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**AN EXAMINATION OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST
INTERPRETATION OF TWO TIME PROPHECIES IN THE BOOK
OF DANIEL - THE 2300 DAYS OF DANIEL 8 AND THE 70
WEEKS OF DANIEL 9.**

ASSUMPTION 9

**The 1260-day /3½ ‘times’ period began in 538 A.D.
and ended in 1798 A.D. The ‘time of the end’ begins
after this period. The 2300-days can only be fulfilled
after the ‘time of the end’ began in 1798 A.D.**

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The Purpose of This Assumption

Daniel 8 (v.17) says that the 2300-days relate to the end-time; in fact, to the “time of the end.” The purpose of this assumption in the SDA historicists’ view of prophecy is to provide a date for the beginning and the end of this reference in Dn8:17 and Dn12:4 called “the time of the end.” Dn8:17 says: “Understand O son of man: for at the time of the end shall be the vision.” SDA historicists and other historicists before them use the phrase “time of the end” as a marker indicating the approximate period in which we can expect a fulfillment of the 2300-day prophecy. The argument follows this line of logic: Since the Scriptures indicate a period of time called “the time of the end” follows the 1260 year period of the reign of the Roman church, one cannot look for the fulfillment of the 2300-day prophecy before this 1260-day period. Therefore, by locating the end of the 1260-year period, the true interpretation of the 2300-day period will then have its terminus *after* the end of the 1260 years. Since SDA historicists do indeed support a view that does this, this is greater evidence they hold a correct interpretation of the period.

Further, SDA historicists argue that the fulfillment of the 2300-days and the second coming of Christ could not occur until “the time of the end.” (White, E., 1950, p.356) The “time of the end” is considered a short period of time occurring just before the second coming of Christ. (White, loc. cit.) The *beginning* of the “time of the end” signalled the *end* of the 1260-year reign of oppression and blasphemy by the horn power of Dn7 (which SDA historicists identify as the Roman Catholic Church), after which time the judgment would sit and then the kingdom would be given to the saints. This judgment is mentioned in Dn7 and also in Dn8:14 where it refers to the cleansing of the sanctuary—a cryptic statement apparently alluding to the judgment symbolised by the annual Day of Atonement service. There are a few important points in the SDA schema associated with this point in time.

- The first one is that the end of earth’s history cannot occur until after this.
- Secondly, they argue that since the vision referred to being applicable “at the time of the end” (Dn8:17) which, from Daniel’s point in time, would not be until “many days” into the future, the fulfilment of the 2,300 days would not occur until after then either. Using Dn12:4, 7, the end of the 3½ times could not occur until 1798 A.D.
- SDA historicists would have us believe the Bible predicts that after 1798 A.D. there will be a proclamation concerning the “cleansing of the sanctuary,” which, in SDA terminology, comprises the investigative judgment of the saints to see who is worthy to be a part of the kingdom of heaven. This investigation begins with the dead, and then it deals with the living. Evidence for this movement comes from prophecies in the book of Revelation chapters 10, 11, and 14.
- Furthermore, since the full knowledge of the 2300 days is closed and sealed until “the time of the end,” it is only after 1798 A.D. that a true explanation of the 2300 days can be proclaimed. And surprise of surprises!! The Advent movement, and then the Seventh-day Adventist church are the only ones to proclaim such a message concerning the cleansing of the sanctuary referred to in Dn8. The argument that “the time of the end” did not begin until 1798

A.D. has important ramifications for SDA historicism. SDA historicists argue that after this time, a true explanation of the “last day” sections of the book of Daniel would be discovered and proclaimed. It is asserted that since both the “shutting” of the vision in ch8, and the “shutting” and “sealing” of the items that pertain to the last days in ch12 would continue until “the time of the end,” it is logical to conclude that prior to the fulfilment of this period, key sections of the prophecies would not be understood. The argument flows as follows: the section of the vision pertaining to the last days was “shut” until the “time of the end,” therefore we can only look for a correct explanation after 1798 AD since that is when the “time of the end” began. Since the Advent Movement’s explanation did occur after that time, it fits the criteria. Therefore, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the ‘proper’ successor of the Advent Movement, is the movement identified in both this prophecy and the prophecies in chapter ten and fourteen of the book of Revelation that refer to the same matter. In fact the proclamation of this “message” is the completion of the Reformation started so long ago by Wyclif and Luther. Adventists are the torchbearers of the Reformation truths and are the successors of this heritage, and have been chosen to finish the Reformation work.

- The Advent movement mistakenly referred to the cleansing as the second coming of Christ, whereas the SDA church embraced the revised explanation of the text saying that the cleansing was the investigative judgment as symbolised by the Day of Atonement in the Jewish sacrificial services.
- The third point is that any theories proposing the end to occur *before* this point in time are incorrect because 1798 A.D. is set by the foreknowledge of God and is absolute. This last point rules out, in the SDA view, two current issues in the debate on SDA historicism: first, that Daniel’s prophecies could have been fulfilled in the first century A.D., and the statements in the New Testament concerning the possibility of the return of Christ for the second time being experienced by that generation in the times of the apostolic church was not to be taken literally;¹ and second, that conditionality applied to the apocalyptic prophecy of Daniel.

With so much attached to the significance of 1798 A.D., it is crucial that the validity and reliability of this date should be closely examined. Implicit in this examination is the validity and reliability of 538 A.D. as well. If these dates fail of being what they are purported to stand for, then the definition of the “time of the end” and the necessity of seeing the SDA historicist’s interpretation of the 2300-days simply vanishes.

¹ By apostolic church, I mean the church during the time when the apostles were still living and working in the churches.

Abstract of Conclusions

Because this is a sizable document, I have included an abstract of the main conclusions of this paper, so that readers can understand the direction of the paper before getting lost in the detail.

A. The date for the start of the 1260 years is wrong on a number of counts:

1. We are led to believe that it is legal recognition of the primacy of the papacy by the Roman emperor that is the beginning of the 1260 years. This legal recognition could not be enacted however until the Ostrogothic power, the last of the three horns to be plucked out, was completed. We are told by SDA historicists this occurred in 538 AD. This is wrong on two counts. First, the Ostrogothic power was not “plucked out” until 552-555 AD, and second, the bishop of Rome exercised his powers of primacy *before* 538 AD. Contra the view of SDA historicists, the powers of primacy decreed by Justinian *were* executed by Pope Agapetus *two years before the date when SDAs say they could be exercised..* Pope Agapetus deposed the Patriarch of Constantinople with the encouragement of Justinian in 536 A.D. In Justinian’s mind, the power of primacy was in the possession of the bishop of Rome since 533 when it was decreed. He merely encouraged Agapetus to exercise the powers *he already had* as bishop of Rome.
2. The question needs to be raised as to whether the imperial legality of the primacy of the pope needs to be ascertained before one could say the pope had any primacy. The primacy of the pope was his primacy among the patriarchs of the church. The church corporate, in its canons and councils, universally recognised the primacy of Rome, and is documented in the Councils of Nicaea, Chalcedon etc. There is no necessity for depending on an imperial decree to endorse this position. In church law, the canons were sufficient. And indeed, with the demise of the Eastern empire, and the rise of the Western empire, the canons of previous centuries still stood as valid, and were regarded as valid, by the patriarchal councils. It is the decisions of *church councils* that established the orthodoxy of any particular issue relating to the church general. It was *the church councils* that determined orthodoxy regarding doctrine, liturgy and administrative matters. Patriarchs, emperors and emperresses went to great lengths to try and influence certain decisions of the councils in their favour when they saw the need; they understood the importance of the decisions of this august clerical body. The primacy of the bishop of Rome was an administrative issue decided by the councils very early in the history of the church, and certainly before the third century. The action of Justinian in incorporating this into his legal code can be seen merely to be his endorsement of a particular decision already made by the church councils. The authoritative basis then of his decision is the authority of the church council, *not* his position as emperor. But in any case, the caesoro-papist attitudes of these later eastern emperors should not to be patronised by saying that the status of the pope could only be recognised when it was incorporated into an imperial legal code. In any case, Constantine had endorsed the primacy of the bishop of Rome centuries before. My reading

of history was that *Caesar's word was law*. It did not need be in a code; it was in a precedent, set by the actions and decisions of Caesars long before Justinian.

3. The argument that Rome had to be freed from the Ostrogoths for the decree to be implemented, or executed, has no bearing on the issue at all. It is ludicrous. In fact the issue of the control of Rome by the Ostrogoths is totally unrelated to the primacy of the bishop of Rome. It was the emperor who decided the importance of any bishop. It was the emperor who had primacy *par excellence* above any of the Sees throughout Christendom. And this continued up until eastern matters preoccupied his resources, allowing the Roman Church in the eighth century to establish its own sovereignty. Before this time, though the College of Cardinals in Rome chose a new pope upon the death of the incumbent pope, notice was always sent to the emperor for his endorsement.² Until the Eastern Empire had lost its influence in Western affairs, it was the emperor who endorsed the [election of a new pope](#). It was many centuries before the See of Rome was free of Greeks sitting on the holy chair, instead having native Roman in control.
4. The Ostrogoths' unsuccessful siege of Rome in 538 was not the last time that they attacked Rome, contrary to what is asserted by Froom, Maxwell Smith and other SDA historicists. In fact, some years later, the Ostrogoths not only successfully occupied Rome, but also drove out the Byzantines from the city and successfully reconquered virtually the entire peninsula. In all, the keys of the city of Rome changed hands between the Ostrogothic kings at Ravenna and the Eastern emperor at Constantinople five times before the ultimate defeat of the Ostrogoths in the 550s. Therefore, the date of 538 as the end of the power of the Ostrogoths is merely a SDA-historicist chimera. It has no basis in fact. If any date must be chosen, it has to be one around the defeat of the Goths at Mount Lactarius in the Appenines in 552 A.D. or in 555 A.D. with the overthrow of their last citadels at Verona and Brixia.³
5. Maxwell and others understand the removal of the first two of the three horns in Dn7 by the emerging "little horn" as the *annihilation* of those tribes. This he applies to the Vandals and the Heruli. By the same logic, we can only take the displacement of the third "Ostrogothic" horn in Dn7 as their annihilation as well, which occurred *two decades later* than 538 AD. We cannot use one line of logic for the first two horns of Dn7 and then choose another for the third horn. The three horns in Dn7 are given

³ There is a variation of dates in the sources used for some of these dates. Some say 552 for this battle (Procopius and Gibbon), and some say 553 (Smith, Maxwell, Mansell and the Catholic Encyclopedia's articles on "Justinian I," and "Ostrogoths"). I merely quote the source and follow the lead given. Likewise, there is a variation in dates for the fall of the last Ostrogothic fortification. The Catholic Encyclopedia in its article on "Ostrogoths" quote 555 as the date for the fall of the last Ostrogothic fortification, yet Bury (p.281) indicates that the last of their fortification were not recovered by Narses until 562, when the keys of Verona and Brixia were sent to Justinian. I have not found the definitive solution to this chronology yet.

to us in a group – *the same parameters apply to all three* not two, with a different set of parameters applying to the third.

6. SDA historicists have tried to make 538 A.D a date related to the temporal power of the pope. They talk of him having control of the city of Rome after the departure of the Ostrogoths, thus leading their followers to think there was some type of temporal power gained by the bishop of Rome in 538. But they deceive their followers. The bishop of Rome did not gain any temporal power in 538, nor for centuries afterward. He was a taxpayer of the Eastern empire and was under the direction of the exarch of Ravenna for a number of centuries after 538. The keys of the city of Rome were not in the possession of the bishop of Rome but the emperor in Constantinople.

B. The date for the end of the 1260 days is not correct for a variety of reasons:

1. The SDA historicists begin the 1260-day period with one *type* of event, and end the period with an entirely *different type* of event. They begin the period with a date related to the PRIMACY OF THE POPE and finish the period with a date related to the TEMPORAL POWERS OF THE POPE. This is unwarranted and unhistorical and would be not stand the rigour of examination by any peer review. There are dates regarding the temporal powers of the pope (321, 754-756, 1309-1378, 1870) that are recognised by impartial historians. There are dates regarding the primacy of the pope (c.3rd Century, 1453). The Vatican Code obviously does not see an end to the primacy of the Pontiff, and so if one wants to recognise the Vatican legislation as the continuation of the Code of Justinian, this creates greater problems since the Vatican will *never* legally abolish the primacy of the Pope from its Canons. This means that there will be no closing date for the period of the primacy of the pope, and the 1260 years cannot apply to the primacy of the pope.⁴
2. If one is going to date the *start* of the papal supremacy with the PRIMACY OF THE POPE, then one should *close* the period of papal supremacy with a date when the *primacy of the pope* was abolished. But, unfortunately, the throne that provided legal backing for the primacy of the bishop of Rome was captured in 1453, thereby ending the Code of Justinian as a legally enforceable code of law. The legality of the Pontiff's primacy based on the date of 533 and based on the legal processes of the throne of Constantinople ended with the overthrow of Constantinople. The throne that gave any legal endorsement to the primacy of the pope was overthrown in 1453 with the overthrow of Constantinople, and with it the Code by which that throne ruled. With the change of ruler on that throne, the legality of the primacy of the pope emanating from that throne was finished. One cannot argue that the Papal bulls concerning the primacy of the pope can be presented as the substitute for the defunct imperial Roman throne. Fromm and others depend on the *legality* of the legislation in 533 AD to base their argument against an earlier date for the

⁴ Unless, of course, one waits for legislation negating the pope's primacy from Istanbul –the throne that legalised the primacy of the pope in 533 AD!

primacy of the bishop of Rome. They deny the legality of the decision of Church Councils as sufficient basis for the establishment of the primacy of the papacy. The same dependence of *lack of legality* of the Code after the defeat of Constantinople must also argue *against* the legality of the primacy of the bishop of Rome after 1453, even though that primacy was exercised by the pontiffs.

If this is denied and the decisions of the Church councils held later in the medieval ages to endorse the primacy of the bishop of Rome is cited as an argument to prove the continued legal primacy of the pope, even after 1453 and the demise of the throne of the Empire, then it is incumbent upon them to also acknowledge the proper authority of Church Councils to *establish* the primacy of the Papacy in the beginning of the church period. This would put the beginning of the primacy of the papacy around the second century A.D.⁵

3. The SDA church calculates *the end* of the 1260-day prophecy using the TEMPORAL POWERS of the Papacy. But these began legally in 321 A.D when Constantine decreed that the Church was considered qualified to hold and transmit property. This is the legal basis to the possessions of the Church of Rome, but formally began with the Donation of Pepin in 754-756 A.D. This is recognised by the Catholic Church, contemporary historians and the SDA Bible Commentary. If the SDA church is going to argue for the establishment of the legal basis for the primacy of the pope as the type of starting point needed, then one would have to argue that the Law of Constantine would have to be the equivalent of the decree of Justinian with regard to the temporal powers of the pope, and SDAs should adopt 321 A.D. as the beginning of these temporal powers, to be consistent with their argumentation concerning 538 A.D. The bishop of Rome was considered head of the church within the church and the empire before 321 A.D. The papal *temporal powers* came and went sporadically throughout the centuries since that time as local conquerors came and went, taking control of Rome. Sometimes the Papal claims were lost with the abandonment of Rome by the Pope when either the situation was too dangerous or he was forcefully exiled. Previous to 1870, from the French Revolution through the first⁶ and second⁷ Roman Republics, only *some* of the Papal States were officially annexed. But in 1870, *all* of the papal temporal powers were taken from the Papacy when the city of Rome was annexed from the Church to the Italian monarchical Government. In 1929, only the land on which the Roman Church's main complex was built was returned to her. The rest of the Papal States remained in the hands of the Italian government and now make up Central and part of Northern Italy. As for the brief interruption of papal control of temporal holdings during the first Roman republic, the brief events of the first Roman Republic in

⁵ Fertile SDA historicist minds might want to do a 1260-year countback from 1453 A.D with the conquest of Mehemet II, and come to 193 AD (1453-1260). Their only task then is to find a decision of a council or bishop in that year, and then they can prove their interpretation "beyond a shadow of doubt!!!"

⁶ Under Napoleon.

⁷ Under Mazzini.

1798-1799 do not register on the radar of either the Catholic Church or contemporary historians as an event offering a significant blow to the temporal powers of the Pontiff. The official Concordat by Napoleon in 1801 ratifying the efforts of Berthier actually left the Papal States intact, except for the Legations, (which had been lost in 1797, as defined in the Treaty of Tolentino). If any date has to be chosen, then 1809 would be closer, since Napoleon confiscated all the Papal States, but even then, Napoleon left the city of Rome in the possession of the Pope, thereby continuing the temporal powers of the Papacy. If SDA historicists want to argue that the cessation of the temporal powers of the pope in February 1798 constituted the deadly blow, then the Babylonian captivity of the Papacy in 1309, which endured for 68 years, constitutes a *stronger* argument for the deadly wound being inflicted then. This is acknowledged by the Catholic Church, contemporary historians and the SDA Bible Commentary. 1309 A.D. was an event from which the Church never recovered, and caused irreparable damage to her standing among the rulers and the people. But unequivocally, the date chosen by the Catholic Church and historians for the end of the temporal powers of the Papacy is 1870. This is the wound that SDA writers refer to as being healed in 1929, quoting secular and Catholic newspapers which heralded the signing of the Concordat. This was *not* the healing of some wound created in 1798. The insult to the Papacy in 1798-9 was healed in 1800 with the installation of Pius VII in Rome and the Concordat that followed in 1801. Rather, the Concordat signed in 1929 was the healing of a wound that was delivered in 1870. Some SDA writers mislead their readership when they come to crafting the linking of the events of 1798 to 1929. But this link is fictitious and just a figment of a fertile SDA historicist's imagination. The 1929 Concordat *only addresses* the events of the 1870 annexation. If someone wants to use the historicist method to calculate the end of the 1260-years, using the temporal powers of the power, then, the temporal powers could be dated from 756 AD.⁸ This would bring the end of this period to 2116 AD.⁹ I do not hold to this view, nor do I think the pope will lose his control of the Vatican City at that time. In my view, the concept of the 1260 days is related to the persecution of the saints, not the temporal powers, nor the primacy powers of the pope.

4. The Pope had sovereign power within his own States after 756 A.D. with the Donation of Pepin and asserted his primacy by his own sovereignty since then. This was lost and regained a number of times before 1870. The events of 1798 are not the first or the last in the gradual decline of the sovereign papacy. The papacy lost its temporal powers in 1870 permanently. This is a fact, acknowledged by the papacy itself. This is the

⁸ cf. Sir Isaac Newton, and the Catholic Encyclopedia etc.

⁹ (756 + 1260). Froom notes that the British "Lowman's unusual dating of the 1260 years, as from 756 and ending about AD 2000 – 250 years from his time. This dating was obtained by starting with the temporal dominion under Pepin of France in 756." (1946, p.183) Apart from the notion of a figurative resurrection on p.192 and an allusion to him being a disciple of Whitby (p.218), no further information concerning Lowman is given, except in Vol.II, p.724, a commentary is listed under that name in 1745.

so-called “deadly wound” to the temporal powers of the papacy. The prior incidents of the temporary loss of temporal power do not register as significant in the history of the papacy. And certainly, the events of 1798 are insignificant compared to other similar events in the previous centuries or following decades leading up to 1870. The restoration of a symbolic portion of land to the Church by the Italian Government in 1929 after annexing the Papal States in 1860 and then Rome in 1870 restored the sovereignty to the Papacy and the Vatican Code of Canon Law, as a sovereign code, endorses the primacy of the pope. That will never change. The Papacy maintains its sovereign declaration in its canons that the Pontiff is the “the head of the college of bishops, the Vicar of Christ, and the pastor of the universal Church on earth. By virtue of his office he possesses supreme, full, immediate, and universal ordinary power in the Church, which he is always able to exercise freely.” (See the Vatican Code of Canon Law in Appendix)

A Word about Sources used in this paper.

Extensive use is made in this paper of major sources available to SDA writers in the nineteenth century or the turn of the twentieth century. These include:

1. Bury, J. B.,

1958 (1898)

The History of the Later Roman Empire, from the death of Theodosius I. to the death of Justinian, in two volumes, New York: Dover Publications Inc. (Also online at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/BU_RLAT/home.html).

2. The Catholic Encyclopedia.

(This can be found online at www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.htm. This encyclopedia appeared around the same time as Bury)

3. Gibbon, Edward,

1776-1788

The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, (online at <http://www.ccel.org/g/gibbon/decline/home.html>).

The reason these sources have been chosen is to show readers that the appropriate information on the historical matters discussed in this paper was available to SDA historicists in the times of the early pioneers of the SDA church, and so the perpetual regurgitation of historical misinformation from one generation of SDA writers to another has been without excuse. Gibbon was standard reading even in the times of William Miller; and both the Catholic Encyclopedia and Bury were available to Ellen White and other pioneer writers who were alive at the turn into the twentieth century. SDA historicists have not only shown themselves to be willingly ignorant of the facts, they have chosen deliberately to promulgate misinformation in a “historical” garb when in fact, it is anything *except* “historical.” There are examples in this document when SDA historicists have deliberately misused or misquoted these and other sources to give support their own view when in fact there was none. Furthermore, the history of the SDA church has shown us they are prepared to go one step further, not only showing themselves to be willingly ignorant of the truth, but also ever so willing to alienate, disfellowship, defrock and malign those who have pointed out their errors. In addition, the church is happy to promote and parade before the church

membership, SDA writers who support the traditional position of the church, even though these same writers show no regard to the *abiding truthfulness* of what they put in print, as long as it supports the party line.¹⁰ How regrettable it is that it has come to this desperate position!

First Task: Defining what the term “Time of the End” means.

By the time those commentators of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries had come on the scene, there was a lot of exegetical baggage already around on the 3½ times of Dn7 to pick up on and extend—including the meaning of the term “time of the end.” This included the year-day principle; the little horn is the Antichrist; Son of Perdition, and refers to the Pope; the Papal supremacy for 1260 years; Extending the year-day principle beyond the seventy weeks of Dn9; France was the means of overthrowing the Pope, and; the beginning of the 1260 year period in the times of Justinian. Froom outlines this baggage:

- **The little horn is the Antichrist; Son of Perdition, and refers to the Pope:** Eberhard II, archbishop of Salzburg (1200-1246)... “gave utterance ...to a new interpretation of some lines of prophecy. Here during this council [“the synod of Bavarian bishops held at Regensburg, or Ratisbon, in 1240 or 1241”] Eberhard, in brilliant oration preserved by Aventinus, or Turmair, in his noted Bavarian Annals, clearly sets forth this identification of the prophecy of the Little Horn. In this striking presentation Eberhard not only openly calls the pope a wolf in shepherd’s garb, the Son of Perdition, and Antichrist, but also gives his revolutionary exposition of the pope as the Little Horn of Daniel 7.” (1950, p.798)
- **The Papal supremacy for 1260 years:** “...eventually, the growing identification of papal Rome as the predicted apostasy, under the terms *Antichrist, Babylon, Beast, Man of Sin, and Mystery of Iniquity*, resulted in the application of the 1260 years as the era of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the papal Little Horn. This conception of the Little Horn, soon to come, gave the clue to the time placement of the 1260 years as developed in Reformation times and afterward.” (1950, p.700)
- **The year-day principle:** “Joachim of Floris, in the twelfth century, had seen the 1260-day period to be so many year-days.” (1948, P.124) “Joachim [of Floris-FB] provided the basis for the historical method of interpretation of the time relationships of the prophetic symbols, as applied to both nations and churches when he extended to this period [1260-days-FB] the Biblical principle of a day for a year, which in early centuries had only been applied to the seventy weeks.” (1950, pp. 700f)
- **France was the means of overthrowing the Pope:** “For more than a century before the [French-FB] Revolution developed, a line of expositors of the Protestant Historical School not only had predicted from the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse the approaching end of the 1260 years of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Papacy, but had set forth France as the probable instrument, and infidelity as the possible means of

¹⁰ Shea and Hasel are classic examples of this.

the coming overthrow. When therefore, the French Revolution broke forth in 1789, not only did new writers solemnly discourse on contemporary fulfilling prophecy, but various compilations of past statements were assembled and printed.” (1948, p.723)

- **The beginning of the 1260-year period in the times of Justinian:** Another important piece of the argumentation concerning the 1260-day prophecy concerns the start in the times of the emperor Justinian. “Cressner [Drue Cressner, (c. 1638-1718) –FB] sets forth Justinian’s era as the beginning point of the 1260 years – with their ending as about A.D.1800. This is apparently the first clear declaration of its kind.” (Froom, 1948, p.591)
- **The end of the 1260-year period:** Many and various were the termini proposed by different historicists. Thomas Newton, echoed later by other thoughtful historicists, tried to simplify the problem of historicists guessing the start of the 1260-day period by proposing that the beginning of the period would only be understood when the end of the papal power is realised. As Froom says, “Newton notes both Justinian’s decree of 533 and Phocas’ decree of 606, from which some date the 1260-year period. Concerning this and related periods, he says:

“Here are then those different periods assigned, 1260 years, 1290 years and 1335 years; and what is the precise time of their beginning and consequently of their ending, as well as what are the great and signal events, which will take place at the end of each period, we can only conjecture, time alone can with certainty discover.” [Froom inserts footnote: “Ibid [Thomas, Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, (1796 ed.)], p. 277) (1948, p.771)

Here then are a number of basic items that could be found in any Protestant commentary on the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. The concept of the period “the time of the end” was a term well used in prophetic literature at the end of the eighteenth century. When news travelled to the New World in 1798 of Pope Pius VI’s arrest, imprisonment and exile, Froom reports the U. S. President John Adams, appointed a special day of “Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer” whereon many sermons on prophecy were delivered nationally:

Many keen students of prophecy told their Protestant congregations of the prophetic significance of the event and of the widespread conviction that mankind had evidently entered “the time of the end” –the latter-day epoch that would finally see the overthrow of the papal Antichrist. One of these sermons, based on prophecy, was delivered by Jeremy Belknap, Congregationalist. (1982, p.62)

Apparently the idea of the “time of the end” applying to this period in history was already in the minds of many.

William Miller, the founder of the Advent movement was likewise influenced by these ideas when he came to reading contemporary works on the topic, and when formulating his ideas on the prophetic periods.

William Miller's explanation of the "time of the end" and the 1260-day prophetic period.

In examining the roots of SDA historicists' argument regarding 1798 and the "time of the end," we do no better than to examine the ideas of William Miller and his associates, since so much of what is present in SDA historicism can be traced back to origins around the time of the Advent movement. So what does Miller say on the topic of this time period? What is his belief regarding the "time of the end"?

Damsteegt comments on the concept of "the time of the end" among the Millerites:

The expression "time of the end" was taken from Dan. 12:4, 9 and characterized all missionary motives of the Millerites...¹¹ The Millerite concept of "the time of the end" was determined by use of a historicist hermeneutic which interpreted a number of transpiring historical events during the 18th and 19th centuries as fulfillment of Bible prophecy. To some Millerites this concept signified a point of time, others felt it was a period of time. Miller himself said that the "time of the end" meant the end of the power of the pope "to tread on the Church by his civil authority, or reign over the kings of the earth, and to dispose of lands for gain." [Damsteegt footnotes: "Miller, *ESH*, 1836, p.74."] Papal power came to an end during the French Revolution when, "in the beginning of the year 1798, on the fifteenth of February, a French general, Berthier, entered Rome with a French army without resistance, deposed the Pope, abolished the Papal government and erected the republic of Italy. [Damsteegt footnotes: "*Ibid*. In 1798 the little book of Rev. 10 was opened (Miller, 'Chronological Chart of the World,' *ST*, May 1, 1841, p. 20)."] Other Millerites, although adhering to the principal event of 1798, expanded this concept. Some years later Josiah Litch wrote that the time of the end had begun at the time of the unsealing of the book of Daniel in 1798. [Damsteegt footnotes: "J. Litch, 'Discussion between Litch and Jones,' *ST*, July 15, 1840, p. 59. Cf E. G. White, *GC*, p. 356."] By this he meant that in that year the significance of the time element of "a time and times and a dividing of time" (Dan. 7:25) became clear. Litch stated that the time of the end was "not a single point of time, but a period, extending from 1798 to the end itself." [Damsteegt footnotes: "Litch, 'Discussions,' p. 59."]

Indeed, Miller and Litch's view of the "time of the end" as a "period extending from 1798 to the end itself" is a view that is standard among contemporary SDA historicists. Not that Litch or Miller foresaw this "time of the end" period lasting for nearly 200 years!! In Miller's view, the end was imminent. He understood the "time of the end" to be a little period before the end – in fact, only 45 years in length!! Notice these comments on the phrase "time of the end" in Daniel 11:40 in Lecture VI of his 1836 publication. He points out how the "time of the end" began with the end of the Papal civil power in 1798 under Napoleon's hand:

We therefore begin at the 40th verse of the 11th chapter of Daniel, "And at the time of the end," meaning the Papal civil power. Now another person has obtained this civil power. This was Bonaparte the ruler of the French nation. **This year of which we are now treating was the very year that the French destroyed the power of the Pope**, and Bonaparte began his extraordinary career in conquest and authority. And it was evident by his success that he was raised up by God himself for some great and special purpose. And through him, as an instrument, and by means of the French revolution, the shackles that had bound more than half of Europe in bigotry, superstition and tyranny, were burst

¹¹ But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. Dan. 12:4

asunder, and the inquisition and Papacy lost their power and terror over the bodies and minds of men. (1836, p. 80, emphasis mine)

Miller then launches into showing how Bonaparte is the “he” and the “him” in the verses following in Daniel 11 and shows how it was fulfilled. He then moves into Daniel 12:

I shall now examine the remainder of Gabriel’s message contained in Daniel xii, 1 “And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great Prince which standeth for the children of thy people.” The time here spoken of here is when Bonaparte shall come to his end, and none to help him. This was in the latter part of the year A.D. 1815. (Ibid)

Miller then goes into the revivals of 1815-1817 in the states around where Miller lived as evidence of Michael’s “standing up.” He also then looks at the forecast time of trouble in that same verse when people’s destiny will be set forever. He sees the:

Mankind will for a short time give loose to all the corrupt passions of the human heart. No laws will be regarded; all authority will be trampled underfoot; anarchy will be the order of governments, and confusion will fill the world with horror and despair. Murder, treason and crime will be common law, and division and disunion the only band of fellowship. Christians will be persecuted unto death, and dens and caves of the earth will be their retreat. **All things that are not eternal will be shaken to pieces, that which cannot be shaken will remain. And this, if I am right in my calculations, will begin on or before A.D. 1839.** “And at that time, thy people will be delivered every one that shall be found written in the book.” The people are now to be delivered.... “And many of them of that sleep in the dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.” This verse brings us down to the resurrection of the dead....(Ibid, p. 81)

And now let me sum up in short what we have proved to you in this discourse. And first, I showed that the length of time our history would take up, viz. **45 years**. By the numbers given in Daniel xii. 11-13, his 1290 days, beginning when the ten kings represented by the ten toes in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, and ten horns in Daniel’s vision, should be converted to the Christian faith, and the daily sacrifice abomination taken out of the way, viz. A.D. 508, which, **would end us in 1798, when the Pope lost his power to reign over the kings and trample on the holy people, and the abomination of desolation ceased his civil reign by being deprived of his civil power by Bonaparte.** I then showed you that the 1335 days, beginning at the same time as the 1290, viz. 508 A.D., would end in 1843, at the resurrection....And you have undoubtedly noticed that this brought us to the same year that Daniel’s whole number 2300 brought us, which is forty-five years, difference between the two numbers 1290 and 1335....(Ibid, p.88)

So in his view the “time of the end” includes the “time of trouble” and then it is concluded at the second coming of Christ. In his view the “time of the end” would only cover about “45 years” (the difference in calculation when subtracting 1335 from 1290. (p.88)) The “time of trouble” however, would only go from 1839 to 1843 a period of about 3.5 years (or 1260 days). This view was standardised in the 1843 chart used by Millerite preachers in their lectures around the country, but it was dropped when the predicted events did not materialise in 1843.¹² The 1850 chart designed by Otis Nichols, eliminates this point completely, as does the 1863 chart designed by James White.¹³

¹² Froom, 1982, p.616.

¹³ Froom, *ibid*, pp. 1071, 1080.

So it is clear that Miller held to the view that the period for the 1260-day prophecy was 538 A.D. to 1798 A.D, after which the “time of the end” would begin and continue for a short period until the second advent – an event soon to occur in his thinking. And within that “time of the end” there would be a “time of trouble” lasting a literal 1260 days or 3½ literal years, that would end with the second coming of Christ.

How did he ascertain the beginning of this period? Damsteegt says of Miller’s private opinion : “The 1260-year period began in 538 when he thought Justinian, the emperor of the Eastern empire, made the bishop of Rome universal bishop.” (1978, p.24) Damsteegt footnotes: “Letter, Miller to T. Hendryx Aug 9, 1831.”] On the other hand, Litch corrected this view in print by placing “Justinian’s decree declaring the Bishop of Rome the head of all the churches in 533.” (Ibid, footnote 119) Thereby Litch “saw the lifting of the Ostrogoth’s siege of Rome and their overthrow by Justinian’s General Belisarius, resulting in the restoration of the city of Rome to the emperor and contributing to the rise of papal authority.” (Ibid) [Damsteegt footnotes: “Litch SCC, 1838, p. 89, 111, 114, 139, 162. Cf. Hale, SAM, pp. 85-91; Froom, PFF, II 784; III 744; IV 396, 846; ¹⁴ E. G. White, SP, IV, 57¹⁵, E. G. White, GC, pp. 54, 266, 439.¹⁶”]

In Froom’s survey of the position of principal *Millerites* on the dates for the 1260-day period in vol. 4 of *PFF*, we find the universal application of the dates 538 – 1798 by forty-six main Millerite expositors. (1982, p.846) This compares with the same survey he does of *non-Millerite* scholars’ position on this time period, who by far, favour the period 533 – 1793, and *none* of whom find any reason to advocate the dates 538 - 1798. (1982, p. 396) Apparently this must have been a mainly Millerite phenomenon.

Froom documents the process by which Litch came to advocate the 538-1798 dates above any of the other dates commonly found in standard Protestant expositors on this prophecy. Though initially prejudiced against the opinions of Miller, Litch found his prejudices changing as he began to read Millers *Lectures*:

¹⁴ These references just give the details in a chart as among many writers. The original documents are not quoted here.

¹⁵ “In the sixth century the papacy had become firmly established. Its seat of power was fixed in the imperial city, and the bishop of Rome was declared to be the head over the entire church. Paganism had given place to the papacy. The dragon had given to the beast ‘his power, and his seat, and great authority.’ [Footnote: “Rev. 13:2:”] And now began the 1260 years of papal oppression foretold in the prophecies of Daniel and John. [Footnotes: “Dan. 7:25; Rev. 13: 5-7.”] Christians were forced to choose, either to yield or suffer death by the rack, the fagot, or the headsman’s ax. Now were fulfilled the words of Jesus, “Ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolks, and friends; and some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake.” [Footnotes: “Luke 21: 16, 17.”] Persecution opened upon the faithful with greater fury than ever before, and the world became a vast battlefield. For hundreds of years the church of Christ found refuge in seclusion and obscurity. Thus says the prophet: “The woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.” [Footnotes: “Rev. 12:6.”] The accession of the Roman Church to power marked the beginning of the Dark Ages. As her power increased, the darkness deepened.” (1969, pp.57, 58, identical in 1950, pp.54, 55)

“The 1260 years of papal supremacy began in A.D. 538, and would therefore terminate in 1798.” (1950, p.266) “Power was given unto him to continue forty and two months...’ .Forty and two months are the same as the “time and times and the dividing of time,” three years and a half, or 1260 days, of Daniel 7 – the time during which the papal power was to oppress God’s people. This period, as stated in preceding chapters, began with the supremacy of the papacy, A.D. 538, and terminated in 1798.” (Ibid, p. 439)

¹⁶

The first well-known minister in New England to take his stand openly and aggressively by the side of William Miller and his cause was the scholarly Dr. JOSIAH LITCH (1809-1886)....Litch espoused the Adventist cause in 1838, and took his place publicly as a collaborator of Miller....Early in 1838 he received a copy of Miller's *Lectures*...with the request that he read it and give his opinion on its merits. However, the idea of anyone trying to discover the time of Christ's second advent was so distasteful to Litch that at first he was scarcely willing to examine it. He felt he could with ease overthrow its argument in a few minutes. He was already well aware that the Protestant world generally believed that Antichrist, under the various prophetic symbols of Daniel, Paul, and John, was the Papacy. And he knew that Protestants generally believed that this power was to continue for 1260 years-days, and that quite a few of these learned writers began the period with the decree of Phocas in 606, and consequently would not terminate until 1866. To Litch this evidence had seemed rather decisive.

However, to please his friend – as well as from personal curiosity to know what arguments could be summoned to support so novel a doctrine – he began to read Miller's *Lectures*, as his book was commonly called. As he progressed his prejudice began to melt, and he came gradually to feel that Miller had many good points of truth – especially the idea that Christ's coming reign of glory would be "*on the earth renewed*." [Froom footnotes: "Josiah Litch, 'The Rise and Progress of Adventism,' in *Advent Shield*, May, 1844, p.34."] In fact, the more he read, the more weighty Miller's arguments appeared to be. Nor did they seem to conflict with his staunch Methodist beliefs and convictions.

Miller's evidence for the 1260 years, as from 538 to 1798, really seemed stronger than for that of the more common later dating. And the reasoning and the Scriptural evidence convinced Litch that there could be no millennium until Christ comes in person. The reign of the Man of Sin and the glorious millennium obviously could not co-exist. Before he finished the book he became fully satisfied that the arguments were so clear, logical, Scriptural, and conclusive that it was virtually impossible to disprove Miller's fundamental contentions. (1982, pp.528, 529, 530-531)

So Froom informs us that it was *the reading of Miller's ideas* on the 538-1798 dating that persuaded Litch to change his view on this matter from the more generally accepted dating of 606-1866. We must then look to Miller's lectures to see what evidence Miller brings to bear on the topic in order to establish the 538-1798 dating for the 1260 years.

Miller's comment on this period can be found in his 1836 publication in the following places:

- Lecture III, pp. 42-44;
- Lecture IV, pp.55-59;
- Lecture V, pp.72-75;
- Lecture VI, p.88;
- Lecture XII, p.163;
- Lecture XIII, pp.171-179;

To these comments we now turn to find what evidence Miller provides that might have persuaded Litch to change his mind. A rebuttal to Miller's logic is provided in the Appendix. It was written in 1840 and was an answer to Miller's lectures. The criticisms raised by the author of this 88-page pamphlet is still relevant today.

Miller's Comments in Lecture III

In Lecture III, Miller is discussing the vision of Daniel 7, and on pp. 42-44 he looks at the fourth beast and the little horn in particular. He quotes Dn7: 24-26 and says,

In these verses we have the history of the fourth beast or Roman power, during 1260 years of the close of the kingdom, which I shall in some future lecture show, is the meaning of time, times, and a half. We have also another clear description of the Papal power: "he shall speak great words, &c." The blasphemies against God, in the pretensions of the Roman clergy to divine power, working of miracles, canonizing departed votaries, changing ordinances and laws of God's house, worshipping saints and images, and performing rites and ceremonies too foolish and ridiculous to be for a moment indulged in, and any unprejudiced mind cannot for a moment believe to be warranted by divine rule or example of Christ or his apostles. And we are again brought down to the time when the judgment shall sit; "And the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the Most High whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, (not temporal as some say, or a thousand years, but an immortal and eternal) "and all dominions shall serve and obey him."

And that is as far as his comments extend on the topic of the 1260-years in this lecture. Miller does not go into to much detail here except to point out that the little horn is the Papacy, and the history of this power is encompassed in the 1260-year period, which comes just before the establishment of God's eternal kingdom. Therefore we can conclude that this is not a critical comment giving us insight into Miller's thinking on 538 A.D.

Miller's Comments in Lecture IV

In the second reference, that of Lecture IV, pp.55-59, Miller's main topic is the meaning of the number 666. In the first part of the lecture he sets out to define who the beast is that was numbered with 666. He says:

By this beast I understand the same as Daniel's fourth kingdom, and the Roman government; by "names of blasphemy," I understand a mode of worship which would be idolatrous or blasphemous; by the dragon, we must understand the civil power of the same government giving its power to the ecclesiastical beast whether Pagan or Papal. 3d verse, "And I saw one of the heads, (of blasphemy, Pagan) as it were, wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: (by the substitute of the Papal blasphemous head) and all the world wondered after the beast."

John then goes on to describe the civil power of this Roman government under this last head, and shows the length of time they would exercise this last power, "forty-two months," which is the same as Daniel's time, times and an half, or John's 1260 days, mentioned Rev xi.3: xii.6. His power to make war and overcome the saints is foretold. In the tenth verse he shows us how this civil power should be destroyed, by captivity and the sword, and this was fulfilled in 1798 when the pope was carried a captive into France, and the states of Italy were conquered by the sword of the French army. In the 11th verse he gives us a discovery of the same beast in this ecclesiastical power; Pagan Rome in the first beast and Papacy in the image beast, and it will be evident to anyone who will examine the chapter carefully, that John was not commanded to number the image beast, for the civil power of that beast was before numbered in the fifth verse, but the beast which existed before him, which the Papal ecclesiastical beast is an image of or Daniel's daily sacrifice abomination, Daniel xii. 11, the one which Paul said, "He who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way."

In this passage it is evident the Apostle alludes to the same power although he calls it the "working of satan." John also gives a similar description in Rev xii.9, "And the dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the devil, and satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him." But I have other evidence that the beast numbered was Pagan Rome, and I think it must be

conclusive testimony, in Rev xvii.3. In this chapter one of the seven angels that had the seven vials came to instruct John, and to show him "The judgment of the great whore with whom the kings of the earth had committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication." "So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness, and I saw a woman set upon a scarlet coloured *beast* full of the names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns."

Here the same idolatrous *beast*, having seven heads and ten horns, is describes; the woman sitting upon this *beast* is the same as Daniel's little horn which came up among the ten horns, and shows plainly that it was that part of Roman power which was prior to the woman, and was of course called the *first beast*. When John saw this woman on the scarlet coloured *beast*, he wondered with great admiration and says, Rev xvii.7, "And the angel said unto me, wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell you the mystery of the woman and of the *beast* that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns. The *beast* that thou sawest was and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition, and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder, whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, when they behold the *beast* that was, and is not, and yet is." "That was," Pagan Rome before John saw his vision; "and is not," yet in its last stage of Papal Rome, "and yet is," in the same spirit, for Papal Rome is but an image of Paganism, as says the Apostle, II Thess ii.6.7, "And now yet know what withholdeth, that he may be revealed in his time, for the mystery of iniquity doth already work." And I John ii 18, "Little children, it is the last time and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists, whereby ye know it is the last time." And again, Rev xvii.9, "And here is the mind which hath wisdom," evidently referring John right back to our text, "Here is wisdom, let him that hath understanding," the same as *mind* in the above quotation. "The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth, and there are seven kings; five are fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space, and the *beast* that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." These texts explain the whole matter, for it is evident that the *beast* here alluded to, was the seven headed monster who was then in existence when John wrote, for five of its executive forms of government (of which kings and mountains are figures,) had fallen. Republican Rome had five different offices under that particular form of government, her *senatorial*, *tribunate*, *consular*, *diumvir*, and *triumvirate*. These were fallen. One is, that was when John wrote his prophecy, *Imperial*, and the other had not yet come. *Kingly*, which is the same as the ten horns. For when the western empire fell, Rome was divided into ten kingdoms, "And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind (that is, all were converted to the Catholic faith,) and shall give their power and strength unto the beast, Papal Rome. "These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; for he is Lord of lords and King of kings; and they that are with him are called, and chosen and faithful." And although this beast, whatever form it may assume, whether Pagan or Papal, may for a season tyrannize over and trample on the followers of Christ, through the agency of the evil powers of empires, kingdoms, states or republics, yet He who rules over all, will, in the end, destroy all these powers, and himself reign King of kings and Lord over all. "And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and cut her flesh, and burn her with fire."

This text has been literally accomplished within a few years and those kingdoms which were of the ten, kingdoms which first gave power to the beast, have of late persecuted, and destroyed her, who is the abomination of the whole earth. Witness the transactions of Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Naples and Tuscany, the Seven Kingdoms which were not plucked up by the little horn, each of these nations have in their turn resisted the power and pretensions of the Pope of Rome, until his civil authority is reduced to a cypher in all these kingdoms. "For God hath put in their hearts to fulfill his will, and to agree and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall

be fulfilled.” Then must the Papal beast, the image of Paganism, be numbered and finished, and like a weighty mill-stone sunk in the deep, he must with the Pagan beast sink forever and ever.

Thus we see the two beasts although supported by the same power, “the great red Dragon or Roman kingdom,” exercising the same authority over the bodies and souls of men, partaking of the same spirit of satan, made like each other, one being but an image of the other, having the same names of blasphemy on their heads, and both having at the close of their times the same ten horns, and both have, and are to have, their civil power destroyed by the same ten horns. Yet we see them kept separate and distinct. Pagan Rome must reign his time, and then the ten horns, or kings, would take away the “daily sacrifice abomination,” and place in his stead the “abomination that maketh desolate.” The last abomination was numbered in the same chapter where our text is found, “forty and two months.” And why not give us the number of the first beast? He has: Let him that hath understanding, count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred three score and six.” (pp.56-59)

Miller defines for us in this lecture the nature of the beast that shall pursue the saints and have dominion for 1260 years, as being Papal Rome. He provides a collection of arguments to do this convincingly, at least given the assumptions he expects us to make. This lecture provides us with some crucial arguments for the period of “time, times and an half.” Its allusion to the actions of the European powers in relation to the Napoleonic era leave us in no doubt as to what he alludes to.

However, this lecture does not give us any insight into Miller’s thinking regarding the events of 538 A.D.

Miller’s Comments in Lecture V.

In the next place in his *Lectures* where he refers to this time period, Lecture V, pp.72-75, we read of him defining the termini of the 1260-year in a most explicit manner.

I shall now go on with the illustration of the third part of his prophetic history, which is the history of the image beast, the deadly wound healed, or what Daniel calls, “the abomination that maketh desolate.” This beast would rule over the kings of the earth and tread the churches of God under foot forty-two months, or time, times and a half, which is twelve hundred and sixty years, in common time, or as the angel tells us in Daniel xii. 11, from the taking away the daily abomination, to set up the abomination that maketh desolate, should be a thousand two hundred and ninety days, showing a difference of thirty years from the statement of the actual reign of the image beast and the other, which includes all the time, from taking away down through the setting up or reign of the image beast. Therefore to reconcile these two statements we must conclude there was thirty years from A.D. 508, when Paganism ceased, before the image beast or Papal Rome would begin her reign. If this is correct, then the 1290 began 508, and would end us in 1798. But the reign of Papacy would not be set up until A.D. 538, and would end us in the same year, A.D. 1798, being 1260. This then, is the history the angel will give us next. 32, “And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall be corrupted by flatterers; but the people that do know their God shall be strong and do exploits.” **The ecclesiastical historians tell us that in the beginning of the sixth century, about A.D. 538, a number of writers in that day undertook to prove that the Papal chair together with councils of his approval, were infallible, and their laws were binding on the whole church. These writers were highly honored and flattered with promotion by the reigning powers. While on the other hand there were many who opposed this power of the pope and clergy, who were denounced as schismatics and Arians, and driven out of the kingdoms under the control of the Romish church. 33, “And they that understand among the people shall instruct many, yet they shall fall by the sword; and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days.” Those who instructed the**

common people and opposed the worshipping of images, the infallibility of the pope and councils, the cannonizing of departed saints, were persecuted by the civil power (the sword) were burnt by order of the ecclesiastical courts established by the laws of Justinian, emperor of Constantinople, whose code of laws published about A.D. 538, gave unto the bishop of Rome power to establish courts for this purpose, and many in the sixth century and subsequent down to a late period, “*many days*,” suffered death, imprisonment and confiscation of goods, in consequence of a difference of opinion in matters of religion, by the tyranny of this abomination, “the bloody city which has reigned over the kings of the earth.” 34, “Now when they shall fall they shall be helped with a little help; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.” This text agrees with one in Revelation xii.16, “And the earth helped the woman.” “But many shall cleave to them,” that is many men of the world would cleave to them, and professedly would flatter the true people of God, that they were friendly at least to them, and by these means satan carried on his wars against the children of God. 35, “And some of them of understanding shall fail, to try them, and to purge and to make them white, even unto the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed.” This verse shows us that even Christians would be led into some of the errors of Papacy and would be tried and purged, even to the end of this image beast’s reign, which time is appointed as I have already shown to be “time, times and a half,” 1260 years ending A.D. 1798. 36, “And the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished for that, that is determined shall be done.” *The king* here spoken of is the same as Daniel’s little horn, which came up among the ten horns. It is the same that blasphemed the God of heaven. It is mystical Babylon. Isa xiv. 12-15; Rev xiii. 5,6. The same Paul has described in his epistle, II Thess ii. 1-9. The same image beast which we have been examining the history of, and one thing is evident that this beast will continue until the day that God pours out his indignation upon a guilty world in some form or other....

[Discussing v.40] We have now arrived to the end of the third division of the Angel’s history; for the next verse tells us, “*And at the time of the end*,” meaning the end of his power, to tread on the church by his civil authority, or reign over the kings of the earth, and to dispose of lands for gain. I have brought you down, my kind hearer, through a long prophetic history of more than 2200 years, and landed you to the year A.D. 1798, when the Pope of Rome lost his civil power. In the beginning of the year 1798, on the 15th February, a French general Berthier entered Rome with a French army without resistance, deposed the Pope, abolished the Papal government and erected the republic of Italy. The Pope being taken prisoner was carried a prisoner by them first to Sienna in Tuscany, from thence to Florence, afterwards to Grenoble and then to Valence in France, where he died on the 19th of August, 1799, since which time the Pope of Rome has exercised no more of his former power over any of the kings in Europe, or the Protestant church. (pp. 72-75)

These comments contain statements regarding the importance of 538 A.D as a date of historical and prophetic importance. We must examine his points closely shortly.

Miller’s Comments in Lecture VI.

In Lecture VI, on p.88; we encounter the next statment relating to the 1260-year period. This lecture focuses on the place of the Napoleonic campaigns in the prophecy of Daniel 11. During this lecture he gives us a curious manipulation of the Danielic time periods to prove the ending of the civil power of the little horn, at the end of the 1260-year period.

“And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty

days; but go thou thy way till the end be, for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of days.” Now Daniel had all he could ask for, now he could understand the time and the length, and part of every division which the Angel had given him in his instructon, so far as to fill up his vision of 2300 years (as we shall call them, having proved in a former lecture that they ought to be so reckoned and have been so fulfilled.) He has now learned that to begin and reckon back from the resurrection, which he well knew would be 1810 years after Christ’s crucifixion, he might find out when the daily sacrifice abomination would be taken away. Therefore take 1335 years from the 1810 years would leave 475 years; and he could reckon from the end of the 70 weeks or 490 years, to the end of Pagan Rome, would be 475, from thence to the time he should stand in his lot, would be 1335 years. Then by adding

$$\begin{array}{r} 490 \\ 475 \\ \hline 1335 \end{array}$$

would make the sum total of his whole vision 2300 years. And now, let us suppose he wished to know when the abomination of desolation would end, and when it would begin. He has only to take his number one thousand two hundred and ninety, as given him by his angel, from his 1335, thus,

$$\begin{array}{r} 1335 \\ 1290 \\ \hline 45 \end{array}$$

and he finds that 45 years before the resurrection, the little horn will lose his civil power. Now let him take his time, times and a half, and add say 1260 years to the 45 years, and he will find that the little horn begun his reign 1305 years before the resurrection, and 30 years after the daily sacrifice abomination was taken away. And now he is prepared to give his vision and the instruction of the Angel all their proper bearings and prove it thus:---

1 st . The seventy weeks or 490 years to the crucifixion.....	490
From crucifixion, to the taking away daily abomination.....	475
From taking away Pagan rites, to setting up of abomination of desolation...	30
From setting up of Papal power, (time, times and an half), to the end of his civil power.....	1260
From the taking away the Papal civil rule, to the resurrection.....	45

Now add these together and you will have the whole 2300 years of Daniel’s vision. Do you not, kind hearer, see by this mode, and by these numbers given him, Daniel could learn every part and division of the whole history down to the time when he should stand in his lot. But now for your instruction, we will suppose Daniel understood our mode of reckoning time, he might have given it to us in this way, “The 70 weeks or 490 years will be accomplished, A.D. 33. The Pagan abomination will be taken away 475 years afterwards, will be set up 30 years after, A.D. 538, and will continue 1260 years, A.D. 1798. After this 45 years, I shall stand in my lot, and all that come forth to this resurrection will be blessed, A.D. 1843, “Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.” Rev xx.6. “Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection.”

We are now prepared to give you the remainder of the Angel's instruction to Daniel, beginning where we left off in our last lecture, and you will likewise now take notice that it is the last division, and what we now shall read to you must all take place in 45 years, between the year 1798 and 1843. So that you may almost all of you judge for yourselves upon your own observations, whether these things are so or not.

We therefore, begin at the 40th verse of the 11th chapter of Daniel, "And at the time of the end," meaning the Papal civil power." Now another person has obtained this civil power. This was Bonaparte the ruler of the French nation. This year of which we are now treating was the very year that the French destroyed the power of the Pope, and Bonaparte began his extraordinary career in conquest and authority. And it was evident by his success and fortune, that he was raised up by God himself for some great and special purpose. And through him, as an instrument, and by means of the French revolution, the shackles that had bound more than half of Europe in bigotry, superstition and tyranny, were burst asunder, and the inquisition and Papacy lost their power and terror over the bodies and minds of men. At this time then our prophecy begins, and Bonaparte is the person designated by the pronouns *he* and *him* in the prophecy. (pp.78-80)

[Miller then goes into fitting Bonaparte's career into the prophetic verses in Daniel 11 that follow. Then he comes to Daniel 12:4 and his comments on it.]

But the question, How long to the end of these wonders? Means to the end of the reign of the beast which the world wondered after, Rev xiii.3. 7th verse, "And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he had lifted up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven." This language shows us plainly, that it is the same angel which John saw in Rev x.1—7. And the same time is indicated in Revelations as is in Daniel. Here in Daniel it is in the last 45 years, when the mystery of God shall be finished, all that had been declared by the servants the prophets, the whole prophecies would be accomplished. "And swear by him that liveth forever, that it shall be for a "time, times and an half." This was the same length of time given in Daniel vii.25, which is there given as the reign of the little horn. It is also the same time which is given in Rev xi. 2. Forty-two months, three years and a half, to give the holy city to be trodden underfoot. Again, the same time is given, Rev xi. 3, for the two witnesses to prophecy [sic] clothed in sackcloth, 1260 days. Also, Rev xii, 6, 14, for the church in the wilderness, and again in Rev xiii.5, where the antichristian beast has his delegated power to continue forty two months. All these times ended in A.D. 1798, as we may hereafter show; when the 45 years began to accomplish the things which I have been attending to in this lecture. "And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people all these things shall be finished."....

And now let me sum up in short what we have proved to you in this discourse. And first, I showed the length of time our history would take up, viz. 45 years. By the numbers given in Daniel xii. 11-13, his 1290 days, beginning when the ten kings represented by the ten toes in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and ten horns in Daniel's vision, should be converted to the Christian faith, and the daily sacrifice abomination taken out of the way, viz. A.D. 508, which would end us in 1798, when the Pope lost his power to reign over the kings and trample on the holy people, and the abomination of desolation ceased his civil reign by being deprived of his civil power by Bonaparte. I then showed you that the number 1335 days, beginning at the same time as the 1290 days, viz., 508, would end in 1843, at the resurrection, for Daniel would stand in his lot at the end of these days. And you have undoubtedly noticed that this brought us, which is about forty-five years, the difference between the two numbers 1290 and 1335. I then began at Daniel xi. 40, and gave you the history of Bonaparte, his wonderful career of conquest and power, and his final end. I then gave you the history of Michael standing up, and the

Reformation that followed in the years 1815-16-17, even down to the present time. Then the unfulfilled prophecy which must come soon upon us, the troublous times. (pp.86-88)

In this lecture the combination of simple mathematics (rife with circular logic), combined with the application of the prophetic texts in Daniel 11 by a very fertile imagination to the Napoleonic era, are presented together as convincing testimony to the validity of Miller's application of these time period's to the events concerned. However, there is no comment relative to the events of 538 A.D. that we can look to as defining the event that began the 1260-year period.

Miller's Comments in Lecture XII

The second last reference to the 1260-year period, in Lecture XII, Miller discusses the three and a half years of the testimony of the two witnesses mentioned in the book of Revelation:

In the beginning of the sixth century about A.D 538, Justinian, Emperor of Constantinople, in his controversy with the Arians, and other schismatics in the Greek church, constituted the bishop of Rome head over all the others, both in the western and eastern churches, who by his authority suppressed the reading of the bible by laymen, pretending that they could not read and understand without the assistance of the clergy. About this time, too, the Latin language ceased to be spoken in Italy, and the Greek and Latin both became dead languages. The bible at that time into [sic?] being written or translated into many other languages in Europe it became an easy task for the bishop to obscure the doctrine and discipline of the word of God, so far as suited his convenience, and to obtain universal power over the minds and consciences of men and clothe the scriptures in sackcloth. If then, the scriptures were first clothed in sackcloth in A.D. 538, and were to prophecy 1260 years in this situation, their prophecy would end in 1798. (p.163)

This is the comment we are looking for. Miller gives us his explanation for the reason for choosing 538 A.D. as a historical and prophetic date. According to Miller, in this year, "Justinian, Emperor of Constantinople.... constituted the bishop of Rome head over all the others, both in the western and eastern churches...." It is this point that Miller was incorrect on. Justinian did not do this in 538 A.D.

Miller's Comments in Lecture XIII

This extensive comment on pages 171 to 179 discusses the events depicted in Revelation 12 where the woman is persecuted and flees to the desert for protection from the dragon. There are a few comments within this section that relate to 538 A.D.

The Jews had tried their friendship and protection [of the Roman power] for more than two hundred years before and after Christ, and the events proved the destruction of their nation and place. The christians too, had tried the friendship of the same power, under Constantine and succeeding emperors, for a little more than two hundred years, beginning A.D. 313 and ending in A.D. 538, as we shall show, which so corrupted the Romish church that she became the antichristian abomination, and the true children of God were driven into the wilderness out from her connection with the anti-christian church, "the city of the nations," as she is called. But God took care "that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and three score days," which is 1260 years from A.D 538 until 1798, during which time a free toleration of religious rights were not permitted in any of the kingdoms which formerly composed the Roman empire....(p.171)

Verse 14, "And to the woman was given two wings of a great eagle." By which wings I understand the means God used to between the Arian and Papal controversy, at the time

of the division of the Greek or eastern church from the west or Roman church, which happened in the reign of Justinian, emperor of the east, about A.D. 538, when the controversy arose concerning the worshipping of departed saints, images, and the infallibility of the church at Rome. In this controversy, many privately withdrew themselves and settled in the northwest part of Asia and in the northeast part of Europe, and after a number of years colonies were sent by them into Piedmont and vallies [sic] of the Alps, where it is supposed the true worship of God was retained during the dark ages of Papal ignorance, bigotry and superstition. (See Milner's Church History, and Benedict's History of the Baptists.) (pp.173f)

But let us consider a few things in addition to our former reasons. 1st. What may we understand by the woman "fleeing into the wilderness," and "from the face of the serpent." We must consider it in a state of obscurity, this was true in the time we have stated, A.D 538. Historians tell us but little about any regular church, but the Roman church and this has never been in an obscure state; of course the Roman is not the church in the wilderness. **But they do tell us that in the days of Justinian, emperor of Constantinople, there were many schismatics as they were called who opposed the power of the bishop or pope of Rome and doings of the councils in the east and west, and a large share of the latter part of Justinian's life was spent in religious broils, and expelling from his kingdom these schismatics, and the code of laws, which he published about A.D 538, forbid any christian any rights or privileges as citizens in his empire who would not acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as head. And in these laws, he gave the Bishop power to hold courts and try all matters of faith within his kingdom.** These, and other things of like import, drove all true followers of the word of God to seek a rest out of the jurisdiction of the city of nations, and of course became outlaws to the Roman government. **Then if we fix the beginning of the exile of the church at the same time of setting up anti-Christ, A.D. 538,** then the church was in its exiled state until A.D. 1798, which would be the 1260 years. It is here worthy of remark, that the code of laws passed by Justinian, were in full force in the kingdoms belonging to or under the control of the pope of Rome, respecting the rights and privileges of those who might differ from the Catholic faith, until the French took Rome in 1798, and declared Italy a Republic, when free toleration was given for any religious opinion or privilege whatsoever. (pp.177f., emphasis mine)

Here again Miller gives us a lead into his thinking regarding the events of significance in 538. He says that Justinian "published about A.D. 538" "the code of laws" and on this event he "fix[ed] the beginning of the exile of the church at the same time of the setting up anti-Christ..." Either Miller read his sources incorrectly or perhaps his sources were incorrect themselves. The references he quotes earlier – secondary-source history texts by Milner and Benedict – if it was these he used for this point of history, may have made the error. In any case Miller has mistated this point twice in his Lectures, and he has based his calculations on a wrong basis. We can conclude from this that the later explanation given for the significance of 538 A.D. was not provided by Miller, since his explanation was historically in error. We must find the source of the argument regarding the so-called victory over the Ostrogoths in Rome from another source.

Litch corrects Miller's mistake re Justinian's code occurring in 538 A.D.

If we follow Damsteegt's lead, we can perhaps attribute the current explanation of the 538 AD for the beginning of the period to Litch, rather than Miller's explanation for the same year, given that Miller was historically incorrect. Miller had thought Justinian made the bishop of Rome universal bishop in 538 A.D. Litch had pointed out that this occurred in 533, and that in 538 with the lifting of the Ostrogothic siege against Rome, the city was freed for the emperor, and the Pope.

Damsteegt quotes the publications by Josiah Litch, *Probability of the Second Coming of Christ about A.D. 1843*, as the source for his credits on this point, and in particular, pages 89, 111, 114, 139, 162, and the publication of Apolos Hale's *Second Advent Manual*, pp. 85-91.¹⁷

Here are the statements by Josiah Litch:

In the same year [533 A.D.], also Justinian adopted his code of laws, among which was one declaring the Bishop of Rome "THE HEAD OF ALL THE CHURCHES." See Justin. Novell. Lit. 14. Constitut. Cap.2. This decree of Justinian I will insert for the satisfaction of those who may wish to see it.

"Sancimus secundum carum (scil. Sacrarum synodorum) definitiones, sanctissimum senioris Romae Papam primum esse omnium sacerdotum: beattissimum autem archiepiscopum Constantinopoleos novae Romae secundum habere locum post sanctam apostolicam senioris Romae sedem: aliis autem omnibus sedibus praeponatur."

This constituted the bishop of Rome head of all Churches. But as yet the Roman see was in the hands of a power hostile to the ambitious designs of the pope of Rome. One of the three horns remains as yet to be plucked up BEFORE him. That kingdom was the Gothic, in Italy. But after this kingdom had stood its appointed time, it was attacked by Belisarius and reduced again to Roman government. The city was taken or entered by Belisarius Dec.10, 536. But the war did not end there. The Goths collected their forces, and the next year besieged Rome for the purpose of retaking it. This siege was severe for the citizens of Rome, and it came well nigh being reduced to surrender to the barbarians; but after about a year's siege, and enduring the almost incessant sallies of Belisarius, the Goths raised the siege, and left Italy in the quiet possession of the Roman general. This took place in March, A.D. 538 [Litch inserts footnote: Gibbon's Decl and Fall of Roman Empire vol. 7, p.209.]"

Rome was now united to the Roman empire. The beast had received his deadly wound by the sword of the barbarians, and that deadly wound was again healed, and the Roman beast once more "lived" in the West. The three horns or kingdoms out of the ten, had been plucked up by the roots before the little horn. The laws of Justinian had declared the bishop of Rome head of all the churches, and he that letted or hindered, "Paganism" and "Arianism," were taken out of the way. Nothing now stood in the way of the full revelation of "the man of sin, the son of perdition." The saints were now formally given into his hand. The decree by which it was done was made in 541, and the conquest of Italy was undertaken, to subdue the Arians and give the catholic religion the supremacy. Therefore I can but consider A.D. 538, the time when the Goths raised the siege and abandoned all hope of recovering Rome, as the true time when the saints were given into the hand of the little horn, and the "time, times and a half," commenced. The abominations of Paganism now had been taken away and the abomination that maketh desolate set up. Now was about to commence the long conflict between the true church and the mother of harlots. The Pope is head of all churches, and begins to assert his claims. (1838, pp.88-90)

The vision [commenting on Dn12:7] was to last from the time the third of the ten horns, the Gothic kingdom in Italy, was plucked up before the little horn, twelve hundred and sixty years, as we have already seen. The third horn was plucked up, and the way for the Pope to set up his kingdom prepared A.D. 538. Twelve hundred and sixty years would

¹⁷ These writings have been preserved in the 1978 microfiche collection, *The Millerites and Early Adventist*, by University Microfilms International.

bring it down to 1798. In that year Berthier, a French general, entered Rome, deposed the Pope, and carried him away captive, and he died in exile. (*Ibid*, p.111)

....one thousand two hundred and sixty [years] back again, would bring him back to A.D. 538; the very year in which Rome was again restored to the Roman empire, by Belisarius. (*Ibid*, p.114)

Th fourth seal opened, and there appeared a pale horse; and he that sat on him was death, and hell followed with him. This seal opened when popery was established in Rome by the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom, A.D. 538. (*Ibid*, p.139)

The witnesses were to prophesy clothed in sackcloth...When and how were the two witnesses clothed in sackcloth? At the time Justinian, emperor of Constantinople, decreed the bishop of Rome head of all bishops and churches, and by his arms reduced Rome, rescued it from the Goths, and left the way open for the bishop to exercise his authority in the church without any hindrance. This took place in A.D. 538. The great object of Justinian, in clothing the bishop of Rome with supreme authority in the church, was, if possible, to put an end to the Arian heresy. The bishop, to accomplish this object, prohibited the common people from reading the Bible, pretending, that without the assistance of the clergy, it could not be understood. (*Ibid*, p.162)

We see in these statements the old argument of William Miller regarding Justinian's Code, but then he weaves in another argument, not used by Miller – that the Goths had to be expelled from the Pope homeland before the powers outlined in the Code could be exercised. This occurred in 538 A.D; fortunately, the same year as stated by Miller for the Justinian Code. So Miller had the event wrong, Litch corrected it and found both an event in 538 A.D. and a connection between that event linking it to 533 A.D. when the Code was actually made up. This work is published in 1843, and it would be an interesting question to answer as to whether this view had been published or preached about earlier than this date. Miller's lectures were printed in 1836, and Litch's book was printed two years later, but clearly the thoughts had been developed much earlier than 1838 for him to have it clear enough in his head to present it in this manner in print.

Apollos Hale Introduces Croly and Edward King as defence of the New World

In 1843, Apollos Hales printed his book, *Second Advent Manual*. He quotes four pages from Rev. George Croly's work *The Apocalypse* to prove the beginning of the 1260 year prophecy.¹⁸ Hales says that Croly

Gives the detailed history of the acts from which the supremacy of the Pope is to be dated....But these provisions [for the supremacy of the Pope given in 533] could not go into effect in favor of the Bishop of Rome at the time they were issued, because Rome and Italy were then in possession of the Ostrogoths, -- who, being strongly attached to the Arian faith, were as violently opposed to the religion of Justinian, as they were envious of his imperial wealth and power. It was not till the conquest of Rome, in March 538, that the Catholic Bishop could exercise the power with which he had been clothed by the Emperor. (1843, pp.85, 89)

Hale is repeating the arguments of Litch printed some five years previous, indicating that by 1843 Miller's arguments concerning 538 A.D. had well and truly been replaced by Litch's arguments, as Hale, in writing his book to defend Miller's position,

¹⁸ The full book (12.6Mgb) can be downloaded from Google Books.

does not use Miller's arguments supporting the 538 date, but rather chooses Litch's reasoning.

What is interesting in Hale's publication is his introduction of writers from the Old World, something not found in Miller's Lectures. One of these writers Edward King, published a work in 1798. Hale points out he had no connection with Millerism:

There is no evidence in Miller or Litch's writings that either Litch had any contact with the writings or ideas of Edward King or Dr Richard Valpy, obscure English writers, who had come to the same conclusion as Litch regarding the explanation of the significance of 538 A.D. It seems that Litch's conclusion was arrived at independently. However, with the publication of Apollos Hale's *Second Advent Manual*, the arguments of King are introduced as support for Miller's position. We shall look at King's work shortly, and so comment will be reserved there.

Samuel McCorkle

The example of Samuel McCorkle however, is a case in point of how easily it was to come to the conclusion regarding the significance of the Ostrogothic withdrawal for the start of the 1260 year period when using 1798 as the starting point of the reasoning. Froom quotes this man as an example of someone who saw 1798 as the end of the 1260-year period. Samuel McCorkle was a Presbyterian pastor in North Carolina who muses thus on the time period:

"I had the curiosity instantly to take 1260 [years] from [A.D.] 1798, and found the year 538. I then turned to the history of Rome, and found that in that very year Rome was taken from Vitiges, king of the Goths by Bellisarius [, sic] Justinian's general." ([Froom, 1982, p.65](#))

The steps in the process were not hard to work out:

1. Decide that 1798 was the end of the temporal powers of the papacy;
2. Believe that 1260 years apply to the temporal power of the papacy;
3. Count back 1260 years from 1798;
4. Find an event in 538 that corresponds with something significant to the temporal powers of the papacy.

These are the self-same steps followed by McCorkle, Fitch, Miller, as well as Englishmen King and Valpy.

Apollos Hales introduces the English Work of Edward King

Although Hale provides the connection between the Old World and the New on this topic, one does not need this connection. McCorkle shows us how easy it was to reason backwards and with a perusal of historical records find some event in 538 A.D to use as the reason for the beginning of the 1260-year period.

King's work is valuable for two reasons in this regard; first because he is not a part of the Millerite movement, and second, because he is prepared at least to acknowledge that the end of the Ostrogothic power did not occur in 538. He says:

It is true; that after this entry of Belisarius, Rome was twice retaken by *Totila*, and the *Goths*. But instead of setting up any Empire there, he, the first time, carried away *all* the Senate, and drove out all the inhabitants; and the second time, he was himself soon defeated, and killed; and Rome was recovered for *Justinian* by *Narses*. Still however, no Dominion, No *Power ruling over the World*, ever had any seat there, any more, except the *Papal*.

His suspect logic about the Ostrogothic power not having a seat in Rome during these uprisings will be dealt with shortly.

Arasola makes an interesting comment on the precarious nature of the Millerite's explanation of 538:

What required careful explanation was the terminal point of the prophecy. Counting the 1260 years back from 1798 required 538 as the starting point. The historical event connected with this year was the expulsion of the Ostrogoths from Rome. This interpretation matched a fairly wide approved view of the ten horns, three of which were plucked away before the little horn. (Dan. 7:8) Because the Ostrogoths were the last ones of the three the time appeared logical. All details of these events were seen to match information available. The conclusion was that in A.D. 538 the Roman bishop was left dominating the scene with "all" acknowledging his supremacy. [Arasola footnotes: "Miller 1842/a, 31-36, VOP 1842/j, 49-53; Miller 1836, 72-75; Bliss 1842/a, 79."]

However, the *terminus a quo* was obscure enough to call for some serious criticism. It is not easy to convince people of a date which is not generally attested in secular history. The Millerites compensated for this lack of historical references to A.D. 538 with a careful presentation of minor details of the events of A.D. 538. At times they also resorted to polemic attacks against opponents. [Arasola footnotes: "E.g., Bliss 1842/a 79-80. Bliss' argument is an excellent illustration of Millerite polemic. Morris had objected to Miller's date without suggesting another in its place. "Morris does not know when the time begins, so he cannot know when it does not begin."]

The minutiae presented in verification of the significance of A.D. 538 make Millerite exegesis appear like a collection of quotations from a history book. Attention was drawn to Belisarius who chose deacon Vigilius for the papal throne in A.D. 537 because Vigilius had paid him 200 lbs of gold. In A.D. 538 this fraudulent arrangement was legalized. The pontiff had received all the accessories of power by this time. The only problem was an attack by the Arian Ostrogoth in March 538. He was only able to use his powers as the Ostrogoths were driven out later in the same year. [Arasola footnotes: "Bliss 1842/a, 86-90."] The logic was simple. While the Goths held the city the Pope was helpless, but when Belisarius expelled them the Pope was left to defend himself and "Rome was under his power." [Arasola footnotes: Litch 1842/b, 101."] (1989, pp.132-133)

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Subjects	Bible - Prophecies.
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From this edition, we can see that Edward King's publication was reprinted and circulated in USA by 1800, and accounts for Apollos Hale's access to the document. That he published in 1843, indicates that King's book had been in the States for a number of decades before the publication of Hale's work.

This view competed with other timesetting historicists – the penchant of historicism – but the only major supporters of the 1798 date quoted by Froom – Edward King (1735-1807) and Dr Richard Valpy (1754-1836) – reasoned in the same manner. Valpy “mentions Bishop Newton’s observation that we must see the conclusion before we can precisely ascertain the beginning of this notable period.” (Froom, 1948, p.771) King then said:

“We have reason to apprehend then that *the 1260 years are now completed*. —And that we may venture to date *the commencement* of that period, not, as most Commentators have hitherto done, either from *Pepin’s* giving the Pope *Ravenna*; or from *Charlemagne’s* determining, and adjudging the Pope to be *God’s vicar on earth*; but from *the End* of the *Gothic Power at Rome*.” (*Remarks on the Signs of the Times*, (Philadelphia ed., 1800), pp. 20-21, quoted in Froom, 1948, p.767)

It is obvious then that the reasoning to calculate the 1260-time period was done in reverse, on a countback.¹⁹

¹⁹ This is quite out of character with Froom’s assertions that an understanding of the prophecy was given to the church as it was unfolding. According to his assertion, one would expect an understanding of the beginning of the 1260-day period when that beginning had occurred:

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

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

create assurance as to the divine inspiration of the prophecy itself:

establish confidence in the infinite foreknowledge and power of performance on the part of the Author of prophecy;

reveal one’s time and place in the fulfilling prophecy, and therefore the particular relationship, message, and emphasis due at each stage of development. The *general* course is thus discernible from the prophetic forecast, though not the precise processes of fulfillment. (1950, p.144)

At no time does Froom indicate that this principle applied to the *beginning* of the 1260-year period. He would apply it to the *end* of the period of course. But compare it with the Advent movement which, in the SDA view, heralded the *beginning* of the investigative judgment. If Froom wants to say that this principle heralds only a prophecy *after it has been completed*, then one would say that the proclamation of the investigative judgment should only occur when it is *finished*, rather than when it *started*, as SDA historicists do in proclaiming the significance of 1844. This point in time, 1844, heralds the *beginning* of “the cleansing of the sanctuary” of the *names of unworthy saints* from the book of life, or the *sins of the worthy saints* from the same book, in their view. The proclamation heralding the *end* of the cleansing of the sanctuary is seen in the cryptic and final Apocalyptic declaration, “He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he

that is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still.” (Rev22: 11) See [Ellen White, 1950](#), p.)

YOU HAVE JUMPED TRACKS HERE. THERE IS NO CONTINUITY.

One of the first issues in establishing this assumption is to define what the term “time of the end” means in the book of Daniel. The relevant texts are the following:

Dn7:25 And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

Dn7:26 . But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end.²⁰

Dn7:27 And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

Dn8:17 So he came near where I stood: and when he came, I was afraid, and fell upon my face: but he said unto me, Understand O son of man: for at the time of the end shall be the vision.

Dn8:19 And he said, Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation: for at the time appointed the end shall be.

Dn8:26 And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for many days.

Dn9:26 And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.

Dn9:27 And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.

Dn11:27 And both these kings' hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.

Dn11:35 And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed.

Dn11:40 And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.

Dn12:1 And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.

Dn12:2 And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

²⁰ Keil notes correctly that the phrase “up to the end” means “not absolutely, but, as in ch vi 27, to the end of days, i.e., for ever.” (1978, *Daniel*, p.244).

- Dn12:3** And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.
- Dn12:4** But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to **the time of the end**: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.
- Dn12:6** And one said to the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, How long shall it be to the **end** of these wonders?
- Dn12:7** And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, **all these things shall be finished**.
- Dn12:8** And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things?
- Dn12:9** And he said, Go thy way, Daniel: for the words are closed up and sealed till **the time of the end**.
- Dn12:10** Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand.
- Dn12:11** And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days.

- The first obvious point from these texts is that usage of the phrase “the time of the end” or an equivalent is not attested in Dn7 where the vision of the four beasts are presented.
- The second observation is there are a number of references in Dn8 that refer to a period at the time of the end, and that this particular revelation in Dn8 is relevant at that time.
- Thirdly, the texts in Dn11 indicate that the latter sections of this chapter relate to the same events referred to in Dn8, occurring at “the end.”
- The fourth observation is that the major basis of the “time of the end” phrase comes from Dn12. It is to this chapter we must turn our attention and look at how SDA historicists have built up the association between the other earlier visions and the material in Dn12.
- The fifth point to make is that Daniel 12: 4-7 gives a contextual association between the 3½ times and the phrase “time of the end.” The 3½ times are linked to the scattering of God’s people’s power at the time of the end. This equates with the wearing out of the saints and the 3½ times in Dn7 (Dn7:25). Therefore, though the phrase “the time of the end” does not occur in Dn7, Dn12 gives us justification to apply it to the events related to the 3½ times in Dn7.
- Sixth; because the “end” in Dn7 is immediately followed by the kingdom of God, whose kingdom will not cease, one cannot construe the “time of the end” to be just the end of a particular calamity. Rather, it is the ultimate end of the kingdoms of this world and the beginning of the kingdom of heaven (Dn7:27). It is the eschaton, the consummation of all

things. This view is supported in Dn12:1-4, which indicates that at the “time of the end” Michael will stand up in judgment, and will reward the righteous with resurrection and the wicked with judgment.

- The time of the end is not just a point in time where the end occurs. It is a short period of time. In other phraseology, it is that period where there shall be “time no longer.” In the words of Hooper, they are living “beyond the 1260 years.”²¹
- Seventh; the 1290-days and the 1335-days are also given an association with the time of the end through a topical relationship. The 3½ times are said to be the period when the power of the holy people is scattered. The 1290-days is the period when the Jewish daily sacrifice is abolished through a hostile takeover of the temple and an abominable sacrifice is substituted in its place. Dn8 makes it clear that the decimation of the holy people and the abolition of proper sanctuary rituals occur in the same invasion. It is proper then, to relate the 3½ times and the 1290-days to the same hostile invasion. Therefore, since the 3½ times relates to the “time of the end,” so should the 1290-days.
- Eighth; by extension, the 1335-days should also be related to the same phrase. The absence of material concerning a *different* beginning for this period leads us to assume that the quantification of the 1290- and the 1335-day periods are related by a common *starting* point, with the 1335-days being just a month and a half longer than the 1290-days.
- Ninth, the text also indicates that the “time of the end” is an “appointed” time (Dn8:19; 11:35) “when all these things will be finished” (Dn12:7). This correlates with the concept of “consummation” in Dn9:27, and lends weight to the view that the reference to “end” in Dn9 refers not only to the end of the seventy weeks, but to *the* end or “consummation” when those things that have been predestined to fall on the desolator take place.²²
- Considered together, these points support the view that the “consummation” referred to in Dn9:27 is not just the end of the seventy weeks but the same judgment on the desolators as the events referred to in Dn7:26-27 and Dn12:1-4. The end of the seventy weeks then is the end of the kingdoms of this world, the putting an end to sin, the finishing of transgression, the bringing in of everlasting righteousness, and the ending of all vision and prophets.

As we can see from the forgoing discussion, the term “time of the end” is associated with the 3½ “times” period in the writings of Daniel, and it is quite proper to associate the 3½ times of Dn7, the 2300-days of Dn8, the seventy weeks

²¹ [Froom, 1946](#), p.568.

²² The concept of consummation being the end of all things is supported by other writers. For instance, Keil says: “The seventieth week ends, according to ver.27, with the judgment on the destroyer of the city and the sanctuary of God; but with this judgment shall be the conclusion of the divine counsel of salvation, or the kingdom of God shall be consummated. This was revealed to the prophet in ch vii., and thus does not need to be here expressly repeated. If that which, according to ver. 24, shall happen with the expiry of the seventy appointed weeks stood after ver. 27, then would the connection of the judgment on the last enemy of God with the consummation of the kingdom of God appear here also distinctly to view. ([1978](#), *Daniel*, pp.375-377)

of Dn9 and the 3½ times, 1290-days and 1335-days of Dn12 with the period called the “time of the end.”

What other SDA Writers say of “The Time of the End.”

There is plenty of published material on the topic to give us a representative sample from SDA literature. Some SDA views on the topic:

James White:

Then the time of the end is the period in which the Judgment-hour cry, and the subsequent messages are to be given. Dan.8:17, 26; 12:4, 9. (1870, p.258)

The time of the end noted in the text [Dn12:4] is not the end itself. It is evidently a period of time just prior to the end. In the time of the end many were to run to and for, and knowledge upon the grand subject before the prophet’s mind, was to be increased. (1970, p.70)

J.N. Andrews

...as we come down to the time of the end, the period when the vision should be unsealed, and many run to and for with the word of warning to a perishing world. (1970, p.21)

From Clifford Goldstein.

To begin, Daniel 8...consists of two parts – a vision and an explanation (at least partially) of that vision...After being given the vision, Daniel didn’t understand it (Daniel 8:15); then he hears a voice say to Gabriel, “Make this man to understand the vision” (verse 16). In other words, someone (presumably the Lord; after all who else orders Gabriel around?) tells Gabriel to make Daniel understand what he had just seen. Gabriel, obeying, then comes to Daniel and says, “Understand, O son of man, for at the *time of the end shall be the vision*” (verse 17, italics supplied). Gabriel then says, “Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the *last end* of the indignation; for *at the time appointed 3the end shall be*” (verse 19, italics supplied). Finally, Gabriel’s last words of explanation to Daniel are, “And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision, for it shall be for *many days*” (verse 26, italics supplied).

Without looking at the vision or the interpretation, we can see that whatever this vision is, it deals with a period of time Gabriel calls “the end,” “the time of the end,” or “last end.” What does that mean? When Gabriel, having spoken to Daniel six centuries before Christ, talks about “the time of the end” or the “last end” – what is he referring to? Does he mean “the end” as we, Seventh-day Adventists, living thousands of years after Daniel8 was written, understand “the end”? Are we justified in automatically placing our perspective regarding time on something written so long ago?

Of course not, at least not automatically. Instead the book of Daniel itself gives some powerful evidence that can help us understand the meaning of these phrases *in their*

particular context. Only then can we better understand what they mean and whether that meaning fits with our understanding of “the end.”

Daniel 8 has many similarities to both Daniel 2 and Daniel 7. Chapters 2, 7, 8, unlike the narrative chapters, consist of two basic parts: a dream (Daniel 2;7) or a vision (Daniel 8), then an interpretation of that dream or vision that points specifically to the rise and fall of various empires beyond the local politics of the time in which the vision or dream itself occurred. Thus, by the similarity of their structure, theme, and context, these three chapters not only stand out from the rest of those early chapters, but they exist in close relationship to each other. [Goldstein inserts footnote here: “For a detailed study on the relationship of these chapters, see *Symposium on Daniel*, (Biblical Research Institute, Silver Springs, MD) “Unity of Daniel,” William Shea, pp. 165-220. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol.2, 1986. –FB] By looking at all three we can learn more about each one.

For instance in chapter 2...Daniel recounts world history, starting with Babylon itself (Daniel 2:38) and concluding with the end of the world, at least as the world is now constituted...

Daniel 2, starting in the reign of Babylon, covers a time frame that concludes in the future beyond our own day (much less Daniel’s) with God himself setting up an eternal kingdom.

In Daniel 2:45, the prophet says to the king that “the great God hath make known to [thee] what shall come to pass *hereafter*” (Daniel 2:45, italics supplied). The NAS [New American Standard Bible?–FB] translates this phrase as what “will take place in the future.” The Aramaic word, *aharay*, “hereafter” or “future,” comes from the same basic root, *achr*, translated from the Hebrew in 8:19 as “the latter end.” Both Daniel 2 and Daniel 8 deal with the *achr*, and Daniel 2 proves that the *achr*, the end (at least in this chapter) includes the end of the world as we, as Seventh-day Adventists, understand it – the demise of all earthly kingdoms after Jesus returns.

Parallel to Daniel 2 is Daniel 7, another chapter composed of a supernatural revelation (a dream) and a supernatural interpretation. As in Daniel 2, there’s another sequence of world history depicting the rise and fall of four great empires followed by the establishment of God’s kingdom. In fact, the interpretation starts out with these words: “These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth. But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever (Daniel 7:17, 18), a statement that undeniably places the end of the chapter into the Second Coming and beyond. As in Daniel 2, there will be four great empires, but in the end, God will establish an eternal kingdom...

Verse 26 concludes with these words” “to consume and destroy it *unto the end* (italics supplied). Though the Aramaic root used here for “the end” isn’t the same as the one found in Daniel 2:45 and 8:19, nevertheless it makes the same point: both in Daniel 2 and Daniel 7, “the end” is depicted as we understand it – the demise of this world that results from the Second Coming of Christ.

Also, though both Daniel 2 and 7 deal with powers present at the time Daniel was writing (or which would soon arise), when the chapters refer to things that “shall come to pass” (Daniel 2:29) or events that shall be in the “hereafter” or “the future” (Daniel 2:45), this definitely includes events future not only to Daniel himself, but to us as well.

Daniel 8, like Daniel 2 and Daniel 7, consists of a supernatural revelation and a supernatural explanation. As does its two predecessors, it deals with various world empires. Though Daniel 2 and 7 began with Babylon...Daniel 8 depicts only three

powers...the ram is Media-Persia ..., the goat is Greece ..., and the little horn, though unnamed, is depicted as an oppressive, violent, and deceitful power ultimately destroyed “without hand” (Daniel 8:25)...

Despite other commonalities, all three chapters share this point as well” *They end with the supernatural intervention of God.* Daniel 2 concludes with the stone cut out “without hands” (Daniel 2: 45) that smites the image and crushes it, God’s kingdom then being set up in its place. Daniel 7 ends with a judgment scene in heaven that ultimately leads to the demise of the little horn and the establishment of God’s kingdom (Daniel 7:25-28). Daniel 8 ends with the little horn being destroyed, according to Daniel 8:25 “without hand” (“not by human power” [NIV])...

Now, to return to our original questions: When Gabriel, having spoken to Daniel six centuries before Christ, talks about “the time of the end” or just “the end” – what is he referring to? Does he mean “the end” was we Seventh-day Adventists, living thousands of years after Daniel 8 was written, understand “the end”? Are we justified in automatically placing our perspective on something written so long ago?

As I said earlier, no – we’re not automatically justified in assuming that “the end” in Daniel means the same as when we talk about “the end.” However, when looking at the evidence, particularly at the parallel chapters, one could indeed be justified in concluding that, just as Daniel 2 and Daniel 7 come to the “time of the end” as we understand it, Daniel 8 does as well...

After displaying a series of political and military powers, Daniel 8 ends with a supernatural action of God. And, just as Daniel 2 and Daniel 7 deal with the end of the world, Daniel 8 does as well. When Daniel is told twice (Daniel 8: 17, 19) that the chapter deals with “the end,” it’s not a stretch – particularly given the parallels with Daniel 2 and Daniel 7 which deal unmistakably with the end of the world – to see that “the end” in “Daniel 8 is the same as “the end” in Daniel 2 and 7: the end of the present world...

More evidence from Daniel 12 verifies this conclusion that “the end” in Daniel 8 refers to “the end” yet future even to us. A cursory reading of the chapter shows that it, too, is dealing (among other things) with the end of the world as we understand it. “At that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book” (Daniel 12:1).

The concept of a “time of trouble , such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time” is generally understood as being yet in the future, an event that includes names being “found written” in “the book” ...the book of life, perhaps (see Phillipians 4:3; Revelation 3:5; 13:8; 20:12, 15; 21:27; 22:19).

“And many of them that sleep in the dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, some to shame and everlasting contempt” (Daniel 12:2). This is an unmistakable reference to something that is future, even to us.

“But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased” (Daniel 12:4). The phrase “time of the end” is the same as in Daniel 8:17 (the Hebrew vocalization is slightly different but due only to an accent shift that has no impact on meaning); and with “the time of the end” in Daniel 12 clearly including events future even to us, it’s no radical stretch to believe that “the time of the end” in Daniel 8 does the same....Thus the linguistic, structural, and semantic parallels between Daniel 2, 7, and 8 (which clearly

deal with the end as we know it)...indicate that Daniel 8 is, in fact, dealing with “the end” as Adventists understand “the end.” (2003, pp.21-28)

From non SDA Writers.

Moses Stuart admits that some of the references he used for his work, including Lengenke, saw the events relating to the “time of the end” to occur after the death of the little horn (which they saw as Antiochus):

The words... in the days of those kings, (viz. of the four kingdoms before mentioned), shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, etc. I have said indefinite notation of time. because, although strictly considered [Stuart here quotes Hebrew-FB] would mean in, i. e. within or during, yet as merely the word days is here joined with it, there are of course no definite limits drawn, and the writer is not confined to particular years. It is evident, moreover, that if the strict meaning of [Stuart here quotes Hebrew-FB] be urged, it would bring the prophecy connected with it to mean, that the Messianic kingdom should commence during the time of the four monarchies, or at all events during the fourth monarchy. This would be contrary to the whole tenor of the prophecies in chap. ii. vii. and viii.; for these all represent the dynasties as successive and not contemporaneous. Matter of fact shows that such was the case. The fifth kingdom, therefore, i. e. the Messianic one, is in like manner successive. But the intervals of time are no where distinctively marked, in respect to the succession. I am aware that Lengerke and some others have strenuously maintained, that the writer of the book of Daniel expected the Messianic kingdom immediately to succeed the death of Antiochus. [Stuart, 1941, p.362-3.](#)²³

Is the “Time of the End” a *point* or a *period* of time?

The term “time of the end” is **definitely both a period of time, and a point in time.**

From one set of texts we see that it refers to this **period** as containing ongoing events, such as

- the conflict between rival heads of state referred to in Dn11:40 indicates that the hostilities between the two powers continue for a *period* of time;
- The events described in Dn 8 occur *at* the time of the end (Dn8:17). These events do not eventuate in a point of time, but continue for a period. It should be noted here that it is not clear from this text whether the events continue *up to* “the time of the end,” or whether these events occur *at* “the time of the end;”
- The intensified study of the book of Daniel referred to in Dn12:4, implies that the readers are comparing the events happening around them to the writings of the prophet. This would indicate a period of time rather than just a point in time (although this does not indicate whether events are transpiring or have already transpired);

²³ This electronic text was merely scanned, and as yet no editing has been done on the Hebrew script in the text, which comes out as mere garble by the scanner. I do not presume to include the Hebrew, though it is fairly obvious from the context that he is referring to the phrase “in the days of” and is discussing the significance of the preposition “ב”.

On the other, there are texts that refer to a **point** called the “time of the end.” This point in time is the beginning of another series of events. The relevant texts include:

- (Dn12:1): The interruption of worldly events by God with a time of judgment. This begins with a specific point when Michael stands up and begins the time of trouble.
- (Dn9:27); The delivery of a predetermined judgment on the desolator at the end of the seventy weeks – as specific a point in time to any of the other points in time in that prophecy.
- (Dn11:35) At the “time of the end” the persecution, murder, betrayal and deceiving of the people of God will stop, indicating that the 3½ “times” occur *before* the “time of the end,” since it was during this time that the people of God were being subject to these difficulties;
- Dn12 6,7 indicate that the end of the wonders occurs *after* the 3½ times. This concurs with Dn7:25-26. The end of these wonders must begin at a certain point.
- The preposition “at” is a pertinent word in this discussion, since the phrase “at the time of the end” indicates a definite point in time. This preposition occurs in the English Bible at Dn11:40; 12:1; 8:17, 19.

An interesting question is the relationship between the phrase “time of the end,” and the phrase “many days” and “the latter days.” Are these phrases interchangeable? Do they refer to the same thing?

In regard to the phrase “latter days,” SDA historicist writer Gerhard Pfandl says:

The purpose of the dream, Daniel said, was to inform the king what would happen “in the latter days” (verse 28). The phrase “latter days” appears again in Daniel 10:14, in which an angel tells the prophets that he has come to make him understand what will happen to his people in the latter days. A study of this expression outside of the book of Daniel shows that the “latter days” can refer to various time periods in history. In Genesis 49:1, the first place the phrase appears, Jacob at the end of his life looks into the future and under prophetic inspiration predicts major developments in the history of his sons and their descendants. The “latter days” in this text, therefore, refer to the whole time span from the conquest of Canaan to the appearance of the Messiah.

Moses declared in Deuteronomy 31:29 that after his death, the children of Israel would become utterly corrupt and that evil would befall them in “the latter days,” a prophecy fulfilled in the time of the judges (Judges 2:11-16) and kings (Jer. 7:28-34), when Israel repeatedly apostatized on a large scale. Hence “the latter days” in this text refers to the period of the judges and kings. Jeremiah 23:20 and 30:24 apply “latter days” to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Jeremiah 48:47 and 49:39 have in view the time of the Persian restoration. Other passages, notably Isaiah 2:2, Micah 4:1, and Hosea 3:5, consider the time of the messianic kingdom as “the latter days.” Thus, the context must decide in each case what specific era the term intends. A better translation than “latter days” is “in the future” or “in days to come,” as the RSV, NEB, and NIV have done. In Daniel 2:28 “the latter days,” therefore, refers to “the future which began in the time of Daniel and reaches down to the time of the second advent of Christ, symbolized by the stone kingdom.” [Inserts footnote: “Gerhard Pfandl, “Daniel’s ‘Time of the End,’” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 7, no 1 (1996):151.”]

Conclusion

During the “time of the end” the following events take place:

- People study the book of Daniel and increase their knowledge (Dn12:4);
- The king of the north is in conflict with the king of the south, implying hostilities between nations still (Dn11:40);
- God’s people will be persecuted and killed *up to* the time of the end (Dn11:35);
- *At* the time of the end, Michael will intervene and rescue his people (“*At that time,*” i.e., the time of the end.) (Dn12:1-4);
- Up to the end, wars and desolations continue against God’s people, including the desolation of the city and the sanctuary (Dn9:26, 27);
- At the end, the predetermined judgment will be poured on the persecutor of God’s people (Dn9:27);
- Dn12: 7 indicates that the persecution will continue for the 3½ times as told previously, and after that time the concluding events will continue.

Putting it altogether, the term “time of the end” is an eschatological term that refers to a period of time at the end of this world’s history in which the activities of the Antichrist are manifest during a period of 3½ times, and God’s people utilise the information in the book of Daniel to assist them at that time. At the end of that period of time, there is a decisive point called the “time of the end” when Michael shall stand up and judge the wicked and reward the righteous. The periods 1290, and 1335 have a common start in order for them to be given in such a manner, and this indicates that there is a short period of time after the end of the 3½ times when events transpire between the old world order of man’s control and the new world of God’s kingdom.²⁴

What event the 1260-days cover?

The text in Dn7: 25 indicates that the 3½ times is to be associated with the activities of the little horn against the people of God. It says:

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

25 And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

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

²⁴ If one starts the 2300 days with the desolation of the sanctuary and the abolition of the daily sacrifice-events that occur at the same time, as Dn8:13 leads us to believe, this would indicate that this is also the beginning of the 1290-, and the 1335-day periods. This is so because Dn12 indicates clearly that the 1290 days begins with the beginning of the abolition of the daily sacrifice. The association of the 1290- and the 1335-days lend support to the conclusion to assume that this period has the same starting point too. Therefore, there is a little over a thousand days of this period from the end of the 1260-days that extend into this interim period between the old world and the new, extending its length out for another three years, when the 2300-days expire; certainly time enough for the restoration of a temple in the new world.

And again at Dn 12:

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

The 3½ times relates then to the activities of the little horn rather than to the fourth beast itself. But the question is what activity of the little horn does it relate to? This “giving” by God shall endure for 3½ times, but it is “they” who are “given” for that time. Who or what are “they?” Clearly, from the following text we can conclude that the “they” refers to the saints:

7 And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.

Another important point, is that the temporal power of the little horn is taken away after the end of the 3½ times. Says Daniel:

25 And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

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

27 And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him

Notice that it is *temporal power* of the little horn that is the result of the judgment. It is taken away from the horn and given to the people of God. Therefore, the beginning of the little horn’s time is to be counted from his accession to *temporal* power. In the vision, the little horn does not stand on the head of the beast in its own right until it had displaced three other horn. It is when the temporal power of these horns are abolished that the temporal power of the little horn can be said to begin.

In history, the temporal power of the papacy did not begin with the extermination of either the Vandals, the Heruli, or the Ostrogoths. The temporal power of the papacy came much later when it had property. Notice the comment of Isaac Newton:

By the conversion of the ten kingdoms to the Roman religion, the Pope only enlarged his spiritual dominion, and did not yet rise up as a horn of the beast. It was his temporal dominion, which made him one of the horns: and this kingdom he acquired in the latter half of the eighth century, by subduing three of the former horns as above. And now being arrived at a temporal dominion, and a power above all human judicature, with a look more stout than his fellows, -- and times and laws were henceforward given into his hands for a time, times, and half a time, or three times and a half; that is, for 1,260 solar years... After which the judgment is to sit and they shall take away his dominion, not at once but by degrees, And the kingdom and the dominion and the greatness of the kingdom shall, by degrees be given unto the people of the saints of the most high, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all kingdoms and dominions shall serve him. (Newton, 1665, p.364)

The 1260-year period is the time associated with the persecution of God's people by the Roman little horn power.

The text in Dn7 that mentions the 1260-day period says the following:

25 And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

The subject of the 1260 day period is the pronoun “they.” It is the “they” that are “given” for 3½ times “into his hand.” The phrase “until a time, times and a dividing of time” is an temporal indirect object phrase defining how long the ‘giving into his hands’ was continue. Anyone can see in this text an ambiguity. The “they” could refer to the “saints;” it could refer to the “times and the laws” or it could refer to *both* “the saints” and “the times and the laws.” Inasmuch as the wearing out of the saints are mentioned twice in the text, it is understandable why many authors—SDA and non-SDA—associate this period with the persecution of the saints.

Daniel 12 also mentions the time, times and a half:

7 And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.

In this verse, the 3½ times, refers specifically to the persecution and decimation of the saints. This verse clarifies any ambiguity in Dn7 and affords us the confidence to conclude that the 1260 days is the period of decimation of the Holy people of God, not to the temporal power of the little horn, nor his primacy among the other horns.

John Calvin

Calvin, in his commentary on Daniel, understands the “they” in Dn7:25 to represent the saints:

They shall be delivered into his hands means —however the small horn should leap forward in desperate fury, yet: God should always rule over him, and nothing should happen without his permission,. It was God then who delivered into the hands of that identifying the saints, the political government, and the institutions of piety, allowing him to pour out promiscuously human blood, to violate every national right, and to ruin as far as possible all religion. It brings us then no little comfort to know when God’s permission is given to tyrants to harass the Church and interfere with His lawful worship; for if we were left to the mercy of their lusts, how distressing would be the universal confusion! But he succors us, as the angel says, when tyrants assail us and disturb all order by their horrible licentiousness and cruel rage against the miserable and the innocent: he succors us, I say, so that they are unable to move to finger against us without God’s permission. We are not permitted to know why God relaxes the rein in favor of the enemies of his Church; perhaps it is to prove and try the patience of his people. It is sufficient for us, if,

when tyrants scheme and plot in every way, they are unable to do anything without the divine permission. (online @ <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/calcom25.ii.xxix.html>)

The JFB Commentary

they—the saints.

given into his hand—to be persecuted.

(online @ <http://www.ccel.org/c/ccel/bcb/bcb.html> under Dn7:25)

The Matthew Henry Commentary

This commentary sees the “they as both the wearing out of the saints and the changing of the “times and laws. He calls the “they” “these bold attempts:”

The design of Satan has been to *wear out the saints of the Most High*, that they may be no more in remembrance; but the attempt is vain, for while the world stands God will have a church in it. He shall *think to change times and laws*, to abolish all the ordinances and institutions of religion, and to bring every body to say and do just as he would have them. He shall trample upon laws and customs, human and divine. *Diruit, ædificut, mutat quadrata rotundis—He pulls down, he builds, he changes square into round*, as if he meant to alter even the ordinances of heaven themselves. **And in these daring attempts** he shall for a time prosper and have success; they shall be given into his hand *until time, times, and half a time* (that is, for three years and a half), that famous prophetic measure of time which we meet with in the Revelation, which is sometimes called forty-two months, sometimes 1260 days, which come all to one. But at the end of that time the *judgment shall sit and take away his dominion* (v. 26), which he expounds (v. 11) of the beast being *slain and his body destroyed*. And (as Mr. Mede reads v. 12) *as to the rest of the beast*, the ten horns, especially the little *ruffling* horn (as he calls it), they had their dominion taken away.

(Bold emphasis is mine. online under Dn7:25 online @ <http://www.ccel.org/c/ccel/bcb/bcb.html>)

INCLUDE A SAMPLE OF THESE In saying this it seems to be understood they do not mean the persecution by the Roman Empire of Christians, since they argue this text is only referring to an assault by the little horn. Therefore it could only refer to that period when the little horn is on the stage of history.

Persecution of Christians by the Roman power.

One of the issues taken for granted by Adventist authors quoting Catholic references and histories, is that what the Catholic church called heretics and barbarians were Christians, even though they did not have a correct view of the nature of Christ. In the writings of Catholic writers, the term “Christian” referred to “catholics,” and the term “heretics, etc” referred to non-Catholic Christians. There were a variety of views on the nature of Christ and those who did not hold to the orthodox Catholic view were cast out of the Catholic church and then subjected to war. I would assert that what the Catholic Church called heretics and barbarians were in fact also Christians. Had the Sabbatarian

Adventists been held up to the same scrutiny as were these “heretics” in the times of the religious emperors, then many of them would have been anathematised as well and would have been subjected to the sword or the cross. Yet we acknowledge these Sabbatarian Adventists to be Christians. Why should we not do the same to those Arian or Monophysite Christians of the early church period?²⁵

Furthermore, it does not say that the little horn wears out the saints because of the changes to the “times and laws.” In SDA literature this refers to the changes made to the ten commandments. The second commandment was changed to allow worship of images. The fourth commandment was edited, and the tenth commandment was split to make up the number of ten due to dropping the second commandment on idolatry. In reference to the fourth commandment, it was not the little horn that changed the worship on Saturday to Sunday, but rather it was institutionalised by the emperor Constantine himself, who, in SDA terms belonged to the beast, rather than to the little horn of Daniel 7.

Now we must consider a serious problem for the SDA explanation of the beginning of the 1260-year period. This question will confound yet again their very explanation of the start of this period. Since SDA historicists put the changing of the “times and laws” in the fourth century, the little horn must have been formed by then, because it is only the changing of the “times and laws” by the little horn that are referred to in Dn7. So the dilemma for the SDA historicist is this: if they acknowledge the changing of the “times and laws” to be the action of the little horn and refers to the substitution of the Saturday Sabbath for the Sunday “Lord’s day,” then firstly, the little horn would have to have been formed by the time of Constantine, when this change took place, and secondly, the beginning of the 1260 year period must begin at that time, if the “they” referred to as the subject of the 1260 day period includes the “times and laws.” The only other option for them if they wish to hold to a fifth century start to the 1260 day period, is to say the action of changing the “times and laws” does not include the action of Constantine in the fourth century, and try and find some event in the fifth century that has the changing of Saturday worship to Sunday worship—a difficult task indeed, since Sunday worship had been customary by that stage for centuries. Third, since the horn power would have to be already in power before the changing of the “times and laws” in the fourth century, the “wearing out of the saints” would be those actions against Christians—orthodox and unorthodox also during the fourth century, including the persecution and annihilation of the barbarian Christians by so-called “Christian” armies. These armies, like those of the Crusade period, only had the name of Christian, and were not such in the Biblical sense of the word. And so we must judge the actions of the emperor and bishop against these tribes of unorthodox Christians as the work of the Antichrist even in their day. Fourth, we can assume that the support of the bishop of Rome by the Roman emperor is comparable to the “image of the beast” referred to in the SDA’s schema of the last days in that the church is provided the arm of the state to impose its will on the people, and so this religious power referred to in the prophecy, is

²⁵ One only needs to call to mind the persecution of the “heretical” Waldenses and the Hussites in later centuries to help us understand the unchristian nature of the term “heretic” used by the papacy. Why should not Adventists consider the Arians and Monophysites as they consider the Waldensians - Christians? Even the Waldensians were not free of entertaining views that we consider incorrect. We are reminded that none of the early Christians were free from error. (Goldstein, 2003, REF) Why then condemn Christians on the basis of their understanding of the nature of Christ?

the unholy partnership between emperor and bishop. Therefore, it the “they” in Dn7:25 refers to the “wearing out of the saints,” then we must start the 1260 day period from the time that the emperor and bishop embark on their campaigns of extermination of these heretics.²⁶ Fifth,

Deciding what the 3½ times period is for?

a. The period represents the time of persecution of the Catholic Church against Christians.

There are an abundance of statements indicating that this period is designed to cover the period of persecution of the Christian believers. Examples include:

Clifford Goldstein:

I’m not going into the powerful evidence, revealed in the description of the little horn, that makes papal Rome the *only* plausible interpretation...in my book *1844 Made Simple*...Suffice it to say that a power which arises out of the pagan Rome (Daniel 7: 8, 20, 24), a blasphemous and religious power (Daniel 7:8, 20, 25), a persecuting power (Daniel 7:21,25), and a power that will think “to change times and laws” (Daniel 7:25) doesn’t leave many option, especially because a lot of detail is presented about this little horn (more than about the Babylonian, Media-Persia, Greece, or pagan Rome), which means it is a major player in world history, on a par with the empires that preceded it. How many persecuting powers that arose out of the pagan Rome became a massive world power with overt religious overtones? The options are limited. In fact, with one more detail, the identity is unmistakable.

It’s in the description of the little horn power that the first apocalyptic time prophecy in Daniel appears. According to Daniel 7:25, the saints will “be given into his hands until a time, times and a the dividing of time.” This is universally recognized by Bible scholars (not just Adventist scholars) to mean three and a half years. As one example, the *King James Study Bible Bible* by Thomas Nelson (not an Adventist publication), interprets Daniel 7:25 like this:

“A time and times and a dividing of times (or ‘a time and times and a half a time’) is an expression in Daniel and in Revelation to refer to three and a half years, or 1,260 days, or 42 months, (12:7; Rev 11:2; 12:6,14;13:5).”

Thus even non-Seventh-day Adventists don’t have a problem turning the “time, times and a dividing of time” into 1,260 days. All one needs to do, next, is to apply the year-day principle to the 1,260 days, and it becomes 1,260 days.

Of course brother Dale attacks the year-day principle, ignoring Dr. Shea’s two chapters in Volume 1 of the Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, which prove not only the validity of the day-year principle *in toto* but why it must be applied to this prophecy in particular.... Suffice it to say this much: The little-horn power arises directly out of

²⁶ It is not insignificant that the power of a horn on an animal is determined by the strength of the animal itself. Notice the goat in Dn8 is able to utterly decimate the ram because of its speed in attacking the ram. Had the goat not had the momentum, the destruction of the ram would not have been so spectacular. Consequently, to consider the little horn’s power in isolation to the beast is unrealistic. It is the beast that gives power to the horn – *always*. Had the ram in Dn8 had the same momentum, it may have caused some damage to the goat as well. The conclusion of this is that it is the combination of the beast and horn that gives the horn any power at all. Translating this into political developments, it is the *combination* of the empire’s power and the will of the little horn that gives strength to the horn.

pagan Rome, which met its demise (as *pagan Rome*) about the fifth or sixth century A.D.²⁷ Out of it arises this little-horn power, which persecutes the saints for 1,260 “days” (Daniel 7: 23-25). After this persecution comes a judgment in heaven that leads to the final establishment of God’s final kingdom (verses 26,27).

Now either the time frame is literal (three and a half actual years) or its prophetic (1,260 literal) years. Which option works best?

...In short a literal interpretation of Daniel 7:25, which makes the persecution by the little-horn power only three and a half literal years, is improbable to the point of nonsense.

In contrast if the time frame is prophetic (as are the symbols that surround it) and the day-year principle is applied, then the prophecy sweeps across history, going from the fifth or sixth centuries

According to Daniel 7:25, the saints will “be given into his [that is, the little horn’s] hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.” This period is almost universally recognized by Bible scholars (not just Adventist scholars) to mean three-and-a-half years....

Meanwhile, the judgment that follows the 1,260 days of persecution... (p.53) [Goldstein uses this phrase “1,260 days of persecution” a number of times throughout pp.53-54 –FB]

...a literal interpretation of Daniel 7:25, which makes the persecution by the little horn power only three and one-half literal years, is improbable to the point of nonsense. In contrast, if the time frame is prophetic (as are the symbols that surround it) and the day-year principle is applied, then the prophecy sweeps across history, going from the fifth to sixth centuries, A.D. and ending up somewhere in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, bringing it down much closer to the “time of the end,” as do all these other prophecies (Daniel 2;7; and 8).

So, regarding the little horn, we have a religious power, a Roman power, a persecuting power, a power that arises directly out of pagan Rome, a power that extends across a span of time covering at least 1,260 years. Who could it be? Antioches Epiphanes? Please! Islam? A nice try, but first, Islam didn’t arise directly out of pagan Rome, and secondly, it’s hardly a Roman power.

What else is there other than papal Rome? It fits perfectly. Though the older I get, the less dogmatic I am about almost everything, the identity of the little horn as papal Rome is something one can afford to be obnoxiously dogmatic about.

Thus, if one begins the 1,260 years in the sixth century, the beginning of the papal hegemony, then the 1,260 years end somewhere in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. However applicable the dates of 538-1798 A.D. may be, and whatever evidence justifies those dates, we don’t need them. Instead, with two all-but-irrefutable points, i.e., the little horn as papal Rome and the application of the day-year principle to the “time, times and the dividing of time” of Daniel 7:25, we can show that the judgment scene in

²⁷ Goldstein wants to use the preciseness of the 1,260-year prophecy to indicate the end of the period to the year, yet he is prepared to give a 200-year period error for the start. He should have said the pagan Roman Empire met its demise in 538 A.D.

heaven, which occurs after the 1,260-year period, is an event that happens sometime after the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and before the Second Coming.²⁸

Sure, the papacy didn't end in the late eighteenth century or early nineteenth century, but that's not what the prophecy says. Instead, it says only that persecution would last for this length of time, or at least that phase of that persecution (Revelation 13 of course, talks about a resurgence of papal persecution, but that's another issue).²⁹

Thus, what's clear, so far, from Daniel 7, is a massive judgment scene in heaven, a judgment that occurs sometime after the 1,260 years of papal persecution, sometime after the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and that leads to the establishment of God's kingdom. (2003, pp.52-56)

...the judgment is not the event that ends the 1,260 years of persecution...The little horn's persecution, at least in this phrase, is depicted as "the time, times and dividing of time." That time comes and goes, and *then* the judgment will sit...there is persecution, which lasts for a specific length of time, and then, afterward, the judgment. (pp.62f)

The Signs of the Times (special insert on prophecy)

The special issue of the Signs of the Times for general circulation to the general public, sees this period as representing the time of persecution of Christians by the papacy:

This period of history, when God's true church was persecuted for its fidelity to the Bible, is represented in Scripture by several numerical symbols...in Daniel 7:25 it is called a "time, times, and half a time..."

These texts [the author also looked at Revelation 11:2,3; 12:6; 13:5] all refer to the same period during which a power rose up that, calling on God's name and attributing to itself the prerogatives of the church, nevertheless persecuted God's church simply because it stood by the true teachings of the Bible.

And strange as it may seem, there is a historical period of exactly 1,260 years of religious persecution. It began in A.D. 538 with an edict by the Roman emperor Justinian, who named the bishop of Rome the head over all Christian churches

²⁸ Hang on!! Hold the show!! Is Goldstein here doubting the 'irrefutable' evidence touted by others proving it began in March, 538 A.D. and ending in February, 1798 A.D.? (See [Mansell, 2002](#), quoted elsewhere in this paper). He definitely does not want to commit himself to the evidence but is prepared to stick by these dates for some things, but is here giving us an error range of *about one hundred years* – "somewhere in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century"? Is this why he argues that either the "persecution" by the papal power or its "hegemony" (choose either, he offers both), began in the "fifth or sixth centuries" – *with an error range of 200 years!!* And does he offer his readers the reason for his doubts as to the traditional SDA position on the beginning of the 1,260 days in March, 538 A.D. and the ending in February, 1798? Not on your life!! Mr. Historicist himself is seeing the cracks in the edifice!! And he tries to gloss over the problem by saying that we do not need the correct start and end to the period to have an understanding where to start and end the period!!! "However applicable the dates of 538-1798 A.D. may be, and whatever evidence justifies those dates, we don't need them."

