic writings. Justin Martyr (c. 100-c. 165) was evidently the first ecclesiastic, of whom there is record in this early period, to place the apostolic writings definitely on a level with the Old Testament, which was a foundational step in the formation of an authoritative New Testament canon.⁹ Aristides,

⁷ The existence of the four is witnessed by Justin Martyr, Tatian's *Diatessaron*, or *Harmony of the Gospels*, the Muratorian, Old Latin, and Old Syriac canons, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian.

⁸ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-40, 48, 76.

⁹ Justin, *Apology*, chap. 67, in *ANF*, vol. 1, p. 186; Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 109, 165; J. S. Riggs, "Canon of the New Testament," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1, p. 564.

Melito, and Theophilus of Antioch were likewise active.¹⁰ But these early champions, in setting forth their teachings, drew also upon other than apostolic writings in defending the faith.

In the subapostolic age these apocryphal books struggled for inclusion in the accepted collections. The leaders in the church, according to their best knowledge, sifted the accepted works from those they rejected, and may have published lists of those regarded as apostolic, such as the Muratorian list. Thus the standard began to be fixed. A New Testament Apocrypha possibly had begun to appear even before the close of the apostolic era.¹¹

The Gnostics, placing an alleged secret tradition above the apostolic writings, compelled a renewed study of the accepted writings. Marcion arbitrarily mutilated the canon of the time, and the Valentinians sought to gain the same results by dubious exposition.¹²

The heretic Marcion, a contemporary of Justin Martyr, made up his canon from a modification of Luke and ten of Paul's Epistles (minus First and Second Timothy and Titus, and the Epistle to the Hebrews).¹³ But he gave valuable testimony to the collection of Paul's writings and to the acceptance of a majority of them by a heretic. The issue brought the question of canonicity sharply to the forefront, and the controversy raged for years, with the result of forging the canon under the blows of the disputants.

Up to the middle of the second century we have found: (1) increasing recognition of the apostolic writings by the church at large; (2) separate circulation and gradual collection. From 170 to the end of the second century: (1) the first individual collection approximating the New Testament; (2) incomplete collections of apostolic writings firmly established in different sections of the church. From approximately 140 to 225 there was a struggle with the church's internal foe, Gnosticism, and later with the Roman government. Heresy's appeals to the Apocryphal writings, and its fantastic interpretations of the genuine, induced leaders of the church to insist on apostolic origin, or authorship, as the test of the writings. In this period the term "New Testament" appears to have been first applied to the sacred writings of the new dispensation by an unknown writer against Montanism.¹⁴

¹⁰ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

¹¹ "Every unprejudiced mind must be impressed with the fact that the canonical gospel narratives differ almost as much from these nearly contemporaneous documents as Jesus differed from other men. The difference is that between a religious history and a religious novel. Secondly, all of these apocryphal narratives are demonstrably later, most of them centuries later, than our four gospels, and rest upon the written or oral gospel teaching as their basis. The discovery of these apocryphal writings only confirms the good judgment of the early Church which set apart these calm, candid, judicious documents as distinctively 'Holy Writings' as distinguished from all others. As early as the second century they were accepted as *par excellence* the authoritative memoirs and stood without rivals (Harnack)." (Camden M. Cobern, *The New Archeological Discoveries and Their Bearing Upon the New Testament*, pp. 242-245.)

¹² Zahn, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

¹³ Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Zahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 395, 396; see Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-314.

¹⁴ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 565.

The Muratorian Fragment (c. 170) gives the first list of any length,¹⁵ embracing the four Gospels, Acts, thirteen Pauline Epistles, the Apocalypse, Second and Third John and Jude (omitting mention of Hebrews, First and Second Peter, First John, and James). The First Epistle of John is quoted earlier in the fragment, and there is no evidence that the First Epistle of Peter was ever contested. So, by the close of the second century we see the four Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and a more or less closely defined body of other apostolic writings recognized.¹⁶ Local difficulty continued, but from Irenaeus on the church had virtually the whole canon.

2. THE THIRD CENTURY.—The church's responsibility toward the Sacred Writings was to *discern the canonicity* of the books, and to *recognize their apostolicity*; not to make them authoritative by ecclesiastical action. The writings were not made more sacred than before. Their canonicity was simply recognized and proclaimed. The time came—about the end of the second century—when the church as a whole was so thoroughly settled on most of the books of the New Testament that no further objection was raised to them. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian are typical, representing Gaul, Egypt, and North Africa, voicing sentiments that by this time are already clearly crystallized. The concept of a New Testament canon was rather sharp and clear, and the authority of the apostolic Scriptures acknowledged.¹⁷ The three prominent church leaders just named stress the four Gospels, Acts, thirteen Epistles of Paul, most of the general Epistles, and the Apocalypse, which group of writings they regarded as Scripture as fully as the Old Testament. Yet, although there is general agreement on the body of writings, there is still some diversity as to a few specific items in the canon.¹⁸

Thus the East accepted Hebrews as Paul's writing and as canonical, but the West admitted it somewhat later, just as, conversely, the Apocalypse was accepted by the West, while the East hesitated.¹⁹

The Second and Third Epistles of John, the Second Epistle of Peter, James, and Jude were variously treated up to the close of the third century. These (except James) and the Apocalypse were not accepted by the Syrian church, although they were received by Alexandria and the West. The Syriac Peshitta was less complete than the Eastern or Western canon. There was not complete unanimity, but the principle of placing the New Testament beside the Old Testament was now firmly established.²⁰

Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian accept practically all of the twenty-seven books,²¹ but the general Epistles were recognized more slowly in the West than in the East.²² Origen accepts the Epistle of James

¹⁵ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-215.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-218; for full text of the Muratorian canon, see pp. 514-530; Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 104.

¹⁷ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 334-346.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 367-371.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 347-350, 345.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 354-371; Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-131; Eusebius, *Church History*, book 6, chap. 25, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 272, 273.

²² An alternate term, "Catholic Epistles," appearing constantly in the writings of authorities in this field, simply means *general*, or *universal* epistles. The parallel expression

and that of Jude, but alludes to existing doubts by some in regard to both.²³

III. Progressive Stages in the Acceptance

I. VIEW OF CHURCH FORMALLY CRYSTALLIZED.—During the latter part of the third century and the larger portion of the fourth, a voluminous theological literature was produced, replete with discussion of the canon. But for a century or so such books as the Epistle of Clement, the Didache (or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles), the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Epistle of Barnabas had struggled for inclusion in the canon, in certain localities, and the disputes concerning them had been heated.

The fourth century marks a complete separation of the New Testament from the New Testament Apocrypha. Diocletian's persecution hastened the recognition of the Christian Scriptures, because it was aimed at destroying all Christian writings.²⁴ Consequently, the true Scriptures were distinguished from all others and endeared by this very persecution which was aimed at their common destruction.

Eusebius catalogues as "accepted writings" the acknowledged books, adding to them the other books of our canon, with this exception—he could not come to a conclusion regarding the authorship of Revelation. He seeks to quiet the dispute over Second Peter, Second John, Third John, James, and Jude. He divides Christian writings into three classes: "universally acknowledged," "disputed," and "spurious."²⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem, his younger contemporary, lists essentially the same, except for the omission of Revelation.²⁶

The fifty-ninth canon of the Council of Laodicea (formerly variously dated in such years as 336, 363, or 364, but actually of unknown date—some time between 343 and 381) forbids the reading of any but canonical books in church.²⁷ The sixtieth canon, which lists the books approximately as we have them, with the exception of Revelation, is of disputed genuineness.²⁸

In Alexandria, Athanasius' Easter letter of 367 lists our twenty-seven books as the complete and exclusive New Testament, and a synod at Rome (382) and the Third Council of Carthage (397) accepted the same list. Thus Rome, Carthage, and Alexandria became uniform in official usage, and in the West the canon assumed permanently the form and content which we now have.²⁹

"Ancient Catholic Church," used of the first two or three centuries, is not to be confused with the later Roman Catholic Church. As used by church historians, it simply means the ancient undivided, universal—and hence catholic—Christian church that existed from the apostolic days until the time of Constantine.

²³ Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 78; Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

²⁴ Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 407, 408.

²⁵ Eusebius, *Church History*, book 3, chap. 25, in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 1, pp. 155-157 (cf. with chap. 3); see also Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80; Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-421.

²⁶ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

²⁷ See Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 298, 322.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 322, 323; Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-433; Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 119.

²⁹ Athanasius, "From Letter 39," in *NPNF*, 2d series, vol. 4, p. 552; Westcott, *op. cit.*, pp. 435, 436; Zahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 398, 399; John Martin Creed, "Bible: New Testament, Canon," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 3, p. 514; Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 118, 120.

"Aside from the canonical Scriptures nothing is to be read in church under the name of Divine Scriptures," is the pronouncement of the Third Council of Carthage in 397.⁸⁰ The influence of Athanasius' Easter letter was widespread in the East, but there was difference of opinion and no ecumenical council recognition of the full canon until the Trullan Council of 692.⁸¹ The determination of the New Testament, let it be emphasized, is not the work of the councils. Its content and position were well defined before the councils took it up. The church councils gave no new authority to the Scriptures—no sacredness or inspiration which they did not already possess—but only recognition, their existence during earlier centuries being an acknowledged fact.

