

# Historical Overview of Dan 11:29-35

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## Introduction

The object of this paper is to apply Dan 11:29-35 to history in a responsible and detailed manner. Any application of these verses, regardless what school of thought it represents, must have a timeframe and answer questions as to the relative sequence of events within the passage. The way in which I propose facing these seemingly external challenges is by turning inward to the text of the passage. I submit that when we take what the angel is saying to Daniel in this section together with what he has said before, considering the form as well as the content of the narrative, an application will emerge naturally from our study.

The question of which era in history provides the timeframe for vss. 29-35 is best answered in light of vss. 16-28. If we place the cross at the center of the middle third of the chapter and allow events on either side of vs. 22 to place the historical fact of the crucifixion in its proper context, then at vs. 29 we are ready to move on to a later era, i.e., an era later than that of the crucifixion. I have argued elsewhere that the three major sections of Dan 11 follow each other in time.<sup>1</sup> After a passing allusion to Persia (vs. 2), roughly one third of the chapter is devoted to events during the Hellenistic period (vss. 3-15), one third to events under Rome (vss. 16-28), and one third to events during and after the breakup of the Roman Empire (vss. 29-45). Thus, what the angel said would happen has in fact actually happened--not in some distant or obscure way but in a manner that can be documented without aid of sectarian bias from the shelves of any library which has historical resources adequate to the task.<sup>2</sup>

Once it is agreed that vss. 29-35 describe real historical events after the cross, i.e., during the last 2000 years, there are still important questions to be answered as regards mapping the passage onto time. Again, the answer must be allowed to emerge naturally from the structure of the passage. There are three blocs of verses within vss. 29-35. I suggest that these blocs--and not the individual verses or clauses within them--represent the unit of temporal progression. It is imperative that this concept be understood if we wish to make any substantial headway in applying Dan 11 to history. Each bloc follows the one before it historically, but verses within blocs may not. At each point, then, the question must be, What is a unit of text? A unit of text is a unit of time. The one follows from the other and in this way the application grows out of the passage, whether we are dealing with sections, subsections, blocs, or whatever. Nor is this some sort of academic exercise reserved for scholars. It is a tool that lay Bible students can also learn to use and appreciate.

In terms of the historical application I propose below, the three main blocs of verses within Dan 11:29-35 correspond respectively to (1) the period of the Roman Empire's disintegration and the church's struggle to assert itself, (2) the period of the Roman church's ecclesiastical authority that characterizes the thousand years of the middle ages from roughly A.D. 500 to 1500, and (3) the Protestant Reformation.

I am not unaware that models for Dan 11 abound which take Antiochus Epiphanes as their starting point.<sup>3</sup> There are two reasons for the ongoing popularity of Antiochus. One is exegetical in nature. If a preponderance of attention is focused on Antiochus, the claim for a predictive element in the prophecy does not arise and can be ignored. This is a major point but it is not the only one. The second is on a more subjective level. Any interpretation that confines itself to the distant past (the preterist approach), or which divides the application between the distant past and the near future (the futurist approach), has the effect of excluding from the discussion any reference to the Christian church. But what would God be expected to have any greater interest in than His believing people on earth during this time? Any interpretation that omits God's own focus of special attention as a precondition for understanding His vision of the future is fundamentally and irreparably flawed. The net effect in either case is to interpret the prophecy without facing the natural implications of what the prophecy says. In it God has some good things to say. He also has some bad things to say. But good or bad, whatever it is, we must allow Him to speak or risk standing in opposition to His will.

If we bring Dan 11:29-35 and 36-39 together with such other passages as Matt 24:15; 2 Thess 2:3-4; Rev 2:20-23; 17:3-6, and if we acknowledge that what Paul predicted would happen in 2 Thess 2:3-4 is true and can now be verified as history, we are raising more than historical issues. Antiochus has no modern constituency; the church that dominated western European affairs for a thousand years of the present era does. Delicacy cries out for the past to remain cloaked in silence. But the prophecy cries out for it to be carefully examined and understood. The two goals are at odds with each other and cannot be entirely reconciled. There is a point beyond which one cannot have it both ways. Below I attempt to draw connections between the text of Dan 11:29-35 and the known data of historical evidence. It is not my purpose to be inflammatory. And yet, on the other hand, I do not endeavor to keep the prophecy from saying what it obviously says.

## Outlining the Passage

As a first approximation, we could begin our analysis by dividing the present passage as vss. 29-30, 31-32, and 33-35. A problem with this arrangement, however, is that one part of vs. 30 completes a previous thought and the last part begins another. The division of verses does not correspond exactly to the flow of thought. It would be accurate to divide the section as vss. 29-30b, 30c-32, and 33-35.

### Structure of the passage

Daniel 11:29-35 outlines very cleanly. As we attempt to understand the sequence of events across blocs this fact will be of invaluable assistance. See text exhibit 1.

Text Exhibit 1  
Text of the Passage

Prologue

"At the appointed time" (vs. 29a)

Bloc 1: Nonchiastic

- A "he will invade the South again," (vs. 29b)
- B "but this time the outcome will be different from what it was before." (vs. 29c)
- A' "Ships of the western coastlands will oppose him," (vs. 30a)
- B' "and he will lose heart." (vs. 30b)

Bloc 2: Chiastic

- A "Then he will turn back and vent his fury against the holy covenant." (vs. 30c)
- B "He will return and show favor to those who forsake the holy covenant." (vs. 30d)
- C "His armed forces will rise up to desecrate the temple fortress and will abolish the daily sacrifice." (vs. 31a)
- C' "Then they will set up the abomination that causes desolation." (vs. 31b)
- B' "With flattery he will corrupt those who have violated the holy covenant," (vs. 32a)
- A' "but the people who know their God will firmly resist him." (vs. 32b)

Bloc 3: Nonchiastic

- A "Those who are wise will instruct many," (vs. 33a)
- B "though for a time they will fall by the sword or be burned or captured or plundered." (vs. 33b)
- A' "When they fall, they will receive a little help," (vs. 34a)
- B' "and many who are not sincere will join them." (vs. 34b)

Epilogue

"Some of the wise will stumble, so that they may be refined, purified and made spotless until the time of the end, for it will still come at the appointed time." (vs. 35)

The entire passage has been quoted. We now summarize its essential features. Notice that there is a prologue (vs. 29a) and an epilogue (vs. 35), both of which deal with time. See table 1.

Table 1  
Essential Features of the Passage

Clause	Topic	Text	Vs
Prologue Relating to Time			29a
Bloc 1			
Self			
A	Aggression	"he will invade" (Èb <sub>z</sub> < bannegeb)	29b
B	Results	"different from . . . before [and after]"	29c
Other			
A'	Aggression	"[they] will oppose him" (Èb <sub>z</sub> <È)	30a
B'	Results	"he will lose heart"	30b
Bloc 2			
A	Covenant (+)	"holy covenant"	30c
B	Covenant (-)	"those who forsake the covenant"	30d
C	Temple	"desecrate the temple fortress"	31a
C'	Temple	"set up [in the temple] the abomination of desolation"	31b
B'	Covenant (-)	"those who have violated the covenant"	32a
A'	Covenant (+)	"the people who know their God [=keeping the covenant]"	32b
Bloc 3			
Self			
A	Positive	"[the wise] will instruct many"	33a
B	Negative	"they will fall by the sword"	33b
Other			
A'	Positive	"they will receive a little help"	34a
B'	Negative	"many . . . will join them insincerely"	34b
Epilogue Relating to Time			35

The outer blocs (1, 3) are nonchiastic (ABA'B'), the inner bloc (2) chiastic (ABCC'B'A'). Both ""the holy covenant"" (i.e., people who keep the covenant) (a, vs. 30c) and ""the people who know their God"" (a', vs. 32b) represent a positive orientation to the covenant. Both ""those who forsake the holy covenant"" (b, vs. 30d) and ""those who have violated the covenant"" (b', vs. 32a) represent a negative orientation to the covenant. And the facts that ""he will desecrate the temple fortress"" (c, vs. 31a) and that ""he will set up [in the temple] the abomination that causes desolation"" (c', vs. 31b) represent facts about the temple that are negative. See table 2 (below).

Table 2  
Overview of Bloc 2: Dan 11:30c-32

Clause	Topic	Orientation	Text
A	Covenant	Positive	"holy covenant"
B	Covenant	Negative	"those who forsake the covenant"
C	Temple	Negative	"desecrate the temple fortress"
C'	Temple	Negative	"abomination of desolation [in temple]"
B'	Covenant	Negative	"those who have violated the covenant"
A'	Covenant	Positive	"the people who know their God"

Notice that the number of clauses within blocs (four, then six, then four) is also chiastic. There can be no question as to the literary form of the passage before us. See table 3.

Table 3  
Structural Summary of Dan 11:29-35

Function	Sequence	Verses	Form	Other
Prologue	A	29a	Nonchiastic	Time
Bloc 1	B	29b-30b	Nonchiastic	Four clauses
Bloc 2	C	30c-32	Chiastic	Six clauses
Bloc 3	B'	33-34	Nonchiastic	Four clauses
Epilogue	A'	35	Nonchiastic	Time

Literary form must influence  
historical application

Knowing what an author is saying goes beyond knowing what each of his words or sentences means. The form of the argument is also part of what's being conveyed. In the present case, granting that there are three main blocs of text (1 [vss. 29-30b], 2 [vss. 30c-32], 3 [vss. 33-34]), I submit that bloc 1 describes events which occur earlier in history than those of bloc 2, and that bloc 2 occurs earlier than bloc 3. But within blocs the order of statements is determined by literary rather than historical considerations, as described above.

*Time flows between blocs.* In both the prologue (vs. 29a) and the epilogue (vs. 35) there are expressions relating to time. Both passages use the same expression "at the appointed time" (lamm<sup>h</sup>·d). In addition the epilogue contains a reference to "the time of the end" (>ad->t q·§, lit. "until [the] time of [the] end")--an expression that is repeated in vs. 40 (Èb >·t q·§, lit. "and in [the] time of [the] end").<sup>4</sup>

Are these two appointed times related in some way? The reference to "the time of the end" in association with the second one in vs. 35 might be an indication that they are. There is a period whose end is one defining feature of the time of the end, i.e., the "time, times, and half a time" mentioned in 12:6. It would be reasonable to assume that vs. 29 refers to the beginning of the three and a half "times" and that vs. 35 refers to their end. In this case one "appointed time" would be 538 and the other 1798 – the beginning and ending points for the 1260 days/42 months/three and a half years of Dan 7:25; 12:6; Rev 11:2, 3; 12:6, 14; 13:5.