²⁹ Goldstein gets himself in a tangle here because although previously he says the hegemony of the papacy was to last only 1,260 years, he jumps tracks here again and refers the end of this period as applying only to the end of the persecution. Notice however, that he *does not start the period* with the persecution of the saints. If we were to examine this thesis of Goldstein and look for 1260-years of persecution by the Roman power, Goldstein would again be embarrassed with his errors.

throughout the empire. Rome was the capital of the empire, and after a fierce struggle it came to dominate the political world of its day. (Bullon, n.d., p..21)

This period includes the years during which the Roman Church persecuted those who resisted giving blind obedience to her teachings. She implemented this persecution with an instrument that has come to be known as the Spanish Inquisition. During this time, the church tried to suppress the reading of the Bible so that no-one would be aware that the Christianity of the time had absorbed so much from paganism....This persecution ended in 1798, when the French general Alexander Berthier, under orders from the Revolutionary Directorate of Paris, arrested Pope Pius VI....

Do you remember the prophecy of Daniel 7? It says that a power represented by a little horn would “wage war “ against God’s people and defeat them, [Inserts footnote: “Daniel 7:21”] and they would be “handed over to” this little horn power for a time, times, and half a time.” [Inserts footnote: “Daniel 7:25”] Here again is recorded the time during which this religious entity would persecute God’s people. (Ibid., pp.21f)

Did you notice the same confusion in an official SDA publication of what the period suppose to cover? In one place Mr Bullon says, “And strange as it may seem, there is a historical period of exactly 1,260 years of religious persecution. It began in A.D. 538...” yet when he comes to talk about this persecution he only refers to the Spanish Inquisition – a persecution that formed a fraction of the period from 538 to 1798. Does Mr Bullon want us to believe that the Spanish Inquisition began in 538? In discussing 538 A.D., does he indicate that the persecution began then? No, he only refers to the “edict by the Roman emperor, Justinian, who named the bishop of Rome the head over all Christian churches throughout the empire.” Notice it again. “...Religious persecution began in A.D. 538...” Yet Bullon provides nothing to prove the point.

Yet again he says that the persecution ended in 1798 –“ This persecution ended in 1798...” Does he want us to believe that the Spanish Inquisition ended in 1798?

Like Goldstein, he cannot make up his mind what is involved. In another statement he says, “This period [‘of 1260 years of religious persecution’] *includes* the years during which the Roman Church persecuted those who resisted giving blind obedience to her teachings.” This statement seems to imply that there was more to the 1260 years than just the Catholic religious persecution. This persecution is *included* in the period, but does not make up the period *in toto*. Bullon fails to explain how the arresting of Pope Pius VI in 1798 effected the ceasing of any persecution by the Catholic church. Is he saying that persecution was going on up until 1798, and that it stopped in that year? That is the only logical interpretation of his position, and the position of the owners of the Signs of the Times – The SDA church. ³⁰

³⁰ If we were to take the concept of persecution by the Roman power, and date that, what period would we have? And who do you define as Christian and persecutor? What about those whom the Catholic Church calls heretics? Do we include these? They considered the Waldensian Christians as heretics, a view not taken by SDA historicists. Many pioneer SDA historicists were Arians. Do we include Arians in the persecuted group? And are we limited to the geographical confines of Europe, or do we include wherever the Roman Church has influence and access to the civil arm of power. I fear this period of persecution would last from the third century up to the present, since there has been persecution against different Christian groups by the Catholic Church in various parts of the world even today. It has never stopped.

b. The period represents the time of the Hegemony or Dominion of the Catholic Church.

There are an abundance of statements indicating that this period is designed to cover the period of the hegemony of the Catholic church. Examples include:

Clifford Goldstein:

So, regarding the little horn, we have a religious power, a *Roman* power, that extends across a span of time covering at least 1,260 years...(2003, p.53)

Thus, if one begins the 1,260 years in the sixth century, **the beginning of papal hegemony**, then the 1,260 years end somewhere in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. However applicable the dates of 538-1798 A.D. may be, and whatever evidence justifies those dates, we don't need them. Instead, with two all-but-irrefutable points, i.e., the little horn as papal Rome and the application of the day-year principle to the "time, times and the dividing of time" of Daniel 7:25, we can show that the judgment scene in heaven, which occurs after the 1,260 year period, is an event that happens sometime after the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and before the Second Coming. (Ibid, pp.54f)

Thus, we have seen in Daniel 7 that there's a massive judgment scene in heaven sometime after the 1,260 years of **papal dominion**....(Ibid, p.66)

Next is papal Rome, which according to the first prophetic time prophecy in Daniel, **has hegemony for 1,260 years**, following the collapse of pagan Rome, which means that the papal phase of Rome, as depicted in Daniel 7, extended from the sixth century A.D. to the eighteenth to nineteenth century A.D. Then, it was *after* this prophetic time prophecy, after this specific phase of papal Rome, that the judgment scene in heaven takes place. (Ibid, p.70, emphasis mine)

To highlight how confused Goldstein is over what the 1,260-day period is intended for, the very next paragraph after the last one quoted switches back from applying the period to the papal hegemony to applying it to the papal persecution of the saints:

Thus, what's clear so far from Daniel 7 is that the judgment scene in heaven, a judgment that leads to the establishment of God's kingdom, occurs sometime *after* the 1,260 years of papal persecution, sometime after the *late* eighteenth or early nineteenth century. (2003, p.70)

As can be clearly seen from Goldstein's statements, he is confused as to whether he should apply the time period to either the persecution of the saints or to the hegemony of the papal Roman empire.³¹ He covers both bases by indicating that the 1,260 days refers to *both*. How does he then justify this? He does not attempt to. Either he is blind, and cannot see the implications of what he has written, or he has chosen to present it that way in order to maintain the confusion in his readers. Does he believe that the persecution of Christians by the bishop of Rome did not begin until 538 A.D? Does he believe that from March, 538AD there began a persecution of Christians that did not

³¹ Goldstein calls the arguments posed by Ford on the contextual problems on Dn8:14 as "a bunch of *arthritic* Des Ford arguments." (2003, p. 174, emphasis mine) One is tempted to respond in kind and wonder whether Goldstein is ailing from schizophrenia, with such contradictory double-talk!! Or perhaps the topic he is trying to write about is really beyond his limited acumen.

cease until Feb, 1798? What countries does he include or exclude in his scope of his survey for the persecution or absence of it before or after 1798? Does he include those countries invade by Catholic imperialists, countries such as those of South America, Africa, Europe, Asia, etc? And what about the persecution (with the support and inspiration of the papal See) by the Roman emperor of those Christians that did not hold to the orthodox Catholic view? Is this a persecution of the saints? The emperor instituted the Lord's day in the fourth century. There were people who did not support this change. They became the target of persecution by the bishop of Rome, with the support of the emperor. SDA historicists acknowledge this as persecution of the saints. [REFS? Andrews, History of the Sabbath, White, GC,] This occurred long before 538 AD. And what about the persecution of those Christians who had a different belief in the nature of Christ (Arians, Monophysites etc)? Because the Catholic church called them heretics and endorsed the emperors plan of genocide to rid these heretics from the empire, do we discount this action as persecution, or do we count it as persecution? Were not Sabbathkeepers "heretics" too? And were not such groups as the Waldensians and Albigenses "heretics" in the papal view?

And consider his application of the 1260-day period to the hegemony of the papacy. Does he believe that its hegemony did not begin until 538 A.D. and in that year, it gained hegemony? Hegemony over what? Where is the historical evidence of it? Does this hegemony include temporal power? Does it include the primacy of the papacy? And what do we look for the loss of this hegemony? The loss of his primacy over other bishops? The loss of his temporal powers?³²

The compatibility of applying this period to both events.

There are a multiplicity of questions raised by indicating that the 3½ times BEFORE YOU GET INTO THIS YOU SHOULD BE LOOKING AT THE REASONS GIVEN FOR THE 1260 YEARS THE PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS, THE HEGEMONY OF THE PAPACY. QUOTE SDA AUTHORS SHOWING THEIR METHODOLOGY. THEN LOOK AT THE ISSUE OF DN7:25 AND THE CONTEXTUAL ISSUES. WHAT IS THEY IS ONE OF THEM. THIS SHOULD BE DONE HERE EARLY IN THE PAPER.

What does the pronoun "they" in Dn 7:25 represent?

In Dn7:25 the pronoun "they" that is given into the hands of the little horn is ambiguous and most possibly refers to the "saints of the Most High." It could mean "times and laws" or it could mean both. It is not clear. In Dn12: 7, the man clothed in linen indicates that the 3½ times is to be associated with the "scattering of the power of the holy people."³³ But SDA historicists have historically argued that the 1260 years

³² You should explore these questions a bit, and show the stupidity of his position.

³³ Froom notes that this concept of the 1260 days of the scattering of the people of God is to be dated also from the degree of Justinian, because in his words, "The evidence is incontestable that the eighteenth-century overthrow of the Papacy, stemming from the French Revolution, was the clear counterpart of the sixth-century papal establishment. Justinian first recognized by law the pope's absolute ecclesiastical supremacy, and virtually gave the saints into his hand, placing the civil sword at his ultimate disposal." In his view, it is not that the people of God were persecuted at this time, it is that the *potential* to do so was in place at that time.

represents the time “to domineer over the minds and consciences of men. The papacy reached this position, A.D. 538...” (Smith, [loc cit.](#)) [Cite a few more SDA authors here](#) Well then, what does the “they” mean? What do other SDAs say? What do non SDAs say? What is your opinion?

If it means a. times and laws; then date the times and laws for the 1260 years;

If it means “the saints into his hands” then date the persecution of the saints for that time period;

If it means both then it should be the earliest time of both of them to start and the last of them to finish.

Summary of finding from the SDA Meaning of the “Time of the End.”

One of the most obvious conclusions from this brief survey of the variety of definitions given over time by SDA historicists regarding the meaning of the “time of the end” do not fit comfortably with the period defined. To be put bluntly, there is nothing they can define concerning the Papal Roman Empire that fits the period defined by SDA historicists as extending from 538 AD to 1798 AD.

This position is incorrect. The decree of Justinian deals primarily with the primacy of the pope. The Role of Defender and Protector of the Faith by the emperor had been in place since the time of Constantine and was exercised extensively by emperors such as Theodosius I who eradicated paganism and Arianism from the empire during his tenure. (See Catholic Encyclopedia, Article Theodosius I). This tradition was carried on centuries before Justinian I. Therefore, Froom cannot cite the use of the civil sword to support the primacy of the pope as reason to date the “giving of the saints into the hands” of the papacy. In the councils of the church defining, the Latin church was defined orthodoxy and heresy and was seen as the final voice settling the matter, especially over Arianism and semi-Arianism. The decisions of these councils were then taken by the emperor as orthodox, and judged his constituents according to the rulings of the councils, which obviously, but not always (especially with the heresies such as Monophysitism and Iconoclasm that were supported by various emperors), were the position of the Latin See. Thus, two centuries before Justinian I, this process was in place. It is historically incorrect to ascribe this issue to so late a date as Justinian I. Here is the salient comment on the debate from the Catholic Encyclopedia from the Article “[Arianism](#)”: “But as many as fourteen councils, held between 341 and 360, in which every shade of heretical subterfuge found expression, bore decisive witness to the need and efficacy of the Catholic touchstone which they all rejected. About 340, an Alexandrian gathering had defended its archbishop in an epistle to Pope Julius. On the death of Constantine, and by the influence of that emperor's son and namesake, he had been restored to his people. But the young prince passed away, and in 341 the celebrated Antiochene Council of the Dedication a second time degraded Athanasius, who now took refuge in Rome. There he spent three years. Gibbon quotes and adopts “a judicious observation” of Wetstein which deserves to be kept always in mind. From the fourth century onwards, remarks the German scholar, when the Eastern Churches were almost equally divided in eloquence and ability between contending sections, that party which sought to overcome made its appearance in the Vatican, cultivated the Papal majesty, conquered and established the orthodox creed by the help of the Latin bishops. Therefore it was that Athanasius repaired to Rome. A stranger, Gregory, usurped his place. The Roman Council proclaimed his innocence. In 343, Constans, who ruled over the West from Illyria to Britain, summoned the bishops to meet at Sardica in Pannonia. Ninety-four Latin, seventy Greek or Eastern, prelates began the debates; but they could not come to terms, and the Asiatics withdrew, holding a separate and hostile session at Philippopolis in Thrace. It has been justly said that the Council of Sardica reveals the first symptoms of discord which, later on, produced the unhappy schism of East and West. But to the Latins this meeting, which allowed of appeals to Pope Julius, or the Roman Church, seemed an epilogue which completed the Nicene legislation, and to this effect it was quoted by [Innocent I](#) in his correspondence with the bishops of Africa..”

Some have said that this period is a period of persecution, but SDA historicists and even the SDABC does not apply the period of persecution for 1260 years.

Some have said that this period is one of papal temporal authority, but the facts of history deny this.

Others have said that this is a period of papal supremacy but again the facts of history deny this.

Definitions as to the application of the 1260 years	The Beginning of this Period as agreed among Historians	The End of this Period as agreed among Historians
The Papal period of Persecution	In the twelfth century?	Seventh century before the Accord of Westphalia
The Period of Papal Temporal Authority	Eighth century	1870
The Period of Papal Pre-eminence in the Christian Church	By end of third century	Has never been rescinded
The Period of Papal Supremacy-Control over the minds of the people.	How can one define the beginning of this? The third century?	How can one define when it began? The Protestant Reformation? Sixteenth Century?

Establishing the Period for the “time, times and a dividing of times.”

The length of this period is developed by arguing that a “time” is one time; “times” means a minimum of two “times;” and a half or dividing a “times” is $\frac{1}{2}$ a “times.”³⁴ This then totals $3\frac{1}{2}$ “times.” If a “time” is a year, as indicated in Dn4: 23, then $3\frac{1}{2}$ “times” equates to $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. The number of days in $3\frac{1}{2}$ years in SDA prophetic reckoning is 360 days per year or 1260 days all up.³⁵ This number is confirmed in the book of Revelation where 1260 days or forty-two months is used to indicate the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times. (Smith, 1944, p.143)

What is problematic in this argument is that the term “time” is considered normal nomenclature for a period of literal/solar time in the book of Daniel. In Dn 4:23, 25 which is a “vision,” we read of the humiliation of king Nebuchadnezzar during a period of seven “times.” We are lead to believe that this represents seven years (although this is assumed). Since Daniel sees no need to explain to us this common nomenclature; we are led to believe that we should understand what a “time” is.³⁶ It also needs to be considered that the choice of this time unit is the choice of the king Nebuchadnezzar, not

³⁴ “Times” in the Aramaic should be understood as representing 2 “times.” Note Keil: “The plural word (*times*) standing between time and half a time can only designate the simple plural, *i.e.*, two times used in the dual sense, since in the Chaldee the plural is often used to denote a pair where the dual is used in Hebrew; cf Winer, *Chald.Gr* §.55.3.” (1978, *Daniel*, p.242) And from Rosenthal: “The dual is only preserved in remnants. It is used with parts of the body that occurs in pairs... All other forms of the dual of the masculine noun, including those with pronominal suffixes, are identical with the pl. forms and not distinguishable from them. No dual of a fem. formation or of an adjective is found.” (1983, p.24)

³⁵ See [SDA Dictionary](#), p. 1097f, Article “Time” for an explanation as to why. (Reproduced in [Appendix](#))

³⁶ We read

Daniel. If we are to believe this authenticity of the text as we have it, then the source of this chapter is the King of Babylon himself. Therefore, the use of this time phrase might be quite in order since we are dealing with another author here. Many years later, Daniel hears the same phrase in an explanation, and there is every reason to believe that the very time phrase used by the angel when talking to the king of Babylon to express time might be common vernacular at the time. Another point that augurs for the same meaning for the word “time” in Dn7 as that in Dn4 is that the angel explaining the vision in Dn7 does not qualify the meaning of the word at all. This is identical to the angelic use of it in Dn4. No explanation accompanied it. One can only assume here that both Nebuchadnezzar’s and Daniel’s common understanding of the word was sufficient and did not need additional information to modify their understanding of the term. And what is that understanding? A “time” is a solar year, not a prophetic year.

We cannot say that the king of Babylon uses a prophetic time scale here. He is talking about literal/solar time, and the period he talks about does not need converting to $7 \times 360 = 2520$ years. On this analogy then, if “times” is considered normal nomenclature by both the king of Babylon and Daniel, who are we to argue? Similarly, when this time scale is used in Daniel 7, there is no reason for us not to treat it as it is treated in Daniel 4, as literal / solar time and that the $3\frac{1}{2}$ times is $3\frac{1}{2}$ solar years. To justify the argument that the unit of time here indicates that it is figurative/symbolic is to justify the same argument for Daniel 4 and turning the 7 times into 2520 years. In conclusion then, the term $3\frac{1}{2}$ times refer to $3\frac{1}{2}$ solar years, not $3\frac{1}{2}$ prophetic years.

When did France decree against the temporal powers of the Church in Italy?

The Directory decreed in 1797 to destroy the temporal powers of the Pope in Italy. The wording for their decree is:

The Directory gave orders also in January, 1798 to destroy the temporal powers of the Pope. The wording for their decree is:

As a result of a plea by the Italian republicans for protection after they proclaimed a Roman Republic, Berthier acknowledged the Declaration and agreed to provide French support for the republic. As a result, Berthier went to the Pope and announced France’s intention to support the change of government and warned that they would defend it against any attempts by the old papal appointed government:

"The Roman people are now again entered into the rights of sovereignty, declaring their independence, possessing the government of ancient Rome, constituting a Roman Republic.

"The General-in-chief of the French army in Italy declares, in the name of the French Republic, that he acknowledges the Roman Republic independent, and that the same is under the special protection of the French army.

"The General-in-chief of the army acknowledges, in the name of the French Republic, the provisional government which has been proposed by the sovereign people.

"In consequence, every other temporal authority emanating from the old government of the Pope, is suppressed, and it shall no more exercise any function...

"The Roman Republic, acknowledged by the French Republic, comprehends all the country that remained under the temporal authority of the Pope, after the treaty of Campo-Formio.³⁷

"ALEXANDRE BERTHIER."

There is nothing however in Berthier's claim that abolishes the temporal powers of the pope. The entire issue here is over the governance of the people. The people are now sovereign. The old government is past. The papacy can no longer appoint the government of Rome and the Papal States. Those days are past.

By later that year the Directory had lost popularity to the point that the following year, a *coup d'état* was effected by First Consul Napoleon and as Emperor of the Republic, his will was law. And his will was for the preservation of the papacy in the matters spiritual but not in state matters. And that is what came to be during his time in leadership.

SDA Historicists' Statements regarding the "3½ times"

Dr. Gerhard Pfandl, presents a standard reiteration of the SDA historicist argument in the book he authored as an accompaniment to the Sabbath-School Bible Study lesson in 2004, entitled Daniel: The Seer of Babylon:

Throughout most of church history people have interpreted apocalyptic time prophecies according to the historicist method of interpretation. Only in the past 200 years have other systems have other systems, such as preterism and futurism replaced historicism as the dominant method of interpreting the books of Daniel and Revelation. Seventh-day Adventists, however, have remained historicists, and they continue to use the year-day principle that forms the backbone of historicism. We can summarize the main points in support of it as follows: [Inserts footnote: "for this summary, the author acknowledges his indebtedness to appendix F in Desmond Ford, *Daniel*, (Nashville: Southern Pub. Assn., 1978), pp.300-305."]

1. Since the vision in Daniel 7 and 8 are largely symbolic, with a number of different beasts representing important historical empires (7:3-7; 8:3-5, 20, 21), the time periods (7:25; 8:14) should also be seen as symbolic.

2. The fact that the visions deal with the rise and fall of known empires in history that existed for hundreds of years indicates that the prophetic time periods must also cover long time periods.

3. The peculiar way in which Daniel expresses the time period – "time, times and a half a time" (Dan. 7:25; 12:7) – indicates that we should not take them literally.

4. In Daniel 7 the little-horn power follows the four beasts, which together account for a reign of at least 1,000 years. The horn is the focus of the vision, since it is most directly in opposition to God. Three and a half literal years for the struggle between the little horn and the Most High are out of proportion to the comprehensive scope of salvation history portrayed in the entire vision.

³⁷ The Treaty of Campo-Formo

5. According to the context, the expressions “time, times, and half a time” (Dan. 7:25; 12:7; Rev. 12:14), “forty-two months (Rev. 11:2; 13:5), and “one thousand two hundred and sixty days” (Rev. 11:3; 12:6) all apply to the same period, but the natural expression “three years and six months” does not appear even once. “The Holy Spirit seems, in a manner, to exhaust all the phrases by which the interval could be expressed, excluding always that one form, which would be used of course to denote the literal period. This variation is most significant, if we accept the year-day system, but quite inexplicable on the other view.” [Inserts footnote: “Thomas R. Birks, *First Elements of Sacred Prophecy* (London: William E. Painter, 1843, p.352)”]

6. The prophecies in Daniel 7 and 8, and 10-12 lead up to the “time of the end” (Dan. 8:17; 11:35, 40; 12:4, 9), which is followed by the resurrection (Dan. 12:2) and the setting up of God’s everlasting kingdom (Dan. 7:27). “In the sweep of history described in these prophecies that extends from the prophet in the sixth century B.C. to our time and beyond, literal time periods of only 3 to 6 years are not capable of reaching anywhere near this final end time. Therefore, these prophetic time periods should be seen as symbolic and standing for considerable longer periods of actual historic time extending to the end of time.” [Inserts footnote: “William H. Shea, *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation*, rev. ed., Daniel and Revelation Committee Series (Silver Spring, Md.: Biblical Research Institute, 1992) vol. 1, p.73.”]

7. The only commonly used measure of time not employed in the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation is the year. The prophetic passages refer to days, weeks, and months, but not the time unit “year.” The most obvious explanation is that the “year” is the unit symbolized by everything else throughout the prophecies.

8. In Numbers 14:34 and Ezekiel 4:6 God deliberately employed the day-for-a-year principle as a teaching device.

9. In Daniel 9:24-27 the 70-weeks time prophecy met its fulfillment at the exact time if we use the year-day principle to interpret it. Many interpreters, who in other apocalyptic texts do not employ the year-day principle, recognize that the 70 weeks are in fact “weeks of years” reaching from the Persian period to the time of Christ. Thus the pragmatic test in Daniel 9 confirms the validity of the year-day principle. (Pfandl, 2004, pp.60-62)

The vision interpreted (Dan. 7:15-25) When a heavenly figure interprets the vision, he tells Daniel that the saints will fall into the hands of the little horn for three and a half times, and that the little horn will intend to change times and laws (verse 25)...

Daniel 12:7 again mentions the time period of three and one half times, or three and one half prophetic years, and the book of Revelation refers to it in various ways:

Dan. 7:25	A time, and times, and the dividing of time
Dan. 12:7	A time, times, and a half
Rev. 11:2	Forty and two months
Rev. 11:3	A thousand two hundred and threescore days
Rev. 12:6	A thousand two hundred and threescore days

Rev. 12:14 A time, times, and half a time

Rev. 13:5 Forty and two months

A comparison of the preceding texts shows that a prophetic year has 360 days; thus three and one half years is the same as 1260 prophetic days or 42 prophetic months. According to the year-day principle of prophetic interpretation, the three and one half prophetic years or 1260 days refer to time of papal dominion from the sixth to the end of the eighteenth century, specifically to the time period from A.D. 538 to 1798...(Ibid, pp.64-66)

Pfandl's writing poses an interesting paradox. He makes conventional SDA historicist statements regarding the 3½ times in Daniel 7, but when we look for comparison his comments regarding Danielic usage of the term 'times' in Dn4, where it is obviously applied in a literal sense, he avoids the matter entirely. Had he been prepared to comment on the seven 'times' in Daniel 4, he would have had to admit that the term was being used in a literal sense, not a symbolic sense, and does not mean 2,520 years on a year-day-principle scaling. Therefore, since it is used literally in Daniel 4, it is not necessarily a symbolic term, and when we come to it in Dn7, it could be seen as a literal period.

There are so many dubious statements in Pfandl's statement. For instance:

- "Throughout most of church history people have interpreted apocalyptic time prophecies according to the historicist method of interpretation." This is an absurd statement; contradicted by Froom's study Prophetic Faith of our Fathers, who could not find the application of the historicist method of interpretation for the first millennium of the Christian era. The only support he could muster was the seventy weeks of Dn9, and even there, his understanding of how that text was understood in those times is under serious doubt. (See Assumption 16 for more details)
- "The fact that the visions deal with the rise and fall of known empires in history that existed for hundreds of years indicates that the prophetic time periods must also cover long time periods." If the time period was specifically meant to cover the rise and fall of empires, I would have no quibble with that statement. The time periods, on the contrary, deal with specific events, such as the persecution of God's people (Dn7); or the desolation of a sanctuary by a hostile power (Dn8). Neither of these two specifically indicate a event covering one empire, let alone more than one empire.
- "The peculiar way in which Daniel expresses the time period – "time, times and a half a time" (Dan. 7:25; 12:7) – indicates that we should not take them literally." Why is this peculiar? Dn4 uses the same nomenclature for a literal period of seven years. We can *only* take them as literal there. Even Whitson, a well-known historicist, calls these "times" a prophetic period, and yet only assigns seven years to them (
- "Three and a half literal years for the struggle between the little horn and the Most High are out of proportion to the comprehensive scope of salvation history portrayed in the entire vision." This would be true if the visions of Daniel are presenting history from the foreknowledge of God.

On the contrary, the early church only saw in this period a persecution of 3.5 years. (This point is also applicable to point 6 in his list.)

- “The only commonly used measure of time not employed in the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation is the year. The prophetic passages refer to days, weeks, and months, but not the time unit ‘year.’” The term “times” is clearly the term for a year, as we see in Dn4. It is the normal time for the expression of a year in this literature. As for the word “weeks,” it is only used in Dn9, and here it is not used in a literal sense, but in an idiomatic sense, referring to a heptad of years. (See Assumption 16 for more information)
- “In Numbers 14:34 and Ezekiel 4:6 God deliberately employed the day-for-a-year principle as a teaching device.” God may have taught lessons in those experiences of the people involved, but the principle in Num. 14 is the opposite of Eze 4, and cancel out each other. (See Assumption 25 for more details.)
- “In Daniel 9:24-27 the 70-weeks time prophecy met its fulfillment at the exact time if we use the year-day principle to interpret it. Many interpreters, who in other apocalyptic texts do not employ the year-day principle, recognize that the 70 weeks are in fact “weeks of years” reaching from the Persian period to the time of Christ. Thus the pragmatic test in Daniel 9 confirms the validity of the year-day principle.” The “weeks of years” in Daniel 9 are best seen to be seventy heptads of seven years. No year-day principle is involved in the calculation. (See Assumption 16 for more information.)

Froom's Historical Survey of 3½ “times.”

Before moving on to examine how SDA historicists find the beginning and end point for this prophecy, we should pause a moment and examine on Froom's survey of the use of this time period in early times.

He traces a few threads of this development in the understanding of this period. These included:

- “The Papacy is the predicted Antichrist;” (p.783)
- “prophetic time is to be understood on the recognized year-day principle” (p.783)
- “all the prophetic time periods of Daniel were practically all held to be on the year-day principle, though the 2300 years – which extended the farthest in time – was the haziest, and the last to be included and allocated.” (p.785)
- “The synchronous time of all the 1260-year periods (whether 1260 days, forty-two months, or three and a half times) became increasingly clear. And improvement is to be noted in locating their chronology.” (p.786)
- “The disruption and confusion regarding the Antichrist and his length of dominance, introduced by the Jesuits at the close of the sixteenth century, simply drove vigorous Protestant expositors to a closer study and sounder exposition of prophecy...” (p.786)
- “The sequence, the timing, and the character of the papal Little Horn seemed inescapable. First, Rome *had* come as the fourth prophetic

empire; next, Rome's breakup *had* followed; and then, after Rome's partitioning, the Antichrist, or Little Horn, *had* appeared, pushing its way up through these permanent divisions of Roman territory and meeting all the specifications predicted. The logic of such reasoning seemed invulnerable. So it came to be commonly recognized that the concurrent "1260 days," assigned for Antichrist's special exploits, were obviously in *prophetic or symbolic time*, as verily as the other specifications of the Antichrist were symbolic. Understood in this way, the time feature became clear and consistent, and the conclusion inescapable." (p.789f)

- "In the early centuries of the Christian Era the 1260 days were believed to center on the still future Antichrist. But until its actual appearance, and the long extent of its duration came to be recognized, the year-day principle was not extended to include this period. From Joachim (1190) onward, however, the 1260 prophetic days, as symbolizing years, were increasingly recognized by Jew as well as Christian, and by Catholic and non-Catholic alike. And beginning with Arnold of Villanova (1297), Walter Brute (1393), and Nicholas Krebs of Cusa (1440), the 1290, 1335, and 2300 days of Daniel were similarly seen to represent years." (p.790)
- "Meanwhile the focal of prophetic emphasis shifted to the closing date of the 1260-year period. Many had searched back to earlier times, seeking to assign the beginning of the era of the Little Horn to some point in the fifth, sixth or seventh centuries. Now many began to look forward, endeavouring to compute the approaching end of the 1260 year." (p.791)

Froom attempts to distance himself from the end result of using the "Historical School of interpretation" (p.790) by the multifarious applications of this system to the 1260-day period. He says what is important is not the various applications of this time period to a wide gamut of historical events, but rather, "basic features only." (p.791)

Emphasis upon the historical soundness of the main positions of the Historical School of interpretation should not be construed as commendation of the many conflicting and often incongruous details of various expositions. Rather, endorsement is confined to those basic features – those clear, major aspects upon which there was unity. These positions have been established by the cumulative testimony of the reverent scholarship of the centuries. Not only were they clearly recognized during the course fulfillment, but they have since been confirmed by the passage of time and the clarifying perspective of the years.

True, the Protestant Historicists differed considerably as to when to begin and end the 1260-day prophecy of Antichrist....(p.792)³⁸

³⁸ In regard to the time features of the historicist's school, Froom can only offer the 70 weeks and the fulfillment of the 1260-days, as interpreted by SDA historicists, as the confirmation. Yet both of these "confirmations" are not "clearly recognized" and are doubtful. "These are accepted as established through the universally acknowledged interpretation of the 70 weeks of years, and applied to most of the other time prophecies." (1948, p.794) That the 70 weeks could be fulfilled using a method of interpretation that did not include the year-day principle is a topic not examined by Froom. This was a fatal weakness in his research. See [Assumption No.16](#) for those details. And the interpretation of the 1260-day period is far from being accepted as a general consensus as is shown in this survey of Froom's assertions.

This examination of Froom's ideas will be three-fold.

First, I will look at his survey of the application of the 1260-day prophecy in general, and with particular attention to those writers of the "Protestant Historical School" of prophetic thought and the kaleidoscope of views presented by them. Second, I look at how the Advent movement and subsequently, the SDA church came to hold to the dates of 538 AD and 1798 AD as the markers of the beginning and ending respectively of this period.

Thirdly, I look at the concept of the word "times" as covered by Froom, and the conclusions he makes from it. I then highlight the weaknesses of his argument.

A Survey of Historicists' views on the termini of the 1260-day period.

In looking through volume 2 of Froom's mammoth four volume work on the [Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers](#), one cannot noticing the variation of proposals for the termini of the 1260-day period. Froom himself cannot avoid in presenting such a variety of views. What Froom attempts to do, but does so unsuccessfully is to show that there was a developing "accuracy" in the understanding of this period which sharpened as time approached 1798. He sets up from the outset the assumption that everything was moving toward this period, as though this point in history was a given. The development of the historicist's viewpoint was gradually unfolding, and would fully develop "on time" at the time the events predicted took place.

Here is a tabular summary of the variety of positions on the time periods in the book of Daniel, from the time of the early fathers:

No	Name	Lived When?	3½ times means how long?
	Justin Martyr	c.165	very short
	Irenaeus	c.202	3½ yrs
	Tertullian	c.240	
	Clement of Alexandria	c.220	literal
	Hippolytus	d.236	literal
	Julius Africanus	c.240	
	Sibyllines	3d cent	
	Second Edras	c.150	
	Origen	c.254	
0	Porphry	c.304	
1	Cyprian	c.258	
2	Victorinus	c.304	
3	Lactantius	c.330	42 mths
4	Eusebius Pamphili	c.340	42 mths
5	Council of Nicaea	325 AD	
6	Eusebius (Later Views)	c.340	
7	Athanasius	373	
8	Aphrahat	c.350	10½ yrs
9	Ephraim	373	
0	Hilary	368	
	Cyril	386	3½ yrs

No	Name	Lived When?	3½ times means how long?
1			
2	Ambrose	397	
3	Chrysostom	407	
4	Polychronius	430	
5	B	450	
6	Sulpicius Severus	c.420	
7	Jerome	420	3½ yrs
8	Theodoret	457	3½ yrs
9	Tichonius	c.380	350 yrs
0	Augustine	d.430	
1	Primasius	d.560	
2	Gregory I	d.604	
3	Andreas	7th cent	
4	Beatus	8th cent	
5	Walafrid	d.849	3½ yrs
6	Venerable Bede	c.716	3½ yrs
7	Haymo	d.853	
8	Berengaud	9th cent	
9	Arethas	d.860	
0	Adso	d.992	
1	Berengarius	d.1088	
2	Richard (St. Victor)	d.1173	
3	Bruno of Segni	d.1123	
4	Anselm	d.1158	
5	Rupert of Deutz	12th cent	
6	Robert Grosseteste	d.1253	
7	Bernard (Clairaux)	d.1153	
8	Peter Comestor	d.1178	
9	Albertus Magnus	d.1280	
0	Thomas Aquinas	d.1274	Indefinite
1	Innocent III	d.1216	
2	Joachim of Floris	d.1202	1260 yrs
3	Pseudo-Joachim Comm.	c.1248	1260 yrs
4	Arnold of Villanova	1292	
	Pierre Jean d'Oliv	d.1298	1260 yrs

No	Name	Lived When?	3½ times means how long?
5			
6	Ubertino of Casale	1305	1260 yrs
7	Eberhard II (Salzburg)	d.1246	
8	Waldenses	12th cent	
9	Cotton, Jno	1639	395-1655
0	Williams, Reg	1644	Years
1	Bradstreet, A	1642	
2	Huit, Eph.	1644	3½ Cent.
3	Parker, Thos.	1646	600-1859
4	Davenport, J.	1653	Years
5	Johnson, Ed.	1652	
6	Holyoke, Ed.	1658	600
7	Hutchinson, S.	1667	
8	Hooke, Wm.	1669	
9	Mather, S.	1672	Years
0	Confession-Faith	1680	
1	Harris, Benj.	1687	
2	Mather, In.	1669	456-1716
3	Sewall, Sam.	1697	
4	Mather, C.,	1702	456-
5	Noyes, Nich.	1698	Years
6	Cheever, Eze.	1757	
7	Steers, Rich.	1715	
8	Burnet, Wm.	1724	455-1715
9	Dudley, Paul	1731	
0	Cooper, Sam	1773	Years
1	Edwards, Jon.	1739	456 or 606
2	Prentice, Thos.	1756	
3	Mayhew, Jon.	1756	
4	Imri, (Reprint)	1756	Years
5	Bellamy, Jos.	1758	606-
6	Burr, Aaron	1757	Years
7	Clarke, Rich.	1759	-1759
8	March, Ed.	14762	
	Langdon, Sam.	1774	Years

No	Name	Lived When?	3½ times means how long?
9			
0	Gatchel, Sam,	1781	
1	Backus, Is.	1767	
2	Gale, Benj.	1768	Years
3	Hopkins, Sam.	1793	606-1866
4	Osgood, Sam,	1794	630-1890
5	Winchester, El.	1793	
6	Linn, Wm.	1794	553-1813
7	Winthrop, Jas.	1794	532-1791
8	Spalding, Jos.	1796	Years
9	Lathrop, Jos.	1789	606-1866
00	Austin, Dav.	1794	500-1760
01	Dwight, Tim.	1781	
02	Lacunza, Man.	1799	Years
03	Hales, Wm.	1803	620-1880
04	Faber,G.S	1804	660-1866
05	Scott, Thos.	1805	
06	Fuller, And.	1810	
07	Clarke, Adam	1810	Years ending
08	Toovey, Sam	1813	
09	Maitland, Capt	1813	533-1792
10	Cuninghame, Wm	1813	533-1792
11	Frere, Jas. H	1815	533-1792
12	Davis, W. C.,	1818	588-1818
13	Mason, Arch.	1820	533-1792
14	Brown, Jno. A	1823	584-1844
15	Bayford, Jno	1820	529-1789
16	Way, Lewis	1818	531-1791
17	Gauntlett, Hem.	1821	606-1866
18	Drummond, Hen.	1810	
19	Wolf, Jos.	1822	1260 Years
20	Agier, Pierre	1823	
21	Nicole, Aphans	1829	
22	Fry, John	1822	537-1797
	White, Thos.	1828	554-1814

No	Name	Lived When?	3½ times means how long?
23			
24	Homan, Ph.,	1829	
25	Jones, Wm.	1830	Years
26	Irving, Edw.	1826	533-1792
27	Stewart, J.H.	1825	Papal period
28	Noel, Ger T	1828	533-1792
29	Park, Jno. R.,	1825	606-1866
30	Cooper, Edw.	1826	533-1792
31	Maitland, S.R.	1827	Days only
32	Croly, Geo	1828	533-1793
33	Vaughan, Ed. T	1828	537-1797
34	Keyworth, Thos'	1828	606-1866
35	Addis, Alfred	1829	553-1815
36	Begg, Jas A	1811	
37	Hooper, Jno	1829	533-1792-3
38	Pym, Wm. W	1829	533-1792
38	Allwood, Phil.	1829	606-
39	Hoare, Ed. N	1830	533-1792
40	Digby, Wm	1831	533-1792
41	Leslie, J.	1831	532-1792
42	Lee, Saml	1830	3½ years
43	Anderson, Wm	1830	
44	Brooks, Josh. W.	1831	533-1793
45	Thorp, Wm.	1831	
46	Wood, Lt. G. H.	1829	533-1793
47	Wilson, Bp. Dan	1836	
48	Keith, Alex.	1828	533-1793
49	Cox, John	1832	
50	Sirr. Josh. D'A	1833	
51	Habershon, Matt.	1834	533-1793
52	Charlotte, Eliz.	1840	Years
53	Ashe. Isaac	1835	-1798
54	Bickersteth, 'Ed.	1836	533-1792
55	Todd, Jas.H.	1840	Not Years
	Newman, J.H.	1841	Days

No	Name	Lived When?	3½ times means how long?
56			
57	Grussen, Louis	1837	529-1789
58	Richter, J. H.,	1839	587-1847
59	Birks, Th. R.,	1843	
60	Cumming, Jno.	1843	532-1792
61	Elliot. E. B.	1844	Just.-1798
62	Bayles, Jos.	1845	532-1792

From [Froom](#),; 1946, pp.252-253; 1948, pp. 894-897; 1950, pp.456-459

Here are the following statistics from this table:

Paradigm	Writers	No. of Writers	Percentage
3½ literal years	Walafrid; Venerable Bede; Irenaeus; Clement of Alexandria; Hippolytus; Lactantius; Eusibius Pamphili; Cyril; Jerome; Theodoret;	10/162	6.2%
537/8-1797/8	Elliot, Ashe, Vaughan	3/162	1.85%
532/3 – 1792/3 (with variations)	Bayles, Cumming, Habershon, Bickersteth, Cox, Wood, Brooks, Leslie, Digby, Hoare, Pym, Addis, Cooper, Irving, Mason, Frere, Cuninham, Maitand, Winthrop (532-1791), Way (531-1791), Bayford, (529-1789), Austin (500-1760), Grussen (529-1789), (It is to be noticed that all these men wrote later than 1798)	24/162	14.8%
c.600/6-c.1866/90 (with variations)	Allwood, Keyworth, Park, Gauntlett, Faber, Hales,	13 /162	8.02%

	Lathrop, Osgood (630-1890), Hopkins, Bellamy, Edwards (456 or 606), Holyoke (600), Parker (600- 1859)		
552/580s-1814/1844	White, Croly Brown, Davis, Linn (553-1813)	5/162	3.08 %

- Total number of writers surveyed 162

What is immediately obvious in looking at this information is that few of these people (2%) believed that the correct period was from 538-1798. More of them (15%) saw the termini as c.533-c.1792 or the second most popular view (8%) was c.606-c.1866. This flies in the face of what Froom argues, and creates a problem for him. How can we accept all three of these periods as being correct? If 533-1793 is correct, then the issue over the events in 538 are a non-issue. However, if this view is not correct, then the next most popular view should be taken. This is not advocated either. The view that is taken by SDA historicist's is that 538-1798 advocated by King is the correct view, but with a few necessary changes. It is not correct to say that the temporal power of the pope began in 538 when Rome was free of any empire ruling in that city. SDA historicists save face on the 538-1798 paradigm by saying the imperial recognition of the primacy of the papacy in 533 as the start of the period is correct, but that it could not be enforced till the Pope was free of the Ostrogothic control, which occurred in 538. The question as to whether the pope could or did in fact, exercise his primacy before 538 is not considered closely.

2. How did the Advent movement and then the SDA church adopt the 538 and 1798 AD paradigm for the 1260 year period?

As has been shown in the previous section there was such a kaleidoscope of views on the termini of the 1260-day period that one could justly conclude that there was no consensus at all, despite the illusion created by SDA writers. However, when we examine early Advent writings, Miller and Litch, the main proponents of the Advent movement in America, happened to adopt the 538-1798 paradigm over that of the 533-1793 paradigm. What was the reason for this? At the present time in my research, it is not clear why this occurred, but Froom notes in his chapter on the topic, that King's view was recommended to the readers of the movement's newspaper. (Froom, 1946, p.REF?) Damsteegt also points out that the 538-1798 paradigm was the position of Miller and Litch. (1977, pp.25f) Was it just coincidence and the reading of a reference of Miller's that determined his initial views on the matter? Was it determined by what references Miller had access to or already had in his library? There is no discussion that I have found highlighting the merits of the 538-1798 paradigm over the 533-1793, although there is some discussion showing why the emperorship of Phocus in 606 is not a good choice of a beginning of the period (ie., 606-1866). (Smith, 1944, p.REF)

3. Froom's survey of the use of the term "times" in select Protestant prophetic writings.

In examining the pre-Christian interpretation of "times," Froom examines the Septuagint translation of Dan 4:16 and 32. He points out how their interpretative translation highlights how the Jewish world at the time also saw the meaning of "times" as literal solar years:

In spite of the impropriety of the Septuagint translators injecting their own interpretation into a version, their procedure is useful to us because it reflects certain of their prophetic interpretations, thereby *unwittingly revealing the Jewish prophetic understanding of the times*, which is what we seek. ...In Daniel 4:16 and 3... in place of the "seven times" of Nebuchadnezzar's humiliation, the expression is four times rendered "seven years" in the LXX – though the phrase occurs in verses 13, 29 and 30 in the LXX, because the verses are differently divided. In further confirmation of this year-time principle, the LXX in Daniel 11:13 states that the king of the north comes "at the end of a time, of a year." This key principle of a time for a year carries over into the Christian Era and reappears constantly....([Froom, op. cit](#), pp. 174)

He later looks at Josephus' treatment of the humiliation of Nebuchadnezzar and offers this quote from Josephus:

In rehearsing the history of Nebuchadnezzar's abasement, recorded in Daniel 4, Josephus followed the LXX rendering of "seven years" for the "seven times":

‘A little while afterward the king again had another vision in his sleep, which was that he would fall from power and make his home with beasts and, after living this way in the wilderness for seven years, would again recover his royal power.’

‘Daniel alone interpreted it, and as he foretold to him so it came to pass. For the king spent the forementioned period of time in the wilderness, none venturing to seize the government during these seven years, and, after praying to God that he might recover his kingdom, he was again restored to it. But let no one reproach me for recording in my work each of these events as I have found them in the ancient books.’ (Froom, [op.cit](#), p.200, quote found in *Ant.*, bk10, ch,10, sect 6 (Bk10: 216- in Loeb text).)

Josephus clearly supported the idea that a "time" was a solar year. What is more fascinating is that Froom then quotes the translator of Josephus, Whiston, who was a historicist (as were the major part of mainstream Protestants then), who footnoted this interesting comment:

‘Since Josephus here explains the seven prophetic times which were to pass over Nebuchadnezzar (Dan iv, 16) to be seven years, we thence learn how he most probably must have understood those other parallel phrases, of "a time, times, and a half" (Antiq.b. vii, ch. Xxv) of so many prophetic years also, though he withal lets us know, by his hint at the interpretation of the seventy weeks, as belonging to the fourth monarchy, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the days of Josephus (ch. Ii, sec. 7), that he did not think those years to be bare years, but rather days for years; by which reckoning, and by which alone, could seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety days, reach to the

age of Josephus..'[Froom adds reference here as "translator's footnote to *Antiquities*, book 10, chap. 10 sec. 6". –FB] (Froom, *op. cit.*, p. 200.)³⁹

Why do I use the word fascinating when reading Whiston's views here? One needs to note that Whiston considers the period "times" in Dn4 to be "seven *prophetic* times," yet he *does not apply* the year-day principle to these "prophetic times," on the contrary, he not only considers them to be "prophetic years;" he considers the seven "prophetic years" to be seven *literal* years. One could also argue that since Whiston called this term "times" a "prophetic" term, yet does not convert it using the year-day principle, one could apply the same logic to the "prophetic" period in Dn7, and read it as 3½ solar years! He draws the conclusion that the "a time, times, and a half" to be three and a half "prophetic" years, is to be understood as 3½ literal years based on how Josephus interpreted the seven "prophetic times" of Nebuchadnezzar ("of so many prophetic years also"). There is no application of the year-day principle to this period.

Whiston falsely reasons from the use of a "prophetic" period in Dn4 as justification for the year-day principle in the 3½ times of Daniel 7. There is no use of a year-day principle in Dn4. Whiston's logic is flawed. Looking at his statement again more closely:

'Since Josephus here explains the seven prophetic times which were to pass over Nebuchadnezzar (Dan iv, 16) to be seven years, we thence learn how he most probably must have understood those other parallel phrases, of "a time, times, and a half" (Antiq.b. vii, ch. Xxv) of so many prophetic years...

One can only reason from this that Josephus understood the 3½ times to mean 3½ solar years, and the ambiguous phrase "prophetic year" here must mean a solar year, as was the position of Christians after Josephus.

Whiston then uses the ambiguity of the phrase "prophetic years" to make a bridge to his next topic by making allusion to the seventy weeks and Josephus' application of the period to his own time, arguing the application of the year-day principle to the seventy weeks. In doing this, Whiston shows his ignorance of the evidence of the "week of years" concept:

...by his hint at the interpretation of the seventy weeks, as belonging to the fourth monarchy, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the days of Josephus (ch. Ii, sec. 7), that he did not think those years to be bare years, but rather days for years; by which reckoning, and by which alone, could seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety days, reach to the age of Josephus.

³⁹ The reference by Whiston to Josephus' mention of the Roman times as ch. Ii, sec.7, is found in modern translations of [Whiston's work](#) at *Ant.*, Book 10, chapter 11, sect. 7; or Bk10: 276 according the numbering by the Loeb text.

Froom's survey of the different approaches to the interpretation of the seventy weeks gives many Protestant and Jewish examples of writers who took the 70 weeks as "weeks-years" not "weeks-days" as Whiston asserts. However, as [Assumption 16](#) highlights, the "week-years" or "week of years" position DID NOT use the year-day principle to come to a 490-year period. Whiston's views are typical of many Protestant writers who were ignorant of the documents that showed the use of the phrase "week" to mean a group of seven, including a group of seven years, without any recourse to a "year-day" principle. There were others of his contemporaries who saw the 70 weeks as "weeks of years."

Josephus makes no reference to days for years in relation to the seventy weeks. In fact, Josephus does not mention the seventy weeks when he refers to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. This putting into Josephus' mouth what Whiston wants him to say *and* the way Josephus would interpret what Whiston wants to put into Josephus' mouth is typical of the liberties historicists take with crucial material. Here is Josephus' statement. It mentions neither the seventy weeks, nor Josephus' method of interpreting that time period; whether using the weeks of year's principle or the weeks of prophetic day's principle. Josephus discusses the fulfillment of Dn8 in the actions of Antiochus Epiphanes (cf. a long time before there was a Jesuit writer around) and then concludes:

And indeed it so came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, and what he wrote many years before they came to pass. In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. (*Ant.*, Book 10, ch11, sect. 7; Loeb text:Bk10: 276)

Whiston has no foundation for finding the year-day principle in this text. And so again, Froom's underlying documentation for his conclusions crumble under closer examination. Froom tells us that Whiston's comment was "cogent," but he is not prepared to show up the invalidity of Whiston's argument from Josephus' work. It is definitely not true that by reckoning "... days for years; by which reckoning, and by which alone, could seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety days, reach to the age of Josephus." The seventy weeks *can* reach to the age of Josephus by using the "weeks of years" interpretation – an interpretation that is attested in documents; an interpretation that does not need any year-day principle.⁴⁰

A "Time" originally understood to be a "year"

Froom points out in Volume One of Prophetic Faith of our Fathers that the belief of 3½ times meaning 3½ years was virtually the universal belief of the Christian church for at least the first three hundred years after Christ and the apostles.

Irenaeus, like other early church fathers ...interpreted the three and one-half "times" of the Little Horn of Daniel 7 as three and one-half literal years, which would immediately precede Christ's second advent, identified with the lawless reign of Antichrist.

“ ‘He shall speak words against the most high God, and wear out the saints of the most high God, and shall purpose to change times and laws; and [everything] shall be given into his hands until a time of times and a half time,’ *that is, for three years and six months*, during which time, when again, speaking in the second [Epistle] to the Thessalonians, and at the same time proclaiming the cause of the advent, thus says: ‘And then shall the wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy by the presence of His coming.’ ”

Antichrist's three and a half years of sitting in the temple are placed by Irenaeus immediately before the second coming of Christ, and are identified as the second half of the "one week" of Daniel 9. He says nothing of the seventy weeks; we do not know whether he placed the one week at the end of the seventy or whether he had a gap. He mentions only the half week, which he gives to Antichrist. The interpretation of the three and a half times as literal years, it may well be noted, was common to the early fathers who discussed this particular time period. (Froom, 1950, pp. 247f)

⁴⁰ See an extended discussion on this in [Assumption 16](#).

And this three and a half year period was associated with the last half of the seventieth week of the 70 weeks of Daniel 9.

As time progressed, another contending opinion was developed to try and rationalise the prophecies in relation to the non-event of the predicted events, by saying that the “times” in Daniel and Revelation, referred to a period of one hundred years. This would enable the 3½ times to compute to 350 years. Typical of this was Trypho’s position as argued against by Justin Martyr:

Daniel’s “time, times and a half,” Justin believed, was nearing its consummation, when Antichrist would speak his blasphemies against the Most High. And he contends with Trypho over the meaning of a “time” and “times.” Justin expects the time to be very short, but Trypho’s concept is interesting.

“ ‘The times now running on to their consummation; and he whom Daniel foretells would have dominion for a time, times and a half, is even already at the door, about to speak blasphemous and daring things against the Most High. But you, being ignorant of how long he will have dominion, hold another opinion. For you interpret the ‘time’ as being a hundred years. But if this is so, the man of sin must, at the shortest, reign three hundred and fifty years, in order that we may compute that which is said by the holy Daniel – ‘and times’ – to be *two* times only.’ ”

(Froom, 1950, p. 233)

From Justin’s position, he took a much shorter position on the 3½ times than the 350 years of Trypho, in order to believe that the 3½ times were almost consummated, “when Antichrist would speak his blasphemies.” Froom also documents the views of Tichonius, who held a similar view to Trypho:

Tichonius was a writer of the late fourth century of whom little is known, but who exercised such a profound influence on the prophetic exegesis of the Middle Ages, especially of the Apocalypse, that we must pause ...to understand his essential positions. Born in Africa, he belonged to the Donatist group...

Tichonius ingeniously steps back the thousand years over the entire line of the Christian dispensation, dating it from the time of Christ’s first advent. Thus he makes the end the beginning and the beginning the end. Moreover, this millennial period he shortens from 1,000 years to 350 years, because Christ’s three and a half days in the tomb were shortened by employing only parts of the first and third day. ...Tichonius assumes each prophetic “time” to be 100 years, and thus the three and a half times would be about 350 years. Beginning with the resurrection of Christ, this period would be about expired. So he makes his own day the terminus of prophetic time. (Froom, 1950, p. 465)

Using this rationale, the imminence of the Second Coming was urged passionately. Froom’s biased opinion on the position of the early fathers comes to the fore when he then states:

There was, both in his and in other minds of the time, a misconception of the time prophecies in relation to the nearness of the second advent, since he expected the end soon. The year-day principle, as applied to the longer periods, had not yet been clearly

perceived by any, the long extent of the world's duration being mercifully foreshortened to their understanding. (Froom, [Ibid.](#))⁴¹

With the passing of the possibilities associated with this calculation, we see a development of the next rationale to try and explain the non-event of the predicted events, by opting for a day for a year principle. This very versatile rubric has been used in all manner of calculations through the centuries, and has been as fertile a rubric for passionate predictions as the imaginations that have used it. Froom's work bears witness to the endless application of this concept of the "times and seasons" of Biblical prophecy to a variety of events throughout the Christian era. Usually without exception, most of the colourful applications of the prophetic times were done in a manner to make them apply to something in the times in which the writers found themselves. My argument is that "the year for a day concept" is as valid as "the 'times' equals a century" approach, and we are witnessing the same demise of the former concept as the latter did in the fourth century. Both of these concepts are a second-hand attempt to try and make prophecy fit the time frame in which the protagonists live. Froom makes an interesting commenting in this regard concerning the existential and phenomenological use of prophecy during the times of the Reformation:

Accepting these basic considerations, the other time periods given in the Scripture were now likewise treated, and opened new vistas of understanding. God's guiding hand in history became discernible. History did not remain any longer a confusing mass of incomprehensible events, but became intelligible as the outworking of a divine plan with definite laws and a definite purpose.

This discovery of the historical basis of prophetic interpretation is the one feature of the inspiring work of the Reformers, which, regrettably, our generation has practically forgotten. Their firm conviction of having a definite place in God's great unfolding plan of history gave them ... strength and ... courage ([1948](#), p.463f)

That is to say, people used prophecy to try and place the times in which they lived in the scheme of things, and specifically in the divine scheme of things. This exercise, according to Froom, gave them strength and courage, since they were able to then interpret "a confusing mass of incomprehensible events." To achieve some type of prophetic meaningfulness to the period in which one is found may be valid as a rough "rule of thumb" but to argue for its literal accuracy is to destroy it. The singular advantage of the year-for-a-day system is that it is so flexible. One can take dates and events from almost anywhere and make them fit the argument, as Froom's historical survey of this topic testifies.

One cannot deny that some of the writers announced beforehand, the fall of the papacy. But the issue is what people define as the "fall of the papacy." One could almost take a dozen events for the fall of the papacy. The most obvious ones are the Babylon

⁴¹ This judging history by the SDA interpretations is rife throughout Froom's book and spoils an excellent document. It assumes the SDA interpretation as the only valid perspective, which these unfortunate early Christian scholars never had access to. The tone at times borders on interpretative arrogance. But on the contrary, there are many valid reasons why the literal interpretation of the 1260 days is correct.

Captivity in 1309 and the annexation of Rome in 1870.⁴² REF? The Catholic Church also sees these two events that way. Some see the Treaty of Westphalia as a significant fall, when the pope's input was neither sought nor needed by the regal heads of state. REF? The capture of Pius VI and the declaration of the Roman Republic certainly are not significant markers in the history of the papal powers, neither by the papacy nor by contemporary historians. More significant than this event was the annexation of the States of the Papacy in 1808-10 by Napoleon and the forced exile of Pius VII. But without a doubt, the subsuming of all the Papal States into the kingdom of Italy in 1870 was a pivotal point in the temporal powers of the church. The temporal power of the church was only given back with its control over the land it had built on, and no more. The rest of the Papal States had gone *forever*. She had no land from which a significant income could be derived.

In summary, the early Church, as documented by Froom, saw the 3½ times of Daniel as a solar period of 3½ years. The prophetic years of Dn7 were also literal years.

In the above discussion I looked at three points:

- First, a Survey of Historicists' views on the termini of the 1260-day period;
- Second, how did the SDA Church Adopted the 538-1798 paradigm?
- And thirdly, how the early church saw the 3½ times.

With the first point, we saw that the preponderance of opinion was in favour with the 533-1798 paradigm, followed second, by the 606-1866 paradigm. Only a few expositors ventured to suggest 538-1798. Hardly a strong support for the SDA position!!

In regard to the second point, the information is not available yet to this writer as to how the 538-1798 model was chosen in preference to the 533-1793 model.

And thirdly, the early church for the first three hundred plus years saw the 3½ period as literal years. And although Froom can find a few references to show divergent views in the following centuries, that is no evidence that the general consensus of opinion had changed from the 3½ literal years.

Second Task: Proving 1798 – The End of the Period.

We need now to examine how SDA historicists established the start and the end of this time period. Our immediate focus in this –our second task – is to look at the assertions made concerning 1798 and decide on their validity. One would expect the beginning of the period to be examined first, as that is the logical way to proceed. However, I am approaching the time period in reverse, because that is how the period was decided initially –that is to say, historicists decided that 1798 was a prophetic event and then reasoned back on a countback. There is no documentary evidence from the year 538 AD that tells us that the 1260-year period began that year, so that people could look for some prophetic event in 1798 to mark its conclusion. There is no evidence that Christians in the sixth century understood that the 1260-year period of “papal domination” was beginning. Rather, it was the opposite. Various writers of the year 1798 and shortly after, pointed to the events associated with the Papacy in 1798 as being prophetic, and people did the next obvious thing – they did a countback from 1798, and then rummaged around

⁴²Need to explain the Babylonian Captivity.

the events of history to find something significant that they could assert marked the beginning of the period.

Given then that this was how the dates of the period was established, I have taken the liberty of surveying the assertions regarding 1798 first, and then looking at the assertions concerning the date of 538 as the third task, since the validity of looking at 538 at all comes from the validity of using 1798 as the end-date of the time period.

How the 1260-day period was calculated?

That the calculation of the 1260-year period was done in reverse – that is, calculate the beginning of the period once the end was decided upon – is generally conceded. Maxwell states, **FIND THIS FOOTNOTE AND LIFT IT TO HERE:**

That is to say, 1798, or for some, 1793 is seen as the end of the 1260 years, and the beginning of the period was calculated from that.

D. Four Ramifications of this Prophecy

SDA historicists use the assumed validity of their interpretation of this prophecy to assert certain implications from their argumentation. In this section, I examine these assertions; the method of establishing them and the problems associated with asserting these points:

1. Christ could not have come in the first century AD;
2. The end of the history of the world as it now is, and the second coming of Christ could not occur before 1798 AD;
3. The 2300 days could only be fulfilled after 1798 A.D;
4. Conditionality is not a characteristic of apocalyptic prophecy.

D.1. Christ could not have come in the first century AD.

The statements concerning the coming of Christ are not to be taken literally.

From Spangler:

Q. Is it true that all Old Testament prophecies were to be fulfilled by the first advent of Christ?

A. Apocalyptic literature has an unconditionally and inevitability about it that lends to its predictions the aspect of absoluteness. God is in control of man's affairs, for He is sovereign. No matter what evil powers do, good will triumph according to God's foreknowledge. In harmony with this view, we see in Daniel the rise of specific world powers, a little-horn powers with a predetermined time of supremacy and a time period after which God would intervene in behalf of his people (see Dan. 7:25; 8:14). A careful review of these apocalyptic prophecies shows that they do not terminate at the first advent. At that time the fourth world empire, Rome, was in full control, and the little-horn power had not appeared on the scene, indicating that only a section of the prophecy had been fulfilled and much was yet to come. Therefore, as far as Daniel's prophecies are concerned, it was not God's plan, after He gave Daniel this prophetic preview of salvation history, that all Old Testament prophecies were destined to be fulfilled at the first advent. (28,29)

It is true that with God all things are possible, but His prophetic word to Daniel reveals that history would not be consummated in the everlasting kingdom within the first century A.D. It is unfruitful for us, who have had the privilege of seeing the sure fulfillment of Daniel's prophecies over the vast span of history, to develop theories regarding what could have happened but in reality did not take place. (29)

Q. Is this conclusion correct? (that "Christ's statement 'Truly I say to you, this generation will not pass away till all these things take place' (Matt 24:34 R.S.V) demonstrates that "the evidence is overwhelming that Christ was saying He planned to return to that very generation He was addressing. The decisive fact is that the expression 'this generation' occurs fourteen times in the gospels, and always refers to Christ's contemporaries" (Ford, 1980,297).

A. In view of the nature of Christ's Olivet discourse, there is certainly no overwhelming evidence that Christ intended to say that He would return to the generation He was addressing. On the contrary, the immediate context of Matthew 24:34 appears to relate this text to the generation living at the time when the special cosmic signs in the sun, moon and stars were to occur [1780,1833]. (30)

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D.2.The end of History and the second coming could not occur before 1798.

James White says:

Christ could not have come in the first century AD. That there is a period of time in which the church is especially to look for the second coming of Christ, is evident...this plainly shows that that the last half century [written in 1870] had been the period for the subject of the second advent to be brought out, and this the only time that the church of Christ could scripturally look for the coming of Christ. (1970, p.75 f.)

Ellen White says:

The message [of Rev14:6-FB] itself sheds light as to the time when this movement is to take place. It is declared to be a part of the “everlasting gospel,” and it announces the opening of the judgment. The message of salvation has been preached in all ages; but this message is a part of the gospel which could be proclaimed only in the last days, for only then would it be true that the hour of judgment *had* come. The prophecies present a succession of events leading down to the opening of the judgment. This is especially true of the book of Daniel. But that part of his prophecy which related to the last days, Daniel was bidden to close up and seal “to the time of the end.” Not till we reach this time could a message concerning the judgment be proclaimed, based on a fulfilment of these prophecies. But at the time of the end, says the prophet, “many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased,” Daniel 12:4

The apostle Paul warned the church not to look for the coming of Christ in his day. “That day shall not come,” he says, “except there comes a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed.” 2 Thessalonians 2:3. Not until after the great apostasy, and the long period of the reign of the “man of sin,” which is also styled “the mystery of iniquity,” “the son of perdition,” and “that wicked,” represents the papacy, which, as foretold by prophecy, was to maintain its supremacy for 1260 years. This period ended in 1798. The coming of Christ could not take place before that time. Paul covers with his caution the whole of the Christian dispensation down to the year 1798. It is this side of that time that the message of Christ’s second coming is to be proclaimed.

No such message has ever been given in past ages. Paul, as we have seen, did not preach it; he pointed his brethren into the then far-distant future for the coming of the Lord. The Reformers did not proclaim it. Martin Luther placed the judgment about three hundred years in the future from his day. But since 1798 the book of Daniel has been unsealed, knowledge of the prophecies has increased, and many have proclaimed the solemn message of the judgment near. (White, E., 1950, p.356)

James White says a similar thing in his book on Bible Adventism:

It is true that some of the early church received the idea that Christ would come in their day. And it is evident that the Thessalonian Church this believed from the fact that the apostle in his second epistle to them corrects this error. He says, “Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come except there come a falling away first, and that Man of Sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God.” 2 Thess. 2: 1-4. From this testimony, we conclude that there were those who had taught the Thessalonians to expect the second advent in their day. But the apostle exhorts them not to be troubled with this idea, and warns them against being deceived by it. He then states that the day of Christ would not come, except there came a falling away first, and that Man of Sin (the Papacy) be revealed. He points the church of Christ down over the period of the apostasy, and the twelve hundred and sixty years of Papal supremacy, to near our time, and guards all the way with a warning against being

deceived with the idea that Christ might come during that period. And why did this warning cease there? Answer: At that point the time of the end commenced, when the prophecy of Daniel was to be unsealed, knowledge on the subject of Christ's coming was to be increased, and many run to and fro. What a wonderful harmony in the testimonies of the angel and Paul. The angel says to Daniel, "The Words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end." Paul says to his brethren, "That day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that Man of Sin be revealed." The apostle's warning reaches down to the time of the end, where the words were to be unsealed. This plainly shows that the last half century [White is referring here to the first half of the 19th Century –FB] has been the period for the subject of the second advent to be brought our, and this is the only time that the church of Christ could scripturally look for the coming of the Lord. (1970, p. 76)

From J. N. Andrews:

The prophecies which give us the time of the Judgment, and which present the succession of events down to that last great crisis, were closed up and sealed till the time of the end. We refer particularly to the prophecies of Daniel. See Dan. 8:17, 26; 12: 4. 9. Hence it is evident that God preserves the warning for that generation which alone needs it. ... the warning respecting the Judgment is alone applicable to that generation which lives in the last days.

The Bible locates these messages in the period which immediately precedes the second advent, and plainly warns us against the proclamation of the Judgment at hand prior to that time. Here we join issue with our opponents. Instead of finding that the apostles gave this proclamation, as some teach, we shall find indubitable evidence that they located it far in the future, and that they admonished the church to heed none that should precede a given time. If we recur to the book of Acts, we shall find Paul preaching before Felix of the Judgment to come; and before the Athenians, that God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ. Acts 24:25; 17:31. But that book nowhere intimates that Christ was immediately coming to judgment. Peter points his hearers to the future, saying that the heavens which had then received Christ, must retain him until the times of restitution. Acts 3:21.

The first Epistle to the Thessalonians may seem to teach that the apostles expected the coming of Christ to judgment in their day. Indeed, it is evident that such an idea was received from it by the Thessalonian church. Hence it was, that in his second epistle to them, Paul found it necessary to speak explicitly to them on the point. He tells them that the coming of Christ to the Judgment could not take place until the great apostasy; and as the result of that apostasy, that the man of sin should be revealed, showing himself that he is of God, and exalting himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped. That this mystery of iniquity is the great Romish apostasy, none but a papist will deny. Paul reminds the Thessalonians that he had told them of these things when he was yet with them. And where could Paul have learned this fact which he had thus stated to them? He was accustomed to reason from the Scriptures, and not to deal in assertion. Hence it is very evident that he refers to the prophecy of Daniel, which in its seventh chapter has given the successive events which intervened between its time and the Judgment. In this series of events it had with wonderful precision described the power to which Paul has referred as the man of sin. No Protestant will deny the identity of Daniel's little horn and Paul's man of sin. And as Daniel has brought it into a series of events which ends with the Judgment and the setting up of the everlasting kingdom, it is an easy matter for Paul to tell where in this series of events he stood, and whether the Judgment was the next event or not. The apostle, therefore, plainly tells them that that days was not at hand. For the man of sin, the little horn must arise and perform his predicted work; and when that should be accomplished, the coming of Christ should transpire, to consume "that Wicked" with its brightness.

Now, when was the little horn to arise? Daniel was told that it should arise after the ten horns upon the fourth beast; or, in other words, after the fourth empire should be divided into ten kingdoms, which was accomplished about five hundred years after Christ. The Judgment, therefore, could not come prior to that time. But how long was this little horn to have power to wear out the saints? – Daniel informs us that it should be for “a time, and times, and the dividing of time.” How long is this period? – Rev.12 shows that it is 1260 prophetic days, or years. Verses 6, 14. It follows therefore, that the apostle carries the mind forward five hundred years to the development of the man of sin, and thence 1260 years for his triumph, before the Judgment could be preached as an event immediately impending. Whoever will carefully read Dan. 7, will get the original of Paul’s argument in 2 Thess. 2, and will not fail to see the force of his statement.

The papal supremacy began in 538, and ended in 1798 with the overthrow of the pope’s temporal power. Therefore, the warning of Paul against a false proclamation respecting the Judgment at hand, expires at that time, and not before; for we will then have reached the point of time when the last important in Dan. 7, before the Judgment, has transpired. An angel from heaven, preaching the hour of God’s judgment come many years in the past, would be giving a different gospel from that preached by Paul. Those who locate the angel of Rev.14 :6, 7 in past ages, virtually place upon his head the anathema of Paul in Gal. 1:8. And, what is of very deep interest, the point of time at which Paul’s warning expires, is the commencement of the time of the end – the very point to which the visions of Daniel were closed up and sealed. Compare Dan. 11:33, 35 and 7: 25, and the fact that the 1260 years’ persecution of the saints terminates with the commencement of the time of the end, will appear obvious. How gloriously does this view of the subject make the truth of God shine out! For the warning of the apostle against a false proclamation of the Judgment at hand expires at the very point where the seal is taken from those prophecies which show when the Judgment sits. And it is respecting this period, the time of the end, that it is said, Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge (on the very subject which was before concealed) shall be increased. Then the time of the end is the period in which the Judgment-hour cry, and the subsequent messages, are to be given. Dan. 8: 17, 26; 12:4. 9.

Another important argument on this point is found in what our Lord has said relative to the signs of his second advent. The church were to understand when his coming was at hand, by the fulfillment of certain promised tokens. Until these should be seen, they were not authorized to look for the immediate advent of the Lord. But when the signs which our Lord promised began to appear, his church might then know that his coming to judge the quick and dead was at hand. It is an interesting fact, that Christ has marked the time in which these signs were to begin to appear. Consequently, the messages in question could not be delivered prior to that time. “Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.” Matt. 24 :29. “But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken.” Mark 13: 24, 25. We think there can be no mistake that in these scriptures our Lord refers to the papal tribulation of Daniel the prophet. The signs of his second coming were to commence “*in* those days,” but “*after* that tribulation.” In other words, the 1260 prophetic days would not be quite over, but their tribulation would be ended, when the sun should be darkened. The sun was darkened in 1780, and the tribulation of those days was then past, but the days did not expire till 1798. Thus we have the signs of our Lord’s immediate advent just opening upon us, as we come down to the time of the end, the period when the vision should be unsealed, and many run to and fro with the word of warning to a perishing world. (1970, pp. 16-21

And from contemporary SDA writers, we have firstly a quote from Spangler:

Q. Is this the unanimous testimony of the New Testament? (-that “the whole weight of New Testament testimony [is] that God’s ideal plan was that Jesus should have returned in the first century A.D., not long after his ascension to heaven. This is clearly taught from Matthew to Revelation” (Ford 1980,295).)

A. Although the New Testament stresses the soon return of Christ, it also cautions against being overly optimistic about an imminent return. Paul’s letter to the Thessalonians brings this point out. These believers were under the impression that the day of the Lord was imminent. To correct this erroneous impression, Paul informs them of events that had to transpire before the Second Advent could take place.... Incidentally, Ellen G. White remarks on this point as follows: “Not till after the great apostasy, and the long period of reign of the ‘man of sin,’ can we look for the advent of our Lord. This period ended in 1798. *The coming of Christ could not take place before the time*” (**The Great Controversy**, p.356, italics supplied).

Paul’s testimony shows that the whole weight of the New Testament does not indicate a first-century return of Christ. (29).

Q. Is this conclusion correct? (that “Christ’s statement ‘Truly I say to you, this generation will not pass away till all these things take place’ (Matt 24:34 R.S.V) demonstrates that “the evidence is overwhelming that Christ was saying He planned to return to that very generation He was addressing. The decisive fact is that the expression ‘this generation’ occurs fourteen times in the gospels, and always refers to Christ’s contemporaries” (Ford, 1980,297).

A. In view of the nature of Christ’s Olivet discourse, there is certainly no overwhelming evidence that Christ intended to say that He would return to the generation He was addressing. On the contrary, the immediate context of Matthew 24:34 appears to relate this text to the generation living at the time when the special cosmic signs in the sun, moon and stars were to occur [1780,1833]. (30)

Q1. Were these time prophecies capable of a first-century fulfillment? (Dan 7:25; Rev11:2;12:16;13:5)

A. It should be realized that a first-century fulfillment of these apocalyptic time prophecies is possible only if the year-day principle is not an inherent, Biblical hermeneutic. How these prophecies would have been fulfilled in such a short span of time is a field requiring considerable speculation. It may be interesting, from an academic point of view, but unfruitful as far as its practical relevance is concerned. A hypothetically possible fulfillment of these prophecies in the first century is robbed of any real significance by the fact that there was no first-century return of Christ.

There is no reason why the year-day principle should not be accepted as a Biblical principle, especially when the historical fulfillment of all the above time prophecies provides ample evidence of its validity....

It is, at times, alleged that Christ could not have come before A.D. 1844 if indeed the 2300-year-day prophecy were unconditional and thus reaches to A.D. 1844. The argument continues that, since Christ could have come before A.D.1844, the 2300-year-day prophecy must be conditional. Is it true that an unconditional 2300-year-day prophecy would have prevented Christ from returning before A.D. 1844?

God in His fore knowledge (which is not to be confused with predestination) gave the 2300-year-day prophecy of Daniel 8:14 with the intent that its only fulfillment would take place in A.D. 1844, following which the heavenly sanctuary would experience the divine cleansing activity...

In scripture, history is the unfolding of God's plan purpose, a movement of events foreknown and announced to His prophets through predictions. In classical prophecy the conditional aspect emerges, particularly with regard to God's purpose for ancient Israel predicated upon the covenant and Israel's willing obedience of covenant obligations. But in apocalyptic prophecy, there is no such conditionality. In contrast to classical prophecy, apocalyptic prophecy is universal in scope, and cosmic in nature. It is not linked to a covenant obligation. God's foreknowledge made it possible to predict in apocalyptic prophecy the rise and fall of world empires and their historical succession in a most uncanny manner. The same applies to historical details about the work and timing of the Messiah (see Dan 9:24-27) and the time period of supremacy over the saints by the anti-God little-horn power in Daniel 7:25. This foreknowledge included also the longest prophetic time period known in Scripture, the 2,300-year-day prophecy of Daniel 8:14....

If we were to speculate that Christ could have come back to earth before A.D. 1844, it would still not follow that in such an eventuality, the 2300-year-day prophecy is conditional. The reason for this is fairly simple and is stated clearly in Daniel 8:26: "the vision of the evenings and the mornings which has been told is true; but seal up the vision, for it pertains to many days hence" (R.S.V). The sealing of the vision means particularly that its time element of "true," was to be sealed in the sense that its detail of the exact time was to remain veiled until this time, which was "many days hence" (R.S.V.), or "many days in the future" (N.A.S.B). The sealing or veiling of the time element would make it possible for Christ to come at an earlier point in history, at least on a theoretical level, without in the least rendering the 2300 year-day prophecy conditional or forcing it to refer to another time than the one intended by God, i.e., 457 B.C. to A.D. 1844. On a theoretical and speculative level the sealing of the vision would make it possible for Christ to come before 1844 if this were in God's design. The fact that the vision was unsealed, as it were, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, with the time element being clearly and widely perceived for the first time, allowed for other options on the part of God without rendering the 2300 year-day prophecy conditional or making it refer to something else.

Nevertheless, it is best to move away from the round of theory and speculation to that of reality. The reality is that in God's foreknowledge that prediction of this long time period was made and that he found its only divinely designed fulfillment in the events of a A.D. 1844, when a new phase of ministry involving cleansing, restoring, setting right and vindicating began in the heavenly sanctuary. (pp.30-31)

Q. Do prophecies, including those of Daniel, have high primary fulfillment or application for the original hearers?

A. ... because of the different types of prophecy... one should be careful of demanding that all prophecy is applicable to the original audience. This caution especially applies to the apocalyptic prophecies of Daniel and Revelation that contain prophetic parallelisms, each covering the history of the prophet's time until the end of time. The relevance of this type of prophecy to the original hearers goes only as far as their historical situation is incorporated in the prophetic symbolism. For them, the unfulfilled prophetic imagery functions simply as an assurance that God controls the affairs of man and that his triumph is certain. Because a major part of the prophecies does not apply to their contemporary situation, they can obtain no certainty as to the specific fulfillment.

Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that portion of the book of Daniel was to be sealed, “for it pertains to many days hence” (12: 4, R.S.V. c.f., verse 9). Thus to insist that Daniel was to be understood by its original readership is contrary to the nature of the book itself and to its plain internal statements. This concept of the sealing of the book of Daniel was generally accepted by Christian scholarship during the Reformation and post-Reformation era. Unfortunately, after the general rejection of the advent movement in the 1840s, together with its historical approach to prophecy, the second angel's message began its proclamation, and the moral fall of Babylon became a fact, resulting in a loss of prophetic understanding among Christian scholars. The current principles of prophetic interpretation held by Christian scholarship, therefore should not be taken as normative for Adventists, because of the scholars conflict with the biblical continuous-historical view of prophecy upon which the Seventh-day Adventist Church, as a prophetic movement, is based.

It is illuminating to compare E.G. White's views on these matters. Referring to Daniel and Revelation she wrote, “these messages were given, not for those that uttered the prophecies, but for us who are living amid the scenes of their fulfillment” (Selected Messages, book 2, p. 114). “Each all of the ancient prophets spoke less for their own time than for ours, so that their prophesying is in force for us” Ibid, book 3, p. 388). In regard to Daniel's own understanding of what he was shown, she said, “His wonderful prophecies, as recorded by him in chapters 7 to 12 of the book bearing his name, were not fully understood and even by the prophet himself” (Prophets and Kings p. 547). “That part of his prophecy which related to the last days, Daniel was bidden to close up and seal ‘to the time of the end’,” “but since 1798 the book of Daniel has been unsealed (The Great Controversy, p. 356). (p. 31-32)

Q. Are we justified in seeing 2300 days in the original text of Daniel 8:14?

A. All Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament support the reading of “twenty-three hundred” in Daniel 8:14. Also among the ancients' translations there is strong support for this reading. The number 2300 is substantiated from standard procedures of textual criticism. The figure “2300” is textually unassailable.

Some scholars have attempted to reinterpret the figure 2300 in order to fit the prophetic mold known as preterism. According to this school of thought the prophecies concerning the “little horn” of Daniel 8 apply to the tirades of Antiochus Epiphanes in the second century B.C. The fact that a literal 2300-day period (more than 6 1/3 years) does not match any known historical period, whether for the time of the Maccabees or any other time when the Temple was in existence, has posed a problem to this school of interpretation. To solve this problem, some preterist scholars divide this figure in half by one of two methods:

suggesting that an evening is half a day and morning is half a day, so 2300 half-days would figure to 1150 full days;

suggesting that the reference is to the evening and morning sacrifices, so that 2300 evening and morning sacrifices figure to 1150 days. Most preterists follow the second method in order to whittle the 2300 days down to size.

Five major considerations, four of them linguistic and one of them historical, stand in the way of this interpretation.

Literally the Hebrew reads: “evening-morning, twenty three hundred.” The paired words, “evening-morning” (*ereb boqer*), have no conjunction separating them, thus indication unity of expression. On this basis alone it is impossible to divide the phrase up into 1150 evenings and 1150 mornings. Another example of paired words lacking the

conjunction and having a numerical adjective is (1 Kings 11:3: “He [Solomon] had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines.” It is interesting that in the original language this text, like Daniel 8:14, has the reversed relationship between the numerals and the paired words, reading literally, “wives-princesses seven hundred.” It should not be translated, “He had three hundred fifty wives and three hundred fifty princesses,” no more than should Daniel 8:14 read, “1150 evenings and 1150 mornings.” The lack of the conjunction in 1 Kings 11:3 indicates that it should read, “He had seven hundred princess-wives.” On the other hand, the Old Testament has many examples of paired words accompanied by a numerical expression and separated by the conjunction “and” (Joshua 8:25; Judges 9:49; 16:27; 1 Sam. 22:18,19), and in all such cases the total number consists partly of men and partly of women. For example, in Judges 16:27, the phrase “about three thousand men and women” should not be translated “three thousand men and three thousand woman,” for obvious reasons.

If Daniel wished to indicate the true meaning as being “1150 evenings and 1150 mornings,” then he would have done so in accordance with accepted Hebrew practice. Similarly, if a Biblical writer wished to make a distinction between the day and night periods, being parallel to morning and evening, he would state it as “forty days and forty nights” (Gen. 7:4, 12; Ex. 24:18; 34:28; Deut. 9:9, 11, 18, 25; 10:10; 1 Kings 19:8), “seven days and seven nights” (Job 2:13), or “three days and three nights” (1 Sam. 30:12; Jonah 1:17). In no case in the Old Testament is it stated without the dual repetition, as in the hypothetical examples of “three days and nights” or “forty days and nights.”

If Daniel 8:14 were referring to evening and morning sacrifices and not to time periods, then it should read, “Twenty-three hundred morning-evenings” (*boqer-‘ereb*), instead of the way it now reads as “evenings-mornings” (*‘ereb boqer*). Wherever these terms are applied to the sacrificing of the lamb twice each day, the word “morning” (*boqer*) precedes the word “evening” (*‘ereb*) without exception (see Ex. 29:39, 41; Num. 28:4, 8; 1 Chron. 16:40; 2 Chron. 2:4; 13:11; 31:3; Ezra 3:3). If the reference were to the morning and evening burnt offerings, then the numeral 2300 should be used in a nontemporal sense, since it is dealing with events and no time periods. Each sacrifice did not last for twelve hours; thus it is impossible to obtain 1150 full days if the primary reference were to morning and evening sacrifices. Furthermore, the morning and evening sacrifice was considered a unit and was not conceived of as two separate and independent sacrifices (see Num. 28:3,4). Thus, even if the sequence of “evening and morning” were disregarded and this phrase were a designation for the “‘continual burnt offering,’” i.e., the daily sacrifice, the figure of 2300 cannot be divided to arrive at 1150 full days. Regardless of the number of sacrifices to be offered, whether two in the daily service or more than that on festal occasions, the “‘continual burnt offering’” is always a unit. In short, the sequence of “evenings and mornings,” the unit of the double burnt offering of morning and evening sacrifice, in addition to the above considerations calls for the figure 2300 to remain undivided and for the expression “evenings and mornings” to be of temporal rather than of a cultic nature, that is, a reference to time and not to sacrifices.

The primary meaning for Daniel 8:14 is derived from Genesis 1, where it states, “And there was evening [*‘ereb*] and there was morning [*boqer*], one day.” Notice that the correct sequence of evening preceding morning in the Hebrew day is retained likewise in Daniel 8:14, as in other passages (Lev. 24:3; Ps. 55:17). To see these as Creation days is a most natural way of viewing Daniel 8:14 in view of the fact that Scripture portrays a close connection between Creation and judgment (Isa. 44:24 ff.; Rev. 14:17). One of the recognized 19th-century Hebrew scholars, C. F. Keil, has stated it in the following way: “A Hebrew reader could not possibly understand the period of time [of] 2300 evening-mornings [to be] ...2300 half days or 1150 whole days, because evening and morning at the creation constituted not the half but the whole day...We must therefore take the words as they are, i.e., understand them of 2300 whole days” (c.f. Keil, *Biblical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1949, p. 304. Cited in Gerhard Hasel, “The ‘Little Horn,’ the Saints and the Sanctuary in Daniel 8,” in *The*

Sanctuary in Scripture and History, edited by A. V. Wallenkampf, Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, forthcoming, p. 191.)

The historical argument is that no known time period fits a literal 1150-day period during the Maccabean times. To be consistent, the preterists must view the 2300 days (or 1150 days) as being literal if the sanctuary of Daniel 8:14 is literal. It is known that Antiochus IV Epiphanes' desecration of the Jewish Temple lasted exactly three years, or 1080 days (1 Maccabees 1:54,59; 4:52), figured on a calendar of a 360-day year. This falls seventy days short of the needed 1150 days. Even if a prophetic year of 365 days were used, it would still come short by 55 days. However, we have already ruled out the interpretation of Daniel 8:14 as being 1150 days according to the use of the linguistic tools. The conclusion is that there is no known historical period during Maccabean times into which 2300 literal days can fit, or into which half that number (3 years, 2 months, and 10 days) can likewise fit.

Q. Does the Hebrew term *shabu'im* (plural) in Daniel 9:24 mean "weeks of days"?

A. The word translated "weeks" in Daniel 9:24 appears 19 times in the Old Testament in both singular and plural forms. Because the word for week has been derived from the numeral seven, some have suggested that Daniel 9:24 should be translated as "Seventy sevens are decreed upon your people." However, the way in which the singular form is spelled in Daniel 9:24 indicates that this word has to be translated as "weeks," not "sevens." "The R.S.V. has incorrectly translated this as: " 'Seventy weeks if years are decreed concerning your people and your holy city,...to anoint a most holy place.'" The problem is that the two words "of years" do not appear in the original Hebrew. This simple addition of two words is a calculated attempt on the part of the translators to keep Daniel 9 in harmony with the preterist position and to prevent the usage of the year-day principle. If these are "seventy weeks of years; then it is necessary to invoke the year-day principle for converting this time period from 70 weeks into 490 years.

We first look at the evidence for translating this key passage as "weeks of years." It is pointed out that the same word for weeks appears in chapter 10:2, 3, likewise in masculine plural form. There it is stated that Daniel was in mourning for "three weeks" (verse 2) and that he ate no delicacies nor did he anoint himself with oil for "the full three weeks" (verse 3). In verse 3 the Hebrew reads literally, "nor did I anoint myself at all for three weeks of days." It is suggested by some that the reason Daniel uses the expression "weeks of days" in chapter 10 is that he wants to contrast it with the supposed expression "weeks of years" used just six verses previously in chapter 9. In other words, the weeks of chapter 10 are ordinary weeks, and those of chapter 9 are said to be weeks composed of seven-year cycles.

In response, we must first state that this innovative approach completely misreads the Hebrew expression translated "weeks of days" in 10:3. Consistently throughout the Old Testament when the phrase "of days" is added in construct relationship to a time period, it is simply indicating that these are "full" or "complete" time periods in contrast with those that are incomplete. For example, the Hebrew may read literally "years of days," but this should be translated as "full years" (see Gen. 41:1; Lev. 25:29; 2Sam. 13:23; 14:28). Or the Hebrew may read literally "a month of days," but this should be translated "a full month" (see Gen. 29:14; Num. 11:20,21; Judges 19:2; 2Kings 15:13). Likewise, when Daniel 10:3 uses the expression "weeks of days" this indicates nothing more than that these are "full weeks," a fact that is correctly recognized by the R.S.V. Thus Daniel 9:24 should not read, "70 weeks of years," but simply "70 weeks."

It should also be noted that the Septuagint translation gives full, unambiguous support for the translation of 9:24 as "seventy weeks," not "seventy sevens" or "seventy weeks of years." It uses the Greek word *hebdomades*, which always represents the meaning of

“week,” when it could have used the word *hepta*, which means “seven.” It is interesting that Deuteronomy 16:9 in the Septuagint uses words, *hepta hebdomades*, in connection with the feast of weeks, which was to be figured on the basis of “seven weeks” from the waving of the first fruits. This should not be translated as “seven sevens”; neither should Daniel 9:24 be translated as “seventy sevens,” especially in view of the fact that the same Hebrew word appears in both passages. Thus no valid reason remains for asserting that the “seventy weeks” of Daniel 9:24 cannot be translated as “seventy weeks.”

Q. Can the validity of the year-day principle be demonstrated, and does it apply to Daniel 8:14 and 9:24?

A. One of the most valuable keys to the historicist interpretation of the apocalyptic books, Daniel and Revelation, is the “year-day principle.” It is rightly called a principle because without its use the historicist interpretation of prophecy would not be possible. It is also a key to the understanding of the birth and growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. N. F. Doubt, in his book *Another Look at Seventh-day Adventism* (Grand Rapids, 1962, p. 95), aptly observes: “Yet Seventh-day Adventism, which claims to be divinely called to this work of completion, has this very theory as its bed-rock foundation, so that to discard it would be to destroy itself.” The reason why scholars holding to the preterist position are so intent in destroying the year-day principle is that it will eventually destroy preterism itself. In Daniel it is incompatible with the preterist view of the 1260 days of 7:25 and 12:7 as being literal days, and the preterist cannot possibly contain this time prophecy within the confines of the second century B.C. if the days are symbolic of longer periods of time.

The reasons for calculating prophetic days into literal years are scripturally sound and can be listed as follows:

The days of Daniel and Revelation must be interpreted as symbolical of prophetic time, not literally. One criterion for apocalyptic prophecy is that the imagery is highly symbolic. Beasts represent kingdoms, and horns powers. Winds represent strife, and oceans people. In keeping with the symbolic nature of the imagery, one would expect to find that the numerals in these prophecies are to be viewed symbolically, indicating prophetic time, not literally. It would be inconsistent to interpret some numbers literally and some symbolically. For example, some of the dimensions for the Holy City are more naturally interpreted as symbolic rather than literal. Consistency demands that the 1260 days, as well as all other time periods accompanied by specific numerals in Daniel and Revelation, be interpreted symbolically.

The year-day principle is a divinely chosen principle. It cannot trace its origin back to any type of human devising designed to solve the dilemma of the delay of the parousia (Greek, “advent”) or the problem of unfulfilled prophecy. According to the two principal texts for explicating the year-day method of interpretation, Numbers 14:34 and Ezekiel 4:6, God is the initiator of the idea that a day is representative of a year and a year is representative of a day. It is God, not man, who is the speaker in both passages. Notice how it is stated in Ezekiel 4:6 “I have appointed thee each day for a year” (K.J.V.).

The year-day principle is taught in apocalyptic prophecy. The main apocalyptic books in Scripture, Daniel and Revelation, contain the year-day principle.

The year-day principle is inherent to the thought and text of Daniel 8. The exegetical clue to this is found in the question. “‘For how long is the vision concerning the continual burnt offering, the transgression that makes desolate, and the giving over of the sanctuary and host to be trampled under foot?’” (verse 13). First we note that in the Hebrew the question reads literally “until when.....” Which is the more accurate meaning of the expression “for how long...” Second, we must focus on the significance

of the word “vision.” This word appears six different times in the latter verses of Daniel 8 (according to K.J.V. or R.S.V.), and in all six cases it refers to the entire content of the vision described in verses 1-14, and not to the 2300 days in isolation. Included in the vision are the periods of domination of first the ram and second the he-goat, as well as that which follows.

Each successive vision in Daniel expands the meaning of a previous vision or dream. The silver breast and arms of the image (2:32, 39) are identified with the bear (7:5) and the two-horned ram (8:3,4), all of which refer to Medo-Persia and are identified as such by Gabriel (8:20). The bronze thighs (2:32, 39) are parallel to the leopard (7:6) and the he-goat (8:5-8), the goat being interpreted as Greece (8:21). If the period of the 2300 days includes the time for the rise and fall of the Medo-Persian and Greek empires, then it would be impossible for the days to be interpreted as literal days. The two empires lasted many times longer than the approximately six and one-third years of the 2300 days (if Dan. 8:14 is viewed as literal time). The internal evidence in chapter 8 strongly suggests that symbolic time is being used and that the year-day principle is at work.

The year-day principle is found in the relationship between Daniel 8:14 and 9:24 as nonapplicable to year-day equation simply because the Hebrew word for “day” (yom) does not appear in either. It is like saying that if an item in the store is marked as costing 50 cents, then one cannot purchase it for half a dollar, or if it is marked as half a dollar, then one cannot use 50 pennies in purchasing it. The concept of “days” is implicit in both Daniel 8:14 and 9:24, and the finest scholarship stands firm for this position (see the answers to the previous two questions). Even if one were to deny that the concept of “days” is inherent to both these texts, one is still faced with the fact that the Hebrew word yom is connected with two other lengthy time periods, the 1290 days and the 1335 days (Daniel 12:11, 12), and is properly translated there as “days.”

The year-day principle is also found in the relationship between Daniel 8 and 11. The 2300 days of Daniel 8 is described in terms of days (literally “evenings-mornings”; cf. Genesis 1:5) while Daniel 11 describes the same period of time in terms of years. Scholars have long recognized that Daniel 11 is an expansion of Daniel 8, just as Daniel 8 is a continuation of Daniel 7, and chapter 7 is a fuller description of chapter 2. (See Desmond Ford, *Daniel*, Southern Publishing Association, 1978, pp. 255, 236, for noting the striking relationship between Daniel 8 and 11.) The only time period in the Daniel 8 vision is the 2300 days (verse 14), and the only time reference in chapter 11 is that of years (verses 6,8,13). Although Daniel 8 and 11 parallel each other, there are some basic distinctions. One is that Daniel 8 records an apocalyptic vision seen by Daniel, which ends with verse 14, according to the remark in verse 15, and is followed by the interpretation given by Gabriel in verses 16 to 26. On the other hand, Daniel 11 does not record an apocalyptic vision, but rather an interpretation by the angel visitor (probably Gabriel) of a previous vision (10:13, 14). Chapter 11 then is in narrative form, and its language should be viewed more literally than symbolically, while chapter 8 should be seen as more symbolical than literal. The terms “mighty king” (11:3), “the daughter of the king of the south” (11:4), “Egypt” (11:8), “molten images” (11:8), “great army” (11:13), “exacter of tribute” (11:20), are generally interpreted literally. Daniel 11 has no reference to “days,” “weeks,” or “months,” thus the three references to “years” in that chapter must be seen as the only parallel to the 2300 days of chapter 8. Gabriel does not interpret the meaning of the 2300 days, but he designates the whole vision as pertaining to “the appointed time of the end” and to a period “many days hence” (8:19, 26). We would expect more, then, to be said specifically about this specific time period later in the book. And it is so. The angel visitor introduces his interpretation found in chapter 11 in the following words: “‘I...came to make you understand what is to befall your people in the latter days’” (10:13, 14). This is a repeat of Gabriel’s words in Daniel 8:17: “‘Understand, O son of man, that the vision is for the time of the end.’” In both cases the interpreter’s mission was divinely ordained (8:16; 10:11); thus we would expect that his interpretation likewise has a divine origin. The interpretation is simply this: the 2300

prophetic days of chapter 8 must cover the same period as that designated by the phrase “some years” in chapter 11, and this is possible only if one day in chapter 8 equals one year in chapter 11. Since the narrative of chapter 11 is best interpreted as primarily literal, then the years described in that chapter are literal years. Here we come across the remarkable discovery that the year-day principle can be unveiled as Daniel 8 and Daniel 11 are wedded together! “ ‘What therefore God has joined together, let no man put asunder.’ ”

One passage in Revelation implies a year-day relationship, and that is revelation 11, which deals with the fate of the “two witnesses.” The two witnesses “ ‘prophecy for one thousand two hundred and sixty days, clothed in sackcloth’ ” (verse 3), and at the same time the holy city is trampled for “forty-two months” (verse 2). Then the two witnesses are slain and their bodies lie as carcasses unburied “for three days and a half” (verse 9). The relationship between the 31/2 years and the 31/2 days appears to be more than coincidental. Here we have an exact year-day ratio. If the 31/2 days are interpreted figuratively as being years, or the 42 months, of the previous verses should be viewed figuratively as 1260 years. The only way this passage can be interpreted harmoniously is through the use of the year-day principle.

The year-day principle is upheld in the prophetic portions of the Old Testament.

Numbers 14:34 is self-explanatory in showing the direct relationship between the 40 days of spying out the land of Canaan and the 40 years of wandering in the Sinai Peninsula: “According to the number of days in which you spied out the land, forty days, for every day a year, you shall bear your iniquity, forty years, and you shall know my displeasure. I, the Lord, have spoken” (verses 34, 35). Some have argued that this passage is not a prophecy and should not be applied to prophetic time periods. The fact is that the punitive declaration was made in advance of the 40 year’s wandering, and so it qualifies as a prophecy.

Ezekiel 4:4 ff. is a parabolic prophecy in the same vein of thought as the parabolic prophecy of the siegeworks in chapter 4:1-5 and that of the cut hair in chapter 5:1-12. Generally chapter 4:6 is quoted on support of the year-day principle, but verses 4 and 5 should be added as well. Ezekiel was commanded by God to lie on his left side 390 days for the 390 years Israel was standing in opposition to God, and to lie on his right side 40 days for the violation of God’s law by Judah. Here we have Numbers 14 in reverse. The punishment in Numbers 14:34 was to be one year for each day of unbelief and rebellion, while in Ezekiel the punishment was to be just one day for each year of transgression and rebellion. Ezekiel, then, has the day-for-a-year principle, while Numbers has the year-for-a-day principle. This does not invalidate the principle, because the ratio holds true no matter which way the equation is used. In spite of the difference in reckoning the punishment, there is a close relationship between Numbers and Ezekiel. In Ezekiel 4 the prophet steps into the role of high priest (Ezekiel was born into the priestly family, although not that of the high priesthood, according to 1:3) as he vicariously bears the weight of 430 years of rebellion and obstinacy, and in Numbers 14 Moses takes on the role of high priest instead of Aaron, his brother, as he intercedes for the future of Israel and as he shields them from possibly instant destruction (Numbers 14:10 ff.). The 430 years is broken into two parts, the 390 years for the sins of Israel and the 40 years for the sins of Judah. The 390 years best fits the time span for the divided monarchy, which began in 931/930 B.C. according to the most reliable chronology. However, the seeds for the division were sown when Solomon took the throne and began exacting heavy taxes. According to the latest Biblical chronology this occurred about 975/974 B.C. when David his father granted him a co-regency (or share in his throne) that was to last four years. The 390 years, then, using inclusive reckoning, brings us down to 586 B.C., the archeologically confirmed date for the destruction of Jerusalem. The term “Judah” would refer to Judah under the united monarchy. It would apply to the 40-year reign of David,

who was of the tribe of Judah, and thus a descendent of Judah (Gen. 46:12; Ruth 4:18-22). The 40 years cannot apply to Saul's reign, even though it most likely was of the same duration as David's, because Saul set up his capital in Gibeah of Benjamin, and not in the territory of Judah.. It fits precisely into the 40-year reign of David, whose capital was first at Hebron (2 Sam. 2:1-4) and later at Jerusalem (1 Kings 2:11), both of which lay in the territory of Judah (Joshua 15:13, 63). Some scholars have attempted to make the 40 years and 390 years as being contemporaneous rather than successive, but Ezekiel's 40-day and 390-day ordeals could not have been overlapping, otherwise he would have been lying on both sides at the same time! The total period of 430 days for his ordeal fits nicely within the time period from his first receiving the command to the day he received another vision (Ezekiel 1:2; cf. 8:1). This 430-day ordeal is somewhat reminiscent of the 430 years Israel spent in Egypt (Ex. 12:40). In the former case the prophet is an exile in a foreign land, eating a very meagre fare, while in the latter case God's people were exiles in a foreign land, living under oppressive conditions. Ezekiel is giving multidirectional prophecy: first, he looks backward to the 430 years of transgression from the time that Jerusalem was chosen as Israel's capital to the time that the glorious city was destroyed; and third, he is looking forward with a prophetic eye to the immense suffering the Jerusalemites would undergo in the final days of the siege of the city (Ezekiel 4:1-3, 9-11). Indeed this is a prophecy, and it does employ the year-for-a-day equation!

The 70-year prophecy of Jeremiah (25:11, 12; 29:10) possibly has a year-day basis for its calculation. Unfortunately, the basis or rationale for the 70 years is not found in Jeremiah, and we find only a hint for its basis in 2 Chronicles 36:21. Here Nebuchadnezzar is pictured as taking the surviving inhabitants of Jerusalem captive in order "to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had enjoyed its Sabbaths." The implication is that the Sabbaths had not been properly observed and honored. If this is so, would not the Lord punish Israel on a year-day basis here as He did nearly a thousand years earlier in the wilderness? Is not there a parallel between Israel spending 40 years as homeless wanderers in the Sinai desert and Israel spending 70 years as homeless exiles in the Babylonian wilderness?

The year-day principle is upheld in the narrative portions of the Old Testament as well.

Leviticus 25:8 uses the expression "seven Sabbaths of years" according to the Hebrew, and translated as "seven weeks of years" according to the R.S.V. in speaking of the jubilee year. Here terminology for a one-week or seven-day period. This is the day-for-a-year method of reckoning.

Genesis 29:27 indicates that Jacob's period of service to Laban in return for his coveted bride Rachel must have been computed on the year-day principle. Quoting the words of Laban, this verse reads: " 'Complete the week of this one, and we will give the other also in return for serving me another seven years.' "

The unique terminology used in the chronological expressions of Daniel and Revelation indicates the time periods are not literal. Never does Scripture describe a time of days other than in Daniel and Revelation, yet the numerical expressions in these books, such as "1260 days," "1290 days," and "1335 days" far exceed the one-year period. In fact, the longest time period elsewhere with the word "days" is 180 days (Esther 1:4), and only two other passages have a time period longer than 40 days (Gen. 7:24; 8:3 Neh. 6:15). Never is a period longer than one year expressed in terms of months outside the 42 months of Revelation 11:2 and 13:5, and only two passages in all of Scripture use the phrase "twelve months" (Esther 2:12 and Dan. 4:29). The normal expression for 42 months is "three years and six months" (Luke 4:25, James 5:17). Never does Scripture describe a period longer than 7 weeks in terms of weeks other than the 70 weeks of Daniel 9:24. All of these prophetic time periods are anomalous unless they are viewed

as symbolic of longer time periods. The uniqueness of the expressions 2300 days and 70 weeks suggests eloquently that they cannot refer to literal days.

The pragmatic test is the final arbiter in determining whether the time periods are literal or symbolic.

Neither the 1260 days nor the 2300 days fits within the known chronological framework for the Maccabean era, and the abomination of desolation cannot have occurred over 70-week period. The 70 weeks fits precisely as 490 years from 457 B.C. to A.D. 34, the 31/3 times as 1260 years from A.D. 533/538 to 1793/1798, so why cannot the 2300 days fit the period from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1844? The sixth trumpet can be linked from the fall of Constantinople in A.D. 1453 to 1844, so here is another pragmatic confirmation of the validity of the date 1844 and the workability of the year-day principle. If one is to choose between a clock that keeps accurate time and one that is rusted on the inside and does not work, then reason alone will persuade which one offers the most value. So with the prophetic clocks. Yet, we need not rely upon reason alone, because the prophetic method that exalts Christ the most and instills the most complete faith in Him is viewed by the eye of faith as the most reliable one. Preterism cast doubt upon Christ because, according to its myopic viewpoint, the Saviour is not supposed to see beyond the first century, and the delay of the Advent has caught Him, as well as His followers, by surprise. Futurism casts doubt upon Christ because His revelation leaves a huge vacuum between the first century and the last century of the human race, leaving the post-first-century and pre-twentieth-century believers in the dark prophetically, if not spiritually. Only historicism, which holds the copyright on the year-day principle, can truly unfold Christ as the Alpha and Omega of Revelation 1:8. Preterism states that Christ is only the Alpha, and futurism sees Him only as the Omega. Historicism alone views Him as both Alpha and Omega, and this is made possible through the insights gained from the year-day method of interpretation.

Q. Do prophecies, including those of Daniel, have a primary fulfillment or application for the original hearers?

A. A close relationship between Daniel 8 and the Jewish persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes (as claimed as above is incorrect and cannot be established on the basis of sound exegesis and historical data. Thus it is an invalid support for the idea that prophecy is primarily relevant to the original readership. Even if the Antiochus Epiphanes episode were intended by the prophecy, the argument (that the prophecy must be applicable primarily to the original hearers) would still fail because the original recipients of the prophecy had already passed from the scene about four centuries before the prophecy's "fulfillment" by Antiochus Epiphanes. Dr. Ford confirms this four-century gap by noting that, in spite of his application of the little horn to Antiochus Epiphanes, "this is not to deny a sixth century authorship for Daniel" (391).

Because of the different types of prophecy (see above under number 1), one should be careful of demanding that all prophecy is applicable to the original audience. This caution especially applies to the apocalyptic prophecies of Daniel and Revelation that contain prophetic parallelisms, each covering the history of the prophet's time until the end of time. The relevance of the type of prophecy to the original hearers goes only as far as their historical situation is incorporated in the prophetic symbolism. For them, the unfulfilled prophetic imagery functions simply as an assurance that God controls the affairs of man and that His triumph is certain. Because a major part of the prophecies does not apply to their contemporary situation, they can obtain no certainty as to the specific fulfillment.

Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that a portion of the book of Daniel was to be sealed, " ' for it pertains to many days hence'" (Dan. 8:26, R.S.V.). " ' Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, until the time of the end'" (12:4 R.S.V.; cf. verse 9). Thus to

insist that Daniel was to be understood by its original readership is contrary to the nature of the book itself and to its plain internal statements. This concept of the sealing of the book of Daniel was generally accepted by Christian scholarship during the Reformation and post-Reformation era. Unfortunately, after the general rejection of the second advent movement in the 1840's together with its historical approach to prophecy, the second angel's message began its proclamation, and the moral fall of Babylon became a fact, resulting in a loss of prophetic understanding among Christian scholars. The current principles of prophetic interpretation held by Christian scholarship, therefore, should not be taken as normative for Adventists, because of the scholars' conflict with the Biblical continuous-historical view of prophecy upon which the Seventh-day Adventist Church, as a prophetic movement, is based.

It is illuminating to compare E.G. White's views on these matters. Referring to Daniel and Revelation, she wrote, "These messages were given, not for those that uttered the prophecies, but for us who are living amid the scenes of their fulfillment" (*Selected messages*, book 2, p. 114). "Each of the ancient prophets spoke less for their own time than for ours, so that their prophesying is in force for us" (*ibid.*, book 3, p. 338). In regard to Daniel's own understanding of what he was shown, she said, "His wonderful prophecies, as recorded by him in chapters 7 to 12 of the book bearing his name, were not fully understood even by the prophet himself" (*Prophets and Kings*, p. 547). "That part of his prophecy which related to the last days, Daniel was bidden to close up and seal 'to the time of the end'" "but since 1798 the book of Daniel has been unsealed" (*The Great Controversy*, p. 356).

D.3. 2300 days could only be fulfilled after 1798.

In the SDA view only when the 1260 years of prophecy was completed in 1798 AD could there be a message given to the world based on the fulfilment of the time prophecies of Daniel. "Not till we reach this time could a message concerning the judgment be proclaimed, based on a fulfilment of these prophecies." (White, 1950, p. 356)

A similar argument from Ford using a different time prophecy draws the same conclusion:

This verse [Dn12:4], coupled with 8: 14-19, makes it clear that "the time of the end" begins with the unsealing of the closed portions of Daniel. When the prophecy of the 2300 years was illuminated by the Spirit of God in the 1840's, then it could be said that the seal was being removed from the book, and with the end of that period (1844) the time of the end commenced (cf. Rev 10:6 with 14:6,7). (1978, p. 281)

And since those time periods have been fulfilled, history has providentially witnessed a proclamation of a divine message to the world in the form of the 1840s Advent movement. Thus, the movement that proclaims that message is heaven-ordained. In the words of Schuler,

"These ... features distinguish this true message for the last days from every other religious movement. The mission of Seventh-day Adventists is to proclaim this message to all the world. In the light of this prophecy, of Revelation 14:6-14, it is absolutely certain that in giving to men this message, as outlined above, Seventh-day Adventists are giving the *right message at the right time. It is the very truth of God for our day.* [Italics his] (1923, p.94)

And again from Schuler:

...this 1844 movement bore the credentials of Heaven in that it fulfilled divine prophecy and was marked by the mighty movings of the Spirit of God.” (1923, p.87)

From Nichol:

And historically it was not until “the time of the end” had actually been entered, in the early 19th century, that there occurred the simultaneous breaking forth of numerous expositions of the longest time prophecy, that of the 2300 days, The preparatory steps however, covered centuries.(1976, p.40)

D.4. Conditionality is not a characteristic of apocalyptic prophecy.

Apocalyptic prophecy is history in advance.

James White says of Daniel’s prophecies:

Prophecy is history in advance. To the prophets themselves, their own prophecies could afford but little light, the prophetic scenery spread out before them being the history of the future. (1970, p.71)

Spangler says

The reality is that in God's foreknowledge that the prediction of this long time period was made and that he found its only divinely designed fulfillment in the events of A.D. 1844, when a new phase of ministry involving cleansing, restoring, setting right and vindicating began in the heavenly sanctuary. (1980, pp.30-31)

Thus prophecy is given from the foreknowledge of God, unfolding the flow of historical events as they would occur, not as they could have occurred. One of those events seen in the foreknowledge was the Millerite revival of 1844, announcing the new phase of ministry of Christ in heaven!! One would have to also conclude that the predictions of the experience of the Advent movement, as SDA historicists show us is evident in Revelation 10, also endorse this unconditionalistic view of apocalyptic prophecy. That this could refer to anything else is incorrect, according to their view. God, in his foreknowledge, predicted this movement in Revelation 10, and then again in Revelation 14. The world had to continue until 1844 AD at least.

E. The Circular Argument

The circular argument flows as follows: “Our explanation of the prophecy in Daniel predicts certain historical events to occur. These events have occurred. Therefore, our explanation of prophecy is correct.” The circular part of this argument uses the assumption that the 1260 days must be years and that the end of the time period occurred around the nineteenth century. This assumption then looks for events to suit the event.

There are no controls for independent validation of their interpretation of the historical facts that have trawled from historical records to confirm their arguments.

They have merely selected certain to suit the argument, without considering the other incidents that oppose such a position.

For instance, I examined earlier in this paper the forcible removal of the papacy to Avignon in the fourteenth century as the fulfillment of the wounding of the beast of Revelation 13. The event in 1798 quoted by SDA historicists is only a later re-enactment of the earlier more significant event. There is no justifiable reason to say 1309 is not the beginning of the end for the papacy. With the fall of the other empires, we date the ascendancy of the conquerors rule from the time that they *first* conquer the previous empire, not from any later conquest. On the same analogy, we should use the *first* time the pope is removed from the seat of his power as the significant event of the waning of his power, not a re-enactment of the same event centuries later. The only objection by SDA historicists against taking this position is that it does not fit the 1260 days. What this should show the SDA historicist is that their use of the time periods is incorrect and that they should accept the evidence of history, rather than do what other misleading cultures have done and twisted the interpretation of history to square with matters they want to endorse, rather than letting history say its own story.

The papacy was in its zenith of power for only about 250 years. So the other 1000 years are development toward or away from this period. The text says that the little horn would exercise the power for 3 ½ times. What was this power? Notice the text again:

21 I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them

22 Until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.

23 Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from any kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.

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

25 And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

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

The powers of the little horn include:

- make war with the saints and prevail against them;
- devour the whole earth and tread it down and break it in pieces;
- shall subdue three kings;
- speak great words against the Most High;
- wear out the saints of the Most High (cf., Dn12: 7);
- think to change times and laws;
- continue until the Ancient of days comes, who gives judgment in favour of the saints and gives them the kingdom (cf., Dn12: 1-3 same point restated);

Smith says:

. But evidently, the prophecy of verses 24, 25, refers, not to his civil power, but to his power to domineer over the minds and consciences of men. The papacy reached this position, A.D. 538, as will hereafter appear. (Smith, 1944, p. 122)

What is problematic is that it is not the “propensity” to dominate over the minds and consciences of men that is significant, but the actual domination over men that is involved here. If we were to consider the “propensity” of the papacy to dominate over the minds and consciences of men, then one must conclude that nothing has changed since the beginning of the papacy. She still teaches and believes the same concepts about herself and the powers of the pope. Nothing has changed. 1798 did not change her position as regarding the papal claims. There is no declaration of the papacy to renounce the statements of earlier popes in regard to their claims and powers on earth. Their position is still the same as the times of its ascendancy in medieval times. Therefore, if we argue that the dating for the papacy begins when the laws of Justinian gave the papacy the possibility of assuming power, not necessarily the actual exercise of those powers, then we must look for the same reversal of those laws and powers to signal the dissipation of the papal power. That cannot be established. It has never occurred. They are still in place. Therefore, the SDA historicist’s argument concerning the end of the papal power in 1798 is invalid.

If we then look to the “actual” execution of the papal control over the minds and consciences of men, then SDA historicists can at most only find a few centuries in the Middle Ages where this could have occurred. “The papacy was at the height of its power from the time of Gregory VII (1073-85) to that of Boniface VIII (1294-1303).” (Nichol, 1976, p.837) And this hardly fits their time frame. But the text of Dn7 indicates that it would exercise its power for 3½ times. This does not refer to the development “towards” this power, or its waning after its power.

If we take propensity of the papacy to control the minds and consciences of humankind, then the powers of Dn7 are *still* being exercised by the pope since the papacy has never retracted its claims to its own powers. Therefore, this will not fit the 1260 years since the papal claims are still a part of its mission statement. If we take actual exercise of its powers, then we can only ever look to the 250 years in the 11th to 14th century, and that doesn’t fit the 1260 year period either. Therefore, whichever way the criteria in Dn7 is considered, it does not fit with the SDA explanation of the texts.

And how much territory do you include in the historical assessment? Only European countries? What about the areas of Catholicism still under the power of the papacy? Why are they excluded? Is it only European history that comes within the scope of the prophecy? What about the SDA reference to USA in Revelation 13? If it is possible to move out of Europe for an explanation of this prophecy, then it is also possible to study the position of the papacy in the wider world?

Therefore to say that the papacy had this power is a dubious argument. This principle should be applied towards say the Sunday law prophecy. And count the last 200 years as preparation for the mark of the beast and the previous 1700 years before it back to the 4th century. Etc. Use other precise prophecies to show the fallacy of this argument.