2. FOURTH TO SIXTH CENTURIES.—Jerome and Augustine were deciding factors in the West, and the circulation of the Vulgate ended all discussion as to the canon. The Latin New Testament became the standard, but it was not generally circulated in other languages until the advent of printing. The fifty copies ordered by Constantine influenced the East to recognize the disputed Epistles, if they contained the books accepted by Eusebius, but their precise content is not known. Official recognition in the East waited until finally the Quinisextine Council (Second Trullan) of 692 recognized the Western canon, and the Third Council of Carthage was confirmed. Thus the question of ecclesiastical practice was settled, and mature judgment of the church at large accepted the twenty-seven books, including the Revelation.

3. THE MIDDLE AGES.—We have seen that the fourth-century councils declared canonical what was already accepted. They did no more than recognize what existed. But their actions placed the canon on the basis of the council authority of the Catholic Church, in the subsequent centuries, and the original basis was crowded into the background. In the Middle Ages the Sacred Canon was subordinated to church authority. The Greek New Testament text was held inferior to Latin until the sixteenth century brought a revival of interest in the text.

4. THE REFORMATION PERIOD.—The Renaissance, followed by the Reformation, revived the old questions on the canon. The dogmatic Catholic contention was challenged by Luther and others. Luther made the Word itself the sole authority, and New Testament books authoritative to the degree in which, according to his opinion, they taught Christ and salvation. Luther placed Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation on a slightly lower level—canonical, but subordinate. Therefore he put them at the end of his Bible—as they still appear in most German Bibles. Erasmus questioned the authorship, though not the authority, of Hebrews and James; he mentioned doubts concerning Second Peter and Jude; and seemed to assign Second and Third John and Revelation to "John the Presbyter," rather than John the apostle. Calvin questioned the Pauline

⁸⁰ Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 566.

⁸¹ Creed, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

authorship, although not the apostolic origin, of Hebrews, and had doubts of Second Peter. But these learned controversies left the canon untouched in Protestantism as a whole.

The printing of the New Testament tended to fix the form and content, and it awakened interest in new translations. In early English translations, Luther's view on the last four books of the New Testament was echoed somewhat by Tyndale (1525), Coverdale (1535), John Rogers (*Matthew's Bible*, 1537), and Taverner (1539). The Council of Trent (1546) declared Peter, John, James, Jude, and Revelation apostolic, but it also declared the tradition of the church to be equal to, and by implication superior to, the Scripture. The successive English Bibles—the *Great Bible* (1539) and the *Geneva Bible* (1560)—and the *Thirty-nine Articles* (1563-71) established the full New Testament canon for the English Bible, and thus it appears in the *Authorized Version* of 1611, the classic *King James Bible*.

APPENDIX C

Justinian's Religious Legislation¹

I. The Pope as Head of All Churches and Corrector of Heretics

1. JUSTINIAN'S IMPERIAL LETTER INSERTED IN CODE AS LAW.—Justinian's imperial letter to John II (533) asked ecclesiastical sanction for the imperial decision against the Nestorians; the pope's reply, granting the confirmation and incorporating Justinian's letter, was placed in the Code. The text of the imperial rescript follows:

"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. . . .

"[Then follow five numerically listed points. The first refers to those denying the Sonship of Christ and the Holy Trinity, like Jews and apostates. The second states that all priests and abbots of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church acknowledge "Your Holiness," and are solicitous for "the unity of the Holy Churches of God, which they receive from the Apostolic See of Your Holiness." The remainder of number (2) is a rather full statement of faith.]

"(3) Moreover, we recognize four Sacred Councils, that is to say, the one composed of three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers who assembled in the City of Nicea; and that of the hundred and fifty Holy Fathers who met in this imperial City; and that of the Holy Fathers who first congregated at Ephesus; and that of the Holy Fathers who met at Chalcedony, as your Apostolic See teaches and proclaims. Hence, all priests who follow the doctrine of your Apostolic See

¹ See page 510.

believe, confess, and preach these things. . . . [Between numbers (3) and (5) mention is made of Justinian's emissaries, Bishops Hypatius and Demetrius, bearers of the imperial letter. The paragraph that follows completes the royal rescript.]

"(5) Therefore We request your paternal affection, that you, by your letters, inform Us and the Most Holy Bishop of this Fair City, and your brother the Patriarch, who himself has written by the same messengers to Your Holiness, eager in all things to follow the Apostolic See of Your Blessedness, in order that you may make it clear to Us that Your Holiness acknowledges all the matters which have been set forth above, and condemns the perfidy of those who, in the manner of Jews, have dared to deny the true Faith. For in this way the love of all persons for you, and the authority of your See will increase, and the unity of the Holy Church will be preserved unimpaired, when all the most blessed bishops learn through you and from those who have been dispatched by you, the true doctrines of Your Holiness. Moreover, We beg Your Blessedness to pray for Us, and to obtain the beneficence of God in Our behalf."²

It is to be noted that the Patriarch of Constantinople is quoted as "eager in all things to follow the Apostolic See" of Rome, and that Pope John's confirmatory response asserts, "This See is indeed the head of all churches, as the rules of the Fathers and the decrees of emperors assert, and the words of your most reverend piety testify." This discloses the Roman bishop's full understanding of imperial recognition of the primacy of the See of Rome.

2. PRIMACY CONFIRMED BY LETTER TO EPIPHANIUS.—Justinian's letter to Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople (March 26, 533), confirmed the primacy of the Roman bishop and referred approvingly to his activities as the corrector of heretics. This letter to Epiphanius, also incorporated into the Code, begins thus:

"The same emperor [Justinian] to Epiphanius the most holy and blessed archbishop of this royal city and the ecumenical patriarch. Wishing to inform Your Holiness of all things which pertain to the state of the churches, We have considered it necessary to use these sacred letters to you and through them to make clear to you what things are being agitated, which things also We have been persuaded that you know. Since, therefore, We have found some aliens from the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, who have followed the error of the wicked Nestorius and Eutyches and used their blasphemies, we have published a sacred edict, which also Your Holiness knows, through which We have refuted the madness of the heretics, not at all through changing, or planning to change or through neglecting the ecclesiastical status which has obtained, with the help of God, up to now, which also your Blessedness knows, but through everything preserving the unity of the sacred churches with the most holy pope and patriarch of the older Rome, to whom We have written similar things regarding this. For neither do We permit that anything which pertains to the state of the church not be referred to His Blessedness, as being head of all the holy priests of God, and because, no matter how often heretics have sprung up in these villages and regions, they have been eliminated by the sentence and right judgment of that venerable see."³

The Roman primacy was sustained and strengthened by Justinian's later enactments. Novella 9 (collection 2, title 4), enacted in 535, begins

² Code of Justinian, book 1, titles 1, 8 (numbered 1, 4, however, in the Scott translation, which is used here).

³ Translated from the Code of Justinian, book 1, titles 1, 7, Krueger edition. (Not in Scott's translation.)

with a reference to Rome as "the peak of the highest pontificate," and Novella 131 (collection 9, title 6), enacted in 545, includes a statement of the precedence of Rome. A translation of the opening lines of Novella 9 has already been included in the text,⁴ but it may be well to insert here several chapters of Novella 131, of which chapter 2 asserts the primacy of the Roman pontiff.

"ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIRST NEW CONSTITUTION.

"The Emperor Justinian to Peter, Most Glorious Imperial Praetorian Prefect.

"PREFACE.

"We enact the present law with reference to ecclesiastical rules and privileges and other subjects in which holy churches and religious establishments are intrusted.

"CHAPTER I.

"CONCERNING FOUR HOLY COUNCILS.

"Therefore We order that the sacred, ecclesiastical rules which were adopted and⁵ confirmed by the four Holy Councils, that is to say, that of the three hundred and eighteen bishops held at Nicea, that of the one hundred and fifty bishops held at Constantinople, the first one of Ephesus, where Nestorius was condemned, and the one assembled at Chalcedon, where Eutyches and Nestorius were anathematized, shall be considered as laws. We accept the dogmas of these four Councils as sacred writings, and observe their rules as legally effective.

"CHAPTER II.

"CONCERNING THE PRECEDENCE OF PATRIARCHS.

"Hence, in accordance with the provisions of these Councils, We order that the Most Holy Pope of ancient Rome shall hold the first rank of all the Pontiffs, but the Most Blessed Archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, shall occupy the second place after the Holy Apostolic Sec of ancient Rome, which shall take precedence over all other sees. . . .

"CHAPTER VIII. . . .

"If anyone should presume to conduct religious services in his own house, or in a suburb, or should permit others to do so without the presence of any members of the clergy who are subject to the authority of the most holy bishop of the diocese, We order that the said house, suburban place, or land, on which an offence of this kind was committed, shall be claimed by the most holy bishop, or his steward, or the civil magistrate, for the benefit of the church of that locality.

"Where, however, the owner of the building in which the religious services were conducted was ignorant of the fact, and his curators, lessees, or emphyteutas were responsible, he shall suffer neither loss nor prejudice; but those who conducted the services, or permitted this to be done, shall be expelled from the province where the offence was perpetrated, and their property shall be seized for the benefit of the most holy church of the neighborhood. . . .

"We order that no heretic shall acquire any immovable property from a church or any other religious establishment whatsoever, either by lease, emphyteusis, purchase, or in any other way; and when a heretic is paid anything in a contract of this kind, he shall lose it, and the immovable property that he received shall be recovered by the religious establishment which transferred it; and the superintendent of said establishment shall be deprived of his office, confined in a monastery, and excluded from the holy communion for an entire year,

⁴ See page 513.

⁵ "Or confirmed" in the original.

by way of punishing him for having betrayed Christians to heretics. Where an orthodox person is in possession of property on which a church is situated, and alienates, bequeaths, leases it under emphyteusis or in any other way, or entrusts the management of the same to a Jew, a Samaritan, an Arian, or any other heretic, the said property shall be claimed by the church of the neighborhood, and where a heretic (and among heretics We include Nestorians, Acephali, and Eutychians) builds a house for the celebration of his worship, or a new Jewish synagogue, the most holy church of the diocese shall seize the building.