The potential hostility of the king of the North becomes apparent only gradually and so does the challenge to it from "[t]hose who are wise" (ma<sup>o</sup>k l >çm "the wise of the people" or Maskilim) in vs. 33a. First the king rises to power and then he is opposed by those who refuse to accept his authority. See fig. 1.

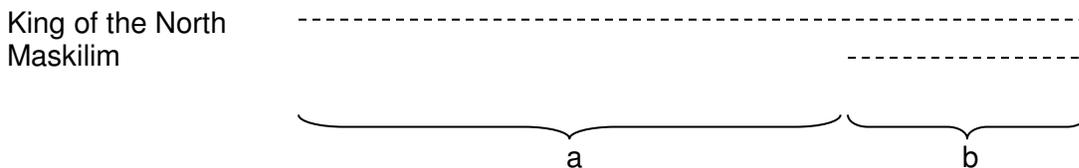


Fig. 1. The "abomination of desolation" is in force throughout (ab). Toward the end of this period the king of the North is opposed by the Maskilim (b).

The struggle in the present section is initially between the king of the North and the king of the South (29-30b), but shifts to one between the king of the North and "the holy covenant" (30c-32). The holy covenant is not the same as the king of the South. A significant change occurs in vs. 30c. For a long period of time the king's depredations against the covenant go, not unresisted, but at least unchallenged. In vs. 33 this situation changes. The events occur in three stages, at different times and in a set order. During the middle period the king of the North us unchallenged because he is unchallengeable. His power is supreme. See fig. 2.

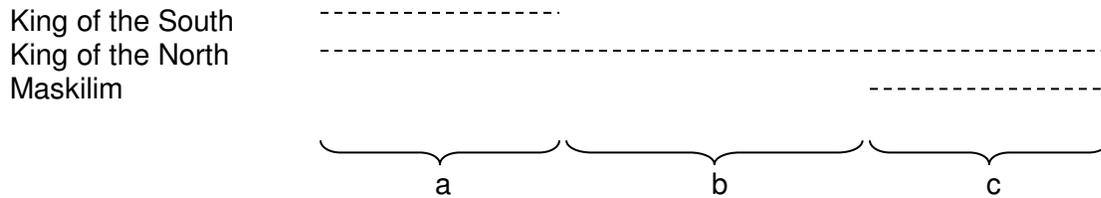


Fig. 2. The "abomination of desolation" is in force throughout (ac). Opposition to the king of the North is concentrated toward the beginning (a) and toward the end (c) of the period.

The king of the North remains in power throughout the period in question. The Maskilim resist, although they cannot challenge, this king and therefore remain in a defensive posture. Here, as so often before, we have North v. South with God's people in view.<sup>5</sup> The cast changes but the roles do not.

*Time does not flow within blocs.* While there is a clear flow of time from bloc to bloc, within blocs it is futile to look for such relationships. In bloc 2, for example, the order of clauses is very clearly determined by literary rather than historical facts. See table 4.

Table 4  
Overview Of Bloc 2: Dan 11:30c-32  
(Restatement)

Clause	Topic	Orientation
First Half of Bloc		
A	Covenant	+
B	Covenant	-
C	Temple	-
Second Half of Bloc		
C'	Temple	-
B'	Covenant	-
A'	Covenant	+

The activity reported in this section's middle bloc (vss. 30c-32) are historically real but did not happen first with reference to the covenant in a positive sense and then with reference to the covenant in a negative sense--with similar events occurring in reverse order as the period draws to a close. Nor is it the case that the temple remains unaffected until the middle of the

period, such that the covenant is affected first and the temple separately at a later time. The covenant is preserved and implemented in the temple (Heb 8:1). Anything that affects the one must also affect the other. So in fact things that affect both the covenant and the temple are happening simultaneously right from the start. Literary sequence and historical sequence are closely related between blocs but largely independent of each other within blocs.

Along these same lines, the "abomination that causes desolation" is not mentioned until vs. 31b. The act of setting up or initiating the abomination, however, is a starting point of some sort. We must not assume from its location at the center of the chiasm that the corresponding events do not occur historically until the middle of the period. It is established at the outset, and the act of setting it up is one evidence that the period in question has begun. Thus, it goes hand in hand with the king's "fury against the holy covenant" (vs. 30c) and his "favor to those who forsake the holy covenant" (vs. 30d). Within the bloc, clauses have literary reasons for occurring where they do and these neither follow from nor are consistent with a sequence based on chronology alone. The two types of sequence must be carefully distinguished. Each has its role to play in the chapter, but they are different roles. This same principle, illustrated here with examples from vss. 30c-32, applies with equal force to the outer blocs of the section and to other sections. Within Dan 11 it has general applicability.

## The Fall of the Empire in the West

"At the appointed time he will invade the South again, but this time the outcome will be different from what it was before. (30) Ships of the western coastlands will oppose him, and he will lose heart."  
(Dan 11:29-30b)

The predicate "will invade" in vs. 29b is translated from the same Hebrew elements that underlie the words "will oppose" in vs. 30a. In the one case the Hebrew reads  $y\dot{\zeta}'\dot{E}b \dot{E}b\dot{\zeta}$  bannegeb (lit. "he will return and he will come to the South"); in the other case it reads  $\dot{E}b\dot{\zeta}\dot{E} b^{\text{TM}}$  (lit. "and they [the ships of Kittim] will come to him"). The essential comparison is between "he will come to" (vs. 29a) and "they will come to" (vs. 30a). The grammatical subjects of these two clauses are of course different, but the actions performed are the same. Thus, if the king of the South "opposed" the king of the North, we could say that the king of the North also "opposed" the king of the South. If the king of the North "invaded" the territory of the king of the South, we could just as well say that the king of the South "invaded" the territory of the king of the North. The text does not allow us to infer who the aggressor might have been but merely asserts that North and South are once more in conflict.

There is another point to notice. In vs. 29, where the king of the North "will invade the South [ $\dot{E}b\dot{\zeta}$  bannegeb] again," the implication is that during at least some of the years that lead up to and prepare the way for vs. 29 the king of the North has not been invading the South. No conflict arises between these powers because the king of the North is in complete and absolute control of the situation. His authority is unassailable. The renewal of mutual conflict between North and South in vs. 29, therefore, signals an important change in the status of the king of the North. This point deserves emphasis. At the beginning of the section the king is no longer so strong as he once was. His former invincibility has left him.

The application must fall within  
the centuries after Christ

No devious logic is required to apply the above verses to history. The king of the North at the time of Christ's birth and death was pagan Rome, corresponding to the legs of iron in the vision of Dan 2. For the next half of a millennium Rome enjoyed a position of international supremacy without equal.

After defeating Antony at Actium in 31 B.C. Octavian was the undisputed master of the Mediterranean world. As regards his land forces, "After Actium Augustus seems to have picked twenty-eight legions out of the fifty-odd at his disposal, disbanding the rest."<sup>6</sup> And as regards his navy, "After Actium he had 400 vessels of his own to which he now could add roughly 300 of Antony's ships. Ten of these, including Antony's flagship, were dedicated to Actian Apollo; others were burned or scrapped as surplus; the remainder were sent to Forum Iulii on the south coast of Gaul, which had been used as a naval base against Sextus Pompey."<sup>7</sup>

In peacetime the galleys patrolled their rivers to ensure that barbarians came across to trade only at designated points; to keep the manpower busy sailors also made bricks for forts and in Britain worked in iron mines and on Hadrian's Wall.<sup>8</sup>

There was a civil war after the death of Nero (A.D. 68), from which Vespasian emerged as emperor. "Thereafter the Empire passed through decades of internal peace until the end of the second century, when civil war was again to erupt."<sup>9</sup> Many different men would rule Rome over the years that followed and sometimes their personal fortunes changed rapidly.<sup>10</sup> But Rome itself was secure. For the Roman king of the North to be forced into activity against a new king of the South signals a dramatic change of circumstances.

The time when this change occurred is not in question. It was in the fourth and especially the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era when Rome began crumbling under the pressure of barbarian attacks.

For the most part the barbarian tribes which harassed Rome during the early Christian centuries came from lands beyond the Danube, north and east of Italy. The prophecy does not mention these places, but rather speaks about a challenge from the South, which in order to be south from Italy would have to come by sea.<sup>11</sup>

"Ships of Kittim will oppose him"

When the king "invade[s] the South again" (vs. 29a) what he confronts there are "Ships of Kittim" (vs. 30a, margin). NIV suggests "Ships of the western coastlands," but this rendering is too free to have lasting value. The Hebrew says *šiyy m kitt m* (lit. "ships of Kittim"). Thus the marginal reading is preferable, although it leaves open the question of who or what Kittim might represent. Historically Kittim was

One of the sons of Javan (Gn. 10:4 = 1 Ch. 1:7; Heb. *kitt m*) whose descendants settled on the island of Cyprus where their name was given to the town of Kition, modern Larnaka, which is referred to in the Phoenician inscriptions as *kt* or *kty*. They engaged in sea trade (Nu.24:24), and the name seems to have come to apply then in a more general way to the coastlands and islands of the E

Mediterranean (kiyy kittiyy m: Je. 2:10; Ezek. 27-6). The ostraca of c. 600 BC from Arad refer to ktym, probably mercenaries, principally perhaps Greeks, from the islands and coastlands.<sup>12</sup>

Starting with a single person (a son of Javan),<sup>13</sup> the meaning expands to include a group of his descendants, then a city associated with but not limited to that group, then the island where the city was located, and finally the coastlands of the whole eastern Mediterranean where islands similar to this one might be found.<sup>14</sup> The pattern is one of increasing generality. That is the point to notice. It would be consistent with this fact to apply the Hebrew phrase *šiyy m kitt m* "ships of Kittim" in a general sense to people coming from distant places. What identifies the group in question is not the reference to Kittim, but the reference to ships.

It is during the course of a southern offensive that the king confronts these ships. The king's southern campaign and his confrontation with the ships of Kittim are one and the same. It is not that he comes from North to South, and that the ships come from West to South, such that the two meet at some point foreign to both. On the contrary, what we are dealing with is a classic example of North-South conflict. The king's southern campaign and the ships' northern campaign are the same campaign. The king of the North is here dealing with a king of the South who does his fighting primarily by sea.