When did the Pope have temporal powers?

Notice the following article from the Catholic Encyclopedia on the [States of the Church](#). This is the Catholic Church's own definition of its time of temporal control. It will be observed that the Catholic Church itself dates its temporal powers from the Donation of Pepin up to the by the newly formed Italian Government:

States of the Church (Ital. *Lo Stato della Chiesa*)

Consists of the civil territory which for over 1000 years (754-1870) acknowledged the pope as temporal ruler. The expression "Patrimonium Sancti Petri" originally designated the landed possessions and revenues of various kinds that belonged to the Church of St. Peter at Rome. Until the middle of the eighth century this consisted wholly of private property, but the term was later applied to the States of the Church, and more particularly to the Duchy of Rome. Our subject may thus be conveniently treated under the following heads: I. Patrimony of St. Peter (tracing the origin of the States of the Church to the time of Charlemagne); II. History of the States of the Church.

I. PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER

(1) Patrimonial Possessions of the Church of Rome

The law of Constantine the Great (321), by which the Christian Church was declared qualified to hold and transmit property, first gave a legal basis to the possessions of the Church of Rome. Subsequently the possessions were rapidly augmented by donations. Constantine himself set the example, the Lateran Palace being most probably presented by him. Constantine's gifts formed the historical nucleus, which the Sylvester Legend later surrounded with that network of myth, that gave rise to the forged document known as the "Donation of Constantine". The example of Constantine was followed by wealthy families of the Roman nobility, whose memory frequently survived, after the families themselves had become extinct, in the names of the properties which they had once presented to the Roman See.

The donation of large estates ceased about 600. The Byzantine emperors subsequently were less liberal in their gifts; the wars with the Lombards likewise had an unfavourable effect, and there remained few families in a position to bequeath large estates. Apart from a number of scattered possessions in the Orient, Dalmatia, Gaul, and Africa, the patrimonies were naturally for the most part situated in Italy and on the adjacent islands. The most valuable and most extensive possessions were those in Sicily, about Syracuse and Palermo. The revenues from the properties in Sicily and Lower Italy in the eighth century, when Leo the Isaurian confiscated them, were estimated at three and one-half talents of gold. But the patrimonies in the vicinity of Rome were the most numerous and, after most of the remote patrimonies had been lost in the eighth century, were managed with especial care. Of other patrimonies may be mentioned the Neapolitan with the Island of Capri, that of Gaeta, the Tuscan, the *Patrimonium Tiburtinum* in the vicinity of Tivoli, estates about Otranto, Osimo, Ancona, Umana, estates near Ravenna and Genoa, and lastly properties in Istria, Sardinia, and Corsica.

With these landed possessions, scattered and varied as they were, the pope was the largest landowner in Italy. For this reason every ruler of Italy was compelled of necessity to reckon with him first of all; on the other hand he was also the first to feel the political and economical disturbances that distressed the country. A good insight into the problems that required the attention of the pope in the administration of his patrimonies can be obtained from the letters of Gregory the Great (Mon. Germ. Epist., I). The revenues from the patrimonies were employed, not only for administrative purposes, for the

maintenance and construction of church edifices, for the equipment of convents, for the household of the pope, and the support of the clergy, but also to a great extent to relieve public and private want. Numerous poorhouses, hospitals, orphanages, and hospices for pilgrims were maintained out of the revenues of the patrimonies, many individuals were supported directly or indirectly, and slaves were ransomed from the possession of Jews and heathens. But, above all, the popes relieved the emperors of the responsibility of providing Rome with food, and later also assumed the task of warding off the Lombards, an undertaking generally involving financial obligations. The pope thus became the champion of all the oppressed, the political champion of all those who were unwilling to submit to foreign domination, who were unwilling to become Lombards or yet wholly Byzantines, preferring to remain Romans.

(2) Political Position of the Papacy

This political aspect of the papacy became in time very prominent, inasmuch as Rome, after the removal of the imperial residence to the East, was no longer the seat of any of the higher political officials. Even after the partition of the empire, the Western emperors preferred to make the better-protected Ravenna their residence. Here was the centre of Odoacer's power and of the Ostrogothic rule; here also, after the fall of the Ostrogoths, the viceroy of the Byzantine emperor in Italy, the exarch, resided. In Rome on the other hand, the pope appears with ever-increasing frequency as the advocate of the needy population; thus Leo I intercedes with Attila and Geiserich, and Gelasius with Theodoric. Cassiodorus as *praefectus praetorio* under the Ostrogothic supremacy actually entrusted the care of the temporal affairs to Pope John II. When Emperor Justinian issued the Pragmatic Sanction (554), the pope together with the Senate was entrusted with the control of weights and measures. Thenceforth for two centuries the popes were most loyal supporters of the Byzantine Government against the encroachments of the Lombards, and were all the more indispensable, because after 603 the Senate disappeared. They, too, were the only court of judicature at which the Roman population, exposed as it was to the extortion of the Byzantine functionaries and officers, could find protection and defence. No wonder then that at scarcely any other time was the papacy so popular in Central Italy, and there was no cause which the native population, who had again begun to organise themselves into bodies of militia, espoused with greater zeal than the freedom and independence of the Roman See. And naturally so, for they took part in the election of the pope as a separate electoral body.

When the Byzantine emperors, infected with *cæsaro-papist* tendencies, attempted to crush the papacy also, they found in the Roman militia an opposition against which they were able to accomplish nothing. The particularism of Italy awoke and concentrated itself about the pope. When Emperor Justinian II in 692 attempted to have Pope Sergius II (as formerly the unfortunate Martin I) forcibly conveyed to Constantinople to extract from him his assent to the canons of the Trullan Council, convoked by the emperor, the militia of Ravenna and of the Duchy of Pentapolis lying immediately to the south assembled, marched into Rome, and compelled the departure of the emperor's plenipotentiary. Such occurrences were repeated and acquired significance as indicating the popular feeling. When Pope Constantine, the last pope to go to Constantinople (710), rejected the confession of faith of the new emperor, Bardanas, the Romans protested, and refused to acknowledge the emperor or the *dux* (military ruler) sent by him. Not until news was brought that the heretical emperor had been replaced by one of the true Faith was the *dux* allowed to assume his office. That was in 713. Two years later the papal chair, which had last been occupied by seven Oriental popes, was filled by a Roman, Gregory II, who was destined to oppose Leo III the Isaurian in the Iconoclastic conflict. The time was ripening for Rome to abandon the East, turn toward the West, and enter into that alliance with the Germano-Romanic nations, on which is based our Western civilization, of which one consequence was the formation of the States of the Church. It would have been easy for the popes to throw off the Byzantine yoke in Central Italy as early as the time of Iconoclasm. If they resisted the impulse, it was because they correctly recognized that

such an attempt would have been premature. They foresaw that the end of the Byzantine supremacy and the beginning of the Lombard power would have been encompassed at the same time. It was necessary first to establish the fact that the Byzantines could no longer protect the pope and the Romans against the Lombards, and then to find a power that could protect them. Both of these conditions were fulfilled in the middle of the eighth century.

(3) Collapse of the Byzantine Power in Central Italy

The strange shape which the States of the Church were destined to assume from the beginning is explained by the fact that these were the districts in which the population of Central Italy had defended itself to the very last against the Lombards. The two chief districts were the country about Ravenna, the exarchate, where the exarch was the centre of the opposition, and the Duchy of Rome, which embraced the lands of Roman Tuscany north of the Tiber and to the south the Campagna as far as the Garigliano, where the pope himself was the soul of the opposition. Furthermore, the greatest pains were taken, as long as it was at all possible, to retain control of the intervening districts and with them communication over the Apennines. Hence the strategic importance of the Duchy of the Pentapolis (Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, Ancona) and Perugia. If this strategic connexion were broken, it was evident that Rome and Ravenna could not singly maintain themselves for any length of time. This was recognized by the Lombards also. The same narrow strip of land in fact broke the connexion between their Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento and the main portion of the king's territories in the north, and it was against this therefore that, from the second decade of the eighth century, they aimed their attacks with ever-increasing energy. In the beginning the popes were able repeatedly to wrest from their hands all that they had gained. In 728 the Lombard king Liutprand took the Castle of Sutri, which dominated the highway at Nepi on the road to Perugia. But Liutprand, softened by the entreaties of Pope Gregory II, restored Sutri "as a gift to the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul". This expression of the "*Liber pontificalis*" was erroneously interpreted to mean that in this gift the beginning of the States of the Church was to be recognized. This is incorrect inasmuch as the popes continued to acknowledge the imperial Government, and Greek officials appear in Rome for some time longer. True it is, however, that here for the first time we meet the association of ideas on which the States of the Church were to be constructed. The pope asked the Lombards for the return of Sutri for the sake of the Princes of the Apostles and threatened punishment by these sainted protectors. The pious Liutprand was undoubtedly susceptible to such pleas, but never to any consideration for the Greeks. For this reason he gave Sutri to Peter and Paul, that he might not expose himself to their punishment. What the pope then did with it would be immaterial to him.

The belief that the Roman territory (at first in the more restricted, but afterwards also in the wider sense) was defended by the Princes of the Apostles became more and more prevalent. In 738 the Lombard duke Transamund of Spoleto captured the Castle of Gallese, which protected the road to Perugia to the north of Nepi. By the payment of a large sum of money Gregory III induced the duke to restore the castle to him. The pope then sought by an alliance with Duke Transamund to protect himself against Liutprand. But Liutprand conquered Spoleto, besieged Rome, laid waste the Duchy of Rome, and seized four important frontier fortresses (Blera, Orte, Bomarzo, and Amelia), thereby cutting off the communication with Perugia and Ravenna. In this exigency the pope now (739) for the first time turned to the powerful Frankish kingdom, under the protection of which Boniface had begun his successful labours as a missionary in Germany. He sent to Charles Martel, "the powerful mayor of the palace" of the Frankish monarchy and the commander of the Franks in the famous battle at Tours, undoubtedly with the consent of the Greek *dux*, and appealed to him to protect the tomb of the Apostle. Charles Martel replied to the embassy and acknowledged the gifts, but was unwilling to offer aid against the Lombards, who were helping him against the Saracens. Accordingly the successor of Gregory III, Zacharias (the last Greek who occupied the papal chair) changed the policy

that had been previously followed toward the Lombards. He formed an alliance with Liutprand against Transamund, and received (741) in return the four castles. This Zacharias obtained as the result of a personal visit to the camp of the king at Terni. Liutprand also restored a number of patrimonies that had been seized by the Lombards, and furthermore concluded a twenty years' peace with the pope. The duchy now had a respite from Lombard attacks. The Lombards fell upon Ravenna, which they had already held from 731 to 735. The exarch had no other recourse than to seek the aid of the pope. Liutprand did in fact allow himself to be induced by Zacharias to surrender the greater part of his conquests. Nor was it unimportant that these districts too once owed their rescue to the pope. Only a short time after Liutprand's death (744) Zacharias was successful in further postponing the catastrophe. When Rachis, the Lombard king, was besieging Perugia (749), Zacharias so wrought upon his conscience that the king raised the siege. But as a result of this Rachis was overthrown, and Aistulf, who was put into his place, at once showed by his acts that no consideration could halt him in his course.

In 751 Aistulf conquered Ravenna, and thereby decided the long delayed fate of the exarchate and the Pentapolis. And when Aistulf, who held Spoleto also under his immediate sway, directed all his might against the Duchy of Rome, it seemed that this too could no longer be held. Byzantium could send no troops, and Emperor Constantine V Copronymus, in answer to the repeated requests for help of the new pope, Stephen II, could only offer him the advice to act in accordance with the ancient policy of Byzantium, to pit some other Germanic tribe against the Lombards. The Franks alone were powerful enough to compel the Lombards to maintain peace, and they alone stood in close relationship with the pope. It is true that Charles Martel had on a former occasion failed to respond to the entreaties of Gregory III. But meanwhile the relations between the Frankish rulers and the popes had become more intimate. Pope Zacharias had only recently (751), at Pepin's accession to the throne, spoken the word that removed all doubts in favour of the Carolingian mayor of the palace. It was not unreasonable, therefore, to expect an active show of gratitude in return, when Rome was most grievously pressed by Aistulf. Accordingly Stephen II secretly sent a letter to Pepin by pilgrims, soliciting his aid against Aistulf and asking for a conference. Pepin in turn sent Abbot Droctegang of Jumièges to confer with the pope, and a little later dispatched Duke Autchar and Bishop Chrodengang of Metz to conduct the pope to the Frankish realm. Never before had a pope crossed the Alps. While Pope Stephen was preparing for the journey, a messenger arrived from Constantinople, bringing to the pope the imperial mandate to treat once more with Aistulf for the purpose of persuading him to surrender his conquests. Stephen took with him the imperial messenger and several dignitaries of the Roman Church, as well, as members of the aristocracy belonging to the Roman militia, and proceeded first of all to Aistulf. In 753 the pope left Rome. Aistulf, when the pope met him at Pavia, refused to enter into negotiations or to hear of a restoration of his conquests. Only with difficulty did Stephen finally prevail upon the Lombard king not to hinder him in his journey to the Frankish kingdom.

(4) Intervention of the Franks. Formation of the States of the Church.

The pope thereupon crossed the Great St. Bernard into the Frankish kingdom. Pepin received his guest at Ponthion, and there promised him orally to do all in his power to recover the Exarchate of Ravenna and the other districts seized by Aistulf. The pope then went to St-Denis near Paris, where he concluded a firm alliance of friendship with the first Carolingian king, probably in January, 754. He anointed King Pepin, his wife, and sons, and bound the Franks under the threat of excommunication never thereafter to choose their kings from any other family than the Carolingian. At the same time he bestowed on Pepin and his sons the title of "Patrician of the Romans", which title, the highest Byzantine officials in Italy, the exarchs, had borne. Instead of the latter the King of the Franks was now to be the protector of the Romans. The pope in bestowing this title probably acted also in conformity with authority conferred on him by the Byzantine emperor. In order, however, to fulfil the wishes of the pope Pepin had eventually to

obtain the consent of his nobles to a campaign into Italy. This was rendered imperative, when several embassies, which attempted by peaceful means to induce the Lombard king to give up his conquests, returned without accomplishing their mission. At Quiercy on the Oise the Frankish nobles finally gave their consent. There Pepin executed in writing a promise to give to the Church certain territories, the first documentary record for the States of the Church. This document, it is true, has not been preserved in the authentic version, but a number of citations, quoted from it during the decades immediately following, indicate its contents, and it is likely that it was the source of the much interpolated "Fragmentum Fantuzzianum", which probably dates from 778-80. In the original document of Quiercy Pepin promised the pope the restoration of the lands of Central Italy, which had been last conquered by Aistulf, especially in the exarchate and in the Roman Duchy, and of a number of more or less clearly defined patrimonies in the Lombard Kingdom and in the Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. The lands were not yet in Pepin's hands. They had therefore first to be conquered by Pepin, and his gift was conditioned by this event. In the summer of 754 Pepin with his army and the pope began their march into Italy, and forced King Aistulf, who had shut himself up in his capital, to sue for peace. The Lombard promised to give up the cities of the exarchate and of the Pentapolis, which had been last conquered, to make no further attacks upon or to evacuate the Duchy of Rome and the districts of Venetia and Istria, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the Franks. For the cities in the exarchate and in the Pentapolis, which Aistulf promised to return, Pepin executed a separate deed for the pope. This is the first actual "Donation of 754". But Pepin had hardly recrossed the Alps on his return home, when Aistulf not only failed to make preparations for the return of the promised cities, but again advanced against Rome, which had to endure a severe siege. The pope sent a messenger by sea, summoning Pepin to fulfil anew his pledge of loyalty. In 756 Pepin again set out with an army against Aistulf and a second time hemmed him in at Pavia. Aistulf was again compelled to promise to deliver to the pope the cities granted him after the first war and, in addition, Commachio at the mouth of the Po. But this time the mere promise was not considered sufficient. Messengers of Pepin visited the various cities of the exarchate and of the Pentapolis, demanded and received the keys to them, and brought the highest magistrates and most distinguished magnates of these cities to Rome. Pepin executed a new deed of gift for the cities thus surrendered to the pope, which together with the keys of the cities were deposited on the grave of St. Peter (Second Donation of 756).

The Byzantine Government naturally did not approve of this result of the intervention of the Franks. It had hoped through the instrumentality of the Franks to regain possession of the districts that had been wrested from it by the Lombards. But Pepin took up arms, not to render a service to the Byzantine emperor, but for the sake of St. Peter alone, from whose protection he expected earthly happiness and everlasting salvation. Just as kings at that time founded monasteries and endowed them with landed properties, that prayers might be offered for them there, so Pepin wished to provide the pope with temporal territories, that he might be certain of the prayers of the pope. Therefore Pepin answered the Byzantine ambassadors, who came to him before the second expedition of 756 and asked him to return to the emperor the cities to be taken from the Lombards, that he had undertaken the expedition for St. Peter alone and not for the emperor; that to St. Peter alone would he restore the cities. Thus did Pepin found the States of the Church. The Greeks undoubtedly had the formal right to the sovereignty, but as they had failed to meet the obligation of sovereignty to give protection against foreign enemies, their rights became illusory. If the Franks had not interfered, the territory would by right of conquest have fallen to the Lombards; Pepin by his intervention prevented Rome with the native population from falling into the hands of the foreign conquerors. The States of the Church are in a certain sense the only remnant of the Roman Empire in the West which escaped foreign conquerors. Gratefully did the Roman population acknowledge that they had escaped subjection to the Lombards only through the mediation of the pope. For it was only for the pope's sake that Pepin had resolved to interfere.

The results were important, chiefly because the pope through his temporal sovereignty received a guarantee of his independence, was freed from the fetters of a temporal power, and obtained that freedom from interference which is necessary for the conduct of his high office;

because the papacy threw off the political ties that bound it to the East and entered into new relations with the West, which made possible the development of the new Western civilization.

The latter was destined to become especially prominent under Pepin's son, Charlemagne.

Under Charlemagne the relations with the Lombards soon became strained again. Adrian I complained that the Lombard king Desiderius had invaded the territories of the States of the Church, and reminded Charlemagne of the promise made at Quiercy. As Desiderius also championed the claims of Charlemagne's nephews, he endangered the unity of the Frankish kingdom, and Charlemagne's own interests therefore bade him to oppose Desiderius. In the autumn of 773 Charlemagne entered Italy and besieged Desiderius at Pavia. While the siege was in progress, Charlemagne went to Rome at Easter, 774, and at the request of the pope renewed the promises made at Quiercy. Soon after this Desiderius was forced to capitulate, and Charlemagne had himself proclaimed King of the Lombards in his place. Charlemagne's attitude toward the States of the Church now underwent a change. With the title of King of the Lombards he also assumed the title as "Patricius Romanorum", which his father had never used, and read into this title rights which under Pepin had never been associated with it. Moreover, differences of opinion arose between Adrian and Charlemagne concerning the obligations which had been assumed by Pepin and Charlemagne in the document of Quiercy. Adrian construed it to mean that Charlemagne should take an elastic concept of the "respublica Romana" to the extent of giving up not only the conquests of Aistulf in the exarchate and in the Pentapolis, but also earlier conquests of the Lombards in Central Italy, Spoleto, and Benevento. But Charles would not listen to any such interpretation of the document. As both parties were anxious to come to an understanding, an agreement was reached in 781. Charlemagne acknowledged the sovereignty of Adrian in the Duchy of Rome and in the States of the Church founded by Pepin's donations of 754-56. He now executed a new document in which were enumerated all the districts in which the pope was recognized as ruler. The Duchy of Rome (which had not been mentioned in the earlier documents) heads the list, followed by the exarchate and the Pentapolis, augmented by the cities which Desiderius had agreed to surrender at the beginning of his reign (Imola, Bologna, Faenza, Ferrara, Ancona, Osimo, and Umana); next the patrimonies were specified in various groups: in the Sabine, in the Spoletan and Beneventan districts, in Calabria, in Tuscany, and in Corsica. Charlemagne, however, in his character as "Patricius", wanted to be considered as the highest court of appeal in criminal cases in the States of the Church. He promised on the other hand to protect freedom of choice in the election of the pope, and renewed the alliance of friendship that had been previously made between Pepin and Stephen II.

The agreement between Charlemagne and Adrian remained undisturbed. In 787 Charlemagne still further enlarged the States of the Church by new donations: Capua and a few other frontier cities of the Duchy of Benevento, besides several cities in Lombardy, Tuscany, Populonia, Roselle, Sovana, Toscanella, Viterbo, Bagnorea, Orvieto, Ferento, Orchia, Marta, and lastly Città di Castello appear to have been added at that time. All of this, of course, is based upon painstaking deductions, since no document has come down to us either from the time of Charlemagne or from that of Pepin. Adrian in these negotiations proved himself no mean politician, and is justly ranked with Stephen II as the second founder of the States of the Church. His arrangements with Charlemagne remained authoritative for the relations of the later popes with the Carolingians and the

German emperors. These relations were given a brilliant outward expression by Charlemagne's coronation as emperor in 800.

II. STATES OF THE CHURCH

(1) The Period of the Carolingian Emperors

The States of the Church founded by the Carolingians were the security for the friendly alliance between the papacy and the empire which dominated the Middle Ages. But this friendly alliance also was and remained the necessary condition for the existence of the States of the Church. Without the protection of the great power beyond the Alps the States of the Church could not have been maintained. The worst dangers threatened the States of the Church, not so much from foreign enemies, as from the factions of the nobility in the city of Rome, who were continually engaged in jealous quarrels, each striving to get control of the spiritual and temporal power attaching to the papacy. The degradation of the papacy reached its lowest point when it could obtain no protection from the empire against the lust for power of the factions of the Roman nobility or of the neighbouring patrician families. This lust for power manifested itself principally at the election of a new pope. For this reason the emperors, when they assumed the responsibility of protecting the States of the Church, also guaranteed a canonical election, and the popes laid great stress upon having this obligation renewed in writing by each new emperor in the confirmation of the old charters. Of these charters the oldest whose text is preserved is the "Hludovicianum" or *Pactum* of Louis the Pious, i.e. the instrument executed by that monarch for Paschal I in 817. With Paschal's successor, Eugene II, the friendly alliance was, by order of Louis, renewed in 824 by his eldest son and colleague in the empire, Lothair I. The pope, dependent on the protection of the emperor, then granted the emperor new rights, which mark the zenith of the imperial influence under the Carolingians. The emperor received the right of supervising the government and the administration of justice at Rome through the instrumentality of permanent envoys, and no new pope was to be consecrated until he had, together with the Romans, taken the oath of allegiance to the emperor in the presence of imperial envoys.

In this way the empire received in the "Constitution of Lothair" an indirect influence over the election of the pope and a supervision of the papal government in the States of the Church. But soon after this the Carolingians were so busily occupied by their dynastic quarrels that they had but little time to concern themselves about Rome. Leo IV had, in concert with some seaport towns of Italy, to take measures personally for the defence of Rome against the Saracens. The soldiers blessed by him won a brilliant victory at Ostia in 849. As the right bank of the Tiber with its Basilica of St. Peter was exposed to the pillage of the Saracens, Leo fortified it with a wall (848-52), and in his honour the part of the city so protected was called *Civitas Leonina*. In 850 Leo crowned Lothair's son, Louis II, as emperor. Although this emperor bravely opposed the Saracens in Lower Italy with all his power, this power was no longer that of Charlemagne, for Louis's rule extended only over Italy. To the papacy, then represented by Nicholas II, the regency of Louis II was at times a danger rather than a protection. His representative, Duke Lambert of Spoleto, under the pretence of superintending the election of the pope, invaded Rome in 867, and treated it as conquered territory. This was the prelude to the wretched period following the death of Louis (875), when Rome and the pope were placed at the mercy of the neighbouring feudal lords, who had come into Italy with the Carolingians, and who now quarrelled first with the Carolingians still ruling beyond the Alps, then among themselves for the apple of discord, the imperial crown. In vain did the able Pope John VIII hope for help and protection from the West Frankish king, Charles the Bald, who had been crowned emperor in 875. It is true Charles renewed the old charter relative to protection and donations and increased the domain of the States of the Church by new donations (Spoleto and Benevento); he also gave up the claim to have envoys present at the consecration of the pope as well as the assignment to these envoys

of the administration of justice. But beyond these donations on paper he did nothing. John VIII, at the head of his fleet at Cape Circeo (877), had to defend himself unaided against the Saracens. Fleeing from the dukes Lambert of Spoleto and Adalbert of Tuscany, who bore themselves as representatives of the imperial power, he went to France, vainly imploring the Carolingians for help. The East Frank, Charles the Fat, who received the imperial crown from John VIII in 881, likewise did nothing, and Arnulf, who was crowned emperor in 896, was compelled by illness to suspend further interference. Severely did the defenceless pope have to suffer for having summoned him. Pope Stephen V had previously (891) yielded to the urging of Duke Guido of Spoleto and bestowed on him the imperial crown. Stephen's successor, Pope Formosus, had been compelled to give the crown also to Guido's son, Lambert as the associate of his father in the empire (892); he thus incurred the fierce hatred of Lambert, when he afterwards summoned Arnulf to Rome and crowned him emperor. When Lambert, after the death of Formosus, entered Rome in 897, he took a horrible revenge upon the corpse of the pope through the medium of Stephen VI.

The papacy was now completely at the mercy of the struggling factions of the nobility. Benedict IV in 901 crowned as emperor Louis, King of Lower Burgundy, who had been summoned by the Italian nobles. In 915 John X crowned Louis's opponent, the Marquis Berengar of Friuli. Berengar was the last to receive the imperial crown before the founding of the Roman Empire of the German Nation. At Rome itself the greatest influence was won by the family of the later Counts of Tusculum, which traced its descent to the senator and *dux*, Theophylactus, and whose power was for a time represented by the wife of Theophylactus, Theodora (called *Senatrix* or *Vesteratrix*), and her daughters Marozia and Theodora the Younger. The papacy also came under the power of these women. Alberic, the husband of Marozia, with John X, who had been raised to the papacy by the elder Theodora, defeated the Saracens on the Gianicolo (916), and thereafter called himself Consul of the Romans. After his death this rank was transmitted to Marozia, and, on her fall, to his son Alberic. Marozia had John X deposed, and finally had her own son by her first husband placed upon the papal chair as John XI. John XI was entirely dominated by his mother. When Marozia's son, Alberic II, finally put an end to the despotic rule of his mother (932), the Romans proclaimed him their lord and master, conferred on him all temporal power, and restricted the pope's authority to purely spiritual matters. Alberic, who had a palace on the Aventine, refused the German king Otto I permission to enter Rome, when the latter appeared in Upper Italy in 951. But, when Otto appeared for the second time in Italy, conditions had changed.

(2) From the Coronation of Otto I as Emperor to the end of the Hohenstaufen Line

Alberic II died in 954. In accordance with a promise made to him, the Romans in 955 elected to the papacy as John XII his seventeen-year-old son Octavian, who had succeeded him in the temporal power. This pontiff thus united the spiritual and temporal power, but only in the territory which had been subject to Alberic — that is substantially the old Duchy of Rome, or the "Patrimonium Petri". The Pentapolis and the exarchate were in other hands, ultimately falling to King Berengar of Ivrea. To obtain protection against Berengar, John XII called upon Otto I for help. Otto came and on 2 February, 962, received the imperial crown. On 13 February he drew up the charter (still extant in a contemporary calligraphic copy, preserved in the archives of the Vatican), in which he renewed the well-known covenants of his predecessors, increased the donations by the addition of several new ones, and undertook to secure the canonical election of the popes. The pope was not to be consecrated until imperial envoys had assured themselves of the legality of the election and obtained from the pope a sworn promise of allegiance (cf. Th. Sickel, "Das Privilegium Ottos I für die römische Kirche", Innsbruck, 1883). The necessary condition for the coöperation of emperor and pope was their common opposition to Berengar. This was removed when John XII, who not unreasonably feared Otto's power, entered into secret negotiations with Berengar. Otto thereupon again came to Rome, which the pope had left, and demanded of the Romans an oath that henceforth

they would never again elect a pope without the express consent and sanction of the emperor. Therewith the papacy was declared subject to the emperor. This at once became evident, when a synod, over which Otto presided, deposed the pope. But Leo VIII, who was chosen in accordance with Otto's wishes, was unable to remain at Rome without Otto. The Romans, after the death of John XII, elected Benedict V, but Otto sent him into exile at Hamburg. Other afflictions beset John XIII, to secure whose elevation the Romans and Otto had acted in harmony in 966. John needed the protection of the emperor against a rebellious faction of the nobility, whereupon Otto appointed a prefect of Rome and enfeoffed him with drawn sword. In return the pope crowned the son of Otto I (Otto II) with the imperial crown in the next year (967), and later married him to the Greek princess Theophano. Otto II had to render the same protection to the popes of his time. John XIII's successor, Benedict VI, was imprisoned and murdered in the Castle of S. Angelo by hostile nobles. The Frank who was chosen in his place (Boniface VII) had to flee to Constantinople, but the position of Benedict VII, who was raised to the papacy with the consent of Otto II, remained uncertain until Otto in 980 came to Rome, where, after his defeat near Capo Colonne, he died (983) and was buried in St. Peter's. Boniface VII, who returned from Constantinople, had during the minority of Otto's son displaced John XIV, the successor of Benedict VII, and exposed him to death by starvation in the Castle of S. Angelo. And beside John XV, who was made pope after the fall of Boniface VII, the dux, Crescentius, under the usurped title of "Patrician", ruled over Rome, so that the times of an Alberic seemed to have returned.

John V therefore earnestly desired the arrival of a German army. It appeared in 996 under the command of the sixteen-year-old Otto III. As John had died before Otto entered Rome, the German king, whom the Romans had asked to propose a candidate, designated, on the advice of the princes, his relative, the young Bruno, who was then elected at Rome and graced the papal chair as Gregory V (996-99). Crescentius was besieged in the Castle of S. Angelo and beheaded. Gregory V, who crowned Otto III emperor, was the first German pope. His successor, the first French pope, also designated by Otto, was the learned Sylvester II, near whom on the Aventine the emperor desired permanently to make his residence, that he might govern the West as the Roman emperors had once done. The old Roman law and a ceremonial fashioned after Byzantine forms were to be put into effect. But these plans soon came to naught. Only a few years later, in 1002, the youthful and visionary emperor, bitterly disillusioned, died in his camp outside Rome, which had risen against him. And, when Sylvester II also passed away in 1003, John Crescentius, the son of the Crescentius who had been beheaded by Otto III, having possessed himself of the patriciate, seized the government at Rome. After his death the Counts of Tusculum began to contend with the Crescentians for the supremacy, and, in opposition to the pope set up by their opponents, raised one of their own followers to the papal chair as Benedict VIII; the latter was recognized as the lawful pope by Henry II, whom he crowned emperor at Rome on 14 February, 1014. An intimate friendship united Benedict and Henry. Together they planned a reform of the Church, which unfortunately was not carried out. Benedict was succeeded by his brother, John XIX, a man less worthy of the honour, who had previously held the temporal power in the city, and who as pope for the most part thought only of the interests of his family. These urged him to gain the good will of Henry's successor, Conrad II, whom he crowned emperor at Rome in 1027. The papal dignity sank to a still lower level under the nephew of John XIX, Benedict IX, whose elevation to the papal throne at the age of twenty was secured by his family through simony and violence. When the Romans set up an antipope, Sylvester III, in opposition, Benedict wavered for a time in doubt whether he ought not to resign; finally he relinquished the pontificate to his godfather John Gratian for 1000 pounds of silver. The purchaser had had recourse to this measure only to put an end to the abominable practices of the Tusculan. He called himself Gregory VI, and stood in friendly relations with the Cluniac monks. But as John again asserted his claims, and all three popes had evidently secured the dignity only through simony, the party of reform saw no other remedy than to induce the German king, Henry III, to intervene. Henry III, through the synods of Sutri and Rome, had all three popes deposed. Gregory VI in the

capacity of secretary went into exile to Germany with Hildebrand (later Pope Gregory VII). Then, marking the zenith of the German imperial power at Rome, there followed a number of German popes: Clement II, who crowned Henry III emperor in 1046, conferring on him also the rank of Patrician, and with it the right of nomination at papal elections; Damasus II; Saint Leo IX of Alsace, with whom the drift toward ecclesiastical reform finally reached the papal chair; and Victor II.

The reaction soon set in. Under the Burgundian Nicholas II the effort to free the papacy from the commanding influence of the empire becomes clearly noticeable. At the Easter Synod of 1059 the papal election was placed under new regulations; being reposed essentially in the hands of the cardinals. The German king was no longer to have the right of designation, but at most only that of confirmation. As the German Court was unwilling to yield the right of designation without a struggle, which, according to its concept, was conferred together with the hereditary rank of Patrician, the first conflicts between empire and papacy began. In opposition to Alexander II, who was elected to succeed Nicholas II, the German Government set up Bishop Cadalus of Parma (Honorius II). Soon afterward, under Henry IV and Gregory VII, the conflicts broadened out into the conflict concerning investiture. In this contest the papacy had pressing need of a temporal power to support it against the German Empire. This support was destined to be furnished by the Normans, whose state, founded in Lower Italy, became of ever-increasing importance to the papacy.

The relations between the Holy See and the Normans were not always friendly. When these at the time of Leo IX advanced into the Lombard Duchy of Benevento, the Beneventans sought to defend themselves against them by expelling the reigning prince and electing the pope in 1051 as their sovereign. Thus was Benevento added to the States of the Church. Actually, of course, the popes had possession only of the city of Benevento with the district immediately under its jurisdiction, and that only since 1077. Through Benevento Leo IX became involved in a quarrel with the Normans and took the field against them, but was defeated and made captive near Civitate in 1053. The victors, however, did not fail to recognize and to respect in the captive the successor of Peter, and subsequently, as the result of negotiations with Nicholas II, the treaty of Melfi was made in 1059, in which the Normans acknowledged themselves vassals of the Holy See for the conquered territories — Benevento was excepted — and engaged to pay a yearly tribute. They now also took upon themselves the protection of the papacy and the States of the Church, as well as of the canonical election of the pope. A Norman army under Robert Guiscard rescued Gregory VII in the greatest distress, when Henry IV had come to Rome with his antipope Clement III, received the imperial crown from the latter, and imprisoned Gregory VII in the Castle of S. Angelo. Before the powerful Norman army Henry had to withdraw from Rome in 1084.

A valuable ally of the papacy in its conflict with the empire was the great Countess Matilda of Tuscany, at whose Castle of Canossa King Henry IV appeared in January, 1077, to beg Gregory VII for absolution from the ban of the Church. Matilda had by will bequeathed her freehold estates to the pope, but had also in 1111 made promises to Emperor Henry V, but probably only in such a way that the Roman Church would remain chief owner. The succession to the lands bequeathed by Matilda furnished after her death (1115) a new cause, first for strained relations, then for a quarrel between emperor and pope. This was partly due to the fact that the lands, because of their location, had a high strategic value. Whoever possessed them commanded the passage of the Apennines from the plains of the Po into Tuscany. Henry V at once took possession of the lands, and subsequent kings and emperors to Frederick II also occupied or bestowed them in spite of the repeated protests of the Curia. Amid all this we often see pope and emperor working in harmony. The antipope Anacletus II with his protector, King Roger II of Sicily, was attacked by Emperor Lothair, who took up the cause of Innocent II. Frederick I had Arnold of Brescia, who had openly preached against the temporal power of the popes, executed as a heretic and rebel (1155).

The various matters of dispute, which had led under Frederick I to the eighteen years' conflict with Alexander III and had been then settled in the Treaty of Venice, were again revived when Henry VI, as husband of the Norman heiress Constance, at the death of the childless King William II in 1189, laid claim to the Norman Kingdom, which embraced Sicily and Lower Italy. The pope as lord paramount wished to have the unrestricted disposal of the Norman kingdom, and first bestowed it on the illegitimate Tancred of Lecce. But Henry disregarded this action and conquered the kingdom after Tancred's death in 1194. He desired to transform Italy and Germany into an hereditary monarchy. He also made old parts of the States of the Church subject to him, when in 1195 he placed the Margravate of Ancona, the Duchy of Ravenna, and the ancient exarchate (the Romagna) under the lord high steward of the realm, Markwald of Anweiler, as his viceroy. But with his death in 1197 all the plans for world dominion collapsed. In Italy a national movement was started, which the youthful and energetic Innocent III utilized to re-establish and extend the States of the Church. First of all he enforced the papal authority at Rome itself by exacting an oath of allegiance from the senators as well as from the prefect, previously appointed by the emperor. After this nearly all the towns and villages of the territory bequeathed by Matilda, in the March of Ancona, and in the Duchy of Spoleto, also Assisi and Perugia, submitted to him. Innocent thus became the restorer of the States of the Church. After the precedent set by Otto IV (Neuss, 8 June, 1201), the son of Henry VI, Frederick II, who had been protected by Innocent III, confirmed anew the States of the Church in their constituent parts by a golden bull executed in the name of the empire at Eger on 12 July, 1213: these parts were the old Patrimony from Ceperano to Radicofani, the March of Ancona, the Duchy of Spoleto, the territories of Matilda, the County of Bertinoro (south of Ravenna), the exarchate, and the Pentapolis. All these new acquisitions and the States of the Church in their entirety were again placed in the greatest jeopardy when the great struggle between Frederick II and the Curia broke out. With the exception of the city of Rome the emperor had brought the States of the Church into his power. Innocent IV fled to his native city Ecumenical Genoa and thence to Lyons, where at the thirteenth Ecumenical Council in 1245 he placed Frederick II under the ban of the Church and deposed him. The conflict raged for several years longer, but the star of the Hohenstaufen was rapidly setting. The emperor's son Enzo, commander-in-chief in Central and Upper Italy, was captured by the Bolognese in 1249. The emperor himself died in 1250, and his son Conrad IV died a few years later (1254). When Frederick's illegitimate son Manfred undertook the continuation of the struggle and had himself crowned at Palermo, the French pope Clement IV summoned to his aid the brother of King Louis IX of France, Charles of Anjou, who had accepted the Kingdom of Lower Italy as a fief of the pope. Charles vanquished Manfred in 1266 at Benevento, and Conradin, the youthful nephew of Frederick II, at Tagliacozzo in 1268, and had this last descendant of the Hohenstaufen house executed in the marketplace of Naples. With this the danger to the papacy from the Hohenstaufen was removed, but a worse danger took its place,

(3) From the Avignon Exile to the End of the Fifteenth Century

The papacy was now not only dependent upon the protection of France, but was also entirely at its mercy. This was seen in the utter disregard shown by Philip the Fair in his attitude toward Boniface VIII and his successors. Clement V, a native of Southern France, did not venture to go to Italy after his election in 1305, but had himself crowned at Lyons, and after 1309 resided at Avignon, which now remained the residence of the popes until 1376. The country about Avignon constituted the County of Venaissin or the Margravate of Provence, which on the ground of a former donation of the Counts of Toulouse in 1273, had been given up to the pope by the French king, Philip III the Bold. The city of Avignon itself first came into the possession of the Holy See by purchase in 1348. During the residence of the popes in Avignon the papal dominion in the States of the Church almost ceased. In Rome the Colonna and Orsini fought for the supremacy. In the other cities the French regents, who were sent from Avignon, found anything but willing obedience. Bologna revolted in 1334 against the pope's relative, Beltram. Cola di

Rienzi deluded the Romans with the phantom of a republic. The state of anarchy was first ended by the Castilian Cardinal Albornoz (see GIL DE ALBORNOS, ALVAREZ CARILLO), whom Innocent VI sent to the States of the Church as his vicar-general in 1353. Albornoz not only brought the States of the Church under subjection to the pope, but also reorganized them by means of the Ægidian Constitutions, which were in force in the States of the Church until 1816. But the successes of Albornoz were soon nullified again, when the Great Schism occurred during the residence at Avignon. After its termination Martin V (1417-31) sought to establish a centralized monarchy out of the various conflicting rights, privileges, and usurpations and in this had much success. New afflictions were brought by the period of the Renaissance in which visionaries of radical views loved to pose as liberators from tyranny. Thus the conspiracy of Stefano Porcario alarmed Nicholas V in 1453, and the conspiracy of 1468 alarmed Paul II. Other dangers lay in the growth of power of certain families of the feudal nobility in the States of the Church, in the nepotism of some of the popes, who provided for their relatives at the expense of the States of the church, or in their international policies, for which the States of the Church had to suffer.

(4) From the Sixteenth Century to the Treaty of Vienna

Under Alexander VI the States of the Church disintegrated into a series of states held by papal relatives of the Borgia family, Cesare Borgia, whom Machiavelli admired, laboured earnestly from his Duchy of Romagna to transform the States of the Church into a Kingdom of Central Italy. After his fall (1504) Venice sought to bring the cities on the Adriatic Sea under its power. Julius II then in his impetuous way had recourse to force to re-establish and extend the States of the Church. He conquered Perugia and Bologna and by the League of Cambrai forced Venice to give up Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, and Rimini. But, after he had been satisfied by the Venetians, he concluded the Holy League for the expulsion of the French from Italy. It is true that the French in 1512 were once more victorious over the troops of the League at Ravenna, but thanks chiefly to the Swiss mercenaries, whom the pope had enlisted through Cardinal Schinner, Julius attained his object. On the surrender of the Duchy of Milan to Maximilian Sforza, Julius II made a still further gain for the States of the Church, since Parma and Piacenza were taken from the duchy and incorporated in the States of the Church. Reggio and Modena, which belonged to the Duke of Ferrara, were also taken possession of by the pope, but his successor Leo X had to restore these cities to the duke in 1515. A dreadful catastrophe was brought upon Rome by the vacillating policy of Clement VII. The disorderly troops of Charles V overran and plundered the States of the Church, occupied Rome on 6 May, 1527, and for eight days rioted there frightfully (*Sacco di Roma*). In the Castle of S. Angelo the pope was held captive until 6 December. It was long before these wounds were healed although the pope in 1529 concluded a peace with the emperor at Barcelona and received back the States of the Church. The conclusion of peace was confirmed by the Conference of Bologna, at which Charles V on 24 April, 1530, received the imperial crown from Clement VII.

During this time as well as later a number of districts were for a time separated from the States of the Church and conferred as separate principalities by popes on their relatives. The Rovere pope Sixtus IV had in 1474 made Federigo of Montefeltro Duke of Urbino, and married Federigo's daughter Giovanna to his nephew Giovanni della Rovere. The son of this Giovanni, Francesco Maria della Rovere, came into possession of the Duchy of Urbino in 1508, during the pontificate of the other Rovere pope, Julius II. In addition to this Julius II in 1512 conferred on him the Vicariate of Pesaro, which had previously been a fief in the hands of the Malatesta and since 1445 of the Sforza. Not until the male line of the Rovere became extinct in 1631 were Montefeltro and Urbino together with Pesaro restored to the States of the Church. Pope Paul III in 1545 bestowed Parma and Piacenza as a duchy on his son Pier Luigi Farnese. Even after the Farnese line had become extinct, the duchies reverted, not to the States of the Church, but to a branch of the Spanish Bourbons, and finally in 1860 to Sardinia. To make up for this Ferrara, which had once

belonged to Matilda of Canossa as a papal fief, had in 1208 fallen to the Guelph family of Este, and had in 1471 been made a duchy. After the main line of the Este had become extinct in 1597, Ferrara reverted to the States of the Church, and remained part thereof (except during the Napoleonic period) until the Italian annexation in 1860. Modena and Reggio, however, fell in 1597 to a collateral line of the Este as a fief of the empire. Thus the States of the Church before the outbreak of the French Revolution embraced substantially the territory that had belonged to them at the time of Charlemagne, except that some portions of the old Duchy of Spoleto had been added in the south since the time of Innocent III.

Rapid changes came with the time of the French Revolution and of Napoleon. In 1791 the French National Assembly announced the union of Avignon and Venaissin with France, and in the Peace of Tolentino (1797) Pius VI had to give them up, while at the same time relinquishing the legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna to the Cisalpine Republic. In February, 1798, General Berthier, who had been sent to Rome by Napoleon, formed the rest of the States of the Church into the Roman Republic. The pope, because he would not renounce his claim, was taken away as a captive and eventually confined in Valence, where death soon released him (29 August, 1799). People were already rejoicing that the papacy and the church had come to an end. Their joy was, however, premature. Under the protection of Emperor Francis II the cardinals in 1800 elected Pius VII as pope at Venice. But hard trials awaited him. It is true that in 1801 Pius VII by Napoleon's favour got back the States of the Church as bounded in the Peace of Tolentino. But the position of the States of the Church remained extremely precarious. Napoleon in 1806 conferred Benevento on Talleyrand and Pontecorvo on Bernadotte. In 1808, because Pius VII would not close his ports to the English, the States of the Church were again occupied and in 1809 completely confiscated. The Marches, Urbino, Camerino, and Macerata were annexed to the newly-created Kingdom of Italy, the rest of the States of the Church to France. Not until the Congress of Vienna, where the able Consalvi represented the pope, were the States of the Church again established (1815), almost in their old dimensions except that Avignon and Venaissin were not restored to the pope, and Austria received a narrow strip along the frontier of the Ferrara district north of the Po and the right of garrisoning Ferrara and Comachio.

(5) From the Peace of Vienna to 1870

The liberal and national ideas prevalent throughout Central Europe undermined the States of the Church, just as they did the rest of Italy, and found expression in the high-sounding phrases "constitution" and "national unification". The French Revolution and Napoleon had awakened these ideas. The name of a Kingdom of Italy, whose crown Napoleon had worn, was not forgotten. With the old conditions, which the congress of Vienna had restored, the people were by no means satisfied. They lamented the division of Italy into various states, bound together by no common bond, and above all the fact that they were ruled by foreigners. The pope and the King of Sardinia alone were looked upon as really native rulers. The other rulers were regarded more or less as foreigners. Naples-Sicily was ruled by the Bourbon line, which had come there in 1738, and which was opposed particularly by Sicily. In Parma and Piacenza also the Bourbon line, first established here in 1748, ruled again, from the death (1847) of Marie-Louise, wife of Napoleon I. In Modena and Tuscany collateral lines of the house of Austria ruled: in the Duchy of Modena, a line which had in 1803 become the heir of the ancient ducal house of Este; in Tuscany, which, after the Medici had become extinct, had fallen to the ducal house of Lorraine, the line sprung from Ferdinand III, brother of Emperor Francis I of Austria. Furthermore, the Austrians were the immediate rulers of the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom. The current of national feeling was directed above all against the rule of the Austrians at Milan and Venice, hated as a government by foreigners, and also against the governments which pursued the policies of and were protected by Austria. Austria's statesman Metternich had at heart the maintenance of the order established by the

Congress of Vienna in 1815. As the States of the Church were included among the governments under Austria's protection, they gradually shared the hatred against Austria.

The narrow police spirit of the absolute governments, which did not distinguish between what was justifiable and what was not, promoted the growth of dissatisfaction, which first took shape in secret societies. Carbonarism and freemasonry spread rapidly. The Greek war of independence, which excited universal admiration, aroused the national spirit in Italy. The Sanfedists (*per la santa fede*), as the loyal Catholics were called, were only a weak support for the Papal Government in the States of the Church. The Carbonari, led by exiles and made fugitives in Paris and yielding to the impression made by the Revolution of July, profited by the vacancy of the papal chair after the death of Pius VIII in 1830, to inaugurate rising in the States of the Church, especially in Bologna. Under the presidency of Mazzini, the founder of the revolutionary society of the "Giovane Italia", delegates assembled at Bologna in 1831, as a parliament of the united provinces, to establish a republican form of government, and elected a provisional government. When the new pope Gregory XVI asked for Austria's assistance, Metternich was ready to intervene without delay. The Austrians restored peace in the States of the Church, as also in Modena and Parma. But hardly had the troops departed, when new disorders broke out, and, in answer to the pope's renewed call for help, the Austrians reappeared at Bologna in 1832 under Radetsky. To neutralize the influence of the Austrians the French Government of Louis Philippe sent to Ancona troops, which remained there as long as the Austrians occupied Bologna (until 1838). In opposition to the followers of Mazzini there were not lacking for a while men who strove to bring about the unification of Italy with the co-operation of the pope. Their spokesman was at first the former chaplain of King Charles Albert of Sardinia, Vincenzo Gioberti, who in 1843, as an exile in Brussels, wrote the treatise "Il primato morale e civile degli Italiani", a publication which caused a great sensation. He desired that the pope should become the head of the national union of states in Italy, from which the foreign princes were to be excluded. Piedmont, however, was to act as regularly appointed protector of the pope and Italy. The priest, Count Antonio Rosmini, desired an Italian confederation with the pope at its head and two deliberative chambers. He published his ideas in 1848 in the treatise "Delle cinque piaghe della S. Chiesa", in which he also particularly recommended the reform of the Church. The son-in-law of Manzoni, Marchese Massimo d'Azeglio, set forth the perverse political conditions in Italy and especially in the States of the Church more unsparingly in the treatise "Gli ultimi casi di Romagna" (1846), in which he urgently advocated reform, but at the same time warned against conspiracy and revolution. The majority of those who were enthusiastic about the unification of Italy put their hope in Piedmont, "la spada d'Italia". Cesare Balbo in his book "Le speranze d'Italia", which appeared in 1844, expected first of all the founding of a union of the Lombard states.

The demand for reform in the States of the Church was in fact not unjustified. It was expected that it would be inaugurated by Gregory XVI's successor, who was hailed with extravagant hopes, when as Pius IX he ascended the papal chair on 16 June, 1846. Men saw in him the pope of whom Gioberti had dreamed. Pius IX convoked at Rome a council of state composed of representatives of the various provinces, established a formal cabinet council, and sanctioned the formation of a militia in the States of the Church. In addition he suggested to Tuscany and Sardinia the formation of an Italian customs union. But the country was wrought up too highly to continue peacefully and slowly along such a course. The Liberals at Rome were dissatisfied because the laity were excluded from participation in the government of the States of the Church. Even before the outbreak of the French Revolution of February they forced by a popular uprising the appointment in 1848 of a cabinet of laymen. On 14 March, 1848, Pius IX after long hesitation decided to proclaim the fundamental law for the temporal government of the lands of the Holy See; as in other lands two chambers were to vote upon the laws, which were to be drawn up by a council of state. But the chambers were forbidden to interfere in any way in questions purely spiritual or of a mixed character, and the College of Cardinals had the right of veto over the decision of the chambers. This

proved unsatisfactory. Pius IX was also expected to accommodate himself to the national desires when Milan and Venice after the outbreak of the revolution in Vienna had risen against the Austrians and Piedmont was preparing to support the uprising. The pope too, it was thought, should draw the sword against Austria.

When Pius IX in an Encyclical announced on 29 April, 1848, that he could never persuade himself to engage in a war against a Catholic power such as Austria, and that he would never assume the headship of an Italian confederation, his popularity in Liberal-National circles was wellnigh at an end. The party of those, who with Gioberti had dreamed of a unification of Italy under the pope, crumbled away. Mazzini made the demand that Rome be erected into a republic. A portion of the civic guard surrounded the Castle of S. Angelo and compelled the pope to appoint Liberal ministers. But the revolutionary republicans would have nothing to do with such a compromise. They became bolder than ever when King Charles Albert was defeated by Radetsky at Custoza on 24-25 July, 1848, and the monarchical national party had thereby met with complete failure. When the Liberal minister Rossi sought to reorganize the States of the Church and at the same time urged on the formation of a confederation of the Italian states, he was stabbed to death on the steps of the Palace of the Cancelleria on 15 November, 1848. On the following day the pope found himself besieged in the Quirinal Only with difficulty could the Swiss Guards protect him from the fury of the populace. On 24 November Pius IX escaped in disguise to Gaeta in the Neapolitan Kingdom, whither King Ferdinand II had returned to take command in person. After the flight of the pope an assembly was elected to administer the government, the republic was proclaimed at Rome on 9 February, 1849, and the temporal sovereignty declared abolished. Mazzini with his international following ruled at Rome. In Florence also the republic was proclaimed on 18 February. But reaction followed quickly. This was hastened when the Austrians in a new passage of arms had defeated the Piedmontese at Mortara on 21 March, 1849, and at Novara on 23 March. Charles Albert thereupon resigned in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II. The Austrians were now more powerful in Upper Italy than ever. They brought back to Florence the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Ferdinand II suppressed the revolution in Sicily. Pius IX was readily heard when he appealed to the Catholic powers for assistance against the republic. To anticipate Austria Louis Napoleon, then president of the Second Republic, with the consent of the Constituent Assembly in Paris, sent a force under Oudinot into the States of the Church, where besides Mazzini many revolutionaries from other lands (including Garibaldi) had gathered, and a triumvirate, composed of Mazzini, Aurelio Saffi, and Carlo Armellini, was administering the government. Oudinot's small force soon after its landing at Civitavecchia was, it is true, at first defeated before Rome. But now the Austrians also entered the States of the Church in the north, in the south the Neapolitans, while in Terracina Spaniards landed. Oudinot received reinforcements and began the siege of Rome. Garibaldi with 5000 volunteers cut his way through to continue the struggle in the Apennines. On 2 July, 1849, Oudinot entered Rome and again restored the temporal power of the pope. Pius IX re-entered Rome on 12 April, 1850.

Thus not only the Piedmontese and their followers, but the Republicans also had been routed, and had shown that they were unable to bring about the unity of Italy. By the military power of Austria all of Italy's forces had been shattered. But the object was not abandoned. A different programme was now adopted: to proceed with foreign aid under Piedmont's leadership against the pope. Piedmont sought to retain the sympathies of all Liberals by keeping the constitution, while the remaining governments of Italy had returned to absolutism. Pius IX, bitterly disillusioned, declared the retention of a constitution wholly incompatible with the most vital interests and the canons of the Church, as well as with the independence and freedom of the pope. Between him, the States of the Church, and Italy no efforts could bring about an understanding that was satisfactory to all. A French garrison maintained the sovereignty of the pope at Rome, while the Austrians secured tranquillity in the legations. The question was: how long would the two foreign powers continue harmoniously side by side in Italy? It was

answered when Napoleon III undertook to show Europe the splendour of his imperial power and to force Austria out of its position of military supremacy in Italy. The change of temper in those circles of Italy that were striving for national unification was shown in a new treatise of Gioberti, who in 1843 in his "Primato" had assigned the guidance to the pope. In 1851 he published his book "Rinnovamento civile d'Italia" in which he set forth that the unification could be accomplished without Rome, and even against Rome with the aid of Piedmont. To prepare Piedmont for this rôle was the task of Camillo Cavour, who was made prime minister in 1852. It was also he who found for Sardinia the ally who united with it against Austria. At Plombières, a watering-place in Lorraine, he interested Napoleon in his plans in July, 1859, and all measures down to the smallest details were here agreed upon. The Piedmontese succeeded in joining their forces with the French army, and the allies defeated the Austrians at Magenta and Solferino. Napoleon, however, then swiftly concluded with the Emperor Francis Joseph the Peace of Villafranca-Zürich, by the terms of which Austria had to give up Lombardy only, not Venetia; in it provision was also made for an Italian confederation, into which all Italian states, including Austria for Venetia, were to enter, and over which it was intended that the pope should preside. Napoleon feared the intervention of the other powers, and at the same time was eager to show consideration for the feelings of the French Catholics.

In national circles in Italy men were at first furious at the conditions of this treaty of peace. But calm soon returned when it was seen that Napoleon made no preparations to bring back the expelled petty princes, and that the pope would have nothing to do with the rôle assigned to him. Cavour was able to continue his efforts in behalf of his schemes by the secret path of conspiracy. At his instigation apparently independent governments were established at Florence, Modena, and Bologna; in reality, however, these were directed from Turin, and were supported by England, since England did not desire a Kingdom of Italy dependent on France. In Tuscany, in the district of Modena-Parma, which had formed itself into the Republic of Emilia, and in the legations a vote of the inhabitants was taken, 15-20 March, 1860, which resulted unanimously in favour of annexation to Sardinia. Napoleon himself had half desired this deceptive expedient, by means of which he had himself once risen to power, in order that he might have an excuse for letting matters take their own course. By the same expedient he now had voted to him the indemnity, stipulated in advance, for his interference in Italy, namely Savoy and Nice, which by a popular vote declared themselves for France. The pope did not suffer the annexation of the legations quietly. He excommunicated Victor Emmanuel and those who had assisted him. At the same time he issued a call for the formation of a volunteer army, which was joined by many of the French legitimists. The command of the army was undertaken by a bitter enemy of Napoleon, General Lamoricière, who had distinguished himself in Algeria. In a very short time the volunteer army saw active service. Garibaldi with 1000 armed insurgents had come from Genoa and landed at Marsala in May, 1860, had revolutionized Sicily, and was marching against Naples. The Government at Turin, which had at first allowed Garibaldi to do as he pleased, now saw with displeasure the progress of the Republicans, and feared that these might anticipate it at Rome and Naples. It sent an army to the south. Napoleon, whose consent Cavour had sought for the foreseen clash with the pope, sent word to Turin "Fate presto" (act quickly) and crossed to Algeria that he might not see what was going on. At Castelfidardo, not far from Ancona, the Piedmontese army met the papal forces under Lamoricière, and Lamoricière was defeated on 18 September, 1860. The Piedmontese occupied the Marches, and then advanced into the Kingdom of Naples. By a vote of the inhabitants on 21 September the population was then allowed to declare itself in favour of annexation to Sardinia. King Francis II of Naples after a brave defence was forced to capitulate at Gaeta on 13 February, 1861, and retired to Rome. All the annexed provinces sent representatives to the Turin Parliament, and Victor Emmanuel II was here proclaimed King of Italy on 13 March, 1861. Rome and Venetia alone were still to be won. Venetia was added to Italy in 1866 as the result of the victories of its ally, Prussia.

At last Rome was also to follow. Napoleon had at the end of December, 1866, withdrawn the small French garrison from Rome. It is true indeed that a foreign legion, composed for the most part of French soldiers and officers, was formed at Antibes to undertake the protection of Rome, but its position was nevertheless very critical. Garibaldi in the autumn of 1867 invaded the States of the Church with his insurgents. Then Napoleon once more sent a force from Toulon, which together with the papal army repulsed the forces of Garibaldi near Mentana, northeast of Rome on 3 November, 1867. The French garrison after this remained in Rome, since the Parisian Government had to yield to the wishes of the Catholics of France. Not until 20 July, 1870, after the Franco-German War had broken out, were the troops withdrawn. After Napoleon had been taken prisoner at Sedan, Italy, which had removed its capital to Florence in 1865, sent troops against Rome under Cadorna, and these on 20 September, 1870, entered the city through the breach at the Porta Pia. A vote, which declared in favour of annexation to Turin, was here also to give approval to the occupation. Pius IX excommunicated all participants in and authors of the occupation of the States of the Church. All Catholics condemned the action of Italy. To protect itself against the remonstrances, Italy on 13 May, 1871, issued the so-called law of the Papal Guarantees (see GUARANTEES, LAW OF), which was to secure to the pope his sovereignty, the inviolability of his person, as well as the freedom of the conclave and of the œcumenical councils. In addition to this a yearly pension of 3,225,000 francs was voted to him. The Vatican, the Lateran, and the country-seat Castel Gandolfo were declared extra-territorial. But Pius IX to maintain his protests against the seizure of the States of the Church refused to accept the law, and shut himself up in the Vatican.

The Roman question remains unsettled to the present day, since its solution by Italy has thus far been absolutely one-sided, besides having been brought about by violence. Without heeding the protests of the pope, Rome was declared the capital of Italy on 30 June, 1871. The radical elements, who were hostile to the Church and who had contributed so much to the unification of Italy, continued for the future also to hold the upper hand. Pope Pius IX by the Decree "Non expedit" of 29 February, 1868, had forbidden the Italian Catholics to participate in the political life and especially in the election of representatives of the Kingdom of Italy. Only in very recent years has a gradual tendency to a change of relations become noticeable. Although Pius X, because of the principle involved, adheres to the "Non expedit", he permits the participation of Catholics in administrative elections (municipal and provincial elections), and since the Encyclical "Certum Consilium" of 11 June, 1905, in certain cases on the recommendation of the bishop also participation in the parliamentary elections. Since that time the Catholics have begun to take part in the political life of Italy (1909: 22 representatives) and to exert an influence which we hope will redound to the welfare of the Church and of Italy.

Under the article [Pius IX](#) we read this concerning the events of 1870:

Intrigues against the Papal States (1858-1878).-- When Pius IX visited his provinces in the summer of 1857 he received everywhere a warm and loyal reception. But the doom of his temporal power was sealed, when a year later Cavour and Napoleon III met at Plombières, concerting plans for a combined war against Austria and the subsequent territorial extension of the Sardinian Kingdom. They sent their agents into various cities of the Papal States to propagate the idea of a politically united Italy. The defeat of Austria at Magenta on 4 July, 1859, and the subsequent withdrawal of the Austrian troops from the papal legations, inaugurated the dissolution of the Papal States. The insurrection in some of the cities of the Romagna was put forth as a plea for annexing this province to Piedmont in September, 1859. On 6 February, 1860, Victor Emmanuel demanded the annexation of Umbria and the Marches and, when Pius IX resisted this unjust demand, made ready to annex them by force. After defeating the papal army at Castelfidardo on 18 September, and at Ancona on 30 September, he deprived the pope of all his possessions

with the exception of Rome and the immediate vicinity. Finally on 20 September, 1870, he completed the spoliation of the papal possessions by seizing Rome and making it the capital of United Italy. The so-called Law of Guarantees, of 15 May, 1871, which accorded the pope the rights of a sovereign, an annual remuneration of 3¼ million lire (\$650,000), and extraterritoriality to a few papal palaces in Rome, was never accepted by Pius IX or his successors.

In an article on the [Law of Guarantees](#) regard to the law passed in 1871 concerning the rights and powers of the pope and the clergy while under virtual house arrest we read:

Law of Guarantees (LA LEGGE DELLE GUARENTIGIE)

A name given to the law passed by the senate and chamber of the Italian parliament, 13 May, 1871, concerning the prerogatives of the Holy See, and the relations between State and Church in the Kingdom of Italy. The principal stipulations of the law may be summed up as follows:

the pope's person to be sacred and inviolable;

insult or injury to the pope to be treated on a par with insult or injury to the king's person; discussion of religious matters to be absolutely free;

royal honours to be paid to the pope; that he have the right to the customary guards;

the pope to be given an annual endowment of 3,225,000 lire (\$622,425 or £127,933) to cover all the needs of the Holy See (college of cardinals, Roman congregations, embassies, etc.) and the maintenance of church buildings;

the Vatican and Lateran palaces, as well as the Villa of Castel Gandolfo, to remain the property of the pope; these articles assure the pope and all engaged in the spiritual government of the Church, as well as the college of cardinals assembled in conclave, complete liberty of communication with the Catholic world, exempt them from all interference with their letters, papers, etc.;

the clergy to have freedom of assembly;

the government to renounce the "Apostolic Legation" in Sicily, and the right of nomination to major benefices, with reservation, however, of the royal patronage; the bishops are not obliged to take the oath (of allegiance) on appointment;

the Exequatur to be maintained only for the major benefices (except in Rome, and in the suburbicarian sees) and for acts affecting the disposition of ecclesiastical property;

in spiritual matters no appeal to be allowed against ecclesiastical authority; the civil courts, however, to be competent to pass judgment on the juridical effects of ecclesiastical sentences. Provision to be made, by a future law, for the reorganization, conservation, and administration of all the church property in the kingdom.

The Italian government, which had declared that it entered Rome to safeguard the person of the Holy Father (Visconti-Venosta, circular of 7 September, 1870; the autograph letter of Victor Emanuel to Pius IX, dated 29 Aug., received 10 Sept.; again the king's answer to the Roman deputation which brought him the result of the plebiscite), and which, in the very act of invading pontifical territory, had assured the

people that the independence of the Holy See would remain inviolate (General Cadorna's proclamation at Terni, 11 Sept.), felt obliged to secure in a legal and solemn way the executions of its aforesaid intention. It owed no less to its own Catholic subjects, and to Catholics the world over. Two ways were open to it for keeping its promise. It might call an international congress of all nations having a very large Catholic population, or it might pass a domestic Italian law. In the aforesaid circular of the minister Visconti-Venosta, addressed to all the powers, the former way was hinted at. But the unconcern of Catholic governments over the events that ended in the occupation of Rome put an end to all thought of consulting them; and so a domestic law was passed. Before its adoption, however, Pius IX, by a letter of his cardinal vicar, dated 2 March, 1871, protested against the law "in which", he said, "it was no easy task to decide whether absurdity, cunning, or contempt played the largest part".

The pope refused to recognize in the Italian government any right to grant him prerogatives, or to make laws for him. Indeed, each of the "concessions carried with it a special servitude, while later events proved that they were not intended to be seriously observed. In the Encyclical of 15 May following, the pope declared that no guarantees could secure him the liberty and independence necessary in the exercise of his power and authority. He renewed this protest at the consistory of 27 October. And it stands to reason that a law voted by two houses of Parliament could with equal ease be abrogated by them at will. Indeed, it has ever been part of the programme of the "Left" party in the Italian Parliament to suppress the Law of Guarantees. Pius IX, moreover, was unwilling to accept formally the arrangements made concerning the relations of Church and State, especially the Exequatur and the administration of ecclesiastical property. Moreover, if, as he hoped, the occupation of Rome was to be only temporary, the acceptance of this law seemed useless. Doubtless, too, such acceptance on his part would have been interpreted as at least a tacit recognition of accomplished facts, as a renunciation of the temporal power, and the property which had been taken from the Holy See (e. g. the Quirinal Palace). The abandonment of the "Apostolic Legation" in Sicily, for eight centuries an apple of discord between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Sicily (Sentis, "La Monarchia Sicula", Freiburg im Br., 1864), and the endowment granted the pope, were truly but slight compensation for all that had been taken from him. Consequently neither Pius IX nor his two successors have ever touched the aforesaid annual endowment, preferring to depend on the offerings of the faithful throughout the Catholic world. It may be added that the endowment was not sufficient to meet the needs of the Church, nor with their multiplication could it be increased.

A few years ago the question arose as to whether this untouched endowment would be confiscated by the Italian treasury at the end of every five years, as is usual with other public debts of the Kingdom of Italy. The "Civiltà Cattolica" maintained that it could not be confiscated, but the Italian courts long ago decided differently, when they rejected the claims of the heirs of Pius IX on the ground that as he had not accepted the endowment he had never come into possession of it. What need then of confiscating it? Pius IX expressly rejected this income, 13 November, 1872.

There is occasional controversy between writers on international law and on Italian ecclesiastical legislation over various matters connected with this law: whether in the eyes of the Italian government the pope is a sovereign, whether he enjoys the privilege of extraterritoriality (not expressly recognized to him, though granted to foreign embassies to the Holy See), etc. As far as the Holy See is concerned these controversies have no meaning; it has never ceased to maintain its sovereign rights.

When did France decree against the temporal powers of the Church in France?

Notice these comments from the Catholic Encyclopedia under the article "[French Revolution](#):"

The rumours that Louis XVI sought to fly to Metz and place himself under the protection of the army of Bouillé in order to organize a counter-revolutionary movement and his refusal to promulgate the Declaration of the Rights of Man, brought about an uprising in Paris. The mob set out to Versailles, and amid insults brought back the king and queen to Paris (6 Oct., 1789). Thenceforth the Assembly sat at Paris, first at the archiepiscopal residence, then at the Tuileries. At this moment the idea of taking possession of the goods of the clergy in order to meet financial exigencies began to appear in a number of journals and pamphlets. The plan of confiscating this property, which had been suggested as early as 8 August by the Marquis de Lacoste, was resumed (24 Sept.) by the economist, Dupont de Nemours, and on 10 October was supported in the name of the Committee of Finances in a report which caused scandal by Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, who under the old regime had been one of the two "general agents" charged with defending the financial interests of the French clergy. On 12 October Mirabeau requested the Assembly to decree (1) that the ownership of the church property belonged to the nation that it might provide for the support of the priests; (2) that the salary of each curé should not be less than 1200 livres. The plan was discussed from 13 October to 2 November. It was opposed the Abbé de Montesquieu, and the Abbé Maury, who contended that the clergy being a moral person could be an owner, disputed the estimates placed upon the wealth of the clergy, and suggested that their possessions should simply serve as a guarantee for a loan of 400,000,000 livres to the nation. The advocates of confiscation maintained that the clergy no longer existed as an order, that the property was like an escheated succession, and that the State had a right to claim it, that moreover the Royal Government had never expressly recognized the clergy as a proprietor, that in 1749 Louis XV had forbidden the clergy to receive anything without the authority of the State, and that he had confiscated the property of the Society of Jesus. Malouet took an intermediate stand and demanded that the State should confiscate only superfluous ecclesiastical possessions, but that the parochial clergy should be endowed with land. Finally, on 2 November, 1789, the Assembly decided that the possessions of the clergy be "placed at the disposal" of the nation. The results of this vote were not long in following. The first was Treilhard's motion (17 December), demanding in the name of the ecclesiastical committee of the Assembly, the closing of useless convents, and decreeing that the State should permit the religious to release themselves from their monastic vows.

Appendix for Events Related to 1798 AD

Was there a decree in 1793 and what was its substance?:

1793 was a very turbulent year in France, the Revolution and the Catholic Church in France. Here is some background information from the Catholic Encyclopedia concerning the [French Revolution](#):

During the night of 4 August, 1789, at the instance of the Vicomte de Noailles, the Assembly voted with extraordinary enthusiasm the abolition of all privileges and feudal rights and the equality of all Frenchmen. A blow was thereby struck at the wealth of the clergy, but the churchmen were the first to give an example of sacrifice. Plurality of benefices and annates was abolished and the redemption of tithes was agreed upon, but two days later, the higher clergy becoming uneasy, demanded another discussion of the vote which had carried the redemption. The result was the abolition, pure and simple, of tithes without redemption. In the course of the discussion Buzot declared that the

property of the clergy belonged to the nation. Louis XVI's conscience began to be alarmed. He temporized for five weeks, then merely published the decrees as general principles, reserving the right to approve or reject the measures which the Assembly would take to enforce them....

Before giving France a constitution the Assembly judged it necessary to draw up a "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen", which should form a preamble to the Constitution. Camus's suggestion that to the declaration of the rights of man should be added a declaration of his duties, was rejected. The Declaration of Rights mentions in its preamble that it is made in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, but out of three of the articles proposed by the clergy, guaranteeing the respect due to religion and public worship, two were rejected after speeches by the Protestant, Rabaut Saint-Etienne, and Mirabeau, and the only article relating to religion was worded as follows: "No one shall be disturbed for his opinions, even religious, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law." In fact it was the wish of the Assembly that Catholicism should cease to be the religion of the State and that liberty of worship should be established. It subsequently declared Protestants eligible to all offices (24 Dec., 1789), restored to their possessions and status as Frenchmen the heirs of Protestant refugees (10 July and 9 Dec., 1790), and took measures in favour of the Jews (28 January, 26 July, 16 Aug., 1790). But it soon became evident in the discussions relating to the Civil Constitution of the clergy that the Assembly desired that the Catholic Church, to which the majority of the French people belonged, should be subject to the State and really organized by the State....

From a religious point of view a new feature arose at this period — the constitutional clergy, accused of sympathy with the Girondins, came to be suspected almost as much as the non-juring priests. Numerous conflicts arose between the constitutional priests and the civil authorities with regard to the decree of the Convention which did not permit the priests to ask those intending to marry if they were baptized, had been to confession, or were divorced. The constitutional bishops would not submit to the Convention when it required them to give apostate priests the nuptial blessing. Despite the example of the constitutional bishop, Thomas Lindet, a member of the Convention, who won the applause of the Assembly by announcing his marriage, despite the scandal given by Gobel, Bishop of Paris, in appointing a married priest to a post in Paris the majority of constitutional bishops remained hostile to the marriage of priests. The conflict between them and the Convention became notorious when, on 19 July, 1793, a decree of the Convention decided that the bishops who directly or indirectly offered any obstacle to the marriage of priests should be deported and replaced. In October the Convention declared that the constitutional priests themselves should be deported if they were found wanting in citizenship. The measures taken by the Convention to substitute the Revolutionary calendar for the old Christian calendar, and the decrees ordering the municipalities to seize and melt down the bells and treasures of the churches, proved that certain currents prevailed tending to the dechristianization of France. On the one hand the rest of *décadi*, every tenth day, replaced the Sunday rest; on the other the Convention commissioned Leonard Bourdon (19 Sept., 1793) to compile a collection of the heroic actions of Republicans to replace the lives of the saints in the schools. The "missionary representatives", sent to the provinces, closed churches, hunted down citizens suspected of religious practices, endeavoured to constrain priests to marry, and threatened with deportation for lack of citizenship priests who refused to abandon their posts. Persecution of all religious ideas began. At the request of the Paris Commune, Gobel, Bishop of Paris, and thirteen of his vicars resigned at the bar of the Convention (7 November) and their example was followed by several constitutional bishops.

The Montagnards who considered worship necessary replaced the Catholic Sunday Mass by the civil mass of *décadi*. Having failed to reform and nationalize Catholicism they endeavoured to form a sort of civil cult, a development of the worship of the fatherland which had been inaugurated at the feast of the Federation. The Church of

Notre-Dame-de-Paris became a temple of Reason, and the feast of Reason was celebrated on 10 November. The Goddesses of Reason and Liberty were not always the daughters of low people; they frequently came of the middle classes. Recent research has thrown new light on the history of these cults. M. Aulard was the first to recognize that the idea of honouring the fatherland, which had its origin in the festival of the Federation in 1790 gave rise to successive cults. Going deeper M. Mathiez developed the theory that confronted by the blocking of the Civil Constitution, the Conventionals, who had witnessed in the successive feasts of the Federation the power of formulas on the minds of the masses, wanted to create a real *culte de la patrie*, a sanction of faith in the fatherland. On 23 November, 1793, Chaumette passed a law alienating all churches in the capital. This example was followed in the provinces, where all city churches and a number of those in the country were closed to Catholic worship. The Convention offered a prize for the abjuration of priests by passing a decree which assured a pension to Priests who abjured, and the most painful day of that sad period was 20 November, 1793, when men, women, and children dressed in Priestly garments taken from the Church of St. Germain des Prés marched through the hall of the Convention. Laloï, who presided, congratulated them, saying they had "wiped out eighteen centuries of error". Despite the part played by Chaumette and the Commune of Paris in the work of violent dechristianization, M. Mathiez has proved that it is not correct to lay on the Commune and the *Exagérés*, they were called, the entire responsibility, and that a Moderate, an Indulgent, namely Thuriot, the friend of Danton, was one of the most violent instigators. It is thus clear why Robespierre who desired a reaction against these excesses, should attack both *Exagérés* and Indulgents.

Indeed a reactionary movement was soon evident. As early as 21 November, 1793, Robespierre complained of the "madmen who could only revive fanaticism". On 5 December he caused the Convention to adopt the text of a manifesto to the nations of Europe in which the members declared that they sought to protect the liberty of all creeds; on 7 December, he supported the motion of the committee of public safety which reported the bad effect in the provinces of the intolerant violence of the missionary representatives, and which forbade in the future all threats or violence contrary to liberty of worship. These decrees were the cause of warfare between Robespierre and enthusiasts such as Hébert and Clootz. At first Robespierre sent his enemies to the scaffold; Hébert and Clootz were beheaded in March, 1794, Chaumette and Bishop Gobel in April. But in this same month of April Robespierre sent to the scaffold the Moderates, Desmoulins and Danton, who wanted to stop the Terror, and became the master of France with his lieutenants Couthon and Saint-Just. M. Aulard regards Robespierre as having been hostile to the dechristianization for religious and political motives; he explains that Robespierre shared the admiration for Christ felt by Rousseau's Vicar Savoyard and that he feared the evil effect on the powers of Europe of the Convention's anti-religious policy. M. Mathiez on the other hand considers that Robespierre did not condemn the dechristianization in principle; that he knew the common hostility to the Committee of Public Safety of Moderates such as Thuriot and enthusiasts like Hébert; and that on the information of Basire and Chabot he suspected both parties of having furthered the fanatical measures of dechristianization only to discredit the Convention abroad and thus more easily to plot with the powers hostile to France. Robespierre's true intentions are still an historical problem. On 6 April, 1794, he commissioned Couthon to propose in the name of the Committee of Public Safety that a feast be instituted in honour of the Supreme Being, and on 7 May Robespierre himself outlined in a long speech the plan of the new religion. He explained that from the religious and Republican standpoint the idea of a Supreme Being was advantageous to the State, that religion should dispense with a priesthood, and that priests were to religion what charlatans were to medicine, and that the true priest of the Supreme Being was Nature. The Convention desired to have this speech translated into all languages and adopted a decree of which the first article was: "The French people recognize the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul". The same decree states that freedom of worship is maintained but adds that in the case of disturbances caused by the exercise of a religion those who "excite them by fanatical

preaching or by counter Revolutionary innovations", shall be punished according to the rigour of the law. Thus the condition of the Catholic Church remained equally precarious and the first festival of the Supreme Being was celebrated throughout France on 8 June, 1794, with aggressive splendour. Whereas the *Exagérés* wished simply to destroy Catholicism, and in the temples of Reason political rather than moral doctrines were taught. Robespierre desired that the civic religion should have a moral code which he based on the two dogmas of God and the immortality of the soul. He was of the opinion that the idea of God had a social value, that public morality depended on it and that Catholics would more readily support the republic under the auspices of a Supreme Being. ...

The death of Robespierre was the signal for a change of policy which proved of advantage to the Church; many imprisoned priests were released and many *émigré* priests returned. Not a single law hostile to Catholicism was repealed, but the application of them was greatly relaxed. The religious policy of the Convention became indecisive and changeable....

in Feb., 1795, the generals and commissaries of the Convention in their negotiations with the Vendéans promised them the restoration of their religious liberties, the Convention returned to the idea supported by Grégoire, and at the suggestion of the Protestant, Boissy d'Anglas, it passed the Law of 3 *Ventôse* (21 Feb., 1795), which marked the enfranchisement of the Catholic Church. This law enacted that the republic should pay salaries to the ministers of no religion, and that no churches should be reopened, but it declared that the exercise of religion should not be disturbed, and prescribed penalties for disturbers. Immediately the constitutional bishops issued an Encyclical for the Establishment of Catholic worship, but their credit was shaken. The confidence of the faithful was given instead to the non-juring priests who were returning by degrees. These priests were soon so numerous that in April, 1795, the Convention ordered them to depart within the month under pain of death. This was a fresh outbreak of anti-Catholicism. With the fluctuation which thenceforth characterized it the Convention soon made a counter-movement. On 20 May, 1795, the assembly hall was invaded by the mob and the deputy Féraud assassinated. These violences of the Extremists gave some influence to the Moderates, and 30 May, at the suggestion of the Catholic, Lanjuinais, the Convention decreed that (Law of 11 *Prairial*) the churches not confiscated should be place at the disposal of citizens for the exercise of their religion, but that every priest who wished to officiate in these churches should previously take an oath of submission to the laws; those who refused might legally hold services in private houses. This oath of submission to the laws was much less serious than the oaths formerly prescribed by the Revolutionary authorities, and the Abbé Sicard has shown how Emery, Superior General of St. Sulpice, Bausset, Bishop of Alais and other ecclesiastics were inclined to a policy of pacification and to think that such an oath might be taken....

In theory worship was free; the Law of 29 Sept., 1795 (7 *Vendémiaire*), on the religious policy, though still far from satisfactory to the clergy, was nevertheless an improvement on the laws of the Terror, but anarchy and the spirit of persecution still disturbed the whole country....

The Directory began to feel that its policy of religious persecution was no longer followed by the Councils. It learned also that Bonaparte, who in Italy led the armies of the Directory from victory to victory, displayed consideration for the pope....

Furthermore, the electors themselves showed that they desired a change of policy. The elections of 20 may, 1797, caused the majority of Councils to pass from the Left to the Right. Pichegru became president of the Five Hundred, a Royalist, Barthélemy, became one of the Five Directors. Violent discussions which took place from 26 June to 18 July,

in which Royer-Collard distinguished himself, brought to the vote the proposal of the deputy Dubruel for the abolition of all laws against non-juring priests passed since 1791. The Directors, alarmed by what they considered a reactionary movement, commissioned General Augereau to effect the *coup d'état of 18 Fructidor* (4 Sept., 1797); the elections of 49 departments were quashed, two Directors, Carnot and Barthélemy, proscribed, 53 deputies deported, and laws against the émigré and non-juring priests restored to their vigour. Organized hunting for these priests took place throughout France; the Directory cast hundreds of them on the unhealthy shore of Sinnamary, Guiana, where they died. At the same time the Directory commissioned Berthier to make the attack on the Papal States and the pope, from which Bonaparte had refrained. The Roman Republic was proclaimed in 1798 and Pius VI was taken prisoner to Valence. An especially odious persecution was renewed in France against the ancient Christian customs; it was known as the *décadaire* persecution. Officials and municipalities were called upon to overwhelm with vexations the partisans of Sunday and to restore the observance of *décadi*. The rest of that day became compulsory not only for administrations and schools, but also for business and industry. Marriages could only be celebrated on *décadi* at the chief town of each canton....

NEED TO GET THE PRIMARY SOURCES ON THE DECREEE AND QUOTE.

How many times was Rome and the popes invaded and controlled during the so-called 1260 years of papal "supremacy"?

- The papacy was now completely at the mercy of the struggling factions of the nobility. Benedict IV in 901 crowned as emperor Louis, King of Lower Burgundy, who had been summoned by the Italian nobles. In 915 John X crowned Louis's opponent, the Marquis Berengar of Friuli. Berengar was the last to receive the imperial crown before the founding of the Roman Empire of the German Nation. At Rome itself the greatest influence was won by the family of the later Counts of Tusculum, which traced its descent to the senator and *dux*, Theophylactus, and whose power was for a time represented by the wife of Theophylactus, Theodora (called *Senatrix* or *Vesteratrix*), and her daughters Marozia and Theodora the Younger. The papacy also came under the power of these women. Alberic, the husband of Marozia, with John X, who had been raised to the papacy by the elder Theodora, defeated the Saracens on the Gangliano (916), and thereafter called himself Consul of the Romans. After his death this rank was transmitted to Marozia, and, on her fall, to his son Alberic. Marozia had John X deposed, and finally had her own son by her first husband placed upon the papal chair as John XI. John XI was entirely dominated by his mother. When Marozia's son, Alberic II, finally put an end to the despotic rule of his mother (932), the Romans proclaimed him their lord and master, conferred on him all temporal power, and restricted the pope's authority to purely spiritual matters. (Catholic Encyc. Art. "States of the Church.")
- The temporal power of the pope might then have come to an end, had not John, Alberic's son, reunited the two powers. But John's life and his conduct of the government necessitated the intervention of the Emperor Otto I (963), who instituted the office of *præfectus urbis*, to represent the imperial authority. (This office became hereditary in the Vico family.)

Order did not reign for long: Crescentius, leader of the anti-papal party, deposed and murdered popes. (Catholic Encyc. Art. "Rome.")

- Robert Guiscard, called to the rescue by Gregory VII, sacked the city and burned a great part of it, with immense destruction of monuments and documents. The struggle was revived under Henry V, and Rome was repeatedly besieged by the imperial troops. Then followed the schism of Pier Leone (Anacletus II), which had hardly been ended, in 1143 (Catholic Encyc. Art. "Rome.")
- A dreadful catastrophe was brought upon Rome by the vacillating policy of Clement VII. The disorderly troops of Charles V overran and plundered the States of the Church, occupied Rome on 6 May, 1527, and for eight days rioted there frightfully (*Sacco di Roma*). In the Castle of S. Angelo the pope was held captive until 6 December. It was long before these wounds were healed although the pope in 1529 concluded a peace with the emperor at Barcelona and received back the States of the Church. The conclusion of peace was confirmed by the Conference of Bologna, at which Charles V on 24 April, 1530, received the imperial crown from Clement VII. (Catholic Encyc. Art. "States of the Church.")

The Orders from the Directory via Napoleon for General Berthier's Invasion of Rome.

The following primary document comes from a collection of Bonaparte's writings published by Napoleon III:

2404

INSTRUCTIONS AU GENERAL BERTHIER

Paris, 22 nivôse an (11 janvier 1798)

Le Directoire exécutif, Citoyen Général, n'a vu qu'avec la plus vive indignation la conduite que vient de tenir la cour de Rome envers l'ambassadeur de la République française. Les meurtiers du brave général Duphot ne resteront pas impunis.

L'intention du Directoire exécutif est que vous marchiez sur-le-champ sur Rome, dans le plus grand secret. Il pense, en conséquence, que vous devez disposer les différentes divisions de l'armée de la manière suivante:

Vous avez à l'armée huit demi-brigades d'infanterie légère, dont une est à Genes et l'autre en garnison à Coni:

Douze demi-brigades de ligne, dont une est en garnison à Tortone et à Alexandrie, et l'autre à Milan et Pizzighetone;

Ce qui vous fait six demi-brigades d'infanterie légère, et dix demi-brigades de ligne disponible.

Le Directoire exécutif vous autorise à faire revenir les 30^e, 61^e, et 88^e demi-brigades de ligne, qui déjà doivent être en marche pour rentrer en France, ainsi que la 21^e d'infanterie légère.

Vous vous trouverez donc avoir sept demi-brigades d'infanterie légère, et treize demi-brigades de ligne.

Vous retirez la demi-brigades d'infanterie légère qui est à Gênes, dès l'instant que vous le jugerez nécessaire, pour renforcer vos divisions d'observation.

Vous diviserez ces dites troupes en quatre divisions:

La première composée de quatre demi-brigades d'infanterie légère, quatre demi-brigades de ligne, trois régiments de cavalerie légère, , se réunira, dans le plus bref délai, à Ancone;

La deuxième, composée de deux demi-brigades d'infanterie légère, deux demi-brigades de ligne occupera Ferarre jusqu'à Porto-Legnago;

La troisième, composée d'une demi-brigade d'infanterie légère, six demi-brigades de ligne, tiendra garnison à Mantoue, à Peschiera, àet occupera la ligne depuis Porto-Legnago à Peschiera;

La quatrième, composée d'une demi-brigade de ligne, que vous renforcerez par le demi-brigade d'infanterie légère qui est à Gênes, lorsque vous la ferez venir, gardera la vallée de Sabia.

Vous distribuerez toutes les forces italiennes de manière qu'elles puissent accourir promptement, et renforcer vos différentes divisions.

Vous tiendrez à Rimini les deux légions polonaises avec 3,000 Italiens.

Par ces dispositions, la République cisalpine se trouvera préservée d'une invasion subite, et, dans tous les cas, les principales places, telles que Ferrare, Mantone, Peschiera, Pizzighettoni, le chateau de Breschia et Orzinovi, se trouveront suffissamment munies de garnison et à l'abri de toute surprise.

Vous aurons soin que le Directoire exécutif de la République cisalpine maintienne ces places approvisionnées autant qu'elles doivent l'être , et vous ferez travailler avec plus grande activité au perfectionnement des fortifications de Peschiera, et surtout à celle de Rocca d'Anfo.

Vous vous trouverez avoir à Ancône plus de 13,000 hommes.

Vous prendrez toutes les mesures pour que les frégates *la Muiron* et *la Garrère* puissent nous maintenir maîtres de la mer. Vous emploierez même toute l'activité possible pour pourvoir, si le cas exigeait, tenir la mer avec les trois bâtements de guerre qui sont à Ancône.

Vous ferez marcher, dans le plus court délai possible, et à grandes journées, sur Rome.

Si nous aviez à craindre que les troupes du Pape, la moitié des forces que le Directoire désire que vous réunissiez à Ancône vous suffrait. Mais il faut encore que vous soyez, dans tous le cas, dans une position qui puisse en imposer au roi de Naples.

Vous vous servirez des 4,000 Polonais et des 3,000 Italiens, que vous tiendrez à Rimini, dans le cas ou les dispositions du roi de Naples vous feraient penser en avoir besoin, et

vous pourrez même sans convénient, si vous le jugez nécessaire, les faire arriver jusqu'à Ancône.

La République cisalpine, se trouvant raccommodée avec le Pape, ne doit prendre aucune part à notre querelle avec ce prince, et doit se maintenir dans le plus neutralité. Il sera essentiel que le Gouvernement de cette République déclare formellement au ministre du Pape qu'il prendra aucune part à la querelle existante entre la France et ce prince. Il serait également essentiel que la République cisalpine envoyât le plus tôt possible un ministre à Vienne, qui sera spécialement chargé de déclarer qu'elle reste neutre dans cette querelle, et que ce ne serait que dans le cas où quelque puissance, ce que n'est pas présumable, voudrait se mêler de la querelle survenue entre la France et Rome, qu'elle se trouverait obligée d'y de prendre part.

D'après cette conduite que doit tenir la République cisalpine, vous sentez bien que vous ne devez vous servir de 4,000 Polonais et 3,000 Italiens, que le Directoire exécutif désire que vous réunissiez à Rimini, que dans le cas où le roi de Naples se déclarerait, ou dans le circonstances impérieuses et imprévues.

La célérité dans votre marche sur Rome est la de plus grande importance; elle peut seul assurer le succès de l'opération. Dès l'instant que vous aurez assez de troupes à Ancône, vous les mettrez en marche.

Vous favoriserez secrètement la réunion de tous le pays adjacents de cette ville, tel que le duché d'Urbain et le province de Macerata.

Vous ne ferez paraître votre manifeste contre le Pape que lorsque vos troupes seront à Macerata. Vous direz un peu de mots que le seule raison qui vous fait marcher à Rome est la nécessité de punir les assassins du général Duphot et ceux qui ont ôse méconnaître le respect qu'ils doivent à l'ambassadeur de France.

Le roi de Naples ne manquera point de envoyer un de ses ministres, auquel auquel vous direz que le Directoire exécutif de la République française n'est conduit par aucune vue d'ambition; que, d'ailleurs, si la République française a été assez généreuse pour s'arrêter à Tolentino lorsqu'elle avait des raisons plus grave encore de plaintes contre Rome, il ne serait point impossible que, si le Pape donne la satisfaction qui content le Gouvernement, cette affaire pût s'arranger.

Tout en tenant ces propos, vous cheminerez à marches forcées. L'art ici consiste à gagner quelque marches, de sorte que, lorsque le roi de Naples s'apercevra que votre projet est d'arriver à Rome, il ne soit plus à temps de vous prévenir.

Lorsque vous trouverez à deux journées de Rome, vous menerez alors le Pape et tous les membres du Gouvernement qui se sont rendus coupables de plus grand de tous les crimes, afin de leur inspirer l'épouvante et de les faire fuir.

Vous trouverez ci-joint la copie des instructions que le Directoire exécutif envoie au général Brune, ambassadeur extraordinaire de la République à Naples. Vous vous servirez de ce général dans votre opération militaire, et vous ne lui remettrez ses pouvoirs qu'au moment où il sera nécessaire qu'il parte.

Les commissaires du gouvernement d'Ancône, avec ceux des villes de Pesaro, Sinigaglia, du duché d'Urbain et de toute la province de Macerata, se réuniront entre eux pour organiser une république indépendante. Vous favoriserez ladite organisation sans y prendre une part ostensible.

Si, avant que vous fussiez arrivé à Rome, le roi de Naples fût entré dans cette ville, vous enverriez le général Brune à Naples pour y remplir ses instructions et engager ce prince à évacuer Rome. Vous l'y forcerez, si vous croyez le pouvoir faire avec succès; et, dans le cas où ses forces seraient tellement supérieures aux vôtres, que ce parti devienne impraticable, vous prendrez un arrangement provisoire, de manière que toute la partie des États du Pape en deçà des Apennins, et toute la province de Pérouse, au moins, se trouvassent occupées par l'armée française.

S'il vous était prouvé que l'armée du roi de Naples fût sur le point de se mettre en marche pour se rendre à Rome, et que le général de l'Empereur, en Italie, vous fit des déclarations positives sur l'intention du cabinet de Vienne de soutenir l'opération du roi de Naples, vous lui déclarerez qu'aucun prince n'a encore eu la prétention de tenir la République française en tutelle, et l'empêcher du punir les offenses faites à son ambassadeur, et qu'au premier mouvement que ferait le général autrichien, l'armée française s'emparerait de la Toscane. Ceci doit être dit, et non pas écrit.

Si, comme le Directoire n'en doute pas, vous arrivez à Rome, vous emploierez toute votre influence à organiser la République romaine, en évitant cependant tout ce qui, ostensiblement, pourrait prouver le projet du Gouvernement de former cette république.

Vous aurez soin de faire arrêter les chefs des assassinats commis le 8 nivôse, notamment le cardinal Albani, ainsi que sa famille, et vous ferez saisir leurs papiers et séquestrer leur biens.

Le Directoire exécutif vous a autorisé ci-dessus à faire rentrer à votre armée une demi-brigade d'infanterie légère et trois de ligne qui étaient destinée à l'armée d'Angleterre. Il vous autorise également à faire rester dans le Piémont les 22^e et 4^e demi-brigades d'infanterie légère et la 43^e de ligne, ainsi que le 14^e régiment de dragons. Ces troupes resteront, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, cantonnées dans le Piémont.

Vous garderez également le 1^{er} régiment de cavalerie que le ministre de la guerre avait été autorisé à faire partir de votre armée.

Le Directoire exécutif a envoyé l'ordre au citoyen Faipoult de faire remettre sur-le-champ à la disposition de l'armée les huit millions de diamants que le Pape avait donnés à l'armée en payment de contributions, que l'administration de l'armée lui avait cédés, et qui se trouvent actuellement à Gènes. Vous en ferez usage pour vous procurer des fonds nécessaires à l'armée. Vous pourrez également vous procurer de ressources pour nourrir votre armée, en vendant la terre de la Mezzola et tout ce que la République posséderait en Italie.

D'ici à deux jours, le traité d'alliance sera conclu avec le ministre de la République cisalpine. Les divisions françaises qui se trouvent sur son territoire doivent être soldées, et nourries par elle.

Faites tous vos efforts pour donner à cette République une grande impulsion pour l'organisation de ses finances.

Faites-lui conclure un traité d'alliance offensif et défensif avec la République ligurienne, de manière qu'elles obligent réciproquement à se fournir quatre ou cinq mille hommes de troupes, en cas de l'une ou l'autre ait la guerre.

Le Directoire exécutif connaît votre zèle et vos talents; il ne doute pas du succès qui vous suivra dans ces différentes opérations.

Archives de l'Empire.

(Plon and Dumaine, 1859, pp.475-479)

What was the instructions from the Directory that accompanied this letter? How do I get a copy of it?

The Decree of Napoleon to annex the Papal States in 1809.

The following primary document comes from a collection of Bonaparte's writings published by Napoleon III:

15219

DÉCRET

NAPOLÉON, Empereur des Français, Roi d'Italie, Protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin, etc

Considérant que lorsque Charlemagne, empereur des Français et notre auguste prédécesseur, fit donation de plusieurs comtés aux évêques de Rome, il ne les leur donna qu'à titre de fiefs et pour le bien de ses États, et que par cette donation Rome ne cessa pas de faire partie de son empire;

Que, depuis, ce mélange d'un pouvoir spirituel avec une autorité temporelle a été, comme il l'est encore, une source de discussions, et a porté trop souvent les pontifes à employer l'influence de l'un pour soutenir les prétensions de l'autre; qu'ainsi les intérêts spirituels et les affaires du ciel, qui sont immuables, se sont trouvés mêlés aux affaires terrestres, qui par leur nature changent selon les circonstances et la politique des temps;

Que tout ce que nous avons proposé pour concilier la sûreté de nos armées, la tranquillité et le bien – être de nos peuples, la dignité et l'intégrité de notre Empire avec les prétensions temporelles des papes, n'a pu se réaliser,

Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce que qui suit:

ARTICLE 1^{er}. – Les États du Pape sont réunis à l'Empire français.

ART 2. – La ville de Rome, si célèbre par les grands souvenirs dont elle est remplie, et premier siège de la chrétienté, est déclarée ville impériale et libre.

La gouvernement et l'administration de ladite ville seront organisés par un statut spécial.

ART. 3 – Les restes des monuments élevés par les Romains seront entretenus et conservés aux frais de notre trésor.

ART. 4. – La dette publique est constituée dette impériale.

ART 5.- Les terres et domaines du Pape seront augmentés jusqu'à concurrence d'un revenu net, annuel, de deux millions.

ART 6. – Les terres et domaines du Pape ainsi que ses palais seront exempts de toutes imposition, juridiction et visite, et ils jouiront d'immunités particulières.

ART 7. – Le 1^{er} juin de la présente année, une consulte extraordinaire prendra, en notre nom, possession des États du Pape, et fera les dispositions nécessaires pour que le régime constitutionnel soit organisé et puisse être mis en vigueur le 1^{er} janvier 1810.

Donné, en notre camp impérial de Vienne, le 17 mai, 1809.

Napoléon.

D'après la minute, Archives de l'Empire

([Plon and Dumaine, 1867](#), pp.15f)

15220

DÉCRET

Camp impérial de Vienne, 17 mai, 1809.

NAPOLÉON, Empereur de Français, Roi d'Italie, protecteur de la Confédération du Rhin, etc., nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit:

ARTICLE 1^{er}. – La consulte extraordinaire créée par notre décret de ce jour pour les États romains sera organisée et composée de la manière suivante, savoir:

Le général de division Miollis, gouverneur général, président; le sieur Saliceti, ministre du roi de Naples; les sieurs De Gerando, Janet et Del Pozzo, maîtres de requêtes en notre Conseil d'État, et Balbe, auditeur en notre Conseil d'État, secrétaire.

ART 2. – La consulte extraordinaire est chargée de prendre possession des États du Pape en notre nom, et de faire les opérations préparatoires pour l'administration du pays, de manière que le passage de l'ordre actuel au régime constitutionnel ait lieu sans froissement, et qu'il soit pourvu à tous les intérêts.

ART 3. – Des mesures seront présentées dans le plus bref délai possible pour l'exécution des articles 3, 4, 5, et 6 de notre décret de ce jour.

ART 4. – La consulte extraordinaire correspondra avec notre ministre des finances.

ART 5. – Notre ministre des finances est chargé de l'exécution de présent décret.

NAPOLÉON

D'après la minute, Archives de l'Empire.

([Plon and Dumaine, 1867](#), pp.16f)

15221 AU COMTE GAUDIN, MINISTRE DES FINANCES, A PARIS.

Shönbrunn, 17 mai 1809

Vous recevrez deux décrets pour la prise de possession, l'organisation et l'administration des États du Pape. Ces décrets doivent être tenus secrets à Paris.

Faites partir sur-le-champ pour Rome les membres de la consulte extraordinaire. Donnez leur pour instructions d'éviter ce qui a blessé en Toscane, et de se conduire de manière que le passage de l'ancien ordre de choses au nouveau ait lieu sans secousse et avec régularité.

Que l'on pourvoie à tous les intérêts et qu'il n'y ait point de froissement. La consulte commencera par la division du territoire en départements. Il ne paraît pas qu'il doive y en avoir plus de trois ou quatre. La consulte nommera provisoirement les préfets, les conseillers de préfecture, les membres des conseils généraux, les commandants des départements et la gendarmerie, qui sera organisée par le général Radet. Quatre compagnies de gendarmerie, qui auront été formées à Plaisance et dont le ministre de la guerre vous fera connaître l'emplacement et la situation, se rendent sur-le-champ à Rome pour composer les cadres. On formera autant de compagnies qu'il y aura de départements. Quant à la ville de Rome, la consulte nommera un sénat de soixante membres, dont trente choisis parmi les princes et les familles de premier ordre et trente parmi les autres habitants les plus distingués. Ce sénat formera le corps municipal; il sera chargé de la police, etc. Vous recommanderez qu'on use envers le Pape de ménagements et d'égards. On lui laissera ses meubles, ses tableaux, ses bijoux, les palais qu'il voudra conserver et les biens qu'il choisera. Mais du reste on ne tolérera aucune opposition. Mon intention est de ne retirer, pour le trésor, aucun produit de la ville de Rome. Elle jouira de toutes les impositions qui se percevront sur ses habitants. J'y aurai un palais, qui fera partie de ma liste civile et qui doit être convenablement doté. Quant aux contributions des départements, mon intention n'est pas qu'on suive le système français; on n'y fera aucun changement pour cette année; mais on pourra proposer, pour les années suivantes, les modifications qui sont d'accord avec les habitudes du pays. Aujourd'hui la contribution foncière rapporte peu; et le *macinato*, ou droit de mouture, est le produit principal. Quoique cette imposition soit contraire aux principes que nous avons en France, on la laissera subsister. On n'augmentera pas la contribution foncière. Mon intention est que les peuples éprouvent plutôt diminution qu'augmentation. Le Code civil sera mis en activité, soit au 1^{er} juillet, soit au 1^{er} août, selon que la consulte le jugera praticable. Les tribunaux seront organisés sans retard. Il y aura à Rome une cour d'appel. La marine de Civitavecchia et d'Ostie sera organisée sur un rapport que fera le ministre de la marine. Lorsque cette affaire sera finie, c'est-à-dire dans le courant de juin, vous vous entendrez avec le ministre de la guerre sur l'organisation de l'artillerie, du génie et de tout ce qui concerne le militaire.

D'après la minute. Archives de l'Empire.

(Plon and Dumaine, 1867, pp.17f)

Bonaparte's memoirs regarding his relations with the Pope between 1796 and 1812 – The Pope Never Lost Temporal Control of the City of Rome.

In one chapter in the book Napoleon on Napoleon, Editor Somerset De Chair collates the Emperor's memoirs on the "Relations with the Pope." These statements by Napoleon himself makes it clear beyond a shadow of doubt that, Napoleon did not extinguish the Pope's temporal Powers. He did indeed limit the Papal territory at one stage to just the city of Rome, and he did annex various papal states during this time, but at no time, did he venture to touch the "untouchable" – that of taking the city of Rome from the Holy See. That action was reserved for Victor Emmanuel II in 1870. And in spite of what the SDA historicist's say, including Froom, their statements are incorrect and unsupported by the historical facts.

Here then are the pertinent comments by Napoleon from his memoirs:

In Italy, in 1796 and 1797, I had paid particular attention to religious affairs – this kind of knowledge was necessary for the conqueror and legislator of the Transpadane and Cisalpine Republics etc. In 1798 and 1799 I had occasion to study the Koran, and to acquire a knowledge of the principles of Islam, the government and the tenets of its four sects, and their relations with Constantinople and Mecca. I must have become well acquainted with both religions, for my knowledge contributed to my gaining the affections both of the Italian clergy and of the ulemas of Egypt.

I never regretted making the Concordat of 1801. The sentiments on this subject that have been put into my mouth are false – I have never said that the Concordat was the greatest error of my reign. The discussion I afterwards had with Rome arose out of the abuse that that Court made of the mixture of spiritual and temporal affairs. This may sometimes have produced in me a momentary fit of impatience, like that of the lion who feels himself stung by flies, but it never changed my views, whether with respect to the principles of my religion, or to that great work which had such important results.

The Concordat of 1801 was necessary to religion, to the Republic, to government. The temples were shut up, the priests were persecuted. They were divided into three sects, that of the Constitutionals, that of the Vicars Apostolic, and that of the emigrant bishops in the pay of England. The Concordat terminated these divisions, and raised up the catholic apostolic Roman Church from the ruins....The question of suspending for a time the exercise of the Pope's right of instituting bishops was discussed in several conferences during the negotiation of the Concordat. But the Pope had already made great concessions; he consented to the suppression of sixty dioceses, which were almost as old as Christianity; he deprived, by his own authority, a great number of ancient bishops, and consummated the sale of the property of the clergy to the amount of 400 millions, without any indemnity....The Concordat allowed, it is true, a foreign jurisdiction in the state, which might disturb it; but this power was not introduced by the Concordat. It existed from time immemorial. Being master of Italy, I consider myself master of Rome, and this Italian influence helped me to destroy the influence of the English....⁴³

Why should I demand the acceptance of my civil code? Did not the Code of Napoleon then govern France and Italy? Did I need the aid of the Court of Rome to make laws in my own dominions?...Why should I ignore the freedom of worship? Was not freedom of worship a fundamental law of the French constitution? Did it then require the sanction of the Pope, any more than that of the minister Marron and the consistories of Geneva? ...Why should I demand the reform of the bishoprics, which were too numerous in Italy? Had not the Concordat of Italy provided a remedy for this? Some negotiations, indeed, took place with respect to the bishoprics of Tuscany and Genoa; but they were transacted in the forms established for matters of this kind....For what purpose could the abolition of pontifical bulls for the Italian bishoprics and curés be required? Were not all these matters settled by the Concordat of Italy?...Why should I demand the abolition of the religious orders? Had not the sale of their property been consummated and ratified by the Concordat?

The quarrel between me and the Pope, which lasted five years, and terminated in 1810 in the annexation of the temporal estates of the Holy See to the Empire, originated in 1805. The Courts of Vienna, Russia and England had just concluded the third coalition against France: an Austrian army occupied Munich, put the king of Bavaria to flight, and took up a position on the Iller, there awaiting the junction of two Russian armies. The Archduke John, at the head of the principal army of the House of Austria, advanced to the

⁴³ In this negotiation over property by the Pope we see the exercise of his temporal powers. Napoleon recognised the ownership of those properties up for sale. They had not been destroyed by the institution of the ephemeral first Roman Republic in 1798. The 1801 Concordat confirmed that.

Adige, threatening the conquest of all Italy. A French corp of observation, from 15,000 to 20,000 strong, under the command of Marshall Saint Cyr, occupied the peninsula: he was separated from the army of the Adige by the states of the Pope. An English squadron appeared in the Meditterean, and had cruisers in the Adriatic; an Anglo-Russian army was expected at Naples. The corps of observation at Otranto was compromised; the citadel at Ancona belonged to the Pope; being on the line of communication with the French Army of Italy, it was not in a state of defence; had 1,200 men been landed, they might have seized this important post. I requested the Pope, in a direct communication, to put Ancona in a state of defence; to garrison it with 3,000 men, and to entrust the command to a man who could be depended on; to allow me to send a garrison there. This being refused, I then required and insisted on fresh guarantees. I demanded categorically, first that the Pope should conclude an offensive treaty with the Kings of Italy⁴⁴ and Naples for the defence of Italy; the court of Naples, which was dissembling, had consented to this. Secondly, that the ports of the Roman states should be closed against the English. Thirdly, that a French garrison of 3,000 men should be received into the citadel of Ancona. To these demands the Pope answered that, as father of the faithful, he could enter into no league against his children; that it would, besides, be compromising the Roman Catholic subjects against which he should declare; that he had no reason to complain of anyone, and that he neither would nor could make war against any power whatever. I answered that when Charlemagne invested the Pope with a temporal sovereignty it was for the temporal benefit of Italy and Europe, and not for the purpose of introducing infidels and heretics into them; that the history of the Popes was full of leagues and alliances with the Emperors and the Kings of Spain and France; that Julius II had commanded armies; that in 1797 my headquarters of the episcopal palace of Bishop Chiaramonti, when I was marching against the army of Cardinal Busca, which Pope Pius VI had raised to make a diversion in favour of the Austrians – a war which was terminated by the treaty of Tolentino; therefore, as in our own times the flag of Saint Peter had marched against France, by the side of the Austrian eagle, it might now march with the French eagle; that nevertheless to testify my deference to the Holy Father, I would consent that this treaty should not extend to Austria or Spain, but should only be applicable to infidels and heretics. On these conditions I would undertake to protect the coasts and the Church against the Barbary powers. The correspondence on these subjects was kept up during 1805 and 1806. The letters of the Pope were written with the pen of Gregory VII⁴⁵: they formed a striking contrast to the mildness and amenity of his character – he was merely their signatory. He perpetually spoke of his supremacy over terrestrial powers; ‘Because,’ he said, ‘Heaven is above earth, spirit superior to matter.’

After the peace of Presbury however, a French army had entered Naples; King Ferdinand had taken refuge in Sicily; the whole kingdom had been conquered; a French prince had ascended the throne, who found himself separated by the states of the Pope from the army of upper Italy. The agents of the Court of Palermo and Cagliari, and the intriguers in the pay of England, whom that power always maintains on the continent, had made Rome the centre of their operations: soldiers were frequently assassinated in traversing the part of the route which crosses the dominions of the church between Milan and Naples. This state of affairs was intolerable. I informed the Pope that it could not be endured; and gave him to understand that, according to the nature of things, it was indispensable that the Court of Rome should make an offensive and defensive alliance with France; and it should close its ports against England; that it should drive from Rome all foreign incendiaries; or that it must expect to lose that part of its territory situate between the Apennines and the Adriatic – that is to say the marches of Ancona, which

⁴⁴ Who was this? A family member of Napoleon's. He had recently installed him there. Did the monarch run Italy as a Republic? A Republican monarchy? How does that work? Especially with a Republican government!

⁴⁵ This must be either an error or a satirical comment here on those cardinals who surrounded the pope and executed his administration for him. Gregory VII was pope 1073 to 1085. Napoleon seem to indicate that Pius VII was just a puppet of the Cardinals.

when united to the Kingdom of Italy would secure the communication between Naples and Milan. The answer of the Holy See consisted of impotent menaces; it was evident that my forbearance, which was somewhat inconsistent with my character, had given rise to an opinion at Rome that I dreaded the thunders of the Church. To dissipate this foolish notion, I ordered a corp of 6,000 men to enter Rome, under the pretext of intending to proceed to Naples, but to remain at Rome. I gave particular instruction to the general that commanded that expedition to show the greatest respect for the Court of the Vatican, and not to interfere on any occasion; at the same time I caused it to be insinuated that, having ventured to occupy Rome, I was determined to proceed to all extremities; that I would not be impeded in temporal affairs by spiritual menaces; and that the weak must resort to the strong for protection.

The Court of Rome was thrown into an absolute delirium; monitory letter, prayers, sermons, circular notes to the diplomatic body, were all employed to increase the mischief; all the spiritual arms of the Papal See were brandished in support of its temporal processions; but the amount of their efficacy had been well calculated by the Cabinet of St. Cloud. At length, early in 1808, I wrote to the Pope, that it was time to put an end to all this trifling; and unless His Holiness should adhere to the federative treaty of the powers of Italy in two months, I would consider Charlemagne's grant as null, and would confiscate the Patrimony of St. Peter; without thereby to infringe on the respect due to the sacred person of the Pope, or on his freedom as chief of the Catholic Church. It was impossible for any notice to be any more explicit; yet no regard was paid to it. Thus braved and driven to extremities, I decreed in 1808 the annexation of the Marches to the Kingdom of Italy, leaving to the Pope the city of Rome and all its dominion between the Apennines and the Mediterranean. The French agents declared at the same time that the troops of France would quit Rome and the states of the Church as soon as the Roman Court would acquiesce in the separation of the Marches; but, on receiving this news, it sent orders to its minister at Paris to demand his passports and to return without taking leave: the passports were instantly granted and war was declared. Thus a feeble power, incapable of resistance, defied and declared war against the strongest and most victorious power in the world; but it was the system of the Court of Rome to rush into extremes and to oppose spiritual to temporal arms. It still cherished a hope of witnessing a return of those ages when the world fell prostrate before the thunders of the Church. These have few terrors for me: but I was fettered by my sentiments towards the Pope; and I left everything *in statu quo*.

But in the beginning of 1809 the Fourth Coalition was declared. The Court of Vienna announced hostilities: the general commanding in Rome asked for reinforcements to enable him to keep in awe the population of that great city and the neighbouring country; and if this could not be granted, that an end might be put to the anarchy of the pontifical government. He received order to assume the government, to incorporate the Papal troops in the French army, to maintain a good police, and to take care that the Pope should continue to receive the sums that had customarily been paid out of the treasury for the maintenance of his household.

The war, in which France was engaged with Austria and Spain, appeared a favourable opportunity to the Holy See, which at length issued its bull of excommunication. The occupation of the states of the Pope was the consequence of the war which he had declared against France; but he had in no respect been disturbed in the direction of spiritual affairs, and he had received assurances that his person would not be the less sacred, provided he did not disturb the government established at Rome in the exercise of its functions. He would not take advantage of this proposal, considering that his quality as sovereign of Rome was blended with and inherent in his spiritual character. The French troops in his states were not numerous, and the battle of Essling having rendered the issue of the war in some degree doubtful, the populace was in a state of agitation: the Holy Father, shut up in his palace, had caused it to be surrounded with barricades; these were guarded by several hundred armed men with the strictest vigilance. The French

troops which occupied the outposts picked a quarrel with these guards; who, they thought, set them at defiance, which excited their sarcasms. The situation of the Pope was dangerous: every moment it was feared that they would come to blows: bullets respect nobody. The general commanding at Rome made the strongest remonstrances: he could not make those around the Pope understand that His Holiness would be more secure if guarded only by the sanctity of his character: and that the opposition of force to force might produce the most fatal consequences. Finding his advice neglected, he resolved to act according to the exigencies of the case, and to remove the Pope to Florence. His duty to the Holy Father, to the troops under his command, to the French nation, and to Europe all dictated this step. What would Catholic Christendom have said, if a life so precious been lost in a fray? Was it not the French general's office to watch over the preservation of public tranquillity? And tranquillity was instantly restored....However dissatisfied with what had happened, I could not discountenance the general at Rome, whose conduct had been prescribed by necessity. It was impossible to send the Pope back to Rome without incurring the risk of occurrences more vexatious than those that had already taken place. The battle of Wagram was impending, which would in all probability determine the question of peace, and it would afterwards be a proper time to negotiate with the Holy See, and to bring these troublesome affairs to a close.