"If anyone should transfer land to a heretic under emphyteusis or any other form of lease, or entrust the management of the same to him in any other way, he being well aware that the person to whom he delivers it is a heretic, all the income collected therefrom under the contract shall be claimed for the benefit of the church of the city within whose territory the land in question is situated; but when the owner of the same is ignorant that he to whom he gave possession is a heretic, he shall not be deprived of it on account of his ignorance; but in either event the heretic must be driven from [his occupancy of] the land, and his property confiscated for the Treasury."⁶

II. Examples of Religious Legislation as Embodied in Civil Law

1. CODE EMBODIES EXISTING RELIGIOUS LAWS.—The Code groups together in book 1 the various religious laws of emperors since Constantine. In this book, title 1, "Concerning the Most Exalted Trinity and the Catholic Faith, and Providing That No One Shall Dare to Publicly Oppose Them," begins by defining and establishing orthodoxy, penalizing dissenters, and including Justinian's correspondence with John and Epiphanius relating to the Nestorians and asserting the pope's headship. Title 2 is concerned with the property and privileges of churches, titles 3 and 4 with the status of the clergy and the legal functions and jurisdiction of the bishops. Title 5 confirms the decrees against heresy, which, together with Justinian's own enactments in the *Novellae*, laid the foundation upon which the Inquisition was later built.⁷ Titles 6-13 deal with various religious subjects.

Although most of the religious legislation is in the first part of book 1, we find in book 3, title 12, the laws concerning festivals, including both secular holidays and religious days such as Christmas and Easter, as well as Sunday laws beginning with Constantine's first Sunday edict of 321.

2. JUSTINIAN'S NOVELLAE EXTEND EXISTING LAWS AND INCORPORATE CANON LAW.—The *Novellae*, or New Constitutions, in nine collections, include various religious enactments of Justinian, two of which, numbers 9 and 131, have been quoted in part. It is to be noted that, in addition to confirming the older laws in the Code and making new enactments in the *Novellae*, Justinian also *incorporated into the imperial Civil Law the body of canon law* recognized in the church.

Novella 131 enacts for the whole empire the canons of the first four general councils, Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, thereby including many enactments of lesser synods which were declared in force

⁶ Novella 131, collection 9, title 6. (Numbered title 14 in the Scott translation, which is here used.)

⁷ Gosselin, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 78-80.

by the first canon of the council of Chalcedon.⁸ Thus Justinian not only codified the religious laws of his predecessors but also specifically designated the bishop of Rome the head of the church and corrector of heretics, and made the canon law of the church up to 451 part of the civil law of the empire, thus consummating the union of church and state.

III. Imperial Provision of 533 Fully Operative in 538 for Pope

The full enthronement of the bishop of Rome in the church and the Catholic empire could hardly be recognized as an accomplished fact while so much of the West was under the domination of Arians, until Justinian's armies in Africa and Italy overthrew the Vandal kingdom and broke the power of the Ostrogoths at the raising of the siege of Rome. And not until the Goths were driven from Rome in 538 was the bishop of Rome released from Gothic encirclement and control.⁹

The year-by-year outline of events may be summarized as follows:

533—Justinian's general, Belisarius, embarks for Africa.¹⁰

534—Vandal kingdom destroyed.¹¹

535—Belisarius lands in Sicily, beginning the Ostrogothic war.¹²

536—Belisarius garrisons Rome.¹³

537 (March)—Ostrogothic king Witiges, with 150,000 Goths, vainly seeks to retake Rome in a one-year siege.¹⁴

538 (March)—Another Roman army landing in Italy, Witiges in despair abandons the siege of Rome, falling back to Ravenna.¹⁵

553—Defeat of Teias (Theia) and end of the Ostrogothic war.¹⁶

That the Ostrogoths did not perish as a nation until 552-555 is attested not only by history but by Ostrogothic coins in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, where on the coinage of Baduila (Totila) and Teias the title "Rex" (king) appears.¹⁷

⁸ The first canon of the General Council of Chalcedon (451) declared in force and thus made obligatory upon the entire church the provisions of certain local synods:

Canon 1. "The canons hitherto put forth by the holy fathers in all the Synods shall have validity." (Hefele, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 385.) Justinian takes note of this in his Novella 131, as he refers to canons adopted and confirmed by the first four general councils, which are now denominated "laws." He doubtless meant to enforce the canons of all the councils in the ancient collection as current in his day, up to and including Chalcedon. Thus, by incorporation into the imperial code, they were given the force and validity of civil law, and their infraction became a crime against the state.

⁹ In March, 537, Bishop Silverius of Rome, elected by the influence of the Goths, was deposed by Belisarius, upon false charges of plotting with the Goths, and on March 29, 537, the court favorite, Vigilius, was elevated to the Papacy. (Diehl, "Justinian's Government," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, p. 46.) Some reckon Vigilius' pontificate from 538 because they regard his rule as invalid as long as Silverius lived.

¹⁰ Procopius, *op. cit.*, book 3, chap. 12, in The Loeb Classical Library, *Procopius*, vol. 2, p. 111. For further documentation on this series see Diehl, "Justinian," *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, pp. 12-18; Trevor, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-55.

¹¹ Procopius, *op. cit.*, book 4, chap. 7, pp. 265-271 (for date, cf. p. 235, margin).

¹² *Ibid.*, book 5, chap. 5, vol. 3, p. 47.

¹³ *Ibid.*, chap. 14, p. 147.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 16, p. 163 (cf. p. 375).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, book 6, chap. 10, pp. 373, 375, 377.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, book 8, chap. 35, vol. 5, p. 419. The 18-year war began at the end of 535. (See book 5, chap. 5, vol. 3, p. 47.)

¹⁷ After Belisarius drove the Ostrogoths away from Rome, they retired to Ravenna. Finally Ravenna opened its gates to Belisarius, and Witiges was seized and taken by Belisarius in triumph to Constantinople. Nevertheless, the Ostrogoths continued to function as a kingdom

That events centering about the siege of Rome (March, 537-March, 538) were a turning point in church and state is evidenced by such statements as the following:

“With the conquest of Rome by Belisarius the history of the ancient city may be considered as terminating; and with his defense against Witiges [538] commences the history of the Middle Ages—of the times of destruction and of change.”¹⁸

Thus as the hampering Goths were swept away from Rome in 538 by the arms of Justinian, there was inaugurated a new era of legalized ecclesiastical supremacy of the popes, as they became increasingly not only heads of the church, but “men of the state,” and eventually “rulers of the state.” And this turning point in the time of Justinian, with the key dates 533 and 538, was many centuries later to be pointed to as the beginning of an important prophetic period, as is covered in Volume II.

under Baduila (541-552) and Teias (552-553), who perished in 553 in the battle of Mons Lactarius, when the imperialists crushed the Ostrogothic host. Thenceforth the coins of Justinian began to be minted in Ravenna. The Ostrogoths had been plucked up. (Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards*, pp. xxxv-xxxix, xlii, xlviii, and, for complete descriptions of the Ostrogothic coins of this period and illustrative plates, pp. 77-97.) We have seen that coins and medallions of the centuries form a paralleling but independent line of evidence, covering the nations of the great prophetic outline. Finally the breakup of the Roman Empire is visualized. (See J. G. Milne, *Greek Coinage*; H. A. Gruber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*; Mattingly, *op. cit.*; William Cooke, *The Medallic History of Imperial Rome*; Cohen, *op. cit.* One of the best in the field of the barbarian kingdoms is Wroth's work already cited.) The Vandals entered Gaul, then Spain, then Africa in 429, where the Vandal kingdom was established and organized, and their minting began; their overthrow was accomplished in 533, under Justinian, and the coinage of Justinian, the new master in Africa, began about 534. (Wroth, *op. cit.*, pp. xv, xxviii.) Under Odoacer, leader of the Herulian mercenaries, Italy had become a Teutonic kingdom, like Spain and Africa, and the last emperor of the West had been deposed. Odoacer fixed his capital at Ravenna. Here again we find the Ostrogothic coins. Yet the emperor at Constantinople still ruled, and his suzerainty as overlord was acknowledged by the lesser kingdoms. (*Ibid.*, pp. xxix, xxx.)

¹⁸ Finlay, *op. cit.*, p. 240. See also the citation of Bémont and Monod on page 516.

APPENDIX D

The Waldensian Antiquity Problem¹

I. Varying Views of Waldensian Origins

The Waldenses claimed to be a chain connected with the early church before Rome fell away from the apostolic faith. Under the circumstances it was virtually inevitable that the Papacy should call them a recent innovation, springing up suddenly to plague the ancient church, and reviving the gross errors of the older heretics. Brown comments on the conflicting views of the origin of the Waldenses in these clear lines:

"Two views of the origin of the Vaudois were put forward in the last century, the earlier by a learned French Vaudois, Muston, and the later by an Italian Vaudois professor, Comba. There is a great difference between the views of these two scholars. Muston points out the significance of the word Vaudois—dwellers in the valleys—and places their origin in very early times. On the other hand, Comba points out Waldo of Lyons as their founder, with the consequent denial of a pre-Waldo origin for the Vaudois. Muston, in ascribing to the Vaudois the dignity of an apostolic succession, indicates St. Ambrose and Claudius of Turin, among others, as being in the heretics' line of descent. M'Crie, who wrote a *History of the Reformation in Italy* some time before Muston wrote, also referred to the opposition to the papal pretensions in Italy, by such as the great See of Milan, even in the eleventh century. Like Muston, the Scottish historian drew attention to what we might term the 'Ambrosian resistance'—symbolized in the use of a liturgy different from that of Rome."²

I. THE TWO EXTREMES.—The contention that the Alpine Waldenses sprang merely from Peter the Waldensian, after 1173, was made, as we have seen, by the Romanist Bossuet—and some Protestants who followed him—who wished the world to think that the Valdensian "heresy" was of recent origin—not to mention their desire to blot out the beam of uncomfortable light focused upon the church's departures from the early faith.³ Some of the older Protestant writers claimed that the Waldenses formed a hidden apostolic succession back to the early church, and that they had preserved the apostolic faith unadulterated. They were the Vallenses, Valdenses, or Vaudois, men of the valleys, or the dense valleys, according to some writers.⁴ Indeed, Muston and Monastier conjectured that instead of these

¹ See pages 829-832.