"And he will lose heart"

If Rome is still king of the North, as I suggest, not only is Rome vulnerable once more susceptible to external attack at this time in its history but, under one interpretation, there is a question whether it wins the contest.<sup>15</sup>

*Barbarians attack the Empire.* Under Constantine the military grand strategy of the Roman Empire began to undergo a far-reaching transformation. Previously the army had been thinly deployed at an extended series of permanent border outposts; now it started being concentrated in a few urban centers. It had been stationary before, but now the emphasis was on mobility. More emphasis on mobility meant less emphasis on infantry, which had always been the backbone of the Roman military, but moved slowly. As the foot soldier declined in importance for the Empire a correspondingly greater amount of attention was given to mounted troops. Earlier emperors had attempted to achieve "preclusive security"; later ones would base their planning on the concept of a strong "central reserve."<sup>16</sup> These are not insignificant changes and some suggest that the military disasters which would eventually bring about the downfall of the Empire can be directly attributed to them.<sup>17</sup>

With the borders of the Empire less firmly defended, barbarians found them easier to cross and began doing so in large numbers and with greater frequency than before. Having entered Roman territory against the emperor's wishes, they were routinely welcomed into his army.<sup>18</sup> If this policy seems odd, there were a number of reasons for it. First, residents of the empire had always been subject to military service. When invaders became residents it was only natural that they should incur this same liability. Second, barbarians left idle would find unpredictable ways to occupy themselves. Taking such men into the army in large numbers was an effective means of controlling them. And third, any ruler, given a preference, would rather expose foreigners to the dangers of war than native sons. So there were always sizable groups of allies (Latin *allia*, Greek *alloi*, "others") in any Roman army,<sup>19</sup> as there were also in the armies they fought against.<sup>20</sup>

During the *Völkerwanderung* or Migration Period, groups that entered and fought against Rome included the Alamanni, Alans, Angles, Avars, Burgundians, Franks, Goths (both Visigoths and Ostrogoths), Heruls, Huns, Jutes, Lombards, Saxons, Sueves, and Vandals--for example. Of the above peoples all but the Alans, Avars, and Huns were Germanic and would have come ultimately from an area north and east of the Rhine.<sup>21</sup>

The Alans were of Iranian origin<sup>22</sup> and were allies of the Vandals.<sup>23</sup> Earlier they, like the Vandals and the Goths, had been allies of the Huns in the area above the Black Sea.<sup>24</sup> The Huns are, arguably, to be identified with the Hsiung-nu people of Mongolia, who had ruled one of the longer lasting steppe empires in the region before migrating west. The Avars came from Mongolia also and settled in Hungary. Before leaving Mongolia the Avars had been known as Juan-juan (Jwen-Jwen) people.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the Alans, Avars, and Huns are exceptions to an otherwise useful rule that the barbarian groups which first overran and then possessed themselves of the Roman Empire during the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ were of Germanic origin. Earlier we witnessed the Celticization of Europe;<sup>26</sup> now we have the sequel to this. The fall of the Empire to barbarian forces is merely another way to describe a Germanification of Europe.<sup>27</sup>

The Vandals, Alans, Heruls, Visigoths, and Ostrogoths entered the Empire by crossing the Danube. The Alamanni, Burgundians, Franks, Lombards, Sueves, and others entered the Empire by crossing the Rhine. The Saxons, accompanied by Angles and Jutes,<sup>28</sup> entered the Empire by crossing the English Channel.<sup>29</sup> The Empire invaded by the above groups did not merely collapse under its own weight. It was crushed militarily.<sup>30</sup> But a question remains as to what all of this has to do with ships and with forces from the South. The issues in this case are more than military.

*Arius attacks the deity of Christ.* During the late third and early fourth centuries a man named Arius lived and taught in the city of Alexandria in Egypt. This is earlier than the period under review but his thought had a profound influence on events relevant to us here, as we shall see. Arius taught that Christ, as the Son of God, was inferior to the Father and did not coexist with the Father through all eternity.<sup>31</sup> Exactly which factors most influenced the development of Arius' Christological theory is debated by scholars.<sup>32</sup>

Professor Stead observes correctly that one would be mobilizing pure abstractions were one to pretend to decide between Plato and Aristotle as masters of Arius' thought. At the time of Arius, "the choice lay between Platonists who accepted and Platonists who denounced the contribution of Aristotle or of the Stoics; between the tradition of Aristotle and that of Atticus." Arius was therefore in any case influenced by Alexandrian Platonism of the third and fourth centuries A.D.<sup>33</sup>

Also fundamental to informed Christian debate in Alexandria was the work of Philo the Jew (lived c. 30 B.C.-A.D. 40). A number of Christian masters of the Alexandrian catetical school were noted theologians whose teaching brought renown to that institution. Their number includes, but is not limited to, Pantaenus (c. 180-89), Clement (189-202), Origen (202-32), Heraclas (232-48), and Dionysius (248-65).<sup>34</sup> Over and above such influences there is a component of genuine originality in Arius' work.<sup>35</sup> But the one man who appears to have had the greatest impact on Arius was the Platonic philosopher Plotinus.<sup>36</sup>

Whatever may have been the situation of the variations at the heart of Christian Platonism of Alexandria, Arius thus appears placed in a line of theologians who interpreted Old Testament

monotheism according to the example of Philo, preoccupied above all with transposing into the language of Plato the biblical dogma *par excellence*, that of a unique God who is author of all things.<sup>37</sup>

At issue is the philosophical concept of singularity, or oneness. Here is common ground on which the theoretical foundation laid by Plato can be borrowed and applied so as to resolve problems arising from Christian theology. In retrospect it is safe to say that the Christology of Arius was more a product of Greek thought than of Hebrew thought. Its categories are not those of prophets but of philosophers. Thus, we read of "the rigorous logic and precise terminology of Arius"<sup>38</sup> and that his theory was "intensely technical and appropriate to the level of systematic thought."<sup>39</sup> His system was not a biblical theology but a philosophical theology with which he hoped to resolve certain problems of biblical interpretation.

After giving Arius all the respect that his intellectual accomplishments deserve, it is still the case that the effects of his work were entirely harmful. His powerful mind was used to undermine the truth of Christ's deity, which is solidly biblical and needs no undermining. This truth is the jugular vein of Christian faith. Arius lived through Diocletian's persecution (A.D. 303-13), so it is not my purpose to question his sincerity.<sup>40</sup> But within his teaching are the seeds of an attack on the deity of Christ that would prove much more effective than anything Diocletian was able to devise. A key formula of Arius is, "Before He was begotten He was not" (kai ouk ·n !in gen·tai).<sup>41</sup> The logic is completely clear--and completely wrong.

*The barbarians accept Arian Christianity.* Before long the logic and human reasoning that gave Arius' ideas their force were augmented by support of a more tangible variety. During the reign of Valens (364-78) a body of Goths led by Fritigern solicited the emperor's help and in return agreed to accept his religion.<sup>42</sup> As it happens Valens was an Arian.<sup>43</sup> From this starting point of imperial support Arianism spread to most of the barbarian tribes that would eventually confront the Empire. This combination of heresy and arms had its impact on both a military and a religious level. The dual nature of this challenge gave it special force.

I should clarify that the barbarians who brought about the downfall of the western Roman Empire did not generally persecute their Catholic subjects. Their invasions cannot be thought of as religious crusades against Catholic Romans. They were merely seizing territory. But if, over the centuries, they had retained both their Arianism and their military power, in a manner similar to that of the Muslims who would later invade Syria, Egypt, and North Africa (all of which had been strongly Christian previously), the history of medieval Europe might read far differently from what it does. In the actual event each tribe that espoused Arianism, which was most of them, were either conquered militarily or was converted to Catholicism.

During the sixth century the pagan Heruls, some of whom had been loyal to Odovacar in Italy, ceased to have any national existence.<sup>44</sup> The Arian Vandals and the Arian Ostrogoths achieved a more dramatic exit, being forcibly expelled from Libya and Italy respectively. The Heruls never became Christians and the Vandals and Ostrogoths never became Catholic Christians, but by the end of the sixth century all three groups had vanished from history.

Elsewhere the barbarians' influence lived on, as, for example, in such familiar place names as France (ruled by Franks), England (ruled by Angles), Swabia in Bavaria (ruled by the Alamanni and Sueves),<sup>45</sup> Burgundy in France (ruled by Burgundians),<sup>46</sup> and Lombardy in Italy (ruled by Lombards). The Arian Visigoths in Spain were doubly defeated, being first converted from Arianism to Catholicism in A.D. 589 under Reccared (586-601) and then swept into the peripheries of the Iberian peninsula by the Muslim conquest in A.D. 711.<sup>47</sup> Thus most of those

who were formerly barbarians were either crushed or converted to Catholic Christianity and became incorporated into the fabric of European society.

It should be pointed out that the Franks were never Arians. From their conversion onward they were Catholics.<sup>48</sup> Thus, as France became the great champion of Christianity in continental Europe, Catholicism once again became the dominant form of Christianity to be found there. Germany east of the Rhine was still pagan until after A.D. 751 and its conversion proceeded slowly. Once regained, Spain was ardently Catholic and any new territory gained elsewhere by the church was Catholic from the start. In the end, things did not go so badly for the church. But as the events were unfolding it was not at all a foregone conclusion that Catholic Christianity would prevail in Europe. Arian belief coupled with barbarian arms made a formidable combination when these first appeared together.

*The Vandals unusual in two respects.* Like most of the other barbarian groups the Vandals were Arian Christians. They were unusual, however, in two respects. While all other barbarian groups did their fighting on land,<sup>49</sup> once the Vandals took Carthage (October 19, 439) they transformed themselves into the most formidable naval power in the western Mediterranean. And while barbarians generally had a reputation for tolerance in matters of religion,<sup>50</sup> the Vandals vigorously persecuted Libyan Catholics for decades.