The whole of the Imperial mansion at Turin was placed at the Pope's disposal; at Savona he was lodged at the archiepiscopal palace, where he was suitably accommodated. The intendant of the civil list, Count Sulmatori, provided him with all his needs. He remained thus several months, during which he was offered liberty to return to Rome, provided he would consent not to disturb the public peace, but to acknowledge the government established in that capital, and to interfere only in spiritual matters; but he, perceiving that there was a disposition to weary him out, and that the world went on as usual without him, addressed briefs to the Metropolitan chapters of Florence and Paris, to disturb the administration of the dioceses, during the vacancies of sees, at the same time that Cardinal Pietro was sending Vicars Apostolic into the vacant dioceses. It was then that the discussion which had been carried on for five years first ceased to be temporal, and assumed a spiritual character, which produced the first and second assemblies of the bishops at the Council of Paris, the Bull of 1811, and finally the Concordat of Fontainebleau in 1812. Nothing was yet determined with respect to the temporal state of Rome; this uncertainty encouraged the Pope in his resistance. I, who had now been trifled with for five years, by the most contemptible arguments, originating in mixture of temporal and spiritual power, at length resolved to separate those attributes forever, and no longer permit the Pope to be temporal sovereign. Jesus Christ said, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' Although heir to the throne of David, he desired to be a high priest – not a king. The Senatus Consultum of 17 February 1810 annexed the states of Rome to the Empire, and settled all that related to the temporal concerns of the Pope. Throughout these negotiations, the deputations of bishops always had instructions to offer the Pope liberty to return to Rome, on condition of his acknowledging the temporal government which had been established there, and concerning himself with spiritual things exclusively; but he constantly rejected these proposals....I only saw him in January 1813, in company with the Empress: we paid him the first visit; he returned it immediately, as is usual. During the three days we passed in the palace, all communications were in an amicable and gracious form. The Concordat was signed before several cardinals, a great number of French and Italian bishops, and part of the Imperial Court.

I evinced, on this occasion, more patience than was consistent with my character and the situation in which I stood; and if I sometimes used sarcasm in my correspondence with the Pope, I was always provoked to them by the style of the Roman chancellor, which resembled that of the times Louis le Debonnair, or the Emperor of the House of Suabia: a style the more ill-judged, because it was addressed to a man exceedingly well acquainted with the wars and affairs of Italy, who knew by heart all the campaigns

leagues and temporal intrigues of the Popes. The Court of Rome might have avoided all this by frankly embracing the French system, closing its ports against the English, voluntarily requesting the assistance of a few French battalions for the defence of Ancona, and, in short, by preserving the tranquillity in Italy.

...It was my desire to raise the Italian nation from its ruins: to unite once more the Venetians, Piedmontese, Genoese, Milanese, Tuscans, Parmesans, Modenese, Romans, Neapolitans, Sicilians, and Sardinians in one independent nation, bounded by the Alps and the Adriatic, Ionian and Mediterrean seas: such was the immortal trophy which I was raising to my glory. This great and powerful kingdom would have been, by land, a check to the House of Austria, while by see its fleets, combined with those of Toulon, would have ruled the Mediterrean and protected the ancient road of Indian commerce by the Red Sea and Suez. (De Chair, 1992, pp. 185-194)

Froom's comments on the events of 1798 from "Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers."⁴⁶

Volume II, Chapter 32. Predictions of French Revolution and Papal Overthrow

Volume II, Chapter 33. French Revolution Leads to Papal Wound

Volume II, Chapter 34. The Deadly Wound Ends the 1260 Years

I. Papal Government Supplanted and Pontiff Banished

The immediate problem is to trace the overthrow of the Papacy in Italy in 1798. One of the most interesting accounts, as well as a very trustworthy one, of the overthrow of the papal government is by Richard Duppa,[1] in *A Brief Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government, 1798*. [2] Of this work Duppa says, "It was written with the strictest attention to truth; the facts were recorded by one who was witness to the events." And he adds, "After a lapse of nine years, no part has been invalidated." [3]

1. NAPOLEON'S GOAL WAS FREEING OF ROME.—In 1796 Napoleon Bonaparte, on his way to overthrow the pope, incited his soldiers with one of his fiery speeches to the effect that they still had one offence to avenge. The hour of vengeance had struck. To restore the Capitol, to awaken the people of Rome, blunted from centuries of slavery, were to be the fruits of their victories; they would mark an epoch in history. Hearing of this, Pius VI (1775-1798)—born in 1717 as Giovanni Angelico Braschi, and died in 1799—attempted to fortify his position and

1 Richard Duppa (1770-1831), English lawyer, writer, and artist, studied art in Rome as a youth. Educated at Trinity College, Oxford, and Middle Temple, he received an L.L.B. from Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He was also an F.S.A. Duppa published a dozen works, besides classical schoolbooks, travels in Europe, and biographies of Michaelangelo, Raphael, and others.

⁴⁶ Since this work is out of print and hard to come by, I have reproduced the pertinent comments here relating to 1798 in Rome so that readers can judge that the material used here is not used out of context. For a website that supports the traditional SDA view on 1798 and uses Froom in doing so, check out Michael's Scheifler's website: <http://www.biblelight.net/h-wound.htm>

2 Third Edition enlarged and more heavily documented and illustrated, London: Murray, 1807. (2nd ed., 1799).

3 R. Duppa, *A Brief Account of the Subversion of the Papal Government*, 1798, Preface.

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neglected nothing that might prevent the great catastrophe. Meantime he sent an emissary to Napoleon at Milan and proposed an armistice, offering heavy reparations and the surrender of Ancona, Bologna, and Ferrara—the northern portion of the papal territory.[4]

The French Directory demanded that the Papacy revoke, retract, and disannul all bulls, briefs, rescripts, and decrees affecting ecclesiastical affairs in France issued since the beginning of the Revolution in 1787. This Pius VI refused, declaring he would oppose it with force, and broke off the parley. Napoleon took Imola, the Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, routed the papal army, and made new overtures to the pope.

2. TOLENTINO FOLLOWED BY KILLING OF DUPHOT.—The Directory wished Napoleon to destroy the Papacy,[5] and directed that no successor to Pius VI be elected to the papal chair. It hoped as a consequence, to deliver Europe from the papal supremacy.[6] But Bonaparte negotiated the Treaty of Tolentino, on February 19, 1797, by which the Pope was to abandon Avignon, Venaissin, Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna (Peter's patrimony), in addition to heavy indemnities.[7] The papal treasury was unable to meet the monetary demand, and the populace of Rome was showing increasing hostility to the papal government. The pope could scarcely appear in public without being hissed.[8] Revolution was in the air. Incendiary placards were posted on the one hand, and on the other the French were exposed to increasing insults. A crisis approached.

Joseph Bonaparte was sent to Rome as French ambassador, and sought to quiet the situation. But on December 27, 1797, a riot threatened, and the papal government ordered the mutineers to disperse. Duppa records that some in the mob, "proceeded to make public harangues, and pretended to shew clearly,

4 I. Bertrand, *Le Pontificat de Pie VI et l'atheisme revolutionnaire*, vol. 2, pp. 340 ff. The population of the Ecclesiastical State was given as 2,200,000.

5 George Trevor, *Rome: From the Fall of the Western Empire*, p. 439; Duppa, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

6 Alison, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 551n.

7 Duppa, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

8 Pius VI, *Historical and Philosophical Memoirs of Pius the Sixth and of His Pontificate* (translated from the French), vol. 2, pp. 314 ff.

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by several texts of scripture, that the time was at hand to overthrow the existing government." [9] The papal troops advanced, and the revolutionists sought refuge at the French embassy. The pontifical soldiers followed and opened fire. Then the French general Duphot sought to quiet the melee, but was shot, and dispatched with papal bayonets. [10]

3. BERTHIER'S TROOPS ENTER ROME BY INVITATION.—The killing of General Duphot brought on the crisis. The ambassador left Rome in indignation. Reparations were refused, and the Directory, on January 1, 1798, ordered General Berthier, [11] then in Milan, to march upon Rome and conquer it, and to establish a Roman republic. [12]

General Berthier advanced, but stopped outside of Rome, awaiting an invitation to enter. Patriots invited him to do so. Thus the French troops entered Rome on February 10, 1798. Berthier immediately pledged by proclamation that the Catholic "cult" should remain untouched. [13]

4. PROCESSIONAL LAUNCHED TO STAY EVIL DAY.—As a last resort the church had had recourse to a vast religious procession through the streets of Rome, with venerated relics, in the hope of staving off the evil day. An elaborate proclamation was issued January 15, 1798, in the form of a printed poster [14] signed by the papal secretary. The three special relics paraded were a portrait of the Saviour supposed to have been painted by supernatural agency, a miraculous picture of the Virgin Mary and the child, and the supposed chains by which St. Peter was fettered. [15] These

9 Duppa, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

10 *Historical and Philosophical Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 328; *The London Packet*, Jan. 19-22, 1798, p. 2.

11 LOUIS ALEXANDRE BERTHIER (1753-1815) prince of Wagram and confidant and associate of Napoleon, was born at Versailles. He served under Lafayette in the United States from 1778 to 1782, and at the outbreak of the French Revolution was appointed major general of the National Guard at Versailles. By 1795 he had risen to chief of staff of the Army of Italy, and as Napoleon's representative, proclaimed the Republic of Rome and effected the captivity of the pope in 1798. Berthier accompanied Napoleon into Egypt as chief of staff, and aided in victory over the Directory in 1799, becoming minister of war (1799-1808). Made marshall of France in 1804, he was constantly at Napoleon's side until 1814. In 1809 he became chief of the general staff of the grand armée, and was created prince of Wagram in the same year.

12 *The London Packet*, Jan. 19-22, 1798, p. 2.

13 Duppa, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35, 91.

14 *Invito Sagro e Notificazione* (Sacred Invitation and Proclamation); see also English translation in Duppa, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-24.

15 Pictured in Duppa, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

were then placed on exhibition on the high altar of St. Peter's, and visited by the people of Rome and the surrounding country. Prayer, fasting, and penitence were urged, and liberal indulgences promised. But the French Army came on. [16] Priests went throughout the city preaching the end of the world and, as customary, calling on miracles to sustain their prophecies. They little dreamed that they were so near the close of their power.

5. ROMAN REPUBLIC IS RE-ESTABLISHED.—Berthier called upon the commander of St. Angelo to open the fort. He asked two days for decision, but Berthier gave only four hours. So the fort was evacuated, three thousand French troops taking possession, and taking over the city, with certain cardinals, princes, and prelates as hostages to ensure quiet. From that moment onward Pius VI confined himself to the Vatican. Heavy reparations were exacted for the assassination of General Duphot. Then a petition, drawn up and signed by the French partisans in Rome, demanding a change of government and regime of liberty, was followed by an imposing public demonstration. The Tree of Liberty was planted on the capitol hill, [17] and the new government was established on Pluviose 27 (February 15), when the sovereignty of the people was proclaimed and the re-establishment of the Roman Republic was effected.[18]

6. PAPAL ARMS AND INSIGNIA REMOVED.—Berthier came to the capitol escorted by a military band, received the acclaim of the great concourse, and gave formal recognition to the Roman Republic and its provisional government.[19] He then ordered the papal arms and insignia everywhere removed. Thus the change was effected without bloodshed. Later when the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda was suppressed, their College at

16 *Historical and Philosophical Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 326

17 Duppa, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 37-39; *The Times* [London], no. 4141, March 12, 1798, p. 3; *The London Packet*, March 5-7, 1798, p. 2; *The London Chronicle*, March 10-13, 1798 (vol. 83, no. 6089); Duppa, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-188. The 75 page *Constitution of the Roman Republic, Translated From the Authentic Italian Edition* (1798) is a "Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and of Citizens," with a tabulated series of Articles of (1) Rights and (2) Duties, followed by the text of the Roman Constitution. (Original Title: *Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana, adottata per acclamazione nei comizj nazionali in Lione*. Anno I., 26 Gennajo 1802.)

19 Duppa, *op.cit.*, pp. 36, 37, 40.

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Rome was closed and the building used as a warehouse for confiscated property, and their printing presses and type were sent to France. [20] Vatican Palace was stripped of its valuables, and the sacerdotal vestments of the pontifical chapels were burned for the gold and silver of the embroidery. [21]

7. PIUS VI DETHRONED ON ANNIVERSARY IN SISTINE CHAPEL.—Meantime, on this very same day—February 15—on the anniversary of his elevation to the pontificate, Pius VI repaired to the Sistine Chapel, and was receiving the felicitations of

the Sacred College of cardinals, when, in the midst of the ceremony, shouts penetrated the conclave, intermingled with the strokes of axes on the doors. Soon General Haller, a Swiss Calvinist, with a band of his soldiers, broke into the chapel, and declared that the pope's reign was at an end. [22] (Painting appears on page 754.) His Swiss guards were dismissed, and republican soldiers substituted. Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna (Peter's patrimony) were taken over, and the cardinals were stripped of authority and possessions. Eight were arrested and sent to the Civita Castellana. [23] The glory, honor, and power had vanished. Soldiers were quartered in the papal palace. Such was the stroke of the sword at Rome. It was the end of an epoch in papal history long before predicted in the prophecies of Holy Writ. Trevor goes so far as to say:

"The territorial possessions of the clergy and monks were declared national property, and their former owners cast into prison. The papacy was extinct: not a vestige of its existence remained; and among all the Roman Catholic powers not a finger was stirred in its defence. The Eternal City had no longer prince or pontiff; its bishop was a dying captive in foreign lands; and the decree was already announced that no successor would be allowed in his place." [24]

8. TREASURES DEMANDED AND BANISHMENT DECREED.—The pope's banishment from Rome was then decreed, and Haller was again chosen to inform him. Appearing on the afternoon of

20 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60; Alison, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 558; *Historical and Philosophical Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 343.

22 Duppa, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-47; *The European Magazine*, July, 1798, vol. 34, p. 7.

23 Alison, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 559.

24 Trevor, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

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FRENCH ULTIMATUM RESTRICTS PAPAL AUTHORITY IN 1798

General Haller Presenting Berthier's Ultimatum to Pope Pius VI, in the Sistine Chapel at the Vatican, on February 15, 1798 (Upper); The Declaration of the End of the former Papal Authority, with French original at Left and Italian Translation at Right (Center), and Inset of Berthier, who signed the Declaration; and Pius VI, Sent from Rome to Valence, France, where he Died in 1799 (Lower).

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February 18, he demanded the pope's treasures. When the pope protested that the Tolentino Treaty had left him nothing, Haller demanded and took the two rings on his fingers, including the Fisherman's ring—though only by threat. (This was returned the following day.) Haller told the prelate to be ready to leave the next morning at six. He

protested his age—of eighty-one—and illness, Haller nevertheless insisted, and threatened force. Given forty-eight hours to settle the affairs of the church, he was to leave before daybreak. [25] (Painting of departure appears on page 754.)

It was still night, February 20, 1798, and stormy with lightning and thunder, when the carriage crossed the city, preceded by two men with torches—the guards pointing out the dome of St. Peter's. Both hisses and prayers came from the crowd that had assembled. Within ten days Pius VI had been dethroned, imprisoned, exiled, his private library confiscated, his state given up to plunder, and his subjects to military control. Reaching Sienna, Pius and his party stopped at an Augustinian convent. But while they were there, an earthquake destroyed several buildings. The Pontiff was therefore housed outside the city in a country home called Hell, a fact that elicited the sarcasm of the unbelieving. [26]

9. DIES AT VALENCE, FRANCE, IN 1799.—But the pope was still in the heart of Italy. So Pius VI was transferred to Florence, constantly under guard of French dragoons. Next his transfer to Parma was decided upon, the departure to take place at 2 A.M. As the pope was suffering from partial paralysis, his guards had great difficulty in effecting the transfer. From here he was taken to Turin, and finally to the French fortress at Valence, in Dauphiny, [27] arriving there July 14, 1799, broken with fatigue and sorrow. He died there on the 28th. [28]

25 *The European Magazine*, July, 1798, vol. 34, pp. 7, 8.

26 Bertrand, *op. cit.*

27 Pennington, *op. cit.*, pp. 449, 450.

28 In the Gallery Room of Pius VI, in the Vatican Museum, his life is portrayed in a series of sixteen pictures, the last in the series showing his expulsion, the coach by which he was escorted to France, his arrival at the destination, and his demise.

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II. Official Handbills Reveal Facts of Overthrow

About fifty official handbills and circulars, many in paralleling French and Italian columns, were printed and posted in Rome during the papal overthrow and the establishment of the republic under Berthier in 1798. These constitute about the highest source evidence obtainable, and are not commonly accessible. They are therefore summarized here, the more important being quoted from. [29] Nos. 1 and 2 assure respect for public worship and its ministers and for ambassadors, and warn French officers of violation. [30] No. 5, dated Year 1, Pluviose 27 (Feb. 15, 1798), announces that Berthier has appointed civil authorities in the six territories of the republic. No. 7 gives a pompous speech of Berthier in which he says that at the capitol, bearing an olive branch, free Frenchmen have re-established the altars of liberty, erected by the first Brutus.[31]

1. PAPAL GOVERNMENT SUPPRESSED, REVERTING TO PEOPLE.—The famous Bill No. 8, in parallel French and Italian, dated Pluviose 27 (February 15), is a formal declaration by "Citizen Alexander Berthier, General in Chief." In this he makes the announcement:

"The Roman people are now again entered into the rights of sovereignty, declaring their independence, possessing the government of ancient Rome, constituting a Roman Republic.

"The General-in-chief of the French army in Italy declares, in the name of the French Republic, that he acknowledges the Roman Republic independent, and that the same is under the special protection of the French army.

"The General-in-chief of the army acknowledges, in the name of the French Republic, the provisional government which has been proposed by the sovereign people.

"In consequence, every other temporal authority emanating from the old government of the Pope, is suppressed, and it shall no more exercise any function...

"The Roman Republic, acknowledged by the French Republic, comprehends all the country that remained under the temporal authority of the Pope, after the treaty of Campo-Formio.

"ALEXANDRE BERTHIER."

29 Based on complete sets in the Paris Bibliotheque nationale and the British Museum.

30 Duppa, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 180, 181.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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"Rome, the 15th of February, 1798; first year of Liberty, proclaimed in the Roman Forum, and ratified on the Capitol, with free voice, and subscribed to by innumerable Citizens." [32]

2. ROMAN POPULACE CASTS OFF PAPAL YOKE.—Bill No. 9, likewise of the same date (February 15), titled "Acte du Peuple [peuple] Souverain" (An Act of the Sovereign People) —certified and signed by three notaries, and confirmed by General Berthier—makes this clear-cut declaration:

"The people of Rome, long tired of the monstrous despotism under which they groaned have on various occasions tried to shake off this yoke. The magic of public opinion and political interests combined into a mighty force have not allowed their efforts to succeed. And a despotism of that nature becomes the more insulting the more its weakness and arrogance corresponds to its misery. But at last, the people, fearing to be exposed to an hideous anarchy and in despair to fall under even a worse tyranny have mustered all their courage in order to evade these sinister consequences and to reclaim the primitive rights of their sovereignty.

"Assembled in the presence of the Eternal and the whole universe, they solemnly and unanimously declare to have had no part whatever in the crimes and assassinations committed by the government against the French Republic and her nation. They

disapprove of these crimes and detest their originators and invoke upon them (vow them) eternal shame.

"They further have suppressed, abolished and crushed the political, economic, and civil authorities of the former Roman government and have constituted themselves a free and independent sovereignty in taking up all executive and legislative powers which its legitimate representatives shall exercise according to the immortal rights of man based on the principles of truth, justice, liberty, and equality.

"They have declared that their desire is that no attack against religion or the spiritual authority of the pope should be made and that they reserve to themselves the right by their representatives to provide for the comfortable sustenance [of the Pope] and to ensure the safety of his person by a national guard.

"These representatives shall present themselves in the name of the Roman people. The government has also asked the following citizens [names follow] to approach the citizen Alexander Berthier, general-in-chief of the French army in Italy, imploring the powerful protection and the friendship of the generous French nation, whose gallant examples serve them as a lesson in the task of their own regeneration.

32 Proclamation of the Establishment of the Roman Republic in the name of the French "Army of Italy" (See facsimile on p. 754), in the collection of Official Bills and circulars Printed and Posted in Rome ... 1798; in Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; Duppa, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39; see also *The European Magazine*, vol. 33, March, 1798, p. 208.

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"The present act has been signed by several thousand persons who, with many others, have read, approved and confirmed it by their acclamations on the Capitol. On the 27. Pluviose in the 6. year of the Republic." 3. COLOSSUS OF IMPOSTURE DESTROYED.—Bill No.17, dated February 21 (Ventose 3)—the day following the pope's departure from Rome—is a violent charge against the old government, and is signed by five consuls, the secretary general of the consulate, General Berthier, and the minister of war. It reads:

"The provisional consuls of the Roman Republic to the soldiers of the former government: 'Soldiers: The despotism which was afflicting humanity and which was weighing so heavily upon the descendants of the illustrious Romans; this colossus of imposture and immorality which was governing this beautiful land has just been destroyed by a sublime movement of the Roman people. Soldiers, you will wish to have a part in this grand event."

4. UNION OF SACRED AND PROFANE DISSOLVED.—Bill No. 28 gives an extract from a speech by Citizen Gagliuffi on February 23. He says:

"Already has proud and penurious hypocrisy fallen to the ground. Already is this grotesque union of the sacred and the profane being dissolved. At last, are the sweet maxims of gospel morality allowing us to seek and propagate righteousness and truth. The ministers of the sanctuary may henceforth-according to the duties of their sublime institution—bring peace and consolation into homes and hearts. The representatives of the Republic will ever keep the trust which the people of Rome have committed to us

with such piety and universal joy.—Thanks be therefore rendered unto thee, O supreme and immortal Being, on whom the destiny of all creatures depends. Touched, at last, by the woes which pressed upon us so heavily: Monopoly, Favoritism, Privilege, and alas perhaps Religion itself, a Religion honored by the lips only and denied by the hearts,—do graciously sanctify our Liberty, bless out Equality, and preserve our Republic!"

5. RELIGIOUS INTERESTS SEPARATE FROM POLITICS.—Bill; No. 34, addressed to the Roman people and clergy, signed by the president of the republic and five consuls, and dated February 26, stating that the government is "based on the gospel," and declaring, "God has established a gospel of peace and pardon," commends good priests and warns the evil, and admonishes:

"In the pulpit, at the altar, at the confessional, give the people of both sexes to understand that religious interests are separate from poli-

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ties. O thou, benignant and generous people of Rome, be no longer led astray by infernal wolves disguised as heavenly lambs. Shun and denounce the fanatic who betrays both religion and the Republic, and who, therefore, is the implacable enemy of thy present and future felicity. Hail with open arms the righteous man, the brother or magistrate who would thee enlighten, protect and save."

6. FRANCE FORMALLY NOTIFIED OF CHANGE.—A fourteen page tract, bound in with the bills, published in French and Italian, includes a letter from the minister of foreign affairs in Rome to Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs in Paris, dated February 28 (Ventose 10), giving notice that the Roman people have chosen a new government comprising all the territory formerly under the temporal power of the pope after the treaty of Campo-Formio. It is signed "Corona." Talleyrand's answer follows, expressing the great satisfaction of the French Directory, and is dated Ventose 25.

III. Code of Justinian and the Code of Napoleon

There is yet another factor which was brought about by the French Revolution. The Revolution had given a totally new concept to man of his dignity, his rights, his relationship to his fellow men. There must follow, of necessity, a new concept of law.

The French had long felt the need of a new and more unified law; therefore, the revolutionists promised, among other things, a new code for the people. However, it needed the strong will and leadership of Napoleon to complete the codification of civil laws. In 1804 this task was finished and the code was accepted. This became the first great codification of law since the time of Justinian. Under the auspices of **Justinian**, Roman law was codified by 529, and in an imperial rescript in 533 the Roman bishop was recognized as the head of all the churches, and given full authority as such. This recognition, as well as that of the canons of the first four ecumenical councils, was incorporated into the Justinian Code. Thus the Catholic faith was recognized as the only orthodox religion of the empire, and the

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two mighty forces of state and religion were legally united.

Now, in the first general codification of law after so many centuries, a complete break between these two forces was achieved. The French Civil Code contains nothing which savors of an allegiance of the spiritual power of the pope and the state, and is far from giving the pope any authority whatsoever. It is purely a secular code.

IV. Retributive Character of Deadly Wound

The retributive character of the French Revolution should not be forgotten. In its sheer destructive effects it was considered to constitute a judgment doubtless without a parallel in human history.[33] It was directed primarily against Catholicism, not Protestantism, and was a reaction against her excesses. Terrible as was the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus, says Guinness, it sinks to secondary place when compared with the wholesale slaughter by massacre and war that first affected France, then Italy, and other nations of Europe. "If it inflicted enormous evil, it presupposed and overthrew enormous evil." [34]

1. VISITED WITH PLAGUE OF INFIDELITY AND IMMORALITY.—The France of St. Bartholomew—of the Wars of the Huguenots, of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and of the suppression of the Jansenists—was visited with a retributive plague of infidelity and immorality that was fearful. The monarchy that had banished the Huguenots was overthrown and abolished in a national convulsion of revolutionary excess and crime wherein the restraints of law and order gave way. The monarchy was brought to an end on the scaffold, the aristocracy abolished, estates were confiscated, prisons crowded, rivers choked with victims, churches desecrated, priests slaughtered, religion suppressed, and the worship of a harlot as the Goddess of Reason was substituted for the worship of the host on the altars of the Roman church.[35]

33 Guinness, *History Unveiling Prophecy*, pp~ 226-229.

34 Thomas H. Gill, *The Papal Drama*, p. 342.

35 The summary given by Guinness is here followed closely.

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2. HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE AND CHURCH CRASH TOGETHER.—France, a prey to infidelity, anarchy, and the guillotine, then communicated revolution and anti-ecclesiasticism to surrounding nations. Democratic revolution was succeeded by military despotism. Italy, Austria, Germany, Poland, Spain, Portugal, and Russia were invaded by the armies of France. Many Catholic nations which had ruled for centuries were crushed by Napoleon. The Holy Catholic Church and the remnant of the Holy Roman Empire were alike prostrated—the empire and the papal crown going down in the common ruin. They had stood side by side for a thousand years. The Holy Roman Empire had risen with Charlemagne, who attempted to revive the imperial power of the Caesars. He had combined Germany, Italy, and France into a single empire, which had warred against and crushed the Hussites, and had stood against Luther in the days of the Reformation, inflicting on Germany the horrors of the Thirty Years War in the time of Gustavus Adolphus. Now, stripped of Italian territory, driven back from the plains of Lombardy, the Holy Roman Empire came to be totally suppressed.

3. **PIEDMONT AND SPAIN REAP BLOODSHED AND MISERY.**—Piedmont, which had suppressed and all but exterminated the Waldenses, turning their valleys into slaughterhouses, was in turn overrun by merciless invaders. Spain, which had crushed the Reformation within her borders and in other lands, by the horrors of the Inquisition and the auto-da-fé, was now delivered over to dreadful bloodshed and misery, and during the seven years of the Peninsular War the Inquisition was suppressed.

4. **CLIMAX OF REVERSAL REACHED IN ROME.**—In Italy the reign of the pope of Rome was ended by a Swiss Calvinist leading the French military. Stripped of his possessions, and his temporal government abolished, the pope was carried away captive to the camp of the infidels, to die in a foreign land, where his priests had been slain and his name and office made a mockery, with Rome given up to plunder and desecration. Even as the pope was being hurried away from the scene of his dethrone-

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ment—the Sistine Chapel—he was taken, ironically enough, through a hall covered with a fresco representing the bloody massacre of St. Bartholomew's day.[36]

The downfall of the papal government excited little sympathy. The oppressions and the tyranny of Rome over Christendom were remarked upon with bitterness. Many rejoiced in the overthrow of a church which they considered idolatrous, even though the overthrow was attended with the immediate triumph of infidelity. When news of the papal defeat at Rome reached Paris, Director Merlin declared that for fourteen centuries there had been cumulative demand for the destruction of this power opposed to society. And in the Court of the Ancients, Bordas actually held "a funeral oration of the Papacy," on March 14, 1798.

5. **BIBLE AND MISSIONARY SOCIETIES HAVE BIRTH.**—Papal hostility had been exerted in two ways: (1) By the suppression of the Scriptures, and (2) by the torture and death of its preachers and converts, which were effected by means of the Inquisition. The French Revolution ended both—French arms abolishing the Inquisition in France in 1798, and temporarily in Spain in 1808. Moreover, the extraordinary circulation of the Scriptures began during the French Revolution. Never should it be forgotten that both missionary and Bible societies had their birth at this very time, the British and Foreign in 1804, and the American in 1816.

6. **TEMPEST OF WAR GAVE IT WINGS.**—Begun in France, the spoliation of the fallen church and its head had spread quickly to other countries of Europe, until the stroke of the sword struck at Rome. The tempest of war gave it wings, sweeping into Belgium and the Rhenish provinces of Germany, where ecclesiastical changes similar to those in France took place.

In 1796-1797 French dominion, established by Bonaparte's victories in northern Italy, was similarly accompanied by French Democratism and infidelity and antipapalism. Then Rome itself

36 Pennington, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

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became the goal, as the French armies urged marching forward on the papal capital.

7. LOOKED AS IF PAPACY WERE DEAD.—In Rome all the cardinals were involved in the indiscriminate proscription. Eight were imprisoned, and several renounced the Roman purple and sought asylum away from Rome. It looked as if the Papacy were dead. In fact, half of Europe thought "the Papacy was dead." [37]

The blood of the saints was avenged. France had for years yielded the neck to the papal yoke, and helped to bind other nations. Now she had abolished papal tithes, suppressed her monasteries, confiscated her church lands, and despoiled her priests. [38] Pennington says, "The same God who visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation had made him [the pontifical head of the church] the victim of His retributive justice." [39]

V. Papal Establishment and Overthrow Are Counterparts

The evidence is incontestable that the eighteenth-century overthrow of the Papacy, stemming from the French Revolution, was the clear counterpart of the sixth-century papal establishment. Justinian first recognized by law the pope's absolute ecclesiastical supremacy, and virtually gave the saints into his hand, placing the civil sword at his ultimate disposal. And now, 1260 years later, springing from the French Revolution, the land that for centuries had been the mainstay of the Papacy, abolished the pope's age-old supremacy, declared the clergy totally independent of the See of Rome, vested the election of bishops in departmental authorities, made a national profession of atheism, and then actually overthrew the papal government.

In 533 was given the notable decree of Justinian, the pope's powerful sixth-century supporter, recognizing his ecclesiastical supremacy, And by a decisive stroke of the Roman sword at

37 Joseph Rickaby, *The Modern Papacy*, p. 1, in *Lectures on the History of Religion*, vol. 3 [lecture 24].

38 Alexander Keith, *The Signs of the Times*, vol. 2, p. 470.

39 Pennington, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

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Rome, in the spring of 538, the way was opened for a new order of popes and the beginning of a new epoch. And now in 1793, just 1260 years after Justinian's 533 imperial fiat, came the notable decree of the Papacy's once powerful supporter, France oldest son of the church—aimed at the abolition of church and religion, and their unholy

union with the state, followed by the decisive stroke of the sword at Rome in overthrow of the Papacy in 1798—an act marking the end of the epoch begun 1260 years before.⁴⁷

The two are clearly counterparts. In the first the supreme civil power of the time was employed for the aggrandizement of the pope, framing laws with that special objective in view, and subjecting all spiritual authority to him. And now, in the reaction, the supreme civil power of the hour was bent on the pope's overthrow, and on the recovery of all the usurped political authority which he had assumed. One was the beginning, and the other the termination, of an epoch foreknown of God, and determined—perhaps unwittingly—by men.

Amid the chaos of falling kingdoms and decaying pagan religions of the early centuries, the massive plans of the Papacy occupied the central place. They formed the point of integration, and constituted the principle around which the ancient world could wrap its wracked form. Constantine realized that in the vast, unorganized Christianity within his realm lay the essential principle of unity needed by his empire, and which later became the dominating concept in the Middle Ages. Rome is thus seen to be the meeting point of all history, the papal succession filling the space from Caesar, and Constantine, and Justinian, and binding all ages into one.[40] And similarly the final events of prophecy cluster decisively around her.

40 William Barry, *The Papal Monarchy*, p. 428.

Source: *The PROPHETIC FAITH OF OUR FATHERS*, The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation, by Le Roy Edwin Froom, Volume II, Pre-Reformation and Reformation Restoration, and Second Departure, published by the Review and Herald Publishing Association, Washington D.C., Copyright 1948, pages 749-764.

PROBLEMS WITH FROOM'S MATERIAL:

The date of the order for Berthier was the 11th January not the 1st January. Duphot was killed 27th Dec and Joseph fled to Florence on 28th; 3 days is insufficient time for the news to get to the Directory and for them to issue orders to Napoleon. Correspondence of Napoleon up to 11th Jan gives no indication that the Directory had made a decision on it. A letter dated 9th from Napoleon to the War Minister indicates Napoleon's attitude that a decision was imminent, so news had just reached Paris, where Napoleon was at the time. Napoleon says on the 9th janvier: "Le Directoire exécutif, organe de la volonté de la nation, ne souffrira point que l'assassinat du général Duphot reste impuni." ([Plon et Dumaine, 1859](#), p.474, No. 2303) Clearly from this statement, Napoleon was expecting the Directory to make a decision shortly. That decision comes two days later when he writes to Berthier from Paris, "Vous ferez marcher, dans le plus court délai possible, et à

⁴⁷ FROOM HAS CHANGED HIS GROUND AGAIN. NOTICE THAT THE LAW OF JUSTINIAN OPENED THE WAY FOR "A NEW ORDER OF POPES." SECOND, THE DECREE OF 1793 WAS THE FIRST TO ABOLISH CHURCH AND RELIGION, AND THE RECOVERY OF THE POLITICAL POWER THE POPE HAD USURPED AND ASSUMED. THIS IS ENTIRELY DIFFERENT TO THE TEMPORAL POWER OR PRIMACY OF THE POPE.

grandes journées, sur Rome...Il sera donc essentiel que le Gouvernement de cette République déclare formellement au ministre du Pape qu'il ne prend aucune part à la querelle existante entre la France et ce prince." (*Ibid*) Napoleon clearly distinguishes here to Berthier that the quarrel was with "ce prince," the Cardinal involved in the *melée* when Duphot was killed, not with the Papacy, and wanted the Papacy to keep their nose out of the political issues. This would also clarify to the Papacy that France was not there to overthrow or sack the city, but to seek justice. "Vous ne ferez paraître votre manifeste contre le Pape" On the other hand, Napoleon tells Berthier to seek justice from any or all the members of government who were responsible for the murder of Duphot, even the Pope, if need be: "Lorsque vous vous trouverez à deux journées de Rome, vous menacerez alors le Pape et tous les membres du Gouvernement qui se sont rendus coupables du plus grand de tous les crimes, afin de leur, inspirer l'épouvante et de faire fuir." Perhaps then we should be generous to Froom regarding the date and assume that this is a typographical or printing error than an error on his part?

The second problem with Froom's material which is characteristic of a lot of the sources he quotes is that he has not distinguished between Napoleon's dichotomy in thinking between the government of Rome and the ownership of the city of Rome. The temporal power of the Papacy in Rome consisted of two completely different matters: the government of the city, which had been done by the Senate appointed by the Papacy, THE SENATE IS NOT ELECTED BY THE POPE CHECK THIS UP since the ninth century, and the ownership of the city of Rome, which was given to the Pope by Pepin in 756 AD. These matters are entirely separate. The issue between the Directory and Napoleon, is that the Directory wanted both of these powers of the Pope abolished forever. But Napoleon was not as radical as certain members on the Directory and he saw the value in letting the Pope retain his sovereignty over the city of Rome as long as it kept its nose out of the running of the local government. It was this issue that he patiently parried with Pius VII over the matter until, exasperated, he finally annexed the states of the pope except Rome, in 1809. The ratification of this annexation did not occur until 1813, but it was in place before then. The issue of the ownership of the city of Rome, the Marches, Umbria and the Patrimony of St. Peter by the Pope to continue post-1798 as clarified in the Concordat, shows that Napoleon did not intend that the ownership of all the Papal States were to go to the Roman Republic despite the proclamation by the republican founders that the people were "sovereigns of Rome." The fact of the matter is that Berthier's superior, Napoleon, kept the Pope as sovereign of Rome, notwithstanding the erroneous claims of the Roman Republicans on 15 January, 1798.

CHECK THIS POINT ARE YOU CORRECT? The third problem with Froom's work is his claim that the Legations annexed to the Cisalpine Republic in the Treaty of Tolentino are the Patrimony of St. Peter. The Legations of Romagna are *not* a part of the Patrimony of St. Peter. This is another district entirely. According to my sources, the Patrimony of St. Peter was on the western coast of Italy, a distance of some 100-150 miles south east of Romagna. The Patrimony of St. Peter was excluded from both the Treaty of Tolentino and the Concordat of 1801, but was annexed from the Pope in 1809. It is true that the Legations belonged to the Papacy before, and that it was annexed to the Cisalpine Republic. But it is incorrect to say it was a part of the Patrimony of St. Peter. It was a part of the Papal States however.

The following two maps clarify these facts. In the first map we clearly see the Patrimony of St Peter and the Legations of Romagna are entirely different parts of the peninsula:



From (Hales, 1961). Notice that the Legations, the Marches, Umbria and St. Peter's Patrimony made up the Papal States. The Legations was not a part of St. Peter's Patrimony. They were both separate Papal States.



"Italy in 1748" from Holmes, 1997

Froom however may be using the term in its earlier sense that meant the temporal lands of the church and not just the duchy of Rome. But if Froom uses the Patrimony of St. Peter to denote the States of the Church, he does not indicate in his notes that any

parts of the States were omitted from the Treaty. Note the historical meaning of the Patrimony of St. Peter from the Catholic Encyclopedia:

“The expression "Patrimonium Sancti Petri" originally designated the landed possessions and revenues of various kinds that belonged to the Church of St. Peter at Rome. Until the middle of the eighth century this consisted wholly of private property, but the term was later applied to the States of the Church, and more particularly to the Duchy of Rome..” (Article, “States of the Church.”).

Therefore, we can only conclude that Froom has made a mistake here.

Volume II, Chapter 35. End of Period Recognized and Proclaimed

When the stroke had fallen, and the pope had been taken captive, a chorus of voices in England, Continental Europe, and America witnessed to the ending of the 1260-year era of the Papacy. In rapid succession some of the typical and impressive testimony uttered at the time will be noted

I King Recognizes and Proclaims End of 1260 Years (1798)⁴⁸

Edward King F.R.S., F.S.A. (1735-1807), was educated at Cambridge, and in 1763 admitted to the bar. He wrote extensively from 1767 onward. A wealthy uncle made him financially independent. He contributed several papers to the “Archaeologia,” and became a fellow of the “Antiquarian Society. Tenacious in his views of prophecy, he wrote *Morsels of Criticism* in 1788 and *Remarks on the Signs of the Times* in 1798.

1. CLEAREST RECOGNITION OF TERMINUS OF PAPAL PERIOD. – King is perhaps the most explicit of all expositors of prophecy in recognition of the momentous ending of the 1260 years, which he declared had just terminated. This appears in his *Remarks on the Signs of the Times*, published shortly after the captivity of the pope and the overthrow of the papal government in February, 1798. The author’s first attempts in the field of exposition, his *Morsels of Criticism*, made little impression. He there alludes to the “1260 years,” and later discusses the 2300 years, noting the divergent Septuagint rendering of 2400.

2. To King the number 2300 “seems to afford us an uncommon degree of light and information.” Allowing these days to be “*prophetical days*, and to denote *years*, consistently with the interpretation of so many other parts of prophecy,” King computes them from “the time of the full establishment of the power of the Ram, (i.e., of the Medo-Persian Empire, by the conquest of Babylon in the year 538 A.C.)” He believes they reach to 1762, or possibly from 525 A.C. to A.D. 1775, with the diminution of the Mohammedan power, that “for so many ages has been the cause of the *desolation*, and of the long subversion of the truth.

3. PROPHECIES COVER INTERVAL BETWEEN ADVENTS – In the preface of his *Remarks on the Signs of the Times*, King begins with the statement that for many years he had made the Holy Scriptures his “constant study,” and that he has reached the full conviction of the truth of divine prophecy. Being “fully persuaded that we were rapidly

⁴⁸ These comments are merely proof that these men were reading more into contemporary events than what was warranted. Froom’s volume documents this phenomenon repeatedly – that people tended to seek contemporary events to fit the prophecies. A more detached and scholastic view of history clearly contradicts King’s position, because two years later, the pope was virtually back unscathed in powers since the Treaty of Tolentino.

advancing to one of the most interesting periods of the world,” he seeks to “awaken the attention of mankind, to the approaching scene of things.” He endeavours to show that apocalyptic prophecy is “an account, in *chronological order* of the great overruling events” that lie between the first and second advents. He stresses the Saracenic and Turkish woes upon the Eastern Church. In common with many others, he believes that the seven vials are in process of fulfillment. He exclaims, “With what awful astonishment must we behold the Events of the present day!”

4. 1260 DAYS HAVE ENDED “THIS YEAR,” 1798 – Contending that “*Great Babylon*, undoubtedly meant *Rome*; the *Proud City on seven hills*; *so long deemed Mistress of the world*,” King refers to the wrath and vengeance being visited upon her, how she is scourged, torn to pieces, and consumed with fire, violence, and anger, and then makes this impressive declaration of the currently accomplished ending of the 1260 years: “Is not the *Papal power*, which was once so terrible, and so domineering, at an end? But let us pause a little. Was not *this* End, in other parts of the Holy Prophecies, foretold to be, *at the END of 1260 years?* – and was it not foretold by Daniel, to be at the END of *a time, times and half a time?* Which computation amounts to the same period And now let us see; - hear; - and understand. THIS IS THE YEAR 1798. – And just 1260 years ago, in the very beginning of the year 538, *Belisarius* put an end to an Empire, and dominion of the Goths, at Rome. He entered the City on the 10th of the preceding December, in triumph, in the name of *Justinian*, Emperor of the East; and had soon after made it tributary to him; leaving thenceforward from A.D. 538, No POWER in Rome, that could be said *to rule over the earth*, - except the ECCLESIASTICAL PONTIFICAL POWER.” [King, *Remarks*, p.18,19]

5. TEMPORARY LOSSES DO NOT AFFECT PROPHECY – Due cognisance is taken of Rome’s later brief recapture, after 538, as without bearing on the prophecy, in these words: “It is true; that after this entry of *Belisarius*, Rome was twice retaken by *Totila*, and the *Goths*. But instead of setting up any Empire there, he, the first time, carried away *all* the Senate, and drove out all the inhabitants; and the second time, he was himself soon defeated, and killed; and Rome was recovered for *Justinian* by *Narses*. Still however, no Dominion, No *Power ruling over the World*, ever had any seat there, any more, except the *Papal*. [*Ibid*, p.20]⁴⁹

6. ENDING OF 1260 YEARS ESTABLISHES BEGINNING. – Then comes Kings impressive conclusion, and reasoning, on the historical terminus of the 1260 years, in relation to coming events. “We have reason to apprehend then, that the 1260 years are now completed. – And that we may venture to date the commencement of that period, not as most Commentators have hitherto done, either from *Pepin’s* giving the Pope *Ravenna*; or from *Charlemagne’s* determining, and adjudging the Pope to be God’s vicar on earth; but from the End of the Gothic Power at Rome. Because both those other circumstances were only (like substitute gifts, or acquisitions of territory, and revenue) mere augmentations of splendour, and confirmations of that state of *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*,

⁴⁹ if the temporary loss of the control of Rome by Justinian to Totila does not compute to such in the view of King, then the same argument can be levelled against the temporary loss of control of Rome by Pius VI in 1798. He cannot have the argument both ways.

Either the temporary loss to the Goths is counted which would date the start of the 1260 years around 552, and the temporary loss of temporal power by the pope is recognized but the 1260 years would not finished until 1812 OR the temporary loss to the Goths is not counted which would date the start of the 1260 years at 538 (at least with his argument), and the temporary loss of temporal power by the pope in 1798 is not counted and the 1260 years does not end with that event. King provides no evidence as to why the later events with the Goths have no bearing on the prophecy at all. He just asserts the issue and moves on. The issue was not setting up an empire, but the Plucking out of the Goths. This was not done. King has lost his way in his own arguments here. The Goths had to be eliminated for them to qualify as being “plucked out.”

in which the Papal Power had been left, at Rome by *Belisarius*, on his driving out the Goths, and ruining their kingdom. And if these things are so; - then truly that Great City *Babylon is fallen. - is fallen; - is thrown down; and shall be found no more at all.* And nothing remains, but for us to wait, with awful apprehensions, for the End. Even for the completion of the further closing events, which are, in the emblematical language, of Holy Prophecy, described as being at hand. [*Ibid*, pp. 20,21]⁵⁰

7. TIME OF TROUBLE PRECEDES CRUSHING OF IRON AND CLAY. – So impressive were these words that four decades later the Millerite *Signs of the Times* quoted two full columns, urging its readers to “weigh every word.” [“The 1260 Years of Papal Triumph,” *The Signs of the Times, and Expositor of Prophecy*, Feb 22, 1843 (Vol 4, no.23), p. 177] Connecting the “tremendous events of the times” with preparation for the second advent, the establishment of the everlasting kingdom, and the imminent smiting of the emblematic feet of iron and clay by the stone, King adds: “And we are expressly told, that this was an intimation; that the Great Empires of the World, the remains of the Roman Empire, should be broken in pieces, by certain *Instruments of God’s Wrath*. Whilst it is moreover added, that, in the latter days, *there should be a Time of Trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that time.*” [King, *Remarks*, p.22]

8. WRITES UNDER SENSE OF SOBERING RESPONSIBILITY. – But one more excerpt will be noted: “We approach unto the latter days! – I tremble whilst I write! God forbid I should mislead any. – But if I do apprehend aright; I must – I ought to speak, and write with circumspection, that which I apprehend. I am no rash enthusiast. – I desire to be exceedingly guarded against error; and I have not the least presumptuous idea of intending to prophecy. – The word of Prophecy is sealed forever. I only desire to apprehend what is written. [p.28]

9. 1260-YEAR ENDING NOT NULLIFIED BY NEW POPE’S ELECTION. – In footnotes to the 1800 edition of *Morsels of Criticism*, King takes particular note of the re-election of a pope in 1800, with these words: “Another Pope has indeed been elected at Venice in this year 1800; - but without any possession of Rome; or of its territories; - without the Ecclesiastical Revenue; - without Dominion; - without Power; - a Shadow, and not a Substance; - and with regard to any continuance of *Papal Dominion at Rome*, - a flighter, and more feeble continuance of the appearance of *Roman Papal Power*, than ever Augustulus was of the continuance of the Power of the *Western Roman Emperours*. Unless therefore the Pope be restored to his Territorial Possessions, and Dominion, and Residence in *Rome*; there is an end of *Roman Pontifical Greatness*; and the 1260 days are ended, which were named, in Holy Prophecy, for the continuance of the usurped *Ecclesiastical Empire* of the *City on seven hills*, and of the *little horn* of the furious emblematical Monster. [King, *Morsels*, vol. 3, p. 353, note]

II. Valpy Proclaims 1798 in Sermon to Reading Association

RICHARD VALPY, D.D., F.S.A., MRSL (1754-1836), noted schoolmaster, was rector of Stradishall in Suffolk and chaplain of the Reading Association. Trained at Pembroke

⁵⁰ Valpy is trying to argue the occupation of Rome as the point to establish the temporal power of the pope in Rome in 538 AD. It is quite surprising to see such naïve such logic – logic which is now eschewed by historicists, and who now link 538, not with the issue of control of Rome, but with the legal recognition of the pope’s pre-eminence. This pre-eminence, they say, cannot come into play until the Ostrogoths are routed in Italy. They then try and concoct a false argument to prove that 538 AD was the year the Ostrogoths were routed. This is an entirely different argument to the one proposed above by Valpy, arguing *the temporal powers of the pope in Rome from 538*. Was it because they saw that Valpy et al’s argument had no validity that something else was concocted to give some credibility to the same date?

College, Oxford, from which he received the B.A., M.A., B.D., and D.D. degrees between 1776 and 1792, he was also a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He became headmaster of Reading School in 1781, retaining connection with it for fifty years, and bringing it to enviable scholastic heights. In 1787 Valpy was collated with the rectory at Stradishall. He published both a Greek and a Latin grammar in 1809. Twice refusing a bishopric, he retired from active schoolwork in 1830.

In a Sermon based on Matthew 24:44 (“Be ye also ready”), preached August 13, 1798, before the Reading and Henley Associations, the Woodley Cavalry, and the Reading Volunteers, at the consecration of the colors, Valpy expounded the momentous events of the spring at Rome as fulfillment of the close of the prophetic period of the 1260 years. The sermon was “printed at the request of the Corps, before which it was preached.”

1. END OF 1260 YEARS FIXED FOR 1798. – Declaring that “God has never left Himself without witness,” and that “history is indeed but a record of the completion of prophecy,” Valpy comments on the “present awful events” that involve the world, and the “disastrous revolution, which have plunged Europe into blood.” He declares, “The hand of God is filling up, by instruments of the most fearful execution, the great outline, which he had traced before by his Prophets and his Apostles.” Then comes the luminous declaration: “Among the Prophecies, which must have excited your attention, are those, which relate to the present state of Rome. If with all Protestant Commentators, we understand the Roman Pontiff to be represented under the figurative emblems of Daniel, and the Author of the Revelations, and by the still clearer description of St. Paul, we must be struck with the completion of the prophecy. Daniel and St. John mention the period of 1260 years from the establishment to the extinction of that government. In the year 38, the empire of the Goths was abolished in Rome, and from that time the Pontifical power advanced with rapid strides, until it became, by its influence and its authority, the most extensive dominion in Europe. If this epoch be admitted, the period mentioned by Prophets fixes the destruction of the Pontifical authority to the present year, in which the Pope has been forced to fly from Rome by the arms of France.” [Richard Valpy, *Sermons Preached on Public Occasions*, vol. 1, pp. 146, 147]

2. BEGAN WITH GOTHIC EXPULSION AND PAPAL ELEVATION. – In added notes, in the published sermon, Valpy adds: “In the year 538, the Goths were driven from Rome, and at that time the aspiring Vigilius, by his secret intrigues with the artful Theodora, was promoted to the Pontifical dignity, which he purchased with 200 pounds of gold: an unequivocal proof of the character of a man of sin. During the Pontificate of Vigilius, the pretensions of the successors of St. Peter to a general superiority began to be openly asserted; and shortly after, their supremacy was publicly acknowledged. It was at this time that the Pope assumed the title of Vicegerent of Jesus Christ....Now too celibacy was more generally enjoined. The use of Holy Water was first publicly recommended by Vigilius in 538.” [*Ibid*, p.258]⁵¹

3. EXPULSION OF POPE DRAWS ATTENTION TO PROPHECY. – Valpy then traces the growth of papal power and the growing acquisitions of “strength and of territory.” He discounts the temporary exiles occasionally suffered by the pontiffs, and mentions Bishop Newton’s observation that we must see the conclusion before we can

⁵¹ This note on Holy Water is mere twaddle. It is sensationalism. The Catholic Encyclopedia, having no axe to grind over what century it began, cites evidence to indicate holy water was in use in the third century, and there is probable evidence to indicate that it was used even earlier than that. (See the article on Holy Water under “H”) Celibacy?

Superiority? It was not a pretension of superiority. Church council documents documented for centuries before this that the bishop of Rome was first above the other patriarchs of the church, and had the final say on matters of faith.

precisely ascertain the beginning of this notable period. Then he adds, “If we have now witnessed the fall of the Pope’s temporal dominion, it cannot be an unprofitable task to endeavour to trace its origins. Valpy then remarks significantly that “on the expulsion of the Pope from Rome, the attention of many contemplative persons was turned to the prophecies relating to that power.” [*Ibid*, p. 262]⁵²

4. INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE IS OF PROPHECIES. – In the same notes “On the Prophecies Relating to the Fall of Rome,” he says: “It is not therefore a subject of wonder that *many should run to and fro* in tracing these events to the designs of the Almighty declared in Prophecy; for thus *knowledge shall be increased*; and thus we may *prepare to meet our God*.” [*Ibid*, p. 254] Valpy quotes from leading expositors, such as Newton, Faber, Woodhouse, and Kett, who had shed light on prophecy. He especially mentions King – “of extensive erudition and ingenuity, and of accurate Biblical knowledge” – who, he notes, likewise begins the 1260 years in 538, and so ends them in 1798.

III. Wrangham – Prophetic Demand Is Now Fulfilled

FRANCIS WRANGHAM, M.A. (1769-1842), classical scholar, was educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, winning the Sir William Browne Medal for the best Greek and Latin epigrams. He secured his B.A. and M.A. degrees in 1790 and 1793. Ordained in 1793, he became a member of the Trinity College staff, four times winning the Seaton prize for academic achievement. While serving as curate and rector for different congregations, he was examining chaplain to Vernon Harcourt, the Archbishop of York. In 1825 he was prebend at Chester Cathedral, and in 1828 archdeacon of East Riding. He wrote frequently on emancipation from Catholicism.

1. EARTHQUAKE ACCOMPLISHED FACT; BABYLON FALLEN. – In an impressive sermon *Rome is Fallen!* from Revelation 14:8, preached at Scarborough, June 5, 1798, Wrangham uses these words: “*it is done – There has been a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake and so great – and the cities of the nations have fallen: and great BABYLON has come in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.* [p. 19]

2. REJOICES OVER PROPHETIC ACCOMPLISHMENT. – Back in 1795 he had written thus on “The Destruction of Babylon”; “

Hear then, proud ROME, and tremble at thy fate! The hour will come, nor distant is its date (If right was caught the Prophet’s mystic strain, Which awestruck Patmos echoed o’er the main) The hour, which holy arts in vain would stay, That prone on earth thy gorgeous spires shall lay.

And now, in 1798, he declares: “What Protestant does not rejoice –to hear that those thunders at length are silent, which issued during so long a period from the gloomy recesses of the Vatican to convulse EUROPE; shaking the allegiance of subjects, and ‘hurling princes from their thrones!’ What lover of peace does not exult – to learn that those lightnings, which so often blasted the olive of CHRISTENDOM, are quenched for ever! Ought we, who should anxiously wish the Prophecies fulfilled, to weep over their accomplishments? [*Ibid*, p. 12]

⁵² Valpy has defeated the purpose of his quest here because he says he seeks the *beginning of the temporal power of the bishop of Rome in the times of Justinian*. Yet this is not what is asserted by historicists with the code of Justinian, but rather the pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome over all over bishops in Christendom. One cannot establish the beginning of the temporal power of the pope with a legal code that recognises merely his Pre-eminence over other patriarchs.

3. INFLUENCED BY KING'S CLEAR APPLICATION. – Wrangham speaks highly of Edward King, whose clear application evidently influenced his own conclusions, and of the still earlier David Hartley and his *Observations on Man*, who expatiates on the image of Daniel 2, the beasts of Daniel 7, and the setting up of Christ's kingdom.

Hartley had declared, "How near the dissolution of the present governments, generally or particularly, may be, would be great rashness to affirm. CHRIST will come in this sense also *as a thief in the night*. He refers to the critical circumstances into which the world was entering.

IV. Daubeny – France Pulling Down Usurping Antichrist.

CHARLES DAUBENY, LL.B., D.C.L., (1745-1827), in a discourse (1798), on The Fall of Papal Rome, emphasizes the approaching second advent, presenting the past fulfillment of prophecy as assurance of the accomplishment of the remaining unfulfilled portions. He declares that before the Christian faith shall gain that universal prevalence in the world, the great anti-christian power that had exalted itself in the temple of God, "is to be brought down and destroyed"-Antichrist being identified as the "Papal Church of Rome." Then occur these passages:

"The Papal power has long been upon the decline. It received an irrecoverable wound at the period of the Protestant Reformation; since which time it has been gradually sinking into an insignificance preparatory to its final extinction. That event has now taken place; an event in which all nations are less concerned. For in the accomplishment of an important prophecy, which respects the progress of Christ's kingdom upon earth, what nation can be uninterested?"

"We have seen that nation, whose former sovereigns contributed much to the elevation of the Papal throne, now employed as the more immediate instrument in God's hand, to pull down the idol that has been set up in the Temple."

V. Simpson-1260 Years Accomplished Before Our Eyes

David Simpson (1745-1799), Theologian and religious writer, was born in Yorkshire and educated at St. Johns College, Cambridge, from which he received an M.A. He was successively curate of Ramsden in Essex, Buckingham, and Old Church in Macclesfield. In all three charges his alleged Methodism gave offence, and in the last place he was silenced by the Bishop of Chester. However, friends erected Christ Church for him at Macclesfield, where he officiated until his death. His numerous writings included Key to the Prophecies (1795-with a third edition in 1812), and A Plea for Religion and the Sacred Writings (first published in 1797 with numerous later edition). On the title page it appears that this latter volume was "Addressed to the Disciples of Thomas Paine, and Wavering Christians of Every Persuasion."

1.Comprehensive Sketch of Little Horn.-Simpson sketches Daniel 7- the ten divisions of the Roman Empire, the arising of the Little Horn among the ten, subduing three of the ten and usurping their dominion, and in creasing in power until it had obtained a peculiar kind of power and jurisdiction over all the seven other horns. This dominion was to continue three and a half times (a time being a year of 360 days) or a total of 1260 years, at the end of which it would be destroyed. Then he traces the accomplishment-the Roman Empire was dismembered, the bishop of Rome, arose, and three of the ten states ("the senate of Rome, the kingdom of Lombardy, and the exarchate of Ravenna; three governments all in Italy") were subdued, the pope assuming a triple crown.

538 Beginning Accords With 1798 Ending- Simpson next discusses the dates fixed by some for beginning the 1260 years-606 (from Phocas), (the apocalyptic number), and 756 (when the pope became a temporal prince). The time of Gregory 1 is also mentioned. But he adds this footnote.:

“There is some reason, from the present appearances of things to suppose, that the 1260 prophetic years must be calculated from a period somewhat earlier than the commencement of the seventh century. The year of our Lord 538 accords with the downfall of the Pope’s temporal dominion A.D. 1798.”

Fulfilling This Day Before Our Eyes.- Referring then to the signs of the approaching end, Simpson asks pointedly:

“Are not abundance of these predictions fulfilling at this day before our eyes?...

“Does it not seem that those 1260 years are upon the point of expiring?”

Beast’s Claws Cut and Teeth Drawn.—Expatiating on the prophesied changes that had taken place, and on how the nations that “for so many ages had given their power unto the Beast,” were to “turn against that Beast, and use means for its destruction,” Simpson then asks:

“Is not this part of the prophecy also, in a good degree, fulfilled at the present moment? Have not all the Catholic powers forsaken his Holiness of Rome in the time of his greatest need? And is not He, who, a few ages ago, made all Europe tremble at the thunder of his voice, now become weak like other men? Are not the claws of the Beast cut, and his teeth drawn, so that he can no longer either scratch or bite? Is he not already, in our own day, and before our own eyes, stripped of his temporal dominion?”

Present Fulfillment Powerfully Confirms Truth.-Now comes this climactic declaration:

“Is it not extremely remarkable, and a powerful confirmation of the truth of Scripture prophecy, that just 1260 years ago from the present 1798, in the very beginning of the year 538, Belisarius put an end to the empire of the Goths at Rome, leaving no power therein but the Bishop of that Metropolis?

“Read these things in the prophetic Scriptures; compare them coolly with the present state of Europe, and then I say again, deny the truth of Divine Revelation, if you can. Open your eyes, and behold these things accomplishing in the face of the whole world. This thing is not done in a corner.”

V1. Thube Asserts Papal Wound of 1798 to Be Healed

Christian Gottlob Thube was pastor at Baumgarten, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in Germany. In 1798 Thube looked forward to a great day of vengeance for the papacy in 1836- influenced by Bengel’s curious mode of calculation. In 1796, in *Ueber die nachstkommenden vierzig Jahre* (Something About the Next Forty Years), Thube recorded a sermon preached by request before the duke of Mecklenburg in 1775, in which he predicted that a great revolution would break out within fifteen years, and which actually began in France in 1798.

Papacy Identified as Beast and Babylon.-Thube held the Papacy to be the prophesied Beast and Babylon-citing Revelation 13, 2 Thessalonians 2, Daniel 7 and 11:36-45— “whom I consider to be all one and the same person, whom I call the Antichrist.”

Usual Views on Leading Prophecies.-In his book on Daniel, Thube offers a new translation of Daniel from the original. The standard view of the four kingdoms of Daniel 2 and 7 is held. However, concerning the Little Horn of Daniel 7, Thube develops an unusual theory. He anticipates its appearance in the immediate future, and sees in the French Revolution a forecast of its disastrous powers. Like Bengel, he believes that world events would reach their climax in 1836. The judgment sitting in heaven takes place while this tyrant rules upon earth. The ending of the seventieth week he places in A.D. 37, with the crucifixion in A.D. 30, and 1836 as the great year of crisis.

Wounding Occurring Before Our Eyes.-Thube then deals with the French Revolution, and all the infidelic and atheistic excesses attendant, closing with these words:

“The most remarkable thing is that the French compelled the pope to make peace under the most oppressive conditions. The prophecy concerning the wounding of the beast, which we find in Revelation 12:14, is being fulfilled before our eyes. This wound, however, shall sooner or later be healed again. Then will come to pass what has been written in Revelation 13:11-17.”

Time Periods on Bengel’s Year-Day Basis.-In 1799 Thube published a work on the book of Revelation, which discusses in detail the prophetic time periods of the Apocalypse. These are all reckoned on the prophetic-day principle in which he follows Bengel’s fractional modifications. The pure woman is the true church in the wilderness and the Babylonian woman is the false church; the Papacy is also the beast from the sea.

He also thought, like some writers before him, that the papacy received a preliminary wound when Pope Gregory VI died in misery away from Rome and later counter-popes were battling each other. He likewise believed that under urban 11, the originator and promulgator of the Crusades, the early wound was healed.

5.Wound By The Sword To Be Healed.- The French Revolution stroke against the Papacy is stressed as only a wound that would be healed, not as the extinction of the Papacy, as some anticipated. Thus:

“The beast has received a deadly wound, Rev. 13:12. It received the wound by the sword, verse 14.

“This was fulfilled by the French who with sword in hand banished the pope and his cardinals from Rome, dissolving the Papal States and erecting a so-called Roman Republic.

“The present condition of the Papacy is the following: it received a wound by the sword and yet it is alive. How long this condition will continue and under which form this still continuing life will exist, is not yet to be decided with certainty. The deadly wound will be healed, but whether it will take a short or long time we do not know; nor do we understand now in which manner and by which process it will come to pass.”

V11. Galloway-Two Testament Witnesses Dead From 1792-1796

Joseph Galloway (c. 1730-1803), American lawyer and Loyalist in Revolutionary times, was born in Maryland. He was one of Philadelphia’s most popular and distinguished lawyers, and from 1756 to 1776 was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, serving as Speaker from 1766 to 1775. In 1774, he became a delegate to the Continental congress, in which he took a prominent part. He discouraged radical action and proposed a union between Great Britain and the colonies. In 1776 Galloway joined the British Army. On the capture of Philadelphia he was made police magistrate, and superintendent of the

port. He soon removed to England, however, his remaining years being devoted to the study of prophecy, resulting in several published works in this field. One of his most important works was, *Brief Commentaries Upon Such Parts of the Revelation and Other Prophecies, as Immediately Refer to the Present Times*.

Beast From Abyss The Central Figure.-Galloway had an abhorrence of the revolutionary and infidelic principles of Republican France. Being interested mainly in the fulfillment of prophecy during his time, he devoted a long chapter to the two faithful Witnesses and their slaying by the Beast from the bottomless pit. Following certain Protestant interpretations, reaching back to Mede, he held that the seven seals cover the history of the church of the early centuries, with the seven trumpets as the development of the sixth seal. These trumpets were God's judgements against the apostate church-the first four covering the Gothic invasions in the West, and the fifth and sixth the incursions of the Saracens and Turks in the East, which opened the pit of the abyss. The 1260 years might be dated from Phocas and Mohammed respectively.

Death Of Witnesses From 1792 to 1796.-Galloway gives a very detailed explanation, which led him to the conclusion that the Two Witnesses were slain in France. He maintains that the "beast that shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;" or, as it will presently appear, of an infidel and atheistical power, more hardened, more mischievous, and consummately wicked, that either of the two that rose before it."

He, in contrast to many others, sees in the Two Witnesses neither Elias and Enoch nor yet Luther and Calvin, but the Old and New Testaments. "These two holy prophets and oracles of God, alone, among all the variety of things upon the earth, can satisfy and fulfill the figurative description of the text."

"Is it not by these two sacred and infallible records,...[which have] been preserved amidst the waste of all-devouring time, the ravages of wars, the wrecks of books, and even during the dark ages of Pagan sensuality, of Mohammedan ignorance, and Papal superstition. I ask, is it not by these two holy records alone, that God has been pleased to reveal and attest his righteous and immaculate will to mankind?"

Concerning the Witnesses' prophesying in sackcloth, he writes:

"The evident interpretation of this trope is, that during the domination and persecutions of the Mohammedan and Papal hierarchies, the pure truths of God, attested by the 'two witnesses' shall lose a great part of their weight and influence in the world. They shall be misunderstood, misapplied, tortured, perverted, and corrupted by the two apostasies."

They will be killed, he continues, by the beast ascending out of the bottomless pit. And who is this beast? It is "a power which should utterly efface from the minds of men, all the truths revealed to mankind by the two Testaments, and establish atheism in their stead: atheism, the consummation of error, impiety, and sin!" It is the coming of an atheistic power that will conspire against and " 'kill the two witnesses of God;' or, as I have said before, extinguish in the minds of men all sense and influence of the sacred truths revealed in the Old and New Testaments."

Where do we find such a power? There have always been individuals who have denied God.

"But if we search the annals of the world, we shall not find even a private society or sect, much less a civil community and state, which, before our day, has, in the most public manner proclaimed to all the nations around it, that THERE IS NO God ! and

made that position the basis of the constitution of its government...It is obviously, that political and atheistical monster, the revolutionary power now ruling the French nation.”

Galloway thought (1) that the "little horn" is not a type of the pope, but of a different political power, to be explained hereafter; (2) that the pope in no part of the prophecies is referred to as a horn or temporal prince, but is only designated by the symbol of a beast, which signifies a cruel and wicked power, whether civil or ecclesiastical. (verse 8) And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city. It is here not unworthy of remark that the prophet does not say that the two witnesses themselves be dead but only their “dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city.”

The great city at the time of the fulfillment of this prophecy cannot be Rome, as some commentators suppose, because it is a metropolis of a small territory, but it is Paris. It is compared to Sodom and Egypt, “remarkable among its contemporaries for the like depravity, and wilful ignorance of the true God. Papal Rome has been remarkable among its neighbours for neither.”

Verse 9. Their dead bodies will be seen three days and a half. That is “three years and an half: that is from the time of the final expulsion of the clergy (when all practical religion ceased in France), to the date of the decree for tolerating all religion.”

Infidelic France The Beast From Earth.-Galloway likewise explained the seven-headed dragon, the Beast from the sea, and the Beast from the earth, in Revelation 12,13, as pagan Rome, papal Rome, and infidelic France, respectively. The great confederacy of Babylon was still to be formed. The millennium is still future, and will be synchronous with the reign of Christ with His saints. Such was the teaching of the last expositor of the century we shall note.

V111. Revolution Has Profound Effect on Interpretation

The effect of the French Revolution and the European upheaval upon prophetic interpretation was profound, and inaugurated a new era in the study of the Apocalypse. Many who lived to see with their own eyes the accomplishment of the stroke so long foretold had new hopes kindled within them respecting the nearness of the coming trump of judgment, and the promised kingdom of God.

In recording the deeds of the French Revolution, even historians called attention to the seeming fulfillment of inspired prophecy, History thus rose to its most exalted height as it became the interpreter of prophecy. And numerous religious writers of prominence recognized that the contemporary terrible judgments were an evident fulfillment of prophecy. They declared that the 1260 years of papal ecclesiastical supremacy has indeed expired, and that the hour had come for the world-wide preaching of the gospel and the heralding of the impending hour of God's judgment. The prophecies concerning this hour are the field of study of Volumes 111 and 1V.

(1948, pp765-782)

Compare the spiritual responsibility of the Emperor as Protector of the Faith and the temporal power of the Papacy. The Emperor exercised this prerogative without necessarily the endorsement of the church. Compare the conflicts between Emperor and Pontiff through the Centuries to show the independence of the two. The horn on the fourth beast, if it represents

Rome, should represent the Emperor. The temporal power of the Papacy and the role of the Emperor as Protector of the Faith had no relation at all with each other. Pepin's 'treaty with the Papacy as the new exarch of the Papacy was within the authority given to the Papacy by the Emperor.

See articles on inquisition, Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, etc

Does the decree of Justinian authorise the Church to use the power of the state to enforce the decree? If so, is this decree the beginning of the temporal power of the Papacy?

The SDABC recognises the beginning of the temporal power of the papacy with the Donation of Pepin/Pipin. The Catholic Church recognises the same.

Froom wants to argue that the temporal power of the Church began in 538 AD:

The evidence is incontestable that the eighteenth-century overthrow of the Papacy, stemming from the French Revolution, was the clear counterpart of the sixth-century papal establishment. Justinian first recognized by law the pope's absolute ecclesiastical supremacy, and virtually gave the saints into his hand, placing the civil sword at his ultimate disposal.⁵³ And now, 1260 years later, springing from the French Revolution, the

⁵³ This is nonsense. The issue of the primacy of the Pope over the See of Constantinople had nothing to do with the persecution of "infidels and barbarians." It did not virtually give the saints into his hand with the use of civil power. Its civil power was established when it had temporal sovereignty, but moreso in the height of its power when it taught it had power over all kings etc. It was on the basis of its sovereignty that it could speak against other kings, since it was built on its own land, and not that of any king. The "giving over of the saints into his hand" cannot be dated from this time. If anything, it could be more realistically dated from 756. The crux of the question is when the pope was able to exercise temporal authority to punish infidels. That is when the saints are given over to him to do as he pleased. Throughout the centuries of Christian times, rulers of various kingdoms imposed capital punishment on heretics. This was sometimes endorsed by the clergy and often objected to by other clergy. But the church had not decreed that heretics were to be punished by capital punishment. The Church did legislate that it could do a number of things:

"Ecclesiastical legislation was far from this severity. Alexander III at the Lateran Council of 1179 renewed the decisions already made as to schismatics in Southern France, and requested secular sovereigns to silence those disturbers of public order if necessary by force, to achieve which object they were at liberty to imprison the guilty (*servituti subicere, subdere*) and to appropriate their possessions, According to the agreement made by Lucius III and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa at Verona (1148), the heretics of every community were to be sought out, brought before the episcopal court, excommunicated, and given up to the civil power to be suitably punished (*debita animadversione puniendus*). The suitable punishment (*debita animadversio, ultio*) did not, however, as yet mean capital punishment, but the proscriptive ban, though even this, it is true, entailed exile, expropriation, destruction of the culprits dwelling, infamy, debarment from public office, and the like. The "Continuatio Zwellensis altera, ad ann. 1184" (Mon. Germ. Hist.: SS., IX, 542) accurately describes the condition of heretics at this time when it says that the pope excommunicated them, and the emperor put them under the civil ban, while he confiscated their goods (papa eos excommunicavit imperator vero tam res quam personas ipsorum imperiali banno subiecit). Under Innocent III nothing was done to intensify or add to the extant statutes against heresy, though this pope gave them a wider range by the action of his legates and through the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). But this act was indeed a relative service to the heretics, for the regular canonical procedure thus introduced did much to abrogate the arbitrariness, passion, and injustice of the Civil courts in Spain, France and Germany. In so far as, and so long as, his prescriptions remained in force, no summary condemnations or executions en masse occurred, neither stake nor rack were set up; and, if, on one occasion during the first year of his pontificate, to justify confiscation, he appealed to the Roman Law and its penalties for crimes against the sovereign power, yet he did not draw the extreme conclusion that heretics deserved to be burnt.

His reign affords many examples showing how much of the vigour he took away in practice from the existing penal code.”

Therefore if the SDA church says it is laws of the church to punish heretics, then one must look to a date in the twelfth century to begin the dating of the “giving the saints into his hands.” If one looks to the actions against “heretics” by the rulers, then one must begin that date somewhere in the fifth century. These are the historical facts. But none of these historical details align with the contrived time frame used by SDA historicism.

The Catholic Encyclopedia article “Inquisition” indicates that this power to punish infidels and heretics was exercised in the fourth century by the emperors who succeeded Constantine: “However, the imperial successors of Constantine soon began to see in themselves Divinely appointed “bishops of the exterior”, i.e. masters of the temporal and material conditions of the Church. At the same time they retained the traditional authority of “Pontifex Maximus”, and in this way the civil authority inclined, frequently in league with prelates of Arian tendencies, to persecute the orthodox bishops by imprisonment and exile. But the latter, particularly St. Hilary of Poitiers (Liber contra Auxentium, c. iv), protested vigorously against any use of force in the province of religion, whether for the spread of Christianity or for preservation of the Faith. They repeatedly urged that in this respect the severe decrees of the Old Testament were abrogated by the mild and gentle laws of Christ. However, the successors of Constantine were ever persuaded that the first concern of imperial authority (Theodosius II, “Novellae”, tit. III, A.D. 438) was the protection of religion and so, with terrible regularity, issued many penal edicts against heretics. In the space of fifty seven years sixty-eight enactments were thus promulgated. All manner of heretics were affected by this legislation, and in various ways, by exile, confiscation of property, or death. A law of 407, aimed at the traitorous Donatists, asserts for the first time that these heretics ought to be put on the same plane as transgressors against the sacred majesty of the emperor, a concept to which was reserved in later times a very momentous role. The death penalty however, was only imposed for certain kinds of heresy; in their persecution of heretics the Christian emperors fell far short of the severity of Diocletian, who in 287 sentenced to the stake the leaders of the Manichaeans, and inflicted on their followers partly the death penalty by beheading, and partly forced labor in the government mines.

So far we have been dealing with the legislation of the Christianized State. In the attitude of the representatives of the Church towards this legislation some uncertainty is already noticeable. At the close of the fourth century, and during the fifth, Manichaeism, Donatism, and Priscillianism were the heresies most in view. Expelled from Rome and Milan, the Manichaeism sought refuge in Africa. Though they were found guilty of abominable teachings and misdeeds (St. Augustine, *De haeresibus*, no. 46), the Church refused to invoke the civil power against them; indeed, the great Bishop of Hippo explicitly rejected the use force. He sought their return only through public and private acts of submission, and his efforts seem to have met with success. Indeed, we learn from him that the Donatists themselves were the first to appeal to the civil power for protection against the Church. However, they fared like Daniels accusers: the lions turned upon them. State intervention not answering to their wishes, and the violent excesses of the Circumcellions being condignly punished, the Donatists complained bitterly of administrative cruelty. St. Optatus of Mileve defended the civil authority (*De Schismate Donatistarum*, III, cc. 6-7) as follows:

“ . . . as though it were not permitted to come forward as avengers of God, and to pronounce sentence of death! . . . But, say you, the State cannot punish in the name of God. Yet was it not in the name of God that Moses and Phineas consigned to death the worshippers of the Golden calf and those who despised the true religion?”

This was the first time that a Catholic bishop championed a decisive cooperation of the State in religious questions, and its right to inflict death on heretics. For the first time, also, the Old Testament was appealed to, though such appeals had been previously rejected by Christian teachers. The ecclesiastical ideas of the first five centuries may be summarized as follows:

the Church should for no cause shed blood (St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Leo I, and others); other teachers, however, like Optatus of Mileve and Priscillian, believed that the State could pronounce the death penalty on heretics in case the public welfare demanded it; the majority held that the death penalty for heresy, when not civilly criminal, was irreconcilable with the spirit of Christianity. So far was St. Bernard from agreeing with the methods of the people of Cologne, that he laid down the axiom: *Fides suadenda, non imponenda* (By persuasion, not by violence, are men

land that for centuries had been the mainstay of the Papacy, abolished the pope's age-old supremacy, declared the clergy totally independent of the See of Rome, vested the election of bishops in departmental authorities, made a national profession of atheism, and then actually overthrew the papal government.

In 533 was given the notable decree of Justinian, the pope's powerful sixth-century supporter, recognizing his ecclesiastical supremacy, And by a decisive stroke of the Roman sword at Rome, in the spring of 538, the way was opened for a new order of popes and the beginning of a new epoch. And now in 1793, just 1260 years after Justinian's 533 imperial fiat, came the notable decree of the Papacy's once powerful supporter, France oldest son of the church—aimed at the abolition of church and religion, and their unholy union with the state, followed by the decisive stroke of the sword at Rome in overthrow of the Papacy in 1798—an act marking the end of the epoch begun 1260 years before.

The two are clearly counterparts. In the first the supreme civil power of the time was employed for the aggrandizement of the pope, framing laws with that special objective in view, and subjecting all spiritual authority to him. And now, in the reaction, the supreme civil power of the hour was bent on the pope's overthrow, and on the recovery of all the usurped political authority which he had assumed. One was the beginning, and the other the termination, of an epoch foreknown of God, and determined—perhaps unwittingly—by men. THIS LOGIC IS NOT CORRECT. SHOW IT UP. THE ANTITHESIS OF PRIMACY IS NOT THE RECOVERY OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION DID NOT ABOLISH THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH. SOME OF THE RADICALS IN THE DIRECTORY WANTED IT BUT THEY WERE OUSTED AND NAPOLEON TOOK A MORE PRO CATHOLIC POSITION, AS DID

to be won to the Faith). And if he censures the carelessness of the princes, who were to blame because little foxes devastated the vineyard, yet he adds that the latter must not be captured by force but by arguments (*capiantur non armis, sed argumentis*); the obstinate were to be excommunicated, and if necessary kept in confinement for the safety of others (*aut corrigendi sunt ne pereant, aut, ne perimant, coercendi*). (See Vacandard, 1. c., 53 sqq.) The synods of the period employ substantially the same terms, e.g. the synod at Reims in 1049 under Leo IX, that at Toulouse in 1119, at which Callistus II presided, and finally the Lateran Council of 1139. Hence, the occasional executions of heretics during this period must be ascribed partly to the arbitrary action of individual rulers, partly to the fanatic outbreaks of the overzealous populace, and in no wise to ecclesiastical law or the ecclesiastical authorities. There were already, it is true, canonists who conceded to the Church the right to pronounce sentence of death on heretics; but the question was treated as a purely academic one, and the theory exercised virtually no influence on real life. Excommunication, proscription, imprisonment, etc., were indeed inflicted, being intended rather as forms of atonement than of real punishment, but never the capital sentence.” The question remains then as to when the Church first ruled that these forms of punishment were to be used. According to the Catholic records, Alexander III at the Lateran Council in 1179 instituted the process of excommunicating the heretics, then handing them over to the civil powers to be punished accordingly. Thus, this is the marker that one must look for to signal the beginning of the action of the little horn described by the SDA historicists. If one goes by unofficial persecution of the “heretics” by church leaders, again, one must look to the fifth century for a starting point since this is when certain bishops felt that they could follow the example of the emperors in punishing non-conformists. SDA historicists argue with the mark of the beast that it is the actual making of the law that constitutes the formation of this power. One would expect them also to argue that it would be a church law that signals the start of the punishment of the heretics. This occurred in the twelfth century.

THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE AFTER 1797. THE DAYS OF THE REVOLUTION IS NO GUIDE TO THE PERMANENT CHANGES IN THE COUNTRY.

Amid the chaos of falling kingdoms and decaying pagan religions of the early centuries, the massive plans of the Papacy occupied the central place. They formed the point of integration, and constituted the principle around which the ancient world could wrap its wracked form. Constantine realized that in the vast, unorganized Christianity within his realm lay the essential principle of unity needed by his empire, and which later became the dominating concept in the Middle Ages. Rome is thus seen to be the meeting point of all history, the papal succession filling the space from Caesar, and Constantine, and Justinian, and binding all ages into one.[40] And similarly the final events of prophecy cluster decisively around her. (Froom, 1948, pp. 763f)



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Edward King Esq.

"**Edward King Esq.** F.R.S. and A.S. buried April 25, 1807." This learned writer was a native of Norfolk, and educated at Clare-Hall in Cambridge; he was bred to the bar, went the Norfolk circuit for a time, and was recorder of King's Lynn. He was a distinguished member of the Society of Antiquaries, into which body he was elected in 1770. On the death of Dean Milles in 1784, he was elected president of the society, which honourable situation he relinquished at the ensuing anniversary in favour of Lord de Ferrars (now Marquis Townshend). During the short time Mr. King continued president, he was indefatigable in his exertions for the benefit of the society, having not only projected, but carried into effect, various salutary regulations, chiefly respecting its finances. Mr. King communicated several papers to the society, which are published in the *Archæologia*; the most important are those which contain his Observations on Ancient Castles. His more enlarged work upon this subject, being his principal antiquarian publication, displays much erudition and research; it is entitled "*Munimenta Antiqua*" or Observations on ancient Castles, including Remarks on the whole Progress of Architecture in Great Britain, in four volumes folio, the first of which was published in 1799, the last after his death. Besides this, he published "*Vestiges of Oxford Castle*," folio, in 1796. Of his other works, the most known is that entitled "*Morfels of Criticism*," published in 1788; he was author also of "*An Essay on the English Government*," 8vo, 1767; "*Proposals for Establishing a Marine School at Sea*," 1785; "*Considerations on the Utility of the National Debt*," 1793; "*Hymns to the Supreme Being*," 1780; "*An Imitation of the Prayer of Abel*," 1791; "*Remarks on the Signs of the Times*," 1798; an Appendix to the last mentioned publication, and Remarks concerning Stones said to have fallen from the Clouds, 1796. Mr. King had for several years a country seat at Beckenham, now the residence of his widow. He was buried in the church-yard at this place, where is a handsome monument of freestone to his memory, on which is placed a sarcophagus. On the sides are marble tablets, on one of which, at the west end is inscribed, "Sacred to the memory of **Edward King Esq.**, who died April 16th, 1807, aged 72." On the tablet at the east end is inscribed the following quotation from Scripture, placed there at his own request: "All flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever."

p.418

It will be noticed however that Froom perpetuates the error of stating that it was the decree clarifying the primacy of the Roman bishop that marked the start of the time period, and it was the abolition of the power of the church in France that marked the end of the time period.

If Froom and others want to argue that the act of enlisting the civil sword to enforce Christian orthodoxy as defined by the church is present in the Code of Justinian, then the little horn of the beast is not the papacy but the Roman emperors, just as SDA historicists' argue that it is the enforcing of Christian orthodoxy by America fulfills the making of the image to the Beast as depicted in Revelation 13. In both cases, it is not the churches that enforce it but the state law. This view is supported by the writings of Ellen White:

In order for the United States to form an image of the beast, the religious powers of the state will also be employed by the church to accomplish her own ends. (1950, p. 443)

When the leading churches of the United States, uniting upon such points of doctrine as are held by them in common, shall influence the state to enforce their decrees and to sustain their institutions, then Protestant America will have formed an image of the Roman hierarchy, and the infliction of civil penalties upon dissenters will inevitably result. (*Ibid.*, p. 445)

It is the religious *civil* power that is represented by the horn power of Daniel 7, hence it is not the Roman church that is represented here but the Roman emperor, influenced as he was by the Constantinian notion of protector of the Faith, in much the same way as the lamb-like beast is held to be a national power as well – the United States of America, *not* the United Sunday Churches of America. Influenced by religious orthodoxy both the Emperor and the United States may be, yet it is they, not the religious movements behind them, that properly should be represented by these symbols in these prophecies.

It was the practise of the Catholic Church to excommunicate “heretics” and “infidels” and then turn them over to the civil authorities to deal with them according to the laws of the respective kingdom. The Catholic Church argues vehemently that they never ruled that capital punishment be used against heretics, though rulers might use it. They argue its action was only that of excommunication, and the actions of the civil powers were not the responsibility of the church or its rulings.⁵⁴ They argue it was, on the contrary the zeal of the emperors to be the “Protector of the Faith,” even in the face of objections from prominent church leaders and thinkers, that brought civil punishment on heretics:

However, the imperial successors of Constantine soon began to see in themselves Divinely appointed “bishops of the exterior”, i.e. masters of the temporal and material conditions of the Church. At the same time they retained the traditional authority of “Pontifex Maximus”, and in this way the civil authority inclined, frequently in league with prelates of Arian tendencies, to persecute the orthodox bishops by imprisonment and exile. But the latter, particularly St. Hilary of Poitiers (*Liber contra Auxentium*, c. iv), protested vigorously against any use of force in the province of religion, whether for the spread of Christianity or for preservation of the Faith. They repeatedly urged that in this respect the severe decrees of the Old Testament were abrogated by the mild and gentle

⁵⁴ See the Catholic Encyclopedia’s Articles “[Heresy](#)”, “[Inquisition](#)” and “[Infidels](#).” “Hence, the occasional executions of heretics during this period must be ascribed partly to the arbitrary action of individual rulers, partly to the fanatic outbreaks of the overzealous populace, and in no wise to ecclesiastical law or the ecclesiastical authorities. There were already, it is true, canonists who conceded to the Church the right to pronounce sentence of death on heretics; but the question was treated as a purely academic one, and the theory exercised virtually no influence on real life. Excommunication, proscription, imprisonment, etc., were indeed inflicted, being intended rather as forms of atonement than of real punishment, but never the capital sentence. ...Ecclesiastical legislation was far from this severity. Alexander III at the Lateran Council of 1179 renewed the decisions already made as to schismatics in Southern France, and requested secular sovereigns to silence those disturbers of public order if necessary by force, to achieve which object they were at liberty to imprison the guilty (*servituti subicere, subdere*) and to appropriate their possessions. According to the agreement made by Lucius III and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa at Verona (1148), the heretics of every community were to be sought out, brought before the episcopal court, excommunicated, and given up to the civil power to be suitably punished (*debita animadversione puniendus*). The suitable punishment (*debita animadversio, ultio*) did not, however, as yet mean capital punishment, hut the proscriptive ban, though even this, it is true, entailed exile, expropriation, destruction of the culprits dwelling, infamy, debarment from public office, and the like. (Article, “[Inquisition](#)”)

laws of Christ. However, the successors of Constantine were ever persuaded that the first concern of imperial authority (Theodosius II, "Novellae", tit. III, A.D. 438) was the protection of religion and so, with terrible regularity, issued many penal edicts against heretics. In the space of fifty seven years sixty-eight enactments were thus promulgated. All manner of heretics were affected by this legislation, and in various ways, by exile, confiscation of property, or death. A law of 407, aimed at the traitorous Donatists, asserts for the first time that these heretics ought to be put on the same plane as transgressors against the sacred majesty of the emperor, a concept to which was reserved in later times a very momentous role. The death penalty however, was only imposed for certain kinds of heresy; in their persecution of heretics the Christian emperors fell far short of the severity of Diocletian, who in 287 sentenced to the stake the leaders of the Manichaeans, and inflicted on their followers partly the death penalty by beheading, and partly forced labor in the government mines.. (Catholic Encyclopedia, [Inquisition](#).)"

If Froom wants to argue that temporal power of the Church begins with Justinian in 538, then one could argue that the temporal power of the Church really began in the time of Constantine, when Constantine became Protector of the Christian Faith, and saw his role of the civil arm upholding religious orthodoxy for the Church. The fact that this imperial power was used to punish and persecute "heretics" is surely the same argument of the binding of the religious with the civil powers that SDA historicists associate with the Sunday Law in the United States?

Despite objections by SDA writers, the events of persecution occurred in the post-Nicaean period, nay, even pre-Nicaean period. Those persecuted had different views on the nature of Christ and the Trinity, but does that make them any less a Christian? Are we going to ignore the persecution upon Christians with esoteric beliefs? Are we even going to ignore the persecution by the pagan Roman empire of the founding believers, and not include their period in the time of persecution? Contemporary Christian writers and even Adventist writers use the persecution of the first century A.D. and the faithful witness of believers in that period as a benchmark for those enduring or about to experience persecution. Why should they be denied a place in the Biblical text that refers to the "wearing out of the saints?" To date the 1260-year period from somewhere in the sixth century as the time from when the persecution of Christians by the Roman Empire (pagan, papal or both) is ludicrous and unhistorical.

Prominent SDA writers and pioneers in the nineteenth century were Arians too, and would have been expelled, harassed, dispossessed and perhaps even executed at the hands of the imperial power, yet their writings are held up in the SDA church as being of present spiritual benefit to the membership of the church. Should we not put them in the same category as the Arians who were mercilessly hunted during the early church? Is not the work of the post-Nicaean emperors, the same "wearing out of the saints" under a different disguise than what was done under the ante-Nicaean emperors? To be sure, persecution did indeed cease for those who endorsed the Catholic faith, but for those who did not, they had a new scourge to face: the combination of the emperor's wrath backed by the *endorsement* and, in often cases, the *encouragement* of the leaders of the orthodox church.

Rather than a marriage of church and state, the church in its early days objected to emperors acting in this manner, as the testimony of St Hilary indicates:

The assumption of the role of Protector of the Faith was developed independent to the Church and was not moulded by the church. That development was the sole prerogative of the Emperors, and so the temporal authority of Christianity must be dated from the

time of Constantine because it was Christianity that made Donatism and Arianism tenets of faith to be proscribed by the Emperor.

Roman Emperor (also known as Flavius Theodosius), born in Spain, about 346; died at Milan, 17 January, 395. Theodosius is one of the sovereigns by universal consent called Great. He stamped out the last vestiges of paganism, put an end to the Arian heresy in the empire, pacified the Goths, left a famous example of penitence for a crime, and reigned as a just and mighty Catholic emperor. His father, the Comes Theodosius, was a distinguished general; both he and the mother Thermantia were Catholics at a time when Arianism was at its strongest. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Art [Theodosius I](#))

This temporal authority resided in the Emperor and it is only with the removal of the Emperor to Byzantium and the vacuum in the West that the bishop of Rome operates on a subservient level to the emperor as a subject to the exarch of Ravenna, the emperor's representative of the region. And it is a very servile rule. He has to pay taxes to the Emperor; he has no army; he has to track across mountain ranges to implore Pepin to protect him from his enemies; and has to evacuate Rome on countless occasions due to the danger of the moment. Far from being superior, he is not above the kings of the Barbarians around him until the eleventh century and then his power endured for only 200 years. By the time of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, when a truce was made between kings without the input of the Pope, the power of the papacy was back to where it had been centuries before.

With the fall of the Eastern Emperor in the East in the fifteenth century, that should be marked as the end of the horn power.

How did Rome govern the City of Rome and the Papal States?

THIS NEEDS A SIMPLE INTRODUCTION MAPPING OUT THIS DEVELOPMENT THROUGH TIME, AND THE CHANGES MADE OVER THE CENTURIES.

The crux of the question is whether there are two sides of Papal temporal power: the sovereignty over the land of the city of Rome, as well as the administrative rule by the temporal government of Rome?

How was the temporal ownership of Rome dealt with over the centuries?

Was the French and Italian Republics of the 18th century just abolishing the papal interference in the temporal government of the state? Or was it the issue over the sovereignty of the pope over the City of Rome?

In 1188 a *modus vivendi* was established between the commune and Clement III, the people recognizing the pope's sovereignty and conceding to him the right of coinage, the senators and military captains being obliged to swear fealty to him. But the friction did not cease. Innocent III (1203) was obliged to flee from Rome, but, on the other hand, the friendly disposition of the mercantile middle class facilitated his return and secured to him some influence in the affairs of the communes, in which he obtained the appointment of a chief of the Senate, known as "the senator" (1207). The Senate, therefore, was reduced to the status of the Communal Council of Rome; the senator was the syndic, or mayor, and remained so until 1870. In the conflicts between the popes, on the one hand, and, on the other Frederick II and his heirs, the Senate was mostly Imperialist, cherishing some sort of desire for the ancient independence; at times, however, it was divided against itself (as in 1262, for Richard, brother of the King of England, against Manfred, King of Naples). The pontificate of Pius VI, illustrious for its works of public utility, ended with the proclamation of the Republic of Rome (10 February, 1798) and the pope's exile. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Art. "[Rome](#).")

The cardinals were, therefore, from a very early period, assistants of the pope in his liturgical functions, in the care of the poor, the administration of papal finances and possessions, and the synodal disposition of important matters. They took on a very much greater importance, however, after the decree of Nicholas II (1059), "In nomine Domini", regulating papal elections. In accordance with this document the election of the pope and the government of the Church, during the vacancy of the Apostolic See, fell more and more into their hands; they passed to them exclusively after the Decretal of Alexander III, "Licet de vitandâ", at the third Lateran Council (1179). The increasing insignificance of the "regionary" and "palatine" clergy, from the middle of the twelfth century, coupled with the disappearance of the *judices palatini*, tended to enlarge the share of the cardinals in the administration of papal justice and finances, also of the fiefs of the Holy See and of the States of the Church. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Art. "Cardinal")

From these notes we can see that the administrative governance was not just run by the Pope himself. The pope appointed the "Senator", or syndic as "chief of the Senate" as the mayor of Rome, and continued to do so up until 1870, when he no longer controlled the temporal affairs of Rome. The collection of Senators were called the "Communal Council of Rome." As a civil body, they aspired to become what their predecessors had been in previous centuries and assume a role similar to the times of the Roman Empire. It was this body that comprised the temporal power of the Pope in Rome.

It also needs to be considered that the Sacred College of Cardinals had an important part to play in the administration of the States of the Church:

After the full development of the authority of the College of Cardinals, as above described, the latter took charge and exercised its power in very many ways; some canonists went so far as to maintain that during the vacancy of the Apostolic See the College of Cardinals possessed the fullness of the papal prerogative. Their authority was exercised chiefly in two ways, in the administration of the States of the Church and in the election of the new pope. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Art, "Cardinal")

The government of Rome during 1798 and until the return of Pius VII in 1799-1800, was conducted by the Roman Republican government. It made itself more unpopular as time went on until the French government was installed there in 1806, and for three years, a dual government operated in Rome:

The pontificate of Pius VI, illustrious for its works of public utility, ended with the proclamation of the Republic of Rome (10 February, 1798) and the pope's exile. Pius VII was able to return, but after 1806 there was a French Government at Rome side by side with the papal, and in 1809 the city was incorporated in the empire. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Art, "Rome")

"Was the City of Rome given to the Pope in the Donation of Pepin, or was it given at an earlier time? Define this. Does "les États du Pape" include the City of Rome or was that a parcel of land considered separate from the others?"

The development of the states of the church go back to the period just before the break between East and West Roman empire, and the need of the population to have some court of judicature after the breakup of the Senate. The papacy offered that option to Italians, and they defended the papacy for that reason:

This political aspect of the papacy became in time very prominent, inasmuch as Rome, after the removal of the imperial residence to the East, was no longer the seat of any of the higher political officials. Even after the partition of the empire, the Western emperors preferred to make the better-protected Ravenna their residence. Here was the centre of Odoacer's power and of the Ostrogothic rule; here also, after the fall of the Ostrogoths, the viceroy of the Byzantine emperor in Italy, the exarch, resided. In Rome on the other hand, the pope appears with ever-increasing frequency as the advocate of the needy population; thus Leo I intercedes with Attila and Geiserich, and Gelasius with Theodoric. Cassiodorus as *præfectus prætorio* under the Ostrogothic supremacy actually entrusted the care of the temporal affairs to Pope John II. When Emperor Justinian issued the Pragmatic Sanction (554), the pope together with the Senate was entrusted with the control of weights and measures. Thenceforth for two centuries the popes were most loyal supporters of the Byzantine Government against the encroachments of the Lombards, and were all the more indispensable, because after 603 the Senate disappeared. They, too, were the only court of judicature at which the Roman population, exposed as it was to the extortion of the Byzantine functionaries and officers, could find protection and defence. No wonder then that at scarcely any other time was the papacy so popular in Central Italy, and there was no cause which the native population, who had again begun to organise themselves into bodies of militia, espoused with greater zeal than the freedom and independence of the Roman See. And naturally so, for they took part in the election of the pope as a separate electoral body.

When the Byzantine emperors, infected with cæsaro-papist tendencies, attempted to crush the papacy also, they found in the Roman militia an opposition against which they were able to accomplish nothing. The particularism of Italy awoke and concentrated itself about the pope. Such occurrences were repeated and acquired significance as indicating the popular feeling. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Art, "[States of the Church](#)")

Discussing the development of the States of the Church before the 750s, the Catholic Encyclopedia explains the reasons that both the Duchy of Rome and the Exarchate of Ravenna were the two important areas under consideration, and the land connecting these two vital possessions:

The strange shape which the States of the Church were destined to assume from the beginning is explained by the fact that these were the districts in which the population of Central Italy had defended itself to the very last against the Lombards. The two chief districts were the country about Ravenna, the exarchate, where the exarch was the centre of the opposition, and the Duchy of Rome, which embraced the lands of Roman Tuscany north of the Tiber and to the south the Campagna as far as the Garigliano, where the pope himself was the soul of the opposition. Furthermore, the greatest pains were taken, as long as it was at all possible, to retain control of the intervening districts and with them communication over the Apennines. Hence the strategic importance of the Duchy of the Pentapolis (Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, Ancona) and Perugia. If this strategic connexion were broken, it was evident that Rome and Ravenna could not singly maintain themselves for any length of time. This was recognized by the Lombards also. (Art. "States of the Church")

Rome was a part of the "Duchy of Rome." This was given to the pope in the Donation of 754-6, together with the Papal States formally signed over to the pope by the highest magistrates and magnates of those cities and a new deed of gift to Pope Stephen II was drawn up by Pepin to formalise the gift to the church:

In 756 Pepin again set out with an army against Aistulf and a second time hemmed him in at Pavia. Aistulf was again compelled to promise to deliver to the pope the cities granted him after the first war and, in addition, Commachio at the mouth of the Po. But this time the mere promise was not considered sufficient. Messengers of Pepin visited the various cities of the exarchate and of the Pentapolis, demanded and received the keys to them, and brought the highest magistrates and most distinguished magnates of these cities to Rome. Pepin executed a new deed of gift for the cities thus surrendered to the pope, which together with the keys of the cities were deposited on the grave of St. Peter (Catholic Encyclopedia, Art, "[States of the Church](#)")

This gift has been recognised by such since.

Rome became finally detached from the Empire of the East. Though the pope was master of Rome, the power of the Sword was wielded by the imperial *missi*, and this arrangement came to be more clearly defined by the Constitution of Lothair (824). Thus the government was divided. The temporal power of the pope might then have come to an end, had not John, Alberic's son, reunited the two powers. But John's life and his conduct of the government necessitated the intervention of the Emperor Otto I (963), who instituted the office of *præfectus urbis*, to represent the imperial authority. (This office became hereditary in the Vico family.) Order did not reign for long: Crescentius, leader of the anti-papal party, deposed and murdered popes. It was only for a few brief intervals that Otto II (980) and Otto III (996-998-1002) were able to re-establish the imperial and pontifical authority. At the beginning of the eleventh century three popes of the family of the counts of Tusculum immediately succeeded each other, and the last of the three, Benedict IX, led a life so scandalous as made it necessary for Henry III to intervene (1046). The schism of Honorius II and the struggle between Gregory VII and Henry IV exasperated party passions at Rome, and conspicuous in the struggle was another Crescentius, a member of the Imperialist Party. Robert Guiscard, called to the rescue by Gregory VII, sacked the city and burned a great part of it, with immense destruction of monuments and documents. The struggle was revived under Henry V, and Rome was repeatedly besieged by the imperial troops. Then followed the schism of Pier Leone (Anacletus II), which had hardly been ended, in 1143, when Girolamo di Pierleone, counselled by Arnold of Brescia, made Rome into a republic, modelled after the Lombard communes, under the rule of fifty-six senators. In vain did Lucius II attack the Capitol, attempting to drive out the usurpers. The commune was in opposition no less to the imperial than to the papal authority. At first the popes thought to lean on the emperors, and thus Adrian IV induced Barbarossa to burn Arnold alive (1155). Still, just as in the preceding century, every coronation of an emperor was accompanied by quarrels and fights between the Romans and the imperial soldiery. In 1188 a *modus vivendi* was established between the commune and Clement III, the people recognizing the pope's sovereignty and conceding to him the right of coinage, the senators and military captains being obliged to swear fealty to him. But the friction did not cease. Innocent III (1203) was obliged to flee from Rome, but, on the other hand, the friendly disposition of the mercantile middle class facilitated his return and secured to him some influence in the affairs of the communes, in which he obtained the appointment of a chief of the Senate, known as "the senator" (1207). The Senate, therefore, was reduced to the status of the Communal Council of Rome; the senator was the syndic, or mayor, and remained so until 1870. In the conflicts between the popes, on the one hand, and, on the other Frederick II and his heirs, the Senate was mostly Imperialist, cherishing some sort of desire for the ancient independence; at times, however, it was divided against itself (as in 1262, for Richard, brother of the King of England, against Manfred, King of Naples). The pontificate of Pius VI, illustrious for its works of public utility, ended with the proclamation of the Republic of Rome (10 February, 1798) and the pope's exile. Pius VII was able to return, but after 1806 there was a French Government at Rome side by side with the papal, and in 1809 the city was incorporated in the empire. General Miollis, indeed, deserved well of Rome for the public works he caused to be executed (the Pincian), and the archæological excavations, which were vigorously and systematically

continued in the succeeding pontificates, especially that of Pius IX. Of the works of art carried away to Paris only a part were restored after the Congress of Vienna. (Catholic Encyclopedia, "Rome")

Interestingly though, the duchy of Rome must not have been mentioned in the Donation of Pepin by name, because the Catholic Encyclopedia records that during the contentions over the papal states between Pope Adrian I and Charlemagne, the new agreement over the Papal States included for the first time the Duchy of Rome. It also mentions how Charlemagne enlarged the Papal States:

Charlemagne acknowledged the sovereignty of Adrian in the Duchy of Rome and in the States of the Church founded by Pepin's donations of 754-56. He now executed a new document in which were enumerated all the districts in which the pope was recognized as ruler. The Duchy of Rome (which had not been mentioned in the earlier documents) heads the list, followed by the exarchate and the Pentapolis, augmented by the cities which Desiderius had agreed to surrender at the beginning of his reign (Imola, Bologna, Faenza, Ferrara, Ancona, Osimo, and Umana); next the patrimonies were specified in various groups: in the Sabine, in the Spoletan and Beneventan districts, in Calabria, in Tuscany, and in Corsica. Charlemagne, however, in his character as "Patricius", wanted to be considered as the highest court of appeal in criminal cases in the States of the Church. He promised on the other hand to protect freedom of choice in the election of the pope, and renewed the alliance of friendship that had been previously made between Pepin and Stephen II.

The agreement between Charlemagne and Adrian remained undisturbed. In 787 Charlemagne still further enlarged the States of the Church by new donations: Capua and a few other frontier cities of the Duchy of Benevento, besides several cities in Lombardy, Tuscany, Populonia, Roselle, Sovana, Toscanella, Viterbo, Bagnorea, Orvieto, Ferento, Orchia, Marta, and lastly Città di Castello appear to have been added at that time. All of this, of course, is based upon painstaking deductions, since no document has come down to us either from the time of Charlemagne or from that of Pepin. Adrian in these negotiations proved himself no mean politician, and is justly ranked with Stephen II as the second founder of the States of the Church. His arrangements with Charlemagne remained authoritative for the relations of the later popes with the Carolingians and the German emperors. These relations were given a brilliant outward expression by Charlemagne's coronation as emperor in 800.

In time however, the Patrimony of St. Peter, came to mean a smaller slice of land than the original Donation of Pepin,

"The expression "Patrimonium Sancti Petri" originally designated the landed possessions and revenues of various kinds that belonged to the Church of St. Peter at Rome. Until the middle of the eighth century this consisted wholly of private property, but the term was later applied to the States of the Church, and more particularly to the Duchy of Rome. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article, "States of the Church.")

For Further Study

Development of the Sabbath.

SDA writers argue that the 1260 year period includes the development of the papacy towards its zenith when it ruled supreme in Europe. They argue that the things

which laid the groundwork for that temporal power of the Papacy are significant enough to be included as well.

If the “they” in Dn7:25 includes “the times and the laws” as context would require it, then we must accept the developments which laid that groundwork as significant enough to be included in the time frame as well. So when did this development against the Sabbath begin? Ellen White says this explicitly in *Great Controversy*:

To prepare the way for the work which he designed to accomplish, Satan led the Jews, before the advent of Christ, to load down the Sabbath with the most rigorous exactions, making its observance a burden. Now, taking advantage of the false light in which he had thus caused it to be regarded, he cast contempt upon it as a Jewish institution. While Christians generally continued to observe the Sunday as a joyous festival, he led them, in order to show their hatred of Judaism, to make the Sabbath a fast, a day of sadness and gloom.

In the early part of the fourth century the emperor Constantine issued a decree making Sunday a public festival throughout the Roman Empire. The day of the sun was revered by his pagan subjects and was honored by Christians; it was the emperor’s policy to unite the conflicting interests of heathenism and Christianity. He was urged to do this by the bishops of the church, who, inspired by ambition and thirst for power, perceived that if the same day was observed by both Christians and heathen, it would promote the nominal acceptance of Christianity by pagans and thus advance the power and glory of the church. But while many God-fearing Christians were gradually led to regard Sunday as possessing a degree of sacredness, they still held the true Sabbath as the holy of the Lord and observed it in obedience to the fourth commandment.

The arch-deceiver had not completed his work. He was resolved to gather the Christian world under his banner and exercise his power through his viceregent, the proud pontiff who claimed to be the representative of Christ. Through half-converted pagans, ambitious prelates, and world-loving churchmen he accomplished his purpose. Vast councils were held from time to time, in which the dignitaries of the church were convened from all the world. In nearly every council the Sabbath, which God had instituted was pressed down a little lower, while the Sunday was correspondingly exalted. Thus the pagan festival came finally to be honored as a divine institution, while the Bible Sabbath was pronounced a relic of Judaism, and its observers were declared to be accursed.

The great apostate had succeeded in exalting himself “above all that is called God, or that is worshipped.” 2 Thessalonians 2:4 (1950, p.53)

The process of replacing the Sabbath with Sunday, according to this statement from Ellen White must be dated from the return from the Babylonian exile. It was from the exile that, according to her, the processes were set in place to eventually demote the Biblical Sabbath. Notice these comments from Desire of Ages:

By the Babylonish captivity the Israelites were effectually cured of the worship of graven images. During the centuries that followed, they suffered from the oppression of heathen foes, until the conviction became fixed that their prosperity depended upon their obedience to the law of God. But with too many of the people obedience was not prompted by love. Their motive was selfish. They rendered outward service to God at the means of attaining to national greatness. ...In the instructions given to Moses, God had placed restrictions upon their associations with idolaters; but this teaching had been misinterpreted. It was intended to prevent them from conforming to the practices of the

heathen. But it was used to build up a wall of separation between Israel and all other nations.

After the return from Babylon, much attention was given to religious instruction. All over the country, synagogues were erected, where the law was expounded by the priests and scribes. And schools were established, which, together with the arts and the sciences, professed to teach the principles of righteousness. But these agencies became corrupted. During the captivity, many of the people had received heathen ideas and customs, and these were brought into their religious service.

As they departed from God, the Jews in a great degree lost sight of the teaching of the ritual service...In order to supply the place of that which they had lost, the priests and rabbis multiplied requirements of their own; and the more rigid they grew, the less of the love of God was manifested. They measured their holiness by the multitude of their ceremonies, while their hearts were filled with pride and hypocrisy. (1898, pp.28f.)

As the Jews departed from God, and failed to make the righteousness of Christ their own by faith, the Sabbath lost its significance to them. Satan was seeking to exalt himself and to draw men away from Christ, and he worked to pervert the Sabbath, because it is the sign of the power of Christ. The Jewish leaders accomplished the will of Satan by surrounding God's rest day with burdensome requirements. In the days of Christ the Sabbath had become so perverted that its observance reflected the character of selfish and arbitrary men rather than the character of the loving heavenly Father. The rabbis virtually represented God as giving laws which it was impossible for men to obey. They led the people to look upon God as a tyrant, and to think that the observation of the Sabbath, as He required it, made men hardhearted and cruel. (Ibid, pp. 283f.)

Therefore, we must date the 1260-year period from the time of the return of the exile – 457 B.C. That there was 800 years between that and the decree of Constantine is irrelevant according to the logic of SDA historicists. When they discuss the decree of Justinian, they assert that the pope did not have temporal supremacy at that time. They argue that this was not fully demonstrated until the eleventh century, 500 years later. For them, it was the development of the foundational matters – the putting in place of the laws necessary to enforce this papal authority – that is considered significant. Similarly, the Jews put in place rules that began to demote the biblical meaning of the Sabbath after the exile. These actions to encase the Sabbath in burdensome regulations are significant and by SDA historicists' own logic should be also included in the time frame of the 1260 years. Thus the end of the 1260-year period should rightly end in 802 AD by their logic. In order for them to be consistent, to discount the period from the exile as not being included in the historical process of the demotion of the Sabbath and the promotion of Sunday worship, one would also have to discount the time from the decree of Justinian up to the eleventh century when the pontiff was able to exercise his temporal power fully.

Dump

PROPHETIC FAITH OF OUR FATHERS VOLUME 2 PG 487

Exact Date of Passion Foretold by Daniel—It is interesting to observe that Augustine evidently holds to the seventy weeks as employing the year-day principle, for he extends the period to Christ's death.

“Daniel even defined the time when Christ was to come and suffer by the exact date. It would take too long to show this by computation, and it has been done often by others before us.

PAGE 614 SEVENTY WEEKS OF “ABBREVIATED” YEARS---

Bede reckons the seventy weeks like Africanus, as 490 uncorrected or “abbreviated” lunar years (twelve lunar months, or 354 days, each), the equivalent of 475 solar years. He counts this from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes to Christ. He places the baptism in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, in the midst of the last week, which covers John’s and Jesus’ ministry, and ends “in the seventeenth or eighteenth year of Tiberius.” On this last date he follows Eusebius rather Africanus.

PAGE 657 SEVENTY WEEKS LUNAR YEARS TO CHRIST

The fourth kingdoms of Daniel 2 and 7 are the usual Babylonia, Persia, Grecia, and Rome; and the stone is the kingdom of Christ, which will last through all generations. The ten horns are the ten future kings in the time of Antichrist; Egypt, Ethiopia, and Africa are uprooted. The time, times and half a time in on Roman Empire, because of Antichrist’s proud words, all kingdoms are to be destroyed. Then the saints are exalted at the advent of the Son of man; all the earth is subjected to the churchly power, and perhaps the prelates and members of monastic orders will be holy like the apostles of Christ.

He doubts Porphyry’s theory of Antiochus as the little Horn of chapter 7. But he makes Antiochus the Little Horn of chapter 8, coming out of the Seleucid division of Alexander’s empire, with the 2300 days as the time of his devastation of Jerusalem. The horn is also Antichrist, and his three-one-half-year persecution is equated with the 1290 days.

The seventy weeks are 490 “abbreviated,” or lunar, years from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes. The seven weeks are the building under Nehemiah; in the last week Christ is baptized after three and a half years, and crucified at about the end (in the second half). Citing Jerome and Bede, he reckons the 490 lunar years, or 475 solar years, to extend to the eighteenth year of Tiberius.

PAGE 661 BACON’S 70 WEEKS

ROGER BACON ASSAILS SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY

Born of wealthy parents at or near Ilchester, England, Roger Bacon (c. 1214-1274) studied at Oxford and Paris. He was influenced by Grosseteste, the famous exegete and bishop of Lincoln, and also by Adam Marsh. He became a noted professor, and entered the Franciscan Order.

This date was used by later prophetic expositors as a pivotal point for the seventy weeks---for it was not until some centuries later that the applicability of the rabbinical computation was challenged-but Bacon does not connect it with prophecy. Yet evidently refers to the seventy weeks when he says, “The prophecy of Daniel by a computation of years evidently extends up to Christ; for he came after that time.” He cites 2 Esdras 7:28,29 for four hundred years from Ezra to Christ.

PAGE 700 APPLIES YEAR-DAY PRINCIPLE TO THE SYMBOLIC TIME PROPHECY.

Under Joachim and epochal advance was made in the symbolic-time aspect of prophetic interpretation. Heretofore, for thirteen centuries the seventy weeks had been recognized generally as weeks of years. But the first thousand years of the Christian Era did not produce any further applications of the principle, among Christian writers, save one or two glimpses of the “ten days” of Revelation 2:10 as ten years of persecution, and the three and a half days of Revelation 11 as three and a half years. But Joachim for the first time applied the year-day principle to the 1260-day prophecy.