² G. K. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

³ See page 830.

⁴ Robert Robinson, *Ecclesiastical Researches*, p. 302; Monastier, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-60; Arnaud, *op. cit.*, Author's Preface, p. xiii.

evangelicals taking their name from Waldo, he derived his name and doctrine from them.⁵

Peter Waldo of Lyons, it was pointed out, clearly had disciples to whom he left the name Waldenses, or Valdenses, derived from his own name, which, according to the early sources, was not Waldo, but Valdès, Valdus, Valdius, Valdensis, Valdesius, Valdexius, Gualdensis.⁶ But this did not prove that the Vaudois of the Alps derived their origin from him.⁷ Waldo was probably not his family name, for family names were not yet in general use.⁸ First names then were in vogue. He was Peter of the Valleys. And Peter's name, says Faber, could easily have been derived, in accordance with the time, from some town, people, or country, perhaps from the section named Valdis, Valden (Gallican form), or Vaudra, on the borders of France.⁹

2. THE NEWER VIEWS.—Although the reaction from the earlier apostolic-antiquity school of thought was a denial of any origin before Waldo, later writers show a trend away from that extreme reaction, and point out that the Waldensians in a larger sense were a fusion of earlier and later elements.

"Spreading into Lombardy, they [the followers of Waldo] met a party already organized and like-minded. This party was known as the Humiliati. Its adherents were plain in dress and abstained from oaths and falsehoods and from lawsuits. The language, used by the Third Oecumenical council and the synod of Verona, identified them with the Poor Men of Lyons.

"Originally, as we know from other sources, the two groups were closely affiliated. It is probable that Waldo and his followers on their visits in Lombardy won so much favor with the older sect that it accepted Waldo's leadership. At a later date, a portion of the [orthodox] Humiliati associated themselves in convents, and received the sanction of Innocent III. It seems probable that they furnished a model for the third order of St. Francis. One portion of the Humiliati early became known as the Poor Men of Lombardy and had among their leaders, John of Roncho. A portion of them, if not all, were treated by contemporaries as his followers and called Runcarii. Contemporary writers treat the two groups as parts of the same body and distinguish them as the Ultramontane and Lombard Poor Men or as the Ultramontane and Italic Brethren."¹⁰

There are differing opinions as to identifying the Italian Waldenses with various other older groups besides the Humiliati, but regardless of the exact interrelationships it seems settled that the Waldensians embrace

⁵ Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 10-14; Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁶ Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 450, 451; Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 346-350. Both cite many authorities. Note that several of these names are clearly appellative or derivative in form.

⁷ Bernard of Fontcaud (or Font Chaud, or Fontis Calidi) and Eberhard (Ebrard or Evrard) of Bethune are cited as speaking of the origin of "Valdenses" without mentioning Waldo. (Monastier, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-59; Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 18, note 2.)

⁸ Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 14; Monastier, *op. cit.*, p. 56; see also W. D. Bowman, *The Story of Surnames*, pp. 6-8.

⁹ Faber, *op. cit.*, pp. 450-453.

¹⁰ David S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, part 1, pp. 496, 497. Schaff's footnote says: "The exact relation of the Poor Men of Lyons to the Humiliati is still a matter of discussion. Müller, in his *Anfänge des Minoritenordens*, etc., has done much to change our knowledge of the Humiliati. The view taken above may account for the language of the Verona council, *Humiliati vel Pauperes de Lugduno*, which was probably chosen for the very purpose of indicating that the resemblance between the two parties was so close as to make it uncertain whether there were two sects or only one. This view seems to be borne out by the two statements of Salve Burce. Döllinger, II, 64, 74."

elements from several evangelical groups. The source materials are not plentiful, for the writings of the Waldenses themselves were systematically destroyed, and the records of their enemies must be used with caution.

II. Evidences Offered for Antiquity of the Waldenses

In examining the question of the *antiquity of the origin*, and the *apostolicity of the faith* of the Waldenses, we find that a fourfold body of evidence is advanced.

1. Admissions of Papal enemies as to their claim to antiquity.
2. Claims of Waldensian leaders to antiquity.
3. Evidences of connection with nonconformists of northern Italy between the fourth and twelfth centuries.
4. Witness of Protestant Reformers.

Space limitations permit drafting but briefly upon the evidence of the first three of these four fields at this point. The fourth is not source material, but is dependent upon earlier evidence. Concerning the first two, Morland says:

"True it is, That a great part of the most ancient Records, and Authentick Pieces, treating of, and discovering the Antiquity of those Churches, have been industriously sought after, and committed to the flames, by their bloody Persecutors, in the Years 1559, and 1560, that so the truth of their affairs might lie for ever smother'd under those ashes, and be buried in perpetual silence; nevertheless God has been so gracious to his Church, both in preserving, as it were by miracle, many Authentick Pieces relating to this particular, compiled and written by the ancient Inhabitants in their own proper Language, as also by suffering even the most eminent and bitter of their Adversaries, ever and anon unwarily to let fall many remarkable passages to this purpose, in those very Writings which they composed expressly against them; That by the help of these two *Mediums*, it will be easie to produce such Arguments for the antiquity of that Religion, which both they and we at this day profess, as are sufficient to convince any sober person, who does not wilfully shut his eyes against a noon-day truth."¹¹

III. Admissions of Papal Enemies as to Their Claim to Antiquity

1. AN INQUISITOR OF PASSAU.—In the middle of the thirteenth century, in Austria, this Anonymous of Passau wrote of the various ancient heretics, all of whom had been destroyed except the Manichaeans, Arians, Runcarians, and Leonists. Reporting on the origin of the Leonists—though writing to discredit them—he confesses to their claim of antiquity:

"Among all these sects, which either still exist or which have formerly existed, there is not one more pernicious to the Church than that of the Leonists: and this, for three reasons. The first reason is; because *It has been of longer continuance*: for some say, that it has lasted from the time of Sylvester; others, from the time of the Apostles. The second reason is; because, *It is more general*: for there is scarcely any land, in which this sect exists not. The third reason is; because, *While all other sects*, through the immanity of their blasphemies against God, strike horror into the hearers, this of the Leonists has a great semblance of piety; inasmuch as they live justly before men, and believe, together with all the Articles contained in the Creed, every point well respecting the Deity: *only*

¹¹ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

they blaspheme the Roman Church and Clergy; to which the multitude of the Laity are ready enough to give credence."¹²

That the Leonists of the time of this writer were Waldenses is shown, not only by his own further statement identifying the Poor Men of Lyons as Leonists,¹³ but by another selection from the same work of the Passau Inquisitor,¹⁴ which identifies the Poor Men of Lyons as Waldenses, as well as by other Latin source references.¹⁵

2. IMPLIED BY MONETA AND SALVUS BURCE.—Even before this the Waldensians' claim to antiquity is implied, although not positively stated, by both Salvus Burce (1235) and Moneta of Cremona (c. 1240), who contend against the Waldensians and use the argument of newness against the authority of their teachings.¹⁶

3. CONTROVERTED BY PILICHDORF AND OTHERS.—The Waldensian tradition of their descent from the time of Sylvester, when the Roman church departed from the faith by receiving possessions, is attacked by Peter of Pilichdorf, who contends that Waldo was the source, and the same argument is made by his continuator.¹⁷ In the sixteenth century Seyssel attacks a variant form of the same tradition in which the founder is called Leo.¹⁸

4. THE CHRONICLE OF URSBERG.—Burchard the chronicler included in the entry for 1212, in a reference to the papal approval of two orders, the statement that the Poor Men of Lyons originated in Italy.

"Long ago two sects arose in Italy and continue to the present time, some of whom called themselves Humiliati, others the Poor Men of Lyons, whom Pope Lucius once listed among the heretics."¹⁹

5. PETER THE INQUISITOR.—This monk of the Celestine order says of the Waldenses of Austria, in 1398: "They believe themselves the vicars and legitimate successors of the Apostles of Christ."²⁰ He adds that the Waldenses condemn the Roman church because she accepted and sought possessions from the time of Sylvester, and they believe the Waldensian sect to be the only Christian faith.²¹

IV. Claims of Waldensian Leaders to Antiquity

1. HENRI ARNAUD.—The man who led the "glorious return" of the

¹² Translated from *Reineri . . . Contra Waldenses*, chap. 4, in *MBVP*, vol. 25, p. 264 (translated also in *Faber, op. cit.*, pp. 272, 273, and in *Morland, op. cit.*, p. 28).

¹³ *Ibid.*, chap. 5.

¹⁴ Passau Inquisitor, *Summa de Haeresibus*, in *Döllinger, Beiträge*, pp. 300, 301.