Goths had experimented with a military use of ships in the Black Sea in A.D. 257 and in 267-68 there was a series of Gothic-Herul raids into the Aegian--with terrible reprisals by Claudius II (battle of Naissus, A.D. 269).<sup>51</sup> But a century and a half after that, in A.D. 410, when Alaric sacked Rome and tried to lead his men from there southward over into Sicily, he was unable to get his men over the narrow Straits of Messina that separate it from Italy.<sup>52</sup> And in A.D. 415, when another group of Goths tried to cross the Straits of Gibraltar, they drowned in the attempt.<sup>53</sup> Goths were not vikings. As a rule they did not understand navigation.

The Vandals and Alans, however, after entering Africa in 429 and capturing Carthage in 439, proceeded to build a powerful navy. By June 455 they were sufficiently confident of their maritime abilities to undertake an expedition against Rome itself. They landed unopposed and spent fourteen profitable days there removing all of the city's movable wealth that they were able to transport.<sup>54</sup> "Among the plundered treasure the vessels of Solomon's Temple, formerly brought to Rome by Titus, took a conspicuous place."<sup>55</sup>

Sacking Rome does not make the Vandals unique. Alaric's Goths had sacked the city some forty-five years previously. But Alaric's approach to the city had been by land, i.e., from the North. The Vandals came to the city from Carthage in Africa, i.e., from the South--by sea.

The capture of the Empress Eudoxia and her daughters gave the king valuable hostages against the hostile invasion of his kingdom which might now be expected. He was now fully master of the situation; his personality is from this time the centre of Western history. The Vandal fleet ruled the Mediterranean and cut off all supplies from Italy, so that a great famine broke out.<sup>56</sup>

It is difficult to calculate the effect of Africa's loss on the Roman Empire in the West. Strategically it meant the near abandonment of naval action in the western Mediterranean, since the Vandals now had control of the sea, and Aetius in any event never showed Constantius' appreciation of the proper use of naval power. The naval balance of power shifted to the emperor in Constantinople.<sup>57</sup>

These events are significant enough, but they are not wholly unique. I have mentioned some early Gothic successes as they and the Heruls went on some joint raids into the Aegian in the third century. As regards persecution also, there are some Gothic precedents. In A.D. 348 and again from 369-72 Goths had persecuted the Christians in their own ranks.<sup>58</sup> And a suspicion of having persecuted Catholics darkens the memory of Euric (466-84) in Spain, although not all the evidence is clear.<sup>59</sup>

The Vandals, by contrast, persecuted their Catholic subjects vigorously for decades on end. Once the Vandals had captured Carthage<sup>60</sup> the city's churches were closed to Catholic services and given over to the Arian clergy together with all the churches' property.

Actually the harm done to the churches is what showed the Vandals their need to master the sea, because they expected Roman reprisals for what they had done.<sup>61</sup> So they built ships to prepare for the Roman counter-measures they were sure would follow. They then attacked Sardinia and Sicily so as to render these islands incapable of supplying corn to Rome in the ensuing conflict. Ultimately the Vandals placed themselves in so strong a position that Rome had to conclude its peace with Gaiseric on terms of equality.<sup>62</sup> In time they disdained the plunder to be gained on the coasts of the western Empire and turned to the East, ravaging Greece itself.<sup>63</sup>

On Gaiseric's death (January 25, 477) his son Huneric became king. For a time he seemed willing to make concessions in the area of religion. A Catholic bishop was even permitted in Carthage (481). But then there was a change for the worse.

Among some of the measures taken by him the most important is the notorious Edict of 24 January 484, in which the king ordered that the edicts made by the Roman Emperors against heresy should be applied to all his Catholic subjects unless they adopted Arianism by 1 June in that year. Next orthodox priests were forbidden to hold religious services, to possess churches or build new ones, to baptise, consecrate and so forth, and they were especially forbidden to reside in any towns or villages. The property of all Catholic churches and the churches themselves were bestowed on the Arian clergy. Laymen were disabled from making or receiving gifts or legacies; court officials of the Catholic creed were deprived of their dignity and declared infamous. For the several classes of the people graduated money-fines were established according to rank; but in case of persistence all were condemned to transportation and confiscation of property. Huneric gave the execution of these provisions into the hands of the Arian clergy, who carried out the punishments threatened with the most revolting cruelty, and even went beyond them. Repeated intervention on the part of the Emperor and the Pope remained quite ineffectual, for they confined themselves to representations. Perhaps Catholicism might have been quite rooted out in Africa if the king had not died prematurely on 23 December 484.<sup>64</sup>

Huneric was followed on the throne by Gunthamund. In 487 the churches reopened and the banished priests were recalled. But when he was succeeded on September 3, 496 by Thrasamund, the bishops were exiled again.

The real persecutions began first under Huneric [477-84] and were continued, after an interval of peace, by Gunthamund [484-96] and Thrasamund [496-523], though in a milder form. Hilderic [523-30] gave the Catholic Church its complete freedom again; his successor Gelimer [530-33], an ardent Arian, was too much occupied with political complications to be able to be active in that sphere.<sup>65</sup>

On September 14, 533 Justinian's general Belisarius entered Carthage and the Vandal political experiment in Africa was effectively at an end. After their defeat in Africa the Vandals are never heard from again. Together with the Heruls and the Ostrogoths they were, in Daniel's phrase, "uprooted" (Dan 7:8).

The Vandals were at once the only barbarian state to attack Rome by sea and the only one to persecute Catholicism in a concerted manner. These facts are important for a number of reasons. The combination of ships (to attack the Roman state) and persecution (to attack the Roman church) focuses attention on the peculiar relationship between church and state that would later characterize the object of these attacks. It also shows that the prophecy is not so much interested in Rome as the seat of an Empire (by this time Byzantium was the seat of the Empire) as in Rome itself--as a city. The city's history was not over in the sixth century. The fame and power that we remember most vividly had hardly begun then. When it did finally emerge it did so as a mixture of religious and political influences. Thus, it is peculiarly appropriate that the prophecy should single out the one attacker of Rome which exhibited both political and religious hostility.<sup>66</sup>

## The Rise of the Church in the West

"Then he will turn back and vent his fury against the holy covenant. He will return and show favor to those who forsake the holy covenant.

(31) "His armed forces will rise up to desecrate the temple fortress and will abolish the daily sacrifice. Then they will set up the abomination that causes desolation. (32) With flattery he will corrupt those who have violated the covenant, but the people who know their God will firmly resist him." (Dan 11:30c-32)

Below it will be necessary to discuss an array of historical facts about Rome, by which I mean there are some that we cannot avoid discussing. We might wish to let some things simply fade from memory. But since the Roman Catholic church sees itself as being, in a special sense, the preserver of the past, it is not unfair to ask that church to meet its past honestly.<sup>67</sup>

I want to be clear at the outset that I am not using past abuses to indict people who never did the things we discuss. The kindly Irish priest who plays basketball with the teenagers in his parish is not the object of my remarks. Nor is the devout Polish family in Chicago or New York that has drawn its spiritual life blood from the mass for generations. I am not talking about points of theological disagreement at all. These have been summarized elsewhere.<sup>68</sup> Instead I am talking about the inherent wrongness of a system that mixes civil authority with religious authority and the disastrous results of bringing these two incompatible elements together over an extended period of time. The fact that now and again there has been a pope who apparently had sufficient strength of character to rise above the corrupting nature of such influences is not evidence that the system itself is good or that it is what God had in mind for His church. The system is bad in the degree that it combines church and state precisely because it combines them. This fact will remain whether good people or bad people administer it and regardless what they might have believed or taught.

## The weakness of Rome during the mid-sixth century

The history of the church in the West and of western Europe itself from the sixth century to the sixteenth are indistinguishable; they are one and the same. The body of material that could be presented on this topic vastly exceeds the scope of the present paper, and yet I do want to show how over time Christian Rome grew from insignificance to a position of great authority.

In the present section "the outcome will be different from what it was before" (Dan 11:29). This is how NIV renders the passage, but it is not what the Hebrew says. The Hebrew says " וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשָׁע וְלֹא יִהְיֶה כִּשְׁנֵי הַיָּמִים הָאֵלֶּיךָ " (Dan 11:29), which means literally, "and it will not be as before or as after." It is not the case that the present ("after") is being contrasted only with the past ("before"). Instead the present course of events ("it") is being contrasted with both the past ("before") and the future ("after"). There are three items in the comparison rather than two. What happens on this occasion is unlike what had ever happened earlier in history and it is also unlike what would ever happen later in history. The contrast extends in both directions equally.

Alaric and his band of future Visigoths subjected Rome to a three-day sack in A.D. 410 (August 24-26)<sup>69</sup> and forty-five years later (June 455) Gaiseric again sacked the city, this time for fourteen days.<sup>70</sup> Amazingly no blood was shed on either occasion.<sup>71</sup> Shortly after the Vandal outrage Odovacar, a Scirian Goth, made himself king of Italy (August 23, 476).<sup>72</sup> Odovacar's takeover was not an invasion because he was already part of the Byzantine emperor's defense force, which contained a wide variety of different elements.<sup>73</sup> In 493 Odovacar was assassinated and Theoderic the Great (493-526) assumed power.

The fact that Rome was temporarily ruled by a Goth (whether Odovacar or Theoderic) instead of by an ethnic Roman has been overemphasized. The year 476, when Odovacar made himself king, does not mark so dramatic a transition after all.<sup>74</sup> There had been many non-Roman rulers before and no one considers their presence in history as a transition.<sup>75</sup> So the ethnic origin of Odovacar and Theoderic does not make them unique, nor does it make Rome's situation all that remarkably different from what it had been before. Rome continued to be a great city and under Theoderic it was ruled by a great emperor.

In the early sixth century the Empire regained some of its lost ground, as Justinian's formidable general Belisarius swept first the Vandals from Libya and then the Goths from Italy. The second of these wars turned out well in the end, but the struggle was bitter and protracted. Belisarius made his way from Libya to Rome by way of Naples. When he finally arrived at Rome in December of A.D. 536, the Goths fled through one gate while he was entering through another.<sup>76</sup> Belisarius then wisely strengthened the city's defenses. In early 537 the Goths came back and mounted a siege, which was not lifted until one year and nine days later, about the time of the vernal equinox, in early 538.<sup>77</sup> Belisarius had successfully recaptured Rome for the Empire. It was a momentous occasion. But that was not the end of the war.