Time was required for the development of the later conception of the setting of that time period. Thirty-five years after Joachim’s death Eberhard was to point out the Papacy as the fulfillment, historically, of the prophesied specifications of Daniels Little Horn symbol. This had no connection with Joachim’s interpretation. But eventually the growing identification of papual Rome as the predicted apostasy, under the terms Antichrist, Babylon, Beast, Man of Sin, and Mystery of Iniquity, resulted in the application of the 1260 years as the era of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the papal Little Horn. This conception of the Little Horn, soon to come, gave the clue to the time placement of the 1260 years as developed in Reformation times and afterward.

Joachim provided the basis for the historical method interpretation of the time relationships of prophetic symbols, as applied to both nations and churches when he extended to this period the Biblical principle of a day for a year, which had in the early centuries been applied only to the seventy weeks. To the early expositors, who expected the end soon, or within a few centuries, all time perspectives pertaining to last things were foreshortened, for they could not conceive of the world’s lasting long enough to cover time prophecies of such length as 1260 years. Joachim himself never extended the year-day principle to the 2300-day prophecy, probably for the similar reason that he expected the end of the age sooner. But only three years after his death, as we shall see, an anonymous work attributed mistakenly to him makes the number 22300 refer to twenty-three centuries, and within a relatively few years more, other writers applied the year-day principle to the 1290, 1335, and 2300 days as well. Thus the principle which enunciated was later employed by the leading Protestant expounders of prophecy, though he had made an application of its meaning and chronological placement which they, of course, rejected. (1950, p.700f)

Villanova’s Commentary on “De Semine”

About 1292 Villanova wrote a book on what he thought was a genuine work of Joachim....The argument of this little work seems involved enough to the modern reader, but as compared with *De Semine* it betrays the scientific mind of the author....Villanova goes on to state explicitly the year-day principle: “When he says, ‘two thousand three hundred days’ it must be said that by days he understands years. This is clear through the explanation of the angel when he says that in the end the vision will be fulfilled, from which he gives it to be understood by clear expression that in that vision by days are understood years.’

It would be absurd, he continues, to reckon a period extending to the time of the end by 2300 ordinary days, which would not even total eight years. Then as additional Scripture authority, he quotes Eze 4: 6: “It is not unaccustomed, in the Scriptures of God, for days to understand years. Nay, it is certainly usual and frequent. Whence also the Spirit in Ezekiel testifies: ‘A day for a year I have reckoned to you.’” So speaks the Joachimite theologian....He takes the 2300 as days, which he interprets as years by applying the day for-a-year rule cited specifically from Ezekiel; and he proves by systematic arguments that the 2300 could not be taken for literal days, but rather for symbolic days, meaning

solar years....Not until 1297 – in the same year as Olivi, or two years after, according to the varied dating of the latter’s work – did Villanova apply the year-day principle to the 1290 and 1335 days of Daniel 12....Disagreeing with “many blind watchmen” who date the 1290 years from the death of Christ, as the taking away of the continual sacrifice, he connects it rather with the destruction of the temple and the fall of the city “through Titus and Vespasian in the forty-second year after the passion or ascension of Christ. He begins the period with the taking away of the continual Old Testament sacrifice when the Jews lost the Promised Land – the only place where they were allowed by law to sacrifice; this was in the ‘midst of the week,’ probably in the fourth year after Jerusalem’s fall, that is, the forty-sixth year after the crucifixion of Christ. In placing this event in the “one week” although he does not offer a complete interpretation of the seventy weeks....This, as written, would end the 1290 years in 1378, but it was definitely not 1378 originally. The 78 is a correction over an erasure, and the original number is uncertain. (1950, pp.747-760)

...the foundations of Daniel’s great outline, and the year-day principle of the great time prophecies, as laid down by Daniel and subsequent Hebrew leaders, were carried over into the Christian church, becoming its priceless heritage, though likewise held by a paralleling line of Jewish expositors extending over the Christian Era.

But the 1260-, 1290-, 1335-, and 2300-day periods of Daniel 7,8,9,11,and 12, and corresponding periods in the Apocalypse were not yet regarded as years in the early church. They would not have thought such long periods possible, for time was foreshortened to the gaze of early churchmen, who expected the end of all things soon. The extension of the year-day principle to these other periods could not have occurred until such datings would seem to be within possibility, but eventually it was inevitably so extended by Joachim and his followers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries....

Jesus said, “When it is come to pass, ye may believe.” Perhaps one of the most conspicuous lessons of all prophetic testimony through the years is the contemporary recognition, or interpretation, of each major epoch or event in the prophetic outline *at the very time of fulfillment*. The 70 weeks were accepted by the early church as a period of years fulfilled in connection with Christ’s first advent. (p. 889f)

Joachim as the first Christian writer applied the year-day principle to the 1260 days (though he was anticipated by Jewish expositors over some three centuries). Within three years of his death the 2300 days were reckoned as twenty-three centuries in *De Semine*, from which Villanova, at the end of the thirteenth century, derived the year-day principle of Ezekiel as a basic scale to be applied to other periods – a principle used for the 1290 and 1335 days by Olivi and followed by Ubertino and other Spirituals, and later incorporated into standard Protestant exegesis. (1950, p.903)

Clement of Alexandria (c.150-c. 220) ...was one of the first, of who we have record, to apply the seventy weeks historically. In *Stromata*, after quoting Daniel 9: 24-27, Clement declares that the temple was built in the prophesied “seven weeks,” or first period. During the “sixty and two weeks” all Judea was quiet. Then “Christ our Lord, ‘the Holy of Holies,’ having come and fulfilled the vision of the prophecy, was anointed in His flesh by the Holy Spirit of His Father.” Clement says that Christ was “Lord” during the one week. Clement thought that in the first “half of the week” Nero held sway, and placed the abomination in the holy city Jerusalem; and in the other half of the week he was taken away, and Otho and Galba, and Vitellius reigned. Then “Vespasian rose to the supreme power, and destroyed Jerusalem, and desolated the holy place” at the end of the period. (p. 265f)

Eusebius Pamphili (c.260-c.340), bishop of Caesarea...played an important part in the first great ecumenical council, with its momentous pronouncements, held at Nicaea, in

325...another clear perception and enunciation pertained to the 70 prophetic weeks of Daniel 9, definitely interpreted to be 490 literal years. "It is quite clear that seven times seventy weeks reckoned in years amounts to 490. That was therefore the period determined for Daniel's people." This prophetic period he likewise mentioned in his later church history. "For the Scripture, in the book of Daniel, having expressly mentioned a certain number of weeks until the coming of Christ, of which we have treated in other books, most clearly prophecies, that after the completion of those weeks, the unction among the Jews should totally perish. And this, it has been clearly shown, was fulfilled at the time of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ." (1950, p. 303f)

LOOKING FOR EVENTS TO FIT PROPHECY-THE HISTORICIST'S PENCHANT

The historical approach to the Apocalypse had been clearly indicated before Tichonius, but now men no longer looked to events for the fulfillment of the prophecies. The series of empires had already been passed, the stone kingdom of Daniel and the millennium of the Revelation were regarded as already in progress, and there was nothing yet in sight to fulfill the popular concept of the terrible Antichrist and his hordes of Gog and Magog. (p. 900f)

The book of Revelation was less systemically covered, in the way of specific interpretation, than was Daniel, but in this early church period the following points were enunciated:...the three and one half times, or 42 months, were generally taken as literal years, although Methodius took the 1260 days as mystic, preceding the new dispensation. (1948, p.460f).

We must therefore come to the conclusion that any expectation of the coming of Antichrist, the loosening of Satan, and the judgment day occurring in connection with or around the year 1000, was not fostered by the hierarchy of the church or by the doctors of divinity, but found its chief expression among larger or smaller groups of the laity, especially in France. Needless to say, the year 1000 passed without any remarkable occurrence....The millennial year 1000 passed without any awful mundane catastrophe, any obvious loosening of Satan, or spectacular manifestation of Antichrist as popularly expected. This would also tend to shake any confidence in the theory of a current ecclesiastical millennium. Later the passing of the twelfth century opened to expositors the opportunity of applying the year-day principle to the prophesied three and a half times of Antichrist, as of 1260 prophetic days, or literal years, without putting the second advent far into the future. About the year 1260 we really find a much greater expectancy for the coming of the Lord and of a new age than in the year 1000. (1950, p.591)

But Joachim's most noteworthy use of the year-day principle is in connection with the 1260 days. The key to his whole chronological scheme is the symbolic period variously named as forty-two months, three and one half times or years, and 1260 days. He calls this "that great number which contains all these mysteries. For there are 42 months or 1260 days, and they designate nothing else than 1260 years, in which the mystery of the New Testament consist. Having established a concord, or correspondence, of events, between the Old and New Testament times in the seven seals, Joachim tries to formulate a correspondence of time. The forty-two generations of the Old Testament of the Father are taken as a type of forty-two spiritual generations of the New Testament age of the Son, which is 1260 years if thirty years are counted for each generation. In connection with the 1260 days of the symbolic woman – the church – of Revelation 12, hidden in the seclusion of the wilderness, Joachim makes a remarkable application of the year-day principle, destined to reverberate through the centuries following: "The generations of the church, under the space of 30 years, are to be taken each under its unit of thirty; so that just as Matthew includes the time of the first state under the space of 42 generations, so there is no doubt that the time of the second ends in the same number of generations, especially since this is shown to be signified in the number of days during which Elijah

was hidden from the face of Ahab, and during which the woman clothed with the sun, who signifies the church, remained hidden in the wilderness from the face of the serpent, *a day without doubt being accepted for a year* and a thousand two hundred and sixty days for the same number of years. (1950, p.712f)

Application of the year-day principle to the longer time periods of Daniel had appeared first among Jewish expositors some three centuries before any Christian interpreters are known to have so applied it. Nahawendi, in the early ninth century, was evidently the first to interpret the 1290 and 2300 days as years. Then Saadia, Jeroham, Hakohen, Jepheth ibn Ali, and Rashi of the tenth century applied it not only to the 70 weeks but also to one or more of the 1290-, 1335-, and 2300-day periods. And Hanasi and Eliezer, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and Nahmides in the thirteenth, similarly extended it to the longer time periods of Daniel. (1959, p. 712)

Bruno also proves the right of interpreting a year for a day from Ezekiel 4:6, which he mentions in connection with the slaying of the Two Witnesses and their lying in the streets for three and a half days. (1950, p. 562)

Indeed, aside from the impetus given to the historical approach to prophecy, the most noticeable element of prophetic interpretation from the thirteenth century on into the Reformation was the progressive identification of the Roman Church with Babylon and of the Papacy with the multiple prophetic symbols of the Antichrist, the Little Horn, the Beast, and the Man of Sin. It was, in fact, the logical outcome of the restoration of historical interpretation, but it was a gradual growth, which could have been established only by the testimony of the passage of time.

It was inevitable that Antichrist should at the beginning be anticipated simply as an individual, and that the 1260 days should likewise be regarded as literal time (three and a half years) consistent with the life of a single person. The Antichrist was early connected with these other prophetic figures, but the *historical* identification of this power was not made until between the tenth and thirteenth centuries – the climax of the multiple application coming with the dramatic accusations of Archbishop Eberhard of Salzburg. (1950, p. 904)

Summarizing the teachings of the apostolic age, we find these composite faces and principles: 1. The year-day principle is certified by the fulfillment of the seventy weeks. (1950, p.164)

Summary of Pre-New Testament Jewish Exposition of Prophecy

From the foregoing evidence – limited but sufficient – we may sum up the essential Jewish code of interpretation (including Josephus) under these points: ...9. The seventy weeks involve the thought of periods “of years.” Thus the application of the year-day principle is begun,”

These obviously are basic positions. We may therefore properly conclude that the Jewish interpretation of the four metals as the four successive empires of prophecy, and the year-day principle, formed the groundwork of that system of interpretation upon which the apostles and succeeding Christian writers of the early centuries built their amplified exposition of Daniel, and of the complementary prophecies of Paul and John. (1950, p.203f)

Summary of Prophetic Understanding in Martyr [Up to 325 –FB] Period.

...7. The seventy weeks of years connected with Christ's first advent. 8. The year-day principle not yet applied to the longer prophetic periods. (1950, p347f)

Attention should be called to an important time principle – that of the year-day reckoning – used by Jerome, but not applied to other time periods. In his exposition of Ezekiel 4:6 he attempts to outline the 390 years of the captivity of the Israelites, represented by Ezekiel's lying on his left side, beginning with Pekah and ending with the fortieth year of Artaxerxes Mnemon, whom he supposes to be the Ahaseurus of Esther. He makes the forty days during which Ezekiel had to lie on his right side refer to forty years, beginning with the first year of Jeconiah and ending with the first year of Cyrus, king of the Persians.

Jerome apparently acquiesces in the application of the year-day principle to the seventy weeks as made by others whom he quotes at great length; but he himself refuses to set forth an interpretation of the seventy weeks, for "it is dangerous to judge concerning the opinions of the masters of the church." He thereupon gives the interpretations of Africanus, Eusebius, Hippolytus, Apollinaris of Laodicae, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and "the Hebrews," so that the reader may choose for himself. (1950, p.449f)

The elemental principle of prophetic interpretation as laid down in the book of Daniel were transmitted by the pre-Christian Jewish interpreters into the Christian Era and church. Confirmed by the teachings of Jesus, and especially by the apostles Paul and John, they became the foundation principles of prophetic exposition among Christians. For example, the four world powers of prophecy, beginning with Babylon; the year-day principle, as first applied to the seventy weeks;...and a "time" standing for a year – upon these simple elementals the Christian church began to build her own expanding system of interpretation:...(8) The seventy weeks were understood as 490 years, on the year-day principle, from Persia unto the Messiah, or thereabouts, and pertaining particularly to the Jews. (9) All other "time prophecies" were as yet restricted to literal time – time, times, and a half, or 1260 days, and the 1290, 1335, and the 2300 days. exposition among Christians. For example, the four world powers of prophecy, beginning with Babylon; the year-day principle, as first applied to the seventy weeks;...and a "time" standing for a year – upon these simple elementals the Christian church began to build her own expanding system of interpretation:...(8) The seventy weeks were understood as 490 years, on the year-day principle, from Persia unto the Messiah, or thereabouts, and pertaining particularly to the Jews. (9) All other "time prophecies" were as yet restricted to literal time – time, times, and a half, or 1260 days, and the 1290, 1335, and the 2300 days. (1950, p.459)

Walter Brute (or Britte), fourteenth century British or Welsh layman and Lollard scholar, perhaps the most conspicuous prophetic expositor among Wyclif's followers, was a graduate of Oxford... Declaring it plain that the seventy weeks had already been fulfilled, and Jerusalem destroyed, Brute says, "Daniel speaking of the 62 weeks, doth not speak of the weeks of days but of years." Then he places the 1290 years to the revealing of Antichrist – "taking a day always for a year, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets." Likewise he interprets the meaning of the five months: "Taking a month for thirty days, and a day for a year. And to Ezekiel were days given for years." Brute then draws the conclusion: "Wherefore, it is an unfit thing to assign the 42 months, being appointed to the power of the Beast, unto three years and a half, for the Reign of that fantastical and imagined Antichrist.(1948, pp. 74, 81f)

R. Wimbledon, another Lollard preacher, delivered a notable sermon at "Paul's Cross," in London in 1389, that created considerable stir...The chief token noted was the "abomination of desolation" standing in the holy place. This was declared to come in the days of Antichrist, who was to appear about 1290 years from the time of Titus and

Vespasian. The end of this period was anticipated to be within a few year – on the basis that “a day must be taken for a yeare, both by authority of holy Writ in the same place and in other, and also by reason. (1948, p.91)

...the time prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse were recognized as slowly but inexorably fulfilling. This was gradually perceived as the predicted events were progressively identified. Many centuries were required for full development, and consequently for clear recognition. Moses and Ezekiel had long before given the inspired key to all prophetic time measurement; namely, that the prophetic time unit is always *a day for a year*, just as on a map one inch may stand for one hundred miles. In the application of this basic principle the fulfillment of the prophesied seventy weeks of years – which were to extend from the time of Persia to the Messiah – was first seen to be exactly accomplished in the baptism and death of Christ in connection with the seventieth week. These sublime transactions sealed forever for the Christian church the “year-day” principle already recognized by the Jews.

Joachim of Floris, in the twelfth century, had seen the 1260-day period to be so many year-days. This great advance was slowly accepted. Meanwhile, the anonymous *De Semine* (1205) interpreted the 2300 days as twenty-three hundred years, approximating the year-day principle. Then in 1292 Villanova, in addition to using this prophetic time unit in the 1290- and 1335-day periods, seems to have been the first Christian writer to apply this established canon of measurement to the longest of the great time prophecies of Daniel – a prophetic period embracing all others – the 2300 days of Daniel 8: 14. This was destined to be the period, and through his greater prominence he established the principle in the minds of the prophetic expositors who followed him. (1948, p.124f)

Nicholas of Cusa (1400?-1464) – theologian, mathematician, scientist, and scholar – often credited by later writers with establishing the year-day principle as applied to the 2300 days.... (1948, p.125, 129)

On the application of the year-day principle to the seventy weeks of Daniel 9, Luther not only is explicit but declares the harmony of all teachers thereon. “All teachers are in harmony that these are year-weeks and not day-weeks, that means, a week encompasses seven years and not seven days. This is also taught by experience, for seventy day-weeks would not even span two years, and that would not be a remarkable period for such a wonderful revelation; therefore, these seventy weeks are 490 years.” Luther divides them into their component parts but begins them with the commandment of the second year of Darius. And he places the death of Christ at the beginning of the seventieth week, during which last week of years the gospel was preached with power. In this unusual exegesis Luther was followed by Osiander and some others. (1948, p. 270)

John Napier (1550-1617) lord of Merchiston, distinguished Scottish mathematician and devoted adherent of the Protestant cause.....Napier’s work on the Revelation is in the form of a series of propositions, with elucidations, the first of which reads: “In propheticall dates of daies, weekes, monethes, and yeares, everie common propheticall day is taken for a yeare.” Contending that a prophetic week is a “weeke of yeares,” and a Jewish or Greek common year is a year of 360 daies” (as was commonly supposed at that time by many expositors, disregarding the Jewish luni-solar year), he quotes Numbers 14: 34 and Ezekiel 4: 5,6 for the year-day principle, and cites the seventy weeks as evidence of fulfillment, in these quaint words and the odd spelling of the day: “In the seentie weekes of Daniel, a day to be taken for a yeare, extending in the whole to 490 yeares; otherwise that prophecie of the Messias coming, would not fall upon the just time of Christ’s comming, as necessarilie it ought to doe. So then, a propheticall day is a yeare, the week seven yeres, the moneth thirtie years (because the Hebrew and Grecian moneth hath thirtie daies) and consequentlie the propheticall yeare is 360 years.”...Napier looked

for the day of judgment about the year 1700, and believed the latter day “beginneth to approach.” This view he based on the six-thousand-year premise...(1948, p. 457f)

Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), Italian cardinal and ablest and most renowned of all Jesuit controversialists...published *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei Adversus Huius Temporis Haereticos* (Polemic Lectures Concerning the Disputed Points of the Christian Belief Against the Heretics of This Time) between 1581 and 1593. This was the first most detailed apology of the Catholic faith ever produced, and became the arsenal for all future defenders and expositors. It called forth a host of counterwritings from Protestant leaders, who considered him their greatest adversary....

Bellarmino's assault on the Protestant interpretations of prophecy was centered upon the year-day principle, which, since Joachim, had risen to general notice and wide acceptance among both Catholics and Protestants. He went out of his way to do this, perhaps says Maitland, tempted by hope of an easy victory. In citing Ezekiel 4, Bellarmine contended that it could not apply, because Ezekiel did not lie on his side 390 years; and further, that the “angelic” days of Illyricus and Chytraeus were nowhere to be found.

Determined to nullify the year-day principle, used by Protestants as the basis of the 1260-year period of Antichrist's tyranny, he sought to deprive this symbol of its Scriptural support through making Scripture dependent upon tradition. It should not be forgotten that his first argument against it is “the common opinion of the ancients,” who believed in a literal three-and-a-half-year reign of Antichrist. In this endeavour he searched not only the fathers and the Scriptures minutely, but apparently the whole field of Protestant exposition as well, citing them facilely, and telling effectively wherein they differed; he did this to neutralize their influence....The seventy weeks, he held, were weeks of years only because of the specific Hebrew word. He could not contravene this. But a prophetic “time,” he contended, simply denoted a unit – such as a day, a year, or a millennium....If the Antichrist had been reigning in the church for centuries, there should be a recognized, exact, and uniform date of beginning. But, as Bellarmine pointed out, on this Protestants differed widely. Some had dated the 666 or 1260 years from the beginning of the fall of Rome, about A.D. 400, and others from Gregory, about 600, others from Phocas, 606 – the dates ranging from 200 to 773, 1,000 or even 1,200. So he chided them for being asleep, instead of on the watch, because they could not agree on the definite time of the Antichrist. This vulnerable position Bellarmine attacked as also being contrary to prophetic specification.

Furthermore, the spiritual supremacy of the Papacy had lasted more than 1260 years and the secular domination more than 666....

It should ever be remembered that the heart of Bellarmine's thesis – which was both clever and plausible, though deceptive – was simply this: (1) Antichrist is an individual Jew, and not an apostate Christian system. (2) *Therefore the length of his exploits must harmonize with the life period of one man – three and a half literal years, and not 1260 years.* This he premised upon the teachings of the early fathers, whose views were constricted and who were then without the later perspective of the year-day principle for the longer time prophecies. In doing this, Bellarmine denied or ignored the clearer testimony of many reverent Catholics who had asserted, from Joachim's time onward for four centuries, that historical developments had identified Antichrist as a system, or organization, or falling away in the church – involving centuries of time, and therefore, bringing to light the year-day principle as the only consistent interpretation harmonizing with the prophetic symbols....

As to the prophecies, Bellarmine finds in the Little Horn of Daniel 7, as well as in chapters 11 and 12, a single king – Antiochus – who would take away three kings and subdue seven others to himself, and yet admittedly, was a figure, or symbol, of

Antichrist, and who, he contends, would therefore be one man only, and not a kingdom. (1948, pp.495, 496f)

After discussing the relationship of the lunar and solar years, concerning which there is “varied exposition,” Wyclif clearly sets forth the year-day principle (a prophetic day equals a year) for prophetic time, citing the experience of Laban and Jacob in Genesis 29.” (1948, p.57)

Factors Influencing Jewish Interpretation of Prophecy.

In order to grasp the significance of Jewish exposition, it will be necessary first to survey the situation in Jewry in the early centuries regarding the Scriptures, the influence of Greek philosophy, and the relationship between the Jews and the Christians...Prior to the Christian Era, two widely divergent schools of religious thought developed among the Jews. One embraced Palestine and Babylonia, zealously interpreting the sacred books according to the methods of the Talmud and its related writings. The other school – and a virile one – centered in Alexandria, bent on absorbing the very lifeblood of Greek philosophy, softening and explaining away the differences by allegorical treatment. This reached its peak in Philo (B.C.E. 20-53-53C.E.). His burden was to show that, by applying the allegorical system of interpretation to the Scriptures, their simple and obvious meaning really embodied everything that was wise and exalted in Greek philosophy.

It was a struggle between Literalism and Allegorism, as Philo regarded the literal to be a concession to the weak and ignorant. To him, Scripture was “not so much a text for criticism as a pretext for theory.” Instead of elucidating the literal sense, he transformed it into a philosophic symbol. A complete perversion of Scripture resulted, as he developed out of Moses a vivid semblance to Greek philosophy. The works of Philo, it should be added, contain no direct reference to the prophecies – no Messiah, no restoration of the Jewish state, no interpretation of prophecy. Living through the lifetime of Jesus, he does not even mention His name.

It was this allegorising feature of Philo’s work, however, that was laid of with avidity by one large group in the early Christian church – particularly by Origen and Alexandria – and with the same disastrous effects. Some resisted these excesses of fanciful allegory; nevertheless, a deep and abiding impress was left. The influence upon Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Lactantius, Jerome, and Augustine was profound. The unity of language brought about by the conquests of the Greeks and the political unity effected through the coming of the Roman Empire only accentuated this form of interpretation. The Jerusalem Jews sought in vain to stem the advance of Hellenistic influence as Alexandria became the focal point of penetrating influence.

The early centuries of the Christian era were filled with bitter controversy between the Jews and the Christians. Both groups anticipated a millennium, but the church fathers connected it with the second advent of Christ. The church fathers sought to Christianize the Old Testament, and the rabbis opposed it. Because of this, the Jews came to dislike the Septuagint, for the Christians used it in their Messianic controversies with them. During the first five centuries, belief in a coming millennium was widespread and prophecy was constantly employed by Christians to prove the Messianic character of Jesus, along with emphasis upon His second advent.

As noted, with the church fathers it was the *second* advent of Christ that was stressed, whereas with the Jews it was just the advent of the Messiah that was anticipated. The

Christian interpretation of Messianic prophecies led to opposition on the part of some Jews, who denied that the prophecies were decipherable, and others – such as the elder Hillel (Hillel I), whose lifespan extended into the first century, and the Tanna Rabbi Nathan in the second – even denied the Messianic character of any prophecy. This conflict persisted into the Middle Ages. But the majority sought the prophecies of Daniel with pathetic eagerness, to ascertain the time of the Messiah's coming...

Many events accentuated the Messianic hope through the centuries – the early struggle with Rome (66-70 C.E.), the destruction of the temple (70 C.E.), the Bar Kochba uprising (132-135), the fall of the Roman Empire (476), the rise of Islam (7th century), the Crusades (1096 onward), the coming of the Tartars, the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the Inquisition and the Protestant Reformation. Each in its time intensified the Messianic hope and stimulated time speculations. The promise of the Messiah was the one hope of Israel in its often desperate circumstances. It was only natural that the Jews have turned to the prophecies of Daniel.

The golden age of Jewish prophetic interpretation is usually placed between 900 and 1500 C.E., beginning with Saadia Gaon, and continuing to Don Isaac Abravanel – and spreading over Babylonia, Palestine, Egypt, Spain, France, Germany, and Italy. Some of these writers were addicted to allegory and Gematria; others stood stiffly against tradition. Some followed the fanciful Midrash, and some sought out the obvious sense, or the literal meaning, of each individual prophecy. But with all these differences there was remarkable unity on certain principles of prophetic interpretation.⁵⁵... (1948, pp.184-187)

Benjamin ben Moses Nahawendi (8th –9th centuries), the Karaites ...dated the 2300 year-days from the destruction of Shiloh (942B.C.E), and “*from the time of the removal of the continual [continual] ('olath hatamid)*” – and likewise with the 1290 year-days, from the destruction of the second temple (70 C.E.) – thereby arriving at 1358 C.E.. as the Messianic year. (p. 196)

JEWISH EXPOSITORS STRESS ROME AND YEAR-DAY

Akiba Recognizes Year-day Principle and four Empires – [3] 9Aqiba) Ben Jpseph (c. 50-132), of Palestine, one of the most distinguished Jews of his time, was often called the father of rabbinical Judaism. He systematized rabbinism, and created a scheme of multiple interpretation that was perfected by Rabbi Judah Hanasi, who committed the oral law to written form in the Mishnah. Akiba recognized both the year-day principle and the four empires, and anticipated the world's end in 6093 a.m. (anno mundi, “year of the world,” from creation).

YEROHAM CALCULATES MESSIANIC YEAR WITH YEAR-DAYS.

⁵⁵ A useful footnote added just after this says, “Heavy draft is made upon two Jewish scholars who have made extensive and authoritative research into Jewish writers on Messianic expectation through the centuries of the Christian Era, as based upon the prophetic symbols and time periods of Daniel – Abba Hillel Silver in his *A History of Messianic Speculations in Israel, From the First Through the Seventeenth Centuries*; and Joseph Sarachek, in *The Doctrine of the Messiah in Mediaeval Jewish Literature*. Showing the futility and unsoundness of such time setting, they nevertheless disclose the basis of their calculations as applications of the year-day principle, and their common understanding of the prophetic course of empire.

Solomon Ben Jeroham (Yeroham) (10th century), Karaite contemporary and opponent of Saadia, in his explanation of Daniel, arrived at the date of 968 c.e. He based the 70 weeks on the third year of Cyrus as the starting point, and reckoned the duration of the second temple as sixty-two and a half year-weeks, with the destruction by the Romans in the midst of the last week. Study and discussion of the prophecies appear about equally divided among the opposing Karaites and Rabbinites as to calculation.

Hakohen Holds 2300 and 1290 as Year-Days.- Sahl Ben Mazliah (10th century) of Jerusalem, likewise a Karaite, and one of Saadia's bitterest opponents, held views similar to those of Jepheth Ibn Ali Halevi relative to the time periods of the 2300 and 1290 year-days, and wrote a commentary on Daniel. He reproved the Rabbinites and believed that the rejection of rabbinism would hasten the Messiah's coming. He was also deeply interested in the calendrical issue. (p.)

Jepheth Ibn Ali Halevi (Yefeth ben Ali Halevi, or Japheth ben Eli) (10th century), of Palestine, was the most able of all Karaite scholars. Commentator and expounder, he was distinguished by the term Teacher of the Exile. Born in Iraw, he spent considerable time in Jerusalem. He wrote a comprehensive Arabic commentary on the entire Jewish Bible, and his writings were translated from Arabic into Hebrew in the eleventh century. Stressing the importance of grammar and lexicography in exposition, he engaged in lengthy discussions with Saadia, charging him with lack of exegetical and grammatical knowledge...he was opposed to the allegorical treatment...Jepheth notes the prophetic calculations made by many rabbis, who had counted the 1335 year-days from the third year of Cyrus, and remarks that, as the terminal date of that calculation is past, it stands discredited. He also states that the 2300 year-days, are, by many Karaites, held to be dated from the Exodus, which took place – according to Karaite chronology – in 1332 B.C.E., and would therefore have ended in 968 C.E....Continuing with the time prophecy of the seventy weeks, Jepheth says: "Of these *seventy weeks*, *seven* passed in the kingdom of the Chaldees (47 years); 57 years the Persians reigned, 180 the Greeks, 206 the Romans; there are the special periods of the seventy weeks. These include the reigns of all four beasts; only the angel does not describe at length what happened to any of them save the history of the Second Temple during the time of Rome. These seventy weeks are *weeks of sabbatical years*, making 490 years; below they are divided into periods."

(Froom, 1948, pp.206-209)

Ibn Ezra(1092-1167)...born in Spain, he travelled in Northern Africa, Babylonia, Persia, India, France and England....His commentaries on the Old Testament developed the literal sense, distrusting allegory....The seventy weeks Ibn Ezra holds to be seventy septinates, or 490 years and cites Saadia in support on the year-day principle. But he is not clear regarding the 2300, 1290, and 1335 numbers. Believing them to be literal days, he says they may, however, represent that number in years. (pp. 211f.)

In his *Sefer Hagulah* (Book of Redemption), Nahmanides seeks to harmonize the various time periods and dates so as to deduce the Messianic year, setting 1358 C.E. for the Messiah's coming. Nahmanides believes that the six days of creation represent six millennia, at the end of which the Messiah would appear. The seventh would be the millennial Sabbath. The seventy weeks are 490 years, from the close of the first commonwealth to the end of the second, and involving the devastation of Europe. As regards the 1290, 1335, and 2300 periods, when the sanctuary shall be victorious, dated from King David's rule, Nahmanides says, "Day stand for years." (1948, p. 216)

Johann Funck (1518-1566) of Nürnberg, studied theology in Wittenberg...then ministered in his home town...Funck wrote a *Chronology*, from creation to his own day.

He also probably wrote the German commentary of “J.F.” on the Apocalypse, to which Melancthon wrote the introduction, and in 1564 he produced a vitally important work explaining and diagramming the seventy weeks of Daniel 9. He gave most complete, thorough, and conscientious study to the data, from both prophecy and history, and was probably the first in Reformation times to begin the seventy weeks in 457 B.C., a date which was later favored by many of the theological writers of the early nineteenth century, particularly in Britain and America, the majority of whom began the 70 weeks and the 2300 days in 457 B.C....Funck here gives his strong reasons for beginning the seventy weeks with the seventh year of Artaxerxes and, by a series of paralleling reckonings, shows that the 490 years therefore end in A.D.34.

A 700 page German commentary on the book of Revelation...is attributed to Funck. This stresses that the Pope is the Antichrist and the Babylonian woman in scarlet. It puts the 1260 years from Bishop Samosata, in 261, to the Diet of Worms, in 1521. It has the Two Witnesses as the Old and New Testaments, and understands the red dragon of Revelation 12 as the antichrist of all Antichrists, the devil; the beasts of Revelation 13 are the Papacy; the Little Horn of Daniel 7 is not the Turk but the “papal empire”; the daily sacrifice is the true worship; the 666 may point to the years of papal rule; the 1290 years are 261 + 1290=1550; and the 1335 years run forty-five years beyond, to 1595. The signs of the times are portrayed from Matthew 24, with the advent as the climax.

After an extended discussion of the views of Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and Bibliander on the seventy weeks, Funck gives his own reckoning of the “exact date” of the period, which he holds is the “correct explanation,” connecting it with the historical data of Greek and Roman history.... These seventy weeks, Funck avers, are weeks of years, and are divided into three parts, totalling the seventy prophetic weeks or 490 years. Moreover, they are fulfilled in solar, not lunar, time. And the seventy weeks – no more and no less – were “cut off,” or “counted off,” for the people of Daniel, the Jews. The definite beginning warrants a definite ending, which is connected with the Messiah’s death and resurrection. Funck tersely declares, “You must here understand seventy year-weeks; that mean seventy times seven years, which is 490 years. Please note this.

Then follows a careful, scholarly analysis of the six prophetically listed events that mark the close of the seventy weeks. Funck then turns to the beginning of the seventy weeks with the going forth of the command to restore and rebuild the city of Jerusalem, from Artaxerxes – not from Cyrus, as Calvin and Luther had reckoned – for Cyrus only restored the *temple*. The difficulties involved in the reckoning of Persian reigns are rehearsed. Funck then contends that the seventy weeks, ending at the crucifixion in A.D. 34, begin with Artaxerxes Longimanus, fifth king of Persia, who began to reign in the fourth year of the seventy-eight Olympiad, as demonstrated in his other work, the *Chronologia*, and attested by Thucydides, Plutarch, and Xenophon. Funck held that it was impossible to understand and explain prophecy without the aid of world history.

Funck then presents his argument starting with the seventh year of Artaxerxes. Declaring that the seventy weeks must, according to the angel, begin with the command to restore and rebuild Jerusalem, Funck succinctly states his thesis in these clear words: “In the time of Cyrus, only the temple was built, and the religious worship was arranged to some degree. The people themselves, however, were still under the rule of the Persian satraps and judges and there was no freedom, necessary to build a town or a people, but only compulsion, servitude, and slavery...However, when Ezra received the order and the authority to install judges and magistrates who knew the law of the Lord and would teach those who were ignorant of it, that really meant freedom. And with it began the building of the town of Jerusalem and of the nation of Judea...Therefore I consider this year, which is the seventh of Darius Artaxerxes Longimanus, the beginning of the seventy weeks of Daniel.” Funck reaches his final conclusion, and sums up his arguments, in these clear words: “You must begin to figure the 490 years with the other (second) year

of the 80th Olympiad, or from the year after Creation 3506, or from B.C. 457, or from the 22nd year of Prince Resa Hesullam in the 16th year of the High Priest Joachim, or in the 7th of the reign of Artaxerxes of the Persians, or 42 years of Alexander Amynte Sone in Macedonia, or from the 294th of the time of the founding of Rome, or you will find many other dates to which you can link this event.” ...The real significance and value of Funck’s contribution was not, however, sensed at the time. But two centuries later it was destined to have a most important bearing in determining the appointed ending of the 2300-year period, when its relationship to the 70 weeks had been established. (1948, p.308-313)

Although the Jews clearly perceived the sound year-day principle of time prophecy, they rejected the basic factor of the death of the prophesied Messiah in the fourth decade of the Christian era as the key. The seventy weeks of years were never once rightly located by them during the seventeen centuries surveyed. And since they failed to connect the seventy weeks with the 2300 year-days, from which they were cut off, neither the true beginning nor the correct ending of the 2300 years was ever obtained in all the Jewish attempts to calculate their chronological placement...But these twin keys – the seventieth week as fulfilled in the death of Jesus the Messiah, and then tied to the 2300-day prophecy of the cleansing of the sanctuary, and the 1260 years of papal supremacy – were the clues that enabled Christian expositors, living in these same centuries, to come first to be increasingly accurate, and then finally to sound and irrefutably true conclusions. Nevertheless, it was the Jews who, hundreds of years before the cross, first applied the year-day principle to the seventy weeks. And it was the Jews who first perceived the fourth empire, in the prophetic series, to be Rome....What a tragedy that with these absolutely sound principles – that were simply carried over into the Christian church, there to find such lodgement – they failed to keep in the lead. [From footnotes under this statement: “Down to the Protestant Reformation, there is scarcely a Jewish expositor on Daniel who protests the year-day principle (Elliot, *Horae Apocalypicae*, Vol 3, p. 286)” –FB] (p. 239f)

Prophetic Interpretation Established on Sound Principles

The mariner freshly freed from dense fog which has shut out sea and sky from view, looks to the stars for his course, in the early dawn before the night is wholly past, in order to learn his exact position on the sea. Thus it was with the church of the Reformation. Having escaped the shrouds of papal mist and darkness which had so long enveloped her, she turned her eyes to the heavenly lights of God’s word to find her spiritual bearings and to the study of prophecy to ascertain her position on God’s chart of prophetic fulfillment.

In restudying the prophetic statements of Daniel, Jesus, Paul, and John, the Reformers discovered the striking resemblance between the features of the gross apostasy portrayed in these picturesque symbols and the Roman church portrayed in history. Therefore they pointed to the pope and his system as the falling away, the Man of Sin, the Antichrist, the persecuting Little Horn, the corrupt woman of Babylon.

The development and dominance of the Antichrist had covered many centuries. Thus the fulfillment was found in history rather than in any short period of time. Further, the long-accepted interpretation of Daniel 2 and 7 – the four kingdoms followed by the breakup of Rome – and the seventy weeks, lent weight to the long view of historical fulfillment and the year-day principle.

Accepting these basic considerations, the other time periods given in the Scripture were now likewise treated, and opened new vistas of understanding. God’s guiding hand in history became discernible. History did not remain any longer a confusing mass of incomprehensible events, but became intelligible as the outworking of a divine plan with definite laws and a definite purpose.

This discovery of the historical basis of prophetic interpretation is the one feature of the inspiring work of the Reformers, which, regrettably, our generation has practically forgotten. Their firm conviction of having a definite place in God's great unfolding plan of history gave them that strength and that courage which led them to brave all difficulties, dangers, and death itself. Only if we reorientate ourselves to these same guiding lights of prophecy shall we find strength, courage, and surety in the bewildering aspect of our time. (1948, p.463f)

The most marked characteristic of the Reformation period is the virtually unanimous belief that the Papacy is assuredly the predicted Antichrist, variantly called the Little Horn of Daniel 8, the Abomination of Desolation, the Man of Sin, the Beast, Babylon, and the Harlot of Old and New Testament prophecy. The four empires of prophecy, followed by the division of the Roman fourth, are taken as axiomatic. It is similarly the majority view that the Little Horn of Daniel 7 and the wilful king of Daniel 11 also indicate the Papacy. There are some variations on these two symbols as referring to the Papacy, but never on the Papacy as the pre-eminent Antichrist. Every Reformer holds that steadfastly.

Until the Jesuit Counter-Reformation writers made their appearance, at the close of the period, the Historical School view of prophetic interpretation prevailed. There were virtually no exceptions. Then the Jesuits, coming to the aid of the Papacy, adroitly introduced the diverting, though conflicting, Futurist and Preterist schemes.

The same Protestant unanimity is true of the application of the year-day principle for most of the time periods, which principle forms an inseparable part of the Historical School thesis. Not until the appearance of these same Jesuit counter-interpreters do we find any serious challenge to this uniform principle among Protestants, and even Catholics, though the precise timing of the periods was a matter of slow perception and gradual correction over a period of centuries. The 2300 days, it will be observed, were the least understood of all, and the last to be placed and to be included under the year-day principle. (1948, p.529f)211

William Fulke published in 1589 a parallel New Testament with a Protestant translation from the original Greek (the "Bishop's Bible") paralleling the Rheims translation from the Latin, and with accompanying notes...The 2300 days of Daniel 8: 14 are considered but literal, and are confined to Antiochus. Thus: "*Unto evening and morning two thousand three hundred days.* That is, six years and almost four months: which was the whole time from the beginning of the persecution of Antiochus till his death." The seventy weeks of Daniel 9, however, are properly recognised as "of years." (1948, p.550f)

John Tillinghast, (1604-1655) was born in Sussex and educated at Cambridge...and came to share the views of the Fifth Monarchy....The 2300 days cannot be literal days applied to Antiochus, but signify 2300 "years compleat," he asserts, from "*the beginning of the Persian Monarchy, viz. in that year the Scripture calls the first of Cyrus.*" He extends them to 1701, ushering in Christ's personal coming, the Jew's redemption, the final overthrow of the Beast and the Turk, the binding up of the Dragon, the destruction of the Fourth Monarchy, the thousand year reign of the saints on earth.

Tillinghast proffers a new principle for the understanding of Daniel 8 and 9; namely, that the 2300 years of Daniel 8:14 are a larger period embracing the 70 weeks of years as a lesser period. "This seventy weeks is a lesser Epock comprehended within the greater of two thousand and three hundred years, consisting of four hundred and ninety dayes; for seventy weeks being reduced into dayes, amount to the aforesaid number, which according to the Prophetical way of speaking is so many years, viz. four hundred and ninety years." Tillinghast thus asserts the application of the year-day principle to the 2300

years, advanced by Nicholas of Cusa two centuries earlier, but largely neglected since; and his inclusive principle marks another step toward the later interpretation of the 2300 years as beginning synchronously with the 70 weeks, a principle which plays a vital part nearly two centuries later in the renewed investigation of the prophecies in the early nineteenth century. At that time it formed an axiomatic part of the exposition on three continents. (1948, p.570-573)

On the other hand, the ending of the 1260 year-day period took place – anticipated for a full century by a line of expositors who believed France might be the instrument to accomplish it. Prophetic students on three continents watched for and recognized the fulfillment, which they duly attested. Prophetic interpretation in the hands of able men in Britain, France and Germany – and now in America – continued to advance. (1948, p.640)

The eighteenth century was marked by a quest for truth and further enlightenment...Movements with a more mystical or even theosophical bent also sprang into existence. Among the most noteworthy are the Philadelphian groups, in England and Germany. In the latter country their chief sponsor was Count Casimir of Seyn-Wittenstein and Berleburg, under whose protection a most remarkable work was completed, the so-called *Berlenburger Bibel*...in the notes on Daniel...tied into “the great line of time” – the 2300 years – are the “seventy-year-weeks reaching to the death of the Messiah.” In the discussion of Daniel 9 these statements occur, which recognize fulfillment in natural years: “Without doubt Daniel is shown here the beginning of the great time-period of the 2300 years of which the 70 weeks would carry us to the death of the Messiah...In reckoning these 70 weeks as year weeks we get the sum of 490 years. There is no reason to presume a different kind of years than those of 365 days as it is generally understood by the Scriptures. (1948, p.702f)

Johann Philipp Petri (1718-1792), apparently was the first expositor to begin the 70 weeks synchronously with the 2300 days, was born the son of a carpenter, near Hanau, Germany...Petri’s first published treatise, in 1768, was a 24-page *Aufschluss der Zahlen Daniels und der Offenbarung Johannis* (Explanation of the Numbers of Daniel and the Revelation)...in 1774 Petri wrote *Die Offenbarung Jesu Christi durch Johannem* (The Revelation of Jesus Christ by John)...declaring that the seven churches, seals, trumpets, and vials all run parallel – the seventh beginning in 1847, and the thousand years beginning at that time. Petri’s explanation is explicit: “According to my explanation of the visions of Daniel, it is to be easily seen that the seventy weeks and the 2300 evenings and mornings of Dan. 8. begin together in the same year. Therefore at the time of the birth of Christ, 453 years of both these periods had passed; what remains and has to be done is the cleansing of the abominations and the consecration of the sanctuary at the coming of Christ, 1847...whose kingdom and victory begins therewith and lasts during that glorious Sabbath year, Hebr.4, Rev 20, for 1000 years. 4) At the end of the 1000 years follows a little time in which Satan will be released and attack the camp of the saints.” [p.14]

In other writings Petri strikes at the concept of a golden age before the advent.

Petri’s first treatise, although not claiming to calculate the time of the advent, undertakes to explain the numbers in Daniel, the first and most important being the 2300 days, and the 70 weeks, which give the clue to its beginning. The 490 years are located, he says, by three landmarks: The end of the 7 weeks, which he places in Nehemiah 2; the end of the 62 weeks in the 30th year of Christ, at His baptism; and the crucifixion three and a half years later in the midst of the week. Here is Petri’s statement: “The angel showed the thirtieth year Christ or the 483rd year of the 70 weeks and therefore the 453rd year as the birth of Christ, so that was the correct explanation of the sealed vision of the 2300 days. 453 years of the 2300 had passed at the birth of Christ and the remainder of

this number continues from that date to A.D. 1847, as 1847 plus 453 makes 2300.” [Aufschluss, p. 9]

(1948, pp. 713-719)

THOMAS NEWTON (1704-1782), bishop of Bristol, was born at Litchfield and educated at Christ’s Church, with A.B. and A.M. degrees. Ordained in 1730, he became...bishop of Bristol(1761), and dean of St. Paul’s (1768)....In 1754 Newton ..[composed] his *Dissertation on the Prophecies*, which ran through eighteen editions, and was translated into German and Danish. This deservedly popular work compares the prophecies with the historical events fulfilling them....Newton notes both Justinian’s decree of 533 and Phocas’ decree of 606, from which some date the 1260-day period. Concerning this and related periods, he says, “Here are then those different periods assigned, 1260 years, 1290 years and 1335 years: and what is the precise time of their beginning and consequently of their ending, as well as what are the great and signal events, which will take place at the end of each period, we can only conjecture, time alone can with certainty discover.” [Thomas Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, (1796 ed.) p. 277]

Dissertation 15 compasses the Persian ram, the Grecian goat, and the Roman horn. Of the 2300 days, Newton declares: “These two thousand and three hundred days denote the whole time from the beginning of the vision to the cleansing of the sanctuary. The sanctuary is not yet cleansed, and consequently these years are not yet expired. When these years shall be expired, then their end will clearly show from whence their beginning is to be dated, whether from the vision of the ram, or of the he-goat, or of the little horn. It is difficult to fix the precise time, when the prophetic dates begin, and when they end, till the prophecies are fulfilled, and the event declares the certainty of them.” [*Ibid.*, p. 218] (1948, p.684f)

SIR ISAAC NEWTON (1612-1727), mathematician, philosopher, and outstanding genius of his age in the realm of scientific research, was born in Lincolnshire in 1665 and 1668 respectively, he received his B.A. and a M.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge. His early interests centered in mathematics....His *Observations Upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John* (1733), which was published until six years after his death, was the outcome of forty-two years of study. From 1690 onward he had correspondence with the philosopher John Locke (d. 1704), over questions relating to the interpretation of prophecy....Newton reasons that the seventy weeks of Daniel 9 are from J.P. 4257 or 457 B.C., as follows: “Seventy weeks are cut out upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish transgression, &c. Here, by putting a week for seven years, are reckoned 490 years from the time that the dispersed Jews should be reincorporated into a people and a holy city, until the death and resurrection of Christ. Now the dispersed Jews became a people and city when they first returned into a polity or a body politick; and this was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when Ezra returned with a body of Jews from captivity, and revived the Jewish worship; and by the King’s commission created Magistrates in all the land, to judge and govern the people according to the laws of God and the King, Ezra vii.25. There were but two returns from captivity, Zerubbabel’s and Ezra’s; in Zerubbabel’s they had only commission to build the Temple, in Ezra’s they first became a polity or city by a government of their own. Now the years of this Artaxerxes began about two or three months after the summer solstice, and his seventh year fell in with the third year of the eighth Olympiad; and the latter part thereof, wherein Ezra went up to Jerusalem, was in the year of the Julian Period 4257. [Newton, *Observations*, pp.130, 131] (p. 662f)

SEVENTY SABBATICAL YEAR-WEEKS TO A.D. 34 Newton reckons the seventy weeks to the year of the crucifixion, which he puts in A.D. 34 (in the 490th year of the period), by assuming first Passovers in the period in Christ’s public ministry. He counts

the seventy weeks by Jewish years, beginning in the fall – those of Sabbatic-year and Jubilee-year series, which began on the tenth day of the seventy Jewish month, the Day of Atonement. “If you count in Judaic years commencing in autumn, and date the reckoning from the first autumn after Ezra’s coming to Jerusalem, when he put the King’s decree in execution; the death of Christ will fall on the year of the Julian Period 4747, Anno Domini 34; and the weeks will be Judaic weeks, ending with sabbatical years; and this I take to be the truth: but if you had rather place the death of Christ in the year before, as is commonly done, you may take the year of Ezra’s journey into the reckoning.” [*Ibid.*, pp. 131f] (1948, pp. 658, 662, 664)

My Conclusion on Froom’s presentation of the Jewish development of year-day principle.

Froom’s conclusion on the Alexandrian version of Dn9:27 is not necessarily correct. The “of years” could also mean “of (Sabbatical) years” – a view which later Jewish commentators used, thereby confirming its validity. This concept does *not* include the use of the year-day principle to commute the time. They are seventy Sabbatical years, not seventy *weeks* of sabbatical years. If that were the case, it would compute thus: 70×7 (a week of sabbatical years) $\times 7$ (each Sabbatical year represents 7 solar years) = 3430 solar years.

The fact that early Christian writers never generalised the so-called year-day principle, is a clear indicator that what they understood concerning Dn9: 24-27 could not be aligned with the other units of time in the prophetic periods. The concept of Sabbatical years was not even present in the other time periods. Thus generalisation was impossible.

It was only as writers ignorant of the link between the “sevens” and the Sabbatical year, began to think in terms of week of symbolic days, that there was a need to introduce an intermediary step of turning these days into years to make the time come anywhere near the appearance of the Messiah. Once this step was introduced and seen to prove to be true to produce a time line that fitted fulfilled history in the past, then writers like Tichonius began to apply the year-day principle to other time periods in the book of Daniel.

We now know that Dn9 is established *without* the use of the year-day principle, therefore Froom’s thesis falls apart, because it stands on the premise that it was the validity of using the year-day principle in Dn9 that encouraged the use of it elsewhere. The year-day principle was not used to compute the 490 years in Dn9. It is computed using Sabbatical years. His whole theory is also thrown into confusion by his assumption of the meaning of “of years” and the evidence from Jewish writers and Protestant writers like Martin Luther that the concept of Sabbatical years was used, without the need to use year-day computations.

... Luther not only is explicit but declares the harmony of all teachers thereon. “All teachers are in harmony that these are year-weeks and not day-weeks, that means, a week encompasses seven years and not seven days. . (1948, p. 270)

It is true from the survey of the sources used by Froom that some of the writers used the year-day principle to explain the 70 weeks of Dn9, but this can be taken to be a lack of understanding of the concept of Sabbatical years, which many of them use. It is this confusion of two different types of approaches that Froom has included as one

phenomenon which is a weakness in his argument. Some, which I believe hold the correct position, see the ‘seven unit’ or week, as a group of solar years ending in a Sabbatical year without any recourse to the unit of a “day”; others see the “seven” unit (week) as a period of seven “prophetic” days, which are converted to seven years using the year-day principle. The first position does not endorse a year-day principle; but the second does. Froom assumes that all these writers used the second approach. Froom’s assumption is now known to be unjustified, and the development of his argument throughout the rest of Christian and Jewish history unwarranted. Therefore, the development of the year-day application using the “evidence” in Daniel 9 to extend the rational to other periods was *not* justified and indeed *was not done for many centuries by Christians* undoubtedly because they saw it was invalid, not, as Froom says, because the light of the year-day principle had not dawned on them. It was because in all probability they saw it did not apply that they held to the literal rendering of the time period, regardless of their specific application of the period.

Another problem with Froom’s work is that although the sources he quotes may support the thesis he wants to develop, a major question is whether the sources he quotes from, were significant *in their time* to mould the thoughts of that generation, or whether he has just quoted from sources that support his view, without addressing the question of its readership. If a work he quotes from supports his position but was not widely used or quoted, then it is safe to ignore it as an influential source, though it take a position which supports his thesis. Readers need to keep this in mind when they read Froom’s work.

DID CHRISTIAN WRITERS INFLUENCE JEWISH WRITERS ON THIS TOPIC? FIND THIS OUT.

On the year-day principle, by Douty:

It was not until medieval times that Jewish and Christian teachers actually advanced year-dayism (cf. 260, 310[of Douty’s book]). It was first set forth by the former group [Jewish teachers] in the ninth century, and by the latter [Christian teachers] three centuries later. Joachim of Floris, Italy, at the close of the twelfth century, applied it to the 1260 days of Rev. 12. Shortly after him, other writers applied it as well to the 1290, 1335 and 2300 days found in Daniel. Joachim was one “whose object it was to exalt the Papacy on the ruins of the episcopacy” (Jas. H. Todd on Antichrist, p. 453). The writers who immediately followed him were defenders of extreme authority for the Pope.

These historical facts are very damaging to this system of interpretation. Sober men are not likely to favor a principle that “was altogether unknown by the Jewish Church before the Christian era, by the Apostles of our Lord, by the Primitive Church, by the Fathers – in short, that no one ever thought of during...the first twelve centuries of Christianity” (S. R. Maitland in *Second Enquiry respecting the prophetic period of Daniel and St. John*, p. 77). Moreover, such men will not have their reservations removed by observing that it originated in apostate Judaism and was developed by the Church of Rome. These considerations give strong reasons for suspecting the validity of the theory.

It is true that most, if not all, of the Reformers, from Wycliffe down, applied the year-day principle to the interpretation of prophecy, but it is plain that they derived it from Rome. The remarks of John Robinson, at the departure of the Mayflower Pilgrims from Holland in 1620, is appropriate here: “It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.” It is plain therefore, that “completing the work of the Reformation” involves discarding the year-day theory. Yet Seventh-day Adventism, which claims to be so divinely called to this work of completion, had this very theory as

its bed-rock foundation, so that to discard it would be to destroy itself. (N. F. Doubt, *Another Look at Seventh-day Adventism* (Grand Rapids, 1962, pp. 93-95, in [Ford, 1980](#), pp.214f.)

On Hippolytus:

Hippolytus interprets the 1260 days as the preaching of two witnesses during the first half of the “one week”; the 1290 days as the three and a half years of antichrist’s war on the saints, the second half of the week. To those who survive the forty-five days beyond the 1290, completing the 1335 days, the kingdom of heaven comes. In the phrase “unto evening and morning” he interprets the evening as the consummation of this age and the morning as the beginning of the new age – the day of the resurrection. The fourteen hundred days, for which he gives no source, ends with the purging of the sanctuary by the destruction of the adversary. ([1950](#), p.276)

Africanus on 2300 days:

After referring to the standard interpretation of the “ram” and the “he-goat, ” as symbolizing Persia and Greece, Africanus next curiously suggests that the 2300 days might be taken for months, totalling about 185 years extending from the capture of Jerusalem to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes’ reign. He seems to have been isolated in this interpretation. Thus again, is exemplified the mingling of other reckonings along with the year-day principle, which Africanus uses for the seventy weeks. [Froom. 1950](#), p. 281)

On the primacy of the [Roman bishop](#):

As soon, however, as the Church was recognized by the State and could freely spread in all directions, the papal primacy of necessity began to develop, and from this time on the number of papal letters increased. No part of the Church and no question of faith or morals failed to attract the papal attention.

on the Article “[Papal Constitutions](#):”

After the time of Constantine the Great, owing to the greater liberty allowed to the Church, such intercourse with the Apostolic See became more frequent and more open. St. Jerome, in the fourth century (Ep. cxxiii), testifies to the number of responses requested of the sovereign pontiff from both the Eastern and the Western Church during the time he acted as secretary to Pope Damascus. That these papal responses soon began to constitute an important section of canon law, is evident from statements in the letters of various Roman pontiffs. The *decretalia* and *constituta* of the Apostolic See were recognized as laws or as interpretations of existing canons binding the particular Churches to their observance. The fact that ecumenical councils required the papal confirmation before their decrees were valid (a principle expressly admitted by the early councils themselves) tended not a little to direct the attention of all [Christians](#) to the fullness of jurisdiction residing in the successor of St. Peter. Hence the professions of faith sent to the popes by newly elected bishops and by emperors on their succession to the throne.

Regarding the possession of the States of the Church by Berthier. On the article “States of the Church.”

Rapid changes came with the time of the French Revolution and of Napoleon. In 1791 the French National Assembly announced the union of Avignon and Venaissin with France, and in the Peace of Tolentino (1797) Pius VI had to give them up, while at the same time relinquishing the legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna to the Cisalpine Republic. In February, 1798, General Berthier, who had been sent to Rome by Napoleon, formed the rest of the States of the Church into the Roman Republic. The pope, because he would not renounce his claim, was taken away as a captive and eventually confined in Valence, where death soon released him (29 August, 1799). People were already rejoicing that the papacy and the church had come to an end. Their joy was, however, premature. Under the protection of Emperor Francis II the cardinals in 1800 elected Pius VII as pope at Venice. But hard trials awaited him. It is true that in 1801 Pius VII by Napoleon's favour got back the States of the Church as bounded in the Peace of Tolentino. But the position of the States of the Church remained extremely precarious. Napoleon in 1806 conferred Benevento on Talleyrand and Pontecorvo on Bernadotte. In 1808, because Pius VII would not close his ports to the English, the States of the Church were again occupied and in 1809 completely confiscated. The Marches, Urbino, Camerino, and Macerata were annexed to the newly-created Kingdom of Italy, the rest of the States of the Church to France.\

Chadwick, The Popes and the European Revolution:

The French constitutional reformers of 1789 had no intention of assailing the Church. As late as June 1793, in the midst of the terror, government still paid the clergy in office, that is such clergy as accepted its policy and laws, and that same month the feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated with public processions at which passers-by knelt in the streets.

Yet the overthrow of the Church in the French Revolution was one of the momentous events of modern history. Its land and buildings were taken by the State, constitution knocked about, monasteries made illegal, many priests expelled, no small number guillotined. The astonishing fate which befell the rich, powerful, and prosperous Church of Louis XIV had consequences which still work within Christendom. France contained more Catholics than any other state. It housed the headquarters of historic religious orders, Cluny, Cîteaux, Premonté, the Grande Chartreuse, La Trappe. Its theologians and Church historians were respected throughout Europe and America.

In the quest for a new French constitution many clergy voted for the abolition of feudal privileges and of tithes. Nearly bankrupt France could hardly save itself without taking the lands of the Church. To the proposal that the State should take the endowments, pay the clergy, maintain church buildings, and use the remainder for the good of the nation, many clergy were reluctant to consent. That they should become employees or stipendiaries of the State denied axioms, centuries old, about the constitution of the Church and the freedom of its officers. The Assembly carried the law of nationalization (2 November 1789) because it feared bankruptcy. It inserted one undertaking to pay parish priests a minimum wage (1,200 *livres*) substantially higher than many then received, and another undertaking to administer the relief of the poor.

This act was not anti-Christian. It was like the act of the kingdom of Naples, six years before, which took the Pope's leave church endowments of southern Italy in face of a people's desperate plight after the earthquake.

The sale of lands started the next month and continued over ten years and saved the Treasury of France. Middle-class and prosperous peasants profited, poorer peasants lost because they were deprived of common rights.

Final breach between Church and Revolution came over the civil constitution of the clergy (12 July 1790). At this time most of the leaders of the French state were more Gallican than anti-Christian. The State elevated parish cures as the sole form of church life, and abolished chapters and colleges. Every town parish was to contain some 6,000 people, therefore many parishes vanished. The electoral body of the department chose the bishop, the electoral body of the district chose its priest. Stipends were fixed, rules of residence strict, no bishop might ask the Pope to confirm his election. Bishops must work as chairman of a council of priests from the diocese. This was Josephist work in a new form. State power was needed to reform the Church, reform meant promoting parish churches, abolishing useless monks, and insincere canonries, and enforcing residence and good conduct.

Thirty bishops out of thirty five in the National Assembly protested against the plan to reform the Church without asking the Church. But the bishops who had not already fled abroad were divided on the constitution. Some thought the plan bad, others thought that indeed it would help to reform the Church....

With ever stiffening rigidity

p. 487

Another reason why Bonaparte found it hard to marry the Catholic Church to democracy lay in the need to found Italian democracies. So long as the French army ruled directly, he could fulfil his promise to protect churches except so far as he needed money. But for security, as well as for his sense of mission, he needed to create satellite republics. One by one, French satellite republics sprang into life all over Italy, fostered secretly or openly by French commanders, but spontaneous in local enthusiasm; first the Legations in a Cis-Alpine republic, then the Legations with Lombardy in a Cisalpine republic (1797), then a Ligurian republic for Genoa (1797), a Roman republic for the Papal states without [i.e., "outside"-FB] the legations (1798), a Helvetic republic for Switzerland (1798), and finally a Parthenopean republic for the kingdom of Naples (1799) (without Sicily, which was defended against French influence by Nelson and the British fleet).

Bonaparte needed these republics. But he could not allow them to be so free as he wished.... Italians who sympathized with the French conqueror were not uncommon, but often were more extreme in their opinions about Church and State, or even about God, than their creator wished. In this way several of the satellite republics became more revolutionary about Church affairs than Bonaparte liked....The release of such anticlerical passion did as much as the laws of the new satellite republics or the looting of the French conquerors to alienate new satellite republics or the looting of the French conquerors to alienate the conservative part of Catholic Italy from the ideals of the Revolution. (p.458)

[The author then lists fourteen ways in which the republican governments in Italy legislated against the church and put the people offside -FB]

In this way Bonaparte's plan to reconcile the Catholic Church with democracy was made null, for the time, because Italian democrats acted more sternly against the Church than Bonaparte himself thought wise. The breach became impossible to heal when the Pope himself was caught up in the tumults over the making of a republic in Rome.

By occupying the Legations and starting a Cisalpine republic, Bonaparte occupied papal territory. He was under orders to punish the murder of Bassville in Rome four years before, and perhaps to end the papacy for all time, so that Pius VI should be the last Pope. The Austrian threat to his army in the north made him stop his advancing army at Tolentino, where he extorted a treaty from the defenceless Pope. Bonaparte preferred a

treaty because he needed money and could extract more money from a Pope afraid than a Pope overthrown.

Under the treaty of Tolentino (19 February, 1797) Pope Pius VI agreed – the agreement became very important in later argument – to renounce his claims to Avignon, Bologna, and the Legations, to pay 30 million in *livres tourois de France* (partly in jewelry), to give the French republic 100 precious works of art to be selected by French commissioners, to close his ports to warships fighting against France, to send an envoy to Paris to disavow the murder of Bassville and compensate his family and to free all political prisoners. On his side Bonaparte agreed only to evacuate papal territory (except Avignon and the Legations) – while keeping a garrison at Ancona until the end of the war – and to do no harm to the Catholic religion in the Legations.

No previous Pope had been forced to such concessions. Cardinal Marrei reported to Pius VI, ‘Rome is saved, and religion also.’ Bonaparte reported to his government, evidently forestalling criticism that he allowed the Pope to escape destruction. ‘The old machine will fall to bits itself.’ He meant that the Papal State, deprived of its only prosperous province in the Legations, must fall.

The treaty did not satisfy Bonaparte’s demands. He sent his brother Joseph to be French ambassador in Rome, and several letters after him to say that he must threaten the Pope. On 28 December, 1797 there was a fracas in Rome between a little crowd of republican revolutionaries and papal troops. A bullet killed the young French general Duphot, who was staying as a guest of Joseph Bonaparte. The next day Joseph Bonaparte fled to Florence. The accidental death brought decision. Bonaparte ordered (11 January 1798) General Berthier, in command of the north-Italian army, to march on Rome.

On 16th January 1798 news reached Rome that the French army was on the march. Naturally the first fear was for the sack of the city. Three cardinals fled to Naples (Albani, York, Busca)....

On 10th February 1798 the French entered Rome and occupied Castel Sant’ Angelo...but announced that they were going to preserve the Church and give liberty to Rome. The troops behaved with discipline. An artillery officer who behaved himself irreverently in St. Peter’s was punished. Once they knew the army would not sack the city, the Romans did not mind. They looked on, not with hostility but with indifferent curiosity. No one tried to stir them to ‘incidents’ against the occupying forces, except in one sermon by a Capuchin priest whom the French denounced but could not find.

The little band of Roman republicans took their chance. General Berthier had a secret instruction to make a republic without letting it appear that the French made the republic. On 15 February 1798, five days after the French arrival, republican leaders held a meeting in the pasture which we know as the Roman Forum, climbed the Capitol, celebrated a political ritual round the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, erected a tree of liberty, and banners: ‘Religion and Liberty’, ‘Sovereignty of the People’, ‘Liberty and Equality’, ‘Equality and the Rule of Law’. A clergy man kissed the trunk of the tree of liberty. Duke Braschi the Pope’s nephew laid a garland at its feet, someone handed out tricolours. The People were solemnly proclaimed Sovereign of Rome. On the document there signed, in the presence of a crowd, large indeed but without the knowledge of most of Rome, was founded the legal basis of the Roman republic. The meeting sent a deputation to General Berthier, asking for his protection. He came to the Capitol, and declared to the crowd, in the name of France, that he recognized the provisional government and the government of all the Papal States, and would secure its independence. To the Directory he sent a message: ‘Rome is free.’”

It was not so free that he could allow the new government to pass laws or edicts without his leave; nor so free that he could risk the ex-ruler of Rome being left in peace and honour.

On the Pope's claims to primacy after 1798:

The status and authority of the Pope in the Catholic Church was dogmatically defined by the First Vatican Council in its Dogmatic Constitution of the Church of Christ (July 18, 1870). The first chapter of this document is entitled "On the institution of the apostolic primacy in blessed Peter", and states that (s.1) "according to the Gospel evidence, a primacy of jurisdiction over the whole church of God was immediately and directly promised to the blessed apostle Peter and conferred on him by Christ the lord" and that (s.6) "if anyone says that blessed Peter the apostle was not appointed by Christ the lord as prince of all the apostles and visible head of the whole church militant; or that it was a primacy of honour only and not one of true and proper jurisdiction that he directly and immediately received from our lord Jesus Christ Himself: let him be anathema".

The Dogmatic Constitution's second chapter, "On the permanence of the primacy of blessed Peter in the Roman pontiffs", states that (s.1) "that which our lord Jesus Christ [...] established in the blessed apostle Peter [...] must of necessity remain forever, by Christ's authority, in the church which, founded as it is upon a rock, will stand firm until the end of time", that (s.3) "whoever succeeds to the chair of Peter obtains by the institution of Christ Himself, the primacy of Peter over the whole church", and that (s.5) "if anyone says that it is not by the institution of Christ the lord Himself (that is to say, by divine law) that blessed Peter should have perpetual successors in the primacy over the whole church; or that the Roman pontiff is not the successor of blessed Peter in this primacy: let him be anathema".

The Dogmatic Constitution's third chapter, "On the power and character of the primacy of the Roman pontiff", states that (s.1) "the definition of the ecumenical council of Florence, which must be believed by all faithful Christians, namely that the apostolic see and the Roman pontiff hold a world-wide primacy, and that the Roman pontiff is the successor of blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, true vicar of Christ, head of the whole church and father and teacher of all Christian people", that (s.2) "by divine ordinance, the Roman church possesses a pre-eminence of ordinary power over every other church, and that the jurisdictional power of the Roman pontiff is both episcopal and immediate" and that "clergy and faithful, of whatever rite and dignity, both singly and collectively, are bound to submit to this power by the duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, and this not only in matters concerning faith and morals, but also in those which regard the discipline and government of the church throughout the world".

The powers of the Pope are defined by the Dogmatic Constitution (ch.3, s.8) such that "he is the supreme judge of the faithful, and that in all cases which fall under ecclesiastical jurisdiction recourse may be had to his judgement" and that "the sentence of the apostolic see (than which there is no higher authority) is not subject to revision by anyone, nor may anyone lawfully pass judgement thereupon" (can. 331 defines the power of the Pope as "supreme, full, immediate and universal ordinary power in the Church, and he can always freely exercise this power"). It also dogmatically defined (ch.4, s.9) the doctrine of Papal infallibility, *sc.* such that "when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in the exercise of his office as shepherd and teacher of all Christians, in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the whole church, he possesses, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, that infallibility which the divine Redeemer willed His church to enjoy in defining doctrine concerning faith or morals. Therefore, such definitions of the Roman pontiff are of themselves, and not by the consent of the church, irreformable."

(Wikipedia Encyclopedia, Article, "Pope")

<http://www.campusprogram.com/reference/en/wikipedia/p/po/pope.html>

Froom's historical material regarding the 1260 day period.

Volume 2:

Wyclif (c.1324-1384)

The calculation of the end is significant, being influenced by the 1260- and the 1335-year prophecies. Though Wyclif was persuaded that no-one could foretell the day of judgment, he was certain the time was nigh at hand. It is said that the occasion of the writing was the terrible earthquakes and fearful pestilences decimating Europe. These were taken as indicating that the great designs of God were hastening toward their close. Believing that the final visitations were soon to take place, he styles the time "the last age of the Chirche." (p.59)

Nigrinus dated the time times and half a time or the 1260 years, from Leo I, in 441 when the idea of papal world power first appeared. (p.326)

NOTE Vol 1, p. 498: "These barbarian chiefs did not venture to set themselves up as Roman emperors, and fill the "vacant shrine of the *imperium*." And Leo began to feel that the time had come to materialize the claims of Augustine regarding the millennial kingdom of Christ, and with his avowed vested powers of loosing and binding openly to declare his right to the vacant throne as the fitting seat of Christ's universal kingdom. In this way the Roman church pushed its way into the place of the Western empire, of which it is "the actual continuation." [Froom inserts footnote: "Adolf Harnack, *What is Christianity*, pp.269, 270"] Thus the empire did not perish; it only changed its form. The pope became Caesar's successor. This was a long stride forward.

(Referring to the sixteenth century, Froom says:)

The Christian era was now far advanced. It therefore became a matter of increasing concern with all expositors, in considering the probabilities of the future, to determine if possible, the beginning and ending dates of the prophetic periods. This was especially true of the 1260 days, as their ending might well fix the great consummation...The significant feature in it all is that, irrespective of national or geographical variations or theological differences among the Reformed groups, similar views were held on the basic features of the symbolic outline prophecies, and increasingly so on the prophetic time periods. They generally felt that the bulk of the 1260 days was in the past. This was the consensus, but not for another century did their views come to a focus on the dates. (p.348)

After discussing the evidences for fixing the beginning date for the "1260 years of the Reign of the Beast," Cressner draws the really epochal conclusion (written in 1689, be it remembered): "The first appearance of the Beast was at *Justinian's* recovery of the *Western* Empire, from which time to about the year 1800 will be about 1260 years." [Froom inserts a footnote: "*Ibid.* [Cressner, *The Judgments of God upon The Roman Catholick Church*,], p.309.-FB] (1948, pp.595f)

“Cressner rejects the earlier dates for the beginning because they came before the breakup of Rome, and thus would not fit the prophetic specification that the divisions arise first, and then the Little Horn appear among them. Pressing the point that the city of Rome must be wrested from Gothic control by Justinian in order to date the period, he then follows with his second remarkable statement, even more precise: “For if the first time of the beast was at *Justinian's* recovery of the City of *Rome*, then must not it end till a little before the year 1800.” [Froom inserts comment: “*Ibid.*, p.312] (1948, p.596)

Johannes Gerhard (1582-1637)...says the forty two months “contain 1260 days, that is, years,” but “we cannot know exactly whence the beginning of the computation is to be started.” [Froom footnotes: “*Ibid.*, [Adnotations in *Apocalypsin*], p.72] The time, times and a half are three and a half years. If they are turned into months, they make forty-two months; if those months are turned into days, they make 1260 days, by numbering thirty days to a month. [Froom footnotes: “*Ibid.*, p.94] All those periods refer to the duration of the Antichristian tyranny. [Froom footnotes: “*Ibid.*, p. 99”] (1948, p.603)

...the ending of the 1260-year period took place – anticipated for a full century by a line of expositors who believed France might be the instrument to accomplish it. Prophetic students on three continents watched for and recognized the fulfillment, which they duly attested. Prophetic interpretation in the hands of able men in Britain, France, and Germany – and now in America – continued to advance.

In the London *Evangelical Magazine* of 1796 appear two illuminating articles by George Bell...the second article concentrates on the Justinian date when, after the Ostrogothic withdrawal to Ravenna, the army of Belisarius approached Rome, which opened its gates to the Roman general in December, 537; tracing the transfer of the Roman emperor to Constantinople, and then the shift of the Goths to Ravenna, Bell says the pope is left, “as it were, the governor and principal at Rome.” [Froom footnotes: “*Ibid.*[*The Evangelical Magazine*, 1796 (London), Vol.4], pp.98,99] (1948, pp.741, 743)

In January, 1810, “Talib” (Cunninghame) discusses further the issue of the Justinian (533) versus the Phocas (606) date for the beginning of the 1260 years. He quotes from Paulus Diaconus, on the Phocas edict, showing that Phocas bestowed no new title upon Pope Boniface, merely confirming the title already conferred upon Pope John by Justinian, seventy-three years before. Moreover, the pope in his official papers does not use the title “universal bishop,” whereas the title “head of the church,” continues to be employed.” [Froom footnotes: “*Ibid.* [*The Christian Observer*, January, 1810, (vol.9, no. 97), pp. 16, 17”]

Then Cunninghame, in the April number, presents further evidence from the sources on the authentic 533 Justinian decree as against the alleged 606 grant of Phocas, for the beginning of the 1260 years. In behalf of the Justinian declaration, which recognized the right of the pope to the titles “*Head of the Church*” and “*Head of all the holy Priests of God*,” Cunninghame remarks: “What is no less to be observed is, that this transaction took place precisely twelve hundred and sixty current years before the commencement of that awful series of political convulsions which have, in the short space of eighteen years since the fall of the French monarchy, almost completed the destruction of the papal power.” [Froom footnotes: “*Ibid.* April, 1810, (vol. 9, no. 100), p. 195”] After quoting the original Latin, Cuninghame leaves it for the reader to judge which is the one by which the saints and times and laws were delivered into the hands of the Papacy, and when the symbolical abomination of desolation was set up in the church. (1946, pp.289, 291)

When Pius VI fell ill in 1797, Napoleon gave orders that in the event of his death no successor should be elected to his office, and that the Papacy should be “discontinued.” [Froom footnotes: “Joseph Rickaby, S.J., *The Modern Papacy*, p.1] Rickaby observes, “No wonder that half Europe thought Napoleon’s veto would be obeyed, and that with

the Pope the Papacy was dead.” [Froom footnotes: “*Ibid*”] Leopold Ranke similarly says: It “now seemed that the papal power had been brought to a final close.” [Froom footnotes: “Leopold Ranke, *The History of the Popes*, vol.2, p. 459”]

The dethronement and captivity of Pope Pius VI, in 1798, by the sword of Berthier, had ended the 1260-year span from the elevation and liberation of the usurper Vigilius in 538, by the arms of Belisarius and the gold of the Empress Theodora. [Froom footnotes: “See Volume 2 of *Prophetic Faith*.”] And when Pius VI died in French captivity, without a successor in sight, the outlook for the future of the Papacy seemed dark indeed. Thus G. Trevor wrote of it: “The papacy was extinct; not a vestige of its existence remained; and among all the Roman Catholic powers not a finger was stirred.” [Froom footnotes: “G. Trevor, *Rome From the Fall of the Western Empire*, p.440”]

Maitland places the 1260 year-days from the Justinian acknowledgement of the pope’s headship, in 533, to 1792, when the French support of the papal power fell away and the tenth part of the city fell. [Froom footnotes: “*Ibid.*, p. 21”] (1946, p.362)

While Wolff in his earlier years of his travels stressed the prophetic dates, in later life he gave up the positions formerly held on the 1260 years, and the papal Antichrist, and finally on the 1847 date for the advent. [Froom footnotes: “*Travels and Adventures*, pp. 250, 272, 407, 429, 566, 595.”] (1946, p.481)

VATICAN CODE OF CANON LAW

The following is the Canon Law of the Vatican respecting the relationship between the Pope and the College of Bishops in the hierarchical authority of the Catholic church.

BOOK II. THE PEOPLE OF GOD LIBER II. DE POPULO DEI

PART II. THE HIERARCHICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH

SECTION I. THE SUPREME AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (Cann. 330 - 367)

CHAPTER I. THE ROMAN PONTIFF AND THE COLLEGE OF BISHOPS

Can. 330 Just as by the Lord’s decision Saint Peter and the other Apostles constitute one college, so in a like manner the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, and the bishops, the successors of the Apostles, are united among themselves.

Art. 1. THE ROMAN PONTIFF

Can. 331 The bishop of the Roman Church, in whom continues the office given by the Lord uniquely to Peter, the first of the Apostles, and to be transmitted to his successors, is the head of the college of bishops, the Vicar of Christ, and the pastor of the universal Church on earth. By virtue of his office he possesses supreme, full, immediate, and universal ordinary power in the Church, which he is always able to exercise freely.

Can. 332 §1. The Roman Pontiff obtains full and supreme power in the Church by

his acceptance of legitimate election together with episcopal consecration. Therefore, a person elected to the supreme pontificate who is marked with episcopal character obtains this power from the moment of acceptance. If the person elected lacks episcopal character, however, he is to be ordained a bishop immediately.

§2. If it happens that the Roman Pontiff resigns his office, it is required for validity that the resignation is made freely and properly manifested but not that it is accepted by anyone.

Can. 333 §1. By virtue of his office, the Roman Pontiff not only possesses power over the universal Church but also obtains the primacy of ordinary power over all particular churches and groups of them. Moreover, this primacy strengthens and protects the proper, ordinary, and immediate power which bishops possess in the particular churches entrusted to their care.

§2. In fulfilling the office of supreme pastor of the Church, the Roman Pontiff is always joined in communion with the other bishops and with the universal Church. He nevertheless has the right, according to the needs of the Church, to determine the manner, whether personal or collegial, of exercising this office.

§3. No appeal or recourse is permitted against a sentence or decree of the Roman Pontiff.

Can. 334 Bishops assist the Roman Pontiff in exercising his office. They are able to render him cooperative assistance in various ways, among which is the synod of bishops. The cardinals also assist him, as do other persons and various institutes according to the needs of the times. In his name and by his authority, all these persons and institutes fulfill the function entrusted to them for the good of all the churches, according to the norms defined by law.

Can. 335 When the Roman See is vacant or entirely impeded, nothing is to be altered in the governance of the universal Church; the special laws issued for these circumstances, however, are to be observed.

Art. 2. THE COLLEGE OF BISHOPS

Can. 336 The college of bishops, whose head is the Supreme Pontiff and whose members are bishops by virtue of sacramental consecration and hierarchical communion with the head and members of the college and in which the apostolic body continues, together with its head and never without this head, is also the subject of supreme and full power over the universal Church.

Can. 337 §1. The college of bishops exercises power over the universal Church in a solemn manner in an ecumenical council.

§2. It exercises the same power through the united action of the bishops dispersed in the world, which the Roman Pontiff has publicly declared or freely accepted as such so that it becomes a true collegial act.

§3. It is for the Roman Pontiff, according to the needs of the Church, to select and promote the ways by which the college of bishops is to exercise its function collegially regarding the universal Church.

Can. 338 §1. It is for the Roman Pontiff alone to convoke an ecumenical council, preside over it personally or through others, transfer, suspend, or dissolve a council, and to approve its decrees.

§2. It is for the Roman Pontiff to determine the matters to be treated in a council and establish the order to be observed in a council. To the questions proposed by the Roman Pontiff, the council fathers can add others which are to be approved by the Roman Pontiff.

Can. 339 §1. All the bishops and only the bishops who are members of the college of bishops have the right and duty to take part in an ecumenical council with a deliberative vote.

§2. Moreover, some others who are not bishops can be called to an ecumenical council by the supreme authority of the Church, to whom it belongs to determine their roles in the council.

Can. 340 If the Apostolic See becomes vacant during the celebration of a council, the council is interrupted by the law itself until the new Supreme Pontiff orders it to be continued or dissolves it.

Can. 341 §1. The decrees of an ecumenical council do not have obligatory force unless they have been approved by the Roman Pontiff together with the council fathers, confirmed by him, and promulgated at his order.

§2. To have obligatory force, decrees which the college of bishops issues when it places a truly collegial action in another way initiated or freely accepted by the Roman Pontiff need the same confirmation and promulgation.

CHAPTER II. THE SYNOD OF BISHOPS

Can. 342 The synod of bishops is a group of bishops who have been chosen from different regions of the world and meet together at fixed times to foster closer unity between the Roman Pontiff and bishops, to assist the Roman Pontiff with their counsel in the preservation and growth of faith and morals and in the observance and strengthening of ecclesiastical discipline, and to consider questions pertaining to the activity of the Church in the world.

Can. 343 It is for the synod of bishops to discuss the questions for consideration and express its wishes but not to resolve them or issue decrees about them unless in certain cases the Roman Pontiff has endowed it with deliberative power, in which case he ratifies the decisions of the synod.

Can. 344 The synod of bishops is directly subject to the authority of the Roman Pontiff who:

1/ convokes a synod as often as it seems opportune to him and designates the place where its sessions are to be held;

2/ radios the election of members who must be elected according to the norm of special law and designates and appoints other members;

3/ determines at an appropriate time before the celebration of a synod the contents of the questions to be treated, according to the norm of special law;

4/ defines the agenda;

5/ presides at the synod personally or through others;

6/ concludes, transfers, suspends, and dissolves the synod.

Can. 345 The synod of bishops can be assembled in a general session, that is, one which treats matters that directly pertain to the good of the universal Church; such a session is either ordinary or extraordinary. It can also be assembled in a special session, namely, one which considers affairs that directly pertain to a determinate region or regions.

Can. 346 §1. A synod of bishops assembled in an ordinary general session consists of members of whom the greater part are bishops elected for each session by the conferences of bishops according to the method determined by the special law of the synod; others are designated by virtue of the same law; others are appointed directly by the Roman Pontiff; to these are added some members of clerical religious institutes elected according to the norm of the same special law.

§2. A synod of bishops gathered in an extraordinary general session to treat affairs which require a speedy solution consists of members of whom the greater part are bishops designated by the special law of the synod by reason of the office which they hold; others are appointed directly by the Roman Pontiff; to these are added some members of clerical religious institutes elected according to the norm of the same law.

§3. A synod of bishops gathered in a special session consists of members especially selected from those regions for which it was called, according to the norm of the special law which governs the synod.

Can. 347 §1. When the Roman Pontiff concludes a session of the synod of bishops, the function entrusted in it to the bishops and other members ceases.

§2. If the Apostolic See becomes vacant after a synod is convoked or during its celebration, the session of the synod and the function entrusted to its members are suspended by the law itself until the new Pontiff has decided to dissolve or continue the

session.

Can. 348 §1. The synod of bishops has a permanent general secretariat presided over by a general secretary who is appointed by the Roman Pontiff and assisted by the council of the secretariat. This council consists of bishops, some of whom are elected by the synod of bishops itself according to the norm of special law while others are appointed by the Roman Pontiff. The function of all these ceases when a new general session begins.

§2. Furthermore, for each session of the synod of bishops one or more special secretaries are constituted who are appointed by the Roman Pontiff and remain in the office entrusted to them only until the session of the synod has been completed.

CHAPTER III. THE CARDINALS OF THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH

Can. 349 The cardinals of the Holy Roman Church constitute a special college which provides for the election of the Roman Pontiff according to the norm of special law. The cardinals assist the Roman Pontiff either collegially when they are convoked to deal with questions of major importance, or individually when they help the Roman Pontiff through the various offices they perform, especially in the daily care of the universal Church.

Can. 350 §1. The college of cardinals is divided into three orders: the episcopal order, to which belong cardinals to whom the Roman Pontiff assigns title of a suburbicarian church and Eastern patriarchs who have been brought into the college of cardinals; the presbyteral order and the diaconal order.

§2. The Roman Pontiff assigns each of the cardinals of the presbyteral or diaconal orders his own title or diaconia in Rome.

§3. Eastern patriarchs who have been made members of the college of cardinals have their own patriarchal see as a title.

§4. The cardinal dean holds as his title the Diocese of Ostia together with the other church he already has as a title.

§5. Through a choice made in consistory and approved by the Supreme Pontiff and with priority of order and promotion observed, cardinals from the presbyteral order can transfer to another title, and cardinals from the diaconal order to another diaconia and if they have been in the diaconal order for ten full years, even to the presbyteral order.

§6. A cardinal transferring through choice from the diaconal order to the presbyteral order takes precedence over all those cardinal presbyters who were brought into the cardinalate after him.

Can. 351 §1. The Roman Pontiff freely selects men to be promoted as cardinals, who have been ordained at least into the order of the presbyterate and are especially

outstanding in doctrine, morals, piety, and prudence in action; those who are not yet bishops must receive episcopal consecration.

§2. Cardinals are created by a decree of the Roman Pontiff which is made public in the presence of the college of cardinals. From the moment of the announcement they are bound by the duties and possess the rights defined by law.

§3. When the Roman Pontiff has announced the selection of a person to the dignity of cardinal but reserves the name of the person in pectore, the one promoted is not bound in the meantime by any of the duties of cardinals nor does he possess any of their rights. After the Roman Pontiff has made his name public, however, he is bound by the same duties and possesses the same rights; he possesses the right of precedence, though, from the day of reservation in pectore.

Can. 352 §1. The dean presides over the college of cardinals; if he is impeded, the assistant dean takes his place.

Neither the dean nor the assistant dean possesses any power of governance over the other cardinals but is considered as first among equals.

§2. When the office of dean is vacant, the cardinals who possess title to a suburbicarian church and they alone are to elect one from their own group who is to act as dean of the college; the assistant dean, if he is present, or else the oldest among them, presides at this election. They are to submit the name of the person elected to the Roman Pontiff who is competent to approve him.

§3. The assistant dean is elected in the same manner as that described in §2, with the dean himself presiding.

The Roman Pontiff is also competent to approve the election of the assistant dean.

§4. If the dean and assistant dean do not have a domicile in Rome, they are to acquire one there.

Can. 353 §1. The cardinals especially assist the supreme pastor of the Church through collegial action in consistories in which they are gathered by order of the Roman Pontiff who presides. Consistories are either ordinary or extraordinary.

§2. For an ordinary consistory, all the cardinals, at least those present in Rome, are called together to be consulted concerning certain grave matters which occur rather frequently or to carry out certain very solemn acts.

§3. For an extraordinary consistory, which is celebrated when particular needs of the Church or the treatment of more grave affairs suggests it, all the cardinals are called together.

§4. Only the ordinary consistory in which some solemnities are celebrated can be

public, that is, when prelates, representatives of civil societies, and others who have been invited to it are admitted in addition to the cardinals.

Can. 354 The cardinals who preside over dicasteries and other permanent institutes of the Roman Curia and Vatican City and who have completed the seventy-fifth year of age are asked to submit their resignation from office to the Roman Pontiff who will see to the matter after considering the circumstances.

Can. 355 §1. The cardinal dean is competent to ordain as a bishop the one elected as Roman Pontiff if he needs to be ordained; if the dean is impeded, the assistant dean has the same right, and if he is impeded, the oldest cardinal from the episcopal order.

§2. The senior cardinal deacon announces the name of the newly elected Supreme Pontiff to the people; likewise, in the place of the Roman Pontiff, he places the pallium upon metropolitans or hands it over to their proxies.

Can. 356 Cardinals are obliged to cooperate assiduously with the Roman Pontiff; therefore, cardinals who exercise any office in the curia and who are not diocesan bishops are obliged to reside in Rome. Cardinals who have the care of some diocese as the diocesan bishop are to go to Rome whenever the Roman Pontiff calls them.

Can. 357 §1. The cardinals who have been assigned title to a suburbicarian church or a church in Rome are to promote the good of these dioceses or churches by counsel and patronage after they have taken possession of them.

Nevertheless, they possess no power of governance over them nor are they to intervene in any way in those matters which pertain to the administration of their goods, their discipline, or the service of the churches.

§2. In those matters which pertain to their own person, cardinals living outside of Rome and outside their own diocese are exempt from the power of governance of the bishop of the diocese in which they are residing.

Can. 358 A cardinal to whom the Roman Pontiff entrusts the function of representing him in some solemn celebration or among some group of persons as a legate a latere, that is, as his alter ego, as well as one to whom the Roman Pontiff entrusts the fulfillment of a certain pastoral function as his special envoy (*missus specialis*) has competence only over those things which the Roman Pontiff commits to him.

Can. 359 When the Apostolic See is vacant, the college of cardinals possesses only that power in the Church which is attributed to it in special law.

CHAPTER IV. THE ROMAN CURIA

Can. 360 The Supreme Pontiff usually conducts the affairs of the universal Church through the Roman Curia which performs its function in his name and by his

authority for the good and service of the churches. The Roman Curia consists of the Secretariat of State or the Papal Secretariat, the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church, congregations, tribunals, and other institutes; the constitution and competence of all these are defined in special law.

Can. 361 In this Code, the term Apostolic See or Holy See refers not only to the Roman Pontiff but also to the Secretariat of State, the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church, and other institutes of the Roman Curia, unless it is otherwise apparent from the nature of the matter or the context of the words.

Source: http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG1104/_INDEX.HTM

The situation of the three cardinals that fled with the news of the approach of the French army in 1798.

Were they guilty and fled before the army got to them? Why did the rest of the Sacred College of Cardinals remain behind? They were celebrating Pius VI's anniversary when Haller intruded into the proceedings to arrest the Pope. Why did they stay and the others flee? Were the others guilty? Note the consequences of them leaving Rome without the leave of the Pope:

It is the duty of the cardinals to assist the pope at the chief liturgical services known as *capellæ papales*, to distinguish them from the *capellæ cardinaliciæ*, at which the pope is not present; also to counsel him and aid in the government of the Church (c. 17 in VI^{to} de electione, I, 6; Council of Trent, Sess. XXIV, de ref., c. 1, and Sess. XXV, de ref., c. 1). Hence the cardinals are obliged to reside at Rome and cannot leave the Papal States without permission of the pope. The violation of this law entails grave penalties, even the loss of the cardinalial dignity (C. 2, X, de clerico non residente, III, 4; Leo X, "Supernæ", 5 May, 1514, § 28, in "Bullar. Rom.", V, 604 sqq.; Innocent X, "Cum juxta", 19 Feb., 1646, in "Bullar. Rom.", XV, 441 sqq.). Similarly, they would lose all the benefices possessed by them (Council of Trent, Sess. XXIV, de ref., c. 17). (Catholic Encyclopedia, Art, "Cardinal")

The Pope is represented by a congregation but loses temporal power for a year.

When Clement V (1305-1314) was in exile in France, he left three cardinals in control of things in Rome, thereby continuing the rulership of the pope in absentia:

The government of the States of the Church was committed by Clement to a commission of three cardinals, while at Spoleto his own brother, Arnaud Garsias de Got, held the office of papal vicar. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article, [Pope Clement V](#).)

Cheetham says concerning the establishment of the Roman Republic in Italy:

The Pope was right in thinking that the grotesque Church invented by the agnostics would soon founder. But he was mistaken if he supposed that its failure would lead to a restoration of something like the old order. No one at Rome or anywhere in Europe foresaw that the disappearance of royal and ecclesiastical authority would quickly result in the eclipse of civilised values in France, or that it would soon be followed by a dictatorial reign of terror and twenty years of almost continuous war. Even when the Republic was set up in 1792 the most prescient of observers could hardly have imagined

that it would come close to abolishing religion altogether in its homeland or that it would shortly impose its irreligious rule by force of arms at the very heart of the papacy.

The Pope remained a horrified spectator of the excesses that marked the first years of the first French Republic. They included the butchery of priests, the plunder and desecration of churches and their use for the ridiculous festivals of Reason and of Robespierre's Supreme Being. Persecution was eased after Robespierre's fall in 1794 but very sharply renewed between 1797 and 1799. Meanwhile Pius, in his role of temporal sovereign, was the most prominent survivor of the Catholic rulers of the old eighteenth-century Europe. The Bourbons were dead or in their dotage. Of the Habsburgs, Joseph II had died in 1790 and his brother, Leopold II, in 1792; and now that Austria was locked in a seemingly interminable war with the French Republic Josephite ideas on Church matters had lost their appeal. In such circumstances it was inevitable that the Holy See should give moral and political, if not military, support to any European coalition formed against France and of which Austria was the centrepiece. Thus the papal government became a natural target for French enmity, and as from 1792 Rome was troubled by subversive republican agitation. This was by no means well received by the populace. In 1793, Bassville, a secretary of the French embassy, lost his life in a riot. His government demanded compensation, but it was still unpaid in 1796 when Napoleon Bonaparte, the general of the French Directory, launched his series of shattering campaigns against the Austrians in Lombardy.

As soon as he had wrested Milan from the Austrians he held the papal state at his mercy. His orders from the Directory were to liquidate the 'centre of fanaticism', but so long as there was still an Austrian army in Lombardy he preferred, for sound military reasons, merely to seize the Legations (Ravenna, Bologna and Ferrara) and to conclude a highly advantageous armistice with the Holy See. It gave him the right to retain Legations, to place a garrison in Ancona and to make use of the other papal ports. It also extracted from the papal government an indemnity of 21 million scudi, together with five hundred ancient manuscripts and one hundred choice works of art from the papal collections. Barefaced pillage was an avowed aim of the republican liberators. When the expulsion of the Austrians had been completed a few months later, Bonaparte dictated to the Pope the Treaty of Tolentino (February 1797). Pius was required to cede Avignon and the Comtat to France and the Legations to the French-sponsored Cisalpine Republic, to pay another 15 million scudi and to submit to the removal of further cargoes of artistic treasures. His brother Joseph was sent to Rome as Ambassador with instructions to prepare for the extinction of papal rule and its replacement by a satellite Roman Republic.

At the end of the year Joseph and his prospective brother-in-law, General Duphot, were ready to provoke the necessary incident. It did not, however, work out exactly as planned. While Duphot was encouraging pro-French demonstrators to proclaim a Republic, they were fired on by papal troops and Duphot was killed. Brushing aside the Curia's apologies, Joseph Bonaparte left Rome and General Berthier, Napoleon's future Chief of staff, was ordered to occupy the city, to remove the Pope and to set up a Republic. On 15 February, the twenty-third anniversary of Pius's election, the French marched in and installed their puppet government. A tree of liberty was triumphantly planted on the Capitol. The few Cardinals who had been present at the Mass of celebration in St Peter's were placed under arrest.

The Pope was first told that he might stay in Rome as its Bishop but not as temporal ruler; later, on 17 February, General Haller, the officer deputed to deal with him, informed him brusquely that he must leave for Tuscany within three days. When he replied that he would neither abandon Rome nor the Church, Haller resorted to threats and crude intimidation. Pius calmly kept him at bay, refusing to hand over the Fisherman's Ring which the General tried to snatch. His bearing was so courageous that

even the Spanish Ambassador Azarea, and atheist who had consistently played the French game, expressed admiration for his behaviour. He managed to appoint a special Congregation headed by Cardinal Antonelli, to exercise his powers during his absence. But before dawn on 20 February the half-paralysed octogenarian, accompanied by only two junior clerics and a doctor, was hustled into a travelling carriage and escorted by dragoons as far as the highway to Siena. Crowd were already kneeling in the rain to watch him pass.

The journey to Siena (in the territory of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany) took five days. Heavy snow was falling on the road. At each stage the exhausted Pope had to be lifted painfully from his carriage. On arrival he was received by the Archbishop, Zondadari, and lodged in the Augustinian convent. It had originally been assumed that he would stay at Florence, but the Grand-Duke Ferdinand, who quite rightly suspected that the French were looking for an excuse to depose him, was anxious to keep the controversial person of the Pope at a distance from his capitol. At Siena where he remained for over three months, his health gradually improved and he was able to organize, under the noses of French spies, a correspondence with Antonelli and other dispersed members of the Sacred College and the Curia. Several Cardinals came to visit him and he was soon the centre of a small but lively court. Everyday he drove out, accompanied by the Archbishop, and showed himself to the people. The news that reached him from Rome was shocking; it was being systematically pillaged and vandalized, just as Greece had been treated in ancient times by Roman republican generals. Loads of treasures stolen from the Vatican, the churches the museums, private palaces and libraries, were being despatched by French commissioners to Paris. He was also worried by the problem of the next papal election; he could no expect to live much longer and there did not seem to be any place in Italy where a Conclave could assemble in freedom from French interference.

His sojourn in Siena was interrupted, at the end of May, by a succession of alarming earthquakes. They occurred when the French were already hoping to relegate him to Sardinia, and there was also a less unattractive proposal to convey him to Spain. But as his health had taken a turn for the worse, he was transferred only as far as the Carthusian monastery at Florence. There he found himself under much stricter supervision. During the winter of 1798 he became so weak that he frequently seemed at the point of death. Nevertheless the Directory continued to insist that he should be sent to Sardinia and the order for his departure was only averted for a short time by the objections of his doctors. But in the spring of 1799 the French domination of Italy was seriously threatened. Bonaparte was far away in Egypt; anti-republican revolts, largely instigated by archbishop Zondadari, broke out in central Italy and the French hold on Rome and Naples (where a 'Parthenopean' republic had temporarily installed) seemed very precarious. Austria was again the field, this time supported by Russia. The Directory decided that the Pope must again be removed, if necessary to France. So at the end of March, when French troops seized Florence and suppressed the Grand Duchy, Pius was ordered to travel to an unknown destination

When the moment at last came to elect a successor to Pius vi the French had been driven out of Italy. The Cardinals were nevertheless unwilling to hold the Conclave in Rome. It had suffered too much from the French and was now occupied by the Neapolitans. Some members of the college had already taken refuge in Venice which, together with Legations, was in Austrian hands. Indeed the Venetian Republic, recently suppressed by Bonaparte, would never be revived. Venice was the obvious meeting place and it was there that, with blessing of the Emperor Francis II, thirty-four Cardinals assembled in November 1799 at the island monastery of San Giorgio.

(1982,pp..242-247)

Clearly from Cheetham's perspective the Pope lost temporal power, although it could be argued that through his Congregation of Cardinals organised by the Ambassador of Spain, Pius still had spiritual control of the Church of Rome *in absentia* in accordance with the canons of the church (see section on [Canon Law](#)). On the other hand, it cannot be denied that this loss of temporal power was only temporary and when the Directory was abolished and the Consulship began, Napoleon had no qualm with the Pope having some temporal power as long as it was not used against Napoleon's plans. With some of the Pope's close advisers pro-English, the situation became untenable and eventually the Concordat of 1801 which restored the temporal power of the Pope to Rome was abolished and in 1809, he lost even his temporal power of *all* the Papal States, although Napoleon does seem to indicate that the city of Rome would remain the Pope's.

Cheetham indicates that the Roman Republic was for all practical purposes virtually a non-event, since by the following year, it had all but died, and Italy was in the hands of the Italians again. It is an exercise of futility for SDA-historicist's to argue that this one year break in the temporal rule of the Pope symbolises the fall of the Papacy. Similar events had occurred in the history of the church. Are these not to be included as well in considering the period of temporal rule of the Papacy? Why consider this one and not the others?

The obvious answer is that the trend at the time among many Protestant prophecy students were to try and fit the events of their day to apocalyptic visions of the Bible. The indignities placed on Pius VI by the first Roman Republic were seized upon by writers of the day in much the same way as SDA writers seized on events of the first, second World Wars, the rise of communism, current events in the Middle East and probably now the increase in pseudo-Islamic terrorism as prophetic events. One need only skim through popular publications offered to the public by the SDA church during the war times to see that the writers had very fertile imaginations. The same can be said of the sources that Froom uses to support the proposal that the deadly wound had been given with the temporary loss of temporal power by Pius VI. For people of that generation, it must have been an incredible thing to witness – the Pontiff himself being the victim, when, for long centuries, he had been the perpetrator. But they forget that former generations in previous centuries had witnessed the same sort of event, on more than one occasion.

But regardless of the way it can be construed, the facts remain that temporal power was restored in 1801 formally by Napoleon, though not to those states lost under the Treaty of Tolentino. A fuller restoration of the Papal States came at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, when it was virtually restored to pre-Napoleonic times. To be a stickler over the issue of the Pope losing power for one year, one would have to be consistent and also acknowledge the other instances in history where the Pope abandoned his temporal power in his fleeing the city or being forcibly removed. Both these acts represent the abdication of his temporal power. These then, the SDA historicist must also acknowledge, though it throws the concept of a twelve hundred and sixty year supremacy out the window.

Other scholars add some very important light on the topic.

ADD THE MATERIAL HERE FROM ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY.

1260-year Supremacy over “the minds of people and their souls.”

Another curious feature of recent reasoning in SDA publications is that knowing they cannot defend the arguments proposed by White and Froom for the literal supremacy of the pope, SDA scholars now talk in terms of 1260 years supremacy over “the minds of people and their souls.” This is how desperate the argument is getting to be able to use any vestige of the original reasoning for the 1260 years proposed during the 17th to the 19th century by Protestant writers. How does a physical event such as the deposition of Pius VI break the “spiritual supremacy” of the Papacy? Froom comments that people hardly expected the papacy to survive, and furthermore, that they did not care. Surely, if the attitude of the time was one of nonchalance, then the Pope’s “supremacy” over the spirituality of the masses had long dissipated. This event in February was not of universal shock and spiritual crisis for the Christian world, according to Froom’s own sources.

One of the significances attached to the events of February, 1798 by SDA historicists, is the concept that the Papacy received a “deadly wound” at that time. According to SDA literature, the signing of a concordat which restored the temporal powers of the pope constituted the healing of the deadly wound. (See Bible Reading for the Home. They do not acknowledge the Concordat of 1801 or even the Congress of Vienna in 1815 as the reversal of 1798 but rather, the Concordat of 1929 is presented as the reversal to the abdication of temporal powers in 1798). The Scriptures say that the whole world would marvel when the “deadly wound” would be healed. Problem is, that this so-called “deadly wound” of 1798 was “healed” in 1801 with the restitution of the temporal powers of the papacy. It can hardly be said that the “whole world wondered after the beast” at that time. There was just as much nonchalance about the restoration of the Papal See then as there was to his subsequent loss of that power in 1809, in 1848, or again in 1870. More significantly, Catholic historians themselves, while acknowledging the full consequences of the Roman Republic experiment, do not see any break in the temporal powers of the papacy between 1798 and 1815 though the temporal powers were aborted temporarily a number of times. They see a continuity in papal temporal powers from 756 AD to 1870. They set 1870 as the formal end of the papal temporal powers. The illegitimate endeavours of conquerors are not considered valid. The restoration of the Vatican City to the Papacy later in 1929 was in no way a return of temporal powers in the former sense. The pope was no longer a landlord collecting rent on his dominions as before. His land encompassed basically only his own properties. Catholic authorities understand the difference between the old temporal powers of the Holy See and the solution to “the question” concerning the need of papal international independence as eventually was formulated in 1929. They see the pope no longer involved in matters of temporal authority; they see him as being freed to pursue the spiritual development of the Catholic church; and they see this as a good thing.

Furthermore, one could explore the concept of how one measures “spiritual supremacy,” and how such events as the exile of the Pope relate to spirituality. Properly examined, these issues would not support the SDA argument. It is nonsensical.

Did the Vatican receive any income from the Papal States for the period of 1798?

This is a crucial question since this deals with the heart of the matter. One cannot only receive money from property one owns. If the papacy’s ownership of landed

property in the Papal states was interrupted, then the records would record that. We should be able to find the absence of any income from the landed property in the Papal States after 1870, a disruption to that money flow between 1848 to 1870, and a similar absence of any income in 1798 and 1809 to 1815. If however, there was a flow of income during 1798 from the Papal States as rent for landed property, then no matter what dismal state the Pope might find himself, he still has temporal power, since one can only demand rent for the property that one owns. Then whatever appearance the correspondence between France and its envoys may be, if the pope still has the purse strings of his tenants, then he is still in control of his property.

What does the record show?

The record shows that not only did the Papacy fail to receive any finance from the patrimony of Peter during this period, the Roman Republic also failed to raise any continuing finance from the region, apart from what they could plunder. The Papal States were bankrupt and the people impoverished. Pius VI had bled them dry and had squandered the finances of the treasury. Therefore, neither party could draw on this source of income. In some cases the Republican soldiers abandoned the cause and returned home since they had not been paid for up to three months. And France had forsaken the Italian Republic financially, and left them to their own devices.

QUOTE HERE FROM READING RESOURCES FROM ADELAIDE UNI.

Extracts from J.B. Bury. [The History of the Later Roman Empire](#).

The Blend of Church and State

The existence of the State Church made a profound difference in the political and social development of the Empire. The old State religion of Rome was often used as an instrument of policy, but perhaps its main political value was symbolic. It involved no theory of the universe, no body of dogma to divide the minds of men and engender disputes. The gods were not jealous, and it was compatible with the utmost variety of other cults and faiths. For the Christian Church, on the contrary, a right belief in theological dogmas was the breath of its life, and, as such questions are abstruse and metaphysical, it was impossible to define a uniform doctrine which all minds would accept. As the necessity of ecclesiastical unity was an axiom, the government had to deal with a new problem, and a very arduous and embarrassing one, such as had not confronted it in the days before Constantine. Doctrine had to be defined, and heretics suppressed. Again, the Church, which once had claimed freedom for itself, denied freedom to others when it was victorious, and would not suffer rival cults. Hence a systematic policy of religious intolerance, such as the Greek and Roman world had never known, was introduced. Another consequence of the Christianising of the State was the rise to power and importance of the institution of monasticism, which was not only influential economically and socially, but was also, as we shall see, a political force. The theological controversies, the religious persecution, and the growth of monasticism, in the fifth century, will be reviewed briefly in this chapter. (1958, vol.1, p. 348)

The Christian religion, with its theology which opened such a wide field for differences of opinion, had introduced into the Empire dangerous discords which were a sore perplexity to the government. In some ways it augmented, in others it weakened, the power of the State to resist its external enemies. It cannot be maintained — as we have already seen — that it was one of the causes which contributed to the dismemberment of the Empire in the West by the Teutonic peoples; and subsequently, the religious communion, which was preserved throughout political separation, helped the Empire to recover some of the territory it had lost. In the East, bitter theological divisions, consequent on the Council of Chalcedon, facilitated the Saracen conquest of the provinces of Syria and Egypt, but afterwards, in the diminished Empire, the State religion

formed a strong bond and fostered the growth of a national spirit which enabled the Imperial power to hold out for centuries against surrounding foes. (1958, vol.1, p. 359)

In the list of Roman pontiffs the name of Zosimus is not one which the Catholic Church holds in high esteem. His brief pontificate fell at a critical period, when the Roman see was laying the foundations of the supremacy which it was destined to gain by astute policy, and propitious circumstances, over the churches of western Europe. Zosimus, through his rashness and indiscretion, did as much as could be done in two years to thwart the purposes which he was himself anxious to promote. In the matter of Pelagius he committed himself to a judgment which shows that he was either unpardonably ignorant of the doctrine which had been challenged, or that he considered orthodox in A.D.417 what he condemned as heterodox in A.D.418; and he exposed himself to a smart rebuff from the bishops of Africa. But his indiscretion in this affair was of less importance than the ill-considered policy on which he embarked on a question of administration in the Gallic Church, and which proved highly embarrassing to his successors.

The authority which the Roman see exercised in western Europe at this time, beyond its prestige and acknowledged primacy in Christendom, was twofold. Decrees of Valentinian I and Gratian had recognised it as a court to which clergy condemned by provincial synods might appeal. In the second place it was looked up to as a model, and when doubtful whens arose about discipline it was consulted by provincial bishops. The answers of the Popes to such questions were known as Decretals. They did not bind the bishops; they were responses, not ordinances. Appellate jurisdiction and the moral weight of the Decretals were the principal bases on which the power of the Roman see was gradually to be built up. (1958, vol.1, p. 362)

But that edict of Valentinian III did much more than settle in Rome's favour this particular question. It assigned to the Roman see that supremacy over the provincial churches which the Popes had been endeavouring to establish, but which the African synods and the council of Turin had refused to acknowledge. It ordained that "the bishops of Gaul or any other province should take no decision contrary to the ancient rules of discipline without the consent and authority of the venerable Pope of the eternal city. They must conform to all the decrees of the Apostolic see. Bps summoned before the tribunal of Rome must be compelled to appear by the civil authorities."

It is the political bearing of this law that interests us here. When many of the western provinces had wholly or partly passed out of the Emperor's control, it was a matter of importance to strive to keep alive the idea of the Empire and the old attachment to Rome in the minds of the provincials who were now subject to German masters. The day might come when it would be possible to recover some of these lost lands, which the Imperial government never acknowledged to be really lost, and in the meantime a close ecclesiastical unity presented itself as a powerful means for preserving the bonds of sentiment, which would then prove an indispensable help. To accustom the churches in Gaul and Britain, Spain and Africa to look up to Rome and refer their disputes and difficulties to the Roman bishop was a wise policy from the secular point of view, and it was doubtless principally by urging considerations of this nature that Leo was able to induce the government to establish the supremacy of his see.

It is important to bear in mind that the administrative authority of the Pope, at this time, extended into the dominions of the eastern Emperors. The lands included in the Prefecture Illyricum belonged to the Patriarchate of Rome, and constituted the Vicariate of Thessalonica, where the Pope's vicar, who was entrusted with the administration, resided. Theodosius II wished to place this ecclesiastical province under Constantinople and published an edict with this intent, but the remonstrances of Honorius induced him to

retract it; and Greece, Macedonia, and Dacia remained under the see of St. Peter till the eighth century. (1958, vol.1, pp.364f)

Persecution was an unavoidable consequence of Constantine's continue in adopting Christianity. Two of the chief points in which this faith differed from the Roman State religion were its exclusiveness and the vital importance which it assigned to dogma. The first logically led to intolerance of pagan religions, the second to intolerance of heresies, and these consequences could not be averted when Christianity became the religion of the State. It might be suggested that Constantine would have done better if, when he decided to embrace it and favour its propagation, he had been content to deprive pagan cults of their official status and to allow Christianity to compete in a free field with its rivals, aided by the prestige which it would derive from the Emperor's personal adhesion and favour. But such a policy would have been an anachronism. A state, at that time, was unthinkable without a State cult, and if an Emperor became a Christian a logical result was that Christianity should be adopted as the official religion of the Empire, and a second that the old Roman policy of toleration should be thrown overboard. In an age of superstition this was demanded not only in the interest of the Church but in the interest of the State itself. The purpose of the official cults in the pagan State was to secure the protection of the deities; these were liberal and tolerant lords who raised no objection to other forms of worship; and toleration was therefore a principle of the State. But the god of the new official religion was a jealous master; he had said, "thou shalt have none other gods before me," and idolatry was an offence to him; how could his protection and favour be expected in a state in which idolatry was permitted? Intolerance was a duty, and the first business of a patriotic ruler was to take measures to extirpate the errors of paganism.

But these consequences were not drawn immediately. It must never be forgotten that Constantine's revolution was perhaps the most audacious act ever committed by an autocrat in disregard and defiance of the vast majority of his subjects. For at least four-fifths of the population of the Empire were still outside the Christian Church. The army and all the leading men in the administration were devoted to paganism. It is not, therefore, surprising that Constantine, who was a statesman as well as a convert, made no attempt to force the pace. His policy did little more than indicate and prepare the way for the gradual conversion of the Empire, and was so mild and cautious that it has been maintained by some that his aim was to establish a parity between the two religions.