¹⁵ See, in the same collection, *Rescriptum Haeresarcharum Lombardiae* on p. 42; Salvus Burce, *op. cit.*, on pp. 62, 70, 71; David of Augsburg, *Tractatus*, on p. 317.

¹⁶ Salvus Burce, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*, book 5, chap. 1, sec. 4, p. 402.

¹⁷ Peter of Pilichdorf, *Contra Sectam Waldensium*, in *MBVP*, vol. 25, p. 278, also p. 300 (his continuator).

¹⁸ Claudius Seyssel, quoted in *Faber, op. cit.*, p. 276 (original Latin).

¹⁹ Translated from Burchard, *op. cit.*, in *MGH, Scriptores*, vol. 23, p. 376. Theodore Belvedere, in his report to the papal congregation for the propagation of the faith, is said to have conceded that the Waldensian faith was not new; that what they were calling heresy had always been in Angrogna, the inner valley of the Waldensian chain. (*Morland, op. cit.*, p. 28, citing Theodore Belvedere.)

²⁰ Translated from the report of Peter the Inquisitor on the Austrian Waldenses, 1398, in *Döllinger, Beiträge*, vol. 2, p. 306, sec. 3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 306, sec. 4; p. 310, sec. 85.

Waldenses to their valleys in 1689 made this bold declaration, which records the tradition of apostolic origin:

"The Vaudois are, in fact, descended from those refugees from Italy who, after St. Paul had there preached the gospel, abandoned their beautiful country and fled, like the woman mentioned in the Apocalypse, to these wild mountains, where they have to this day handed down the gospel from father to son in the same purity and simplicity as it was preached by St. Paul."²²

Arnaud likewise cites the statement of Reiner, showing exactly how the leading Waldenses understood it. This is his paraphrase:

"That their [the Waldenses'] religion is as primitive as their name is venerable, is attested even by their adversaries. Regnerus the inquisitor, in a report made by him to the pope on the subject of their faith, expresses himself in these words, . . . that they have existed from time immemorial."²³

2. THE WALDENSIAN BARBE MOREL.—A century prior in addressing the Reformers of the sixteenth century, the Waldensian spokesman had put forth the same assertion of apostolical antiquity.

"Since indeed . . . we are teachers, of whatever kind, of a certain poor and weak people which has lived already more than 400 years, nay, as the natives frequently tell, from the time of the Apostles, among the most cruel thorns, not however, as any pious people might easily judge, without the great favor of Christ, and [although] often pierced and crucified by those same thorns has been freed by the aforementioned favor."²⁴

"In all things, however, we agree with you, and always from the time of the Apostles we have, thinking as you do, been in harmony concerning the faith."²⁵

3. THE OLIVÉTAN BIBLE.—In the solemn setting of the preface to the notable Olivétan French translation of the entire Bible (1535)—which was the Waldensian gift to the Reformation²⁶—the same strong claim is made:

"The faithfull people of the *Valleys* in the Year 1535 being at that time possessed of their ancient Histories and Manuscripts, testifying the Antiquity of their Churches, which were afterwards consumed to ashes by their Persecutours in the Years 1559. and 1560. caused to be printed at their own proper cost and charges the first *French Bible* that ever was put forth, or came to light, and that for the benefit of the *Evangelical Churches* where this Language was in use, and dedicated the same to God himself by the Pen of their Interpreter *Robert Olivétan*, in the Preface of the said Bible; which was a Piece most solemnly consecrated, and speaking as it were to God himself, wherein they mention, that they have always had the full enjoyment of that heavenly Truth contained in the holy Scriptures, ever since they were enriched with the same by the *Apostles* themselves."²⁷

4. UNCHALLENGED ASSERTION OF PRIOR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES.—In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the house of Savoy ruled over Piedmont. In numerous petitions and remonstrances by the Vaudois, they

²² Arnaud, *op. cit.*, Author's Preface, p. xiv.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

²⁴ Translated from Morel, letter to Oecolampadius, in Dieckhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

²⁶ Some maintain it was Farel who urged Olivétan to undertake the translation.

²⁷ Morland, *op. cit.*, p. 14. (The complete preface, in parallel French and English columns, appears on pages 15-26.)

urge their antiquity as a religious community, and therefore their prior and inherent rights as a body, and their enjoyment of those privileges long before Savoy ruled over Piedmont, even from time immemorial. And never was this challenged or contradicted. For example, in the "Humble Supplication of the Poor Waldenses," to Philibert Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy and Prince of Piedmont, in 1561, the Waldenses formally state:

"This Religion we profess, is not onely ours, nor hath it been invented by Men of late years, as it is falsely reported, but it is the Religion of our Fathers, Grand-fathers, and Great-grand-fathers, and other yet more ancient Predecessours of ours, and of the blessed Martyrs, Confessours, Prophets, and Apostles. . . . *This very same Religion hath for many Ages past been most grievously persecuted in all places.*"²⁸

In fact, all the ancient concessions received, Morland declares, state that "*the said Princes have permitted their Subjects to continue in the same Religion that they had received from their Ancestours, the which had been conveyed to them from Father to Son.*"²⁹

Such are the first two of the four lines of evidence. The third will next be presented in sections V and VI, with quotations from sources and authorities. The remainder of this appendix will be a discussion of the source material bearing on the origin of the Waldenses and their connections with earlier evangelical sects.

V. Examination of Arguments Used to Show Origin From Waldo

1. WALDO NAMED AS FOUNDER.—Most sources name Waldo as founder. But in nearly every instance these statements refer to the Poor Men of Lyons, that is, the French group, and not necessarily to the Italian. (See accompanying chart.)

This was a natural inference on the part of the Roman Catholics, for several reasons. Waldo's followers were more conspicuous than the Lombard "heretics" with whom they fused, and his leadership was for a time acknowledged by both groups, as is clear from the account of their meeting at Bergamo in 1218, after Waldo's death.³⁰ It was Waldo's leadership that rallied and organized these scattered "heretics" into aggressive evangelism. Further, the origin from Waldo was necessary to the Catholics for polemical reasons. Lack of evidence against the admittedly pious lives of the Waldenses made the charge of recent schism and the lack of valid authority their strongest argument against them. On the general orthodoxy of the Waldenses we have noted the testimony of the Passau Inquisitor. Two other extracts throw light on that picture of piety and insubordination:

"Because they see in many priests of the church bad examples of pride, avarice, incontinence, drunkenness, strife, anger, envy, and other vices, therefore they have more confidence in their heresiarchs, who furnish them with good examples of humility, generosity, chastity, sobriety, peace, love, gentleness, and

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 228. (Faber, *op. cit.*, p. 288, gives another English translation of the same.)

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁰ A Waldensian account of this meeting, written about twelve years later, is extant—a letter from the Lombard group to the brethren in Germany. See *Rescriptum*, in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, pp. 42-52.

other virtues, than in the aforementioned priests; and they more freely hear their preaching than these [priests], and more freely confess to them than to the latter, and believe them to have, from their good outward life, greater authority to absolve from sins than the latter, although they do not believe them to be ordained by ecclesiastical bishops."³¹

"They believe and teach to their believing friends [the laity] the 7 articles of faith and even the 7 sacraments, and the other things, for the greater part, which Catholics believe, except for their errors, which follow:

"They do not believe that the divine pope has as much power on earth as did St. Peter unless he were as good and holy as St. Peter was. Likewise they do not believe that purgatory exists except insofar as it is in this world. Likewise they do not believe that alms or prayers help the souls of the dead. Likewise they do not believe that anyone is allowed, without mortal sin, in any case in the world to kill a man or swear. Likewise they believe that it is valid to confess their sins to one another, according to St. James. Likewise they believe that those who are ordained among them into the *Sandaliati* can accomplish the work of Christ as well as the Catholic priests."³²

The Catholics were on the defensive here maintaining the perpetuity and exclusive character of the Roman church against those who claimed divine authority and ancient origin. The charge of innovation would be bolstered wherever possible by the contention of recent origin.³³ Some statements were therefore made and repeated by biased parties who would make the most of the argument.

"The history of the various heretical or schismatic sects which appear in Southern and Eastern Europe before the twelfth century is full of difficult problems. The orthodox [Catholic] opponents of these sects were inclined to include them all in the common title of heretics and rarely took any trouble to ascertain their respective tenets or to investigate their origins. . . . It is therefore dangerous to rely upon the statements of orthodox churchmen for information upon medieval heresies. . . . When the Inquisition began to examine individuals, a change of attitude in this respect can be noted; but, even then, examinations were often conducted under stress of prejudice or haste."³⁴

2. ARGUMENT FROM DERIVATION OF THE NAME.—The origin from Waldo is declared to be the only explanation of the name Waldenses. But the sources actually call Peter Waldo by the name *Valdius*, *Valdesius*, *Valdes*, *Valdensis*, *Valdexius*, *Gualdenis*—not by Waldo, apparently a modernized form. In the majority of the sources (see chart) it is *Waldensis*, a derivative form, the singular of *Waldenses*. Thus Peter Waldo was Peter the Waldensian. The appellative or derivative names, such as *Valdius*, *Valdesius*, *Waldensis*, indicate that Waldo did not originate the name, but derived it from an earlier source—a sect, possibly, or a locality.³⁵ In-

³¹ Translated from *Über die Waldenser*, document 26 in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, p. 336.