At a later time the Goths got Rome back and, realizing how valuable it had been to Belisarius before and would be again if he ever recaptured it, the Gothic king Totila considered razing the city to the ground.<sup>78</sup>

Accordingly he tore down the fortifications in many places so that about one third of the defences were destroyed. And he was on the point also of burning the finest and most noteworthy of the

buildings and making Rome a sheep-pasture, but Belisarius learned of his design and sent envoys with a letter to him.<sup>79</sup>

In his letter Belisarius made an eloquent appeal to Totila on behalf of the city of Rome and pointed out that, if it were demolished, the greater damage would not be to the city but to the Gothic ruler's reputation, causing his name to go down in history blackened with infamy. "And Totila, after reading it over many times and coming to realize accurately the significance of the advice, was convinced and did Rome no further harm."<sup>80</sup>

What he did instead was to take the senators with him, not allowing one soul to remain behind anywhere in the city. For a time Rome was completely and totally depopulated. Nothing that breathed remained there.<sup>81</sup> At length Belisarius returned and reoccupied the shell of this once-great city.<sup>82</sup> Then Totila himself returned and Belisarius had to defend his position from partially repaired walls, without gates, by stationing his troops in the openings where the gates should have been. For several days there were heavy skirmishes around the wall. Finally Totila took his troops elsewhere.<sup>83</sup>

But even this is not the whole story. Rome changed hands not once or twice but five times during the course of Justinian's Gothic war.<sup>84</sup> It had never seen reverses such as these at any earlier time in its history and they would never occur again. And we might add that, even though the city was sacked on a handful of occasions, it was never depopulated. In the early sixth century A.D. Rome reached the very nadir of its existence. Here is the meaning of the clause mentioned earlier, which reads, "but this time it will not be as before [k̄!%'#n&] or as after [ " k̄;a' (!#n&]" (Dan 11:29, literal rendering). Before this Rome had been the capital of an empire. Afterward it would rise to a similar level of prominence again as the seat of western Christianity. But for a brief moment it was left defenseless and entirely devoid of people. There is no lower depth to which a city can sink short of ceasing to exist altogether.

### The secular greatness of medieval Rome

Over time Rome rose from the ashes of the western Empire to a position of unrivalled greatness once again. This fact is well illustrated in the following remarks by Lord Acton.<sup>85</sup>

In the course of the fifth century we find the Popes attending to secular affairs, and exercising great authority, by virtue both of their spiritual character and of the claims which their wealth gave to the people, though without actually interfering in the government of the city. . . . As the strength and prosperity of the empire declined, the property of the Church increased. . . . at the close of the sixth century we find the Popes the richest landowners in Italy. . . . The times were particularly propitious to the development of the influence which was founded on the spiritual authority and on the possessions of the Holy See. . . . In the pragmatic sanction of 554 he [the emperor Justinian] took advantage of the influence which they already de facto possessed, to establish by their means a control over the whole administration of the provinces. They were required to superintend the conduct of the provinces, to report on their wrong-doings, and to act as defenders and advocates of the people. This was at once a portion of the extensive reform by which Justinian restored self-government to the towns and provinces and at the same time an attempt to save the crumbling system of the imperial government, by committing it in great measure to the care of the Church.

. . . the Pope acknowledged the Eastern emperor as his sovereign until the revival of the empire in the West. We have seen that it was no sudden or single act, that it was part of a general analogous

movement throughout Italy, and a result not of design, but of necessity; that it was a physiological process rather than a political act. The scene now passes from the Greeks to that of the Franks, in which the situation of the Pope is greatly altered; in which his temporal power receives a vast increase, . . . Pepin invaded Italy in two successive years, and formally gave the exarchate, which he wrested from the Lombards, back to the Pope. By this transaction, his position in Italy was not greatly altered. His authority was established over a territory in which his influence had already been paramount, and in which the imperial authority, long scarcely more than nominal, had expired altogether. . . .

During the three following centuries, the limits of the possessions of the Holy See were, if we except the acquisition of Venaissin and Avignon, not greatly changed, but the extent of their authority constantly varied. They triumphed at last over captivity and the schism; over the emperors, the barons and the republics. . . . It was not, therefore, till the middle of the seventeenth century that the Papal dominions reached their highest point of increase. For more than a century the temporal authority of the Popes remained unchallenged and unaltered, and they enjoyed a period of repose such as they had never known in more Catholic times. Then, at the end of the eighteenth century, came a period of disaster and decline, of which we have not seen the end nor, we fear, the worst.<sup>86</sup>

In another essay<sup>87</sup> the same author speaks of the subservience to the papacy of Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Croatia; the German kingdom of the Hohenstauffen and the French House of Anjou; Provence, Portugal, and Aragon; England and Ireland; the Isle of Man, the Hebrides, and the Orkneys; Corsica and Sardinia; Ruthenia, Pomerania, and Norway.<sup>88</sup>

The papal system of states gradually extended itself, until in the thirteenth century it reached its culminating point, when its great semicircle encompassed the States of the German Emperors. The Slavs and Magyars of the East had joined the Latin nations of the West, and the Sicilian Empire of the South was the connecting link between them. It was after the thirteenth century that the East began to detach itself.<sup>89</sup>

Under this arrangement England was saved from becoming a French province by offering itself to the pope. "The king transferred 'spontaneously, and upon the council of his nobles, the two kingdoms of England and Ireland to the Roman See', in order to obtain them again from it as a vassal; . . ."<sup>90</sup> This is one example. The popes had vassal states from one end of Europe to the other, bound to Rome in a form of voluntary but mutually beneficial alliance. All the power and opulence of the old imperial days would one day return, though in modified form.

### Force as an instrument of papal policy before the Reformation

Not all compliance was voluntary. The idea that force was a legitimate resource to draw on in defending and expanding the influence of Christianity was of slow growth. But eventually it became an established fact of Christian thought and was applied in a variety of ways during the middle centuries of our era. At first this had not been so and now again we live in a time when force has become unavailable to the church. But during the Middle Ages using force to support the Christian religion came to be considered a form of piety.<sup>91</sup> There were crusades to the east against Muslims, to the north against pagans, and to the west against other Christians. In discussing the period of the crusades, it is a mistake to think that the eastern crusades were the only ones. To the contrary, they were only one example of a more general principle. But we will start with the eastern crusades in what follows.

*Crusades against Muslims in the east.* The eastern crusades ostensibly grew out of the need to protect Christian pilgrims as they traveled to and from the Holy Land. In addition there was the hope that by fighting a common enemy unity between Catholic and Orthodox Christians could be reestablished. Taken in and of themselves both of these goals are praiseworthy. The fact that the church would choose to pursue them by military means, however, requires explanation.

An additional factor is the spirit of romantic conquest. Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, otherwise known as el Cid,<sup>92</sup> mounted his attack on Valencia in 1089, against Almoravid Muslim defenders. The city finally fell in 1094. Whether el Cid saw, or did not see, the conquest of Valencia in religious terms, it takes no vivid imagination to reason from driving Arabs out of Spain to driving Arabs out of places that Christian pilgrims would like to see in the Holy Land. Whether or not the two events can be linked in some way, it is nevertheless a fact that Pope Urban II (1088-99) preached the first eastern crusade in A.D. 1095,<sup>93</sup> one year after the fall of Valencia. The first crusade was highly successful. For the next two hundred years parts of Syria and Palestine were controlled by Christian kings.

From 1204 to 1261 western knights got control of coastal Greece and even captured Constantinople. In fact the fourth crusade weakened Constantinople to such a degree that it never fully recovered, and thus the way for the city's decline and later fall to the Turks was prepared by its friends.<sup>94</sup> That was the fourth crusade. There were eight in all, of which only the first can be considered a success. A ninth crusade was planned but not carried out. For a summary of the eastern crusades see table 5.

Actually the western crusades are of greater interest for church history in Europe than the eastern crusades, because the eastern crusades ran their course and ended, whereas the western crusades continued on in merely a different form as the Inquisition.

Table 5  
Eastern Crusades

Number	Preached By	Led By	Dates	Object/Result
1	Urban II	Baldwin V (Provence), Godfrey (Lorraine), et al.	1095-99	Edessa, Antioch, Jerusalem, Tripoli <sup>a</sup>
2	Eugene III	Louis VII (France), Conrad III (Germany)	1147-49	Edessa, Damascus
3	Gregory VIII, Clement III	Frederick I (Germany), Richard I (England)	1189-91	Acre
4	Innocent III	Philip of Swabia, Boniface of Montferrat	1201-4 <sup>b</sup>	Constantinople
N/A	. . .	"Children's Crusade"	1212	(Marseilles)
5	Innocent III, Honorius III	(Frederick II) (Germany)	1213-21 <sup>c</sup>	Damietta in Egypt
6	Honorius III, Gregory IX	Frederick II (Germany)	1227-29	Jerusalem (by negotiation)
7	Innocent IV	Louis IX (France)	1248-54	Damietta
8	. . .	Edward I (England)	1270	Tunisia
9	Gregory IX	. . .	1272-76	(Abortive)

Notes to the table: Dates for the crusades are given variously by different sources. For the most part I here follow the dates given in *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes (ODP)*, except where a more specialized source differs from it.

<sup>a</sup> Tripoli was conquered somewhat later than the other three cities (1102-9).

<sup>b</sup> See Donald E. Queller, *The Fourth crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople, 1201-1204* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977). The dates for the Fourth Crusade are 1202-4 in *ODP*.

<sup>c</sup> See James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade: 1213-1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986). The dates for the Fifth Crusade are 1217-21 in *ODP*.

*Crusades against pagans in the north.* Along the northern shore of the Baltic the Swedes crusaded against the pagan Finns and, more notably, along the southern shore of the Baltic the Teutonic Knights crusaded against the pagan Prussians. These and other major military versions of Christian outreach to northern Europe are discussed in Eric Christiansen's superbly researched volume entitled, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100-1525*.<sup>95</sup>

On the Åland Islands between Sweden and Finland (Ahvenanmaa in Finnish), and in some parts of the southeastern coastland of Finland proper the process of Christianization began around A.D. 1050. From there Christianity spread slowly eastward, reaching Tavastia by 1150, but not being firmly established in Karelia (Karjala) until as late as 1300.<sup>96</sup> The first Finnish crusade was preached by the English-born papal legate Nicholas Breakspear (later pope Hadrianus IV [1154-59]), who arrived in Sweden in 1153. King Eric led the expedition, which took place in 1155 or possibly 1157. Permanent conquest was not the goal. Instead the king's purpose was to exact tribute, as in the old viking expeditions, and to limit the influence of Novgorod among eastern Finns. Shortly afterward, in 1164, Sweden received her own archbishop.<sup>97</sup> It is interesting in its own right that conquest and evangelism could be confused with each other in the popular mind during this period.