He retained the title of Pontifex Maximus, and thereby the constitutional right of the Emperor to supervise the religious institutions. He withdrew the support of state funds from pagan rites, but made an exception in favour of the official cults at Rome. His most important repressive measure was the prohibition of the sacrifice of victims in the temples. One reason for this measure was the dangerous practice of divination by entrails, often employed by persons who contemplated a rebellion and desired to learn from the higher powers their chances of success. (1958, vol.1, pp. 365-367)

In a hundred years the Empire had been transformed from a state in which the immense majority of the inhabitants were devoted to pagan religions, into one in which an Emperor could say, with gross exaggeration, but without manifest absurdity, that not a pagan survived. Such a change was not brought to pass by mere prohibition and suppression. It is not too much to say that the success of the Church in converting the gentile world in the fourth and fifth centuries was due to a process which may be described as a pagan transmutation of Christianity itself. If Christian beliefs and worship had been retained unaltered in the early simplicity of their spirit and form, it may well be doubted whether a much longer period would have sufficed to christianize the Roman Empire. But the Church permitted a compromise. All the religions of the age had common ground in crude superstition, and the Church found no difficulty in proffering to converts beliefs and cults similar to those to which they had been accustomed. It was a comparatively small matter that incense, lights, and flowers, the accessories of various

pagan ceremonials, had been introduced into Christian worship. It was a momentous and happy stroke to encourage the introduction of a disguised polytheism. A legion of saints and martyrs replaced the old legion of gods and heroes, and the hesitating pagan could gradually reconcile himself to a religion, which, if it robbed him of his tutelary deity, whom it stigmatized as a demon, allowed him in compensation the cult of a tutelary saint. A new and banal mythology was created, of saints and martyrs, many of them fictitious; their bodies and relics, capable of working miracles like those which used to be wrought at the tombs of heroes, were constantly being discovered. The devotee of Athene or Isis could transfer his homage to the Virgin Mother. The Greek sailor or fisherman, who used to pray to Poseidon, could call upon St. Nicolas. Those who worshipped at stone altars of Apollo on hill-tops could pay the same allegiance to St. Elias. The calendar of Christian anniversaries corresponded at many points to the calendars of Greek and Roman festivals. Men could more easily acquiesce in the loss of the heathen celebrations connected with the winter solstice and the vernal equinox, when they found the joyous celebrations of the Nativity and the resurrection associated with those seasons, and they could transfer some of their old customs to the new feasts. The date of the Nativity was fixed to coincide with the birthday of Mithras (*natalis Invicti*, December 25), whose religion had many affinities with the Christian. This process was not the result, in the first instance, of a deliberate policy. It was a natural development, for Christianity could not escape the influence of the ideas which were current in its environment. But it was promoted by the men of light and leading in the Church. (1958, vol.1, pp. 372f)

Justinian's legal code and his understanding of his place in the religious scheme of things.

Theoretically the Emperors were as completely competent to legislate in all religious as in all secular affairs. How far they made use of this right was a question of tact and policy. No Emperor attempted to order the whole province of sacred concerns. Questions of ritual, for instance, were left entirely to the clergy, and the rulers, however bent they might be on having their way in questions of doctrine, always recognised that doctrine must be decided by ecclesiastical councils. The theory, which was afterwards to prevail in western Europe, of a trenchant separation between the spiritual and temporal powers was still unborn, and ecclesiastical affairs were ordered as one department of the general civil legislation. In framing laws concerning the organisation of the Church, it was a matter of course that the Patriarch of Constantinople should be consulted, but it is significant that such contributions were often addressed not to the Patriarch or the bishops, but to the Praetorian Prefect of the East whose duty it was to make them publicly known throughout the Empire.

Justinian took his responsibilities as head of the Church more seriously than any ever had hitherto done, and asserted his authority in its internal affairs more constantly and systematically. It was his object to identify the Church and State more intimately, to blend them, as it were, into a single organism, of which he was himself the controlling brain. We may view in this light his important enactment that the Canons of the four great Ecumenical Councils should have the same validity as Imperial laws.¹ And we can see in his legislation against heretics and pagans that he set before himself the ideal of an Empire which should be populated only by orthodox Christians. He determined "to close all the roads which lead to error and to place religion on the firm foundations of a single faith," and for this purpose he made orthodoxy a requisite condition of citizenship. He declared that he considered himself responsible for the welfare of his subjects, and therefore, above all, for securing the salvation of their souls; from this he deduced the necessity of intolerance towards heterodox opinions. It was the principle of the Inquisition. None of his predecessors had taken such a deep personal interest in theology

as Justinian, and he surpassed them all in religious bigotry and in the passion for uniformity. (1958, vol.2. pp.360f)

The measures which Justinian adopted to suppress heresy were marked by a consistency and uniformity which contrast with the somewhat hesitant and vacillating policy of previous Emperors. Laying down the principle that "from those who are not orthodox in their worship of God, earthly goods should also be withheld," he applied it ruthlessly. Right belief was made a condition for admission to the service of the State, and an attestation of orthodoxy from three witnesses was required. Heretics were debarred from practising the liberal professions of law and teaching. But Justinian went much further in the path of persecution. He deprived heretics of the common rights of citizenship. They were not allowed to inherit property; their testamentary rights were strictly limited; they could not appear in court to bear witness against orthodox persons. On the other hand, they were liable to the burdens and obligations of the curiales. The spirit of the Imperial bigot is shown by a law which deprived a woman, if she belonged to a heretical sect, of her legal rights in regard to her dowry and property. The local priests and officials were to decide whether she was orthodox, and attendance at Holy Communion was to be regarded as the test. Here we have a foretaste of the Inquisition. (Ibid, vol.2, p. 364)

We saw in a former chapter how throughout the fifth century the severe laws against paganism were not very strictly enforced. So long as there was no open scandal, men could still believe in the old religions and disseminate anti-Christian doctrine. This comparatively tolerant attitude of the State terminated with the accession of Justinian, who had firmly resolved to realise the conception of an empire in which there should be no differences of religious opinion. Paganism was already dying slowly, and it seemed no difficult task to extinguish it entirely. There were two distinct forms in which it survived. In a few outlying places, and in some wild districts where the work of conversion had been imperfectly done, the population still indulged with impunity in heathen practices. To suppress these was a matter of administration, reinforced by missionary zeal; no new laws were required. A more serious problem was presented by the Hellenism which prevailed widely enough among the educated classes, and consequently in the State-service itself. To cope with this Justinian saw that there was need not only of new administrative rigour, but of new legislation. He saw that Hellenism was kept alive by pagan instructors of youth, especially in teaching establishments which had preserved the Greek tradition of education. If the evil thing was to be eradicated, he must strike at these.

Not long after his accession, he reaffirmed the penalties which previous Emperors had enacted against the pagans, and forbade all donations or legacies for the purpose of maintaining "Hellenic impiety," while in the same constitution he enjoined upon all the civil authorities and the bishops, in Constantinople and in the provinces, to inquire into cases of pagan superstition. This law was soon followed by another which made it illegal for any persons "infected with the madness of the unholy Hellenes" to teach any subject, and thereby under the pretext of education corrupt the souls of their pupils.

The persecution began with an inquisition at Constantinople. Many persons of the highest position were accused and condemned. Their property was confiscated, and some may have been put to death; one committed suicide. Among those who were involved were Thomas the Quaestor and Phocas, son of Craterus. But Phocas, a patrician of whose estimable character we have a portrait drawn by a contemporary, was speedily pardoned, for, as we saw, he was appointed Praetorian Prefect of the East after the Nika riot.

Some of the accused escaped by pretending to embrace the Christian faith, but we are told that "not long afterwards they were convicted of offering libations and sacrifices and other unholy practices." There was, in fact, a second inquisition in A.D. 546. On this occasion a heretic was set to catch the pagan. Through the zeal of John of Ephesus, a

Monophysite, who was head of a Syrian monastery in the suburb of Sycae, a large number of senators, "with a crowd of grammarians, sophists, lawyers, and physicians," were denounced, not without the use of torture, and suffered whippings and imprisonment. Then "they were given to the churches to be instructed in the Christian faith." One name is mentioned: Phocas, a rich and powerful patrician, who, knowing that he had been denounced, took poison. The Emperor ordered that he should be buried like an ass without any rites. We may suspect that this was the same Phocas, son of Craterus, who had been involved in the earlier inquest and knew that death would be the penalty of his relapse. There was yet another pagan scandal in the capital in A.D. 559; the condemned were exposed to popular derision in a mock procession and their books publicly burned.

It may be considered certain that in all cases the condemned were found guilty of actual heathen practices, for instance of sacrificing or pouring libations in their private houses, on the altars of pagan deities. Men could still cling to pagan beliefs, provided they did not express their faith in any overt act. There were many distinguished people of this kind in the highest circles at Constantinople, many lawyers and literary men, whose infidelity was well known and tolerated. The great jurist Tribonian, who was in high favour with the Emperor, was an eminent example. He seems to have made no pretence at disguising his opinions, but others feigned to conform to the State religion. We are told that John the Cappadocian used sometimes to go to church at night, but he went dressed in a rough cloak like an old pagan priest, and instead of behaving as a Christian worshipper he used to mumble impious words the whole night.

It can hardly be doubted that by making the profession of orthodoxy a necessary condition for public teaching Justinian accelerated the extinction of "Hellenism." Pagan traditions and a pagan atmosphere were still maintained, not only in the schools of philosophy, but in the schools of law, not only at Athens, but at Alexandria, Gaza, and elsewhere. The suppression of all law schools, except those of Constantinople and Berytus, though not intended for this purpose, must have affected the interests of paganism. But philosophical teaching was the great danger, and Athens was the most notorious home of uncompromising Hellenists. After the death of Proclus (A.D. 485) the Athenian university declined, but there were teachers of considerable metaphysical ability, such as Simplicius and Damascius, the last scholarch, whose attainments can still be judged by their works.

The edicts of Justinian sounded the doom of the Athenian schools, which had a continuous tradition since the days of Plato and Aristotle. We do not know exactly what happened in A.D. 429. We may suppose that the teachers were warned that unless they were baptized and publicly embraced Christianity, they would no longer be permitted to teach; and that when they refused, the property of the schools was confiscated and their means of livelihood withdrawn.

([Ibid](#), vol.2, pp.366-370)

Justinian was undoubtedly successful in hastening the disappearance of open heathen practices and in suppressing anti-Christian philosophy. Although in some places, like Heliopolis, paganism may have survived for another generation, and although there were inquisitions under his immediate successors, it may be said that by the close of the sixth century the old faiths were virtually extinct throughout the Empire.

([Ibid](#), vol.2, pp371f)

Throughout his reign one of Justinian's chief preoccupations was to find an issue from the dilemma in which the controversy over the natures of Christ had placed the Imperial government. Concord with Rome and the western churches meant discord in the East; toleration in the East meant separation from Rome. The solution of the problem was not

rendered easier by the fact that the Emperor was a theologian and took a deep interest in the questions at issue on their own account apart from the political consequences which were involved. (p.372)

The importance of this episode of ecclesiastical history [concerning the issue of the Three Chapters-FB] lies in the claim which Justinian successfully made owing to the theological guidance of the Church, a claim which went far beyond the rights of control exercised by previous emperors. Zen had indeed taken a step in this direction by his Henotikon, but the purpose of the Henotikon was to suppress controversy, not to dictate doctrine. Justinian asserted the principle that doctrinal decisions could be made by Imperial edicts. An edict imposed upon the Church the orthodoxy of the Theopaschite formula; an edict condemned opinions of Origen; and, though the behaviour of Pope Vigilius forced the Emperor to summon a Council, the Council did no more than confirm the two edicts which he had issued on the Three Chapters. Justinian seems to have regarded it as merely a matter of policy and expediency whether theological questions should be settled by ecclesiastical synods or by Imperial legislation. Eastern ecclesiastics acquiesced in the claims of the Emperor when they adhered to the first edict on the Three Chapters, even though they made their adhesion cardinal on the attitude of Rome; and at the synod of A.D. 536, while the assembled bishops said "We both follow and obey the apostolic throne," it was also laid down by the Patriarch that nothing should be done in the Church contrary to the will of the Emperor. This Caesaro-papism, as it has been called, or Erastianism, to use the word by which the same principle has been known in modern history, was the logical result of the position of the Church as a State institution.

(1958, vol.2, pp,392f)

The incompleteness of control of the Ostrogoths, “was still far from certain,” even by 550 AD.

It is impossible to say whether Justinian in the early years of his reign had formed any definite plan for reconquering Spain, but we may be sure that it was one of his ambitions, and that if the fall of Witigis had led immediately to the recovery of Italy, he would have sought a prize for carrying his victorious arms against the Visigoths. But before he had completed the subjugation of the Ostrogoths he was invited to intervene in Spain, and, although the issue of the Italian war was still far from certain, he did not hesitate to take advantage of the occasion.

In this struggle Athanagild sought the support of the Emperor, and the Emperor sent a fleet to the southern coasts of Spain. The commander of this expedition was the octogenarian patrician Liberius, who, it will be remembered, had set out to defend Sicily against Totila, and had hardly reached the island before a more experienced general was sent to take his place. As he appears not to have returned to Constantinople till late in A.D.551, it is probable that he received commands to sail directly to Spain with the troops who had accompanied him to Sicily, in A.D.550, for the date of his expedition cannot have been later than in this year. As the armament must have been small, it achieved a remarkable success. Many maritime cities and forts were captured. They were captured professedly in the interests of Athanagild, but when Athanagild's cause had triumphed, the Imperialists refused to hand them over and the Visigoths were unable to expel them. Athanagild recovered a few places, but Liberius had established an Imperial province in Baetica which was to remain under the rule of Constantinople for about seventy years. There can be no doubt that this change of government was welcomed by the Spanish-Roman population. ([online](#), chapter 20, pp.286f)

Writing of events after the fall of Ravenna to Belisarius in Spring, A.D. 540, Bury says:

The power of the Ostrogoths was not yet broken. They were to regain much that had been lost, under a new warrior king to wage a war which was well-nigh fatal to the ambitions of Justinian. (1958, chapter 18, p.216)

If Belisarius had not been recalled, he would probably have completed the conquest of the peninsula within a few months. This, which would have been the best solution, was defeated by the jealousy of Justinian; and the peace proposed by the Emperor, which was the next best course, was defeated by the disobedience of his general. Between them they bear the responsibility of inflicting upon Italy twelve more years of war.

The greater blame must be attached to Justinian. He had indeed every reason to be displeased with the behaviour of Belisarius, but the plainest common sense dictated that, if he could no longer trust Belisarius, he should replace him by another commander-in-chief. Of the generals who remained in Italy the most distinguished was John, the nephew of Vitalian. But instead of appointing him or another to the supreme command, the Emperor allowed the generals to exercise co-equal and independent authority each over his own troops. In consequence of this unwise policy there was no effective co-operation; each commander thought only of his own interests. They plundered the Italians, and allowed the soldiers to follow their example, so that discipline was undermined. In a few months so many blunders were committed that the work accomplished by Belisarius in five arduous years was almost undone, the Goths had to be conquered over again, and it took twelve years to do it. (p.227)

In the meantime the generals of Justinian were making no efforts to stem the tide of Gothic success. They plundered the Italians and spent their time in riotous living. Then Constantian wrote to the Emperor, stating bluntly that it was impossible to cope with the enemy. These messages did not arouse Justinian to action till they were reinforced by news of Totila's next movements.

Totila felt that he was now in a position to attack Rome itself. He began his operations by writing a letter to the Senate, in which he contrasted Gothic with "Greek" rule and attempted to show that it was the interest of the Italians that the old régime of the days of Theoderic and Amalasuntha should be restored. The letter was conveyed to Rome by Italian prisoners, but John, who was in command of the garrison, forbade the senators to reply. Totila then contrived that a number of placards, announcing that he bound himself by the most solemn oaths not to harm the Romans, should be smuggled into Rome and posted up, John suspected that the Arian clergy were his agents and expelled them all from the city.

Totila then sent part of his army to besiege Otranto, and with the rest advanced upon Rome (spring, A.D. 544). Thereupon Justinian at last decided to recall Belisarius from Persia and send him to Italy to assume the supreme command, as the only means of retrieving the situation. (pp.233f)

Belisarius saw that the Imperial cause in Italy was lost unless he received powerful reinforcements and money to pay them. In the early summer of A.D. 545 he wrote to the Emperor setting forth the difficulties of the war. "I arrived in Italy without men, horses, arms, or money. The provinces cannot supply me with revenue, for they are occupied by the enemy; and the numbers of our troops have been reduced by large desertions to the Goths. No general could succeed in these circumstances. Send me my own armed retainers and a host of Huns and other barbarians, and send me money." With a letter to this effect, he sent John to Constantinople under a solemn pledge that he would return

immediately. But John, instead of pressing the urgent needs of his commander, delayed in the capital and advanced his own fortunes by marrying the daughter of Germanus, the Emperor's cousin.

It was probably late in the year that John came at last with a new army. Belisarius had gone over to Dyrrhachium to await his arrival and had sent another importunate message to the Emperor. Isaac the Armenian accompanied John, and the Emperor had sent Narses to the land of the Heruls to secure a host of those barbarians to take part in the operations of the following spring.

Totila, in the meantime, had been taking town after town in Picenum and Tuscany. Fermo and Ascoli, Spoleto and Assisi, were compelled to capitulate. He offered large bribes to Cyprian to surrender Perusia, and, finding him incorruptible, suborned one of his retainers to assassinate him. But the foul murder did not effect its purpose, as the garrison remained loyal to the Emperor. The Goths had now secured effective command of the Flaminian Way, and it was impossible for Imperial troops to march from Ravenna overland to the relief of Rome. The only place which the Imperialists still held in the Aemilian province was Placentia, an important fortress, because here the Aemilian Way crossed the Po. Totila presently sent an army against it, and captured it at the end of a year, when the inhabitants were so pressed by hunger that they were driven to cannibalism (May A.D. 545 to May 546). (pp.235f)

In the summer after the departure of Belisarius, the king of the Goths appeared for the third time before the walls of Rome. He was determined to capture it, but he had abandoned all those thoughts of destroying it which had moved him when he first laid siege to it. He had laid to heart the letter of the Imperial general, which other opinions had perhaps reinforced; he had come to realise — as Theoderic and Alaric had realised — the meaning of Rome.

The garrison was valiant, and the commander Diogenes had made provident preparations for an eventual siege. As there was only a small population now, besides the garrison, there were large areas of waste land in the city, and these were sown with grain. When repeated attempts of the Goths to storm the walls were foiled by the valour of the soldiers, Totila resigned himself to the prospect of a long blockade. It was uncertain whether relief forces would arrive from the East under a new commander-in-chief, but as he had captured Portus, he was in a much more favourable position for conducting a blockade than he had been three years before.

The blockade lasted a long time, but the city fell into his hands at last. The circumstances of the previous capture were repeated. Isaurian treachery again delivered Rome to the Goth. Some Isaurian soldiers, who were keeping watch in the south of the city at the Porta Ostiensis — which was already known by its modern designation from the Church of the Apostle Paul — discontented because they had received no pay for years, and remembering the large rewards which Totila had bestowed on their fellow-countrymen, offered to open the gate. On a pre-arranged night, two barques were launched in the Tiber, probably to the north of the Porta Flaminia. They were rowed down as close to the city as possible, and then trumpeters who had been embarked in them sounded a loud blast. The alarm was given, and all sections of the garrison rushed to the defence of the walls in the threatened quarter, in the north-west. Meanwhile the Gothic army had been quietly assembled in front of the gate of St.Paul; the Isaurians unlocked it, and the army marched in (January 16, A.D.550). (pp.249ff).

Fortune had steadily favoured the Goths for the last four years. In A.D.547 the Imperialists held in central Italy Ravenna, Ancona, and Ariminum, Spoletium and Perusia, Rome itself with Portus, Centumcellae; in the south Otranto, Taranto, the province of Bruttii, and Sicily. In A.D. 551 the only important places they held on the

mainland were Ravenna, Ancona, Otranto, and Croton, while in Sicily they had lost four strongholds; and Totila, on returning from Sicily, had sent an army to besiege Ancona. This tide of success was now about to turn. (p.256)

Totila realised that a supreme effort was now to be made to destroy the Ostrogothic power in Italy. The appointment of Narses was hardly less significant than the appointment of Germanus. (p.258)

And concerning the final battle at Mons Lactarius, between Narses and the Goths, Bury reports:

Teïas broke up his camp and retreated to the shelter of the mountain which overlooks the valley. This mountain, belonging to the St. Angelo range, was known as Mons Lactarius and still retains the name as Monte Lettere. On the slope of this hill the Goths were safe from attack, which the nature of the ground would have rendered too dangerous an enterprise, but they found themselves worse off for food, and they soon repented their change of ground. At length they resolved to make a surprise attack upon their foes. It was their only chance.

The Goths had left their horses behind and advanced as a solid mass of infantry. The Romans received them in the same formation. In the battle there was no room for tactic, it was a sheer trial of personal strength, bravery, and skill. The Gothic king, a few warriors by his side, led the assault, and, the Romans recognising him and thinking that if he fell his followers who were formed in a very deep phalanx would not continue the contest, he became the mark for their most dexterous lancers and javelin-throwers. It was a Homeric combat, and the historian has described it vividly. Teïas stood covered by his shield, which received the spears that were hurled or thrust at him, and then suddenly attacking laid many of his assailants low. When he saw that the shield was full of spears he gave it to one of his squires, who handed him another. He is said to have fought thus for a third part of the day, then his strength failed. There were twelve spears sticking in his shield, and he found he could not move it as easily as he would. Without retreating a foot or moving to right or left, smiting his foes with his right hand, he called the name of a squire. A new shield was brought, but in the instant in which he was exchanging it for the old his chest was exposed, and a lucky javelin wounded him mortally.

The head of the fallen hero was at once severed from his body and raised aloft on a pole that all his host might know that he had fallen. But the expectation of the Romans that their enemies would abandon the struggle was not fulfilled. The Goths did not flee like fawns, nor lay down their arms. They were animated by a spirit of desperation, and in a very different temper from that which they had displayed in the last battle of Totila. They fought on till nightfall, and on the next day the fray was resumed, and again lasted till the evening. Then, seeing that they could not win and recognising that God was against them, they sent some of their leaders to Narses that they would yield, not, however, to live in subjection to the Emperor, but to retire somewhere outside the Roman frontiers where they could live independently. They asked to be allowed to retire in peace, and to take with them any money or belongings that they had individually deposited in Italian fortresses.

On the advice of John, who made a strong plea for moderation, these conditions were accepted, on the undertaking of the Goths that they would not again make war on the Empire. (pp.273ff).

The shields of Teïas had not availed to avert the doom of his people. He was their last king. The kingdom of the Ostrogoths went down on the hard-fought field under Mount Lactarius. But there was still fighting to be done. The great defeat did not lead to the

immediate surrender of the strongholds which were still held by Gothic garrisons. There was Cumae, there was Centumcellae, there were a number of towns in Tuscany, and there was North Italy beyond the Po. Narses had still much strenuous military work before him. He might have hoped to complete the reduction of the land by the following summer, but his plans were disconcerted by the appearance of a new and more barbarous enemy upon the scene. (p.275)

Bury could say in 555 A.D. concerning Narses' campaign to bring submission to the entire peninsula:

All Italy south of the Po was now restored to the Imperial authority. Of the subjugation of the Transpadane provinces, where Goths and Franks were still in possession, we have no record. It was a slow business, and Verona and Brixia were not recovered till A.D. 562. In November of that year Narses sent the keys of their gates to Justinian. (p.281)

One has to be ignorant of Bury's account to assert that the Ostrogoth's were either annihilated or that their power was "significantly broken" in 538 A.D. One cannot make that assertion and expect to be respected as a history student of any credible calibre.

Catholic Encyclopedia's view on Justinian I's religious program:

The Catholic cannot applaud the great emperor's ecclesiastical polity, though in this, too, we recognize the statesman's effort to promote peace and union within the empire. It was a matter of course that this union was to be that of the "most holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God" (5 c., De s. tr., I, 1). The Corpus Juris is full of laws against paganism (apostasy was punished by death, 10 c., "De pag.", I, 11), Jews, Samaritans (who began a dangerous revolt in 529), Manichaeans, and other heretics. The decrees of the four general councils were incorporated in the civil law. There was no toleration of dissent. True to the ideal of Constantinople, the emperor conceived himself as "priest and king", supreme head on earth in matters ecclesiastical as well as in the State. He filled his codex with canon law and assumed the most outspoken Erastianism as the law of the empire. And all through his reign he fell foul of the authority of the Church by his attempts to conciliate the Monophysites. Ever since Chalcedon (451) these heretics filled Syria and Egypt, and were a constant source of disunion and trouble to the empire. Justinian was one of the many emperors who tried to reconcile them by concessions. His wife Theodora was a secret Monophysite; influenced by her, the emperor, while maintaining Chalcedon, tried to satisfy the heretics by various compromises. First came the Theopaschite question. Peter Fullo of Antioch had introduced into the Trisagion the clause: "Who didst suffer for us". Pope Hormisdas (514-23) refused to admit it, as savoring of Monophysitism. But Justinian approved it and promoted a Monophysite, Anthimus I (536), to the See of Constantinople. Then followed the great quarrel of the Three Chapters, the lamentable attitude of Pope Vigilius (540-55), and the Second Council of Constantinople (553). In all this story Justinian appears as a persecutor of the Church, and takes his place, unhappily, among the semi-Monophysite tyrants who caused the long series of quarrels and schisms that were the after-effect of Monophysitism. His ecclesiastical tyranny is the one regrettable side of the character of so great a man. (Article, [Justinian I](#))

Third Task: Finding something credible in 538 A.D. – Start of the Period.

The method of developing this assumption is fairly straightforward:

- Firstly, the phrase "the time of the end" in the book of Daniel needs to be explicated;

- Second, the association between the beginning of the time of the end and the “time, times and a dividing of times,” or 3½ times of Dn7 and Dn12 needs to be made.
 - Then it needs to be established that the 3½ times equates to 3½ years;
 - These are then established as 3½ years “prophetic” years using the “year-day principle;”
 - One can then conclude that this equals 1260 calendar years.
- Third, the time when the “little horn’s” power came to an *end* needs to be established;
- When that is determined, then the time when the little horn came to power 1260 years before can be identified;⁵⁶
- Locate an event to suit the dates of the start and the end of the period.
- The ramifications of the historical fulfillment for this prophecy are then invoked. These ramifications include:
 - The end of the history of the world as it now is, and the second coming of Christ could not occur before 1798 AD;
 - The 2300 days could only be fulfilled after 1798.
 - Christ could not have come in the first century AD.

Conditionality is not a characteristic of apocalyptic prophecy.

Froom’s sources for the 538-1798 paradigm.

In volume III of his momentous work *Prophetic Faith of our Fathers*, he devotes a whole chapter to this topic. Chapter 35 is entitled, “End of Period Recognized and Proclaimed,” and says, “King is perhaps the most explicit of all expositors of prophecy in recognition of the momentous ending of the 1260 years, which he declares had just terminated.” (1948, p.765) When Froom comes to documenting the literature supporting

⁵⁶ Maxwell confirms that the calculation for this time period was done in reverse by historicist commentators at the end of the eighteenth century: “Assuming that the 1260 days would end with the second coming of Christ and hoping that Jesus would come back very soon, most commentators tended to start the 1260 days with some significant event in early church history that fitted an ending date not very far future to their own times, when they hoped Jesus would return.

“A dramatic shift took place with the arrival of the epochal French Revolution (1798-1799) and the exiling of Pope Pius VI by the French in 1798. Commentators suddenly perceived that the end of the 1260 year-days was not the second coming of Christ and was no longer future. It was now! It had already occurred. The 1260 days had come to an end.

“George Bell, Edward King, William Cunninghame, Charles Maitland, Alexander Keith, Edward Bickersteth, Edward Irving, George Croly, Matthew Habershon, Joseph Wolff, and many other commentators now came to understand correctly that the 1260 days began early in the reign of the Roman Emperor Justinian (in the 530s) and ended in the era of the French Revolution (in the 1790s). Many chose the dates 538 and 1798. With the arrival of the French Revolution, the time, two times, and half a time” of Daniel 12:7 had run out. Now Daniel’s 1260 days were understood. Knowledge had increased. The “wise” were able to understand. (1985, p.276f.)

From this evidence we can see that the issue over the *start* of the 1260 days was the *last* thing decided. Undoubtedly there were a variety of dates tested until there was some type of match between the date, the event cited and how it was to be aligned with the criteria in the prophecy. It was not a unanimous matter.. The argument that the Millerites chose and carried into the SDA church, happened to be the version that favoured 538 and 1798. The far more common view was that the 1260-year period began in 606 and finished in 1866.

the 538-1798 AD paradigm for the period of the 1260 days, his major sources are Edward King, Dr Richard Valpy, David Simpson, and Francis Wrangham. In reading these sources, one is impressed with the idea that the 538-1798 paradigm was not widely known and endorsed in the historicist camp. Even Froom himself has to admit that one of the sources he quotes extensively from –King’s *Morsels of Criticism* –“made little impression.” (1948, p.765) When it comes to looking at Valpy’s work, Froom can only find *one* sermon on the topic, hardly a major contribution by the author, considering the number of public sermons Valpy would have produced in his career. Froom’s use of Charles Daubeney as support for this view is also misleading, since Daubeney makes no reference to the year 1798 as the marker of the terminus of the 1260 year period. Daubeney’s comments could have been applied to any part of the French Revolution, including those who supported the 1793 terminus.⁵⁷ The other two writers he quotes in this chapter– Christian Gottlob Thube (pp.777f.) and Joseph Galloway (pp.778f.) – make no reference to the calculation regarding the time period; rather their comments could support either the 533-1793 or the 538-1798 paradigm.

So after examining Froom’s sources, he can only muster three writers, and most of these are not major publications, and would not have made many ripples. In contrast, the majority of historicists’ 533-1793 paradigm for the 1260-day period in their publications, which are many. This does not augur well for the 538-1798 paradigm. What we will further show is that the original argumentation proposed by King has been quietly dumped, and another set of arguments replaced by SDA historicists to prop up the beleaguered paradigm. One would think that if the arguments supporting the two termini had collapsed the paradigm would fall into disuse as well. But not so in this case. The resulting paradigm attempts to marry the 533-1793 paradigm with the 538-1798 paradigm in a failed attempt to rescue the original 1798 dating.

We shall look more closely now at these men’s contributions. In examining King’s views, he sees 1798 as the end of the temporal power of the pope and 538 as *the beginning of the pope’s temporal powers*. In King’s comments, there is no reference to the code of Justinian; he does not use the argument regarding the pre-eminence of the pope being legally acknowledged by the emperor as being significant. King’s issue is with the Ostrogothic occupation of Rome. He is trying to develop the argument that the temporal power of the pope began with events occurring in Rome in 538, and we will look at this shortly. But before doing this, we must also comment on Dr. Richard Valpy, another major supporter of the 538-1798 AD paradigm for the 1260-day period. Froom extracts from *one* sermon of Valpy’s on the topic certain “luminous declarations” (*Ibid*, p.771) that basically are a recital of King’s position. Valpy also takes the view, as a self-confessed follower of King’s views, that 538 is the beginning of the temporal powers of the pope, and defends this with arguments virtually identical with King’s. Such is the

⁵⁷ Froom quote from Daubeney: “The Papal power has long been upon the decline. It received an irrecoverable wound at the period of the Protestant Reformation; since which time it has been gradually sinking into an insignificance preparatory to its final extinction. That event has now taken place; an event in which all nations or less concerned. For in the accomplishment of an important prophecy, which respects the progress of Christ’s kingdom upon earth, what nation can be uninterested?”

“We have seen that nation, whose former sovereigns contributed much to the elevation of the Papal throne, now employed as the more immediate instrument in God’s hand, to pull down the idol that has been set up in the Temple.” (Froom, 1948, p.774)

case also of a Francis Wrangham, cited by Froom ([Ibid](#), pp.773f), who, likewise, quotes from King. The only other source Froom can find who specifically refers to the 538-1798 paradigm is David Simpson. ([Ibid](#), pp.775f). The majority of sources cited by Froom on the end of the 1260-day period, do *not* follow this paradigm. Instead, they elect the 533-c.1793 model, starting the period with the decree of Justinian concerning the pre-eminence of the pope, and finishing it with the decree in 1793. King and Valpy *do not support this paradigm*, and they *do not invoke the decree of Justinian* and the associated arguments into their argumentation. This needs to be kept in mind when comparing the reasons why 538-1798 were proposed in the first place, and how the current position of SDA historicists is so different to that proposed initially.

Their argument was over the temporal control of Rome. And to these arguments we now turn. For both King and Valpy it is the pope's occupation of Rome that is the centre of their argument regarding his temporal power. Here are the major points in their argument.

- The beginning of this temporal power occurred in 538 when the Ostrogothic Empire was ousted from Rome, nevermore to have a throne there.
- The only figure of authority in Rome during that year was the pope, and this was the beginning of his rule of Rome.
- Even the Eastern empire did not have a presence in the city in 538.
- The climax of his 1260-year reign of Rome comes in 1798 when he is captured, deposed, and exiled from Rome. This is the end of his temporal power.
- The Pope's re-election and subsequent return to Rome in 1800 is a part of the healing caused by the events in 1798, but it does not negate the fact that the deadly wound was inflicted in 1798.

That is the overview. Now we will examine the material of both King and Valpy provided by Froom to substantiate these points. Then I will show how they are wrong, and then show how the SDA historicist eschews these arguments trying to cover the obvious flaws by developing other quasi-historical arguments in an attempt to retain the dates without the original reasoning. Then finally I will look at Froom's strange amalgam of both views in yet another attempt to smokescreen the errors of these calculations.

King and Valpy's statements regarding 538 from Froom:

I will give Froom's version of King and Valpy's views as he presents them, and then highlight their errors. Wrangham and Simpson held identical views, though Thube did not.

4. 1260 DAYS HAVE ENDED "THIS YEAR," 1798 – Contending that "*Great Babylon*, undoubtedly meant *Rome*; the *Proud City on seven hills*; *so long deemed Mistress of the world*," King refers to the wrath and vengeance being visited upon her, how she is scourged, torn to pieces, and consumed with fire, violence, and anger, and then makes this impressive declaration of the currently accomplished ending of the 1260 years: "Is not the *Papal power*, which was once so terrible, and so domineering, at an end? But let us pause a little. Was not *this* End, in other parts of the Holy Prophecies, foretold to be, *at the END of 1260 years*? – and was it not foretold by Daniel, to be at the END of *a time, times and half a time*? Which computation amounts to the same period And now let us see; - hear; - and understand. **THIS IS THE YEAR 1798.** – And just 1260 years ago, in the very beginning of the year 538, *Belisarius* put an end to an Empire, and dominion of the Goths, at Rome. He entered the City on the 10th of the preceding

December, in triumph, in the name of *Justinian*, Emperor of the East; and had soon after made it tributary to him; leaving thenceforward from A.D. 538, No POWER in Rome, that could be said *to rule over the earth*, - except the ECCLESIASTICAL PONTIFICAL POWER.” [King, *Remarks*, p.18,19]

5. TEMPORARY LOSSES DO NOT AFFECT PROPHECY – Due cognisance is taken of Rome’s later brief recapture, after 538, as without bearing on the prophecy, in these words: “It is true; that after this entry of Belisarius, Rome was twice retaken by *Totila*, and the *Goths*. But instead of setting up any Empire there, he, the first time, carried away *all* the Senate, and drove out all the inhabitants; and the second time, he was himself soon defeated, and killed; and Rome was recovered for *Justinian* by *Narses*. Still however, no Dominion, No *Power ruling over the World*, ever had any seat there, any more, except the *Papal*. [Ibid, p.20]⁵⁸

6. ENDING OF 1260 YEARS ESTABLISHES BEGINNING. – Then comes Kings impressive conclusion, and reasoning, on the historical terminus of the 1260 years, in relation to coming events. “We have reason to apprehend then, that the 1260 years are now completed. – And that we may venture to date the commencement of that period, not as most Commentators have hitherto done, either from Pepin’s giving the Pope Ravenna; or from Charlemagne’s determining, and adjudging the Pope to be God’s vicar on earth; but from the End of the Gothic Power at Rome. Because both those other circumstances were only (like substitute gifts, or acquisitions of territory, and revenue) mere augmentations of splendour, and confirmations of that state of *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*, in which the Papal Power had been left, at Rome by *Belisarius*, on his driving out the *Goths*, and ruining their kingdom. And if these things are so; - then truly that Great City *Babylon is fallen. – is fallen; - is thrown down; and shall be found no more at all*. And nothing remains, but for us to wait, with awful apprehensions, for the End. Even for the completion of the further closing events, which are, in the emblematical language, of Holy Prophecy, described as being at hand. [Ibid, pp. 20,21]

9. 1260-YEAR ENDING NOT NULLIFIED BY NEW POPE’S ELECTION. – In footnotes to the 1800 edition of *Morsels of Criticism*, King takes particular note of the re-election of a pope in 1800, with these words: “Another Pope has indeed been elected at Venice in this year 1800; - but without any possession of Rome; or of its territories; - without the Ecclesiastical Revenue; - without Dominion; - without Power; - a Shadow, and not a Substance; - and with regard to any continuance of *Papal Dominion at Rome*, - a flighter, and more feeble continuance of the appearance of *Roman Papal Power*, than ever Augustulus was of the continuance of the Power of the *Western Roman Emperors*. Unless therefore the Pope be restored to his Territorial Possessions, and Dominion, and Residence in *Rome*; there is an end of *Roman Pontifical Greatness*; and the 1260 days are ended, which were named, in Holy Prophecy, for the continuance of the usurped *Ecclesiastical Empire of the City on seven hills*, and of the *little horn* of the furious emblematical Monster. [King, *Morsels*, vol. 3, p. 353, note]

⁵⁸ if the temporary loss of the control of Rome by Justinian to Totila does not compute to such in the view of King, then the same argument can be levelled against the temporary loss of control of Rome by Pius VI in 1798. He cannot have the argument both ways.

Either the temporary loss to the Goths is counted which would date the start of the 1260 years around 552, and the temporary loss of temporal power by the pope is recognized but the 1260 years would not finished until 1812 OR the temporary loss to the Goths is not counted which would date the start of the 1260 years at 538 (at least with his argument), and the temporary loss of temporal power by the pope in 1798 is not counted and the 1260 years does not end with that event. King provides no evidence as to why the later events with the Goths have no bearing on the prophecy at all. He just asserts the issue and moves on. The issue was not setting up an empire, but the Plucking out of the Goths. This was not done. King has lost his way in his own arguments here. The Goths had to be eliminated for them to qualify as being “plucked out.”

II. Valpy Proclaims 1798 in Sermon to Reading Association

RICHARD VALPY, D.D., F.S.A., MRSL (1754-1836), noted schoolmaster, was rector of Stradishall in Suffolk and chaplain of the Reading Association. Trained at Pembroke College, Oxford, from which he received the B.A., M.A., B.D., and D.D. degrees between 1776 and 1792, he was also a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He became headmaster of Reading School in 1781, retaining connection with it for fifty years, and bringing it to enviable scholastic heights. In 1787 Valpy was collated with the rectory at Stradishall. He published both a Greek and a Latin grammar in 1809. Twice refusing a bishopric, he retired from active schoolwork in 1830.

In a Sermon based on Matthew 24:44 (“Be ye also ready”), preached August 13, 1798, before the Reading and Henley Associations, the Woodley Cavalry, and the Reading Volunteers, at the consecration of the colors, Valpy expounded the momentous events of the spring at Rome as fulfillment of the close of the prophetic period of the 1260 years. The sermon was “printed at the request of the Corps, before which it was preached.”

1. END OF 1260 YEARS FIXED FOR 1798. – Declaring that “God has never left Himself without witness,” and that “history is indeed but a record of the completion of prophecy,” Valpy comments on the “present awful events” that involve the world, and the “disastrous revolution, which have plunged Europe into blood.” He declares, “The hand of God is filling up, by instruments of the most fearful execution, the great outline, which he had traced before by his Prophets and his Apostles.” Then comes the luminous declaration: “Among the Prophecies, which must have excited your attention, are those, which relate to the present state of Rome. If with all Protestant Commentators, we understand the Roman Pontiff to be represented under the figurative emblems of Daniel, and the Author of the Revelations, and by the still clearer description of St. Paul, we must be struck with the completion of the prophecy. Daniel and St. John mention the period of 1260 years from the establishment to the extinction of that government. In the year 538, the empire of the Goths was abolished in Rome, and from that time the Pontifical power advanced with rapid strides, until it became, by its influence and its authority, the most extensive dominion in Europe. If this epoch be admitted, the period mentioned by Prophets fixes the destruction of the Pontifical authority to the present year, in which the Pope has been forced to fly from Rome by the arms of France.” [Richard Valpy, *Sermons Preached on Public Occasions*, vol. 1, pp. 146, 147]

2. BEGAN WITH GOTHIC EXPULSION AND PAPAL ELEVATION. – In added notes, in the published sermon, Valpy adds: “In the year 538, the Goths were driven from Rome, and at that time the aspiring Vigilius, by his secret intrigues with the artful Theodora, was promoted to the Pontifical dignity, which he purchased with 200 pounds of gold: an unequivocal proof of the character of a man of sin. During the Pontificate of Vigilius, the pretensions of the successors of St. Peter to a general superiority began to be openly asserted; and shortly after, their supremacy was publicly acknowledged. It was at this time that the Pope assumed the title of Vicegerent of Jesus Christ.... Now too celibacy was more generally enjoined. The use of Holy Water was first publicly recommended by Vigilius in 538.” [*Ibid*, p.258]⁵⁹

⁵⁹ This note on Holy Water is mere twaddle. It is sensationalism. The Catholic Encyclopedia, having no axe to grind over in what century it began, cites evidence to indicate holy water was in use in the *third* century, and there is probable evidence to indicate that it was used even earlier than that. (See the article on Holy Water under “H”) Celibacy more generally encouraged at this time? The Catholic Encyclopedia, under the article “Celibacy of the Clergy” says that “in this respect the law, in the Eastern Churches, was drawn gradually tighter.... whether through imperial influence or not the Council of Trullo, in 692, finally adopted a somewhat stricter view. Celibacy in a bishop became a matter of precept. If he

3. EXPULSION OF POPE DRAWS ATTENTION TO PROPHECY. – Valpy then traces the growth of papal power and the growing acquisitions of “strength and of territory.” He discounts the temporary exiles occasionally suffered by the pontiffs, and mentions Bishop Newton’s observation that we must see the conclusion before we can precisely ascertain the beginning of this notable period. Then he adds, “If we have now witnessed the fall of the Pope’s temporal dominion, it cannot be an unprofitable task to endeavour to trace its origins. Valpy then remarks significantly that “on the expulsion of the Pope from Rome, the attention of many contemplative persons was turned to the prophecies relating to that power.” [*Ibid*, p. 262]⁶⁰

4. INCREASE OF KNOWLEDGE IS OF PROPHECIES. – In the same notes “On the Prophecies Relating to the Fall of Rome,” he says: “It is not therefore a subject of wonder that *many should run to and fro* in tracing these events to the designs of the Almighty declared in Prophecy; for thus *knowledge shall be increased*; and thus we may *prepare to meet our God*.” [*Ibid*, p. 254] Valpy quotes from leading expositors, such as Newton, Faber, Woodhouse, and Kett, who had shed light on prophecy. He especially mentions King – “of extensive erudition and ingenuity, and of accurate Biblical knowledge” – who, he notes, likewise begins the 1260 years in 538, and so ends them in 1798. (Froom, 1948, pp.765-772)

First Argument: The beginning of this temporal power occurred in 538 when the Ostrogothic Empire was ousted from Rome, nevermore to have a throne there.

King:

“And just 1260 years ago, in the very beginning of the year 538, *Belisarius* put an end to an Empire, and dominion of the Goths, at Rome.”

“We have reason to apprehend then, that the 1260 years are now completed. – And that we may venture to date the commencement of that period, not as most Commentators have hitherto done, either from Pepin’s giving the Pope Ravenna; or from Charlemagne’s determining, and adjudging the Pope to be God’s vicar on earth; **but from the End of the Gothic Power at Rome.**”

were previously married, he had at once to separate from his wife upon consecration. On the other hand, this council, while forbidding priests, deacons, and subdeacons to take a wife after ordination, asserts in emphatic terms their right and duty to continue in conjugal relations with the wife to whom they had been wedded previously.

“In Latin Christendom, however everything was ripe for a stricter law....At a Roman council held by Pope Siricius, in 386 an edict enacted was passed forbidding priests and deacons to have conjugal intercourse with their wives, ...and the pope took steps to have the decree enforced in Spain and other parts of Christendom...it may fairly be said that by the time of Leo the Great [440-461] the law of Celibacy was generally recognized in the West.”

As we see again, the facts are entirely different to the assertions of Valpy. The matter had been settled more than a century before in Latin Christendom.

Superiority? It was not a pretension of superiority. Church councils documented for centuries before this that the bishop of Rome was first above the other patriarchs of the church, and had the final say on matters of faith. See the Catholic Encyclopedia article on “Patriarch and Patriarchy.”

The title “Viceregent of Jesus Christ” first used when?

⁶⁰ Valpy has defeated the purpose of his quest here because he says he seeks the *beginning of the temporal power of the bishop of Rome in the times of Justinian*. Yet this is not what is asserted by historicists with the code of Justinian, but rather the pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome over all over bishops in Christendom. One cannot establish the beginning of the temporal power of the pope with a legal code that recognises merely his Pre-eminence over other patriarchs.

“Because both those other circumstances were only (like substitute gifts, or acquisitions of territory, and revenue) mere augmentations of splendour, and confirmations of that state of *Ecclesiastical Supremacy, in which the Papal Power had been left, at Rome by Belisarius, on his driving out the Goths, and ruining their kingdom.*”

Valpy:

“In the year 538, the empire of the Goths was abolished in Rome, and from that time the Pontifical power advanced with rapid strides, until it became, by its influence and its authority, the most extensive dominion in Europe.”

Simpson:

“Is it not extremely remarkable, and a powerful confirmation of the truth of *Scripture prophecy*, that just 1260 years ago from the present 1798, in the very beginning of the year 538, Belisarius **put an end to the empire of the Goths at Rome**, leaving no power therein but the *Bishop of that Metropolis?*” (quoted by [Froom, 1948](#), p.776)

Second Argument: That the only figure of authority in Rome during that year was the pope, and this was the beginning of his rule of Rome, since there was no other seat of power in the city from then on.

King:

“Because both those other circumstances [Pepin’s donation or Charlemagne’s declaration that the pope was Gods’ vicar on earth] were only (like substitute gifts, or acquisitions of territory, and revenue) mere augmentations of splendour, and confirmations of **that state of Ecclesiastical Supremacy, in which the Papal Power had been left, at Rome by Belisarius, on his driving out the Goths, and ruining their kingdom.**”

“Due cognisance is taken of Rome’s later brief recapture, after 538, as without bearing on the prophecy, in these words: “It is true; that after this entry of Belisarius, Rome was twice retaken by *Totila*, and the *Goths*. But instead of setting up any Empire there, he, the first time, **carried away all the Senate, and drove out all the inhabitants**; and the second time, he was himself soon defeated, and killed; and Rome was recovered for *Justinian* by *Narses*. **Still however, no Dominion, No Power ruling over the World, ever had any seat there, any more, except the Papal.** [*Ibid*,p.20]”

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“Is it not extremely remarkable, and a powerful confirmation of the truth of *Scripture prophecy*, that just 1260 years ago from the present 1798, in the very beginning of the year 538, Belisarius **put an end to the empire of the Goths at Rome, leaving no power therein but the Bishop of that Metropolis?**” (quoted by [Froom, 1948](#), p.776)

Third Argument: That even the Eastern empire did not have a presence in the city after 538.

King:

“And just 1260 years ago, in the very beginning of the year 538, *Belisarius* put an end to an Empire, and dominion of the Goths, at Rome. He entered the City on the 10th of the preceding December, in triumph, in the name of *Justinian*, Emperor of the East; and had soon after made it tributary to him; leaving thenceforward from A.D. 538. No POWER in Rome, that could be said to rule over the earth, - except the ECCLESIASTICAL PONTIFICAL POWER”

“Due cognisance is taken of Rome’s later brief recapture, after 538, as without bearing on the prophecy, in these words: “It is true; that after this entry of *Belisarius*, Rome was twice retaken by *Totila*, and the *Goths*. But instead of setting up any Empire there, he, the first time, carried away *all* the Senate, and drove out all the inhabitants; and the second time, he was himself soon defeated, and killed; and Rome was recovered for *Justinian* by *Narses*. Still however, no Dominion, No Power ruling over the World, ever had any seat there, any more, except the *Papal*. [*Ibid*,p.20]”

“Because both those other circumstances were only (like substitute gifts, or acquisitions of territory, and revenue) mere augmentations of splendour, and confirmations of that state of *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*, in which the Papal Power had been left, at Rome by *Belisarius*, on his driving out the Goths, and ruining their kingdom.”

Fourth Argument: that the subsequent recapture of Rome does not invalidate the 538 AD start of the 1260-day period.

King:

“Due cognisance is taken of Rome’s later brief recapture, after 538, as without bearing on the prophecy, in these words: “It is true; that after this entry of *Belisarius*, Rome was twice retaken by *Totila*, and the *Goths*. But instead of setting up any Empire there, he, the first time, carried away *all* the Senate, and drove out all the inhabitants; and the second time, he was himself soon defeated, and killed; and Rome was recovered for *Justinian* by *Narses*. Still however, no Dominion, No Power ruling over the World, ever had any seat there, any more, except the *Papal*.”

Fifth Argument: That the climax of his 1260-year reign of Rome comes in 1798 when he is captured, deposed, and exiled from Rome. This is the end of his temporal power.

King:

““Is not the *Papal* power, which was once so terrible, and so domineering, at an end? But let us pause a little. Was not *this* End, in other parts of the Holy Prophecies, foretold to be, at the END of 1260 years? – and was it not foretold by Daniel, to be at the END of a time, times and half a time?”

Valpy:

“If this epoch be admitted, the period mentioned by Prophets fixes the destruction of the Pontifical authority to the present year, in which the Pope has been forced to fly from Rome by the arms of France.”

Sixth Argument: that the Pope’s re-election and subsequent return to Rome in 1800 is a part of the healing caused by the events in 1798, but it does not negate the fact that the deadly wound was inflicted in 1798.

King:

“King takes particular note of the re-election of a pope in 1800, with these words: “Another Pope has indeed been elected at Venice in this year 1800; - but without any possession of Rome; or of its territories; - without the Ecclesiastical Revenue; - without Dominion; - without Power; - a Shadow, and not a Substance; - and with regard to any continuance of *Papal Dominion at Rome*, - a flighter, and more feeble continuance of the appearance of *Roman Papal Power*, than ever Augustulus was of the continuance of the Power of the *Western Roman Emperours*. Unless therefore the Pope be restored to his Territorial Possessions, and Dominion, and Residence in *Rome*; there is an end of *Roman Pontifical Greatness*; and the 1260 days are ended, which were named, in Holy Prophecy, for the continuance of the usurped *Ecclesiastical Empire* of the *City on seven hills*, and of the *little horn* of the furious emblematical Monster. [King, *Morsels*, vol. 3, p. 353, note]

Of course, history shows us that the 1801 Concordat, negotiated between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII, negated the intrusion made by the invasion of Rome by republicans and restored the papal territories, with the exception of those lost under the Treaty of Tolentino.⁶¹ So, contra King, Napoleon restored Pius VII to his former “Pontifical Greatness.” It was only Pius VII’s stubbornness in refusing to cease mixing political matters and spiritual matters that forced Napoleon’s hand to strip the pope of his temporal power again before the end of that decade.

King And Valpy’s Reasoning is Discarded, though the date kept.

The following points are extremely important to understand, in order to see how the ground of argumentation shifted between when King proposed the ideas and the arguments of SDA pioneers.⁶²

- King proposed that the events in 538 left Rome without a ruler except the Pope.
- No other monarch used Rome as the capital for his rule.
- Rome became a seat of power for the pope until 1798 when the Republican Government took power from the pope and exiled him.

One must ask the question, what is wrong with this position of King, Valpy, Simpson etc? Why are these line of arguments not pursued today by historicists?

These are the following points that defeat their argumentation:

- A leader does not have to live in a certain place to be conqueror of it. The fact that the Goths had their seat of Power at Ravenna, does not mean they did not rule Rome; anymore than the Eastern emperors’ exarchs who also controlled Rome from Ravenna.

⁶¹ “In 1798, under the rule of the French *Directoire*, French forces invaded the Papal States and established a new *Roman Republic*, partly in revenge for the murder of French general Duphot the previous year. Pope Pius VI was exiled to France and died there in 1799. However, this Roman Republic was short-lived, as the Papal States were restored in June of 1800.” (Article, “Roman Republic (18th Century), www.nationmaster.com)

⁶² An interesting doctoral study might examine the process of change from King’s explanation of the termini of the 1260-days, to that of Smith and others in the fledgling SDA church. Who were the writers who revised King’s view? What was their argumentation against King’s position? Who first suggested the amalgam of both the 533-1793 paradigm and the 538-1798 paradigm? How did they justify such the concept that the decree of Justinian could not be enforced until the Ostrogoths were out of Rome? Certainly, from Froom’s mention of the insertion of King’s view in an 1843 edition of the *Signs of the Times and Expositor of Prophecy*, which was quoted verbatim “in two full columns,” the arguments of King’s were still intact at that time. (see [Froom, 1948](#), p.769)

- A temporal power indicates a sovereignty, and freedom from paying taxes or tribute to any other sovereign power. The pope paid annual taxes to the emperor at Constantinople for centuries after 538 until the donation of Pepin. The history after 538 shows that the pope was indeed totally subservient to the eastern emperor. This was the lowest point in the history of the papacy.
- King confuses *ecclesiastical supremacy* with *temporal power*. He looks in 538 for the start of temporal power, which ceased in 1798, yet he refers to *ecclesiastical supremacy*! Of course the bishop of Rome had ecclesiastical supremacy in Rome. It was a Christian city, and he was the Christian leader. Imperial legislation enforced Christian religion as the state religion. To expect any competition to Christianity in Rome at this point in history is ludicrous. But ecclesiastical supremacy had no temporal power associated with it any more than the ordinary holdings of the church. What is crucial in his search should be *temporal power*, not ecclesiastical power. There is no evidence that the temporal power of the papacy began in 538 when the Goths were expelled.

The majority of Historicists' adopt the 533-1793 paradigm.

The following chart documents the views of many writers through the centuries in regard to the termini of the 1260-days. Out of a total of ____ views expressed here, a total number of ____ or ____% support the 533-c.1793 paradigm, as opposed to the ____ or ____% who support the 538-1798 paradigm. These details are lifted straight from the tables made up by Froom.⁶³

SDA Church tries to save face with an amalgam of paradigms, supported by neither group.

Early Adventis writers tended to take Kings and Valpy's view on the definition of the events that transpired in 538. For instance:

Ellen White (1950):

In the sixth century the papacy had become firmly established. Its seat of power was fixed in the imperial city, and the bishop of Rome was declared to be the head over the entire church. Paganism had given place to the papacy. The dragon had given to the beast "his power, and his seat, and great authority." Revelation 13:2. ... And now began the 1260 years of papal oppression foretold in the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation. Daniel 7: 25; Revelation 13: 5-7. (p.54)

Bible Readings For the Home Circle (1951):

The decree of the emperor Justinian, issued in A.D. 533, recognized the pope as "the head of all the holy churches." (Justinian's Code, book 1, title 1, sec. 4, in *The Civil Law*, translated by S.P. Scott, Vol.12, p.12) The overwhelming defeat of the Ostrogoths in the siege of Rome, five years later, A.D. 538, was a death blow to the independence of the Arian power then ruling Italy, and was therefore a notable date in the development of papal supremacy. With the year 538, then, commences the twelve hundred and sixty years of this prophecy, which would extend to the year 1798. The year 1793 was the year the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution, and the year when the Roman Catholic religion was set aside in France and the worship of reason was established in its stead.

⁶³ *Prophetic Faith of our Fathers*, Volume I, pp.456-459; Volume II, pp.894-897; Volume III, pp.252-253.

As a direct result of the revolt against papal authority in the French Revolution, the French Army, under Berthier, entered Rome, and the pope was taken prisoner in February, 1798, dying in exile at Valence, France, the following year. This year, 1798, during which this death stroke was inflicted upon the papacy, fittingly and clearly marks the close of the long period of prophetic period mentioned in this prophecy. (pp.184f)

Smith (1944) argues here that it was the subservience of the pope to the Arian king that was the issue, and with the ousting of the Ostrogothic empire in 538 from Rome, the pope was no longer under any servitude, nor was the election of the pope supervised, since that law of Odoacer no longer was applicable:

The relation which these Arian kings sustained to the pope is shown in the following testimony from Mosheim in his church history: "On the other hand, it is certain, from a variety of the most authentic records, that both the emperors and the nations in general were far from being disposed to bear with patience the yoke of servitude which the see of Rome was arrogantly imposing upon the Christian church. The Gothic princes set bounds to the power of the bishop of Rome in Italy, permitted none to be raised to the pontificate without their approbation, and reserved to themselves the right of judging concerning the legality of every new election." [Smith footnotes: "John L. Mosheim, *An Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern*, Vol.I, pp.113,114"]

"An instance in proof of this statement occurs in the history of Odoacer, the first Arian king above mentioned. When on the death of Pope Simplicus, A.D. 483, the clergy and people had assembled for the election of a new pope, suddenly Basilus, Lieutenant of King Odoacer, appeared in the assembly, expressed his surprise that any such work as appointing a successor to the deceased pope should be undertaken without him, in the name of the king declared that all that had been done null and void, and ordered the election to be begun anew..."

Meanwhile, Zeno, the emperor of the East, and friend of the pope, was anxious to drive Odoacer out of Italy, a movement which he soon had the satisfaction of seeing accomplished without trouble to himself....Accordingly, after a five years' war, the Herulian kingdom in Italy was overthrown, Odoacer was treacherously slain, and Theodoric established his Ostrogoths in the Italian peninsula. As already stated, he was an Arian, and the law of Odoacer, subjecting the election of the pope to the approval of the king, was still retained.

The following incident will show how completely the papacy was in subjection to his power. The Catholics in the East having begun a persecution against the Arians, A.D. 523, Theodoric summoned Pope John into his presence and thus addressed him: " ' If the emperor [Justin, the predecessor of Justinian] therefore does not think fit to revoke the edict which he has lately issued against those of my persuasion [that is, the Arians], it is my firm resolution to issue the like edict against those of his [that is, the Catholics]; and to see it everywhere executed with the same rigor. Those who do not profess the faith of Nice, are heretics to him, and those who do are heretics to me. Whatever can excuse or justify his severity to the former, will excuse and justify mine to the latter. But the emperor,' continued the king, 'has none about him who dare freely and openly speak what they think, or to whom he would hearken if they did. But the *great veneration which he professes for your See*, leaves no room to doubt but he would hearken to you. I will therefore have you to repair forthwith to Constantinople, and there to remonstrate, both in my name and your own, against the violent measures in which that court has so rashly engaged. It is in your power to divert the emperor from them; and till you have, nay, till the Catholics [this name Theodoric applies to the Arians] are restored to the free exercise of their religion, and to all the churches from which they have been driven, you

must not think of returning to Italy.” [Smith footnotes: “*Ibid* [Archibald Bower, *The History of the Popes*], Vol.I, p.325”]

The pope who was thus peremptorily ordered by the Arian emperor not to set his foot again upon Italian soil until he had carried out the will of the king, certainly could not hope for much advancement toward any kind of supremacy until that power was taken out of the way.

While the Catholics were thus feeling the restraining power of an Arian king in Italy, they were suffering a violent persecution from the Arian Vandals in Africa.

Such was the position of affairs when, A.D. 533, Justinian entered upon his Vandal and Gothic wars. Wishing to obtain the influence of the pope and the Catholic party,⁶⁴ he issued that memorable decree which was to constitute the pope the head of all the churches, and from the carrying out of which, A.D.538, the period of papal supremacy is to be dated....

But no decree of this nature could be carried into effect until the Arian horns which stood in its way were overthrown.... From the historical testimony above cited, we think it clearly established that the three horns plucked up were the powers named: the Heruli, A.D. 533, the Vandals, in 534, and the Ostrogoths finally in 553, though effective opposition by the latter to the decree of Justinian ceased when they were driven from Rome by Belisarius in 538...” (1944, pp.124-128)

Smith offers more insight into the reasoning behind holding to the 538 date than Froome’s quotes from King and Valpy, or from any of the SDA writers. The issue was over the Ostrogothic control of the election of the pope and his subservience to the king. Smith says that with the annihilation of the empire of the Goths from Rome, came the irrelevance of the Ostrogothic laws that supervised the succession of the popes, and the free exercise of the papal will.

What is fatal in this argument of course is that freedom from Gothic control of the election of the popes did not mean the pope was then free to develop his supremacy, as so asserted by SDA historicists. Any informed historian would know how far from the truth that statement really is. Notice this statement from the Catholic Encyclopedia in regard to the election of the pope:

After the barbarian conquest of Italy, the Church’s rights were less carefully observed. Basilius, the prefect of Odoacer, claimed the right of supervising the election of 483 in the name of his master, alleging that Pope Simplicius had himself requested him to do so.... The disturbances which occurred at the disputed election of Symmachus (498) led that pope to hold a council and to decree the severest penalties on all who should be guilty of canvassing or bribery in order to attain the pontificate. It was moreover decided that the majority of votes should decide the election. Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who at this period ruled Italy, became in his later years a persecutor of the Church. He even went so far as to appoint Felix III (IV) in 526 as the successor of Pope John I, whose death was due to the incarceration to which the king had condemned him. Felix, however was personally worthy of the office, and the appointment was confirmed by a subsequent election. The precedent of interference set by Theodoric was fruitful of evil to the

⁶⁴ One must question the accuracy of this statement of motive for Justinian’s issuance of the Civil Laws. It was rather his view of himself as leader and priest of the empire that motivated his statements concerning the pre-eminence of the papacy in the preamble. And Justinian’s decree did not *make* the pope pre-eminent; it merely *recognized* and *acknowledged* the church councils’ decisions made previous.

Church. After the destruction of the Gothic monarchy (537), the Byzantine emperors went even further than the heretical Ostrogoths in encroaching on ecclesiastical rights. Vigilius (540) and Pelagius (553) were forced on the Church at imperial dictation. In the case of the latter there seems to have been no election: his title was validated solely through his recognition as bishop by clergy and people. The formalities of election at this time were as follows.... After the pope's death, the archpriest, the archdeacon, and the primicerius of the notaries sent an official notification to the exarch at Ravenna. On the third day after the decease the new pope was elected, being invariably chosen from among the presbyters or deacons of the Roman Church..., and an embassy was dispatched to Constantinople to request the official confirmation of the election. Not until this had been received did the consecration take place. The Church acquired greater freedom after the Lombard invasion of 568 had destroyed the prestige of Byzantine power in Italy.

Clearly, one can see from these unassailable facts why SDA historicists have retreated from the original argument of King's. The freedom from Gothic rule DID NOT give the pope the freedom historicists say they got in 538. The pope was not free after 538 *at all* and even after the demise of the Ostrogothic rule in 552 – 562 A.D. the pope was still not free; he was a pawn in the hands of the emperor; a pawn who paid taxes into the coffers of Constantinople and who had to adopt doctrinal positions that concurred with that of the emperor or face prison until he was prepared to change his opinion and come into line with the imperial position.

John Andrews (1970):

“4. Power was given to the little horn of Dan. 7:25, ‘until a time, times, and the dividing of time.’ To the beast, also, power was given to ‘continue forty and two months.’ Rev. 13:5.

“5. The dominion of the little horn was to be taken away at the termination of that specified period. The beast of Rev. 13:10, who led into captivity and put to death with the sword so many of the saints, was himself to be led into captivity, and be killed with the sword, at the end of forty and two months.

“With these points of similarity in the two emblems, the little horn and the beast, who can doubt their integrity?

“The dragon (imperial Rome) gave unto the beast (papal Rome) his power, and his seat, and great authority.”

We have before proved that the city of Rome was the seat of the dragon, which is here represented as transferred to the beast. It is well known that the seat of the empire was by the emperor Constantine removed from Rome to Constantinople; and that Rome itself, at a later period, was given to the popes by the Emperor Justinian. (p.77)⁶⁵

This 1260 years' rule began with the act of the dragon in giving his seat, the city of Rome, unto the beast, in 538, and ended in 1798, when the city of Rome was taken from the beast, and his power wrested from him. (pp.78-79)

⁶⁵ This can only be substantiated if it can be proved that the Eastern emperor sent the keys of the city to the pope. They did not. The Eastern emperors kept the keys of the city, and taxed the pope as long as they could.

James White argues the same lines as Smith, but his book was first published in 1870, nearly 30 years before Andrew's publication in 1897:

In the year of our Lord 493, the Heruli in Rome and Italy were conquered by the Ostrogoths. In 534, the Vandals, who were under Arian influence, were conquered by the Greeks, for the purpose of establishing the supremacy of the Catholics. The Ostrogoths, who held possession of Rome, were under an Arian monarch, who was an enemy to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. Hence, before the decree of Justinian, (the Greek emperor at Constantinople) could be carried into effect, by which he had constituted the bishop of Rome head of all the churches, the Ostrogoth must be plucked up. This conquest was effected by Justinian's army in the month of March, 538; at which time the Ostrogoths, who had retired without the city, and besieged it in their turn, raised the siege, and retired, leaving the Greeks in possession of the city. Thus the third horn was plucked up before the papacy, and for the express purpose, too, of establishing that power.....

Imperial Rome fell about A.D. 475 and was in the hands of the barbarians. Thus it continued until the conquest of Rome by Belisarius, Justinian's general, 536-538, when the Ostrogoths left it in the possession of the Greek emperor, March, 538. Thus the way was open for the dragon to give the beast his power, and great authority. Rev.13:2.

The termination of the 1260 years. From 538, 1260 years extend to 1798. Did anything transpire that year to justify the belief that the dominion of the papacy ended at that time? It is a historical fact that, on Feb. 10, 1798, Berthier, a French general, entered the city of Rome and took it. On the 15th of the same month, the pope was taken prisoner and shut up in the Vatican. The papal government, which had continued from the time of Justinian, was abolished, and a republican form of government given to Rome. The pope was carried captive to France, where he died in 1799. Thus he that led into captivity went into captivity; he that killed by the sword was killed (subdued) with the sword. Rev. 13:10. His dominion was taken away by war. (1970, pp.111-114)

Damsteegt, in his research on the *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission*, documents how the views of Miller, Litch and other Advent movement associates espoused during their religious revival presented an amalgam of King and Valpy's position and the position of those promoting the 533-1793 paradigm. Damsteegt says,

"The 1260-year period began in 538 when he thought Justinian, the emperor of the Eastern empire, made the bishop of Rome universal bishop. According to Litch, 538 saw the lifting of the Ostrogoth's siege of Rome and their overthrow by Justinian's General Belisarius, resulting in the restoration of the city of Rome to the emperor and contributing to the rise of the papal authority. (1977, pp.23-25; see his extensive footnotes there)

We can see here Miller's mistake of attributing the declaration of the decree of 533 to 538 and attempting to incorporate the decree of Justinian into the argument, and we can also see Litch's reiteration of King's argumentation. INCLUDE BULLON'S SIGNS OF THE TIMES STATEMENT DOING THE SAME THING EVEN TODAY.

The present arguments of the SDA historicists are different from those proposed by King and Valpy. They use a 533-1798 paradigm arguing that the legal pre-eminence of the pope over the other patriarchs is the beginning of the temporal power of the pope, but then, unlike other historicists, who take that at face value, and begin the 1260-days from that period, then try and explain why this power of pre-eminence could not come into effect until the Goths were expelled from Rome in 538.

Smith, (but more probably his more recent editors), knowing one could not argue on the grounds of temporal power, tries another variation at getting 538 as a definite date, while still incorporating 533 in the argument:

The chief difficulty in the application made by these eminent commentators lay in the fact that they supposed that the prophecy respecting the exaltation of the papacy had not been fulfilled, and could not have been, until the pope became a temporal prince. Therefore they sought to find an accomplishment of the prophecy in the events which led to the pope's temporal sovereignty. But evidently, the prophecy of verses 24, 25, refers, not to his civil power, but to his power to domineer over the minds and consciences of men. The papacy reached this position, A.D. 538, as will hereafter appear. (Smith, 1944, p. 122)

How one can read “power to domineer over the minds and consciences of men” in Dn7:24, 25 is curious, especially when the text refers to the little horn as wearing out the saints of the most High. Does this refer to brainwashing, instead of the slaughter of God's people, as attested by the bulk of historicists?

How can one say that the expulsion of the Gothic king from Rome gave the Pope “power to dominate over the minds and consciences of men” more than before 538 remains to be seen. How does one go about proving that?

C. Mervyn Maxwell is another SDA historicist who cunningly interweaves fact and fiction in with his historical explanation of the development of the 1260-year period-explanation in historicist circles:

The great reformer, Martin Luther, who was born some 2,000 years after Daniel, also, like Joachim of Flora, applied the 1260 year-days to the history of the medieval church. He suggested they may have begun in the reign of the Eastern Roman Emperor Phocas (602-610), who called the pope “head of all the Holy Churches.” [Maxwell footnotes: “Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, 2:277 and 1:528. Sometimes Luther also applied the 1260 days to the Turk as being a kind of antichrist.”]

Later commentators agreed with Luther in general. Some used his beginning era, the pontificate of Phocas. Some experimented with other events more or less close to it. In the American colonies, John Cotton (1639), known as the Patriarch of New England, suggested the period 395-1655. Increase Mather (1708) sometime president of Harvard, offered 476-1716. Johnathan Edwards (1739) sometime president of Princeton, recommended 606-1866. [Maxwell footnotes: “Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, 3:33-42, 125-134, 181-185...”]

Assuming that the 1260 days would end at the second coming of Christ and hoping that Jesus would come back very soon, most commentators tended to start the 1260 days with some significant event in early church history that fitted an ending date not very far future to their own times, when they hoped Jesus would return.

A dramatic shift took place with the arrival of the epochal French Revolution (1789-1799) and the exiling of Pope Pius VI by the French in 1798. Commentators suddenly perceived that the end of the 1260 year-days was not the second coming of Christ and was no longer future. It was now! It had already occurred. The 1260 days had come to an end.

George Bell, Edward King, William Cunninghame, Charles Maitland, Alexander Keith, Edward Bickersteth, Edward Irving, George Croly, Matthew Habershom, Joseph Wolff, and many other commentators now came to understand correctly that the 1260 days

began early in the reign of the Roman Emperor Justinian (in the 530s) and ended in the era of the French Revolution (in the 1790s). Many chose the dates 538 and 1798. [Maxwell footnotes: “See Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, Vols.2 and 3. Also see C. Mervyn Maxwell, “An Exegetical and Historical Examination of the Beginning and Ending of the 1260 days of Prophecy With Special Attention Given to A.D. 538 and 1798 and Initial and Terminal Dates” (M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1951, Appendix IV.”]

With the arrival of the French Revolution, the “time, two times, and half a time” of Daniel 12:7 had run out. Now Daniel’s 1260 days were understood. (Maxwell, 1985, pp.276-277)

What Maxwell tries to achieve in the way he winds his sentences here is that the commentators he quotes above supported the 538-1798 paradigm for the 1260-day period. That could not be further from the truth. As can be clearly seen in the table above lifted directly from Froom’s *Prophetic Faith of our Fathers*, very few commentators can be found at all to support the 538-1798 theory. The bulk of the commentators adhered to the 533-1793 paradigm, including, William Cunningham, Charles Maitland, Edward Bickersteth, Edward Irving, George Croly, and Matthew Habershon. *These commentators did not use their pen to support the 538-1798 paradigm*, according to Froom’s material – the source of Maxwell’s information, according to his footnoting. Maxwell says “many chose the dates 538-1798.” This is fictitious! *Most* chose instead, and contra Maxwell, the period 533-1792/3. The second most popular choice was 606-1866. There are only a few commentators who venture the 537/8—1797/8 dates. Definitely not what could be called “many” by a long shot. The last time I checked the meanings there was a difference between “few” and “many.” Without doubt, the “many” of those listed by Maxwell chose the 533-1792 paradigm.

Maxwell comments on the giving of Rome to the papacy by the Roman emperor:

But how did the Catholic Church come to possess its unique Romanness?

The dragon gave its power and throne to the church. We read...that the dragon (in this case, the Roman Empire) gave to the leopard-bodied beast (the Roman Church) **“his power and his throne and great authority.”** Verse 2.

A throne is a symbol of authority. But because passage already contains the words **“power”** and **“authority,”** we expect **“throne”** here to convey a more literal meaning. Basically, a throne is a place where an important person sits. Other words for throne are the Greek *cathedra*, and the Latin *sedes*, which shows up in English as *see*. In the Catholic Church, the *building* in which a bishop’s throne (or *cathedra*) is located is called his “cathedral.” The city in which his throne is called his “see.” The ultimate see in Catholicism is the Holy See, the city where the pope’s throne is located. This city is *Rome*.

And how did the dragon, the Roman Empire, give its power, its authority, and the place of its rulership (its **“throne,”** or see, or city) to the Roman Church?

The empire was named for the city of Rome....Rome was by far the West’s largest city. Revered as the Eternal City, it pulsed with tremendous power and mystery.

Much of this formidable secular prestige was inherited by the Roman pope. Just being the pope of Rome gave him enormous influence. In addition, Emperor Constantine contributed hugely to the pope’s prestige when in 330 he left Italy and founded

Constantinople (now Istanbul) as the empire's new capital. Constantinople was some 1300 kilometers or about 800 miles away to the east, more than a month's marching time for an army. In the often quoted expression of Henry Edward Manning, ...the abandonment of Rome was the "liberation" of the pontiffs. With the passing of time, Cardinal Manning went on, "the Pontiffs found themselves alone; the sole fountains of order, peace, law, and "safety" in the Roman Empire. [Maxwell footnotes: "bla bla"]

Several other emperors besides Constantine also conceded or offered power to the papacy. Step by step, the Roman Empire (the dragon) did indeed give its power, throne, and great authority to the Catholic Church (the leopard-bodied beast.) A climax came in 538, when the armies of the Empire drove the Arian Ostrogoths out of Rome...By 538, therefore, the 1260 years could begin. (Maxwell, 1985, pp. 327-328)

One must wonder, if Maxwell sees the vacation of Rome by the emperor Constantine, as the beginning of the power of the pope, why he did not begin the 1260 year from 330? He provides evidence to substantiate his claim, and the additional efforts of later emperors are merely additions to that power. But it is the beginning of the period that is crucial, and he probably is correct in suggesting 330 as a feasible option.

538 AD is not an option, since after this event, the papacy was under *greater* control by the succeeding emperors, and this is acknowledged by the Catholic Encyclopedia. So, contra Maxwell, 538 is really not a choice of the informed scholar.

The SDA "hybrid" view is invalid.

I have shown that this is a ridiculous argument, proved invalid by the sacking of the patriarch of Constantinople by Pope Agapetus in 536, with the encouragement of Justinian. The Bishop of Rome had pre-eminence and could use it before 538. The presence of Gothic rule in Rome was not an impediment to the pre-eminence of the pope over other patriarchs of the church. The fact that the bishop of Rome was an envoy of the Gothic king, did not make any difference after the demise of the Gothic kingdom, since he was still a subject of the emperor, to be manipulated according to the whims of either emperor or empress.

The absolute futility of even using 538 as a point of dating the temporal power of the pope is discussed elsewhere, showing historicists' confusion of temporal power with patriarchal pre-eminence.

Historically, and according to Smith's position quoted below, SDA historicists have indicated that the beginning of this period is to be associated with the edict of Justinian in 533 A.D. that made the pope head of all the Christian churches.⁶⁶ According

⁶⁶ "Hence in accordance with the provisions of these Councils. We order that the Most Holy Pope of ancient Rome shall hold the first rank of all the Pontiffs, but the Most Blessed Archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, shall occupy the second place after the Holy Apostolic See of ancient Rome, which shall take precedence over all other sees." (Justinian, 131st Novella, (New Constitution) ch.2" in Neufeld and Neuffer, 1962, p.686) Interestingly, this very decree shows the pre-eminence of the emperor over the pope, since the position of the See of Constantinople as second in primacy was never accepted by the Latin church until a millennium later. But the fact that the emperor decreed it and it stood that way shows that the pope was indeed subservient to the emperor. Here is the supporting evidence on this point from Catholic Encyclopedia, Article "Patriarch and Patriarchate:"

"But the greatest change, the one that met most opposition, was the rise of Constantinople to patriarchal rank. Because Constantine had made Byzantium "New Rome", its bishop, once the humble suffragan of Heraclea, thought that he should become second only, if not almost equal, to the Bishop of Old Rome. For many centuries the popes opposed this ambition, not because any

to them, this came into effect in 538 A.D. after the last of three Ostrogoth tribes were evicted from the Roman Empire. And the end of the period of the 1260 years has been accepted as decree by the French to strip the Pope of power followed by the capture of the Pope in 1798 A.D and the subsequent establishment of a Republic in the Papal States.

Smith says concerning the start and end of the 1260 day prophecy and especially the interpretation that other historicist expositors espoused on this period:

The chief difficulty in the application made by these eminent commentators lay in the fact that they supposed that the prophecy respecting the exaltation of the papacy had not been fulfilled, and could not have been, until the pope became a temporal prince. Therefore they sought to find an accomplishment of the prophecy in the events which led to the pope's temporal sovereignty. But evidently, the prophecy of verses 24, 25, refers, not to his civil power, but to his power to domineer over the minds and consciences of men. The papacy reached this position, A.D. 538, as will hereafter appear. (Smith, 1944, p. 122)

Three years and a half contained twelve hundred and sixty days. As each day stands for a year, we have twelve hundred and sixty years for the continuation of the supremacy of this horn. Did the papacy possess dominion that length of time? The answer again is, Yes. The edict of the emperor Justinian, dated A.D. 533, made the bishop of Rome the head of all the churches. But this edict could not go into effect until the Arian Ostrogoths, the last of the three horns that were plucked up to make room for the papacy, were driven from Rome; and this was not accomplished, as already shown, until A.D. 538. The edict would have been of no effect had this latter event not been accomplished; hence from this latter year we are to reckon, as this was the earliest point where the saints were in reality in the hands of this power. From this point did the papacy hold supremacy for twelve hundred and sixty years? – Exactly. For $538 + 1260 = 1798$; and in the year 1798, Berthier, with a French army, entered Rome, proclaimed a republic, took the pope prisoner, and inflicted a deadly wound upon the papacy. Though it has never since enjoyed all the privileges and immunities which it possessed before, we are seeing a gradual restoration of its former strength. (Smith, 1944, pp.144f)

On the other hand there are others in the SDA historicist's tradition, who date this time period from 533 and end it with a decree of the French in 1793. Some support both these views (for example, Ford, 1978, p. 154). The following quoted material comes

one thought of disputing their first place, but because they were unwilling to change the old order of the hierarchy. In 381 the Council of Constantinople declared that: "The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the primacy of honour after the Bishop of Rome, because it is New Rome" (can. iii). The popes (Damasus, Gregory the Great) refused to confirm this canon. Nevertheless Constantinople grew by favour of the emperor, whose centralizing policy found a ready help in the authority of his court bishop. Chalcedon (451) established Constantinople as a patriarchate with jurisdiction over Asia Minor and Thrace and gave it the second place after Rome (can. xxviii). Pope Leo I (440-61) refused to admit this canon, which was made in the absence of his legates; for centuries Rome still refused to give the second place to Constantinople. It was not until the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople was allowed this place; in 1439 the Council of Florence gave it to the Greek patriarch. Nevertheless in the East the emperor's wish was powerful enough to obtain recognition for his patriarch; from Chalcedon we must count Constantinople as practically, if not legally, the second patriarchate (ibid., 28-47). So we have the new order of five patriarchs -- Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem -- that seemed, to Eastern theologians especially, an essential element of the constitution of the Church [see (ibid., 46-47) the letter of Peter III of Antioch, c. 1054].” (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article “[Patriarch and Patriarchate](#).”)

from a website: <http://www.ao.net/~fmoeller/syncron.htm>, which, in turn, quotes primary and secondary sources found in an earlier (undated) version of Thoughts on Daniel and Revelation by Uriah Smith:

Smith also cites material from other primary historical documents and a secondary source: The Apocalypse of St. John by George Croly. Not being able to gain access to the primary documents, we offer the following as nearly assured of accuracy as possible. (Ref.No.1)

AD March 533: Justinian's letter to John reads:

"Justinian: victor, pious, fortunate, ever Augustus, to John, the most holy Archbishop and patriarch of the noble city of Rome. Paying honor to the Apostolic See and to Your Holiness, as always has been and is our desire, and honoring your Blessedness as a father, we hasten to bring to the knowledge of Your Holiness all that pertains to the condition of the churches, since it has always been our great aim to safeguard the unity of your Apostolic See and the position of the holy churches of God which now prevails and abides securely without any disturbing trouble. Therefore we have been sedulous to subject and unite all the priests of the Orient throughout its whole extent to the See of Your Holiness. Whatever questions happen to be mooted at present, we have thought necessary to be brought to Your Holiness' knowledge, however clear and unquestionable they might be, and though firmly held and taught by all the clergy in accordance with the doctrine of Your Apostolic See; for we do not suffer that anything which is moored to Your Holiness, however clear and unquestionable, pertaining to the state of the churches, should fail to be known to Your Holiness, as being the head of all the churches. For as we have said before, we are zealous for the increase of the honor and authority of your See in all respects." (Ref.No.2)

Croly quotes a letter of March 25, 533 from Justinian to Epiphanius where Justinian repeats the parts of the statement above, which had been sent earlier in March, that the Bishop of Rome is: "**head of all Bishops and the true and effective corrector of heretics** [sic]." (Ref.No.3)

In March 534 the Roman Bishop returned answer to Justinian in which he praises him as in the night sky "one shines as a star, his reverence for the Apostolic chair, to which he has subjected and united all the churches, it being truly the Head of all; as was testified by the rules of the Fathers, the laws of the Princes, and the declarations of the Emperor's piety." (Ref.No.4)

Smith quotes the following from Justinian's Code in the edicts of the "Novellae;" in the preamble of the ninth it states: "that the elder Rome was the founder of the laws; so was it not to be questioned that in her was the supremacy of the pontificate." In the 131st; chap. II, on the ecclesiastical titles and privileges it states: "We therefore decree that the most holy Pope of the elder Rome is the first of all the priesthood, and that the most blessed Archbishop of Constantinople, the new Rome, shall hold the second rank after the holy Apostolic chair of the elder Rome." (Ref.No.5) ⁶⁷ (This information allowing for variations in translation is also available in [Neufeld and Neuffer, 1962](#), pp.684f.)

⁶⁷ References for these numbered references are as follows:

1. Smith, Uriah; Daniel and Revelation,
- 2 Codex Justinian, lib. 1; translation as given by R.F. Little, The Petrine Claims p. 293. See Smith loc.cit. p.275.
3. Croly, Ibid, p. 170 see Smith op. cit p. 276
4. Croly, Ibid p. 170, 171; Smith p. 276

Primacy of the Apostolic See at Rome centuries before Justinian.⁶⁸

Froom argues that the decree of Justinian provides a *legal* basis for the primacy of the See of Rome. He acknowledges the informal position of the bishop of Rome before then, but it is the *legal* ratification that is important in Froom's estimation:

Earlier in the fourth century, the Roman bishop's precedence among equals, formerly accorded to him, had first been demanded on a new ground that was reiterated time after time until the Roman bishop received supremacy of dominion. The second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople (381), in Canon 2, had confirmed the various metropolitans – such as those of Alexandria, Antioch and Ephesus – in their respective spheres; but it also decreed (Canon 3) that “the bishop of Constantinople shall hold the first rank after the bishops of Rome.”

Innocent I (d. 417) had maintained that Christ had (delegated supreme power to Peter and (b) made him bishop of Rome, and that as Peter's successor he was entitled to exercise Peter's power and prerogatives, and Boniface I (d. 422) had spoken similarly. At the Council of Ephesus, in 431, the legate of Pope Celestine had proclaimed publicly before all Christendom:

“There is no doubt, and it is noted by everybody, that the holy and most blessed Peter is the leader of the apostles, a pillar of the faith, and the foundations of the Catholic Church, and that he received from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the human race, the keys of rulership with which powers is given to absolve and to bind sins; who [Peter] till our time and forever lives and exercises judgment in his successors.”

Some twenty years later Leo saw the force implied by this claim, and entrenched himself behind it. He first outlined clearly the extreme limits of the claims of the medieval Papacy to universal rule of the church. Thus the church of Rome moved on toward the spiritual dictatorship of Christendom. More, perhaps, than any other, Leo laid the early foundations of that imposing edifice that towered among the nations for more than a thousand years, when papal bulls instead of imperial decrees began to rule the world....

That success attended Leo's scheme to make the seven-hilled city the center of the Christian world, is evident from the imperial authority secured from Valentinian III, in 445, for his *Western* supremacy.

“Since therefore the merit of St. Peter, who is the first in the Episcopal crown and the dignity of the Roman city and the authority of the sacred synod, had established the primacy of the Apostolic See, let no unlawful presumption try to attempt anything beyond the authority of that see...By this perpetual sanction we decree that neither should a Gallic bishop nor one of other provinces be permitted to undertake anything against the old customs without the authority of the venerable man the pope of the eternal city...so that whoever among the bishops when summoned to the court by his Roman superior neglects to come, let him be forced to attend by the moderator of the province.”
[*Codex Theodosianus: Novellae Constitutiones imperatorum TheodosiiII, Valentinian III, G. Haenel, ed., Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1842-44, cols 173-176*]

5.Smith, Ibid

⁶⁸ For those unfamiliar with Catholic terminology, the word “See” comes from an old Latin word and it means the seat or chair, and figuratively refers to the position of the head bishop of that area. There were four major sees in the ante-Nicaean Period.

When however, the general Council of Chalcedon (451) asserted, in Canon 28, the equal dignity and privilege of the see of Constantinople with the see of Rome, Leo indignantly protested, writing letters to the emperor and others, declaring it a deviation from the canons of Nicaea. He wrote to the bishops assembled at Chalcedon that the bishop of Rome was officially “*guardian of the Catholic faith, and of the traditions of the fathers,*” thus asserting guardianship of the unwritten as well as the written rules of faith. But the time of full recognition of Rome’s headship over all the churches had not yet come.

In Leo’s time we have encountered a legal sanction for the pope’s superior jurisdiction in a decree of Theodosius and Valentinian. There had previously been another important edict, that of Gratian and Valentinian II in 379 or 379....

Let us now examine the successive steps in the legal recognition of the pope’s supremacy by imperial edicts. Under the reign of Constantine, Christianity had become the religion of the *emperor*; under Theodosius, sixty years later, it had become the religion of the *empire*, but legal sanction for the papal claims were yet to be secured.

There were four separate edicts, by different emperors – for imperial edicts were then laws of the empire – conferring or confirming the increasing privileges, immunities, and authorities, until the bishop of Rome became virtually unchallenged head of all churches. These four edicts are:

The edict of Gratian and Valentinian II in 378 or 379.

The edict of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, in 445.

The imperial letter of Justinian in 533 - becoming effective in 538.

The edict of Phocas, in 606.

Concerning *a*, the Roman primacy began to be recognized in a limited way by the edict of the Emperor Gratian (who laid aside the formerly pagan dignity of Pontifex Maximus) and Valentinian II in 378 or 379. This edict, probably issued at the request of a Roman synod, not only confirmed Damascus (d. 384) as bishop of Rome, in opposition to a banished rival claimant, but also provided that certain cases in the churches in the West should be referred or appealed to the pope and/or a council of bishops.

This gave various bishops, scattered over the West, occasion to write to the Roman bishops for decision on controverted points, which they answered by decretal epistles and ecclesiastical mandates and decisions. The earliest of these decretals still extant is a letter of Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona in 385.

“The decretals [commence] with the letter of Pope Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona in 385. Such decretal letters were issued to churches in most parts of the European West, Illyria included, but not to north Italy, which looked to Milan, and not to Africa, which depended on Carthage...It would even appear that a group of some eight decretals of Siricius and Innocent, Zosimus and Celestine, had been put together and published as a sort of authoritative handbook before the papacy of Leo (441-461).”[*Cambridge Medieval History, vol 1p. 151*]

Thus the authority of the bishop of Rome was greater than that implied in the sixth Canon of the Council of Nicaea (325), which recognized the equal authority of the then leading patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus.

An edict of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius I, in 380 or 381 against heretics added imperial recognition of the Petrine theory, on which the Roman bishops based their claim as judge of the Christian faith, although the Roman bishop was recognized as sole judge of faith, the Alexandrian bishop being named in connection with Damascus.

“1. The Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius to the people of the City of Constantinople.

“We desire that all peoples subject to Our benign Empire shall live under the same religion that the Divine Peter, the Apostle, gave to the Romans, and which the said religion declares was introduced by himself, and which it is well known that the Pontiff Damascus, and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity, embraced; that is to say, in accordance with the rules of apostolic discipline and the evangelical doctrine, we should believe that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit constitute a single Deity, endowed with equal majesty, and united in the Holy Trinity.” [*The Code of Justinian*, book 1, *The Civil Law, translated from Corpus Juris Civilis*, by S.P. Scott, Cincinnati: The Central Trust Company, 1932, 17 vols, title1.1]

As to *c* – the Justinian decree of 533 – it was after the partitioning of the Western empire, that, under the victorious armies of Justinian, considerable areas of the West acknowledged him as the overlord. In this period the legal establishment of the bishop of Rome as head of all the churches – now including the East – was accomplished. Then the tide of barbarian conquest rolled again over Italy, effacing the imperial control and leaving the West permanently in the hands of the barbarian masters, and to the pope the exercise of the spiritual primacy and power conferred on him under law in Justinian.

Under *d*, the edict of Phocas in 606 merely reiterated and confirmed the Roman’s bishop’s pre-eminence over the rival bishop of Constantinople. But Phocas’ reign and authority was confined to the affairs of the East, rather than of the West....

Justinian’s third great achievement was the regulation of ecclesiastical and theological matters, crowned by the imperial Decretal Letter seating the bishop of Rome in the church as the “Head of all the holy churches,” thus laying the legal foundation for papal ecclesiastical supremacy.

This last achievement of Justinian’s reign was brought about not entirely by his imperial will and his decrees, but by circumstances which seemed to lead naturally and logically to such a development. Justinian had established the seat of government for the western part of his empire at Ravenna, thereby leaving the “eternal city” largely to the jurisdiction of its bishops. Further, the silent extinction of the consulship, which dignity had been revered both by Romans and barbarians, which he accomplished in the thirteenth year of his reign, likewise had the same tendency – that of establishing the influence of the bishop of Rome. Thus the entire conduct, policy, and exploits of Justinian, who reigned in such an important era of history, focalized in one point so far as the church was concerned – namely, the advancement of the see of Rome....

In tracing the full *legalized establishment* of the Papacy to the acts and reign of Justinian, there is solid and abiding ground on which to stand. As stated, one of the first tasks that Justinian imposed upon himself, after ascending the throne in 527, was to reform the jurisprudence of the empire....But the real significance of that achievement, as bearing upon our quest in tracing the emergence of papal supremacy, is further set forth by Gibbon:

“Justinian has been already seen in the various lights of a prince, a conqueror, and a lawgiver: the theologian still remains, and it affords an unfavourable prejudice that his theology should form a very prominent feature of his portrait. The sovereign

sympathized with his subjects in their superstitious reverence for living and departed saints; his Code, and more especially, his Novels [Novellae], confirm and enlarge the privileges of the clergy.” [Gibbon, Edward, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Edited by J. B. Bury, London: Methuen and Co., 1896-1900, 7 vols, Vol5: p. 132]

The full significance of this statement should not be lost. In Justinian’s code are incorporated edicts of former emperors in favor of the Roman church, and in the celebrated Novellae, or new laws, the canons of the former general councils are turned into standing laws for the whole empire. In so doing, Justinian improved the advantage afforded by his reconquest of Italy to achieve his design of *a universal conformity in religious matters* that would exclude heresy and schism, as well as strengthen his own authority over the Western kingdoms. His object was to secure a unity of the church which should embrace both East and West. He considered there was no surer way of reducing them all to one religion than by the advancement of the head of that church as the promoter of unity among them, whose business it should be to overawe the conscience of man with the anathemas of the church, and to enforce the execution of the heavy penalties of the law. From about 539, the sovereign pontiff and the patriarchs began to have a corps of officers to enforce their decrees, as civil penalties began to be inflicted by their own tribunals.

Justinian, of course, was well aware that such a profound change could not be achieved merely by co-operation without a certain amount of coercion. The spirit of religious liberty was quite foreign to the age. Therefore we find that Justinian re-enacted the intolerant laws formerly given, and accepted them into his code; for instance the law of Constantine, Constantius and Constans, which stated:

“Privileges granted in consideration of religion should only benefit those who observe the rules of the Catholic faith. We do not wish heretics to absolutely be excluded from these privileges, but that they should merely be restrained, and compelled to accept employment for which the said privileges afford exemption.” [The Code of Justinian, book 1, title 5.1]

Then there is the more severe law of the year 396 given by the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, which stated:

“Let all heretics know positively that their places of assembly shall be taken from them, whether these are designated under the name of churches, or are called diaconates, or deaneries, or whether meetings of this kind are held in private houses; for all such private places or buildings shall be claimed by the Catholic Church.” [The Code of Justinian, book 1, title 5.3]

In proportion as Christianity had become consolidated on the ruins of paganism, the emperors not only protected the public exercise of Christian worship but also confirmed by edicts the laws of the Church on faith, morals, and discipline. Thus the general Council of Nicaea had been confirmed by Constantine; the Council of Constantinople by Theodosius I (the Great); the Council of Ephesus, by Theodosius II (the Younger); and the Council of Chalcedon, by Marcian.

Other edicts confirmed the primacy of the Holy See, and the sanctification of Sunday and the festivals, together with the canonical penalties decreed by the church against transgression of her laws, so that there was scarcely an important article of faith or discipline not confirmed by imperial decree. Temporal penalties had been imposed on heretics, the laws of Theodosius being especially heavy and numerous. And Justinian not only inserted these contributions into his Code, but promulgated others. In the same law in which he placed the canons of the first four general councils among the civil laws of

the empire, he decreed that anyone holding unauthorized church services in a private house could lose his property and be expelled from the province, and further that no heretic should have the right to acquire land, upon the pain of confiscation of his property, and without hope of restoration.

It is essential to understand the precise occasion and circumstance of the imperial letter that at last recognized the bishop of Rome as head of all the churches, East and West. Justinian was about to begin his Vandal wars, and was anxious to settle beforehand the religious disputes of his capital. The Nestorian controversy had created considerable disturbance. Justinian, with a personal penchant for theological questions, plunged into the controversy with recourse to persecution to augment his arguments.

By imperial decree the Nestorians were placed under a spiritual ban. In their distress some of the anathematised made appeal to Rome. The emperor then sent two Eastern prelates – Hypatius, bishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius, bishop of Phillipi – as envoys to Rome to lay the case before Pope John. In the imperial letter which they bore, Justinian ruled in favor of the primacy, or precedency, of the bishop of Rome, which had been contested by the bishop of Constantinople ever since the removal of the capital to that city. In the fullest and most unequivocal form Justinian recognized, maintained, and established by imperial authority the bishop of Rome as the chief of the whole ecclesiastical body of the empire.

The imperial letter details the “heresy” of the Nestorian monks, and desires a rescript from Rome to Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople, and to the emperor himself, giving papal sanction to the judgment pronounced by the emperor upon the heresy. Justinian expresses his desire to present to his “Holiness” at Rome all matters that concern the church at large. Justinian also states that the patriarch of Constantinople had likewise written the pope as being desirous in all things to follow the apostolic authority of the Roman bishop.

And for the purpose of preserving the unity of the apostolic see, Justinian states that he has exerted himself to unite all the priests of the Eastern church and subject them to the bishop of Rome, and that he does not permit anything pertaining to the state of the church to be unknown “to your Holiness,” “*because you are the Head of all the holy churches.*”

He was, of course, already the actual head in the West. Justinian concludes by declaring the doctrine held by the bishop of Rome to be the standard of the faith and the source of unity to all the Christian world.

The emperor’s letter to Pope John must have been written before March 26, 533, for, in a letter of that date, to Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople, Justinian speaks of it as having already been written, and repeats his decision to Epiphanius, that all things touching the church shall be referred to the pope of ancient Rome, since he is “head of all the most holy priests of God,” and adds that “by the decision and right judgment of his venerable see [heretics] are held in check.” [*Code of Justinian, bk1, title 1,7*]

Pope John’s answer to Justinian, which is recorded in the Code, is our source for the emperor’s letter, for it quotes it entire, repeating the language of the emperor, applauding his homage to the Holy See, acknowledging the title – “head of all churches” – conferred on him by the imperial mandate, and commending Justinian’s reverence for the “See of Rome,” in that he had “subjected all things to its authority.” John refers to Justinian’s having “promulgated an Edict” against heretics, which was “confirmed by our authority.” Thus the transaction was fully understood by both pope and emperor.

Justinian’s momentous document to Bishop John II, of Rome, was not left to the dubious fate of the royal archives. Together with John’s reply, and the imperial letter to

Epiphanius, it was put into the Code, and cast into the form of law. Thus it obtained the stamp of public authority as a law of empire. And this designation of the pope as supreme head of the churches was repeated in various ways in the Civil Code.

Its authenticity is sustained by the Preface to the ninth Novella, reading,

“Not only had the former Rome been allotted the origin of laws; but also there is no one who doubts that in her is the peak of the highest *pontificate*.” [Novella 9 (collection 2, title 4) in Justinian, *Corpus Juris Civilis*]

And in the 131st Novella states:

“Hence, in accordance with the provisions of these Councils, we order that the Most Holy Pope of ancient Rome shall hold the first rank of all the Pontiffs, but the Most Blessed Archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, shall occupy the second place after the Holy Apostolic See of ancient Rome, which shall take precedence over all other sees.” [Novella 131, of Justinian, 9th Collection, title 6, ch2]

Thus the supremacy of the pope over all Christians the fullest sanction that could be given by the secular master of the Roman world. From this time then, is to be dated the secular acknowledgement of the Papacy's claims to ecclesiastical primacy, which became effective generally in 538, by the freeing of Rome from the Ostrogothic siege.⁶⁹

It was thus that Justinian purchased the influence of Rome. Whatever the motive, the deed was done. And it was authentic and unquestionable, sanctioned by the forms of state, and never abrogated⁷⁰—the act of the first potentate of the world. Thus the pen that wrote that imperial letter gave legal sanction to another Rome that was to have spiritual dominion for even longer than imperial Rome, and was later to climb to the peak of civil as well as religious domination.

⁶⁹ The overthrow of the Ostrogoths had nothing at all to do with the power of the bishop of Rome to decide issues of heresy. When John decided the issue of the Nestorian heresy, he did not need the absence of the Ostrogoths to tell the emperor his judgment on the matter. Froom is just confusing the issue. Justinian did not need the absence of the Ostrogoths to recognise the primacy of the pope. He did not need the absence of the Ostrogoths to enforce the opinion of the bishop of Rome in the East. The Ostrogoths did not need decimation in order for the pope's primacy over the other bishops to be recognised. The Ostrogoths did not even question the issue of the primacy of the bishop of Rome over the other patriarchs in general, and the patriarch of Constantinople in particular.

They may have questioned other doctrines, but they were not matters concerning the primacy of the bishop of Rome.

⁷⁰ Froom has forgotten that the Code of Justinian collapsed when the Roman emperor was defeated with the overthrow of Constantinople in 1453, and the imperial throne was no more to enforce the Code of Justinian. The throne that gave the bishop his supremacy was crushed, and with it, the authority of the Code of Justinian. Of course the Code was never abrogated, because the empire disappeared with the defeat of Constantinople.

If the SDA historicists want to say that papal temporal power is nullified with the exile of the pope, what can they say about temporal power of the imperial throne, if the throne is thoroughly defeated? Surely, this act nullifies everything that the throne represents, including the seat of judgment and jurisprudence. There is an argument put forward by defenders of the Russian monarchy, that *it* was the continuation of the throne of Constantinople. EXPLORE THIS IDEA. This would mean that we date the overthrow of the Eastern throne with the overthrow of the Russian monarchy in the early twentieth century?

The title of the pope to supremacy over the church was later questioned in the East by the Patriarch of Constantinople, after the death of Justinian, and was in turn reaffirmed by Phocas in 606, as will be noted in chapter 22.....

And as the influence of Justinian's Code can be traced in the legislation of many European nations, this intertwining of religious and political powers by law remained constant practically till the time of the French Revolution, when it was dethroned in Europe and when the Code of Napoleon a few years thereafter made a distinct separation between the ecclesiastical and the secular spheres.⁷¹

The time of Justinian is therefore incontrovertibly the time of the beginning of the era of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Papacy. The placing of the letter to the pope in civil law, thereby embodying his primacy in that law, was a remarkable – yes, an incontrovertible – way of accrediting the pope, and of making prominent his new power and dignity.

It should be stressed that the Justinian transaction has all the requirements of completeness, authority and publicity. Ecclesiastical dominion was conferred not only over the Western church but also over the Eastern – these two grand divisions theoretically embracing the territory of the Old Roman Empire – and it was enforceable as far as Justinian's authority extended, for it had all the sanction that could be given by the imperial will, all the formality which belonged to imperial law, and all the authority comprehended under imperial supremacy.

The beginning of the era of the headship of the Roman bishop over all the churches was not marked by some overmastering event in papal advance, or by an assumption of supreme ecclesiastical control; at that time the pope was hampered by the fact that Arian Ostrogoths were ruling in Italy. Rather, it was only by the removal of the impediment of the Ostrogothic control, as their besieging forces were cleared away from Rome, that the Roman pontiff was free to exercise the jurisdiction now legally provided for through the imperial Code of Justinian.⁷² At that time the reinforcing second army of Justinian

⁷¹ This is a novel way of getting around the fact that the Justinian code was destroyed in the 15th century. The fact that there was a blend of religious and political laws in Europe up until the Code of Napoleon is no argument in favour of a continuity of the Justinian Code. This would not stand up in debate in any academic circle. This style of mixed legislation was just the milieu of the times, no less, no more. Ancient empires also had the same mixture. The Romans had a mixture; Persians etc. The influence of many cultures' laws impact on other cultures. But that does not mean that when a country borrows a concept from the laws of another country or civilisation, that those legal codes from which the idea was borrowed are being enforced and kept alive. There is a great chasm between borrowing a idea of jurisprudence and resurrecting the whole legal system from which it is borrowed. Froom's logic here is faulty.

⁷² This is absolute nonsense. The pope exercised his primacy in 533 over the issue of the Nestorian monks, when the Ostrogoths were in Italy. The Ostrogoths did not provide any impediment in hindering either the emperor or the patriarch of Constantinople from seeing the bishop of Rome exercising his jurisdiction as head of the churches. Froom is trying to insinuate into this event in 538 an element of temporal power as necessary for his powers of primacy. It does not work. It is fallacious. The bishop of Rome does not need any temporal power to exercise his jurisdiction over all the churches. As Froom said earlier, the emperor himself backed up the primacy of the bishop of Rome with his own officers:

“That success attended Leo's scheme to make the seven-hilled city the center of the Christian world, is evident from the imperial authority secured from Valentinian III, in 445, for his *Western* supremacy.

“Since therefore the merit of St. Peter, who is the first in the Episcopal crown and the dignity of the Roman city and the authority of the sacred synod, had established the primacy of the Apostolic See, let no unlawful presumption try to attempt anything beyond the authority of that see...By this

broke the Gothic siege of Rome, relieving the beleaguered Belisarius, and leaving thenceforth no power save the Papacy that could be said to hold sway through many centuries from the seven hills of the Eternal City.⁷³

One year and nine days had been consumed in the siege of Rome by the Goths, ending in March, 538. Thus the ancient seat of empire was preserved for the Papacy, for although Totila, king of the Goths, had resolved to make of Rome, which “surpassed all other cities,” but “a pasture land for cattle,” Belisarius wrote to dissuade him, and so he refrained from destroying it. The war against the Goths continued, for Ravenna did not immediately fall – five or six years passing before the remainder of the Gothic empire collapsed; but the grave of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy was dug by the defeat of this siege, the remaining resistance collapsing by 554. And with the failure of this siege, says Finley, “commences the history of the Middle Ages.”

Bishop Silverius of Rome (536-c.538) had been elected under the Gothic influence, and while Belisarius was besieged in Rome by the Goths under Witiges (Witigis, or Vitiges), Silverius was accused of favoring the Goths. So in 527 Silverius was banished by Belisarius; and the deacon Vigilius, favorite of Theodora, was then elected pope.

It is not to be concluded that Vigilius came into office wielding more influence than his predecessors. The time when Roman pontiffs were to be temporal princes playing power politics among the rulers of Europe, and demanding allegiance and submission from kings, was far in the future, and even then the Papacy was to have its ups and downs. In 538 the prestige of the popes was at a low ebb under the dominating spirit of Justinian. It is likely that Justinian never thought of Vigilius as anything more than the docile head of a “department of religion” in his imperial government, and intended to keep the reins more firmly in his own hands by subjecting the whole church to the jurisdiction of a court favorite.

But the imperial acceptance of the Roman pontiff’s assertion of primacy – already largely conceded in the West – had denied the claims of all rivals, and given him official status.⁷⁴ Now Vigilius, owing his pontificate to imperial influence, and bolstered by this new legal recognition of the pope’s *ecclesiastical* supremacy, marked the beginning of a long climb towards *political* power which culminated in the reign of such popes as

perpetual sanction we decree that neither should a Gallic bishop nor one of other provinces be permitted to undertake anything against the old customs without the authority of the venerable man the pope of the eternal city...so that whoever among the bishops when summoned to the court by his Roman superior neglects to come, let him be forced to attend by the moderator of the province.” [*Codex Theodosianus: Novellae Constitutiones imperatorum Theodosii III, Valentinian III, G. Haenel, ed., Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1842-44, cols 173-176*]

Therefore to argue now that the bishop of Rome needs temporal power to exercise his primacy is ludicrous. They are independent of each other., even though the Vatican used that argument as a basis for their claim to a parcel of land in the 1929 Concordat. Froome is merely “fudging” the record to try and fifty events to fit the traditional teaching of the SDA church on these dates, but they would never stand critical examination by non SDA peers.

⁷³ Here again this is incorrect. The history of the papacy by the Catholic church itself describes the many times throughout the centuries when hostile powers and warring factions overran Italy and forced the pope—if he escaped with his life—to find refuge in France, until the dangers were past.

⁷⁴ This is blatantly incorrect. The Catholic Encyclopedia documents clearly how the primacy of bishop of Rome was recognised by the *Eastern Sees* for centuries before Justinian. (See the article on “The Pope” in [Catholic Encyclopedia](#)) It was not the legislation of Justinian that forced the Eastern Sees to recognise his primacy.

Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII.⁷⁵ The temporary nature of Justinian's union of East and West, and the subsequent decrease in the concern of the Byzantine emperors with Western church affairs, only left the pope with a freer hand to develop that power. The change in the character of the Papacy from Vigilius on, and the final result of that change, have been well described: "From this time on the popes, more and more involved in worldly events, no longer belong solely to the church; they are men of the state, and then rulers of the state." [*Charles Bémont and G. Monod, Medieval Europe, p.121*]

(Froom, 1950, pp.498—517)

SDA historicists argue that the primacy of the pope was not recognised by the church until the decree by the Roman Emperor Justinian in 533 AD. This position has its problems however, since both early church literature and the Roman Catholic Church saw the pope's primacy as occurring long before Justinian. Even Froom acknowledges the process in establishing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. Notice these comments by the Catholic Encyclopedia Online concerning a fourth century pope consciously exercising his papal primacy in issuing a decretal:

Pope St. Siricius (384-99).

Born about 334; died 26 November, 399, Siricius was a native of Rome; his father's name was Tiburtius. Siricius entered the service of the Church at an early age and, according to the testimony of the inscription on his grave, was lector and then deacon of the Roman Church during the pontificate of Liberius (352-66). After the death of Damasus, Siricius was unanimously elected his successor (December, 384) and consecrated bishop probably on 17 December. Ursinus, who had been a rival to Damasus (366), was alive and still maintained his claims. However, the Emperor Valentinian III, in a letter to Pinian (23 Feb., 385), gave his consent to the election that had been held and praised the piety of the newly-elected bishop; consequently no difficulties arose. **Immediately upon his elevation Siricius had occasion to assert his primacy over the universal Church.** A letter, in which questions were asked on fifteen different points concerning baptism, penance, church discipline, and the celibacy of the clergy, came to Rome addressed to Pope Damasus by Bishop Himerius of Tarragona, Spain. **Siricius answered this letter on 10 February, 385, and gave the decisions as to the matters in question, exercising with full consciousness his supreme power of authority in the Church (Constant, "Epist. Rom. Pont.", 625 sq.).** This letter of Siricius is of special importance because **it is the oldest completely preserved papal decretal (edict for the authoritative decision of questions of discipline and canon law).** It is, however, certain that before this earlier popes had also issued such decretals, for Siricius himself in his letter mentions "general decrees" of Liberius that the latter had sent to the provinces; but these earlier ones have not been preserved. At the same time the pope directed Himerius to make known his decrees to the neighbouring provinces, so that they should also be observed there.

⁷⁵ Froom sees the development of the powers of the papacy in **both** the legal recognition of his *ecclesiastical* primacy and the latter development of his *political* power. An integral part of that political power is the ownership of landed property. He dates the *beginning* the papal reign from the first of these powers realised by the papacy. One would think then that to be consistent, the logical thing to do would be to *close* the papal reign with the last of these powers to be taken from him. If the loss of *temporal* power of the papacy occurred in 1870 (and then later restored in 1929), when did his *ecclesiastical* primacy terminate? It has not, and with the Vatican as its own state, the Canons of the Primacy of the pontiff will never be abrogated. Therefore, by Froom's own categorisation, the period of the powers of the papacy have not yet ended.

(Article, "[Pope St Siricius](#)") (Emphasis mine)

It should also be noted that in Justinian's decree, he was not decreeing anything new. He acknowledges the primacy of the Roman See as already having been established. The Patriarchs at Alexandria, Ephesus and Antioch acknowledged the primacy of the patriarchy of Rome by the end of the second century, three hundred years before Justinian was born.

The decree was useful because it gave Justinian leverage over his wife who was a closet Monophysite and went to appoint clerics and patriarchs who supported her position in contradistinction to Justinian's own religious conviction on the topic. The decree of Justinian was also useful because it clarified his intentions for the Church for coming generations that though the seat of the Emperor be moved to Constantinople, the patriarchy of Constantinople was NOT to be automatically considered the pre-eminent patriarchy due to the presence of the Emperor in that city. The Patriarch of Constantinople was first of the other Sees AFTER the bishop of Rome, who was considered supreme. The controversy of this statement was not that the Bishop of Rome was first; it was that the Patriarch of Constantinople was to be included as the fourth patriarch, instead of the old order of three patriarchs – Rome, Antioch and Alexandria. Notice the Catholic Encyclopedia's comments on the ongoing conflict between the patriarchy of Rome and the patriarchy of Constantinople:

Because Constantine had made Byzantium "New Rome", its bishop, once the humble suffragan of Heraclea, thought that he should become second only, if not almost equal, to the Bishop of Old Rome. For many centuries the popes opposed this ambition, not because any one thought of disputing their first place, but because they were unwilling to change the old order of the hierarchy. In 381 the Council of Constantinople declared that: "The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the primacy of honour after the Bishop of Rome, because it is New Rome" (can. iii). The popes (Damasus, Gregory the Great) refused to confirm this canon. Nevertheless Constantinople grew by favour of the emperor, whose centralizing policy found a ready help in the authority of his court bishop. Chalcedon (451) established Constantinople as a patriarchate with jurisdiction over Asia Minor and Thrace and gave it the second place after Rome (can. xxviii). Pope Leo I (440-61) refused to admit this canon, which was made in the absence of his legates; for centuries Rome still refused to give the second place to Constantinople. It was not until the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople was allowed this place; in 1439 the Council of Florence gave it to the Greek patriarch. Nevertheless in the East the emperor's wish was powerful enough to obtain recognition for his patriarch; from Chalcedon we must count Constantinople as practically, if not legally, the second patriarchate." Article "[Patriarch and Patriarchate](#)."

Justinian comments further to the Holy See at Rome concerning his recent activities in the Orient (Africa and Italy were not under the control of the Roman emperor at that time):

Therefore we have been sedulous to subject and unite all the priests of the Orient throughout its whole extent to the See of Your Holiness. Whatever questions happen to be mooted at present, we have thought necessary to be brought to Your Holiness' knowledge, however clear and unquestionable they might be, and though firmly held and taught by all the clergy in accordance with the doctrine of Your Apostolic See;

Justinian here talks of him bringing some of the churches of the Orient under the Roman See and accepting the "doctrine of Your Apostolic See" referring assumedly to

the primacy of the papal chair at Rome throughout the kingdom and as accepted everywhere else. His reference to his recent activities, in all probability is to his campaigns in Africa in that year, as explained by the [Catholic Encyclopedia](#):

Justinian carried on the unending war against the Persians with mixed success. His general Belisarius lost a battle at first in 528, then completely routed the Persians at Daras, near Nisibis (June, 530); but on 19 April, 531, the Romans were defeated near Callinicum on the Euphrates; in September a peace was arranged on fairly equal terms. The emperor then conceived the plan of reconquering Africa and Italy, lost to the empire by the Vandal and Gothic invasions. In 533 a fleet of five hundred ships set sail for Africa under Belisarius. In two battles the Romans annihilated the Vandal kingdom, took the king, Gelimer, prisoner to Constantinople, and re-established the authority of Caesar in Africa.

Commenting on this campaign under the article on the [Vandals](#), the Encyclopedia continues:

The Vandals treated the Catholics more harshly than other German peoples. Catholic bishops were punished by Genseric with deposition, exile, or death, and laymen were excluded from office and frequently suffered confiscation of their property....