³² *De Pauperibus de Lugduno*, in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, p. 93. The *Sandaliati* mentioned are identified as the Waldensian "priests, masters, and leaders" who wear shoes (*sotulares*) "cut down" or "perforated." (*Ibid.*, pp. 92, 93, 96.) For other source evidence that the Waldensian itinerant preachers, before persecution developed, wore a distinctive type of shoe, cut at the top to look like sandals, and that consequently the names *Sandaliati* and *Sotularii* were applied to them, see two extracts from documents of the Inquisitions of Carcasonne and Languedoc, also *Summa de Haeresibus*, pp. 7, 233, and 299 respectively, in the same volume; see also Burchard, *op. cit.*, entry for 1212, p. 376, and translated in Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

³³ Salvus Burce argues at length to prove that the Waldenses, beginning only sixty years earlier from "Valdexius" or "Gualdensis," cannot be the true church. (Salvus Burce, *op. cit.*, in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, pp. 63, 64, 74.)

³⁴ H. J. Chaytor, *op. cit.*, pp. ix, x.

³⁵ Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 346-350.

TABULATION OF SOURCES ON WALDO AND THE ORIGIN OF THE WALDENSES

SOURCE	1. Waldo Founder of French Waldenses	2. Waldo Founder of Italian or German Branch	3. Pre-Waldo Traditions Mentioned	4. North Italian Derivation From or Connection With Earlier Heresies	5. Waldo=Waldensis or Valdensis	6. Waldo=Valdes or Valdesius	7. Waldo Geographical Name (Waldis, Waldten, Walle)	8. Waldenses From Valley	REFERENCES
Walter Map 1179									Walter Map's "De Nugis Curialium" (James trans.), p. 65.
Bull of Lucius III 1181, 1184									In Bullarum . . . Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis Editio, vol. 3, p. 20.
Alain de l'Isle c. 1184									Contra Haereticos, book 2, in Migne, PL, vol. 210, p. 378.
Bernard of Fontcaud c. 1190									Adversus Waldensium Sectam, in MBVP, vol. 24, p. 1585.
Eberhard of Bethune 1212									Ebrardi Liber Contra Valdenses, in MBVP, vol. 24, p. 1572.
Peter of Vaux Cernay c. 1218									Historia Albigensium, in Migne, PL, vol. 213, col. 548.
Anonymous Chronicle of Laon c. 1219									"Ex Chronico Universali Anonymi Laudunensis," in MGH, Scriptores, vol. 24, pp. 447-449.
Stephen of Bourbon c. 1225									Septem Doua Spiritus, part 4, title 7, in Anecdotes Historiques, pp. 280, 290-293.
Burchard of Ursperg c. 1229				*					Chronicon, entry for 1212, in MGH, Scriptores, vol. 23, p. 376.
Rescriptum (W) c. 1230									Rescriptum Haeresiarcharum Lombardiae, in Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 42 ff.
Salvus Burce 1235									Supra Stella, in Döllinger, Beiträge, vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 63, 64, 74.
Moneta of Cremona 1244									Adversus Catharos et Valdenses, book 5, chap. 1, sec. 4.
Passau Anonymous (Pseudo Reiner) c. 1260									Reineri . . . Contra Waldenses, chaps. 4, 5, in MBVP, vol. 25, p. 264.
Passau Anonymous (Summa de Haeresibus) c. 1260									Summa de Haeresibus, in Döllinger, Beiträge, vol. 2, no. 14, pp. 300, 301.
David of Augsburg c. 1274									Tractatus (Preger ed.), in Abh. der kgl. bayerischen Akad. der Wiss., Class 111, vol. 14, part 2, pp. 203-207, 216.
Inquisition of Carcassonne 14th cent.									Auszüge aus den Acten der Inquisition zu Carcassonne, in Döllinger, Beiträge, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 6, 7.
Johannes Leser 1368									Auszüge aus einer Schrift des Johannes Leser, in Döllinger, Beiträge, vol. 2, no. 29, pp. 352, 357.
Epistola Fratrum (W) 1368		**							Epistola Fratrum de Italia, in Döllinger, Beiträge, vol. 2, no. 29, pp. 356-359.
Peter the Inquisitor 1398									Bericht . . . über die österreichischen Waldenser, in Döllinger, Beiträge, vol. 2, no. 17, p. 306, secs. 3, 4, and p. 310, sec. 85.
Peter of Pilchdorf 1444									Contra Sectam Waldensium Liber, chap. 1, in MBVP, vol. 278, also his continuator on p. 300 of the same volume.
Nota Primo (Cod. Windberg) 15th cent.									Nota Primo Puncta seu Articulus Notabiliores Sectae Waldensium, in Döllinger, Beiträge, vol. 2, no. 16, p. 304.
Morel (W) 1530									A. W. Dieckhoff, Die Waldenser im Mittelalter, pp. 363, 368.

*Sprang up in Italy.

**Not founder but restorer.

Stated.
 Implied.

**TABULATION OF SOURCES CONCERNING
PETER WALDO AND THE ORIGIN OF THE WALDENSES ***

Breakdown of Leading Source Statements to Show Proportionate Distribution of Evidence for Peter Waldo as Founder, and for Pre-Waldo Origins of the Waldenses, as Well as Etymology of Names Waldo and Waldenses.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHART:

1. It is obvious that Peter Waldo founded the Poor Men of Lyons (col. 1). On this Catholic sources are practically unanimous.

2. It is obvious that the north Italian, or Lombard, Waldenses were linked with, and influenced by, Waldo and his Poor Men of Lyons.

3. Only a few of the sources (col. 2) specifically attribute to Waldo the founding of the Lombard wing also. (This aspect has not heretofore received sufficient attention.) Inasmuch as the name Waldensian was applied to both the Poor Men of Lyons and the Poor Men of Lombardy, the general impression that Waldo was the founder of the group could easily obscure the connection of the Italian Waldenses with earlier "heretics."

4. The Waldensian claims of an earlier origin, from the time of Sylvester or earlier, are well known (col. 3), and were mentioned by Catholics as early as 1240 or 1250.

5. Some of the same Catholic authorities who assert that Waldo was the founder of the Poor Men of Lyons, say that they mingled with other heresies—and some identify these as the *older heresies* in north Italy (col. 4).

6. One chronicle, in 1229, ignores Waldo, and says the Waldenses sprang up long before in *Italy*.

7. A number of Catholic writers (col. 4) link the Waldensians in Italy with other heresies—more than the number of those who imply Waldo was the founder of the Lombardian Waldenses.

8. The argument that Waldo must be the founder because there is no other way to account for the name (cols. 5, 6) is out of harmony with the fact that he is never called Waldo in the sources, but is referred to by half a dozen other names, several of which are derivative or appellative, as Valdez or Valdesius (says Elliott), and unquestionably Valdensis. The majority of the sources call him Waldensis or Valdensis, which is only the singular of the more familiar plural Waldenses. This does not prove that Waldo was a Valdensis from a Valdensian sect rather than from a geographical place; yet it refutes the argument that all the evangelicals known as Waldensians necessarily came from him because of the name.

9. Four fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources (col. 7) derive Waldo's name from a geographical term, although this is rather late to establish anything.

10. Three Catholic writers mention a derivation of the name Waldenses from "valley." Eberhard of Bethune and Bernard of Fontcaud, living within fifty years of Waldo, make no mention of him as founder, but offer the derivation (if indeed they are not puns, which is possible, and even probable) of the name Waldenses from valley—"because they live in a dense valley of error," "because they live in a vale of tears." Besides these two figurative statements, one thirteenth-century source also mentions a derivation of the name Waldenses from valley (col. 8).

* This summarization of source materials on Waldensian origins is based on research by Julia Neuffer.

deed, several Catholic sources explain Waldo's name "Petrus Waldensis" (precisely Peter the Waldensian) as derived from a place—"the city of Walden, which is situated on the borders of France,"³⁶ or the "region of Waldis,"³⁷ and a Waldensian source calls him "Petrus de Walle" (Peter of Val) and "Peter Waldensian."³⁸ (See chart.)

A few Catholic sources derive Waldenses from *vallis*, valley, two of them figuratively, and two literally. Bernard of Fontcaud (c. 1209) says, "They are called Valdenses, without doubt, from a dense valley (*vallis densa*), because they are surrounded by deep and dense shadows of errors"; and Eberhard of Bethune (c. 1212) says that they "call themselves Vallenses because they remain in a vale of tears."³⁹ The Anonymous of Passau says, "They are called Waldenses from their master Waldunus, or from a valley as some say, because they arose in a certain valley," and an anonymous document from Strassburg also mentions the derivation from valley in almost the same words.⁴⁰

The difficulty in the valley derivation is that etymology does not account for the insertion of a *d* in Vallenses to result in Valdenses; yet a *d* could be accounted for from *vallis densa*, or from *Val Die*, or district of *Vaud*.⁴¹

3. DIFFICULTIES OF "APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION" THEORY.—The fact that the Waldenses were less evangelical than formerly argued by enthusiastic Protestants—which creates difficulties for a theory of continuous transmission of primitive apostolic faith—has been taken as leaving origin from Waldo as the only alternative. But it is not necessary to contend that they had all the evangelical light in that dark age, regardless of how old they were. Neither did the Protestant Reformers later have all the light. And the Waldenses themselves regarded their apostolic succession as spiritual, not visible.