During the final decade of the twelfth century, many crusading expeditions were made to both shores of the Gulf of Finland. The Danes, who appeared on the scene as rivals of the Swedes, are reported to have invaded Finland in 1191 and 1202. Possibly operating from bases established on the southern coast of the country, they seem to have had considerable success. In 1209, the Pope, who had been informed that the Finns had lately been converted by the nobility, authorized the head of the Danish Church, the archbishop of Lund, to appoint a preacher who was stationed in Finland to take over the vacant bishop's seat.<sup>98</sup>

In 1249 the Dominican Order established a convent at Turku on the western coast of Finland and in the same year an expeditionary force was led from Sweden by the king's brother-in-law, Earl Birger. His objective was Tavastia, midway between Finland proper in the southwest and Karelia in the southeast. To help prepare for this major effort, known to Finnish historians as the "second crusade," pope Gregory IX (1227-41) took Finland under apostolic protection. As a result Tavastia became firmly and permanently attached to Sweden. Crusades into Finland continued from time to time until 1351.

The history of Prussia is the story of the *Deutscher Orden* or Teutonic Knights. This Order originated during the time of the eastern crusades and its first headquarters was in fact the town of Acre in Palestine. "Around 1222 the Order had attempted to gain a foothold in the Transylvanian Burzenland in Hungary, which King Andrew of Hungary had, somewhat reluctantly, presented to the Order, and which the Pope had declared as a fief of the Papacy."<sup>99</sup> A few castles were built, but apart from this the Teutonic Knights accomplished less in Hungary than they had in Palestine.

When the opportunity for a crusade against the Prussians arose the Order seized it. The Prussians were a Baltic people related to the Lithuanians and still pagan at this time. The papal mandate for the Teutonic Knights extended from Danzig to Memel, along the northern coast of what is now Poland and a section of Lithuania. Membership quickly increased from 600 in A.D. 1230 to 2000 in the 1270s. Native Prussians made no attempt to obstruct the knights' building activities as they erected castles, being still unaware of both the nature and the magnitude of the threat that remain confronted them. As regards magnitude, consider that today there are no Prussians. The gene pool may not have entirely died out, but culturally none who maintain any national or ethnic identity. The Teutonic Knights did their work thoroughly.

At its greatest extent the Order controlled the southern coast of the Baltic Sea from a point west of the Vistula River eastward as far as the Narva not far from modern Leningrad. This includes much of what is now northern Poland, Lithuania,<sup>100</sup> Latvia, and Estonia.<sup>101</sup> Much of this same territory was eventually included within the scope of the Hansiatic League.

*Crusades against Christians in the west.* The same technology of military force used to subdue Muslims and pagans was also turned against dissident Christians in Europe. Both the Albigenses of Languedoc and Toulouse (between the Rhone and the Pyrenees) and the Waldenses of Provence (east of the Rhone) became the object of crusades.

The Albigenses took their name from one of their principal town (Albi) in Languedoc. They were also known as Cathari or "pure ones." The Waldenses were known as followers of a man named Valdez (Waldo) of Lyons. Between these two groups the whole of southern France was filled with heretics, giving the struggle against them a regional dimension.

The Albigenses were dualists in the Manichaeian tradition and their theology was similar to that of the Bogomil heretics of Serbia.<sup>102</sup> The Albigenses were found in northern Spain, northern Italy, and Germany, as well as in southern France. The crusade against them, however, concentrated on those groups that lived in Languedoc and Toulouse and was conducted by Louis VIII (1223-1226) and Louis IX (1226-1270) of northern France. The struggle began in 1181, when pope Alexander III (1159-1181), who was plagued by competition from rival popes and was himself forced to live in the small outlying towns of Italy rather than Rome, ordered that they be persecuted. Matters grew worse under Innocent III (1198-1216).

[Innocent III] commissioned the austere Spaniard Dominic Guzmán (1170-1221), later founder of the Friars Preachers, to counter the Albigenses of the Midi with their own weapon of public disputation. It was only after the murder in 1208 of his legate, who had been sent to convert them, that he ordered a crusade against the Albigenses in southern France which resulted in bloodshed and devastation and cast a shadow over the second half of his reign.<sup>103</sup>

The above legate, whose name was Peter of Castelnau, was killed on January 14, 1208.<sup>104</sup> This event enraged Innocent III and prompted him to send soldiers against the Albigenses rather than preachers. The crusade against them began in 1209. The following year in the town of Albi 180 Albigenses were burned en masse in what, from a later engraving by Jan Luyken, appears to be the town square.<sup>105</sup> One might argue that this was an isolated incident, but as if such measures were not already strong enough, Pope Honorius III (1216-27) took steps to intensify the crusade begun by his predecessor still further by calling on Louis VIII (1223-26), king of France, to take personal responsibility for its success.

. . . with his approval Frederick in 1220 and Louis in 1226 published ordinances, of great significance for the development of the Inquisition, imposing severe penalties on heretics.<sup>106</sup>

A number of results followed. First, the Albigenses were annihilated. The worst of the carnage ended by 1229, early in the reign of Gregory IX (1227-41), but the Albigenses were not altogether destroyed until the 1240s, toward the end of Gregory's reign. Second, a legal precedent was established that would serve the Inquisition well in later centuries. And third, Languedoc in southern France was brought under the political control of those kings who ruled France from the Isle de Paris in the North. Thus, the most impressive political result of the Albigensian crusade was the unification of France.

The Waldenses were scattered through northern Spain, Austria, and Germany, although they were most heavily concentrated in southeastern France.<sup>107</sup> They had the same high regard for Scripture and a simple lifestyle as the Albigenses (and the Franciscans), but differed with them significantly on a number of points. The Waldenses were under general opposition from the church for three centuries but there was no crusade against them until 1545, when, between April 18 and May 3, a series of massacres were perpetrated at Mérindol, Cabrières, Le Coste and eighteen other villages.<sup>108</sup>

*The beginnings of the Inquisition.* The earliest historical roots of the Inquisition go back to the eleventh century and only became institutional in response to the church's conflict with such groups as the Albigenses and Waldenses.<sup>109</sup> For two centuries before Gregory IX (1227-41) officially created the papal Inquisition there had been sporadic heresy trials resulting in executions. In the first documented cases of capital punishment for personal belief in France, Italy, and the Holy Roman Empire the state appears to have been proceeding on its own initiative,<sup>110</sup> although in fact the church cannot have been far away when these things occurred.

During the reign of pope Honorius III (1216-27) "Frederick in 1220 and Louis in 1226 published ordinances, of great significance for the development of the Inquisition, imposing severe penalties on heretics."<sup>111</sup> The papal, as opposed to episcopal, Inquisition was called into existence by Honorius' successor Gregory IX (1227-41). But even under Gregory the papal Inquisition was not permanently in session, nor was torture an accepted means of obtaining confessions of guilt. These later refinements were added by Innocent IV (1243-54).

In 1252 he [Innocent IV] established the Inquisition as a permanent institution in Italy, combining all earlier papal and imperial enactments in the bull *Ad extirpanda* (15 May), which sanctioned the use of torture to extract confessions.<sup>112</sup>

The church to this day has never taken responsibility for any imposition of the death penalty. Instead it operated under the legal fiction of turning impenitent heretics over to the secular authorities. But whoever performed them, the ratio of executions to trials was low. For example, of 930 heretics convicted over a fifteen year period between 1308 and 1323 by the Dominican inquisitor Bernard Guy, only forty-two were handed over to the state to be burned.<sup>113</sup> This is about three persons per year for a conviction-to-execution ratio of less than half of one percent. During the same period this same inquisitor pronounced posthumous convictions, i.e., convictions after death, against the estates of eighty-nine individuals. Such convictions could of course only be carried out through confiscation of goods. This is about six persons per year.<sup>114</sup>

It is important to understand that what we are talking about was not an isolated phenomenon. Heretics were tried, convicted, and executed in England to an extent; in France, Italy, Germany, and Bohemia; in the Balkan states, the Netherlands, and in Spain. Nor was the Inquisition confined to a period of a few years. Once established as official church policy in the thirteenth century, with precedents going back two more centuries before that, it continued in varying degrees of severity for another 600 years. In Spain the Inquisition was still active, although moribund, until ten years before William Miller's great disappointment. Ellen White (b. 1827) was seven years old when this occurred.

Napoleon, on his entry into Madrid (Dec. 1808), at once suppressed the Inquisition, and the extraordinary general Cortes on Feb. 12, 1813 declared it to be incompatible with the constitution, in spite of the protests of Rome. Ferdinand VII. restored it (July 21, 1814) on his return from exile, but it was impoverished and almost powerless. It was again abolished as a result of the Liberal revolution of 1820, was restored temporarily in 1823 after the French military intervention under the duc d'Angoulême, and finally disappeared on July 15, 1834, when Queen Christina allied herself with the Liberals.<sup>115</sup>

We can continue asking precisely how many people suffered, in what ways, in what places, and at what times, but my point is that the Inquisition is not a figment of the imagination, devised by modern historians to embarrass a now defenseless church. It did not pass unnoticed during the reign of every pope from Gregory IX (1227-41) to and including Gregory XVI (1831-46), but was an official and valued instrument of church policy. In 1820 when a new constitution was written in Spain that made the Inquisition illegal there,<sup>116</sup> pope Pius VII (1800-23) voiced his protest. The Inquisition was something that the church had, was glad to have, and was sorry to see go. But we are getting ahead of our story. The third phase of the Inquisition's existence and the greatest period of its activity and success, roughly coinciding with the Reformation, is discussed in a later section.

## Discussion

What impresses one perhaps more than anything else in studying the lives of the popes is the wide variety of people who have held that office. There have been saints (Celestine V [1294]), men who were unquestionably sincere (Hadrian VI [1522-23]),<sup>117</sup> capable men of good and decent morals (Stephen VIII [IX] [939-42], Nicholas V [1447-55]),<sup>118</sup> men given over to the pursuit of luxury (Leo X [1513-21]) and vice (Alexander VI [1492-1503]), monsters of cruelty (Stephen VI [VII] [896-97], Boniface VIII [1294-1303], Urban VI [1378-89]), and varying combinations of the above (Sergius III [901-11], John XII [955-64]).<sup>119</sup> But as an institution the papacy is not bad because bad men have been pope, although bad men have been pope. Good men have also been pope. Rather it is bad because it brings civil and religious authority together in the hands of one individual, which will have a corrupting influence on whoever it touches, completely apart from whether he is also able to resist such influences.