Hilderich (523-30) favoured the Catholics and granted religious freedom; consequently Catholic synods were once more held in North Africa. Hilderich's policy was opposed by his cousin Gelimer, who raised the banner of national Arianism. Hilderich was deposed and murdered in 533. This was taken as an excuse for interference by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian. Gelimer was defeated in 533 and 534 by Belisarius, the commander of the armies of the Eastern Empire, and North Africa became a Roman province, from which the Vandals were expelled. Gelimer was honourably treated and received large estates in Galicia. He was also offered the rank of a patrician but had to refuse it because he was not willing to change his Arian faith.

From a cursory reading of this campaign it is clear that Justinian's activities was not to force the Catholic bishops to submit to the Roman See but to defeat the Arian ruler Gelimer and free the Catholic churches to live under the direction of the Roman See. This statement by Justinian then does not support the notion that the churches "in the Orient" did not endorse the primacy of the Roman Archbishop.

Justinian, like Napoleon many centuries later, saw religion as an effective means of uniting his empire and creating willingly submissive subjects. It was a political expediency, and the bishop of Rome was a pawn in the process of setting up his systems of control. As Fromm says,

In 538 the prestige of the popes was at a low ebb under the dominating spirit of Justinian. It is likely that Justinian never thought of Vigilius as anything more than the docile head of a "department of religion" in his imperial government, and intended to keep the reins more firmly in his own hands by subjecting the whole church to the jurisdiction of a court favorite. ([Fromm, 1950](#), pp.498—517)

Arianism, Nestorianism, Monophysitism and all other forms of Christian doctrine became a rallying point against the empire, and consequently they became a political issue.

The Catholic cannot applaud the great emperor's ecclesiastical polity, though in this, too, we recognize the statesman's effort to promote peace and union within the empire. It was a matter of course that this union was to be that of the "most holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God" (5 c., De s. tr., I, 1). The Corpus Juris is full of laws against paganism (apostasy was punished by death, 10 c., "De pag.", I, 11), Jews, Samaritans (who began a dangerous revolt in 529), Manichaeans, and other heretics. The decrees of the four general councils were incorporated in the civil law. There was no toleration of dissent. True to the ideal of Constantinople, the emperor conceived himself as "priest and king", supreme head on earth in matters ecclesiastical as well as in the State. He filled his codex with canon law and assumed the most outspoken Erastianism as the law of the empire. And all through his reign he fell foul of the authority of the Church by his attempts to conciliate the Monophysites. Ever since Chalcedon (451) these heretics filled Syria and Egypt, and were a constant source of disunion and trouble to the empire. Justinian was one of the many emperors who tried to reconcile them by concessions. His wife Theodora was a secret Monophysite; influenced by her, the emperor, while maintaining Chalcedon, tried to satisfy the heretics by various compromises. First came the Theopaschite question. Peter Fullo of Antioch had introduced into the Trisagion the clause: "Who didst suffer for us". Pope Hormisdas (514-23) refused to admit it, as savoring of Monophysitism. But Justinian approved it and promoted a Monophysite, Anthimus I (536), to the See of Constantinople. Then followed the great quarrel of the Three Chapters, the lamentable attitude of Pope Vigilius (540-55), and the Second Council of Constantinople (553). In all this story Justinian appears as a persecutor of the Church, and takes his place, unhappily, among the semi-Monophysite tyrants who caused the long series of quarrels and schisms that were the after-effect of Monophysitism. His ecclesiastical tyranny is the one regrettable side of the character of so great a man. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article "[Justinian I](#)")

The Emperor set up the Pope as the arbiter in the issues of Orthodoxy and responded to his definitions, *except* when they contradicted his. When that occurred, he refused to recognise Rome's view and forced Rome to change its view to suit his. This is a clear example that the primacy of the See of Old Rome was *not* above the emperor, even though it may be above the See of New Rome (Constantinople). One obvious example comes from the experience of Pope Vigilius (537-555), who was Pope during the reign of Justinian. Pope Vigilius was bribed by Theodora to become Pope and hopefully, to become a pawn in her Monophysitic plans to get revenge for the deposition of Anthimus, the Monophysite See of Constantinople. The issue that highlights the point I wish to make here however, was over a theological controversy called the [Three Chapters](#), which Justinian tried to use to reinstate Monophysite sections of his empire back into favour in the church. The fifth General Council of Constantinople sat in 553 and condemned the views contained in the Three Chapters and supporters were imprisoned by Justinian. Both Pope Vigilius and his deacon, Pelagius were initially in favour of the Three Chapters – a position that put them offside with the Emperor. This got them into trouble with Justinian and his plans:

As brief background on this controversy, the issues are explained fairly clearly by the Catholic Encyclopedia, Article [Three Chapters](#):

The Three chapters (*trîa kephálaia*) were propositions anathematizing: (1) the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia; (2) certain writings of Theodoret of Cyrus; (3) the letter of Ibas to Maris.

At a very early stage of the controversy the incriminated writings themselves came to be spoken of as the "Three Chapters". In consequence those who refused to anathematize these writings were said to defend the Three Chapters; and, vice versa, those who

anathematized them, to condemn the Three Chapters. Thus, that most important work, the "Defensio trium capitulorum" by Facundus, Bishop of Hermiane, was an attack on the anathematization of the writings of Theodore, etc. The history of the controversy may be divided into three periods: the first ending with the arrival of Vigilius at Constantinople; the second with his ratification of the Second Council of Constantinople in which the Three Chapters were condemned; the third with the final healing of the schisms in the West caused by the papal ratification of the aforesaid council.

At the end of 543 or the beginning of 544 an edict was issued in the name of the Emperor Justinian in which the Three Chapters were anathematized. Justinian's purpose was to facilitate the return of the Monophysites to the Church. These heretics accused the Church of Nestorianism, and, when assured that Nestorius was regarded as a heretic, pointed to the writings of his teacher Theodore of Mopsuestia, which were quite as incorrect, and yet had never been condemned. They added that Theodoret, the friend and defender of Nestorius, had been restored to his see by the Council of Chalcedon, and that the epistle of Ibas had even been treated as harmless by the council. It was sincerely hoped by Justinian that when grounds of complaint against the council had been removed, the Monophysites might be induced to accept the decisions of the council and the letters of St. Leo, which they now insisted on misinterpreting in a Nestorian sense. As a temporal ruler he wished to heal religious divisions which threatened the security of the empire, and as a good amateur theologian he was probably rather pleased with himself at being able to lay his finger upon what seemed to him an important omission on the part of the Council of Chalcedon. But upright as he was, he was really being engineered by Origenists who were desirous of escaping his attention.

Article, [Pope Vigilius](#), describes the way in which the Emperor dealt with this nonconforming Pope:

In order to draw Justinian's thoughts from Origenism, Theodore Askidas, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, called his attention to the fact that the condemnation of various representatives of the Antiochene school, who had championed Nestorianism, would make union with the Monophysites much easier. The emperor, who laid much stress upon winning over the Monophysites, agreed to this, and in 543 or 44 he issued a new edict condemning the *Three Chapters* (see CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). The Oriental patriarchs and bishops signed the condemnation of these Three Chapters. In Western Europe, however, the procedure was considered unjustifiable and dangerous, because it was feared that it would detract from the importance of the Council of Chalcedon. Vigilius refused to acknowledge the imperial edict and was called to Constantinople by Justinian, in order to settle the matter there with a synod. According to the *Liber pontificalis* on 20 November, while the pope was celebrating the feast of St. Cecilia in the Church of St. Cecilia in Trastevere, and before the service was fully ended, he was ordered by the imperial official Anthimus to start at once on the journey to Constantinople. The pope was taken immediately to a ship that waited in the Tiber, in order to be carried to the eastern capital, while a part of the populace cursed the pope and threw stones at the ship. Rome was now besieged by the Goths under Totila and the inhabitants fell into the greatest misery. Vigilius sent ships with grain to Rome but these were captured by the enemy. If the story related by the *Liber pontificalis* is essentially correct, the pope probably left Rome on 22 November, 545. He remained for a long time in Sicily, and reached Constantinople about the end of 546 or in January, 547.

Vigilius sought to persuade the emperor to send aid to the inhabitants of Rome and Italy who were so hard pressed by the Goths. Justinian's chief interest, however, was in the matter of the Three Chapters, and as Vigilius was not ready to make concessions of this point and wavered frequently in his measures, he had much to suffer. The change in his

position is to be explained by the fact that the condemnation of the writings mentioned was justifiable essentially, yet appeared inopportune and would lead to disastrous controversies with Western Europe. Finally, Vigilius acknowledged in a letter of 8 Dec., 553, to the Patriarch Eutychius the decisions of the Synod of Constantinople and declared his judgment in detail in a Constitution of 26 February, 554. Thus at the end of a sorrowful residence of eight years at Constantinople the pope was able, after coming to an understanding with the emperor, to start on his return to Rome in the spring of 555. While on the journey he died at Syracuse.

The reader can immediately see the subservience of the bishop of Rome, even in matters theological, to the emperor. The fact that the Pope was virtually dragged out of a church service and shipped post haste to Constantinople, there to remain until he changed his opinion on the matter clearly shows who is the dog and who is the master in this relationship. When the Pope conceded to the Emperor he was allowed to return to Rome. Clearly, Justinian was quite prepared to acknowledge primacy to the See of Rome over the Patriarch of Constantinople, but in no way did the See of Rome have primacy over the Emperor, even in matters religious.

In passing, it should be noticed there is no difference between these events imposed on the Holy Father in 544 and those imposed on him in 1798. In both cases, he is forcibly dragged from the Vatican, interrupted by the military in the middle of performing his offices, placed under arrest, taken away in servitude. In the case of the event in 544, he is imprisoned for eight years, a much longer period in the interruption of his freedom to exercise his office. So if we are to be historically truthful, the period of the 1260 days should begin in February, 538 and finish on 22 November, 544. Or are we going to stop it at 544, restart it at 555? But this will mean that 1798 years are now 10 years out!! And do we do it again when the Pope is forced away from Rome again? And what about the Babylonian captivity of 70 years in France? Do we add these to the extended time as well? This would mean we now have the end of the 1260 years backed up to at least 1870!! Hang on. Didn't the pope lose all his temporal power then? Perhaps a revision of 1798 to 1870 might be a date worth exploring for SDA historicists. There are so many that favoured that date in Fromm's survey.

What marks the end of the time period?

FROM 2:75FF EXPLAINS HOW THE THEORY WAS DEVELOPED BY KING AND VALPY, AND HOW THEIR IDEAS WERE ECHOED BY OTHERS; THEN HOW THE *BEGINNING* OF THE PERIOD WAS THEN ASCERTAINED FROM THAT.

From Pfandl:

On November 9, 1793, the French Revolution abolished Christianity and replaced it with the worship of reason. Nearly five years later, on February 10, 1798, Napoleon's general Berthier entered Rome and took Pope Pius VI prisoner. Though the Papacy continued, its power had lessened, and it has never since wielded the same kind or measure of authority that it did during the 1260 prophetic days. Although during the French Revolution the pope lost the Papal States, the Congress of Vienna (1815) restored his secular, or political, power. Then in 1860 the armies of Victor Emmanuel II seized the Papal States (except Rome itself) and annexed them to Italy. Ten years later, on September 20, 1870, the forces of Victor Emmanuel II entered Rome, and a year later Rome became the capital of the united kingdom of Italy. The secular political power the Papacy had formally exercised for more than 1,000 years came to an end, and the pope

voluntarily became “the prisoner of the Vatican” until he regained his temporal power from Mussolini in 1929. (2004b, pp.65f)⁷⁶

It is important to note that there is an important difference in the presentation of the 1260-year period by SDA historicists, and what we read in the book of Daniel. In the SDA presentation, we get a mixture of things from both the book of Daniel and the book of Revelation. In this “hybrid” view, the end of the 1260-year period is marked by “a deadly wound” inflicted on this power. This mortal wound however, eventually heals, and the power becomes a world-wide wonder. This scenario is of course, imposed on Daniel from their interpretation of the book of Revelation. But Daniel knows nothing of such a scenario. For Daniel, the end of the 1260-day period and the seventy weeks is the end. At the end of those periods, Michael stands up and there is a time of trouble and that which is determined is poured on the desolator, and God’s people are then delivered. There is no second grace at the end of these periods for the antichrist powers to regroup; only destruction and desolation. THERE IS A LOT OF MIXING OF TEXTS HERE WITHOUT MUCH VERIFICATION OF THE VALIDITY OF LINKING THESE TOGETHER. A BOLD THESIS BUT IS IT SOLID? THIS SECTION SHOULD BE EXAMINING JUST WHAT THE TEXT IS SAYING, NOT WHAT YOU THINK IT IS SAYING. AND THERE SHOULD BE ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER AUTHORS,

What marks the start of the time period?

According to the texts of Daniel 7 and the statements of a large sample of SDA published works on the topic, the beginning of the 1260-year period is the beginning of a period of persecution. One would think then that the obvious indicator for the beginning of such a period is the actual beginning of persecution. The texts in Dn7 that refer to the events of this period say:

19 Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet;

20 And of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows.

21 I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them

22 Until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.

⁷⁶ Some of Pfandl’s errors here include: (1) this is not the first time the pope had been taken from his throne against his will. The first was in 544-555, when he was imprisoned by Justinian until he changed his position and conformed to the emperor. And that is *after* the so-called beginning in 538. Why not include these times as well? So if the 1260 begins in 538, why not end it at 1793, like so many historicists did, when the introduction of the worship of reason was introduced? (3) The Papal States were restored in large measure at the Concordat of 1801, a long time before the Congress of Vienna, and were later taken from the Pope again in 1809 when he refused to close his ports to the English and to keep his nose out of the temporal affairs of state. Those states that were not restored to the papacy in 1801 from the Treaty of Tolentino were also unrestored at the Congress of Vienna.

25 And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time.

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

Yet there is no specific marker to indicate the beginning of the 3½ times in these texts. Therefore any proposal as to the actual beginning of the period on the basis of Dn7 is mere speculation. It has to be gained through inference. Some of the obvious points to consider as qualifiers for the starting point include:

- When the little horn begins to make war against the saints – verse 21. Just when one can decide which point is the marker for the beginning of that war however, is another issue.
- When he begins to “wear out the saints.” This indicates the beginning of the martyrdom of God’s children. So, does it begin at the death of the first person? We cannot judge from Dn7.
- Dn 12 and Dn9 come to the rescue here though. Dn12:11 says, “And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days.” There is a strong argument that the 3½ times (or 1260 days) and the 1290 days begin from the same point (as well as the 1335 days).
- Two events happen in the midst of the seventieth week of Dn9, which also mesh with these ideas. We are told that in the midst of the seventieth week, the sacrifice and oblation would be caused to cease, and that the Messiah would also be “cut off.”
- These two events—the murder of the leader of God’s people, the Jews, and the cessation of the sacrifice and oblation tend to persuade us that the beginning of the 3½ times can be ascribed to the midst of the seventieth week. **THIS NEEDS MORE DETAIL AND SUBSTANTIATION. YOU HAVE LOOKED AT THIS IN THE FIRST 3 ASSUMPTIONS. YOU ALSO NEED TO USE THE SUPPORT OF OTHER COMMENTATORS.**

Another point to consider here is that Froom argues that there should be some evidence to indicate that Christians understood in the year 538 AD that that year was to be the beginning of the 1260-year period. In Assumption No.16, I discuss Froom’s thesis in more detail and look at this concept in relation to the seventy weeks. Here are the relevant statements again. Froom makes a very remarkable statement regarding the importance of the contemporary understanding of a prophecy when it is in the process of being fulfilled.

Jesus said, “When it is come to pass, ye may believe.” Perhaps one of the most conspicuous lessons of all prophetic testimony through the years is the contemporary recognition, or interpretation, of each major epoch or event in the prophetic outline *at the very time of fulfillment*. The 70 weeks were accepted by the early church as a period of years fulfilled in connection with Christ’s first advent. (1950, p.890)

What is even more incredulous is that he carries this “principle” through to its “logical” conclusion with the 70 week prophecy, and wants us to believe that the apostles understood the correct interpretation of Dn9:24-27 *in their day*. And this it done without the slightest solid evidence from Scripture at all. His theory is developed using highly speculative interpolations with the scriptures he relates to the seventy weeks.

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

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

create assurance as to the divine inspiration of the prophecy itself;

establish confidence in the infinite foreknowledge and power of performance on the part of the Author of prophecy;

reveal one’s own time and place in the fulfilling prophecy, and therefore the particular relationship, message, and emphasis due at each stage of development. The *general course* is thus discernible from the prophetic forecast, though not the *precise processes* of fulfillment. (1950, p.144)^{77[33]}

We have seen that the whole gospel message of the apostles was interwoven with the luminous strands of prophecy. The apostolic witness to the Messiahship of Jesus was based upon and tied inseparately into prophecy. The whole New Testament contains a fundamentally prophetic message – the kingdom of grace which was to be established in men’s hearts during the Christian Era, and the future kingdom of glory at the return of Jesus. **The apostolic church was thus a prophecy-conscious and prophecy-instructed body, understanding the times. They were acquainted with the prophetic outline of the future, and knew where they were living in relation to God’s schedule of the ages up to their time, for the seventy weeks of years they knew were ended after the Messiah had been cut off, and the sacrifice and oblation made to cease. Rome – the first prophetic world power – filled the civilized world, and was soon recognized, as will be seen, as the predicted restrainer of that prophesied falling away that was the concern of the prophets and the fear of the church. The historical records showing the fulfillment of prophecy, now clear to us, were vivid, present-day realities to them**” (1950, p.160). Emphasis mine.

One should note that the events referred to in the seventy weeks by Froom in this quote were not the *end* of the seventy weeks, but events *within* that prophecy – the cutting off of the Messiah, and the ending of the sacrifice and oblation. Just so with the 1260-year period: one would expect there to be evidence in contemporary or later writings to indicate that the church knew 538 to be the beginning of the 1260-year period. If Froom could find it in the first century, then the use of that principle in the early centuries would have only been cemented in the thinking of the church five centuries later, and the

beginning of the 1260-year period with the actions of Belisarius would have been heralded throughout Christendom. But neither contemporary documents, nor any subsequent writings even hints of any understanding that the 1260-year period began in or around 538. Froom might argue that this self-understanding was there but was not preserved in official writings due to the fact that neither the bishop of Rome nor the emperor would not want that type of announcement preserved. But there is a precedent that argues the contrary view. Even in the documents of the Catholic church or in the extant records from Constantinople, we may extract the philosophies of various esoteric heresies throughout the centuries since the nature of those heresies were documented by the church indicating what type of argument they were up against. And one can build a fairly detailed portrayal of various philosophies that harassed the church using these sources. If there was material, even heretical material on the matter, we could piece it together from the writings of those Catholic writers who would have argued against it. So this counterargument by Froom would not hold any weight.

The bottom line for Froom's concept of contemporary self-understanding of the fulfillment of prophecies is that if his theory is to be assessed by contemporary evidence, then his theory must be dismissed as invalid. There is no evidence of any group, orthodox or non-orthodox, which "correctly" announced at the time, the beginning of the 1260-year period in 538.

The papacy separates from the Eastern Empire in 790s and the power of the papacy is a struggle of family power in Rome

ANOTHER THING TO CONSIDER. THE LEGAL PRECEDENT FOR THE PRIMACY OF THE PAPACY IS MADE IN THE EASTERN EMPIRE, AT CONSTANTINOPLE, WHICH THE SDA HISTORICISTS DO NOT RECOGNISE AS BEING PART OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. SO HOW COME THEY ARE PREPARED TO RECOGNISE THE LEGISLATION OF JUSTINIAN BUT NOT HIS DOMINION, OR HIS EMPIRE AS A LEGITIMATE PART OF THE EMPIRE? SURELY, IF THEY ONLY RECOGNISE THE WESTERN EMPIRE, THEN THEY HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL ROME GIVES THE POPE LEGAL PRIMACY. EITHER THAT OR THEY HAVE TO INCLUDE ALL THE PROVINCES OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE IN THEIR SURVEY OF THE EMPIRE, WHICH WILL MAKE THEIR CONCEPT OF THE TEN HORN SUPERFLUOUS AND INCORRECT. AND THERE ARE FURTHER RAMIFICATIONS OF INCLUDING THE EASTERN EMPIRE IN THEIR VIEW OF THE EMPIRE.?

Note that the Catholic Encyclopedia says of Justinian's empire:

So Justinian ruled once more over a colossal world empire, whose extent rivaled that of the great days before Diocletian. (Article "[Justinian I](#).")

See also, Article "[Rome](#)" from Catholic Encyclopedia. This contradicts the SDA view that the eastern empire should not be a part of the Roman empire. Rome was a part of the eastern empire up to 799. It had become a Byzantine province with the final conquest of the Ostrogoths by Narses in 552. After the coronation of Charlemagne, it became a separate state, with the pope leading in ecclesiastical matters and the king in civil matters. Therefore the date 538 is superfluous:

With the coronation of Charlemagne (799) Rome became finally detached from the Empire of the East. Though the pope was master of Rome, the power of the Sword was wielded by the imperial *missi*, and this arrangement came to be more clearly defined by the Constitution of Lothair (824). Thus the government was divided. In the ninth century the pope had to defend Rome and Central Italy against the Saracens. Gregoriopolis, the Leonine City, placed outside the walls for the defence of the Basilica of St. Peter, and sacked in 846, and Joannipolis, for the defence of St. Paul's were built by Gregory IV, Leo IV, and John VIII. The latter two and John X also gained splendid victories over these barbarians.

The decline of the Carolingian dynasty was not without its effect upon the papacy and upon Rome, which became a mere lordship of the great feudal families, especially those of Theodora and Marozia. When Hugh of Provence wished to marry Marozia, so as to become master of Rome, his son Alberic rebelled against him and was elected their chief by the Romans, with the title of Patrician (*Patricius*) and Consul. The temporal power of the pope might then have come to an end, had not John, Alberic's son, reunited the two powers. But John's life and his conduct of the government necessitated the intervention of the Emperor Otto I (963), who instituted the office of *præfectus urbis*, to represent the imperial authority. (This office became hereditary in the Vico family.) Order did not reign for long: Crescentius, leader of the anti-papal party, deposed and murdered popes. It was only for a few brief intervals that Otto II (980) and Otto III (996-998-1002) were able to re-establish the imperial and pontifical authority. At the beginning of the eleventh century three popes of the family of the counts of Tusculum immediately succeeded each other, and the last of the three, Benedict IX, led a life so scandalous as made it necessary for Henry III to intervene (1046). The schism of Honorius II and the struggle between Gregory VII and Henry IV exasperated party passions at Rome, and conspicuous in the struggle was another Crescentius, a member of the Imperialist Party. Robert Guiscard, called to the rescue by Gregory VII, sacked the city and burned a great part of it, with immense destruction of monuments and documents. The struggle was revived under Henry V, and Rome was repeatedly besieged by the imperial troops.

Article "[Rome](#)" from Catholic Encyclopedia.

What do SDA historicist's say mark the start of the period? THIS SHOULD NOT BE SPLIT UP WITH THE PREVIOUS SECTION. DEAL WITH IT TOGETHER.

THIS SECTION NEEDS TO BE FINISHED. DO YOU NEED TO SECTION THESE FOUR SECTIONS OFF THIS WAY? WHY NOT HAVE JUST ONE ON THE START OF THE PERIOD AND ONE ON THE FINISH OF THE PERIOD?

There are three major views on the start of the period in Adventist writings.

- The first relates to the *legal* primacy of the bishop of Rome over the churches.
- The second relates to the uprooting of the third of the three horns in the ousting of the Ostrogoths from Rome by Belisarius in 538.
- The third, proposed mainly by Froom, is indicated by a change in the *nature* of the papacy.

A. The legal primacy of the Pope.

These are those that argue for the legal precedent of the legality of the primacy of the pope. Froom argues this view very well for the SDA position. He is prepared to admit that the bishop of Rome had primacy over all the other bishops in the Catholic

church before the sixth century, but the point that he belabours is that it is only the *legal primacy* of the bishop of Rome referred to in this prophecy.

B. The removal of the last of the three horns.

This is argued by those who see the ousting of the Ostrogoths by Belisarius as the last act in getting rid of the last of the three horns that would be uprooted by the little horn. Maxwell is typical of this, whom we shall examine shortly. But firstly, we should look at Daniel 7:8:

I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.

Looking at the physiological concept of the term “plucking out:” for a horn to be “plucked up by the roots,” the horn has to be actually moved out of its place on the crown of the beast’s head. This means the root system of the horn is exposed and broken in the separation of the horn from the animal’s head. This in turn, means that the horn is completely dislodged, completely extradited from the bone of the skull. In short, it is no longer a part of the animal.

By looking how the previous two other peoples were “plucked by the roots,” one can easily analyse what point to tag in the Ostrogothic history as the completion of the “plucking up by the roots.”

SDA historicist Taylor G. Bunch, writing in the 1950s is clear as to what “plucked up by the roots” means in Daniel 7. He defines it as “complete destruction”:

Uproots Three. "He shall subdue three kings," is the prediction, or "before whom three fell." The three were "plucked up by the roots," indicating complete destruction.

This is the correct view. “Plucking up” means the destruction of the people who are represented by the horn-power.

The Heruli.

Maxwell says of Emperor Zeno’s elimination of the Heruli:

In 487, Zeno officially commissioned Theodoric, leader of the Ostrogoths to march to Italy and dispose of the Heruls. Zeno reckoned that in the process he would relieve Constantinople of its ferocious neighbors. Further, whichever tribe won the contest in Italy, he would have one less Arian tribe to contend with. As things turned out, after five years of fighting, the Ostrogoths fulfilled their mission from Zeno and destroyed the Heruls, who disappeared from history. Thus the Catholic emperor Zeno accomplished the elimination of one of the Arian tribes. (1981, p.146)

The Vandals.

Maxwell again describes the point we can call the elimination of the Vandals:

In the 530s Justinian launched a holy war against the Arian Vandals and the Arian Ostrogoths. He found legal pretext for doing this, of course, but Procopius, the historian-reporter who went along on the campaign, reveals in his *History of the Wars* [He inserts footnote: “Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 3.10.19.”] that Justinian’s real purpose was to “protect the Christians,” that is, to protect the Catholics from the Arians.

Justinian commissioned his finest general, Belisarius, to sail with an army from Constantinople to North Africa and destroy the Vandals. After the crucial battle of Tricamarum the Vandals in 534 “disappeared like a mist,” says the *Shorter Cambridge Medieval History*. [He inserts footnote: “C.W. Previté-Orton, *Shorter Cambridge Medieval History*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), 1:189.”] (1981, p.146)

Maxwell does well to represent history accurately up to this point. And we can judge from the experience of these two tribes what the meaning of to “pluck up by the roots” really means. Maxwell uses the phrase “disappeared from history,” or “elimination of one of the Arian tribes” to describe the “plucking up by the roots” of the Heruli. In regard to the “plucking up by the roots” of the Vandals, Maxwell quotes the phrase “disappeared like a mist.” Thus we can gauge from the experience of both the Heruli and the Vandals, the point of their experience that Maxwell judges as the “plucking up.” He understands it to mean their utter demise as a group of people.

The Ostrogoths.

For Maxwell to be consistent, he *must* apply the same principle to the experience of the Ostrogoths. It is the point in time when they are “eliminated” or when they “disappear” that Maxwell should account as the date when they were “plucked up by the roots.” When did this occur? In his own admission they “disappeared from history” much later than 538 A.D.:

The large Gothic army was so grievously reduced by disease that in March 538 Belisarius with his small force was able to defeat it handily.

Skirmishes and battles followed here and there in Italy for a number of years until the Catholic general Narses annihilated all but a couple of thousand Ostrogoths – and the Ostrogoths, like the Heruls, and Vandals, disappeared from history. (Ibid)

It is significant here that when General Narses gained his victory, it is *then* that Maxwell compares the events of the Vandals and Heruls with the Ostrogoths. “until the Catholic general Narses annihilated all but a couple of thousand Ostrogoths – and the Ostrogoths, like the Heruls, and Vandals, disappeared from history.” He does not compare the events of 538 with the experience of the Vandals or Heruls. When was this decisive victory by Narses? In 552 A.D.

Another fact worth noting is that Maxwell leads us to see the events after 538 only as sporadic incidences, “skirmishes.” But that is not the proper story. The climax was not Belisarius’ victory in 538. We shall read of this shortly in the Encyclopedia Britannica.

George McCready Price.

In his book *The Greatest of the Prophets*, McCready-Price offers us the standard explanation of the three horns:

8. I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another horn, a little one, before which three of the first horns were plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things.

The word here rendered considered might better be translated “was considering,” or “was contemplating.” All through this vision there is a prolonging of the action; the prophet studies one of the symbols until the next one appears.

Another horn, a little one. The meaning doubtless is that this power was little in its beginnings, though later it is described as “more stout than its fellows” (verse 20), while even in this verse we are told that it became strong enough so that before it, or by its means, three of the first horns were plucked up by the roots. It is evident that, if the ten horns represent the divided state of the empire which once was Rome, this little horn must represent a power which would arise among these ten, and before which three of these kingdoms would fall or be completely destroyed. Answering precisely to these specifications, we find the papal power arising in the West, among the divisions into which the empire was broken by the barbarian invaders. **And we find that exactly three of these barbarian powers, the Heruli in AD 493, the Vandals in 534, and the Ostrogoths in 538, were “plucked up by the roots” to make way for the rising ecclesiastical power of the bishops of Rome, because these three powers were Arians, or heretics, in the estimation of the papacy, and their existence was blocking the path to world dominion which the proud pontiffs were determined to obtain. The decree of Justinian, AD 533, had authorized the bishop of Rome to be the “head of all bishops, and the true and effective corrector of heretics.” But not until AD 538, when the last of the heretic Arian powers in Italy had been removed by the armies of Justinian, could this imperial edict go into effect.** Therefore the period of 1260 years of papal rule over the nations of the world is usually reckoned from the later date.

In the note on chapter 2:41 mention was made of the idea that the, number ten as used here for the ten horns may be an indefinitely large number, though perhaps not intended to mean exactly ten. In spite of the fact here stated that three of the ten were plucked up to make way for the eleventh, or the little horn, the number ten is still mentioned over and over again in subsequent prophecies of the Revelation. Revelation 12:3; 13:1; 17:1 11, 16. In Revelation 17 the remarkable statement is made that the ten horns “have received no kingdom as yet; but they receive authority as kings, with the beast, for one hour.” Revelation 17:12. This is hardly the place to enter into an exposition of this latter text; but it seems evident that a similar set of “ten” kingdoms, though certainly not identical with the original set, are being referred to here, with no allowance at all made for the fact that three were destroyed completely before the rising power of the papacy.

It is undeniable that a list of ten kingdoms can be made out in Western Europe, which arose from the ruins of imperial Rome. While we must believe that the three kings which were “plucked up” are to be taken literally and exactly, it seems better to say that the number ten is used as a round number, to indicate a large number of divisions. This is the safer and the more reasonable view. Eyes like the eyes of a man. These humanlike eyes fitly represent a faculty for keen observation and insight, and hence the possession of intellectual cunning and shrewdness. If any long-lived power on earth has made its way by its wits, sheer cunning, and intellectual foresight, that power is the papacy. Occasionally it has used force; but its usual manner of winning out has been by its clever diplomacy, by playing off one power against another. Seldom during nearly a millennium and a half has any other power been a match for it in these respects.

It is interesting in this connection, and surely not a mere coincidence, that the Greek word for bishop is episcopos, and means literally a watcher or overseer. Thus the bishop of Rome, who poses as bishop of bishops, would be the one who watches over all others. Hence there is much significance in this prophecy, given so many hundreds of years before, which speaks of him as having eyes like the eyes of a man. (1955, pp., 63f.)

And again on page 69:

And they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and half a time. The word they must include both the saints and the times and the law. All commentators are agreed that this is symbolic or prophetic time, and that it equals three and a half prophetic years, or this many times 360 years, which amounts to 1260 literal years. This period is mentioned repeatedly in these chapters of Daniel and in the book of the Revelation. See Daniel 12:7; Revelation 12:6, 14; 13:5.

They are to be reckoned from AD 538, when the decree of Justinian went into effect making the bishop of Rome the head of all the churches. Counting 1260 years from this date, we reach the year 1798. In this year Berthier, with a French army sent by Napoleon, entered Rome, proclaimed a republic in place of the papacy, and took the pope prisoner, carrying him off to France, where he died later in exile. (*Ibid*)

McCready Price certainly sees the significance of 538 A.D. – the beginning of the 1260-year period, as “when the decree of Justinian went into effect making the bishop of Rome the head of all the churches.” He strains to claim that “the Ostrogoths in 538, were ‘plucked up by the roots’ to make way for the rising ecclesiastical power of the bishops of Rome....” Then he continues with his quasi-historical reasoning “because these three powers were Arians, or heretics, in the estimation of the papacy, and their existence was blocking the path to world dominion which the proud pontiffs were determined to obtain.”

On all accounts McCready Price is incorrect. Justinian’s decree went into effect immediately in 533 A.D., and even Justinian understood this to be the case when he encouraged Pope Agapetus to sack the patriarch of Constantinople, Anthimus, in 536 A.D. Secondly, history verifies that the Ostrogoths were not “plucked up by the roots” in 538 A.D. Even Maxwell understands this and modifies the term to mean “significant reduce the power of” rather than “pluck up.” And lastly, the existence of the three Arian powers did not “block the path” of the papacy “to world dominion.” If anything, the emperor himself, with his caesaro-papal notions, was more of an obstacle than a dozen Arian tribes. He kept the church of Rome in subjection for another 200 years, until affairs in the east engaged his full attention, and forcing him to leave the West to its own fate. It was freedom from the eastern emperor that enabled the church of Rome to establish its own temporal power in the eighth and ninth century.

Gerhard Pfandl

Dr. Pfandl also offers the standard explanation regarding the overthrow of the three powers symbolised by the three horns:

The three horns that were “plucked up” “before it” were the Arian powers of the Heruli, the Vandals, and the Ostrogoths. Arius, a priest in Alexandria, taught that Christ was a created being. Although the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) condemned his teaching, nevertheless, it continued to grow, and when the Germanic invaders converted to Christianity it was mostly to the Arian form. The bishop of Rome, however, was a Trinitarian who accepted the divinity of Christ. Daniel 7:8 indicates that these powers were to be uprooted so that the Papacy could develop and assert itself. The Ostrogoths defeated the Heruli in Italy in A.D. 493, and they in turn succumbed to the armies of Justinian, the emperor in Constantinople, in A.D. 538, and were completely destroyed in

A.D. 554. Justinian defeated the third power, the Vandals in A.D. 534. "Thus the three Arian nations who refused to renounce their heretical faith were uprooted or subdued and the other Arian peoples turned orthodox, leaving the bishop of Rome the undisputed ruler of nations and the corrector of heretics." [Inserts footnote: "Taylor G. Bunch, *The Book of Daniel*, (Payson, Ariz.: Leaves-of-Autumn Books, 1991), p.101."]⁷⁸

Taylor G. Bunch.

Taylor Bunch, a SDA historicist, wrote a commentary on Daniel in the 1950s. We have just seen Pfandl using his work as a reference. We have earlier seen Bunch's view that the "plucking up" of the horns represented their *destruction*. When we look more closely at Bunch's comments on the downfall of the Ostrogoth's we get a clear picture of a SDA scholar who is prepared to *misrepresent* his sources in order to make them align with the standard SDA view. I will present his comments regarding the position of Ridpath's *History of the World*, and then I will present the writings of Ridpath himself so that we can see the significant difference:

It was "three of the first horns" that were uprooted or subdued. In the fourth century, Arius, a priest of Alexandria, began teaching that Christ was the first created being and was therefore inferior to the Father. The Council of Nicea, called by Constantine in 325 A.D., condemned Arius as a heretic and his teachings as heresy. Arianism, however, continued to grow until four of the ten kingdoms were Arian in belief. Three of these were the Heruli, the Vandals, and Ostrogoths. Through war and diplomacy the Papacy, which clung to the Nicene Creed, endeavored to destroy these heretical nations. It was three of the first that were uprooted and destroyed.

(1) The Heruli. "The first kingdom established by the barbarians in Italy was that of the Heruli."--Ridpath. The historian gives the date of the overthrow of the Heruli as 493 A.D. They were overthrown by the Goths under Theodoric by what he called a divine commission from Zeno, the emperor of Eastern Rome. The fact that the Heruli and Ostrogoths were both Arian in belief did not restrain the scheming pontiff from using the one to destroy the other when the outcome resulted in his advancement in power. See *History of the World*, by Ridpath, Vol. 4, chap. 74, and Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, chapters 39 and 40. The destruction of this Arian nation was complete.

"After the middle of the sixth century, however, their name completely disappears."--*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. XIII, p. 403, art. "Heruli." "After this their name disappears from history."--*Standard Encyclopedia of World Knowledge* Vol. XIII, p. 334. See also the *New Standard Encyclopedia*, art. "Heruli." The kingdom was so completely uprooted that no trace is left, and no modern nation or province bears the name or can be identified with the Heruli.

⁷⁸ What Pfandl fails to acknowledge here is (1) it was the Roman emperor who uprooted these powers, not the pope; (2) The Ostrogoths did not "succumb" in 538; (3) The bishop of Rome was not the undisputed ruler of nations and corrector of heretics; that was the prerogative of the emperor. By the emperor people lived or perished based on their understanding of the situation. A few years after the pope was supposedly the undisputed leader and the corrector of heretics, Justinian sent a deputation to arrest the emperor; pull him away from his execution of office in the midst of a ceremony, took him to Constantinople and placed him under house arrest, until he changed his position on a belief, and confessed as much to Emperor Justinian. This went on for about eight years until the pope conceded. And this occurred when he was supposed to be the undisputed leader and corrector of heretics.

2) The Vandals. The Vandals crossed into Northern Africa and took possession of Carthage in 431 A.D. They accepted the Arian doctrine and were therefore marked for destruction. Ridpath gives the date of their destruction as 534. "Their power was at its height when Genseric died (477). In his time the Vandals became Christians, but they were Arians, and fiercely persecuted orthodox believers and other heretics. In 533 the Byzantine general, Belisarius, landed in Africa. The Vandals were several times defeated, and Carthage was entered on Sept. 15, 533; and in November of the same year they were routed in the decisive battle of Tricamaron. In the next year Africa, Sardina, and Corsica were restored to the Roman Empire. As a nation, the Vandals soon ceased to exist."--Nelson's Encyclopedia, Vol. XII, art. "Vandals."

Further Evidence. "Being Arian Christians, the Vandals persecuted with furious zeal the orthodox party, the followers of Athanasius. Moved by the entreaties of the African Catholics, Justinian, the Eastern emperor, sent his general Belisarius to drive the barbarians from Africa. The expedition was successful....The Vandals remaining in the country were gradually absorbed by the old Roman population, and after a few generations no certain trace of the barbarian invaders could be detected....The Vandal nation had disappeared; the name alone remained."--A History of Rome, by Myers, p. 193.

Race Exterminated. "The Arian heresy (of the Vandals) was proscribed, and the race of these remarkable conquerors was in a short time exterminated. A single generation sufficed to confound their women and children in the mass of the Roman inhabitants of the province, and their very name was soon totally forgotten. There are few instances in history of a nation disappearing so rapidly and so completely as the Vandals of Africa."--History of Greece, George Finlay, Vol. I, p. 232. "It is reckoned that during the reign of Justinian, Africa lost five millions of inhabitants; thus Arianism was extinguished in that region, not by any enforcement of conformity, but by the extermination of the race which had introduced and professed it."--History of the Christian Church, J.C. Robertson, Vol. I, p. 521.

(3) The Ostrogoths. Ridpath dates the establishment of the Ostrogothic nation in 493, and its overthrow in 538, and its total destruction in 554. The following is from Ridpath's History of the World, Vol. IV, pp. 408-417: "Bishop Wulfila, or Ulfilas, labored for forty years among the Goths, and saw as the fruits of his labors the conversion of the entire people to the Arian branch of Christianity....The Ostrogoths had grown to be first in influence among the barbarian states....In religious faith Theodoric, like his people, was an Arian. This fact opened a chasm between the Goths and the Italians, the latter accepting the Nicene creed....Certain it is that Justinian, who had now succeeded to power at Constantinople, resolved to purge the church of heresy as well in the West as in his paternal dominions." The agent of the emperor in the extermination of heresy was Belisarius who had destroyed the Vandal nation.

The Nation Destroyed. "Nearly the whole Gothic nation gathered around the Eternal City; but Belisarius held out until reinforcements arrived from the East, and after a siege of a year and nine days' duration, Rome was delivered from the clutch of her assailants. Vitiges (the Ostrogothic leader) was obliged to burn his tents and retreat (538) before his pursuing antagonist to Ravenna....It was evident that the kingdom of the Goths was in the

hour and article of death." Speaking of the final defeat of the Goths in [538?] Ridpath says that there was "inflicted on the barbarians a defeat so decisive as to refix the status of Italy. The greater part of the Gothic army perished either by the sword or in attempting to cross the river...As for the Goths, they either retired to their native seats beyond the mountains or were absorbed by the Italians."--Id. In chapter 41 of Gibbon's Roman Empire is a graphic description of the campaigns of Belisarius against the Vandals and Ostrogoths resulting in their defeat and overthrow. Thus the three Arian nations who refused to renounce their heretical faith were uprooted or subdued and the other Arian peoples turned orthodox leaving the bishop of Rome the undisputed ruler of nations and the corrector of heretics. How completely the prophecy was fulfilled .(c.1950, pp.100-101)

Looking at [Ridpath's](#) actual written entry of this event in his writings, we get a different picture of what he actually says in his *History of the World*, than that reported by Taylor Bunch. Says Ridpath: “

Belisarius conquered Naples and advanced on Rome, where the people rose in revolt, deposed and killed Theodatus, and in 536 opened the gates to the army of Belisarius. Three years afterwards he reduced Ravenna, overthrew Vitiges, King of the Ostrogoths, and was on the eve of restoring the whole of Italy to Justinian, when the latter, filled with envy at the fame acquired by his great general, recalled him to Constantinople.

In 541 Chosroes was driven beyond the confines of Syria. A little later, when Totila, the successor of Vitiges, having restored the kingdom at Ravenna, was marching on Rome, Belisarius was summoned by his master and again sent into Italy; but the jealous fit soon returned, and the command of the army was transferred to Narses. In 552 the ancient capital, which had been already four times taken during Justinian's reign, again fell into Iris power. Totila was slain in battle, and his successor Teias, the last of the Ostrogothic kings of Italy, perished in the following year.

The Franks and Alemanni now poured down from the North, but Narses defeated them and established himself as "Exarch of Ravenna"- holding his fief subject to the Emperor of the East.

Chosroes I., king of Persia, had meanwhile renewed the conflict, and the war continued with varying successes until 561, when Justinian purchased a peace by the payment of an enormous annual tribute. The barbarians beyond the Danube were also bought off from their incursions, and the line of fortresses along the river was extended and strengthened.

In the administration of civil affairs there was little to be commended in the reign of Justinian. His methods were tyrannical; his habits luxurious. Corruption and bribery were the favorite means of attaining the ordinary ends of government. The public buildings of the time were ostentatious rather than grand. The church of St. Sophia, founded by Constantine in 325, was rebuilt and ornamented with extravagant expenditures. The disposition of the Emperor was fully illustrated in his treatment of Belisarius. This able veteran, after he was superseded by Narses, was driven into disgrace and privacy until the year 559, when an invasion of the Empire by the Bulgarians again made him necessary to Justinian. After gaining a great victory over the invaders, the old general was a third time disgraced and thrown into prison. It is narrated that his eyes were put out, and that he was turned a beggar into the streets of Constantinople, though this atrocious tradition has been denied by several historians, notably by the careful Gibbon.

<http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/books/rid/003/index.cfm?page=1000> and continuing to page <http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/books/rid/003/index.cfm?page=1001>

And again further in another place Ridpath comments:

Great were the present afflictions of Italy. In the brief interval which followed the withdrawal of the Gothic king from Rome, the Frank, Theodebert, king of Gaul, sent down from the Alps an army of Burgundians to espouse the cause of the Goths. The city of Milan, which had gone over to Belisarius, was by them besieged, taken, and dismantled. In the next year (A. D. 539) Theodebert himself, with an army of a hundred thousand Frankish warriors, entered Italy, and encamped on the Po. It soon became evident that by him the Goth and the Roman were to be treated without discrimination. Theodebert fell at the same time upon the opposing camps of Belisarius and Vitiges, and drove every thing before him. Soon, however, the provisions of the Franks were exhausted, and a pestilence broke out among them which swept away a third of their army. The turbulent warriors demanded to be led back to their homes beyond the Alps, and Theodebert was constrained to comply with their wishes. The barbarian horde was quickly withdrawn, and Belisarius again found opportunity to follow up his successes against Vitiges.

The king of the Goths now shut himself up in the impregnable fortifications of Ravenna. The Roman general laid siege to the place, and awaited the results of impending famine. He vigilantly guarded the approaches to the city, cut off supplies, fired the exposed granaries, and even poisoned the waters of the city. In the midst of their distress the Goths, conceiving that Belisarius, but for his obedience to Justinian, would make them a better king than their own, offered to surrender if he would renounce his allegiance to the Emperor of the East and accept the crown of Italy. Belisarius seemed to comply. Ravenna was given up by the Goths, and the victor took possession. It was, however, no part of the purpose of Belisarius to prove a traitor to the Emperor, though the conduct of Justinian towards himself furnished an excellent excuse for treason. The suspicion of the thing done soon reached Constantinople, and Justinian made haste to recall the conqueror from the West. So the hero, who had well-nigh recovered the entire Western Empire of the Romans, took ship at Ravenna and sailed for the Eastern capital.

With the departure of Belisarius the courage of the Goths revived. They still possessed Pavia, which was defended by a thousand warriors, and, what was far more valuable, the unconquerable love of freedom. Totila, a nephew of Vitiges, was called to the throne, and entrusted with the work of reestablishing the kingdom. Of the Roman generals whom Belisarius left behind him in Italy, not one proved equal to the task of meeting the Goth in the field. The latter traversed the country without opposition, marched through the heart of Italy, and compelled submission even to the extremes of Calabria. He then pitched his camp before Rome, and with an impudence not devoid of truth invited the Senate to compare his reign with the tyranny of the Greek Empire.

One of the alleged reasons for the recall of Belisarius had been that he might be assigned to the defense of the East against the armies of Persia. Having successfully accomplished this duty, he was again available as the chief resource of Justinian in sustaining the Greek cause in Italy. In the year 545 the veteran general was accordingly assigned to the command in the West. Care was taken, however, by the Emperor that the aged commander should be hampered with such restrictions as would make a conspicuous success impossible. Meanwhile Totila laid actual siege to Rome, and adopted starvation as his ally.

The city was defended by three thousand soldiers under the command of Bessas, a veteran Goth. The besieged were gradually reduced to the extremity of eating bread made of bran and devouring dogs, cats, and mice, to say nothing of dead horses and offal. When Belisarius landed in Italy he made an ineffectual attempt to raise the siege of the city, and the Romans were then obliged to capitulate. In the day of the surrender the barbarian in Totila asserted itself, and the city was given up to indiscriminate pillage. But

before the worst could be accomplished Belisarius sent so strong a protest to Totila that the latter reversed his purpose, and the city was saved from general ruin.

The Gothic king next directed his march into Southern Italy, where he overran Lucania and Apulia, and quickly restored the Gothic supremacy as far as the strait of Messina. Scarcely, however, had Totila departed upon his southern expedition when Belisarius, who had established himself in the port of Rome, sallied forth with extraordinary daring, and regained possession of the city. He then exerted himself to the utmost to repair the defenses, and was so successful in this work that when, after twenty-five days, Totila returned from the South the Goths were repulsed in three successive assaults. Nor did it appear impossible that with seasonable reinforcements from the East Belisarius might soon recover not only Rome but the whole of Italy. To the message of his general, however, Justinian replied only after a long silence; and even then the order transmitted to the West, was that Belisarius should retire into Lucania, leaving behind a garrison in the capital. Thus paralyzed by the jealousy of the Emperor, the old veteran languished in the South, while the Goths regained the advantage. In 549 they again besieged and captured Rome. Totila had now learned that to destroy is the smallest part of rational conquest. The edifices of the city were accordingly spared; the Romans were treated with consideration, and equestrian games were again exhibited in the circus under the patronage of barbarians.

In the mean time Belisarius was finally recalled to Constantinople and was forced into an inglorious retirement by a court which had never shown itself worthy of his services. He was succeeded in the command of the Roman army in the West by the eunuch Narses, who in a body of contemptible stature concealed the spirit of a warrior. The dispatch of Justinian recalling Belisarius had declared that the remnant of the Gothic war was no longer worthy of his presence. It was this "remnant" that in the year 551 was entrusted to Narses. His powers were ample and his genius sufficient even for a greater work. On arriving in Italy he made haste to bring matters to the crisis of battle. On his way from Ravenna to Rome he became convinced that delay would be fatal to success. On every side there were evidences of a counter-revolution in favor of the Goths. It was evident that nothing but a victory could restore the influence of the Byzantine government in the West. Advancing rapidly on the capital he met the Goths in the Flaminian Way, a short distance from the city. Here, in July of 552, the fate of the kingdom established by Theodoric was yielded to the arbitrament of arms. A fierce and obstinate conflict ensued in which Totila was slain and his army scattered to the winds. Narses received the keys of Rome in, the name of his master, this being the fifth time that the Eternal City had been taken during the reign of Justinian. The remnants of the Goths retired beyond the Po, where they assembled and chose Teias for their king.

The new monarch at once solicited the aid of the Franks, and then marched into Campania to the relief of his brother Aligern, who was defending the treasure-house of Cumae, in which Totila had deposited a large part of the riches of the state. In the year 553 Narses met this second army in battle and again routed the Goths and killed their king. Aligern was then besieged in Cumae for more than a year, and was obliged to surrender.

At this juncture, however, an army of seventy-five thousand Germans, led by the two dukes of the Alemanni, came down from the Rhaetian Alps and threatened to burst like a thunder cloud upon Central Italy. The change of climate, however, and the wine-swilling gluttony of the Teutonic warriors combined to bring on contagion and decimate their ranks. Narses went forth with an army of eighteen thousand men and met the foe on the banks of the Vulturnus. Here, in 554, the petty eunuch inflicted on the barbarians a defeat so decisive as to reaffirm the status of Italy. The greater part of the Gothic army perished either by the sword or in attempting to cross the river. The victorious army returned laden

with the spoils of the Goths, and for the last time the Via Sacra was the scene of the spectacle of victory called a triumph.

Thus, in the year 554, after a period of sixty years duration, was subverted the Ostrogothic throne of Italy. One-third of this time had been consumed in actual war. The country was devastated-almost depopulated-by the conflict. The vast area of the kingdom was reduced to the narrow limits of a province, which, under the name of the Exarchate of Ravenna, remained as an appendage of the Eastern Empire. As for the Goths, they either retired to their native seats beyond the mountains or were absorbed by the Italians. The Franks also receded beyond the limits of Italy, and the Emperor and the pope, using Narses as the right arm of their power, proceeded to restore a certain degree of order to the distracted peninsula.

<http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/books/rid/003/index.cfm?page=1058> and the following pages to page=1061.

Clearly in Ridpath's view, the end of the Ostrogothic kingdom was not in 538 A.D. as Taylor Bunch reports Ridpath as saying, especially when Ridpath says, "A little later, when Totila, the successor of Vitiges, having restored the [Ostrogothic] kingdom at Ravenna, was marching on Rome, Belisarius was summoned by his master and again sent into Italy; but the jealous fit soon returned, and the command of the army was transferred to Narses. In 552 the ancient capital [Rome], which had been already four times taken during Justinian's reign, again fell into his power." Ridpath further says that Belisarius "was on the eve of restoring the whole of Italy to Justinian." That is correct, Belisarius *nearly* had the victory, but not quite—a view not reported by the biased presentation of Taylor Bunch. Ridpath further reports "Thus, in the year 554, after a period of sixty years duration, was subverted the Ostrogothic throne of Italy." Ridpath contradicts what Bunch reports. 538 A.D. is not a date of significance on the downfall of the Ostrogothic kingdom. What a pity that SDA historicists cannot even accurately report the very historians they use. Talk about crooked scholarship!! When we read Bunch's quote of Ridpath above, he gives the allusion that the following events happened in 538:

"Nearly the whole Gothic nation gathered around the Eternal City; but Belisarius held out until reinforcements arrived from the East, and after a siege of a year and nine days' duration, Rome was delivered from the clutch of her assailants. Vitiges (the Ostrogothic leader) was obliged to burn his tents and retreat (538) before his pursuing antagonist to Ravenna....It was evident that the kingdom of the Goths was in the hour and article of death." Speaking of the final defeat of the Goths in Ridpath says that there was "inflicted on the barbarians a defeat so decisive as to refix the status of Italy. The greater part of the Gothic army perished either by the sword or in attempting to cross the river...As for the Goths, they either retired to their native seats beyond the mountains or were absorbed by the Italians."—

The retreat from Rome by Vitiges in 538 A.D. is reported correctly. Bunch however, does not comment on the successful recapture of Italy by the Ostrogoths, nor that Belisarius is hard-pushed as late as 549 A.D. to gain a significant advantage, due to the jealousy of Justinian. And Ridpath's comments regarding the final defeat of the Goths are not attributed by Bunch to the years after 554 A.D. as Ridpath makes clear. He leaves it intentionally ambiguous, allowing the reader to apply them to 538 A.D.

Encyclopedia Britannica

I include another independent source to show the fallacious arguments of SDA historicism regarding the downfall of the Ostrogoths. The following extract comes from the old Encyclopedia Britannica online:

Campaigns against the Ostrogoths

Justinian now resolved to restore as much of the western Roman Empire as he could. In 535, he commissioned Belisarius to attack the Ostrogoths. Again, he chose well, as Belisarius quickly captured Sicily and then crossed into Italy proper, where he captured Naples and Rome in 536 and then moved north, taking Mediolanum (Milan) and the Ostrogoth capital of Ravenna in 540.

At this point Justinian offered the Goths a generous settlement, too generous by far in Belisarius' eyes: the right to maintain an independent kingdom in the Northwest of Italy, with the requirement that they merely give *half* of all their treasure to the empire. Belisarius conveyed the message to the Goths, although he himself refrained from endorsing it. The Goths, on the other hand, felt that there must be a snare somewhere. They didn't trust Justinian, but because Belisarius had been so well-mannered in his conquest they had more faith in him and agreed to the terms on the condition that Belisarius endorsed it. This led to an impasse.

Some enterprising Goth pointed out that their own king, who had just lost, was something of a weakling, and they would need a new one. He endorsed Belisarius, and the rest of the kingdom agreed, so they offered him their crown. Belisarius was a soldier, not a statesman, and still loyal to Justinian. He pretended to accept the offer, rode to Ravenna to be crowned, and promptly arrested the leaders of the Goths and reclaimed their entire kingdom - no halfway settlement - for Byzantium.

Justinian was furious. The Persians had been attacking in the east, and he wanted a stable neutral country separating his western border from the Franks, who were unfriendly. Belisarius returned expecting honours; he was coldly received and sent off to the eastern frontier. Persia had already broken the Eternal Peace treaty and overrun Syria, a crucial province of the empire. Belisarius took the field and waged a brief, inconclusive campaign against them, but ultimately (545) was able to negotiate a peace (aided with payment of a large sum of money, 5000 pounds of gold), in which the Persians agreed not to attack Roman territory, not for eternity, but for five years. It is interesting that in the meantime (542) the bubonic plague had broken out in Constantinople for the first time in history, spreading through Europe.

Belisarius then returned to Italy, where he found the situation had changed greatly. In 541, the Ostrogoths had elected a new leader, known to history as Totila, and this brilliant commander had recaptured all of northern Italy and even driven the Byzantines out of Rome. Belisarius took the offensive, tricked Totila into yielding Rome along the way, but then lost it again after a jealous Justinian, fearful of Belisarius' power, starved him of supplies and reinforcements. Belisarius was forced to go on the defensive, and in 548, Justinian relieved him in favor of Narses, of whom he was more trustful.

Reference Edward Gibbon has much to say on Belisarius in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter 41.

(<http://www.brainyencyclopedia.com/encyclopedia/b/be/belisarius.html>)

We can see in the above quote that far from 538 A.D. being a pivotal victory for Belisarius, when he returned to Italy, it was the Ostrogoths who had the upper hand. Belisarius had to go on the defensive, and was eventually replaced by Justinian with the eunuch general Narses.

Catholic Encyclopedia

The following two extracts come from the Catholic Encyclopedia. The first extract comes from the article "Justinian I":

In 535 Belisarius sailed for Sicily. The island was conquered at once. After a reverse in Dalmatia that province was also subdued. Belisarius in 536 took Rhegium and Naples, entered Rome in triumph, seized Ravenna, sustained a siege in Rome till 538, when the Goths retired. A second general, Narses, then arrived with reinforcements from

Constantinople; Milan and all Liguria were taken in 539, and in 540 all Italy up to the frontier of the Frankish Kingdom was reunited to the empire. In 542 the Goths revolted under their king, Totila; by 553 they were again crushed. Narses became the first Exarch of Italy. Verona and Brixia (Brescia), the last Gothic strongholds, fell in 562.

(<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08578b.htm>)

Notice another view from the Catholic Encyclopedia online, in the article “Ostrogoths”:

His general Belisarius captured Naples in 536. In place of the incompetent Theodahad the Goths chose Witichis as king, but he also proved to be an incapable general. Belisarius succeeded in entering Ravenna in 539 and in taking Witichis prisoner. After his recall in 540, the Goths reconquered Italy under their new king Totila. In 544 Belisarius appeared once more and the war was continued with varying success. In 551 Narses became commander-in-chief in place of Belisarius, and in the following year he defeated Totila at Taginae in the Apennines. Totila was killed in the battle. The survivors of the Ostrogoths chose Teja as their king, but were practically annihilated in the battle near Mount Vesuvius in 553, after a desperate struggle in which Teja was killed. Their last fortress fell in 555, after which the Ostrogoths disappear. The few survivors mingled with other peoples and nations; some were romanized in Italy, and others wandered north where they disappeared among the various Germanic tribes. Italy became a Byzantine province. (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11347d.htm>)

Gibbon’s Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

In chapter 43 of Volume 2, “In the East,” of the classic history on the Roman Empire, Edward Gibbon details the entire campaign of the conquest of Italy. The picture there is far different from the version given by SDA historicists.

The following points highlight these differences succinctly before I give the salient features of his chapter.

- The siege of Rome in 538 A.D. was only one of *five* times that the keys of the city of Rome changed hands between the Roman emperor and the Gothic king. Four more times Justinian had to surrender the keys to Rome to the Gothic king throughout the twenty years until its climax in 555 A.D. ([Gibbon online](#), ch43, pp.13, 16)
- The siege of 538, in the words of Froome, was the death-knell for the Goths. This is historical garbage.

Gibbon on the persecution of the Vandals.

The mutiny was secretly inflamed by a thousand soldiers, for the most part Heruli, who had imbibed the doctrines, and were instigated by the clergy, of the Arian sect; and the cause of perjury and rebellion was sanctified by the dispensing powers of fanaticism. The Arians deplored the ruin of their church, triumphant above a century in Africa; and they were justly provoked by the laws of the conqueror, which interdicted the baptism of their children, and the exercise of all religious worship. (p.1)

But the victories and the losses of Justinian were alike pernicious to mankind; and such was the desolation of Africa, that in many parts a stranger might wander whole days without meeting the face either of a friend or an enemy. The nation of the Vandals had disappeared: they once amounted to a hundred and sixty thousand warriors, without

including the children, the women, or the slaves. Their numbers were infinitely surpassed by the number of the Moorish families extirpated in a relentless war; and the same destruction was retaliated on the Romans and their allies, who perished by the climate, their mutual quarrels, and the rage of the Barbarians. When Procopius first landed, he admired the populousness of the cities and country, strenuously exercised in the labors of commerce and agriculture. In less than twenty years, that busy scene was converted into a silent solitude; the wealthy citizens escaped to Sicily and Constantinople; and the secret historian has confidently affirmed, that five millions of Africans were consumed by the wars and government of the emperor Justinian. (p.3)

Clearly, the Arians in Africa were justified in their discontent with Justinian. His treatment of them was a persecution. Had they been imposed today, we would call it a persecution.

Gibbon on the effect of the siege of 538 A.D.

The jealousy of the Byzantine court had not permitted Belisarius to achieve the conquest of Italy; and his abrupt departure revived the courage of the Goths, who respected his genius, his virtue, and even the laudable motive which had urged the servant of Justinian to deceive and reject them. They had lost their king, (an inconsiderable loss,) their capital, their treasures, the provinces from Sicily to the Alps, and the military force of two hundred thousand Barbarians, magnificently equipped with horses and arms. Yet all was not lost, as long as Pavia was defended by one thousand Goths, inspired by a sense of honor, the love of freedom, and the memory of their past greatness. (p.3)

Gibbon on the reason of the failure to exterminate the Ostrogoths in 538.

There is no question over the matter: Belisarius could have won the day against the Ostrogoths after the victorious outcome of the siege in 538, but jealousy of the general at home hindered the general from effecting a full victory. Here is Gibbon's account of why the jealousy occurred in Constantinople:

[541 AD] The successors of Belisarius, eleven generals of equal rank, neglected to crush the feeble and disunited Goths, till they were roused to action by the progress of Totila and the reproaches of Justinian. (p.3)

[541 AD] Twenty thousand Romans encountered the forces of Totila, near Faenza, and on the hills of Mugello, of the Florentine territory. The ardor of freedmen, who fought to regain their country, was opposed to the languid temper of mercenary troops, who were even destitute of the merits of strong and well-disciplined servitude. On the first attack, they abandoned their ensigns, threw down their arms, and dispersed on all sides with an active speed, which abated the loss, whilst it aggravated the shame, of their defeat. The king of the Goths, who blushed for the baseness of his enemies, pursued with rapid steps the path of honor and victory. Totila passed the Po, traversed the Apennine, suspended the important conquest of Ravenna, Florence, and Rome, and marched through the heart of Italy, to form the siege or rather the blockade, of Naples. The Roman chiefs, imprisoned in their respective cities, and accusing each other of the common disgrace, did not presume to disturb his enterprise. But the emperor, alarmed by the distress and danger of his Italian conquests, despatched to the relief of Naples a fleet of galleys and a body of Thracian and Armenian soldiers. (p.4)

[544 AD] Belisarius soon discovered, that he was sent to remain the idle and impotent spectator of the glory of a young Barbarian; and his own epistle exhibits a genuine and lively picture of the distress of a noble mind. "Most excellent prince, we are arrived in Italy, destitute of all the necessary implements of war, men, horses, arms, and money. In

our late circuit through the villages of Thrace and Illyricum, we have collected, with extreme difficulty, about four thousand recruits, naked, and unskilled in the use of weapons and the exercises of the camp. The soldiers already stationed in the province are discontented, fearful, and dismayed; at the sound of an enemy, they dismiss their horses, and cast their arms on the ground. No taxes can be raised, since Italy is in the hands of the Barbarians; the failure of payment has deprived us of the right of command, or even of admonition. Be assured, dread Sir, that the greater part of your troops have already deserted to the Goths. If the war could be achieved by the presence of Belisarius alone, your wishes are satisfied; Belisarius is in the midst of Italy. But if you desire to conquer, far other preparations are requisite: without a military force, the title of general is an empty name. It would be expedient to restore to my service my own veteran and domestic guards. Before I can take the field, I must receive an adequate supply of light and heavy armed troops; and it is only with ready money that you can procure the indispensable aid of a powerful body of the cavalry of the Huns." ⁽¹¹⁾ An officer in whom Belisarius confided was sent from Ravenna to hasten and conduct the succors; but the message was neglected, and the messenger was detained at Constantinople by an advantageous marriage. After his patience had been exhausted by delay and disappointment, the Roman general repassed the Adriatic, and expected at Dyrrachium the arrival of the troops, which were slowly assembled among the subjects and allies of the empire. His powers were still inadequate to the deliverance of Rome, which was closely besieged by the Gothic king. The Appian way, a march of forty days, was covered by the Barbarians; and as the prudence of Belisarius declined a battle, he preferred the safe and speedy navigation of five days from the coast of Epirus to the mouth of the Tyber. (p.5)

Gibbon on the Christian nature of the Gothic king, Totila

Gibbon documents how Totila was as much a gentleman as was Belisarius, and the former was an easy choice for leader over the avaricious and capricious replacements of Belisarius:

[544-548 AD] The virtues of Belisarius were replaced by the various or uniform vices of eleven chiefs, at Rome, Ravenna, Florence, Perugia, Spoleto, &c., who abused their authority for the indulgence of lust or avarice...

The subjects of Justinian, who escaped these partial vexations, were oppressed by the irregular maintenance of the soldiers, whom Alexander defrauded and despised; and their hasty sallies in quest of wealth, or subsistence, provoked the inhabitants of the country to await or implore their deliverance from the virtues of a Barbarian. Totila was chaste and temperate; and none were deceived, either friends or enemies, who depended on his faith or his clemency. To the husbandmen of Italy the Gothic king issued a welcome proclamation, enjoining them to pursue their important labors, and to rest assured, that, on the payment of the ordinary taxes, they should be defended by his valor and discipline from the injuries of war. The strong towns he successively attacked; and as soon as they had yielded to his arms, he demolished the fortifications, to save the people from the calamities of a future siege, to deprive the Romans of the arts of defence, and to decide the tedious quarrel of the two nations, by an equal and honorable conflict in the field of battle. The Roman captives and deserters were tempted to enlist in the service of a liberal and courteous adversary; the slaves were attracted by the firm and faithful promise, that they should never be delivered to their masters; and from the thousand warriors of Pavia, a new people, under the same appellation of Goths, was insensibly formed in the camp of Totila. He sincerely accomplished the articles of capitulation, without seeking or accepting any sinister advantage from ambiguous expressions or unforeseen events: the garrison of Naples had stipulated that they should be transported by sea; the obstinacy of the winds prevented their voyage, but they were generously supplied with horses, provisions, and a safe-conduct to the gates of Rome. The wives of the senators, who had been surprised in the villas of Campania, were restored, without a ransom, to their husbands; the violation of female chastity was inexorably chastised with death; and in the

salutary regulation of the edict of the famished Neapolitans, the conqueror assumed the office of a humane and attentive physician. The virtues of Totila are equally laudable, whether they proceeded from true policy, religious principle, or the instinct of humanity: he often harangued his troops; and it was his constant theme, that national vice and ruin are inseparably connected; that victory is the fruit of moral as well as military virtue; and that the prince, and even the people, are responsible for the crimes which they neglect to punish. (p.4)

[547 AD] After the successful capture of Rome again by the Goths] As soon as daylight had displayed the entire victory of the Goths, their monarch devoutly visited the tomb of the prince of the apostles; but while he prayed at the altar, twenty-five soldiers, and sixty citizens, were put to the sword in the vestibule of the temple. At his [archdeacon Pelagius'] humble prayer, the lives of the Romans were spared; and the chastity of the maids and matrons was preserved inviolate from the passions of the hungry soldiers. (p.7)

[549 AD] Rome taken again by the Goths] Three thousand of the bravest soldiers had been left to defend the capital. On the suspicion of a monopoly, they massacred the governor, and announced to Justinian, by a deputation of the clergy, that unless their offence was pardoned, and their arrears were satisfied, they should instantly accept the tempting offers of Totila. But the officer who succeeded to the command (his name was Diogenes) deserved their esteem and confidence; and the Goths, instead of finding an easy conquest, encountered a vigorous resistance from the soldiers and people, who patiently endured the loss of the port and of all maritime supplies. The siege of Rome would perhaps have been raised, if the liberality of Totila to the Isaurians had not encouraged some of their venal countrymen to copy the example of treason. In a dark night, while the Gothic trumpets sounded on another side, they silently opened the gate of St. Paul: the Barbarians rushed into the city...(p.10)

But their spirit insensibly stooped to the offers of capitulation; they retrieved their arrears of pay, and preserved their arms and horses, by enlisting in the service of Totila; their chiefs, who pleaded a laudable attachment to their wives and children in the East, were dismissed with honor; and above four hundred enemies, who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries, were saved by the clemency of the victor. He no longer entertained a wish of destroying the edifices of Rome, which he now respected as the seat of the Gothic kingdom: the senate and people were restored to their country; the means of subsistence were liberally provided; and Totila, in the robe of peace, exhibited the equestrian games of the circus. (p.10)

Gibbon on the failure of the second campaign of Belisarius in 544-548

In this comment by Gibbon, we read the determined effort of Justinian to frustrate the efforts of Belisarius from completely vanquishing the Ostrogoths:

[547 AD] After Rome is recovered again from Totila by Belisarius] The Goths were thrice repulsed in three general assaults; they lost the flower of their troops; the royal standard had almost fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the fame of Totila sunk, as it had risen, with the fortune of his arms. Whatever skill and courage could achieve, had been performed by the Roman general: it remained only that Justinian should terminate, by a strong and seasonable effort, the war which he had ambitiously undertaken. The indolence, perhaps the impotence, of a prince who despised his enemies, and envied his servants, protracted the calamities of Italy. After a long silence, Belisarius was commanded to leave a sufficient garrison at Rome, and to transport himself into the province of Lucania, whose inhabitants, inflamed by Catholic zeal, had cast away the yoke of their Arian conquerors. In this ignoble warfare, the hero, invincible against the power of the Barbarians, was basely vanquished by the delay, the disobedience, and the cowardice of his own officers. He reposed in his winter quarters of Crotona, in the full assurance, that the two passes of the Lucanian hills were guarded by his cavalry. They

were betrayed by treachery or weakness; and the rapid march of the Goths scarcely allowed time for the escape of Belisarius to the coast of Sicily. At length a fleet and army were assembled for the relief of Ruscianum, or Rossano, a fortress sixty furlongs from the ruins of Sybaris, where the nobles of Lucania had taken refuge. In the first attempt, the Roman forces were dissipated by a storm. In the second, they approached the shore; but they saw the hills covered with archers, the landing-place defended by a line of spears, and the king of the Goths impatient for battle. The conqueror of Italy retired with a sigh, and continued to languish, inglorious and inactive, till Antonina, who had been sent to Constantinople to solicit succors, obtained, after the death of the empress, the permission of his return.(p.8)

Instead of delivering Italy from the Goths, he had wandered like a fugitive along the coast, without daring to march into the country, or to accept the bold and repeated challenge of Totila. (p.9)

In every step of his victories, the wise Barbarian repeated to Justinian the desire of peace, applauded the concord of their predecessors, and offered to employ the Gothic arms in the service of the empire. (p.10)

Justinian was deaf to the voice of peace: but he neglected the prosecution of war; and the indolence of his temper disappointed, in some degree, the obstinacy of his passions. From this salutary slumber the emperor was awakened by the pope Vigilius and the patrician Cethegus, who appeared before his throne, and adjured him, in the name of God and the people, to resume the conquest and deliverance of Italy. (p.10)

Gibbon on the exchange of Rome five times

The following events highlight the exchange of control of Rome during this extensive half-hearted campaign of Justinian against the Goths in Italy.

1. March 5, 493 AD Gothic king [Theodoric](#) is welcomed as the deliverer of Rome;
1. 536 AD – Belisarius retakes Rome without a loss of a soldier after the Goths yield Rome ;
2. 546 AD – Rome is retaken by Totila, and with the sacking of Rome it was uninhabited for a year;
3. 547 AD – Totila is betrayed and Belisarius retakes Rome;
4. 549 AD –after a revolt, Totila retakes the city;
5. 552 AD –the city opens its gates to Narses and it becomes Byzantine.

Gibbon on the last campaign against the Goths under the eunuch General Narses.

Contrast the efforts of Justinian to aid Belisarius to the following efforts of the emperor to assist Narses in preparing for the conquest of the Goths:

The talents of Narses were tried and improved in frequent embassies: he led an army into Italy acquired a practical knowledge of the war and the country, and presumed to strive with the genius of Belisarius. Twelve years after his return, the eunuch was chosen to achieve the conquest which had been left imperfect by the first of the Roman generals. Instead of being dazzled by vanity or emulation, he seriously declared that, unless he were armed with an adequate force, he would never consent to risk his own glory and that of his sovereign. Justinian granted to the favorite what he might have denied to the hero: the Gothic war was rekindled from its ashes, and the preparations were not unworthy of the ancient majesty of the empire. The key of the public treasure was put into his hand, to collect magazines, to levy soldiers, to purchase arms and horses, to discharge the arrears of pay, and to tempt the fidelity of the fugitives and deserters. (p.11)

The prudence of Narses impelled him to speedy and decisive action. His powers were the last effort of the state; the cost of each day accumulated the enormous account; and the nations, untrained to discipline or fatigue, might be rashly provoked to turn their arms against each other, or against their benefactor. The same considerations might have tempered the ardor of Totila. But he was conscious that the clergy and people of Italy aspired to a second revolution: he felt or suspected the rapid progress of treason; and he resolved to risk the Gothic kingdom on the chance of a day, in which the valiant would be animated by instant danger and the disaffected might be awed by mutual ignorance. (p.12)

[552 AD] After Narses recaptures Rome, following the defeat of Totila] Neither the fortifications of Hadrian's mole, nor of the port, could long delay the progress of the conqueror; and Justinian once more received the keys of Rome, which, under his reign, had been five times taken and recovered. But the deliverance of Rome was the last calamity of the Roman people. The Barbarian allies of Narses too frequently confounded the privileges of peace and war. (p.13)

The Gothic war was yet alive. The bravest of the nation retired beyond the Po; and Teias was unanimously chosen to succeed and revenge their departed hero. (p.13)

But the Goths soon embraced a more generous resolution: to descend the hill, to dismiss their horses, and to die in arms, and in the possession of freedom. The king marched at their head, bearing in his right hand a lance, and an ample buckler in his left: with the one he struck dead the foremost of the assailants; with the other he received the weapons which every hand was ambitious to aim against his life. After a combat of many hours, his left arm was fatigued by the weight of twelve javelins which hung from his shield. Without moving from his ground, or suspending his blows, the hero called aloud on his attendants for a fresh buckler; but in the moment while his side was uncovered, it was pierced by a mortal dart. He fell; and his head, exalted on a spear, proclaimed to the nations that the Gothic kingdom was no more. (p.14)

After a reign of sixty years, the throne of the Gothic kings was filled by the exarchs of Ravenna, the representatives in peace and war of the emperor of the Romans. Their jurisdiction was soon reduced to the limits of a narrow province: but Narses himself, the first and most powerful of the exarchs, administered above fifteen years the entire kingdom of Italy. Like Belisarius, he had deserved the honors of envy, calumny, and disgrace: but the favorite eunuch still enjoyed the confidence of Justinian; or the leader of a victorious army awed and repressed the ingratitude of a timid court. (p.16)

The remains of the Gothic nation evacuated the country, or mingled with the people...But the power of kings is most effectual to destroy; and the twenty years of the Gothic war had consummated the distress and depopulation of Italy. As early as the fourth campaign, under the discipline of Belisarius himself, fifty thousand laborers died of hunger in the narrow region of Picenum; and a strict interpretation of the evidence of Procopius would swell the loss of Italy above the total sum of her present inhabitants. (p.16)

Gibbon on the outcome of the province of Italy after the defeat of the Goths.

The civil state of Italy, after the agitation of a long tempest, was fixed by a pragmatic sanction, which the emperor promulgated at the request of the pope. Justinian introduced his own jurisprudence into the schools and tribunals of the West; he ratified the acts of Theodoric and his immediate successors, but every deed was rescinded and abolished which force had extorted, or fear had subscribed, under the usurpation of Totila. A moderate theory was framed to reconcile the rights of property with the safety of prescription, the claims of the state with the poverty of the people, and the pardon of

offences with the interest of virtue and order of society. Under the exarchs of Ravenna, Rome was degraded to the second rank. Yet the senators were gratified by the permission of visiting their estates in Italy, and of approaching, without obstacle, the throne of Constantinople: the regulation of weights and measures was delegated to the pope and senate; and the salaries of lawyers and physicians, of orators and grammarians, were destined to preserve, or rekindle, the light of science in the ancient capital. Justinian might dictate benevolent edicts, and Narses might second his wishes by the restoration of cities, and more especially of churches. (p.17)

It should be remembered that Italy after the defeat of the Goths, was a province of the Eastern Roman Empire, and yet Smith refuse to allow the Eastern Roman Empire to be included in the symbolism of the Roman empire of Daniel 7, because it does not fit his numbering up to ten.

How can Maxwell say that the successful reconquering of Italy under their new king Totila, is nothing but “skirmishes and battles here and there”? Any historian worth his salt would raise their eyebrows at such expedient “bending” of the facts. On the contrary, it was a major offensive, and a successful one at that, insomuch that even Justinian’s “finest general” only had “varying success” to the point that Belisarius was replaced by General Narses. This is was a major campaign that continued from 542 to 551 without any successful resolution for Justinian. Nothing but “skirmishes and battles here and there”? The Encyclopedia Britannica reports that Belisarius had to go on the *defensive* before he was called away from the struggle with Totila! Is this Ostrogothic tribe a power whose strength has been “significantly broken”? Maxwell is leading his readers up “the garden path” here. How shameful that when it comes to reporting history sensitive to SDA prophetic issues, the plain facts of history get twisted into whatever frame of wording seems closer to the false assertions of their prophetic interpretation.

Notice how he uses the same ploy in another place of his book:

The Catholic emperor Zeno (474-491) arranged a treaty with the Ostrogoths in 487 which resulted in the eradication of the kingdom of the Arian *Heruls* in 493. And the Catholic emperor Justinian (527-565) exterminated the Arian *Vandals* in 534 and significantly broke the power of the Arian *Ostrogoths* in 538. Thus were Daniel’s three horns – the Heruls, the Vandals, and the Ostrogoths – “**plucked up by the roots.**” (1981, p.129)

Maxwell wants us to believe that the siege of 538 “significantly broke the power of the Arian Ostrogoths,” even though a few years *later* they recaptured not only Rome but Italy as well, AND it eventually took not one general, but two generals, and over a decade to finally rout the Ostrogoths in 552. One could be forgiven for believing that Maxwell has an agenda here and that that agenda DOES NOT include reporting the facts accurately. For the Heruls, it was their “extermination;” for the Vandals, it was their “extermination,” but for the Ostrogoths, to fit it into 538, it was the fictitious “significant” breaking of their “power” that constituted their demise!!! Go figure that one!!! Adventist historians at their best!!

Let’s be done with Maxwell’s nonsense! On the face of the report of the Catholic Encyclopedia, the ‘plucking up of the root’ of the Ostrogoth tribe occurred in 555 A.D., and not a year before. In the words of the Catholic Encyclopedia again, “Their last fortress fell in 555, after which the Ostrogoths disappear. The few survivors mingled with other peoples and nations; some were romanized in Italy, and others wandered north where they disappeared among the various Germanic tribes.” This puts the end of the

1260 years at 1815 A.D. If however, one chooses the defeat of the Ostrogothic army at Mons Lactarius in 552 A.D., which is quite a reasonable point to accept, then the end of the 1260 years would end at 1812. In any case the time band between 552-555 A.D. is the lower and upper limits for the decimation of the Ostrogoths in Europe.

From Mansell

Another example of this logic comes from Donald Ernest Mansell. This is very traditional SDA logic, and is not unique to him. He says,

If the fourth beast is the Roman Empire, as the Protestant Reformers and the footnote in the Douay-Rheims Version both claimed, who are the “ten kings” that were to arise “before” the Antichrist, the “different” little horn-king, “sprang up” (vs.24. 20)? A footnote on Daniel 7:7 in the Douay-Rheims Version gives this interpretation: “Ver.7. *Ten horns*. That is, ten kingdoms, (Apoc.17,12 [i.e., Rev. 17:12]) among which the empire of the fourth beast [Rome] shall be parcelled.”...

Although the Ostrogoths were not completely destroyed until 553, their defeat by Belisarius in 538 laid “low” (Catholic Study Bible) or, as Maxwell says, “significantly broke the power of,” the Arian Ostrogoths.⁷⁹ [Mansell inserts footnote: [Maxwell, 1981](#), p.129] Henceforth, the bishop of Rome was free to rise to a position of dominance in western Europe, as the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* clearly implies....⁸⁰

In chapter 1 it was shown that the last of the “hinderers horns,” the Ostrogothic kingdom, was not laid low until A.D. 538. Consequently, *the little horn could not become “greater than his fellows” prior to 538*. Justinian, emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, issued the “*Decretum Iustinianum*” in 533, addressing Pope John II as “the most Holy Archbishop and Patriarch of the noble city of Rome.” In this imperial

⁷⁹ One wonders how much time Mansell spent in finding such an incorrect a comment on the horns in the Catholic Study Bible that could be used to prop up the traditional SDA historicist interpretation. Is this study Bible representative of the consensus of interpretation on this text. I do not think so. The interpretation of the Catholic Study Bible should be rejected as incompetent on this text. “Plucked out” is a totally dissimilar concept to “significantly broke the power of...” or “laid low the power of...”

⁸⁰ The issue is not that the legislation made the pope “free to rise to a position of dominance in Western Europe” as Mansell says, but rather that the oppression by the little horn power of the people of God began in 538 A.D. A position of pre-eminence among the churches and bishops is what the legislation gives, not a position of pre-eminence among the Christian [i.e., Catholic] kings and nations. That is what the text demands, nothing less. In contrast to this view of Mansell’s, when Italy was retaken by Narses from the Goths, it was not the pope who rose to a position of dominance in Italy, but the exarchs of Ravenna, who made *their* city the first city of Italy, with Rome coming in second. ([Gibbon online](#), vol.2, ch.43, p.16) It would be many centuries before the contest would begin between the empire and the church. The history of the church in the succeeding centuries should that the pope was subject to the emperor’s representative in Italy – the exarch of Ravenna. Is that free? As an example, when Gregory the Great was attempting to organised a truce between Rome and the Lombardic royals on his own initiative in 595, his efforts were rebuked and negated by the Greek emperor, and eventually Gregory realised that any lasting deal with the Lombards had to come from the Emperor, not the Pope. (See Catholic Encyclopedia article on [Gregory I \(The Great\)](#).) How can one say here that the Pope was pope was “free to rise to a position of dominance in Western Europe,” when he is rebuked by Emperor Maurice for trying to develop diplomatic initiatives without the prior approval of the Emperor? As the Catholic Encyclopedia says, “Gregory seems to have realized that independent action could not secure what he wished, and we hear no more about a separate peace.” And this is half a century AFTER we are told by Mansell that the pope was free to develop such initiatives.

rescript, Justinian decreed that the pope should be “the head of all the churches.”⁸¹ However Justinian’s decree could not be implemented until March, 538, when the Ostrogoths were driven from the city of Rome. So, 538 is the logical date from which to begin the 1,260 years of papal ascendancy. If this is true, the 1,260 years must have terminated around the end of February, 1798. Did it? *It did!* ...Berthier entered Rome on [the] tenth [of] February, 1798, and proclaimed a Republic. The aged Pontiff refused to violate his oath by recognizing it, and was [escorted out of Rome on February 20th and] hurried from prison to prison in France...

The Reformers believed that they saw in the rise of the papacy beginning with the laying low of the last of the three barbarian kingdoms in 538, a clear fulfillment of the prophecy of Daniel 7. (2002, pp.10f, 19, 34)⁸²

⁸¹ Mansell inserts a *footnote*: *Codex Iustinianum*, lib 1, title 1: “Annales Ecclesiastici,” Caesar Baronio, Ann. 533, sec.12; translation given in the *Petrine Claims*, R.F. Littledale (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1889), 293. Quoted in *Source Book for Bible Students*, (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1922), 382, 383.

⁸² Mansell displays here the cunning way history is twisted and skewed to suit an SDA historicist view. He provides no evidence that *any* Reformer gave any support to 538 or even understood that the 1260 days started with that year or event. Newton said the beginning of the period will not be known until the end has occurred. If the reformers had a consensus on 538 AD, then Newton would have said the same too. WHAT DO THE TABLES OF FROMM SHOW FOR THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMERS ON THE 1260 DAYS?

The second deception here is his careful choice of the phrase “the laying low of the three barbarian kingdoms in 538 AD, a clear fulfillment of Daniel 7.” The Vandals and the Heruli were not “laid low.” They were exterminated. How “low” is low before it is a fulfillment? The historical facts are that the Ostrogoths were not “laid low” in 538 since they retook the city of Rome again after 538. Notice this statement from the Catholic Encyclopedia: “His general Belisarius captured Naples in 536. In place of the incompetent Theodahad the Goths chose Witiches as king, but he also proved to be an incapable general. Belisarius succeeded in entering Ravenna in 539 and in taking Witiches prisoner. After his recall in 540, the Goths reconquered Italy under their new king Totila. In 544 Belisarius appeared once more and the war was continued with varying success. In 551 Narses became commander-in-chief in place of Belisarius, and in the following year he defeated Totila at Taginae in the Apennines. Totila was killed in the battle. The survivors of the Ostrogoths chose Teja as their king, but were practically annihilated in the battle near Mount Vesuvius in 553, after a desperate struggle in which Teja was killed. Their last fortress fell in 555, after which the Ostrogoths disappear. The few survivors mingled with other peoples and nations; some were romanized in Italy, and others wandered north where they disappeared among the various Germanic tribes. Italy became a Byzantine province.”

(<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11347d.htm>)

Clearly, if they were able to reconquer Italy in 540, they were not “low” enough! And if Belisarius only could achieve “varying success” in 544 when he returned, they were definitely not “low” enough even by then for him to rout them! The Encyclopedia Britannica says of Ostrogoth leader Totila “In 541, the Ostrogoths had elected a new leader, known to history as Totila, and this brilliant commander had recaptured all of northern Italy and even driven the Byzantines out of Rome.” (<http://www.brainyencyclopedia.com/encyclopedia/b/be/belisarius.html>)

Clearly in the view of this early 20th century Encyclopedia, the Ostrogoths were not “laid low” at this time. It was only under the command of Narses that the Ostrogoths were finally “laid low” in 552. And even then it took Narses another ten years to overthrow every stronghold of the Ostrogoths in Italy. (Bury, 1958, vol.2. p. 281) So much for the accuracy of SDA historicism!! This is another example of making history fit a prophetic interpretation. Excellence in scholarship in SDA historicism is not looking clearly at the facts but in finding words and phrases that can be ambiguous enough to twist the obvious truth into some a bit shadier in order to accommodate the SDA historicist view, as we have seen in the case of Mansell and Maxwell, from whom Mansell quotes.

Procopius' View of the second campaign of Belisarius.

Procopius was the official historian for emperor Justinian during the crucial events associated with this period of history of the Roman Empire, and wrote extensively on the exploits of the royal family as well as General Belisarius and his wife Antonina. In his volume "Secret History," he gives us information that flies in the face of the fabricated view of SDA historicists concerning the second campaign of Belisarius in Italy:

Belisarius now asked to be restored to his proper position and appointed Commander-in-Chief, in the East, so that he could again lead the Roman army against Chosroes and the Persians. But Antonina would not hear of it: in that part of the world, she insisted, she had been grossly insulted by him, and he should never see it again.

And so Belisarius was appointed Commander of the Imperial Grooms, and for the second time he set out for Italy, after giving an undertaking, it is said, that he would never ask him for money during this campaign, but would himself pay for all the necessary

Scripture clearly indicates for us what the symbol for "laying low" should be. In Dn 4 we read the story of king Nebuchadnezzar being "laid low." In the vision, is the great tree "plucked out of the field?" No, it is merely "cut down" leaving a stump in the ground. Says the text:

"4:13: I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and, behold, a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven;

"14: He cried aloud, and said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches:

"15: Nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth."

Can we trust that the leaving of the stump, indicates the continuance of the same power? Yes. This concept is used again in Dn8. The concept of the continuance of a horn is given through the breaking of a horn, leaving its stump on the animal's head but then allowing for regrowth. In this case, four horns regrew: "Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven." (Dn8:8)

This is NOT the picture given us in Dn7, where the three horns are "plucked OUT." Extracted would be a more suitable word for this action; certainly not the fanciful "laid low." Mansell's pitiful attempt at trying to salvage some credibility for the traditional historicist position on this is thus exposed for what it is – a dismal failure. And he compromised his scholastic integrity in the process. We can only take the dates of either 552, at the successful conclusion of the battle against the Ostrogoths at Mount Lactarius or 555 A.D with the destruction of the last Italian fortified stronghold of the Ostrogoths. as the plucking out of the third horn of Dn7. History constrains us so to read it. The third "plucking out" MUST be identical to the nature of the *previous two events* associated with their being "plucked out." In their case it was *their annihilation and subjection to the emperor*. Thus it must be with the Ostrogoths.

Anyone who wants to read the account given by Gibbon may find it at Christian Classics Ethereal Library <http://www.ccel.org/g/gibbon/decline/home.html>. Chapter 43 is the most appropriate for this topic, in volume 2 dealing with the Empire in the East. Bury's version of these events in his History of the Later Roman Empire, first published in 1889 may be found online at <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/secondary/BURLAT/home.html>. Enjoy! How the pioneers could publish such awfully incorrect historical material relating to 538 AD with such good resources available to them even in their day, with the likes of Gibbon and Bury, shows how the issue was not being historically correct, but rather being *sufficiently plausible to the ignorant* until their membership could be secured. And even with a century of further research and scholarship on the topic, notice how out of kilter with history 20th SDA writers Bunch, Mansell and Maxwell really are. There is absolutely no excuse for their incompetence.

equipment out of his own pocket. It was universally surmised that Belisarius settled the problem of his wife in this way, and gave the Emperor the undertaking described above regarding the forthcoming campaign, simply with the object of getting away from life in Byzantium; and that the moment he found himself outside the city walls he would instantly resort to arms and plunge into some gallant and heroic enterprise in order to square off with his wife and those who had humiliated him. Belisarius, however, paid no heed to anything that had happened....he went where his wife directed him; for he was hopelessly in love with her, though she was already a woman of sixty.

But when he arrived in Italy, there was not a single day when things went right for him, because the hand of God was unmistakably against him. At first, it is true, the plans which in the circumstances he devised for dealing with Theudatus and Vittigis, though apparently unsuited to his purpose, for the most part brought about the desired result; but in the latter stages, despite the reputation which he gained for having planned his campaign on sound lines as a result of the experience gained in dealing with the problems with this war, his ill success in the sequel was for the most part put down to apparent errors of judgment....

So it was that after coming to Italy a second time Belisarius returned home utterly discredited. For, as I explained in an earlier volume, in spite of five years' effort, he never once succeeded in disembarking on any part of the coast, unless there was a fortress handy: the whole of that time he sailed about, trying one landing-place after another. Totila was desperate to catch him outside a protecting wall; but he failed to make contact, as Belisarius himself and the entire Roman army were in the grip of panic fear, with the result that he not only failed to recover a yard of lost ground but actually lost Rome as well, and very nearly everything else. At the same time he devoted himself heart and soul to the pursuit of wealth and the unlimited acquisition of illicit gain, on the plea that he had not received a penny from the Emperor. In fact, he plundered indiscriminately nearly all the Italians who lived at Ravenna or in Sicily and anyone else he could reach, pretending that he was making them pay the penalty of their misdeeds. Thus he went for Herodian,[Williamson includes the footnote: "A Goth, who was elected king in A.D. 541, overran most of Italy and Sicily, but in 552 was defeated and killed by Narses." FB] demanding money from him and using every possible means to terrorize him. This so infuriated Herodian that he turned his back on the Roman army and at once put himself, the units under his command, and the town of Spolitium in the hands of Totila and the Goths. ([Procopius, 1981](#), pp. 60-62)

How different is the record of this historian – a contemporary of Belisarius, and often a travelling companion with Belisarius – compared with the fabricated concoctions of SDA historicists!! How can we compare the “plucking out” of the Vandals and the Visigoths by Belisarius with his Italian campaign? Belisarius does not “pluck out” the Ostrogoths in Italy, as he did to the Vandals and the Visigoths previous to the Italian campaign! It is left to the eunuch General Narses to do this, which was not completed until decades after SDA historicists assert it happened. Reading Procopius, it is easy to see who is the hunter and who is the hunted in Italy, and it certainly is not the Roman army that has the upper hand. And this second campaign of Belisarius' occurs when Maxwell and Mansell want us to believe that the power of the Goths had been “laid low.” They are incorrect. They have abandoned any scholarly honesty and integrity to assert such hogwash.

It is interesting that some SDA scholars like Froom and Ford avoid arguing the beginning of the 1260 day period as associated with the events of 538, and choose the decree of Justinian in 533, and a decision by the French Directory in 1793, in the Republican period, as markers for the beginning and ending of this period. YOUR

REFERENCES HERE? – EG FORD, Although Froom does deal with the issues of 1798 and provides the “evidence” used to substantiate that date, he hints that his choice is the decree of Justinian. Do these writers do this knowing the impossibility of trying to prove either 538 and 1798? Or do they do it using the poor evidence from *both dates* to give support to each other, thereby increasing their credibility?

C. A combination of both the primacy of the Pope and the ousting of the Ostrogoths.

This is the most common view in that they weave both the primacy of the Pope and the defeat of the Ostrogoths together in the hope that it makes the argument more convincing.

From Pfandl:

In A.D. 533 Emperor Justinian, who resided in Constantinople, recognized the bishop of Rome rather than the patriarch of Constantinople, who perhaps was too near to him for comfort, as head of all the churches both West and East. Five years later, in A.D. 538, Justinian's general Belisarius delivered Rome from the siege of the Ostrogoths. Thus the formal recognition of the bishop of Rome as “the head of all the Holy Churches” [Inserts footnote: “Code of Justinian, book 1, title 1, 8; titled 1, 4 in P. Scott *The Civil Law* (Cincinnati: Central Trust Company, 1932), vol. 12, p.12, in Don Neufeld, ed., *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Student's Handbook* (Washington: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1962), no. 1134.”] in practical terms became effective in A.D. 538. Thereafter, beginning with the Franks, the other Germanic tribes became Catholic Christians, and replaced the emperor of the East as the political support of the Papacy. (2004b, p.65)⁸³

Some Adventist writers are either ignorant or just cannot be bothered with trying to weave their way through the logic to try and make it sound feasible. They just write what can only be called “historical lies” so as to keep it simple for the masses. Here is an example from a special edition of the venerable magazine “the Signs of the Times” sold by Adventist Book Centres as a special edition to give to “non-Adventists” in order to explain the SDA interpretation of Daniel. The masthead of the magazine states that the document is not just a work printed by Pacific Press. No! “This special issue on prophecy is a supplement to the Signs of the Times®.” (p.5) This special issue of the Signs of the Times was not merely a printing by Pacific Press; something they were contracted to do for a private customer; it is an official publication of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The masthead says, “Signs of the Times is a monthly publication of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.” (p.5) This comment therefore, has the endorsement of the editorial board of this publishing house and the church as well. We cannot

⁸³ Some of Pfandl's points that are incorrect include: (1) The recognition of the primacy of the bishop of Rome was not that the bishop of Constantinople was competing for primacy; it was that the bishop of Constantinople was recognised as an additional bishop to the three traditional bishops (Antioch, Alexandria and Ephesus) who had long-held that position (Froom, 1950, pp.498—517); and that the bishop of Constantinople was now superior to them. The Roman bishop did not accept this position of the bishop of Constantinople until the twelfth century. (See Catholic Encyc. Art on ??). (2) Pfandl offers no reason why the primacy of the bishop of Rome could not be enforced in 533, nor does he discuss why he sees the success of Belisarius against the Goths in 538 as being essential for the implementation of Rome's primacy. (3) He argues that the Germanic tribes became orthodox Christians after 538. The Franks did not become political supporters of the Papacy until Pepin in 756. That has no relation to 538 as a significant marker.

attribute this glaring mistake to poor editorship since Pacific Press have no shortage of good editors. This publication lists Marvin Moore as the editor, and Miguel Valdivia as the Managing Editor, showing us that more than one Pacific Press mind has approved of this statement:

And strange as it may seem, there is a historical period of exactly 1,260 years of religious persecution. It began in A.D. 538 with an edict by the Roman emperor Justinian, who named the bishop of Rome the head over all Christian churches throughout the empire. Rome was the capital of the empire, and after a fierce struggle it came to dominate the political world of its day. (Bullon, n.d., p.21)

Statements like this could only come from the pen of a Seventh-day Adventist historicist. Here—"strange as it may seem," we read the 533 AD decree of Justinian as occurring in 538 AD, making the period between 1798 and 538 "exactly" 1,260 years!! Is this poor scholarship or what!! And this paper was specifically printed for the general public to read and judge!! Notice also that it is a period of "exactly 1260 years of religious persecution." One would expect from this assertion that the persecution began in 538 but that is not what he argues. He moves from the persecution to the bishop of Rome being "head over all Christian churches throughout the empire." The fact is that he was head over all the Christian churches long before that. Read the history of the first four centuries of [Popes](#) in the Catholic Encyclopedia and become informed.

There are serious questions about the date chosen by SDAs for the start of the 1260 year period. Ford was correct in saying: "we have already referred to our lack of consistency in Daniel and Revelation in applying chronological terms. Even where we do apply them according to the year-day principle, we remain in difficulty historically." (1980, p.209)

Clear evidence refuting the significance of 538 comes from two main sources of evidence:

1. the sacking of Anthimus by the bishop of Rome;
2. and the conflict of [Belisarius](#) with the Ostrogoths *after* 538.

The Deposing of Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople

The point SDAs want to establish is that the decree concerning the primacy of the See of Rome was dependent on the extradition of the Ostrogoths from the empire. This has been noted above, but Froom's opinion will suffice for this:

The beginning of the era of the headship of the Roman bishop over all the churches was not marked by some overmastering event in papal advance, or by an assumption of supreme ecclesiastical control; at that time the pope was hampered by the fact that Arian Ostrogoths were ruling in Italy. Rather, it was only by the removal of the impediment of the Ostrogothic control, as their besieging forces were cleared away from Rome, that the Roman pontiff was free to exercise the jurisdiction now legally provided for through the imperial Code of Justinian. At that time the reinforcing second army of Justinian broke the Gothic siege of Rome, relieving the beleaguered Belisarius, and leaving thenceforth no power save the Papacy that could be said to hold sway through many centuries from the seven hills of the Eternal City.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ One must ask the questions, In what way did the Ostrogoths hamper the Pope, and secondly, hamper his plans for what? What was being hampered? How was his "headship over all the churches" hampered? Froom says that only when the rulership of the Ostrogoths over Italy was broken could he be "free to exercise his jurisdiction over the churches provided for in the Justinian

One year and nine days had been consumed in the siege of Rome by the Goths, ending in March, 538. Thus the ancient seat of empire was preserved for the Papacy, for although Totila, king of the Goths, had resolved to make of Rome, which “surpassed all other cities,” but “a pasture land for cattle,” Belisarius wrote to dissuade him, and so he refrained from destroying it. The war against the Goths continued, for Ravenna did not immediately fall – five or six years passing before the remainder of the Gothic empire collapsed; but the grave of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy was dug by the defeat of this siege, the remaining resistance collapsing by 554. (Froom, 1950, pp. 514f)⁸⁵

The deposing of Anthimus by Pope Agapetus contradicts this view. Pope Agapetus was called to Constantinople by the Emperor.⁸⁶ The See of Constantinople,

code. How does the occupation of a Roman territory have anything to do with the primacy of the pope? Surely, his primacy is only at work in the Councils of the Church, in the instructions he sends out to the churches around the empire, and in his dialogues with the Emperor? It had nothing to do with who is in power in Rome. The fact that Italy became a Byzantine province after the fall of the Goths shows that it was the emperor who was in control, not the pope. Froom is confusing temporal power with the powers of primacy. The two are entirely different things and should not be confused, as Froom has apparently done.

⁸⁵ Like the efforts of Maxwell examined in this section, Froom does a good job here of *misrepresenting* the facts. It seems that the best of the church’s historians find their Achilles’ heel in 538 A.D. and their professionalism goes out the window when faced with the option of either reporting history correctly or writing the party line.

What is wrong with Froom’s comments? Notice this statement: “The war against the Goths continued, for Ravenna did not immediately fall – five or six years passing before the remainder of the Gothic empire collapsed; but the grave of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy was dug by the defeat of this siege, the remaining resistance collapsing by 554.” Two grave errors of reporting here. The first is the sentence: “five or six years passing before the remainder of the Gothic empire collapsed.” As seen from Maxwell the Encyclopedia Britannica and the Catholic Encyclopedia, it was more than five or six years after 538 before the demise of the Ostrogoths. And the sentence “the war against the Goths continued...” comes immediately after his mention of 538 and a short mention of the 540 treaty, though he avoids giving it a date. In any case, five or six years after the treaty between Belisarius and Totila only brings us to 546, a full *nine* years before their demise. Another crafty trick is that Froom only mentions two sets of numbers in the paragraph up to this point: “538” and “five or six years.” It is left to the reader as to whether the two are to be associated or not. The uninformed would. And that seems to be the intent. The second error in Froom’s statement is this: “but the grave of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy was dug by the defeat of this siege, the remaining resistance collapsing by 554.” It seems like *déjà vu*. Having addressed this issue in Maxwell’s commentary, it has to be done again. There is nothing in the decade war of the Roman might against the Ostrogoths, when they retook Rome and indeed Italy, that suggests any notion of these people having ‘one foot in the grave,’ or as Froom puts it, “but the grave of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy was dug by the defeat of this siege.” The siege against the Ostrogoths in Rome in 538 was quickly reversed and in fact, for a decade it seemed at times that the grave was dug for Belisarius, until he was replaced by Narses, and the long drawn-out conflict was brought to its close. Froom has no evidence to prove that “the grave of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy was dug by the siege” of 538. That may be his opinion, but there are no verifiable facts to substantiate it. Had Froom had the professionalism to report history impartially, he would have chosen to change that statement. This is another example of not trusting SDA historicists to report historical incidents critical to their prophetic interpretation correctly.

⁸⁶ The Patriarch of Constantinople was chosen by the Emperor’s wife. The Roman See’s views mirrored those of the emperor, and the Patriarch represented those of the emperor’s wife. The only real challenge to the pre-eminence of the Bishop of Rome could come from the Patriarch who presided over the churches in the emperor’s city. A demonstration of superiority over the Patriarch was a statement of pre-eminence more than any other matter. This was in effect a

Anthimus, was a Monophysite, and had only recently been installed in that position by Empress Theodora. That nomination had excited the animosity of the orthodox faction. Justinian encouraged Pope Agapetus to exercise his primacy powers and depose Anthimus, and install Mennas, the new patriarch, much to the chagrin of Justinian's Monophytic wife, Theodora. He did so. Here is the comment from the Catholic Encyclopedia, Article "Pope Agapetus":

Meanwhile Belisarius, after the very easy conquest of Sicily, was preparing for an invasion of Italy. The Gothic king, Theodehad as a last resort, begged the aged pontiff to proceed to Constantinople and bring his personal influence to bear on the Emperor Justinian. To defray the costs of the embassy Agapetus was compelled to pledge the sacred vessels of the Church of Rome. He set out in midwinter with five bishops and an imposing retinue. In February, 536, he appeared in the capital of the East and was received with all the honours befitting the head of the Catholic Church. As he no doubt had foreseen, the ostensible object of his visit was doomed to failure. Justinian could not be swerved from his resolve to re-establish the rights of the Empire in Italy. But from the ecclesiastical standpoint, the visit of the Pope in Constantinople issued in a triumph scarcely less memorable than the campaigns of Belisarius. The then occupant of the Byzantine See was a certain Anthimus, who without the authority of the canons had left his episcopal see of Trebizond to join the crypto-Monophysites who, in conjunction with the Empress Theodora were then intriguing to undermine the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. Against the protests of the orthodox, the Empress finally seated Anthimus in the patriarchal chair. No sooner had the Pope arrived than the most prominent of the clergy entered charges against the new patriarch as an intruder and a heretic. Agapetus ordered him to make a written profession of faith and to return to his forsaken see; upon his refusal, he declined to have any relations with him. This vexed the Emperor, who had been deceived by his wife as to the orthodoxy of her favorite, and he went so far as to threaten the Pope with banishment. Agapetus replied with spirit: "With eager longing have I come to gaze upon the Most Christian Emperor Justinian. In his place I find a Diocletian, whose threats, however, terrify me not." This intrepid language made Justinian pause; and being finally convinced that Anthimus was unsound in faith, he made no objection to the Pope's exercising the plenitude of his powers in deposing and suspending the intruder and, for the first time in the history of the Church, personally consecrating his legally elected successor, Mennas. This memorable exercise of the papal prerogative was not soon forgotten by the Orientals, who, together with the Latins, venerate him as a saint.

Here we have a Pope exercising the powers invested in him by the emperor a few years previously by deposing the See of Constantinople at the prompting of and with the support of the Emperor. The Church's councils had previously acknowledged that the second See in primacy in the Church was that in Constantinople, and possibly the only one that could challenge the See of Rome to primacy. Indeed, there were some who refused to acknowledge the primacy of the See of Rome over that of Constantinople until the 12th century. That is why the deposition of Anthimus from the See of Constantinople by the bishop of Rome was even more significant. Here is indisputable evidence of both the primacy of the See of Rome, and also of the acknowledgement by Justinian that the See of Rome had those powers of primacy already. They did not have to wait for the Ostrogoths to be vanquished for those powers to be exercised. Froom is totally incorrect.

contest between the emperor and his wife, to see in this matter who truly 'wore the pants' in their relationship. Unfortunately for Theodora, she was 'caught with her pants down' by the cunning of Justinian in giving legal pre-eminence to the Bishop of Rome." She was beat before the contest had begun.

What is even more significant is that this act occurred two years BEFORE SDAs say that the Pope is able to exercise his powers of primacy.

How could the presence or absence of the Ostrogoths in Italy hinder the exercise of the See of Rome in his exercise of his powers of primacy? Here we see Pope Agapetus in Constantinople going about his office and responding to the wishes of Justinian. He does not say, “Gee whiz, Your Highness, I would love to depose Anthimus, since he is a foul Monophysite, but I cannot, until the Ostrogoths are driven out of Italy.” On the contrary, Agapetus is able to exercise his power of primacy because it is endorsed by the Emperor. And he exercised it BEFORE the siege of Rome by Belisarius by [Totila](#). If the Emperor Justinian, who framed the decree in 533 endorsing the legal primacy of the See of Rome, did not see the presence of the Ostrogoths in Italy as an impediment to the exercise of his powers of primacy by the bishop of Rome, who are we to say there was? This is clear evidence that the time of 538 is wrong and fallacious. If anything, the date 533 should be taken as the time for the LEGAL primacy of the pope in the Empire. However, that legal position only lasts until 1453 when the Empire and the throne that defended that law was defeated by Sultan Mehmet with the overthrow of Constantinople, a topic that Froom studiously avoided in his four volume set on the Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers. On the same throne, Mehmet set up a different kingdom with a different legal code. This code did not recognise the Code of Justinian. One cannot argue that the Code was carried on elsewhere. It was the basis of the throne at Constantinople. The overthrow of Constantinople meant the overthrow of the Code of Justinian, since the throne that instituted it was gone. There was henceforth no legal basis for the primacy of the pope. The period of the legality of the bishop of Rome’s primacy can only go from 533 to 1453; a total of 920 year. Froom avoids a discussion on this point entirely. In fact, I could not even find a reference to the defeat of Constantine XI by Sultan Mehmet II at all in his work. Considering that he took great pains to establish the legality of the Justinian decree in 533, it is indeed lamentable that he did not consider the issue of the transitory nature of that legality, with the downfall of the Emperor’s throne worthy of investigation. Or perhaps he did not want to explore it, knowing the outcome. He makes such a insipid comment to imply the continuity of the Code of Justinian while at the same time avoiding the embarrassment of discussing the collapse of the emperor’s throne:

Another point worthy of consideration is the relationship of the canons of the Roman church with the laws of the empire. In 533 A.D. in the codes of Justinian, the emperor commanded that the Pontiff of Constantinople was first *after* the pontiff of Rome. This point of law was disputed by the church of Rome for nearly seven hundred years until the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.⁸⁷ And why? Not because it announced the

⁸⁷ “Hence in accordance with the provisions of these Councils. We order that the Most Holy Pope of ancient Rome shall hold the first rank of all the Pontiffs, but the Most Blessed Archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, shall occupy the second place after the Holy Apostolic See of ancient Rome, which shall take precedence over all other sees.” (Justinian, 131st Novella, (New Constitution) ch.2” in [Neufeld and Neuffer, 1962](#), p.686) Interestingly, this very decree shows the pre-eminence of the emperor over the pope, since the position of the See of Constantinople as second in primacy was never accepted by the Latin church until a millennium later. But the fact that the emperor decreed it and it stood that way shows that the pope was indeed subservient to the emperor. Here is the supporting evidence on this point from Catholic Encyclopedia, Article [“Patriarch and Patriarchate.”](#)

“But the greatest change, the one that met most opposition, was the rise of Constantinople to patriarchal rank. Because Constantine had made Byzantium “New Rome”, its bishop, once the humble suffragan of Heraclea, thought that he should become second only, if not almost equal, to

pope's primacy among pontiffs, but because it changed the old hierarchy of pontiffs, elevating the pontiff of Constantinople as first after the pontiff of Rome. That was the bone of contention that popes throughout the centuries would not endorse, even though it was law. It was a policy favoured by the emperor and one that had been in church canons since the Council of Constantinople in 381.

This disagreement of Rome with the edict of Justinian shows that the code of Justinian was not part and parcel of papal rule, but was an independent code, with its authority based on the emperor's right to rule from his seat of power in Constantinople. It was superior to the canons of the Roman church. With the fall of that power, the code disappears as a legal code. Agreed, its sentiments may be incorporated by other thrones, but the actual code itself is redundant, with no regal or civil power to enforce its pronouncements.

There is another fact to consider over the implementation of the primacy of the bishop of Rome in 536 A.D. During this same year Belisarius was in the midst of his first Italian campaign, and it was in this year that Rome rejoiced over the control of the city being handed over to the Romans, instead of being in Gothic control – for the first time in *sixty* years. This was a momentous year for the citizens of Rome. Says Gibbon of this event:

They applauded the rapid success of his arms, which overran the adjacent country, as far as Narni, Perugia, and Spoleto; but they trembled, the senate, the clergy, and the unwarlike people, as soon as they understood that he had resolved, and would speedily be reduced, to sustain a siege against the powers of the Gothic monarchy...

But the principal forces of the Goths were dispersed in Dalmatia, Venetia, and Gaul; and the feeble mind of their king was confounded by the unsuccessful event of a divination, which seemed to presage the downfall of his empire. The most abject slaves have arraigned the guilt or weakness of an unfortunate master. The character of Theodatus was rigorously scrutinized by a free and idle camp of Barbarians, conscious of their privilege and power: he was declared unworthy of his race, his nation, and his throne; and their general Vitiges, whose valour had been signalized in the Illyrian war, was raised with unanimous applause on the bucklers of his companions. On the first

the Bishop of Old Rome. For many centuries the popes opposed this ambition, not because any one thought of disputing their first place, but because they were unwilling to change the old order of the hierarchy. In 381 the Council of Constantinople declared that: "The Bishop of Constantinople shall have the primacy of honour after the Bishop of Rome, because it is New Rome" (can. iii). The popes (Damasus, Gregory the Great) refused to confirm this canon. Nevertheless Constantinople grew by favour of the emperor, whose centralizing policy found a ready help in the authority of his court bishop. Chalcedon (451) established Constantinople as a patriarchate with jurisdiction over Asia Minor and Thrace and gave it the second place after Rome (can. xxviii). Pope Leo I (440-61) refused to admit this canon, which was made in the absence of his legates; for centuries Rome still refused to give the second place to Constantinople. It was not until the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople was allowed this place; in 1439 the Council of Florence gave it to the Greek patriarch. Nevertheless in the East the emperor's wish was powerful enough to obtain recognition for his patriarch; from Chalcedon we must count Constantinople as practically, if not legally, the second patriarchate (ibid., 28-47). So we have the new order of five patriarchs -- Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem -- that seemed, to Eastern theologians especially, an essential element of the constitution of the Church [see (ibid., 46-47) the letter of Peter III of Antioch, c. 1054].” (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article “[Patriarch and Patriarchate](#).”)

rumor, the abdicated monarch fled from the justice of his country; but he was pursued by private revenge.

A national council was immediately held, and the new monarch reconciled the impatient spirit of the Barbarians to a measure of disgrace, which the misconduct of his predecessor rendered wise and indispensable. The Goths consented to retreat in the presence of a victorious enemy; to delay till the next spring the operations of offensive war; to summon their scattered forces; to relinquish their distant possessions, and to trust even Rome itself to the faith of its inhabitants. Leuderis, an ancient warrior, was left in the capital with four thousand soldiers; a feeble garrison, which might have seconded the zeal, though it was incapable of opposing the wishes, of the Romans. But a momentary enthusiasm of religion and patriotism was kindled in their minds. They furiously exclaimed, that the apostolic throne should no longer be profaned by the triumph or toleration of Arianism; that the tombs of the Caesars should no longer be trampled by the savages of the North; and, without reflecting, that Italy must sink into a province of Constantinople, they fondly hailed the restoration of a Roman emperor as a new aera of freedom and prosperity. The deputies of the pope and clergy, of the senate and people, invited the lieutenant of Justinian to accept their voluntary allegiance, and to enter the city, whose gates would be thrown open for his reception.