"The Church of Christ," says the monk Rainerius Saccho, 'continued in her bishops and other prelates, down to the blessed Sylvester; but under his reign it declined until the Restoration, which was their work. They say, however, that at all times there have been God-fearing people who have been saved.' . . . 'They say,' repeats the monk Moneta, 'that the Church of God had declined in the time of Sylvester, and that in these days it had been re-established by their efforts, commencing with Waldo.' 'They call themselves successors of the Apostles,' adds monk David of Augsburg, 'and say they are in possession of the apostolic authority, and of the keys to bind and unbind.'"⁴²

The Waldensians were quoted as saying "that those only are succes-

³⁶ Peter of Pilichdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 300 (Pilichdorf's continuator); also Extract from a work by Johannes Leser against the Waldenses, and *Nota Primo Puncta seu Articulis Notabiliores Sectae Waldensium*, in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, pp. 352, 357 n., and 304 respectively.

³⁸ *Letter from the Lombard Brethren*, original Latin *Epistola Fratrum de Italia*, in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, pp. 357, 359; translation in Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 202.

³⁹ Bernard of Fontcaud, *Adversus Waldensium Sectam*, and Eberhard of Bethune, *Liber Contra Valdenses*, in *MBVP*, vol. 24, pp. 1585 and 1572 respectively.

⁴⁰ Passau Inquisitor, *Summa de Haeresibus*, in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, p. 300.

⁴¹ Elliott, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 350, 351.

⁴² Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

sors of the apostles who follow their life,"⁴³ "that they are the church of Christ because they observe, by word and example, the teaching of Christ, of the gospel, and of the Apostles,"⁴⁴ and that "the church of God remained lost many years," until it was restored by them.⁴⁵

As for their being evangelical, it is certain that the Waldenses included various groups and fusions of beliefs and practices, some more and some less evangelical, varying in time and place concerning such points as the status of the clergy, the nature of the Eucharist, the validity of sacraments, baptism, et cetera.⁴⁶

The French Waldenses were always more conservative than the Lombards, who moved farther away from Catholic orthodoxy. This was doubtless due to the latter's heritage of dissent. Pennington contends, against Comba's view, that the settlement of the valleys of the Piedmont was made from Lombardy, not from Dauphiné. In this connection he says:

"They are the descendants of Bishop Claud of Turin in the ninth century in this sense, that, as he protested against the worship of images, so they represent another movement having the word and the tradition of the church from the Apostles for its warrant."⁴⁷

As such, they were, if not Protestants, genuine protesters, and fore-runners of Protestantism. Beard testifies:

"The Vaudois remained in their own valleys, as they still remain, faithful, under much persecution, to their ancestral principles; and when, about 1526, they opened communications with the Reformed Churches of Switzerland and Germany, they found that, *if they had something to learn, they had nothing to unlearn*. Here, it would seem, we have the Reformation, not merely in germ, but in blossom and in fruit; and yet, for the general purposes of European life, the tree was barren. The time of ingathering was not yet: the Waldenses were men born, as it were, out of due season."⁴⁸

Although Vedder regards it as certain that the Waldenses, in the narrow sense of the Poor Men of Lyons, originated with Waldo about 1170, he does not deny an origin prior to Waldo to some other groups embraced under the name Waldenses. He says:

"For myself, I regard it as satisfactorily established that the Poor of Lombardy, commonly identified with the Waldenses, had an independent origin, and were descended from that more or less evangelical party in Italy which, under the various titles of Humiliati, Arnoldistae, Paterini, Pauliciani, existed several centuries prior to the time of Waldo. In southern France itself it is demonstrable that the Petrobrusians, who preceded the Waldensians by a half century, were even more evangelical than the followers of Waldo. My own conclusion from all the facts thus far established is that the Waldensians absorbed and gave their name to preexisting sects of evangelical believers, like the Petrobrusians, and that thus, and thus only, can we satisfactorily account for the rapid growth and wide diffusion of the Waldenses and their teachings in the thirteenth century. Many bits of scattered evidence confirm this view."⁴⁹

⁴³ David of Augsburg, *op. cit.* (Freger ed.), p. 214; cf. a similar statement by a woman in 1417 (Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, p. 362).

⁴⁴ Passau Inquisitor, *Reineri . . . Liber*, p. 265.

⁴⁵ Salvus Burce, *op. cit.*, in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, p. 74.

⁴⁶ See *Rescriptum*, in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, pp. 42-52.

⁴⁷ Arthur Robert Pennington, *The Church in Italy*, p. 316.

⁴⁸ Beard, *op. cit.*, p. 26. (Italics supplied.)

⁴⁹ Vedder, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

"There [at the conference of Bergamo, 1218] representatives of the Poor of Lyons (the original Waldenses, as I believe) and the Poor of Lombardy (an older sect that had come to bear the same name) discussed their differences."⁶⁰

VI. Evidences for Earlier Roots in Italy

Let us examine some of the "bits of scattered evidence" which point to roots earlier than Waldo for the Italian branch of the Waldenses. The Poor Men of Lombardy show distinct signs of being more than a mere offshoot of the Poor Men of Lyons. Their differences are noteworthy.

1. ITALIAN WALDENSES MORE EVANGELICAL THAN FRENCH.—The Italian Waldenses, and the German Waldenses, who seem to have been closely connected with them, were much more evangelical and more anti-Roman, with characteristics which would more likely be derived from the earlier line of evangelical dissent than from Waldo's Poor Men of Lyons. They came, as we have seen, to hold eventually that the church based on a corrupt priesthood was not the church at all; that Rome was the apocalyptic Beast, Harlot, et cetera.

The *Rescriptum* shows that the Lombard Waldenses rejected, while the French accepted, sacraments from an unworthy priest; the French preferred celibate evangelism to marriage, whereas among the Lombards a husband could not undertake such celibacy without the spouse's consent. The Lombards wanted recognition of "congregations of workmen," which the French opposed, possibly because the latter did not engage in any labor; the French seemed to revere Waldo more than did the Lombards; the Lombards were nearer the Protestant position, and moved further in that direction as time passed. Gebhart says that the Italian Waldenses separated themselves more from the church than the French, but were more tolerant as to the profession of absolute poverty; they called themselves the "Humiliated."⁶¹

2. OLDER TRADITION OF DISSENT.—In north Italy, as we have seen, there had long been a spirit of independence and dissent, for which the Waldenses showed affinities.

"Nowhere was this changing, critical spirit more evident than in Lombardy, ever restive under assertions of papal power, ever a fertile field for freedom either religious or political, ever a comfortable abiding-place for heretics. For more than two centuries the seed had been sown, first by one group and then by another. . . . So in this region a number of religious associations, seeking evangelical poverty, sprang up after 1150, one and all appealing to the ideals of the primitive Church and to the simplicity of life prescribed by Christ. . . . Possibly the impulse was but the aftermath of Patarini and Arnoldisti in their midst, whose evangelical austerity, denunciation of tithes and clerical luxury bore evident fruit in this Lombard plain, particularly among the lower clergy."⁶²

3. WALDENSES JOINED OLDER DISSENTERS.—The source materials show that the followers of Peter Waldo spread into Lombardy, mingling with

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 488, 489.

⁶¹ Emile Gebhart, *Mystics & Heretics in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages*, p. 58.

⁶² Davison, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 172.

other "heretics" already there, and absorbing and propagating these older teachings.

"We have decisive proof that the followers of Peter Waldo entered into relations of some kind with some evangelical party in Lombardy. . . . From this document [the *Rescriptum Haeresiarcharum*] it is evident that some time before the Waldenses had formed a more or less closely cemented union with an evangelical party that they found already in Italy."⁵³

"The preservation of the Rescript by the Passau Anonymous indicates the close relationship of the Passau 'Leonists' of 1260 with the Italian Poor Men of the 'Rescript.'"⁵⁴

Even the contemporary Catholics who were taunting the Waldenses with their recent origin admitted that there were older elements. Stephen of Bourbon, in his tracts on the seven gifts of the Spirit, speaks of Waldo's Poor Men as "afterwards in the land of Provence and Lombardy, mingling themselves with other heretics and imbibing and sowing their error."⁵⁵ And these were *older* heresies, according to other accounts. Says an Inquisition record:

"Excommunicated [by the Archbishop of Lyons, the Waldenses] were expelled from that city and country. Thus multiplied over the land, they dispersed themselves through that province and through the neighboring regions and the borders of Lombardy, and cut off from the church, mingling themselves with other heretics and imbibing their errors, they mixed with their own inventions the errors and heresies of ancient heretics."⁵⁶

David of Augsburg likewise says:

"They were given over to Satan, they were precipitated thence into innumerable errors and mingled the errors of the ancient heretics with their own inventions."⁵⁷

This fusion, now generally recognized among authorities, is evidently the basis for the tradition of pre-Waldo derivation.

Peter Waldo and his followers "formed a centre around which gathered the Arnoldisti and the Humiliati of Italy, the Petrobrusians and Albigensians of France, and perhaps the Apostolics of the Rhine Valley. The sect resulting from the fusion of these elements, so strong that the whole force of the Church did not avail to crush it, mirrors the trend of the twelfth-century movement for evangelical poverty. From the beginning the Waldensians were better known than were most of their contemporaries."⁵⁸

"Some claimed Claude, Bishop of Turin (822-839), as their founder; others held that they were the successors of a small group of good men who had protested against the degradation of the Church in the days of Sylvester and Constantine. Later historians think the nucleus of the Italian Waldensians was the False Humiliati, while still others have connected them with the followers of Arnold of Brescia. It is certain, at all events, that the later Waldensians of Piedmont were a fusion of various sects and that they were a formidable group."⁵⁹

4. ITALIAN SOURCE OF ANTIQUITY TRADITION.—It is in Italy and

⁵³ Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 571.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 575.

⁵⁵ Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus de Diversis Materiis Praedicabilibus . . . Secundum Septem Dona Spiritus*, in *Anecdotes Historiques*, p. 293.