A similar point has been made by persons that Catholics respect, indeed by persons whom the popes themselves respected. Thus, there is nothing at all novel in what I say.

In vain, St. Jerome protested against the process that was turning the house of God into a treasure chamber. "The marble walls shine, the roofs sparkle with gold, the altars with gems--but the true servants of God are without earthly splendor. Let no one say that the Temple of Solomon was rich with gold--now that the Lord has made poverty his own we should think of the Cross and esteem riches as worthless."<sup>120</sup>

Jerome lived during the late fourth and early fifth centuries. During the tenth century, in response to a series of depravities that I have neither space nor inclination to repeat, the younger Alberic, whose half-brother was pope John XI (931-35), made himself civil prince of Rome and forced not only his brother but his brother's successors for the next twenty years to serve in an entirely spiritual capacity.<sup>121</sup>

Even the sourest of churchmen, the most dedicated of Alberic's critics, were forced to concede that the supreme office of Western Christianity was discharged with high honor during the two decades that it was untrammelled by temporal power. Under Alberic, the popes enjoyed the fullest freedom in their priestly and papal roles. Edicts continued to go out to distant bishops, who in turn sought the guidance of their spiritual superior. The vast and complex machinery of the Roman Church continued to move around its ancient center, unaffected by the fact that the bishop of Rome was no longer the lord of Rome. Not for another nine hundred years was the Papacy to be free again from the burden of temporality, and this brief respite granted it was perhaps Alberic's highest achievement.<sup>122</sup>

It did not take 900 hundred years, however, for someone else to realize the truth of these statements. In 1527, after a devastating five-month sack of Rome by the Catholic emperor Charles V (1519-56), Gaspar Contarini offered Clement VII (1523-34) the following consolation in his capacity as ambassador from Venice:

Your Holiness must not imagine that the welfare of the Church of Christ rests in this little State of the Church: on the contrary, the Church existed before she possessed the State, and was the better for it. The Church is the community of all Christians; the temporal state is like any other province in Italy and therefore your Holiness must seek above all to promote the welfare of the True Church which consists in the peace of Christendom.<sup>123</sup>

In response, "Clement agreed heavily with everything the Venetian said, and admitted that 'as a conscientious man I know that I ought to act as you tell me. . . . I repeat--I see clearly that the way you point out is the right way, but in this world the ideal does not correspond to reality, and he who acts from amiable motives is nothing but a fool.'"<sup>124</sup>

## The Protestant Reformation

(33) "Those who are wise will instruct many, though for a time they will fall by the sword or be burned or captured or plundered. (34) When they fall, they will receive a little help, and many who are not sincere will join them. (35) Some of the wise will stumble, so that they may be refined, purified and made spotless until the time of the end, for it will still come at the appointed time." (Dan 11:33-35)

Those who "are wise [šammaʿk l m]" and who "will instruct many" in the above passage come to prominence at a time after the high Middle Ages, discussed in the previous section. A natural application of the term maʿk l m in the present context would be to the great Reformers of the sixteenth century. They were wise to bring people back to the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice. They were teachers of God's word whose influence extended throughout Europe. They were persecuted by the established church. Many prominent people supported their cause politically who were not sincere in the sense that they acted from any deeply held spiritual motives. Many did not. The timeframe is right, granting the present context, and the specifications of the text line up point for point. It is a perfect application.

### The religious dimensions of the Reformation

"Those who are wise will instruct many, though for a time they will fall by the sword or be burned or captured or plundered" (Dan 11:33)

The spiritual dimensions of the Protestant Reformation are a topic that will not be covered adequately in any paper, much less this one. But let us single out one area about which we can say something substantive and which will be at least consistent with whatever else we might have said if it had been possible to write at greater length. The example I propose below is the Reformers' celebrated use of Scripture.

In *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations*,<sup>125</sup> Bruce M. Metzger examines versions of the New Testament representing ten eastern languages (Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, Arabic, Nubian, Persian, Sogdian, and Caucasian Albanian) and six western languages (Latin, Gothic, Old Church Slavonic, Anglo-Saxon, Old High German, and Old Saxon [Old Low German]). There were probably more, but on present evidence it is a complete list. The earliest version Metzger documents is Tatian's "Diatessaron," published in Syriac about A.D. 170,<sup>126</sup> and the latest is the Old Saxon (Old Low German) "Heiland" ("Saviour"), "a poem of some 5,983 verses written at the order of Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious (d. 840)."<sup>127</sup> Some numbers will be introduced in the following paragraph, but as a basis for comparison with them consider the difference between 170 (for the "Diatessaron") and 840 (for the "Heiland"), which is 670 years. Sixteen versions over 670 years is approximately one version every forty-two years--east and west

together, New Testament only. If we take A.D. 50 as our starting point, it is one version every forty-nine years.

By contrast, between 1474 (when Gutenberg first published the Latin Bible using movable type) and 1600 the United Bible Societies' publication entitled, *Scriptures of the World*,<sup>128</sup> lists new translations of the complete Bible in fifteen modern European languages (High German [1466], Italian [1471], Catalan [1478], Low German [1478], Dutch [1522], Slavonic [1581], Spanish [1553], Polish [1561], Danish [1550], English [1535], Swedish [1541], Hungarian [1590], Icelandic [1584], Slovenian [1584], Welsh [1588]).<sup>129</sup> They also list six new translations of the New Testament during these years (French [1474], Czech [1475], Finnish [1548], Upper Engadine Romansch [1560], Serbo-Croatian [1563], Labourdin Basque [1571]) and five new translations of single books of the Bible (Portuguese [1505], Byelorussian [1517], Modern Greek [1547], Rumanian [1561], Lower Engadine Romansch [1562]).<sup>130</sup> Leaving aside the five single books, twenty-one versions over a period of 126 years is one new version every six years. And this was only the beginning.

The year 1600 is an arbitrary cutoff point. If we stop there it will be impossible to mention even our own English King James Version, which appeared in 1611. The Reformation shook loose a veritable avalanche of Bible translations in different languages, which has shown no sign of slowing down yet. Indeed, when the idea of producing a new translation under sponsorship of King James I was presented to Richard Bancroft, then Bishop of London, he objected, complaining that, "if every man's humour were followed, there would be no end of translating."<sup>131</sup>

Not all of the above translating and publishing activity can be attributed to the Reformation. Some of it took place before Luther and may reflect a Renaissance interest in new printing technologies. But it will be admitted that when the Renaissance's interest in printing was combined with the Reformation's interest in seeing the Scriptures widely read by common people, the result was explosive. More than any other one thing it was this new awareness and personal knowledge of what the Bible says that made the Reformation a powerful force in European society. Armed with such weapons the Reformers did not need armies in order to capture people's attention.

### The civil dimensions of the Reformation

"When they fall, they will receive a little help, and many who are not sincere will join them" (Dan 11:34)

*The text.* Verse 34 does not have in mind events different from those of vs. 33, but the same events from a different point of view. Both verses apply to the same time period. The wise are persecuted and caused to fall because of a negative reaction to what they teach by those who reject it (vs. 33). At the same time ("when they fall") the wise receive "a little help" (vs. 34). This comes from a positive reaction to what they teach on the part of those who accept it. If what they teach brings about the fall of "those who are wise" (A causes B), and their falling rallies support from many others (B causes C), then their teaching may also be said to rally that support (A causes C). What the wise believe and teach is therefore simultaneously the factor that provokes the king of the North to hostility against them and which rallies a large number of supporters to their defense. We now discuss the nature of this support.

*The application.* Sir Maurice Powicke's volume entitled, *The Reformation in England*, begins with the following statement: "The one definite thing which can be said about the Reformation in England is that it was an act of State."<sup>132</sup> England provides one example of religious policies being changed for political reasons during the Reformation, but it is by no means the only example.

In a world where the distinction between church and state was everywhere blurred, it would be difficult to protest against the Church without also appearing to protest against the State.<sup>133</sup> This mix of reform and revolt was especially evident in Germany, Bohemia, and the Netherlands. In England, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Prussia, where the heads of state themselves accepted the Reformation, there was no need to revolt. In Austria, Italy, France, and Spain, where the state remained resolutely Catholic,<sup>134</sup> there was no opportunity.

From Roland H. Bainton's book, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*,<sup>135</sup> one gains the impression that the Reformation in Germany was waiting to happen before Luther was ready to lead it. He was a respected leader and certainly deserves the credit he has received, but he did not single-handedly bring the Reformation into existence. Europe was weary of papal abuses. Thus Luther was on the growing edge of public opinion as well as spiritual truth when he inveighed against the established church as he did.<sup>136</sup>

The situation in England was unique in some respects. King Henry VIII (1509-47) of England broke with the papacy for reasons which bear no relation to those motivating a Luther or a Calvin. In the Netherlands the Duke of Alva's tax of the Tenth Penny appears to have been at least as persuasive a factor in bringing the revolt against Spain to a head as the Calvinism of that movement's leaders.<sup>137</sup>

## The mature Inquisition

. . . for a time they will fall by the sword or be burned or captured or plundered. (Dan 11:33b)

The Inquisition includes more than the narrow period of its greatest influence. It is useful to think of it in terms of three different periods of history spanning a total of about eight hundred years: (1) establishment of precedents (XI-XII A.D.), (2) pre-Reformation (XIII-XV A.D.), and (3) post-Reformation (XVI-XIX A.D.).<sup>138</sup> The last of these periods is both the best documented and the most important to understand for present purposes.<sup>139</sup> Fortunately the inquisitors kept immaculate records of their proceedings and many of their archives have survived.<sup>140</sup>

The countries where the Inquisition was strongest during and after the period of the Reformation were those that bordered on the Mediterranean. Elsewhere the church either lost territory to the Reformation permanently (northern Europe) or suffered temporary losses from which it was later able to recover. The Counter Reformation provided an effective means of doing this in central Europe. One country where the church apparently never had to defend itself was Ireland.<sup>141</sup> Ireland became Christian without martyrs and, once Catholic, entered the modern era without a Reformation.

The Reformation achieved its greatest successes in Northern Europe. Thus, England became Protestant in its own distinctive way with the pope being replaced by the king.<sup>142</sup> Those countries accepting the Reformation in its Lutheran form include Denmark, Norway, and Iceland;<sup>143</sup> Sweden<sup>144</sup> and Finland;<sup>145</sup> Estonia, Livonia, and Courland;<sup>146</sup> Prussia,<sup>147</sup> and especially Germany.<sup>148</sup> Calvinism became dominant in Switzerland,<sup>149</sup> the Netherlands,<sup>150</sup> and

Scotland.<sup>151</sup> There was also some initial response to the Reformation in Italy,<sup>152</sup> France,<sup>153</sup> and Spain.<sup>154</sup>

In such central European countries as Poland; Bohemia and Moravia; Hungary and Transylvania; Slavonia, and Croatia Luther gained such a wide influence that it was impractical to use the Inquisition to put it down. Here the church depended on the Counter Reformation and the Jesuits in order to recapture lost territory. In central and northern Europe also it was unable to make effective use of the Inquisition.

During the period of the Counter Reformation a number of former inquisitors rose to the papacy, e.g., Giampietro Carafa as Paul IV (1555-59), Michele Ghislieri as Pius V (1566-72), and Felice Peretti as Sixtus V (1585-90).<sup>155</sup> Urban VII (1590) had been associated with the Inquisition in Bologna but died of malaria soon after his elevation to the papacy.<sup>156</sup> On the death of Paul IV an angry mob rioted, ransacking the headquarters of the Inquisition in Rome and releasing prisoners.<sup>157</sup> Ghislieri (later Pius V) had been commissary general of the Roman inquisition (1551-56) and inquisitor general (1558-66),<sup>158</sup> so he may have been partly responsible for the popular fury that was eventually directed against Paul IV. Peretti (later Sixtus V), another protégé of Paul IV, was made inquisitor at Venice in 1557. His severity in that office led to his dismissal, but in 1560 he was reappointed.<sup>159</sup> The sunnier days of Leo X (1513-21) were a thing of the past. Under the new leadership the church began to recoup its territorial losses.

The Protestant Reformation had swept like a tidal wave over the greater part of Europe, reaching its high-water mark around 1572. But by 1575 this tidal wave began slowly to subside. Roman Catholicism was at last able to check the progress of Protestantism and to win back parts of Europe which it had lost.<sup>160</sup>

"The time of the end"

What C. Mervyn Maxwell calls a "hostile separation of church and state" in France during the Revolution one might wish to call a hostile merger.<sup>161</sup> When the States-General met on May 5, 1789 about one fourth of its members were clergymen. On November 2, 1789, however, the National Assembly (as the States-General were then called) allowed church property to be confiscated. By February of the next year religious Orders were terminated and monastic establishments dissolved. The church in France would be French (Gallican) rather than Roman.<sup>162</sup> The clergy were to be elected by their parishioners and paid by the state. Confirmation of new bishops would not be subject to papal review.

Now it was loyal Catholics who suffered persecution. Priests who refused to swear loyalty to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy had to minister secretly to those who shared their views out of genuine conviction. Finally, on January 21, 1793, Louis XVI (1774-93) was executed.<sup>163</sup>

On May 7, 1794, Maximilien Robespierre officially outlined a new religion of national patriotism. One month later, on June 8, the government, under his leadership, formally inaugurated the worship of the Supreme Being, intending this new form of worship to replace Catholicism throughout France.<sup>164</sup>

But notice carefully that even at this point the revolutionary government of France was not rejecting religion so much as dictating what form it would take, and that it be secularized. There would be worship, but not Christian worship. For the next two years (1793-94) France lived through a reign of terror. The constitution was changed again and a Directory replaced the

National Assembly. Pope Pius VI (1775-99) championed the idea of counterrevolution and thus emerged as a public enemy.

So serious did the Directory consider the continuing antagonism of the papacy that one of its principal aims came to be "the destruction of the papal authority, both spiritual and temporal," and it asked Napoleon, at that time commander of the Army of Italy, to "consider the idea of destroying Rome as a scourge in the hands of fanaticism."<sup>165</sup>

Rome was occupied without opposition on February 9, 1798 and pope Pius VI was taken prisoner by the French general Berthier eleven days later on February 20, 1798.<sup>166</sup> For more than one reason it is significant that Pius VI was not taken prisoner by Napoleon in the spring of 1796 (when he invaded the northern corner of the Papal States) or again in 1797 (when the papacy refused to honor the Armistice of Bologna). This is significant in two senses, first, that he saw the political wisdom of dominating rather than destroying the papacy, and second, that 1798, rather than 1796 or 1797, was the year when the end finally came and the pope was deported to France. In 1798--exactly 1260 years after 538 when another French general had taken the opposite measure of ensuring the safety and political viability of the popes--we reach the end of a period that had been prophesied many years in advance. Here, in 1798, is the "appointed time" (11:35b) associated with the beginning of the "time of the end" (vs. 35a).<sup>167</sup> In vs. 29 the same term ("appointed time") is used to indicate the beginning of the period.<sup>168</sup>

## Discussion

In 1972 I had the privilege of attending the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Norman, Oklahoma with a Catholic priest who was taking the course in order to prepare for mission service in South America. In one of our conversations he volunteered the remark that, when the history of our own times is written with sufficient perspective, it is our times and not the Middle Ages that will be remembered as an age of cruelty--to minorities striving for social justice and so on. As much as I respect this gentleman's opinions, I must disagree. Being without a job is not in the same category as having one's bones dislocated on the rack. But the remark is instructive--first because it shows that the topic is a sensitive one for the church, to be dealt with in as winsome a manner as possible, and second because it shows a willingness to defend the past. As a modern Jesuit author puts it,

The liberal few hated the Inquisitions and their autocratic methods: most people, however, regarded the tribunals as completely necessary guardians of orthodoxy and public decency.<sup>169</sup>

There is a question whether what the church lost during the Age of Enlightenment was its will to persecute or its ability. Any action it might take now against those it considers to be heretical would be played back on the evening news. This is a crippling disability and one that has prophetic significance, because in 11:40-43, when the papacy pursuing its recovery from the fatal wound described in Rev 13:3, it is precisely in the arena of public opinion that its struggle takes place. Since the church cannot assert itself using force, it asserts itself using causes with which all can agree. But to the extent that Rome maintains its claims to temporal as well as spiritual authority, it must remain open in principle to the use of force because that is the way temporal matters are regulated (see Rom 13:4).

In any society different people are going to want different things, so whoever is in charge must select a course of action and make some people do things they don't like. That is the way

society works, but it is not what God has in mind for His church. "Jesus said, 'My kingdom is not of this world. If it were, my servants would fight to prevent my arrest by the Jews. But now my kingdom is from another place'" (John 18:36). If there was ever a situation where the Church could ever have justified tangible intervention in the affairs of the State, it was the arrest and crucifixion of Jesus. No political cause would have been more worthy than this one for His followers to take practical politically based action. But this is precisely the context in which Christ rejects such methods.

It has become popular for conservative Protestants in the United States to take sides on political issues. And it is true that there are political issues we cannot ignore. But in doing this Christians are playing with fire. Seeking to change societal behavior without changing the convictions from which it follows is a superficial work with dangerous implications. The results--taking at a bare minimum the three centuries on either side of the Reformation--are on public record. If we examine that record and let it speak without constantly protecting ourselves from what it says, it will tell us the church was dramatically off course during this time. If society's morals are decadent, let those who wish to correct them meet the minds of those in error through preaching and in this way change their thinking. This is the only form of conversion that is worth having and the results would be entirely beneficial. If, however, society is to be regulated against its will, let law makers do that as a separate endeavor and pursue every means possible to ensure that the two functions are kept distinct. The church must never again take on the mixed political-religious character it once had. We have seen the results and do not want to see them again.

Protestants who begin by wishing to make people conform to certain standards of behavior, will end by wishing to make them conform to certain standards of thought. All this is backwards. Win the heart first and right behavior will follow naturally enough. To achieve similar results by other means there must be an appeal to force. When this happens – as it surely will – Protestantism will have come back to the point where it initially broke away, but in the other role, i.e., the one it protested against and broke away from. There would be no value in reviewing the sad tale of abuses with which the history of the Christian church in western Europe is littered if there were nothing to learn from doing so now. But there is something to learn and it is this: Blurring the distinction between civil and religious authority had disastrous results when it was tried before. We must not repeat the mistake.

## Conclusion

Repeatedly in Dan 11 we find a motif in which the king of the North starts small and rises to power over the king of the South. Here the king of the North is not only a state, but a mixture of church and state, making Daniel's own earlier comparison of iron mixed with clay especially significant (see Dan 2:33, 41-43). Arianism was the southern power that challenged the Roman king of the North at the beginning of the period under review. In this comparison the South is doubly represented, because Arius came from Alexandria in Egypt, because his teaching was championed by barbarian groups, one of which (the Vandals) made itself a naval power and challenged Rome from Carthage in Libya and because his teaching challenges the deity of Christ, whereas in Exod 5:2 Pharaoh challenges the deity of God. Libya is located on the southern coast of the Mediterranean directly south from Rome.

Barbarians, who for the most part were also Arian Christians, succeeded in taking over many parts of the western Empire. Their onslaught was both civil and religious, and the result

was that both church and state were temporarily devastated by the onslaught. The Roman state never fully recovered from these barbarian (mostly Germanic) attacks. What did survive was the Roman church, which went on to assume both roles. It rose from the ashes of the ruined Empire to assume a position of power and influence that we might find hard to imagine today. These are not small or insignificant facts about the history of Western Europe. The only possible innovation in saying these things lies in claiming that the prophecy of Dan 11 predicted them.

With the secularization of science over the past two centuries the process by which the church's authority once expanded and flourished has now been almost entirely reversed.<sup>170</sup> The church has lost much of the control over peoples' lives that it once had. A point that I return to in a later paper, however, is that the pattern before us is not one of strength followed by weakness, but one of weakness followed by strength. This process manifested itself initially when the Church rose out of the ashes of the Empire to achieve its pinnacle of power in the middle ages. It will manifest itself again, in the arena of public opinion, as the Church rises from its current (or recent) political death bed to assume again all the power and influence it once had. We study these things later in connection with Dan 11:40-45.