⁵⁶ From the Acts of the Inquisition of Carcassonne, in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, pp. 6, 7.

⁵⁷ David of Augsburg, *op. cit.* (Preger ed.), p. 206.

⁵⁸ Davison, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

Austria, rather than in France, that the Waldensian tradition of antiquity is principally found. Moneta of Cremona, Salvus Burce of Piacenza, the Inquisitor of Passau, Austria, and Pilichdorf of Vienna all refer to the tradition, either directly or by implication.⁶⁰ The Waldensian statement of this claim is given in a letter from the Poor Men of Lombardy to brethren in Germany. After telling of the church's departure from apostolic principles through Sylvester's acceptance of the supposed Donation of Constantine, and of the exile of the faithful few who retained their profession of poverty, the letter continues:

"When the servants of Christ seemed to have disappeared because of persecution, a man was raised up. He was named Peter of Val, . . . he was not the founder, but the reformer of our order."⁶¹

5. SOURCE REFERENCES EQUATING WALDENSES WITH OLDER GROUPS.—We find this fusion of Waldo's followers with older heretics attested by the statements of contemporaries identifying the sect with older names.

The first papal decree against them was the bull *Ad Abolendam* of Lucius III at the Council of Verona:

"By the present decree we condemn all heresies; therefore we first anathematize the Cathari and the Patarins, as well as those who conceal themselves under the name of Humiliati or Poor of Lyons, the Passagins, Josephites, and Arnaldists."⁶²

Burchard of Ursperg referred to this when he said:

"Formerly two sects, rising in Italy, continue until the present, one of which calls itself the Humiliati, the other the Poor Men of Lyons, whom Pope Lucius once inscribed among the heretics."⁶³

It is noteworthy that Burchard ascribes the place of origin as Italy. This would imply that the Italian branch was the older. David of Augsburg makes a multiple identification.

"The Poor Men of Lyons and the Ortidiebarii and Arnostuste [the Arnaldists] and the Runcharii and the Waldenses and others are said to have been formerly one sect."⁶⁴

6. INDICATIONS OF AFFINITY WITH EARLIER GROUPS.—Waldo's Poor Men of Lyons are said to have mingled with older heretics in Italy, and some of them have been named. Do the teachings of the Waldenses in Italy show any affinities with the teachings of any older heretics? The following list will show that various doctrines and practices of the Italian and Austrian Waldenses reflect the background of earlier dissenters in northern Italy and neighboring territory who taught similar doctrines:

- (1) Workingmen's congregations—Humiliati.
- (2) Lay family life and property—Humiliati.
- (3) Aversion to oaths—Humiliati.

⁶⁰ Comba, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 200.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁶² Quoted in Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 38. For the Latin see *Bullarum . . . Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis Editio*, vol. 3, p. 20.

⁶³ Translated from Burchard, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

⁶⁴ Translated from David of Augsburg, *op. cit.* (Preger ed.), p. 216.

- (4) Apostolic ideal—Humiliati, Arnold of Brescia, Peter de Bruys.
- (5) Unorthodox views on baptism—Arnold, Peter, and Henry.
- (6) Unorthodox views on the sacraments—Arnold, Peter, and Henry.
- (7) Reaction against wealth of church—Humiliati, Arnold.
- (8) Exaltation of the Scriptures—Claudius of Turin, Peter, and Henry.
- (9) Pious and simple lives—Humiliati, Arnold, Peter, and Henry.
- (10) Aversion to the veneration of the cross—Peter, Henry, and Claudius.
- (11) Aversion to images—Peter, Henry, and Claudius.
- (12) Rejection of prayers for dead—Peter, Henry, and Claudius.
- (13) Lack of dependence on church buildings for true worship—Peter and Henry.
- (14) Disregard for church fasts and holy days—Peter and Henry.
- (15) Direct relation of believer to God—Claudius.
- (16) Aversion to saint worship—Peter, Henry, and Claudius.⁶⁵

VII. Conclusions

The testimony of the leading sources is obviously contradictory in parts, and incomplete as a whole. But an analysis of the chart shows that the almost solid block of testimony for origin from Waldo is applicable specifically to the *French* Waldenses; only two specifically attribute the Italian Waldenses likewise to Waldo. A few imply it through not defining the term Waldenses, or by referring to the leadership of Waldo. This is not the same as stating that he originated the Italian group.

On the one hand the derivative aspect of Waldo's name weakens the argument that the name Waldensian must be accounted for by origin from him; on the other hand, the scattered evidences that point unmistakably to derivation from, or at least affinity with, earlier periods in Italy exist to an extent that is surprising, considering that it came from enemies who had not only a natural tendency but a controversial interest in emphasizing Waldo as the founder. This is highly significant.

⁶⁵ For the teachings of these earlier dissenters, see chapter 33, and Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 558-566. For lists of Waldensian teachings and practices, see chapters 34, 35, and the following sources and authorities. LATIN: David of Augsburg, *op. cit.* (Preger ed.), pp. 206-211, 215, 217; Passau Inquisitor, *Reineri . . . Liber*, in *MBVP*, vol. 25, p. 265; Stephen of Bourbon, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-299; Report of Peter the Inquisitor, in Preger, *Beiträge*, pp. 246-250 (also in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2, pp. 305-311); Morel, Letter, in Dieckhoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 363-373; and the following in Döllinger, *Beiträge*, vol. 2: Extracts from Acts of the Inquisition of Carcassonne, pp. 7-14; *Rescriptum Haeresarcharum Lombardiae*, pp. 42-52; *Nota Primo*, pp. 304, 305; *Über die Waldenser*, pp. 335-342; *Articuli Haeresum in Maguntia*, pp. 620, 621; for the Bohemian Brethren known as Picards, Waldensian Brethren, or simply Waldenses, see *Summa Picardicarum Rerum*, pp. 635-641 and *Summarium Impiae et Pharisaeicae Picardorum Religionis*, pp. 661-664.

ENGLISH: translations and extracts in Comba, *op. cit.* (The *Rescriptum*, pp. 70-73, *Epistola Fratrum*, pp. 195-204; Morel's letter, pp. 153, 154, 290-298), give a partial picture of the Waldensian statement of the case, and various enumerations and descriptions (pp. 244-289) are summarized from Catholic sources. See summaries in Albert H. Newman, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 571-579. For a useful though old bibliography on the Waldensians in general, see Muston, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 397-489.

Now that the battle smoke has cleared somewhat from the Catholic-Protestant polemics of a century ago over this issue, it is becoming more apparent that the sources, which the contestants once flung at each other, are less contradictory than was supposed, if considered in relation to the whole body of evidence. If later scholarship has declined to accept as proved a literal Waldensian apostolic succession, it has recognized the existence of evidences which point to older roots than Waldo for the more evangelical branch in Italy. Thus Adeney says:

"Neither is it right to say that the Waldenses are simply the followers of Waldo of Lyons. It does not appear that he simply founded the community *de novo*, or that its evangelical and Protestant character is entirely due to his influence. The ideas were in the air, the spirit was alive and awake, when Waldo and his Poor Men came with apostolic fervour to embrace them and blend them with their own version of the teaching of Jesus. There were Arnoldists, Petrobrusians, and Henricians before Waldo, existing as scattered religionists. But it was his movement that gathered in the harvest of their lives and brought about the formation of a Waldensian Church. . . .

"[About 1180] Bernard of Fontcaude wrote a book entitled *Adversus Valenses et Arianos*. It seems that these discussions arose out of the union of the Petrobrusians and Henricians with the Poor Men of Lyons in Provence. About the same time Waldo's followers united with the Arnaldists in Lombardy. Thus the Waldenses of France and Italy were united, and their union was cemented by persecution. . . . Division between the two parties arose out of the teaching of the Italian Waldenses that the sacraments could not be efficacious if administered by priests of unworthy character, while the French Waldenses did not accept this view. Holding the Roman Catholic priests to be morally wrong in many of their practices, because unscriptural, the Italians repudiated all their sacraments. At the same time this branch of the Waldenses insisted most strongly on close adherence to NT teaching and practice generally and on rejection of everything in the Church which lacked that authority. Thus they were the more thoroughgoing anti-Romanists. . . . Nevertheless fraternal intercourse came to be established in course of time between these two branches of Waldenses."⁶⁶

And Preger asserts, "We found that the Italian branches cannot be traced back only to Waldez [Waldo] and the Waldenses, but that they must have an independent history apart from Waldez."⁶⁷

As a result of the modern studies of medieval heresies and reform movements, the conclusion seems to be general that, whatever Waldo and his French Waldenses may have contributed in the way of organization and impetus, the whole movement known as Waldensian must be accounted for as a fusion of his group with others of older rootage in north Italy.

⁶⁶ Adeney, *op. cit.*, pp. 666, 667.

⁶⁷ Translated from Preger, "Beiträge," p. 209.

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This list does not include hundreds of works alluded to, and often named in the text, but not specifically cited. It is virtually confined to those works for which specific credit appears in the footnotes. The works are classified under three headings: books, periodicals and other serials, and manuscript material.

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Index

The classification in this Index is threefold. It includes the names of all expositors and other individuals cited, all prophetic terms employed, and topics discussed. The topics, however, are based upon key words rather than upon the subdivisions of the various subjects. The main discussions of the different commentators are indicated by the inclusive figures in italics, as pages *415-425* for Ambrose of Milan. Book, pamphlet, periodical, and manuscript titles are not repeated here, as they appear in the Bibliography, which begins on page 953, with page reference to all citations given in connection with each work.

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