Belisarius, however, preferred the Latin way, which, at a distance from the sea and the marshes, skirted in a space of one hundred and twenty miles along the foot of the mountains. His enemies had disappeared. When he made his entrance through the Asinarian gate, the garrison departed without molestation along the Flaminian way; and the city, after sixty years' servitude, was delivered from the yoke of the Barbarians. Leuderis alone, from a motive of pride or discontent, refused to accompany the fugitives; and the Gothic chief, himself a trophy of the victory, was sent with the keys of Rome to the throne of the emperor Justinian.

([Gibbon online](#), chapter 41, pp.19f)

From the historical records then, it seems 536 A.D. to be a better date since we have the first execution of the primacy powers of the bishop of Rome, and we also have the general Belisarius freeing the city of Rome for Catholics; free of Gothic control for some years yet. It fits all the necessary constraints placed by SDA historicists on 538 A.D. and it is not a concocted story; the facts are closer to the story than those of 538 A.D. Therefore, if one is going to argue in favour of the SDA historicists position (which I am not), then one would have to choose 536 A.D. over 538 A.D. But that is not the full story. The Ostrogothic horn had not been “plucked out” by 536 A.D. That was in the future. It is the time of the third “plucking out” that is the significant feature of the Ostrogothic history. This decimation of the Ostrogoths does not occur until 552 A.D. under General Narses.

“Removal of the impediment to the freedom of the papacy.”

We need to look at Froom’s statement again and analyse its worth:

Rather, it was only by the removal of the impediment of the Ostrogothic control, as their besieging forces were cleared away from Rome, that the Roman pontiff was free to exercise the jurisdiction now legally provided for through the imperial Code of Justinian. At that time the reinforcing second army of Justinian broke the Gothic siege of Rome, relieving the beleaguered Belisarius, and leaving thenceforth no power save the Papacy

that could be said to hold sway through many centuries from the seven hills of the Eternal City. (Froom, 1950, pp. 514f)⁸⁸

Froom here asserts that Ostrogothic control was an impediment to the jurisdiction of the papacy. Is that true? There are two things in this issue: firstly, what was the jurisdiction of the papacy and second; in what way did Ostrogothic control impede the exercise of that jurisdiction? If Froom means for “jurisdiction” refers to the Pontiff’s decreed right as primate of the church to determine ‘orthodoxy’ in faith and practice, then this is a problematic position as will become clear when we examine the Emperors’ position relative to the pope starting from the term of Pelagius, or even earlier, with Silverius, and Vigilius. In regard to the second issue: that of how Ostrogothic control impeded the ‘freedom’ of the papacy to exercise its ‘jurisdiction,’ one can only look at the situation with the Roman’s after the fall of Italy to Narses, as examined shortly, to give us some comparison between the ‘impeding control’ under the Goths, and the ‘freedom’ realised under Roman rule.

John W. Barker, in his excellent work on Justinian and the Later Roman Empire, highlights the imposition that Gothic rule had on orthodox provincials.

“True Christian” meant the orthodox Chalcedonian Catholic, as opposed to a heretic of whatever stripe. Now many of the barbarian powers were more than territorial usurpers in the Emperor’s eyes. They were also enemies of the True Faith. For most of the barbarians had entered Imperial territories as Christians of the Arian sect, and it was among the barbarians that Arianism lingered on most strongly, after it had all but died out among the peoples of the Empire. The imposition of the Arian Germans over the orthodox provincials created much friction in these areas. It also made more difficult any really firm relationship between Arian rulers of the Vandal and Visigothic states, if not the Ostrogothic as well, often persecuted their orthodox subjects mercilessly, it became the Emperor’s deep concern to champion the interests of these oppressed fellow-believers now in heretical bondage. Likewise, these orthodox provincials in the barbarian West looked to the Emperor as their one hope, especially when Justinian began his regime by ridding the court of Constantinople of its previous Monophysitic tincture, restoring its orthodox Chalcedonian standing, and resuming cordial relations with the Bishop of Rome. Thus, Justinian’s standing as the orthodox ruler par excellence in the eyes of the persecuted populations of the barbarian kingdoms served at once as an important motivation for his Reconquest plans and at the same time as a valuable asset in prosecuting them. (1966, p.134f)

Barker continues by pointing out the servile nature of the pope’s position under the Gothic king:

Closely linked to the Monophysite question was, inevitably, that of relations [of Constantinople –FB] with Rome. The so-called Acacian Schism, dating from the days of Zeno’s *Henōtikón* (482), had never been healed under Anastasius. Indeed, it had only worsened, since that monophysitically-inclined Emperor had stubbornly retained as an article of policy the very *Henōtikón* which was so hateful to Rome. As a result, the last contacts with Pope Hormisdas in Rome were broken off in 517. A year later, the new regime of Justin I and Justinian made it a primary policy to renew relations with Rome. Messages of goodwill, were exchanged, and the Pope was even invited to come to Constantinople to preside over the liquidation of all disagreements. This was a difficult

⁸⁸ The power that held sway for many centuries over the West was the emperor in New Rome. Italy was a province of the Eastern Roman empire, and its control was complete for centuries to come. Froom is incorrect here.

point, however, for the Roman pontiff was, after all, under the immediate authority of Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king of Italy, who would have some voice in any such plans. Theodoric was, to be sure, theoretically a subordinate of the Emperor; but Constantinople's actual power over the King was all but nonexistent. Theodoric was, moreover, an Arian Christian whose attitude towards the reestablishment of orthodox accord between Rome and the Empire would have to be taken into account....

When he [the pontiff –FB] arrived in the capital he was received magnificently; showered with honors, he was required by Justin to recrown him personally as Emperor. In spite of the festivities of the first visit of a Roman pontiff to Constantinople, and for all the significance of the celebrated accord between the two powers, the episode ended tragically. When the Pope returned home after a very brief stay he was faced with the wrath of Theodoric, whose [hopes](#) in the embassy had not been fulfilled to his satisfaction.⁸⁹ Pope John died on May 18, 526, under the shadow of the King's disfavor and mistreatment. (1966, p.102)⁹⁰

⁸⁹ What were these hopes? The Catholic Encyclopedia Article "Pope St. John I,": "We possess information -- though unfortunately very vague -- only about his journey to Constantinople, a journey which appears to have had results of great importance, and which was the cause of his death. The Emperor Justin, in his zeal for orthodoxy, had issued in 523 a severe decree against the Arians, compelling them, among other things, to surrender to the Catholics the churches which they occupied. Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths and of Italy, the ardent defender of Arianism, keenly resented these measures directed against his coreligionists in the Orient, and was moreover highly displeased at seeing the progress of a mutual understanding between the Latin and Greek Churches, such as might favour certain secret dealings between the Roman senators and the Byzantine Court, aiming at the re-establishment of the imperial authority in Italy. To bring pressure to bear upon the emperor, and force him to moderate his policy of repression in regard to the heretics, Theodoric sent to him early in 525 an embassy composed of Roman senators, of which he obliged the pope to assume the direction, and imposed on the latter the task of securing a withdrawal of the Edict of 523 and -- if we are to believe "Anonymous Valesianus" -- of even urging the emperor to facilitate the return to Arianism of the Arians who had been converted. There has been much discussion as to the part played by John I in this affair. The sources which enable us to study the subject are far from explicit and may be reduced to four in number: "Anonymous Valesianus", already cited; the "Liber Pontificalis"; Gregory of Tours's "Liber in gloria martyrum"; and the "Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis". But it is beyond question that the pope could only counsel Justin to use gentleness and discretion towards the Arians; his position as head of the Church prevented his inviting the emperor to favour heresy. That this analysis of the situation is correct is evident from the reception which the pope was accorded in the East -- a reception which certainly would not have been kindly, had the Roman ambassadors opposed the emperor and this Catholic subjects in their struggle waged against the Arian sect. The inhabitants of Constantinople went out in throngs to meet John. The Emperor Justin on meeting him prostrated himself, and, some time afterwards, he had himself crowned by the pope. All the patriarchs of the East made haste to manifest their communion in the Faith with the supreme pontiff; only Timothy of Alexandria, who had shown himself hostile to the Council of Chalcedon, held aloof. Finally, the pope, exercising his right of precedence over Epiphanius, Patriarch of Constantinople, solemnly officiated at St. Sophia in the Latin Rite on Easter Day, 19 April, 526. Immediately afterwards he made his way back to the West.

If this brilliant reception of John I by the emperor, the clergy, and the faithful of the Orient proves that he had not been wanting in his task as supreme pastor of the Church, the strongly contrasting behaviour of Theodoric towards him on his return is no less evident proof. This monarch, enraged at seeing the national party reviving in Italy, had just stained his hands with the murder of Boethius, the great philosopher, and of Symmachus his father-in-law. He was exasperated against the pope, whose embassy had obtained a success very different from that which he, Theodoric, desired and whom, moreover, he suspected of favouring the defenders of the ancient liberty of Rome. As soon as John, returning from the East, had landed in Italy, Theodoric caused him to be

Barker makes the point obvious that the Pope did have an impediment – he was a servant to the king; and in this case, to a Gothic Christian king, who was also an Arian, which the pope considered heretical. This made the mission of Pope John in 526 to Constantinople to get the emperor to revoke the decree outlawing all Arians in the empire an unsavoury task. To be honest, he would have supported the decree of Justinian, but being a subject of an Arian king, he had to represent the wishes of the king. A hard task, by any standard – a task that proved fatal for him in the end.

But exploring this idea further, we ask the question, how does the overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom free up the pope to exercise his jurisdiction? Notice what Gibbon says of those who rejoiced in Belisarius' campaign to oust the Goths from Italy:

They furiously exclaimed, that the apostolic throne should no longer be profaned by the triumph or toleration of Arianism; that the tombs of the Caesars should no longer be trampled by the savages of the North; and, **without reflecting, that Italy must sink into a province of Constantinople, they fondly hailed the restoration of a Roman emperor as a new era of freedom and prosperity.** The deputies of the pope and clergy, of the senate and people, invited the lieutenant of Justinian to accept their voluntary allegiance, and to enter the city, whose gates would be thrown open for his reception. As soon as Belisarius had fortified his new conquests, Naples and Cumae, he advanced about twenty miles to the banks of the Volturnus, contemplated the decayed grandeur of Capua, and halted at the separation of the Latin and Appian ways... *Belisarius enters Rome, A.D. 536, Dec.*

¹⁰when he made his entrance through the Asinarian gate, the [Gothic –FB] garrison departed without molestation along the Flaminian way; and the city, after sixty years' servitude, was delivered from the yoke of the Barbarians. Leuderis alone, from a motive of pride or discontent, refused to accompany the fugitives; and the Gothic chief, himself a trophy of the victory, was sent with the keys of Rome to the throne of the emperor Justinian. ([Gibbon online](#), chapter 41, p.20, emphasis mine)

Gibbon points out that in the freeing of Rome from the control of the Goths (for the moment, since the Goths would regain it a few more times before their demise in 552-555), they would not gain the freedom envisaged; Italy would become a province of Constantinople, and they would be paying taxes and obeying the dictates of the eastern throne, not the apostolic throne. Notice again, where the keys of the city were sent – not to the bishop of Rome, but to the Emperor in the East.

The pope was as much a servant under the Eastern Emperor as he was under Theodoric. And at times he was manipulated, not only by the emperor, but also by others, as in the case of Theodora's efforts with Pope Vigilius. Notice again Barker's explanation of the event:

arrested and incarcerated at Ravenna. Worn out by the fatigues of the journey, and subjected to severe privations, John soon died in prison."

Gibbon adds: "After the death of Anastasius, the diadem had been placed on the head of a feeble old man; but the powers of government were assumed by his nephew Justinian, who already meditated the extirpation of heresy, and the conquest of Italy and Africa. A rigorous law, which was published at Constantinople, to reduce the Arians by the dread of punishment within the pale of the church, awakened the just resentment of Theodoric, who claimed for his distressed brethren of the East the same indulgence which he had so long granted to the Catholics of his dominions. At his stern command, the Roman pontiff, with four *illustrious* senators, embarked on an embassy, of which he must have alike dreaded the failure or the success." ([Gibbon online](#), chapter 39, p.15)

⁹⁰ Bury includes the interesting note here that Pope John "celebrated Christmas and Easter in St. Sophia, and successfully vindicated his right to sit on a higher throne than the Patriarch's. ([1958, vol.2](#), p.157) This is in 525 A.D., eight years before Justinian's code would give him this pre-eminence legally.

With Justinian's return "to the right" in his religious policy, the pro-Monophysitic interests of Theodora went underground. What she had failed to win by influence over the Emperor she now sought to achieve through intrigue....she found an opportunity to wreak her vengeance on the Roman See itself. On the death of Agapetus in Constantinople, the Gothic king Theodahad had secured the election (June 536) of Silverius, the son of the late Pope Hormisdas, as the new Pontiff. This impolitic dependence of the new Pope upon Gothic support was his undoing. Theodora had been hoping to install her own candidate on the vacant throne of St. Peter. The Papal *Apokrisiarios* (Nuncio) to Constantinople was then a prominent Roman deacon named Vigilius, who had for some time nourished ambitions of becoming Pope. He convinced the Empress that he would be her willing agent in fostering Monophysitic interests, and so she sent him back to Rome with liberal support and endorsements to secure the Papacy. By the time he reached Italy, however, Silverius was already installed. Thus checked, Theodora first tried to do business with Silverius, but he refused her demands for the restoration of Anthimus. This bold stand determined her to have him deposed and replaced by her favorite, Vigilius.

In that goal, Theodora was amply supported by circumstances. At the end of 536 Belisarius had taken Rome from the Goths, and his first occupation of the city had begun. Silverius had done his best to welcome Justinian's armies and to dissociate himself from the Goths, but he was in an exposed position now. Theodora connived with Antonina, who was with her husband in Rome, to frame a case against Silverius as a pro-Gothic traitor. Whatever the Monophysitic intentions of her action, Theodora could expect anything but opposition from Justinian in this matter. The Emperor himself was angered over the appointment of Silverius by Gothic influence, and wished to secure for himself the power to confirm, if not also to choose, the Roman pontiff. Therefore, Belisarius began a process of alternate cajoling and intimidating of the innocent but compromised and adamantly anti-Monophysite Pope, whom he finally deposed. Silverius was sent into exile, and died shortly thereafter. Meanwhile, on March 29, 537, Vigilius was safely installed as Pope.

Theodora was, however, to be bitterly disappointed in her hopes for manipulating the Roman See to Monophysitic ends. Out of her sight, Vigilius proceeded to take a firmly Chalcedonian position.⁹¹ His legate Pelagius managed to keep peace between the courts, but Theodora now had a new grudge to nourish against Rome. Even so, this setback by no means hindered her zealous furtherance of the Monophysite cause...Theodora could congratulate herself that the fire of the Monophysite heresy was kept burning throughout the Eastern province of the Empire, whatever efforts her husband made to extinguish it by force.

Theodora's grudge against the treacherous Vigilius still remained to be settled. Her opportunity for retaliation came in a controversy which arose out of a new ecclesiastical intrigue. About this time Palestine was the scene of a revival and elaboration of some ideas of the early Christian Church Father Origen (A.D. 182-251), a brilliant Alexandrian theologian whose ideas had nonetheless come to be considered heterodox. There was extensive opposition in the Eastern churches to the spread of these suspect ideas. Even

⁹¹ The Chalcedonian position refers to the Council of Chalcedon held in 451, affirmed the orthodox Catholic beliefs and opposed heresies, including that of the Monophysites. They declared, "We teach . . . one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, known in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation." "After the recitation of the decree all the bishops exclaimed that such was the true faith, and that all should at once sign their names to it. The imperial commissioners announced that they would communicate to the emperor the decree as approved by all the bishops." Catholic Encyclopedia, Article "[Council of Chalcedon](#)."

so... in 543 he [Justinian –FB] promulgated an edict proscribing the doctrines as heresies. Pope Vigilius was persuaded to endorse this move, while Theodore Askidas himself, as Bishop of Caesarea, was obliged to accept defeat and sign his own endorsement of the edict.

Determined to have his revenge for this humiliation, and to regain his position of influence at court, Askidas provoked a new controversy which was to have long repercussions....The arguments of Askidas were convincing. When the Imperial theologian studied the text himself, he agreed, and whole-heartedly fell in with the scheme. Therefore he prepared his “Edict of Three Chapters,” condemning the works of the three disputed theologians. The Eastern Patriarchs were persuaded to endorse the edict, which was finally promulgated in the year 546.

It now remained to secure Papal support. Justinian felt that by bringing the Pontiff personally to Constantinople he could remove him from any hostile Roman influence and bend him to the Imperial will. It was arranged to carry off the Pope abruptly in November of 545 as he was officiating in a ceremony, amid a great show of military force by Imperial troops. It is not entirely clear whether or not Vigilius left against his will, but he did tarry in Sicily on his journey, and there he acquainted himself with the tenor of opposition to Justinian’s intentions among Western ecclesiastical leaders. The Latin prelates saw no reason to condemn the three long-dead theologians. They could not but recognize the dangers of diluting the Chalcedonian position. Vigilius decided to oppose the edict and continued his eastward journey slowly, arriving in Constantinople only in January of 547. Although received with cordiality by Justinian, he was presently subjected to extreme pressures intended to make him yield to the Emperor’s wishes. Since he was a shallow and vacillating person, Vigilius’ determination gradually crumbled. He finally yielded in substance, though he attempted to salvage something of a Papal dignity by preparing an affirmative opinion of his own, rather than simply subscribing to the Emperor’s decree...For all his efforts at saving face, Vigilius had bowed to the Emperor in matters of dogma. Theodora could breathe her last in the June of 548 with the feeling that something of her old hatred for the unreliable Pontiff had been vindicated. (1966, pp.106-110)

This event, occurring after 538 AD when Froom says all impediments had been removed and the pope free to exercise his jurisdiction, shows that the Pontiff’s position was just a political pawn in the hands of the royal family. The events that occurred immediately after this highlight this even further. As Barker continues:

Vigilius was promptly greeted by a storm of protest from the clergy in the West. Stunned and frightened by the bitterness of this reaction, Vigilius wavered in his new course. Now insisting on abrogating his own *Judicatum*, he asserted that only a new ecumenical council could pronounce on such a revision of Chalcedonian doctrines. Being assured of the Pope’s support for the Imperial policy nonetheless, Justinian yielded to this demand. The Pope continued to reside in the Eastern capital as preparations for the council were undertaken. Opposition continued to mount, in the East as well as in the West. Justinian beat it down as best he could, issuing a renewal of his “Edict of Three Chapters” in 551. When the Pope’s support was again sought, Vigilius refused to take a stand on the Edict before the meeting of the council, which Justinian was increasingly reluctant to call formally. The Pope was soon moved to excommunicate Askidas for their support of their sovereign. Relations between the Pontiff and the Emperor deteriorated. Soon fearing for his safety, Vigilius took refuge in a Constantinopolitan church in August of 551. Soldiers were sent to remove him by force. Vigilius clung to the heavy marble altar for dear life and was all but crushed when it collapsed in the scuffle. Even his tormentors were abashed and withdrew, but the Pope was soon secured under house arrest. In December 551 he escaped from the capital to Chalcedon. A prolonged phase of bickering and haggling between Justinian and Vigilius ensued. Only with the

Emperor's renewed assurances of deference to the Pope, loyalty to the Chalcedonian doctrine, and a genuine summons of a new council, was Vigilius surriciently mollified to return to Constantinople.

Fully committed now to the council he had never really wanted, Justinian actively began to make arrangements for it...was the turn of the Pope to hold back. He feared he would compromise Papal authority by participating, and he still resisted yielding to the emperor's wishes as far as the three disputed theologians were concerned. The council finally convened without him in May 553. It had been carefully packed to favor Justinian's program, and it wasted no time. In a rubber-stamp action, it rejected Vigilius's recantation of his earlier decision to condemn the three theologians, who were forthwith formally anathematized. For his vacillation and obstinacy the Pope himself was denounced and his name was removed from the diptychs of the Church as a recognized Pontiff. Within a month, in June 553, the Fifth Ecumenical Council ended. As regards the Papacy, Justinian was soon able to seal his triumph. Vigilius was under house arrest and powerless in Constantinople. As a result of the conquests by Narses, meanwhile, Italy was fully in the Emperor's hands. The Pope's only hope of recovering his position was to yield. Therefore Vigilius made his final doctrinal rotation: by December 553 he indicated his acceptance of the Fifth Council's decrees, and he issued a formal statement to that effect in the following February. Accepting his submission, the Emperor sent him back to Rome. Ironically, the pathetic Vigilius died on the way back (June 7, 555), and reached Rome only as a corpse for burial. Justinian next played his trump card. The leader of the opposition in the West to the condemnation of the three theologians had been the archdeacon, and former legate, Pelagius. His continued resistance had earned him incarceration. He was nevertheless a man of integrity and ability who could be used to advantage. With Italy now firmly in the Emperor's power, the Papacy was his pawn and his gift. Justinian offered Pelagius the Papal tiara in return for acceptance of the Council's decrees. As Paris was worth a Mass, Rome was worth a signature: following his late master's example, Pelagius yielded. He was straightway enthroned as the new Pontiff ([Ibid](#), pp. 556-561).

With this sordid episode Justinian had clearly won a triumph over the Papacy. Humiliated and thoroughly under the Emperor's thumb in all matters, from election to doctrine, it had been brought by Justinian to a new low as a dependency of the Emperor in Constantinople. So it was to remain in one degree or another for more than a century. ([1966](#), pp.109-111, Emphasis mine)

Here is one of the clearest demonstrations of the absolute irrelevance of Froom's statement quoted above. The Papacy after 538 AD was no longer the servant of a Gothic king; instead it was the servant of a Roman emperor, and forced to concede to positions just as alien to the Western church as the Arian positions were under Gothic control of Italy. In many ways, the Papacy had it better under Gothic rule, due to the unusually tolerant position of the Goths on allowing different religious groups to flourish, even the Jews.⁹² Yet now, after 555 AD, Justinian's control of the Papacy was complete. It was the Emperor who dictated orthodoxy in matters of dogma and election, and the Pope was a complete servant to the eastern throne.⁹³ There was no master plan of the papacy in

⁹² (see [Gibbon online](#), chapter 39, under the subtitle, "He is provoked to persecute the Catholics" of Theodoric.)

⁹³ Which raises the question: If the West was a mere province of the Eastern throne, then the centre of the Empire, was Constantinople. Then obviously, SDA historicists are compelled to include the Eastern empire in their definition of the fourth kingdom of Dn2 and Dn7, with the tribes that invaded those eastern provinces as well. For example, do the SDA historicists include the Burgundians, who established themselves before the middle of the fifth century in the area of modern Savoy, between Gaul and Italy. ([Barker, 1966](#), p.131)

action here. Augustine's City of God, for the time, was just a pipe dream. As Barker notes, this dismal state of affairs for the papacy would continue for at least another century. Thus, we have here unambiguous evidence that Froom cannot be trusted to be an entirely honest historian when it comes to reporting history directly related to the SDA historicists' interpretation of prophecy. He has done irreparable damage to his credibility yet again. To be sure, Froom does include a caveat in his assertions:

It is not to be concluded that Vigilius came into office wielding more influence than his predecessors. The time when Roman pontiffs were to be temporal princes playing power politics among the rulers of Europe, and demanding allegiance and submission from kings, was far in the future, and even then the Papacy was to have its ups and downs. In 538 the prestige of the popes was at a low ebb under the dominating spirit of Justinian. It is likely that Justinian never thought of Vigilius as anything more than the docile head of a "department of religion" in his imperial government, and intended to keep the reins more firmly in his own hands by subjecting the whole church to the jurisdiction of a court favorite.

But the imperial acceptance of the Roman pontiff's assertion of primacy – already largely conceded in the West – had denied the claims of all rivals, and given him official status. Now Vigilius, owing his pontificate to imperial influence, and bolstered by this new legal recognition of the pope's *ecclesiastical* supremacy, marked the beginning of a long climb towards *political* power which culminated in the reign of such popes as Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII. The temporary nature of Justinian's union of East and West, and the subsequent decrease in the concern of the Byzantine emperors with Western church affairs, only left the pope with a freer hand to develop that power. The change in the character of the Papacy from Vigilius on, and the final result of that change, have been well described: "From this time on the popes, more and more involved in worldly events, no longer belong solely to the church; they are men of the state, and then rulers of the state." [Charles Bémont and G. Monod, *Medieval Europe*, p.121]⁹⁴

On the topic of the misunderstanding of what the Eastern Empire represented, which is deeply entrenched in SDA thinking, Barker has this to say: "It is all too easy to think of Justinian's state as the *Eastern Empire*. With the western Mediterranean, the original seat of Roman power, lost to Imperial sovereignty, and with a group of local barbarian kings taking the place of the Emperor in the West, there is the temptation to suppose that the Roman Empire had ceased to exist, and that in the East there was now something different – something already on its way to becoming what we call the Byzantine Empire as distinct from the Roman. This supposition was certainly not shared by the people of the sixth century A.D., least of all by Justinian himself. For them and for the Emperor there was still the Roman Empire; the fact that Rome as a city and geographical sphere had been lost was irrelevant, for the Imperial tradition was unbroken, even if it was now centered in the eastern Mediterranean, at the New Rome. In the eyes of all, the magic and misunderstood year of 476 had not ended the Roman Empire, but had merely reunited once again the sovereignty of the entire Roman – that is, the 'ecumenical' or 'inhabited' – world under the ruler in Constantine's city. As a result, the barbarian-held territories in the West were not those of a previous state that had ceased to exist. They belonged in quite meaningful theory to the Roman state which was still very much alive in the eastern Mediterranean. So then, the Reconquest program was more than just a matter of the 'Eastern Empire' attempting to conquer the West..."

⁹⁴ This comment of Froom flies in the face of the assertion that the impediment to the full development of the papal freedoms was the presence of the Ostrogoths in Italy. According to Froom's statement here, the legislation of 533AD is just "beginning of a long climb towards *political* power." Here again, here he again confuses the concept of the primacy of the papacy with the political power of the pope. What does Froom understand by the "primacy" of the pope? Should it not mean, as history has understood it, as the pre-eminence of the see of Rome over all the other Sees when it comes to defining orthodoxy in matters of faith and practice? This is

(Froom, 1950, pp.517)

He acknowledges the subservience of the popes under Justinian and tries to untangle himself with the assertion that 538 was the beginning of a “change in the Papacy” from the times of Vigilius, and supports his concept, not with hard facts but an opinion of *Bémont* and *Monod*⁹⁵. One needs to stop here and consider how Froom’s arguments have changed tracks surreptitiously, supporting his theory concerning the validity of 538 but for different reasons. His original proposition was that 538 AD was an important date because “the Roman pontiff was free to exercise the jurisdiction now legally provided for through the imperial Code of Justinian.” In another paragraph Froom says, “The temporary nature of Justinian’s union of East and West, and the subsequent decrease in the concern of the Byzantine emperors with Western church affairs, only left the pope with a freer hand to develop that power.”⁹⁶ Was the Roman pontiff free to exercise the legally provided jurisdiction provided in the code? No, and according to Barker, he was in that predicament for at least another century. According to Froom’s own statement it was only with the decrease in interest in Western matters by the Eastern emperors that the pope was able to develop a change in its nature. The other side of that statement is that while the eastern emperor took an interest in matters in the West, a change in the nature of the papacy was unable to be effected. And that the emperor did. He was jealous over the collection of his taxes from Italy, and at various times when revolt against his taxes or their increases occurred, he sent troops into the region. A quick survey again of the pontificates between Agapetus and Leo III show that the emperor had a vital interest in the affairs of the West. It is clear that Constantinople was wanting in its assistance to the people of Italy during the Lombard incursions and even the exarch of Ravenna was slow to assist, for example, with Gregory I. Gregory saw himself in partnership with the emperor, and called upon the emperor to assist. He saw the emperor as the representative of God in secular matters and must be treated all respect. With the later emperors who got tangled up in the Monothelitic heresy, especially Justinian II, the East brought pressure to bear on the pope to assent to the heretical position, but the pontiff stood firm against him. This continued to Pope Agatho settled the Monothelitic controversy in 680. Under the pontificates of Leo II (682-683), John V (685-686) and Conon (686-87), the emperor reduced the taxes paid by the papacy. The emperor’s interest in disciplining popes such as Martin (649-655), Eugene I (655-

certainly how the Catholic Church understands it. Froom’s comments on the changing nature of the papacy to a political power are totally irrelevant to the issue of the primacy of the papacy. His comments on the political development of the papacy only confuse the matter and cloud the fact that he has not been able to prove his point that the pope was free to exercise his papal prerogatives after 538AD.

⁹⁵ My hunch would be that like [Whiston](#), the nineteenth century translator of the Septuagint, whose historicist’s interpretation of prophecy comes through in his footnotes in the translation, Bémont and Monod were also of the historicist persuasion, as many Christians were in that generation of Protestants, whose prejudices are evident in their exposition of history.

⁹⁶ Froom is correct here. It was the increase of the Western power and the decrease of the Eastern powers that provided the Papacy with the opportunity or “freedom” to develop its political power. But that is not an event that can be associated with 538 AD. The Cambridge Medieval History has two volumes covering this process. The first one is entitled “The Contest of Empire and Papacy;” (vol.5) and the second is entitled “The Victory of the Papacy” (vol.6). This credible source clearly sees a long process involved in this and to just begin it with even 552 and the defeat of the Ostrogoths is ridiculous, let alone 538 – one siege among five in the wars of Italy, and that not even the last.

657), Sergius (687-701) and Constantine (708-715) show how tight the reins of the Eastern emperor were on the West. Yet even though the emperor had a tight hold on the West, there was evidence probably back to Gregory I that the temporal holdings of the pope were forcing a change in the nature of the papacy, and is especially evident when the Lombards forced quick and decisive action in Italy.

So it is not as easy as Froom makes out. There was a period when although the pope was given landed property, its attitude towards the emperor was identical as before. This is evident up to the time of Leo III and the crowning of Charlemagne (801). If the holding of landed property constitutes a change in the nature of the papacy, then one would have to date this back as early as the third century. (See Catholic Encyclopedia, Article: "Papal States").⁹⁷ Therefore, it cannot be the acquisition of temporal holdings that changed the nature of the papacy. It must be the pontificate of either Gregory I or Stephen III who claim the honours for changing the nature of the papacy, where the pope's role became a political (and even a military) force in Italy.

Froom's second reason why 538 AD was a valid point in time to start the 1260-year prophecy, was because of "the change in the character of the Papacy from Vigilius on." And further, "Now Vigilius, owing his pontificate to imperial influence, and bolstered by this new legal recognition of the pope's *ecclesiastical* supremacy, marked the beginning of a long climb towards *political* power which culminated in the reign of such popes as Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII."⁹⁸ Was there a change? We

⁹⁷ "Constantine himself set the example, the Lateran Palace being most probably presented by him. Constantine's gifts formed the historical nucleus, which the Sylvester Legend later surrounded with that network of myth, that gave rise to the forged document known as the "Donation of Constantine". The example of Constantine was followed by wealthy families of the Roman nobility, whose memory frequently survived, after the families themselves had become extinct, in the names of the properties which they had once presented to the Roman See.

The donation of large estates ceased about 600. The Byzantine emperors subsequently were less liberal in their gifts; the wars with the Lombards likewise had an unfavourable effect, and there remained few families in a position to bequeath large estates. Apart from a number of scattered possessions in the Orient, Dalmatia, Gaul, and Africa, the patrimonies were naturally for the most part situated in Italy and on the adjacent islands. The most valuable and most extensive possessions were those in Sicily, about Syracuse and Palermo. The revenues from the properties in Sicily and Lower Italy in the eighth century, when Leo the Isaurian confiscated them, were estimated at three and one-half talents of gold. But the patrimonies in the vicinity of Rome were the most numerous and, after most of the remote patrimonies had been lost in the eighth century, were managed with especial care. "

⁹⁸ There were more than one pope who owed his election to imperial influence. In the article on "[The Election of the Pope](#)," the Catholic Encyclopedia documents the vicissitudes of this process: "Previous to the fall of the Western Empire interference by the civil power seems to have been inconsiderable. Constantius, it is true, endeavoured to set up an antipope, Felix II (355), but the act was universally regarded as heretical. Honorius on the occasion of the contested election of 418 decreed that, when the election was dubious, neither party should hold the papacy, but that a new election should take place. This method was applied at the elections of Conon (686) and Sergius I (687). The law is found in the Church's code (c. 8, d. LXXIX), though Gratian declares it void of force as having emanated from civil and not ecclesiastical authority (d. XCVI, proem.; d. XCVII, proem.). After the barbarian conquest of Italy, the Church's rights were less carefully observed. Basilius, the prefect of Odoacer, claimed the right of supervising the election of 483 in the name of his master, alleging that Pope Simplicius had himself requested him to do so (Hard., II, 977). The disturbances which occurred at the disputed election of Symmachus (498) led that pope to hold a council and to decree the severest penalties on all who should be guilty of canvassing or bribery in order to attain the pontificate. It was moreover decided that the majority of votes should decide the

can see from the manoeuvring of Theodora and Justinian, that Vigilius was just another puppet in the hands of the emperor and his wife. It would be centuries before one could say for certainty that there was a change in the papacy. If any date be acknowledged it be the donation of Pepin in 756 when [the bishop of Rome acquired landed property](#). Even Froom contradicts himself by saying it was only with the decline of the Eastern empire that the pope had the freedom to develop that power. He certainly did not have it in 538 AD, and the empire was not sufficiently declining at that time. In fact, Justinian had just extended its borders farther than any emperor before him, encompassing Africa, Italy and Spain.

Pfandl is an SDA historicist writer who acknowledges the caesaro-papal mentality of the Greek emperors:

The early Christian emperors considered themselves rather than the bishops of Rome to be the true rulers of the church. The emperors Constantine the Great and Theodosius called the First and Second Eucumenical Councils of Christian bishops in Nicea (A.D. 325) and Constantinople (A.D. 381) without reference to the bishop of Rome. To counteract the influence of the emperors, Pope Siricus (384-399) formulated the first proclamation of the right and duty of the bishop of Rome to rule over the whole of Christendom: "We (the Successors of Peter) carry on our shoulders the burdens of all who are weighed down," he wrote. "Indeed, in our person the blessed Apostle Peter himself carries these burdens – he who regards us as the *heirs to his administration*...No priest of the Lord is free to ignore the decision of the Apostolic See." [Inserts footnote: "Denzinger, Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum et Declarationum* (Rome: Herder, 1965), p.72, in Ian Guthrie, *The Rise and Decline of the Christian Empire* (Middle Park, Victoria, Australia: Medici School /Publications), p.78.

election. Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who at this period ruled Italy, became in his later years a persecutor of the Church. He even went so far as to appoint Felix III (IV) in 526 as the successor of Pope John I, whose death was due to the incarceration to which the king had condemned him. Felix, however, was personally worthy of the office, and the appointment was confirmed by a subsequent election. The precedent of interference set by Theodoric was fruitful of evil to the Church. After the destruction of the Gothic monarchy (537), the Byzantine emperors went even farther than the heretical Ostrogoth in encroaching on ecclesiastical rights. Vigilius (540) and Pelagius I (553) were forced on the Church at imperial dictation. In the case of the latter there seems to have been no election: his title was validated solely through his recognition as bishop by clergy and people. The formalities of election at this time were as follows (Lib. Diurnus Rom. Pont., 2, in P. L., CV, 27). After the pope's death, the archpriest, the archdeacon and the primicerius of the notaries sent an official notification to the exarch at Ravenna. On the third day after the decease the new pope was elected, being invariably chosen from among the presbyters or deacons of the Roman Church (cf. op. cit., 2, tit. 2, 3 5), and an embassy was despatched to Constantinople to request the official confirmation of the election. Not until this had been received did the consecration take place. The Church acquired greater freedom after the Lombard invasion of 568 had destroyed the prestige of Byzantine power in Italy. Pelagius II (578) and Gregory I (590) were the spontaneous choice of the electors. And in 684, owing to the long delays involved in the journey to Constantinople, Constantine IV (Pogonatus) acceded to Benedict II's request that in future it should not be necessary to wait for confirmation, but that a mere notification of the election would suffice."

If being elected by imperial influence is a factor indicating the political nature of the change of the papacy, then from the information given us by the Catholic Encyclopedia, we would have to nominate a time much earlier than the election of Vigilius for that. And even if we did agree that from the installation of Vigilius as pope as the beginning of a different, more political nature of the papacy, we would have to choose his inauguration date of 537 rather than 538 as the beginning of the 1260 year period.

Over the next two centuries the popes in Rome became more and more adamant in their insistence that they rather than the emperors should be the final arbiters in church affairs. When Attila the Hun threatened Rome, Leo I (440-461) confronted the “Scourge of God” and won. He somehow persuaded Attila to abandon his quest for the Eternal City, a fact that greatly enhanced the prestige of the bishop of Rome. History will record that it was Leo the Great who laid the foundation of the political powers of the pope. Earlier in the century the illustrious Augustine, bishop of Hippo in North Africa, had uttered the now-famous words “*Roma locata, causa finita*” (Rome has spoken; the case is closed). The doctrine that Christ had granted papal power to Peter and that he passed it on to his successors in Rome began to take firm root. The creation of the Papal States in the eighth century and the fact that the Muslims conquered the Christian centers of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, reducing their influence, further enhanced the stature and importance of the bishop of Rome. The power of the papacy reached its zenith under Gregory VII (1073-1085), who first enforced the theory that the pope could depose kings, and under Innocent III (1198-1216), who made himself absolute sovereign of Italy, requiring all officials in Rome to take an oath to him. (2004b, pp.59-60)

The Ostrogoth occupation of Rome after 538.

The SDAs view presented to us is that the Ostrogoth’s unsuccessful attempt of besieging Rome in 538 marks the end of the Ostrogoths as a major power in Italy. SDA writers are quick to admit that the Ostrogoths were not defeated until the battle of in 555, but rather than taking the actual defeat as the obvious date as the SDAs do for the Vandals and the Heruli, they choose a non-event in the middle of the campaign as the marker for the defeat of the Ostrogoths.

As quoted above, Froom admits 538 is a non-event in the Ostrogothic campaign:

The beginning of the era of the headship of the Roman bishop over all the churches was not marked by some overmastering event in papal advance, or by an assumption of supreme ecclesiastical control; at that time the pope was hampered by the fact that Arian Ostrogoths were ruling in Italy. Rather, it was only [due to].... the reinforcing second army of Justinian [that] broke the Gothic siege of Rome, relieving the beleaguered Belisarius, and leaving thenceforth no power save the Papacy that could be said to hold sway through many centuries from the seven hills of the Eternal City. (Froom, 1950, p. 514)

The second half of Froom’s statement here is very problematic to put it mildly. Froom want us to believe that it was only with “the removal of the impediment of the Ostrogothic control, as their besieging forces were cleared away from Rome, that the Roman pontiff was free to exercise the jurisdiction.” But as has been shown with the issue over the deposition of the See of Constantinople by Pope Agapetus with the full endorsement of Justinian contra his wife, the removal of Ostrogoths from Italy had *nothing* to do with the exercise of the Papal jurisdiction “now legally provided for through the imperial Code of Justinian.” It was exercised while the Ostrogoths were still in Italy, under the supervision and support of Justinian, and documented clearly as such in the Catholic Encyclopedia as the first time the primacy powers were actively exercised. Froom is significantly shy of the truth here.

A second point at which he also falls short of the facts is the statement “At that time the reinforcing second army of Justinian broke the Gothic siege of Rome, relieving the beleaguered Belisarius, and leaving thenceforth no power save the Papacy that could be said to hold sway through many centuries from the seven hills of the Eternal City.” As both the Catholic Encyclopedia and the Encyclopedia document, the Goths overpowered

Rome a number of times *after* the first siege of 538 and were successful in driving out the Byzantines from Rome. How can there be “no power save the Papacy that could be said to hold sway through many centuries” when we read in the annals of the Popes of this age making desperate trips to Constantinople to try and get more supplies or more troops to help the beleaguered Romans? How can there be “no power save the Papacy” when in fact the Goths not only sacked and ruled the city, but also elected a pope for it, - all after 538? Froom *cannot* be trusted to be accurate in his reporting of historical data that relates to events pivotal to the SDA prophetic interpretation. His selection of material for inclusion is biased and his omissions are significant to a different outcome. His work is certainly not a scientific publication, but a polemic in search of evidence to support it.

Ostrogoth Invasion after 538.

The following description of Totila's activities from the 1911 edition of Encyclopedia, clearly shows this Gothic leader in control of Rome a number of times after Belisarius' defense of the city:

Having gained another victory in 542, this time in the valley of Mugello, he left Tuscany for Naples, captured that city and then received the submission of the provinces of Lucania, Apulia and Calabria. Totila's conquest of Italy was marked not only by celerity but also by mercy, and Gibbon says "none were deceived, either friends or enemies, who depended on his faith or his clemency."

Towards the end of 545 the Gothic king took up his station at Tivoli and prepared to starve Rome into surrender, making at the same time elaborate preparations for checking the progress of Belisarius who was advancing to its relief. The Imperial fleet, moving up the Tiber and led by the great general, only just failed to succour the city, which must then, perforce, open its gates to the Goths. It was plundered, although Totila did not carry out his threat to make it a pasture for cattle, and when the Gothic army withdrew into Apulia it was from a scene of desolation. But its walls and other fortifications were soon restored, and Totila again marching against it. He was defeated by Belisarius, who, however, did not follow up his advantage. Several cities were taken by the Goths, while Belisarius remained inactive and then left Italy, and in 549 Totila advanced a third time against Rome, which he captured through the treachery of some of its defenders.

A SELECTION FROM GIBBONS COULD BE USEFUL HERE WITH PROCOPIUS. A MUST INCLUDED REFERENCE

So the question must be asked, if Totila recaptured Rome, at least twice after 538, as history describes and is attested to by Procopius, how can SDAs honestly say concerning 538: “Thus the ancient seat of empire was preserved for the Papacy...but the grave of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy was dug by the defeat of this siege [of 538].” (Froom, 1950, pp. 514f)? The facts show that the ancient seat of the empire became the seat of the Goths after 538, and the king of the Ostrogoths was even successful in influencing the nomination of Pope Silverius as the See of Rome.⁹⁹ Having the Goths in Italy or for that matter in Rome, offered no impediment to the See of Rome.

No one understanding the history of this period would take seriously the claims of SDAs concerning 538. **Ford made a significant understatement when he said:**

⁹⁹ “Meanwhile Silverius had been made pope through the influence of the King of the Goths. Soon after this the Byzantine commander Belisarius garrisoned the city of Rome, which was, however, besieged again by the Goths. Vigilius gave Belisarius the letters from the Court of Constantinople, which recommended Vigilius himself for the Papal See. False accusations now led Belisarius to depose Silverius. Owing to the pressure exerted by the Byzantine commander, Vigilius was elected pope in place of Silverius and consecrated and enthroned on 29 March, 537. Vigilius brought it about that the unjustly deposed Silverius was put into his keeping where the late pope soon died from the harsh treatment he received.” (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article, “[Pope Vigilius](#).”) The article however does not detail how the Gothic king influenced the election of the Pope.

Dispersion of Ostrogoths after 555.

Catholic Encyclopedia, Article "[Ostrogoths](#):"

The survivors of the Ostrogoths chose Teja as their king, but were practically annihilated in the battle near Mount Vesuvius in 553, after a desperate struggle in which Teja was killed. Their last fortress fell in 555, after which the Ostrogoths disappear. The few survivors mingled with other peoples and nations; some were romanized in Italy, and others wandered north where they disappeared among the various Germanic tribes. Italy became a Byzantine province.

Smith's comments on this issue should be noticed in passing:

"From the historical testimony above cited, we think it clearly established that the three horns plucked up were the powers named: the Heruli A.D. 493, the Vandals, in 534, and the Ostrogoths finally in 553, though effective opposition by the latter to the decree of Justinian ceased when they were driven from Rome by Belisarius in 538, as stated on page 127." (1944, p.128)

Smith admits to reading Procopius [REF?], yet he is prepared to say "effective opposition by the latter to the decree of Justinian ceased when they were driven from Rome by Belisarius in 538." How he can consider effective opposition to cease when the Ostrogoths successfully occupied Rome after 538 is logic which defies understanding!!

D. The Change in the Nature of the Papacy: Church has the civil sword at its disposal.

Froom mentions an interesting perspective on the events in 538 A.D. that mixes a lot of the ideas discussed above into one theory:

Justinian first recognized by law [in 538 A.D.-FB] the pope's absolute ecclesiastical supremacy, and virtually gave the saints into his hand, placing the civil sword at his ultimate disposal.

The two [i.e., 538 and 1798 A.D.-FB] are clearly counterparts. In the first [that is, 538 A.D.-FB] the supreme civil power of the time was employed for the aggrandizement of the pope, framing laws with that special objective in view, and subjecting all spiritual authority to him...¹⁰⁰ Amid the chaos of falling kingdoms and decaying pagan religions of the early centuries, the massive plans of the Papacy occupied the central place. They formed the point of integration, and constituted the principle around which the ancient world could wrap its wracked form. Constantine realized that in the vast, unorganized Christianity within his realm lay the essential principle of unity needed by his empire, and which later became the dominating concept in the Middle Ages. Rome is thus seen to be the meeting point of all history, the papal succession filling the space from Caesar, and Constantine, and Justinian, and binding all ages into one. And similarly the final events of prophecy cluster decisively around her. (Froom, 1948, pp. 763f)

Taking the first quote first, we must first examine the implications of his statement. It is interesting that Froom views the legislation on the primacy of the bishop of Rome virtually gives "the saints into his hand," a quote from Daniel 7 which leads us

¹⁰⁰ One must question whether this was the motive of Justinian in passing this legislation. Froom offers no evidence to support his explanation of Justinian's motive for this legislation.

to concluded that this action of Justinian was the beginning of this giving by God of the saints into the hand of the little horn, “placing the civil sword at his ultimate disposal.”

Then one must ask the question, What is wrong with Froom’s statement here? The civil sword was at the disposal of the bishop of Rome centuries before Justinian, and the emperors saw themselves as “protectors of the faith.” This was what the wars against the Arians was all about – protecting the Christians, that is, Catholics.

Whenever there were heretics to be punished, the Pope appealed to the civil authorities to wield the sword on behalf of the pope. A typical example of this is with the pursuit of the Manichæans in Rome. Says the Catholic Encyclopedia:

Leo's pontificate, next to that of St. Gregory I, is the most significant and important in Christian antiquity. At a time when the Church was experiencing the greatest obstacles to her progress in consequence of the hastening disintegration of the Western Empire, while the Orient was profoundly agitated over dogmatic controversies, this great pope, with far-seeing sagacity and powerful hand, guided the destiny of the Roman and Universal Church. A number of Manichæans in Rome were converted and admitted to confession; others, who remained obdurate, were in obedience to imperial decrees banished from Rome by the civil magistrates. (www.newadvent.org/cathen/09154b.htm)

One must examine this statement of Froom’s as well:

In the first [that is, 538 A.D.-FB] the supreme civil power of the time was employed for the aggrandizement of the pope, framing laws with that special objective in view, and subjecting all spiritual authority to him...

What is wrong with this statement? Froom has mistaken (or misstated) who the protagonist is in the circumstances surrounding this event in 538 etc. The passive tense “was employed” gives the sense that the emperor is not the one in charge here, but is merely the puppet of the pope. We are led to believe that this event was one of many steps along the way in this “massive plan of the papacy.” The emperor was never “employed” to achieve the plans of the bishop of Rome. Froom has the cart before the horse. It was the Roman emperor Justinian who employed the bishop of Rome to achieve the emperor’s “massive plans” for his empire.

Or is Froom saying in the quote above that the emperor used his powers to elevate the power of the pope? If the latter is the intentioned meaning, then that is correct, since the emperor did indeed use Christianity to cement the various peoples of his empire together. The “master plan” was not the development of the papacy. This concept is centuries too early. It was the development of the *empire* under the control of the emperor. Read the record again. Who is the protagonist here – the emperor or the pope? And when the Goths were expelled from Italy, what then did Rome and Italy become? The pope’s territory? NO!! Italy became a province of Constantinople again, with the exarchs of Ravenna in control and the city of Rome coming only second in importance to Ravenna. ([Gibbon online](#), ch.43, p.16)

Yet another problem for the ousting of the Vandals, Heruli, and Ostrogoths as fulfillment of the prophecy.

According to the Scripture, it is the horn, not the beast, that ousts the three horns on the beast’s head. That is to say, it is in the rising of the little horn that the three horns are displaced. This clearly says that the papacy was the power to exterminate the three barbarian tribes. Reading the Scripture again:

7 After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns.

8 I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.

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

No-one can argue with the point of Scripture here: it is the little horn who ousts these three kings. The problem with this is that the papacy never ousted any of these tribes. The papacy did not even command events in his own city let alone the demise of three nations in different parts of the Mediterranean. In fact, it was the emperor who did the ousting. And it must be remembered that SDA historicists take pains to point out that we must make a clear distinction between the pagan and papal parts of this beast. Their position is that it is the beast that represents the pagan part of the beast and the little horn represents the papal part of the beast. Given this distinction, there is no room to move with the conclusion that the events depicted in the vision do not line up with the events of papal history used by SDA historicists to support their theory.

What was the impediment to the freedom of the primacy of the bishop of Rome that the Ostrogothic presence in Italy provided?

This is the crux of the issue for those writers that propose this issue as the reason 538 A.D. is chosen over 533 A.D. Examples of the reasoning on this matter are as follows:

From Froom:

From Maxwell:

From Mansell:

From Smith:

From Woolsey:

From SDABC:

From SDA Source Book:

From Ellen White:

From James White:

From Goldstein:

And in what way are they incorrect?

What do SDA historicist's say mark the end of the period? THIS SHOULD NOT BE SPLIT UP WITH THE PREVIOUS SECTION. DEAL WITH IT TOGETHER.

Froom's view on the events in 1793/1798 :

And now, 1260 years later, springing from the French Revolution, the land that for centuries had been the mainstay of the Papacy, abolished the pope's age-old supremacy, declared the clergy totally independent of the See of Rome, vested the election of bishops in departmental authorities, made a national profession of atheism, and then actually overthrew the papal government.

And now, in the reaction, the supreme civil power of the hour was bent on the pope's overthrow, and on the recovery of all the usurped political authority which he had assumed. One was the beginning, and the other the termination, of an epoch foreknown of God, and determined—perhaps unwittingly—by men. (Froom, 1948, pp. 763f)

In 533 was given the notable decree of Justinian, the pope's powerful sixth-century supporter, recognizing his ecclesiastical supremacy, And by a decisive stroke of the Roman sword at Rome, in the spring of 538, the way was opened for a new order of popes and the beginning of a new epoch. And now in 1793, just 1260 years after Justinian's 533 imperial fiat, came the notable decree of the Papacy's once powerful supporter, France oldest son of the church—aimed at the abolition of church and religion, and their unholy union with the state, followed by the decisive stroke of the sword at Rome in overthrow of the Papacy in 1798—an act marking the end of the epoch begun 1260 years before. (Ibid)

The Pope to be a Horn – Primacy among Patriarchs or Temporal Power?

If the Roman pope had primacy, this does not mean it had temporal power. The condition of being identified as a horn is that the power was a temporal power - that is, sovereign rights over a parcel of land; the power to legislate or to collect taxes; and the right to raise and maintain an army to defend the territory to which it has sovereign rights. The Catholic Church understands that its temporal power did not begin until the Donation of Pepin in 754-756.¹⁰¹ This position is endorsed by Gibbon:

¹⁰¹ “The ecclesiastical supremacy of the bishop of Rome, recognized by Justinian in the sixth century, was confirmed by Phocas in the seventh. Quest for temporal dominion by the popes therefore followed in logical sequence in the eighth century. By now, the papal system had established a secure despotism over the minds of men far from the confines of Rome. Truth was firmly reckoned as springing from tradition as well as from Scripture, with the pope as the interpreter of both. Everywhere there was national, social and political confusion. Education had become ecclesiastical, and piety monastic, with sacerdotal authority in the ascendancy.

When the Lombards seized Ravenna, ravaged Italy, and threatened Rome, Pope Stephen II (752-757) sought the aid of Pepin, king of the Franks, to “restore” the domain of St. Peter. Pepin drove them back, but the Lombards returned again. Stephen then conceived a new stratagem, warning Pepin in the name of St. Peter and the “Holy Mother of God” not to separate from the “kingdom of God” but to save Rome, promising him long life and glorious mansions in heaven. Pepin responded gratifyingly, being persuaded by Stephen to secure to the pope “the Exarchate”, taken away from the Lombards, with Ravenna for its capital, and twenty other towns of the Emilia, Flaminia, and Pentapolis, or the triangle of coast between Bologna, Comacchio, and Ancona. Thus in 755 the Papal States were established, and the pope became a temporal ruler.

This territory was acquired by offering the blessings of the gospel and brandishing threats of eternal damnation. On this Schaff remarks:

‘To such a height of blasphemous assumption had the papacy risen already as to identify itself with the kingdom of Christ and to claim to be the dispenser of temporal prosperity and eternal salvation...But by this gift of a foreign conqueror he [the pope] became a temporal sovereign over a large part of Italy, while claiming to be the successor of Peter who had neither silver nor gold, and the vicar of Christ who said: “My kingdom is not of this world.” The temporal power made the papacy independent in the exercise of its jurisdiction, but at the expense of its spiritual character. [*History of the Christian Church*, New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1882-1910.]

To bring about this acquisition as a *restoration*, Stephen evidently employed the legend of the “Donation of Constantine,” which is supposed to have circulated some time before the forged document appeared. This most famous forgery in European history was probably written some after the middle of the eighth century, and became extensively known through its incorporation in

the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (c. 847-853). Portions were also included in certain medieval collections of canon law; in that of Gratian it is placed among the *Paleae*, or authorities added later.

Forgeries – spurious documents, impostures – thus became another major means employed for influencing the rulers of the day, and for the strengthening and consolidating of the superstructure of the papal dominion. In fact, the next great expansion was largely based on this fabricated Donation of Constantine. Ignorance was so generally prevalent that Rome could safely presume upon the credulity of her spiritual subjects. One would think that the church would be above such degrading devices as forgeries, especially in view of the fact that power had so markedly played into her hands that she did not really need any illegitimate tricks to bolster her claims. But in spite of it all, for centuries she appealed to this forged document as her title deed to spiritual and temporal dominion, until it was exposed by Lorenzo Valla and others in the fifteenth century. Of this fraud, Gibbon says:

“So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times that the most absurd of fables was received, with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law. The emperors and the Romans were incapable of discerning a forgery that subverted their rights and freedom.” [Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol 5, p. 274]

In this Donation, the city of Rome and the Exarchate of Ravenna were allegedly given by Constantine to Pope Sylvester I (314-335) and to all his successors, supposedly as he declared his intention of transferring his own seat of government to Constantinople. This fantastic document decreed and ordained that the bishop of Rome, upon whom Constantine allegedly conferred the Lateran palace, the tiara, and all the imperial robes and insignia, as well as “all the provinces, districts and cities of Italy or of the western regions,” should hold spiritual supremacy over the four patriarchal sees of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople (which latter see was not yet founded!), and “also over all the churches of God in the whole world.” Thus the pontiff was declared to be chief over all the priests of the world.

The document begins in the name of the Holy Trinity, and concludes by consigning to the nethermost hell all who contravene its provisions. Constantine is alleged to have said:

“ ‘And in our reverence for the blessed Peter, we ourselves hold the reins of his horse, as holding the office of his stirrup-holder; and we ordain that all his successors shall wear the same mitre in their processions, in imitation of the empire; and that the Papal crown may never be lowered, but may be exalted above the crown of the earthly empire, lo! we give and grant, not only our palaces as aforesaid, but also the city of Rome, and all the provinces and palaces and cities of Italy and of the western regions, to our aforesaid most blessed Pontiff and universal Pope.’ ” [E.F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, London: George Bell and Sons, 1903, pp. 319-329.]

Upon the death of Pepin (768), there occurred a Lombard insurrection in Italy. Responding to the request of the pope, Pepin’s son Charlemagne (742-814) soon overthrew it, and established his rule over the Lombards. Charlemagne, probably influenced by the legendary Donation as referred to in the letter from Pope Hadrian, in 774 increased Pepin’s grant by accessions of territory and was rewarded by the crown of the West. Charlemagne had visited Rome several times. But during the king’s fourth and last pilgrimage Leo III carried into effect a design long contemplated – his assertion of independence from the East, which had long ceased to afford him protection.

On Christmas Day in 800, Pope Leo III was seated on his throne in his stately church in Rome, surrounded by his clergy. Charlemagne was kneeling before the altar. Suddenly the pope arose, anointed him, administered the coronation oath in which Charlemagne was pledged to guard the faith and privileges of the church, and placed the imperial crown upon his brow, ad emperor of the Romans. This territory – Italy and those lands acknowledging the overlordship of the German monarch – later came to be known as the Holy Roman Empire. Charlemagne considered himself the successor of the Caesars, and styled himself Augustus. Under the weak successors of Charlemagne, however, the empire dwindled to a merely nominal existence. But it was revived by the German king Otto I, in 962, and continued, despite all the shocks and changes of time, until 1806.

This attempted restoration of the Western empire was one of a series of intrigues by which the pontiffs secured support of the Western world. The act of crowning, of course, implied the right of uncrowning. Thenceforth the interests of the pope and the emperor were closely united. The

effect was seen at once in the augmenting of papal power, as the pope thus obtained recognition of a spiritual empire commensurate with the secular empire of 'Charlemagne. King and pope now stood together at the summit of empire. And here began the increasingly relentless struggle for highest place, which continued for centuries, and climaxed in the exaltation of the Papacy over imperial power. Not until the Reformation was launched did a new era appear.

Charlemagne's great ambition was to consolidate the Teutonic and Latin races under his own Frankish temporal sceptre, linking them closely with the spiritual dominion of the pope. Thus he sought to set up a sort of Christian theocracy, derived from the concept set forth in Augustine's *City of God*, a book that was his delight and study. This explains his great zeal for the advancement of the church. Thus in Charlemagne's empire was to be realized the dream of Augustine – "one God, one emperor, one pope, one city of God" – the millennial reign of Christ.

"Charles looked upon his Empire as a Divine State. He felt that he had been appointed by God as the earthly head of Christians. He read and loved Augustine's *de Civitate Dei*. He believed that he had set up the *Civitas Dei* as the spiritual union of all saints under the grace of God, as a great earthly organisation for the care of common earthly needs in a manner pleasing to God., and for the worthy preparation for the better life in the world to come. Augustine, it is true, had seen the empirical manifestation of the *Civitas Dei* in the universal Catholic Church. Charles saw no contradiction. From him the ecclesiastical body and the secular were one. He was the head. And while Augustine placed the Roman Empire as fourth in the order of world empires and as *Civitas Terrena* in opposition to the Kingdom of God, for Charles this dualism was no more – his *Imperium Romanum* is no *Civitas Terrena*. It is identical with the earthly portion of the church founded by Christ." [Cambridge Medieval History, Vol 2., p. 628]

IS THIS IN THE RIGHT PLACE? SEEMS TO NEED TO GO SOMEWHERE ELSE. (Froom, 1950, pp. 530-532) But the popes aimed next at supremacy over emperors to effect their own supreme rule. The medieval church from its origin had absorbed into itself the Roman world empire as an idea and a force, for worldly forces forever aspire to world domination. The church soon developed aggressive characteristics following the pattern Charlemagne had given on how the *Vicarius Christi* on earth must rule.

Papal ambition had heretofore been directed to the establishment of ecclesiastical supremacy. But in the ninth and tenth centuries this, as noted, was extended to embrace a new realm of conquest. Already richly endowed by Pepin and Charlemagne, the empire and the Papacy entered a tremendous struggle for supremacy. At first the popes submitted to the authority of the emperor, which excommunication as the weapon commonly wielded in their struggle with the world's great potentates. Gibbon significantly observes. "Under the sacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter, the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Tiber, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate."

But the boldest of Rome's growing claims had their basis in the False Decretals, or the Decretals of the Pseudo-Isidore, the second of two notorious forgeries. (The first was, of course the Donation of Constantine.) The effect of these forgeries was tremendous in advancing the temporal rulership and ecclesiastical supremacy of the popes-the Donation of Constantine forwarding the one, and the False Decretals the other. Two authorities on Rome will suffice.

"Before the end of the eight century, some apostolical scribe, perhaps the notorious Isidore, composed the decretals, and the donation of Constantine, the two magic pillars of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the popes."

"Upon these spurious decretals was built the great fabric of papal supremacy over the different national churches; a fabric which has stood after its foundation crumbled beneath it; for no one has pretended to deny, for the last two centuries, that the imposture is too palpable for any but most ignorant ages to credit."

Ignorance of the true history of the past has been bolstered up by these carefully devised fictions.. The forged Donation of Constantine came to be regarded as indisputable as the canons of the council of Nicaea, and the fabricated decretals of Isidore lay at the basis of all papal law.

The False Decretals were brought forward about 850 by a compiler who used the pseudonym of Isidor Mercator, These purported rescripts, or decrees, contained everything necessary for the establishment of full spiritual supremacy of the popes over the sovereigns of Christendom. Probably no volume ever published has exercised a more injurious influence on both church and state. The False Decretals were the alleged judgments of the popes of former ages, in avowedly

It was not in the cause of the Iconoclast that Pepin has exposed his person and army in a double expedition beyond the Alps: he possessed, and might lawfully alienate, his conquests: and to the importunities of the Greeks he piously replied that no human consideration should tempt him to resume the gift which he had conferred on the Roman Pontiff for the remission of his sins, and the salvation of his soul. The splendid donation was granted in supreme and absolute dominion, and the world beheld for the first time a Christian bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince: the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. (Chapter 49)

In the following explanation of the actions of Pope Stephen II to secure help against the Lombards immediately before the Donation of Pepin, we see the surprising and historical event of a pope having to go to a foreign land to beg for assistance. This is noted by the Catholic Church in the commentary below. This was because the Emperor had not sent armed support for the pope. Is this then the position of a pope with temporal power?

In 751 Aistulf conquered Ravenna, and thereby decided the long delayed fate of the exarchate and the Pentapolis. And when Aistulf, who held Spoleto also under his immediate sway, directed all his might against the Duchy of Rome, it seemed that this too could no longer be held. Byzantium could send no troops, and Emperor Constantine V Copronymus, in answer to the repeated requests for help of the new pope, Stephen II, could only offer him the advice to act in accordance with the ancient policy of Byzantium, to pit some other Germanic tribe against the Lombards. The Franks alone were powerful enough to compel the Lombards to maintain peace, and they alone stood in close relationship with the pope. It is true that Charles Martel had on a former occasion

unbroken succession from the first century, in answer to various matters submitted to them. Rome was set forth therein as a court of appeal to protect bishops from the tyranny of metropolitans or of civil authorities. These decretals supplied the popes with the means of establishing the superior jurisdiction of Rome and her authority over the faith and practices of Christendom. .-The author or authors of the volume are unknown, but consummate skill was shown in its construction, as seven genuine papal epistles are included – just enough to give credence to the surrounding sixty-five forgeries. Popes of the first three centuries are made to quote documents that did not appear until the fourth and fifth centuries, and the sixth-century popes from documents that did not appear until the fourth and fifth centuries, and sixth-century popes from documents belonging to the seventh, eighth, and early ninth centuries.

This forgery was brought into active use by Pope Nicholas 1 (858-856), who pressed the issue of the Roman supremacy to the point of absolute monarchy. And the Decreta; Epistles were declared by this pope to be on an equality with Scripture. In the exercise of this supremacy, the pope was to exalt to debase monarchs, and absolve subjects from oaths of allegiance. As Gregory and the Roman Synod of 1080 declared: “We desire to show the world that we can give or take away at our will kingdoms, duchies, earldoms, in a word, the possessions of all men; for we can bind and loose.”

The authority of the Decretal Epistals was supreme until the Reformation, when they were subjected to searching criticism. The fraud was then recognized by learned divines of the Reformed churches, including Bishop Jewel, as well as by antecedent scholars. For a time Catholic controversialists struggled to maintain its authenticity. But the evidence was so overwhelmingly against them that they were at last obliged to admit its imposture, the fraud even being admitted by Pius VI in 1789. Thus, they stand condemned by the united voice of Christendom.

Nevertheless, it was on this fraudulent decretal foundation that Gregory VII (1073-85)—the first to assert the authority of overthrowing kings as belonging to the pope—was to build his superstructure, seeking to weld together the states of Europe into a priestly kingdom, of which he should be head, reigning over all. Dollinger goes so far as to say, “Without the pseudo-Isidore there would have been no Gregory VII.” (Froom, 1950, pp. 530-539)

failed to respond to the entreaties of Gregory III. But meanwhile the relations between the Frankish rulers and the popes had become more intimate. Pope Zacharias had only recently (751), at Pepin's accession to the throne, spoken the word that removed all doubts in favour of the Carolingian mayor of the palace. It was not unreasonable, therefore, to expect an active show of gratitude in return, when Rome was most grievously pressed by Aistulf. Accordingly Stephen II secretly sent a letter to Pepin by pilgrims, soliciting his aid against Aistulf and asking for a conference. Pepin in turn sent Abbot Droctegang of Jumièges to confer with the pope, and a little later dispatched Duke Autchar and Bishop Chrodengang of Metz to conduct the pope to the Frankish realm. Never before had a pope crossed the Alps. While Pope Stephen was preparing for the journey, a messenger arrived from Constantinople, bringing to the pope the imperial mandate to treat once more with Aistulf for the purpose of persuading him to surrender his conquests. Stephen took with him the imperial messenger and several dignitaries of the Roman Church, as well, as members of the aristocracy belonging to the Roman militia, and proceeded first of all to Aistulf. In 753 the pope left Rome. Aistulf, when the pope met him at Pavia, refused to enter into negotiations or to hear of a restoration of his conquests. Only with difficulty did Stephen finally prevail upon the Lombard king not to hinder him in his journey to the Frankish kingdom.

The pope thereupon crossed the Great St. Bernard into the Frankish kingdom. Pepin received his guest at Ponthion, and there promised him orally to do all in his power to recover the Exarchate of Ravenna and the other districts seized by Aistulf. The pope then went to St-Denis near Paris, where he concluded a firm alliance of friendship with the first Carolingian king, probably in January, 754. He anointed King Pepin, his wife, and sons, and bound the Franks under the threat of excommunication never therefore to choose their kings from any other family than the Carolingian. At the same time he bestowed on Pepin and his sons the title of "Patrician of the Romans", which title, the highest Byzantine officials in Italy, the exarchs, had borne. Instead of the latter the King of the Franks was now to be the protector of the Romans. The pope in bestowing this title probably acted also in conformity with authority conferred on him by the Byzantine emperor. In order, however, to fulfil the wishes of the pope Pepin had eventually to obtain the consent of his nobles to a campaign into Italy.. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article "States of the Church")

Need to make some bridging comments here between this thought and what you want to develop.

So how can a power that does not exist expel three kings? It did not have in the sixth century the power to command kings as it did in the eleventh to thirteenth century. And how can a power usurp the kingdom from another king if it does not have an army or the wherewithal to conquer? It was a different king who expelled the Ostrogoths from Italy.¹⁰² So which horn is the emperor and which horn actually expelled the three horns? According to the SDA historicists' interpretation, the papacy needed to have an army and temporal powers by 533 when the decree of Justinian could be acted upon and the Arians expelled by the papal armies. The text says it was the little horn that expelled the three other horns, not any other of the ten horns. It is the horn that usurped these three horns that becomes the little horn power. Notice the text again:

7 After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and

¹⁰² The Treaty the Pope made with Pepin in 754 was that he would have the special privilege of becoming virtually the guardian of Rome for the pope in perpetuity. That position France kept until the nineteenth century.

stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns.

8 I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.

23 Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from any kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.

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

Smith has this to say on the horns in Dn7:

It had ten horns, which are explained in verse 24 to be ten kings, or kingdoms, which should arise out of the empire. As already noted in Daniel 2, Rome was divided into ten kingdoms. These divisions have ever since been spoken of as the ten kingdoms of the Roman Empire.... A strange movement appeared among them. Another horn, at first little, but afterward more stout than its fellows, thrust itself up. It was not content quietly to find a place of its own, and fill it; it must thrust aside some of the others, and usurp their places. Three kingdoms were thus plucked up.... This little horn, as we shall have occasion to notice more fully hereafter, was the papacy. The three horns plucked up by the roots represented the Heruli, the Ostrogoths, and the Vandals. The reason for their removal was their opposition to the teaching and claims of the papal hierarchy. (1944, pp.100f.)

Therefore, the papacy does not fit the description of the little horn because it did not have the power to uproot the three tribes. By Smith's own statement, the three tribes were uprooted by others:

But no decree of this nature could be carried into effect until the Arian horns which stood in its way were overthrown. A turn came, however, in the tide of affairs, for the military campaign in Africa and Italy the victorious legions of Belisarius dealt a crushing blow to Arianism, so much so that its final supporters were vanquished....

Procopius relates that the African war was undertaken by Justinian for the relief of Christians (Catholics) in that quarter, and that when he expressed his intention in this respect, the prefect of the palace came very near to dissuading him from his purpose. But a dream appeared to him in which he was bidden "not to shrink from the execution of his design; for by assisting the Christians he would overthrow the power of the Vandals."

Mosheim declares, "It is true, the Greeks who had received the decrees of the Council of Nice [that is from the Catholics]. Persecuted and oppressed the Arians wherever their influence and authority could reach; but the Nicenians, in their turn, were not less rigorously treated by their adversaries [the Arians], particularly in Africa and Italy, where they felt, in a very severe manner, the weight of the Arian power, and the bitterness of their resentment. The triumphs of Arianism were, however, transitory; and its prosperous days were entirely eclipsed when the Vandals were driven out of Africa and the Goths out of Italy, by the arms of Justinian."

Elliot summarizes: "I might cite *three* that were eradicated from before the pope out of the list given, viz., the *Heruli*, under Odoacer, the *Vandals*, and the *Ostrogoths*."

From the historical testimony above cited, we think it clearly established that the three horns plucked up were the powers named: the Heruli, A.D. 533, the Vandals, in 534, and the Ostrogoths finally in 553, though effective opposition by the latter to the decree of Justinian ceased when they were driven from Rome by Belisarius in 538....¹⁰³

(Smith, 1944, pp. 127f.)¹⁰⁴

The problem with this interpretation is that the papacy does not have any temporal power at the time of the subjugation of the three kings.¹⁰⁵ He may have had primacy over the churches but the Catholic church itself, while acknowledging the gradual development of land grants by devotees to the church since Constantine, does not recognise the temporal power of the Papacy before the Donation of Pepin written in 754 and effected in 756.. Notice this comment from the Catholic Encyclopedia on the [Patrimony of St Peter and the Papal States](#):¹⁰⁶

The law of Constantine the Great (321), by which the Christian Church was declared qualified to hold and transmit property, first gave a legal basis to the possessions of the Church of Rome. Subsequently the possessions were rapidly augmented by donations. Constantine himself set the example, the Lateran Palace being most probably presented by him. Constantine's gifts formed the historical nucleus, which the Sylvester Legend later surrounded with that network of myth, that gave rise to the forged document known as the "Donation of Constantine". The example of Constantine was followed by wealthy families of the Roman nobility, whose memory frequently survived, after the families themselves had become extinct, in the names of the properties which they had once presented to the Roman See. ...

The donation of large estates ceased about 600. The Byzantine emperors subsequently were less liberal in their gifts; the wars with the Lombards likewise had an unfavourable

¹⁰³ The prophecy indicates when the horns were plucked out not when they were *nearly* driven out. This is another desperate SDA measure of trying to squeeze the facts to fit the timeline again. Surely 553 must be the date selected, as has been done with the other two powers – when they were defeated.

¹⁰⁴ A significant observation on Smith here regarding his untrustworthiness to report historical data accurately is the fact that on page 127 he says, "And whoever will read the history of the African campaign, 533-4, and the Italian campaign 534-538, will notice that the Catholics everywhere hailed as deliverers the army of Belisarius, the general of Justinian." Smith here leads us indirectly here to assume that the Italian campaign went from 534-538. Why 538 as the end of the campaign? Because that is the date "from the carrying out of which, A.D, 538, the period of papal supremacy is to be dated." (*Ibid*) Yet on this page, p.128, he acknowledges that the Ostrogoths were ousted "finally in 553." So on one hand we have the Italian campaign going 534-538, and yet we have the Italian campaign on the next page going 534-553. It is true that Belisarius engaged the Ostrogoths in Italy more than once, and in between time was banished in disgrace to the Persian front for a time, but Smith does not hint that there was a first or a second campaign. In his commentary, there is just one campaign. Therefore, if he is going to discuss the entire ousting of the Ostrogoths as one campaign, he should have dated it from 534-553. (See [Footnote on Belisarius](#)) When one reads [Volume 2, chapter 41 of Gibbons, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire](#), we can understand the absence of these important details since Gibbon himself skips over these details.

¹⁰⁵ To argue that the kings who cast out these peoples acknowledged the primacy of the Pope is an invalid argument. The prophecy indicates that it was the little horn that cast out three horns, not one horn being helped by the other horns, be they the horn of the Franks who cast out the Lombards or the Roman emperor (which horn is he?) who cast out the Vandals from Egypt. The little horn would have to do it of his own might. That specification does not fit the papacy.

¹⁰⁶ See the fuller extract in the [Appendix](#).

effect, and there remained few families in a position to bequeath large estates. Apart from a number of scattered possessions in the Orient, Dalmatia, Gaul, and Africa, the patrimonies were naturally for the most part situated in Italy and on the adjacent islands. The most valuable and most extensive possessions were those in Sicily, about Syracuse and Palermo. The revenues from the properties in Sicily and Lower Italy in the eighth century, when Leo the Isaurian confiscated them, were estimated at three and one-half talents of gold. But the patrimonies in the vicinity of Rome were the most numerous and, after most of the remote patrimonies had been lost in the eighth century, were managed with especial care....

With these landed possessions, scattered and varied as they were, the pope was the largest landowner in Italy. For this reason every ruler of Italy was compelled of necessity to reckon with him first of all; on the other hand he was also the first to feel the political and economical disturbances that distressed the country. A good insight into the problems that required the attention of the pope in the administration of his patrimonies can be obtained from the letters of Gregory the Great (*Mon. Germ. Epist.*, I). The revenues from the patrimonies were employed, not only for administrative purposes, for the maintenance and construction of church edifices, for the equipment of convents, for the household of the pope, and the support of the clergy, but also to a great extent to relieve public and private want. Numerous poorhouses, hospitals, orphanages, and hospices for pilgrims were maintained out of the revenues of the patrimonies, many individuals were supported directly or indirectly, and slaves were ransomed from the possession of Jews and heathens. But, above all, the popes relieved the emperors of the responsibility of providing Rome with food, and later also assumed the task of warding off the Lombards, an undertaking generally involving financial obligations. The pope thus became the champion of all the oppressed, the political champion of all those who were unwilling to submit to foreign domination, who were unwilling to become Lombards or yet wholly Byzantines, preferring to remain Romans....

At Quiercy on the Oise the Frankish nobles finally gave their consent. There Pepin executed in writing a promise to give to the Church certain territories, the first documentary record for the States of the Church. This document, it is true, has not been preserved in the authentic version, but a number of citations, quoted from it during the decades immediately following, indicate its contents, and it is likely that it was the source of the much interpolated "Fragmentum Fantuzzianum", which probably dates from 778-80. In the original document of Quiercy Pepin promised the pope the restoration of the lands of Central Italy, which had been last conquered by Aistulf, especially in the exarchate and in the Roman Duchy, and of a number of more or less clearly defined patrimonies in the Lombard Kingdom and in the Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. The lands were not yet in Pepin's hands. They had therefore first to be conquered by Pepin, and his gift was conditioned by this event. In the summer of 754 Pepin with his army and the pope began their march into Italy, and forced King Aistulf, who had shut himself up in his capital, to sue for peace. The Lombard promised to give up the cities of the exarchate and of the Pentapolis, which had been last conquered, to make no further attacks upon or to evacuate the Duchy of Rome and the districts of Venetia and Istria, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the Franks. For the cities in the exarchate and in the Pentapolis, which Aistulf promised to return, Pepin executed a separate deed for the pope. This is the first actual "Donation of 754". But Pepin had hardly recrossed the Alps on his return home, when Aistulf not only failed to make preparations for the return of the promised cities, but again advanced against Rome, which had to endure a severe siege. The pope sent a messenger by sea, summoning Pepin to fulfil anew his pledge of loyalty. In 756 Pepin again set out with an army against Aistulf and a second time hemmed him in at Pavia. Aistulf was again compelled to promise to deliver to the pope the cities granted him after the first war and, in addition, Commachio at the mouth of the Po. But this time the mere promise was not considered sufficient. Messengers of Pepin visited the various cities of the exarchate and of the Pentapolis, demanded and received the keys to them, and brought the highest magistrates and most distinguished magnates of

these cities to Rome. Pepin executed a new deed of gift for the cities thus surrendered to the pope, which together with the keys of the cities were deposited on the grave of St. Peter (Second Donation of 756).

The Byzantine Government naturally did not approve of this result of the intervention of the Franks. It had hoped through the instrumentality of the Franks to regain possession of the districts that had been wrested from it by the Lombards. But Pepin took up arms, not to render a service to the Byzantine emperor, but for the sake of St. Peter alone, from whose protection he expected earthly happiness and everlasting salvation. Just as kings at that time founded monasteries and endowed them with landed properties, that prayers might be offered for them there, so Pepin wished to provide the pope with temporal territories, that he might be certain of the prayers of the pope. Therefore Pepin answered the Byzantine ambassadors, who came to him before the second expedition of 756 and asked him to return to the emperor the cities to be taken from the Lombards, that he had undertaken the expedition for St. Peter alone and not for the emperor; that to St. Peter alone would he restore the cities. Thus did Pepin found the States of the Church. The Greeks undoubtedly had the formal right to the sovereignty, but as they had failed to meet the obligation of sovereignty to give protection against foreign enemies, their rights became illusory. If the Franks had not interfered, the territory would by right of conquest have fallen to the Lombards; Pepin by his intervention prevented Rome with the native population from falling into the hands of the foreign conquerors. The States of the Church are in a certain sense the only remnant of the Roman Empire in the West which escaped foreign conquerors. Gratefully did the Roman population acknowledge that they had escaped subjection to the Lombards only through the mediation of the pope. For it was only for the pope's sake that Pepin had resolved to interfere. The results were important,

chiefly because the pope through his temporal sovereignty received a guarantee of his independence, was freed from the fetters of a temporal power, and obtained that freedom from interference which is necessary for the conduct of his high office;

because the papacy threw off the political ties that bound it to the East and entered into new relations with the West, which made possible the development of the new Western civilization.

Another point to consider is that the mere decree for the pope to have temporal power is not considered by the Catholic Church to be sufficient to mean that it has temporal power. The obvious example of this is the fact that Constantine's legislation in 321, giving the church the right to own property is not considered by the Church itself as the point at which it gained temporal power. If the decree giving church the right to own property is the basis of temporal power, then SDA historicists must date the beginning of the reign of the church from 321. Yet the Catholic Church considers 756 the appropriate time because of its actual sovereignty over a parcel of land. Another example of the fact that the mere decree of sovereignty is insufficient is in 1870 when Victor Emmanuel II completed his annexation not only of the Papal States but also of the city of Rome – the one Papal State that no one previous had dared to confiscate, he was careful to legislate that the Pope had sovereign powers. This Law of Guarantee was ignored by the papacy until it received back its territories in 1929:

Finally on 20 September, 1870, he [Victor Emmanuel-FB] completed the spoliation of the papal possessions by seizing Rome and making it the capital of United Italy. The so-called Law of Guarantees, of 15 May, 1871, which accorded the pope the rights of a sovereign, an annual remuneration of 3¼ million lire (\$650,000), and extraterritoriality to a few papal palaces in Rome, was never accepted by Pius IX or his successors.

(Catholic Encyclopedia, article on [Pius IX.](#))

The Catholic Encyclopedia understands that this act of Victor Emmanuel II *ended* the sovereign powers of the Pope while there was no territory for him to be sovereign over. (See the article on the [Papal States](#)) Therefore, even if we accept the decree of Constantine that gave temporal powers to the pope, this would not be considered by the Catholic Church as the point from which his temporal powers could be dated. Victor Emmanuel's legislation to grant sovereign powers to the Pope was not acknowledged at all by the Catholic Church or Pope Pius IX or any other pope after him. In the same vein, though The Directory in 1797 decreed for the Pope to be captured and dragged away from Rome, yet neither Napoleon nor Pope Pius VI treated the dictates of the Directory as though they would be enduring actions. Napoleon acted independent to the Directory and showed cordiality towards the papacy, appreciating the value that the papacy could add to the situation in France as documented in the Catholic Encyclopedia under the article on [Napoleon \(Bonaparte\)](#).¹⁰⁷ The papacy's attitude to the Directory was that it was an illegal body and the church never considered the actions of Berthier in the same vein that they considered Victor Emmanuel's. (See the Catholic Encyclopedia on French Revolution.) And though the Roman Republic was declared and instituted, this in no way abrogated the sovereignty of Rome. It merely limited the control by the Papacy of the government in power in Rome. Furthermore, the Directory may decree one thing but the actualisation of their decrees were an entirely different matter. When Napoleon settled the Treaty of Tolentino with Pius VI, Napoleon finalised the treaty and sent it to the Directory. They had to live with the terms of the Treaty that Napoleon had negotiated.

¹⁰⁷ THE DIRECTORY In virtue of the so-called "Constitution of the year III", promulgated by the Convention 23 Sept., 1795, a Directory of five members (27 Oct., 1795) became the executive, and the Councils of Five Hundred and of the Ancients, the legislative power. At this time the public treasuries were empty, which was one reason why the people came by degrees to feel the necessity of a strong restorative power. The Directors Carnot, Barras, Letourneur, Rewbell, La Reveillère-Lépeaux were averse to Christianity, and in the separation of Church and State saw only a means of annihilating the Church.... The Directory began to feel that its policy of religious persecution was no longer followed by the Councils. It learned also that Bonaparte, who in Italy led the armies of the Directory from victory to victory, displayed consideration for the pope. Furthermore, the electors themselves showed that they desired a change of policy. The elections of 20 May, 1797, caused the majority of Councils to pass from the Left to the Right.... Violent discussions which took place from 26 June to 18 July, in which Royer-Collard distinguished himself, brought to the vote the proposal of the deputy Dubruel for the abolition of all laws against non-juring priests passed since 1791. The Directors, alarmed by what they considered a reactionary movement, commissioned General Augereau to effect the *coup d'état* of 18 Fructidor (4 Sept., 1797); the elections of 49 departments were quashed, two Directors, Carnot and Barthélemy, proscribed, 53 deputies deported, and laws against the émigré and non-juring priests restored to their vigour. Organized hunting for these priests took place throughout France; the Directory cast hundreds of them on the unhealthy shore of Sinnamary, Guiana, where they died. At the same time the Directory commissioned Berthier to make the attack on the Papal States and the pope, from which Bonaparte had refrained. The Roman Republic was proclaimed in 1798 and Pius VI was taken prisoner to Valence. An especially odious persecution was renewed in France against the ancient Christian customs; it was known as the *décadaire* persecution. Officials and municipalities were called upon to overwhelm with vexations the partisans of Sunday and to restore the observance of *décadi*. The rest of that day became compulsory not only for administrations and schools, but also for business and industry. Marriages could only be celebrated on *décadi* at the chief town of each canton. Catholic Encyclopedia, Article on [French Revolution](#).

They were not satisfied with the leniency that was offered the papacy. But regardless of their opinion, what Napoleon negotiated was the real outcome of their decrees.¹⁰⁸

108 The following comment from De Bourrienne's Memoirs of Napoleon indicates the General had an independence to carry out what he deemed necessary regardless to the demands of the Directory. "He knew of their suspicions. He knew about the spies they had sent to try and find some evidence to be rid of his leadership of the army, but to no avail. And he decides to make peace where the Directory wanted hostilities: What augmented his uneasiness was an idea he entertained that the Directory had penetrated his secret, and attributed his powerful concurrence on the 18th Fructidor to the true cause—his personal views of ambition. In spite of the hypocritical assurances of gratitude made to him in writing, and though the Directory knew that his services were indispensable, spies were employed to watch his movements, and to endeavour by means of the persons about him to discover his views. Some of the General's friends wrote to him from Paris, and for my part I never ceased repeating to him that the peace, the power of making which he had in his own hands, would render him far more popular than the renewal of hostilities undertaken with all the chances of success and reverse. *The signing of the peace, according to his own ideas, and in opposition to those of the Directory, the way in which he just halted at Rastadt, and avoided returning to the Congress, and, finally, his resolution to expatriate himself with an army in order to attempt new enterprises, sprung more than is generally believed from the ruling idea that he was distrusted, and that his ruin was meditated.* He often recalled to mind what La Vallette had written to him about his conversation with Lacuee; and all he saw and heard confirmed the impression he had received on this subject. The early appearance of bad weather precipitated his determination. On the 13th of October, at daybreak, on opening my window, I perceived the mountains covered with snow. The previous night had been superb, and the autumn till then promised to be fine and late. I proceeded, as I always did, at seven o'clock in the morning, to the General's chamber. I woke him, and told him what I had seen. He feigned at first to disbelieve me, then leaped from his bed, ran to the window, and, convinced of the sudden change, he calmly said, "What! before the middle of October! What a country is this! Well, we must make peace!" While he hastily put on his clothes I read the journals to him, as was my daily custom. He paid but little attention to them."

"Shutting himself up with me in his closet, he reviewed with the greatest care all the returns from the different corps of his army. "Here are," said he, "nearly 80,000 effective men. I feed, I pay them: but I can bring but 60,000 into the field on the day of battle. I shall gain it, but afterwards my force will be reduced 20,000 men--by killed, wounded, and prisoners. Then how oppose all the Austrian forces that will march to the protection of Vienna? It would be a month before the armies of the Rhine could support me, if they should be able; and in a fortnight all the roads and passages will be covered deep with snow. It is settled--I will make peace. Venice shall pay for the expense of the war and the boundary of the Rhine: let the Directory and the lawyers say what they like." He wrote to the Directory in the following words: "The summits of the hills are covered with snow; I cannot, on account of the stipulations agreed to for the recommencement of hostilities, begin before five-and-twenty days, and by that time we shall be overwhelmed with snow." (1891, Book I, chapter X.) (Emphasis mine.) Notice this comment from the Catholic Encyclopedia Art. [Napoleon Bonaparte](#): "In May he transformed Genoa into the Ligurian Republic; in October he imposed on the archduke the Treaty of Campo Formio, by which France obtained Belgium, the Rhine country with Mainz, and the Ionian Islands, while Venice was made subject to Austria. The Directory found fault with this last stipulation; but Bonaparte had already reached the point where he could act with independence and care little for what the politicians at Paris might think. It was the same with his religious policy: he now began to think of invoking the pope's assistance to restore peace in France." Clearly then, as the Treaty of Campo Formio illustrates, what the Directory wanted, and what the Directory got were two different things, and the reality of the situation was not the decrees of the Directory, but the actual results that Napoleon effected for the Directory. It is true that within France's borders the will of the Directory was usually realised. But this was not the case with foreign affairs, as these cases from Napoleon's actions vividly highlight. Therefore, the most honest approach is to take, not the decrees of the Directory in foreign matters, but the actual realisation of events in that arena, as the reality of the situation. Thus the decree of the Directory to render the Papacy obsolete cannot be put on the same plane as Napoleon's actions to preserve the Papacy for his own purposes.

Similarly, when they decreed in 11 Jan 1798 against the Papacy again, the reality of that decree is embodied in the negotiated Concordat of 1801. And again, the temporal powers of the pope are retained, even though the Directory and the representatives of the Roman Republic wanted the dissolution of the temporal power of the Pope. What they wanted and what eventuated were two entirely different things. My assertion is that the only historically honest approach is to accept the negotiated outcome as the reality, and not the wishes of the Directory or the creators of the Roman Republic. Another failure of SDA literature on this topic is to confuse the government of the community of Rome with the sovereignty of the church over the city of Rome. These are entirely different issues.¹⁰⁹ It was this issue that Napoleon laboured hard to overcome with the Pope. Napoleon recognised the sovereignty of the Pope over the city of Rome and did not seek to touch this prerogative of the Pope. The interplay of high-church cardinals in the running of the Roman government was a thing that Napoleon saw was incompatible with the mission of the Church. He believed that the Church should keep its nose out of the issues of the government of the day, and devote itself to spiritual matters. This, the Papacy was reluctant to do. But Napoleon's efforts with Pius VII were the first to effect this with the change of government in Rome and the eventual annexation of all of the Papal States, except the city of Rome.¹¹⁰ The ratification of this in 1813 meant that this state of affairs only occurred for two years before the Congress of Vienna in 1815, after the fall of Bonaparte, restored the Papal States back to the Papacy, with a few minor changes.¹¹¹ These remained in the hands of the Papacy with varying degrees of control, until 1860. Finally, in 1870, the sovereignty of the Pope over the city of Rome itself was wrested from the Holy See in the name of the Italian state. It was then that the Pope lost all sovereignty. And with the loss of sovereignty, came his loss of temporal power, as acknowledged by the Catholic Church.

¹⁰⁹ See the Appendix article [on how Rome governed the City of Rome and the Papal States](#).

¹¹⁰ The pontificate of Pius VI, illustrious for its works of public utility, ended with the proclamation of the Republic of Rome (10 February, 1798) and the pope's exile. Pius VII was able to return, but after 1806 there was a French Government at Rome side by side with the papal, and in 1809 the city was incorporated in the empire. But the Revolutionary germ still remained planted at Rome, even though it gave no signs of activity either in 1820 or in 1830 and 1831. A few political murders were the only indication of the fire that smouldered beneath the ashes. The election of Pius IX, hailed as the Liberal pontiff, electrified all Rome. The pope saw his power slipping away; the assassination of Pellegrino Rossi and the riots before the Quirinal (25 November, 1848) counselled his flight to Gaeta. The Triumvirate was formed and, on 6 February, 1849, convoked the Constituent Assembly, which declared the papal power abolished. The mob abandoned itself to the massacre of defenceless priests, and the wrecking of churches and palaces. Oudinot's French troops restored the papal power (6 August, 1849), the pope retaining a few French regiments. Secret plotting went on, though at Rome none dared attempt anything (the Fausti trial). Only in 1867, when Garibaldi, the victor at Monterotondo, defeated at Mentana, invaded the Papal States, was the revolt prepared that was to have burst while Enrico Cairoi was trying to enter the city; but the *coup de main* failed; the stores of arms and ammunition were discovered; the only serious occurrence was the explosion of a mine, which destroyed the Serristori Barracks in the Borgo. Not until 20 September, 1870, was Rome taken from the popes and made the actual capital of the Kingdom of Italy. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article, "[Rome](#).")

¹¹¹ "Not until the Congress of Vienna, where the able Consalvi represented the pope, were the States of the Church again established (1815), almost in their old dimensions except that Avignon and Venaissin were not restored to the pope, and Austria received a narrow strip along the frontier of the Ferrara district north of the Po and the right of garrisoning Ferrara and Comachio." (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article "[States of the Church](#).")

Therefore, it can be concluded that the papacy could not fit the description given to it by SDA historicists in the fifth century, as at that time it had none of the identifying features such as temporal power, an army, the power to legislate or to collect taxes.

Synchronisation of the same type of event for the start and the close of the 1260 years – the SDA historicist’s have matched up dissimilar events as the start and the close of this period.

A more fundamental issue is that SDA writers are confusing what marks the beginning and the end of the 1260 years. Without exception, they use one qualification to define the beginning of the period without using it to define the end of the period. On the other hand, they use another qualification to define the end of the period but say it is incorrect to use the same qualification to define the start of the period.

To illustrate, SDA authors write that it was the decree of Justinian giving the bishop of Rome authority over all the bishops of the Christian churches that constitute the *beginning* marker for the 1260-year period. One would expect then for them to say that the marker for the end of this 1260-year period would be the *reversal of this authority* of the bishop of Rome to have authority over the Christian churches. But that is *not* what we read. This is not used as the deciding qualification for the end point of the 1260-year period. Something different entirely is used.

SDA writers unanimously say that *the loss of temporal power* is the significant element which marks *the end* of the 1260-year period in the capture and exile of Pope Pius VI in 1798. Therefore, one would expect that the *establishment* of the temporal power of the bishop of Rome would signal the *beginning* of the 1260-year period. But this is not accepted and is vigorously argued against by Smith above.

So SDA historicism has two entirely different *types* of events signalling the beginning and the end of this prophetic period. The extent to which some SDA authors argue against dates and ideas supporting the points denied above clearly shows that SDA historicism does not consider the temporal power of the pope and the pope’s position as leader of the Christian bishops as identical issues. This means that an SDA historicist cannot argue that the dates chosen for the start and finish of the 1260-year period represent the start and finish of both the temporal power of the pope and the pope’s leadership over all the leaders of Christendom.

This position is absolutely absurd. SDA deny that the events used by them to mark the start and the end of the 1260-year period are of the same type yet they want to use two entirely different types of events to indicate the start and ending of a single event. What event then does the 1260-year period represent? Does it represent the period of the temporal rule by the pope, or the period for the bishop of Rome to be leader of all the Christian churches? The period cannot be applied to both since they begin at different times, but SDA historicists have applied it that way. This is prophetic interpretation patchwork quilting at its worst.

SDA historicists could argue that the “they” in Dn7:25 represents both the temporal power of the pope and his leadership over the bishops of Christian churches. If that were the case, then we would take the *earlier* of the date for the two events as the starting point (since they did not begin at the same time). Similarly, we would take the *last* of the two dates to mark the end of their occurrence (since they did not both end at the same time).

According to their own writings, these are the following dates:

- Start of the temporal primacy of the bishop of Rome – with the Donation of Pepin in 756 A.D.;¹¹²
- End of the temporal power of the bishop of Rome –this occurred in 1870 A.D with the loss of his sovereignty over the city of Rome. It was restored in 1929 in an agreement between Cardinal Gasparri and Premier Mussolini.¹¹³ This restoration of papal temporal power is not seen by SDA historicists as the continuation of the pontiff's previously power and cannot be counted with the period before 1870. It is the “healing of the deadly wound” in Rev 13 and as such, is considered a separate time period;¹¹⁴
- Start of the leadership of the bishop of Rome over all church leaders – 533 A.D.;¹¹⁵
- End of the leadership of the bishop of Rome over all church leaders – The pope *still* holds to the position as head of all Christian churches in the world. The papacy has not renounced these claims or has it been legislated away.;¹¹⁶

Working with these figures and taking the earliest of the times for the start , we begin the 1260-year period with 533 AD. Taking the last of the times for the end, we would not be able to end it as the pope still holds to the position given him by Justinian in 533 AD. This gives us a period of 1466 years between 533 AD and the present; and the period increases every year until the pope relinquishes his titles.

So this is the dilemma: if the SDA historicists choose *the temporal powers* of the pope, then it begins in 756 AD and stops and starts at least four times over the

¹¹² The General Index of the SDA Source Book categorises the Donation of Pippin as “made pope a territorial sovereign.” (Neufeld and Neuffer, 1962, p.1180) This is the better date from which to date the temporal powers of the pontiff and one widely recognised by history and is acknowledged as such in the SDABC: “This Donation of Pepin, as it is called, marks the beginning of the Papal States of the Middle Ages.” (Historical Essays, 1957, p. 364)

¹¹³ To be historically accurate, this occurred a number of times under Charlemagne, Otto the Great, Henry III, Phillip the Fair, Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel II.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 232.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 184, 231

¹¹⁶ Notice this comment from the Fourth Session of the Vatican Council in 1870: “All the faithful in Christ must believe that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff possesses the primacy over the whole world, and that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and is true vicar of Christ, and head of the whole Church, and father and teacher of all Christians; and that full power was given to him in blessed Peter to rule, feed, and govern the universal Church by Jesus Christ our Lord.” First Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ (*Pastor Aeternus*, published in the fourth session of the Vatican Council, 1870) chap.3 in Philip Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), vol 2, p. 262. (Bible Readings for the Home, 1949, p.180) It should be noted that these positions are taken by the Vatican in 1870, and are still current today, as far as I am aware. Therefore, the position of the pope as leader of all Christendom had never been formally relinquished nor never will, according to the purposes of the papacy. Notice this statement from Ellen White: “The papal church will never relinquish her claim to infallibility. All that she has done in her persecution of those who reject her dogmas she holds to be right; and would she not repeat the same acts, should the opportunity be presented?... And let it be remembered, it is the boast of Rome that she never changes. The principles of Gregory VII and Innocent III are still the principles of the Roman Catholic Church.” (1950, pp.564, 581)

next 1,000 years and the current date we have for the loss and restoration of the temporal powers of the pope are 1870 and 1929. This indicates either that the wounding of the papacy has been continuing since temporal power was given to it, or that if we do not recognise the former loss of papal temporal powers, then it is just as feasible to say that the pope still has them and that this prerogative has been continuing from 756 AD to the present. In this case the 1260 years would conclude in 2016 AD, still 12 years distant. It is definitely not 1260 years at present, nor 1260 years when the SDA authors being surveyed made their comments. If this is not admitted, then we should at least recognise the events of 1870 to 1929 as much greater than the events of 1798. Yet even here, 756 to 1870 does not yield the magic 1260 years, but only 1114 years. And if we acknowledge the 68 years exile and banishment of the papacy to Avignon in 1309, there is only an interval of 553 years between it and 756 AD.

On the other hand, if *the role of pope as head of all Christendom* is considered the feature that is highlighted by the 1260 years this even poses a greater problem. It is to be acknowledged that the decree of 533 AD by Justinian acknowledges the See of ancient Rome as the head of all the churches with the See of Constantinople coming in as second in authority. Yet this title has never been relinquished.

¹¹⁷ The Vatican Council in 1870 endorsed this position as has the Second Vatican Council. The incumbent pope – Pope John Paul II has endorsed this position both in the revision of the Catholic Catechism and also in a 9-page document release in 1998. (See footnote above) Therefore, the clock is still counting over the years since 533 AD, since the powers conferred by Justinian then have never been abolished. Pope John Paul I and Pope John Paul II chose not to wear the Papal tiara containing the triple crown, and Pope John Paul I changed the name of the installing of the new pope from a **coronation** to an **inauguration**. Yet though

¹¹⁷ Here is a statement from a [website](#) on the current Catholic Catechism's position on the Pontiff's authority and position: "However, the latest Catechism, which Pope John Paul II approved, maintains that the Pope is still considered to be literally supreme in both his position and authority:

"[S]he [the church] continues to be taught, sanctified, and guided by the apostles until Christ's return, through their successors in pastoral office: the college of bishops, "assisted by priests, in union with the successor of Peter, the Church's supreme pastor" . . . The Pope, Bishop of Rome and Peter's successor, "is the perpetual and visible source and foundation of the unity both of the bishops and of the whole company of the faithful. For the Roman Pontiff, by reason of his office as Vicar of Christ, and as pastor of the entire Church has full, supreme, and universal power over the whole Church, a power which he can always exercise unhindered" "The college or body of bishops has no authority unless united with the Roman Pontiff, Peter's successor, as its head." As such, this college has "supreme and full authority over the universal Church; but this power cannot be exercised without the agreement of the Roman Pontiff" (Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops 1994). . . . Moreover, on October 30th 1998, the Vatican released a nine-page document on Papal Primacy, which further underlines the sentiments found in the pages of the Catechism. This new paper, signed by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger (and presumably approved by Pope John Paul II), explains what the 'official' stance is within the Catholic Church, regarding the Office of the Pope. In spite of appearances, neither the Roman Catholic Church nor its leader are any more progressive in their beliefs, than they were back in the time of the Reformation . . . The RCC (and its leader) still affirms that the Pope is the Universal Pastor of the entire Church, that he and the Magisterium enjoy infallibility when it comes to proclamations of dogma, and that they have enjoyed an unbroken line in the succession of Popes from Peter to John Paul II."

appearances change, the position of the Pontiff has not changed in regard to his titles and powers.

The conclusion of a comparison with these two papal prerogatives – the Papal Primacy over all Christians, and the Papal Temporal Powers – indicates that neither of them fit a 1260-year period. Therefore, the 1260-year period cannot represent the time period for *either* of those papal prerogatives, let alone *both* of them.

In considering the text of Dn7: 25, the phrases immediately before the 1260-year time period includes two major items:

- The saints given into the hand of the little horn;
- The little horn will have the power to change times and laws;

After these two clauses comes the statement “they shall be given into his hands for a time, times and a dividing of times.” From this observation, we could correctly argue that the 1260-year period applies to the persecution of God’s people by the church of Rome, and the changing of the “times and laws.”

Following on then we need to establish the following facts:

- The start of the persecution of “heretics” by the church of Rome – Although there was the persecution of “heretics” in the fourth century by Christian Emperors, Henry Charles Lea attributes the first endorsement of the death penalty for “heresy” to Pope Leo I around 447 AD; ([Neufeld and Neuffer, 1962](#), p. 736f.)
- The end of the persecution of Christians by the church of Rome;
- The start of the efforts by the church of Rome to change “times and laws;”
- The end of the efforts by the church of Rome to change “times and laws;”

By choosing the earliest of the two starting dates and the latest of the two finishing dates, we can establish the length of the total period covering the “they” if it includes just these two.

In conclusion, SDA historicists have depended on the faulty reason of expositors of the eighteenth and nineteenth century in regard to the type of markers that would indicate the beginning and the ending of the prophetic period to try and fit the 3 ½ times to a period in history. They have chosen to begin the time period with an event that deals with the primacy of the Papal See over the See at Constantinople. And they have chosen to end the time period with an event that is supposed to indicate the abolition of the temporal power of the Pope. This is inconsistent and illogical. One would expect the start and end of the period to be marked by similar events. They are not in the SDA schema of things.

The picture gets even worse for SDA historicists as one looks closer at the real story of Catholic history untainted by the SDA historicists’ perspective:

“Under the Roman Empire the popes had no temporal powers. But when the Roman Empire had disintegrated and its place had been taken by a number of rude, barbarous kingdoms, the Roman Catholic church not only became independent of the states in religious affairs but dominated secular affairs as well. At times, under such rules as Charlemagne (768-814), Otto the Great (936-73), and Henry III (1039-56), the civil power controlled the church to some extent; but in general, under the weak political system of feudalism, the well-organized, unified and centralized church, with the pope as its head, was not only independent in ecclesiastical affairs but also controlled civil affairs.” – Carl Conrad Eckhardt, *The Papacy and World-Affairs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 1. ([Bible Readings for the Home](#), p. 178)

From Eckhardt's perspective, the temporal power of the pope has come and gone a number of times throughout the history of the Catholic Church. The concept of a continuum of papal temporal power until the nineteenth century appears to be a chimera. In what way did Charlemagne, Otto the Great and Henry III curb the temporal power of the pope?

So it seems that SDA historicists change the playing field whenever it suits their whims. It is the accurate reporting of history that augurs for qualitative argumentation. But for SDA historicists, it is all about getting as close facts as possible to suit the SDA historicist argument, instead of letting history speak for itself and forming our conclusions based on verifiable facts endorsed by the most critical historical research.

The 1260 year markers are mere creations of SDA historicists, and are not recognised by Catholic History.

Need to set this out in outline format with headings and not just slabs of the encyclopedia

In the comments below on the rise and fall of the papacy, the SDABC admits the vagaries of the termini of the 1260 years as espoused by SDA historicists and fully acknowledges that it is only because of this prophetic period that the dates of 538 and 1798 are chosen:

It is evident from this brief sketch that the rise of papal power was a gradual process covering many centuries. The same is true of its decline. The former process may be thought of as continuing from about A.D. 100 to 756; the latter, from about A.D. 1303 to 1870. The papacy was at the height of its power from the time of Gregory VII (1073-85) to that of Boniface VIII (1294-1303). It is thus clear that no dates can be given to mark a sharp transition from insignificance to supremacy, or from supremacy back to comparative weakness. As is true with all historical processes, the rise and fall of the papacy were both gradual developments.

However, by 538 the papacy was completely formed and functioning in all its significant aspects, and by 1798, 1260 years later, it had lost practically all the power it had accumulated over a period of centuries. Inspiration allotted 1260 years to the papacy for a demonstration of its principles, its policies, and its objectives. Accordingly, these two dates should be considered as marking the beginning and the end of the prophetic period of papal power. (Nichol, 1976, p. 838)¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Significant also is Ford's quote from Berr concerning the penchant of SDA historicism, and indeed historicism as a whole for dates: " 'First and foremost, all sharp divisions are obviously artificial. Nothing ends and nothing begins absolutely. There is something absurd in setting hard and fast limits to a period by dates. Whether it be a revolution or a death, no event breaks all the threads concerning it with the past and the future...Do the Middle Ages begin in 395 with the partitioning of the Empire? Or in 406 with the onslaught of the Huns and the Germanic reflux? Or in 476 with the death of Romulus Augustulus? Or between 630 and 730, with the Moslem invasion? And when do they end? In 1453, with the fall of the Eastern Empire? Yet some people give as their limit the invention of printing (1440?) or the discovery of America (1492)....As for particular histories, not only do they tend, as we have indicated above, to adopt other dates than general history, dates which vary from one to the other, but they themselves hesitate as to their own divisions' (Henri Berr, In Preface to Lot's *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginnings of the Middle Ages* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1961, pp.xliv,l))" (1978, pp. 158f.) This sentiment is echoed in the SDABC Historical Essays: "It is true that 476 is the traditional

If the SDA historicists did not have their interpretation of the 1260 days as a guide to the reading of papal history there would be nothing in 538 and 1798 to recommend it as a significant point in the papal history. It is *only* because their interpretation of this prophecy “allotted 1260 years to the papacy for a demonstration of its principles” that they have trawled the annals of papal history to find something which is both credible and which fits the time span allotted.

According to Nichol’s own admission, if the actions by Berthier in 1798 of the forcible capture and exile was indicative of the end of the power of the papacy, then surely the same incident 400 years before indicated the same thing too and should be taken as the marker for the downfall or the deadly wound of the papacy especially when coupled together with the demonstration of the squabbles between rival popes beginning the next year in 1378 and continuing for nearly forty years? As the commentary itself says, it created damage for the papacy that was irreparable, and from which she never fully recovered:

The waning power of the papacy became fully evident during the so-called Babylonian Captivity (1309-77), when the French forcibly removed the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon, in France. Soon after the return to Rome, what is known as the Great Schism (1348-1417) broke out. During this time there were at least two, and sometimes three, rival popes, each denouncing and excommunicating his rivals and claiming to be the true pope. As a result the papacy suffered irreparable loss of prestige in the eyes of the people of Europe. Long before the Reformation times many voices within and without the Catholic Church were raised in criticism of its arrogant claims and its many abuses of both secular and spiritual power. (Nichol, 1976, p.837)

True it is that the life of the papacy was extended for a “time and a season” after the deadly wound of 1309 AD, as happened also with the Babylonian, Persian and Greek empires after their defeat, but that in no way invalidates the date 1309 A.D. as the marker for the ending of the power of the papacy. Everything was downhill from 1309. It is only because of the 1260 years period of the SDA historicists that they would take issue with this. The *same actions*, according to them, occurred 470 years later, and the SDA historicists tout this event in 1798 as the fulfillment of the deadly wound of Revelation 13. Without that period in their thinking, there is no reason to ignore 1309 AD as the time of the deadly wound, from which the papacy never recovered. Surely, it is the *first* event of this nature that is considered the most significant and not the second or third repetition of the same event? From the following examples taken from the additional notes on the rise and fall of the papacy, it is the SDABC’s point of view, that the first time that an event, title or papal claim occurred they consider to be the significant event for that item in the history of the papacy:

date for the fall of ancient Rome, and thus of the beginning of the Middle Ages, but it is apparent that medieval times might also be reckoned from any one of various other significant points of time either before or after that year. Accordingly, some have considered the reign of Constantine the Great (311-337), first of a long line of so-called Christian emperors, as an appropriate boundary marker between ancient and medieval times, and in view of the fact that the article dealing with the early church in Vol. VI [of the SDABC-FB] traces developments down approximately to the reign of Constantine, the present article will follow the course of events from his time onward. Others suggest the reign of Justinian the Great (527-565) as the dividing between the ancient and medieval history. It may be noted, however, that historians generally consider the pontificate of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) as the most appropriate point from which to reckon the Middle Ages.” (1957, p.354f.)

Leo I (the Great, d.461) was the first bishop of Rome to proclaim that Peter had been the first pope, to assert the succession of the papacy from Peter, to claim primacy direct from Jesus Christ, and to succeed in applying these principles to papal administration of the affairs of the church....

...Gregory I (the Great, d.604), first of the medieval prelates of the church, marks the transition from ancient to medieval times. Gregory boldly assumed the role, though not the title, of emperor in the West. He laid the basis for papal power throughout the Middle Ages, and it is from his administration in particular that later claims to papal absolutism date...

...more than a century later...Pepin ..presented the pope with the territory he had taken from [the Lombards]...This grant, known as the Donation of Pepin, marks the origin of the Papal States and the formal beginning of the temporal rule of the pope....

The next great pope, and one of the greatest of them all, was Gregory VII (d.1085). He proclaimed that the Roman Church had never erred and could never err, that the pope is supreme judge, that he may be judged by none, that there is no appeal from his decision, that he alone is entitled to the homage of all princes, and that he alone may depose kings and emperors...(Ibid.)

To quote any of the later popes making these claims is not as historically significant as tracing the development of these issues from the time they *first* occurred. Similarly, “the waning power of the papacy became fully evident during the so-called Babylonian Captivity (1309-77), when the French forcibly removed the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon, in France.” (Ibid.) Surely by their own method of assessing *initial* historical events, they would acknowledge 1309 rather than 1798 as the event for the deadly wound against the papacy, rather than a *later* repetition of the *same* event. What is historically significant about any modern pope claiming all the things that these earlier popes claimed concerning the pope and the papacy? There is no significance to it at all. Similarly, there is no significance to an event in 1798 when it is nothing more than a replay of a similar event centuries before. It is the *first* occurrence of this event in the fourteenth century that carries the fullest significance. And in any instance, the Catholic Church does not recognise 1798 as a time of the loss of temporal power. According to them, that occurred in 1870. (see the Catholic Encyclopedia on [Papal States](#))

Maxwell argues there are two reasons why the event in 1309 is not as significant:

In 1798, 1260 years later, the pope was taken into captivity and the Catholic Church was dealt a mortal blow. It happened just as Revelation had foretold, with remarkable accuracy.

The papacy had experienced other military defeats and even captivities during its long 1260 years, but this one was unique in two highly significant ways. It came as the climax of several centuries of decline in the influence of Catholicism in the minds of Europeans, and it was not merely a military coup but was a stroke deliberately intended to terminate the papacy forever.

During the French Revolution and under orders from the revolutionary French government, General Alexander Berthier issued a proclamation in Rome on February 15, 1798, informing Pope Pius VI and the people of Rome that the pope should *no longer* “exercise any function.”

Richard Duppa, a British writer who was in Rome at the time, says that the pope was arrested in the Sistine Chapel while he was celebrating the twenty-third anniversary of his coronation. Citizen Haller, the French commissary-general, and Cervoni, who commanded the French troops in Rome under General Berthier, “gratified themselves in a peculiar triumph over this unfortunate potentate. During that ceremony they both entered the chapel, and Haller announced to the sovereign Pontiff on his throne that his reign was at an end. The poor old man seemed shocked at the abruptness of this unexpected notice, but soon recovered himself with becoming fortitude.” The pope’s Swiss guards were dismissed, and Republican soldiers were installed in their place.

In spite of the pope’s advanced age and frail health “he was in his 80’s). he was hustled off by the French soldiers to a string of different addresses in Italy and southern France. He died in prison in the fortress city of Valence on August 29, 1799. For a while his body was left lying around unburied. In the words of George Trevor,

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

About a century later, Joseph Rickaby, a Jesuit priest, observed that when, in August, 1799 Pope Pius VI passed away as a French prisoner, ‘half Europe thought...that with the Pope the Papacy was dead.’

I had occasion to examine the memoirs of Don Manuel de Godoy, prime minister of Catholic Spain at the time of the pope’s captivity. I found no reference to the event. Even this important Catholic statesman didn’t care enough about the pope to comment on his troubles. (Maxwell, 1985, pp. 328f.)

For the moment I wish to focus on the reasons these two scholars argue for the events of 1798 as the end of the 1260 year period. Maxwell points out that the papacy had been invaded before but that there are two reasons why we should consider the event in 1798 as the one that this prophecy picks out:

- “It came as the climax of several centuries of decline in the influence of Catholicism in the minds of Europeans, and;”
- “it was not merely a military coup but was a stroke deliberately intended to terminate the papacy forever.”

These are very problematic and will be shown to be a useless defence for the choice of 1798 as being significant.

The first point to be raised against Maxwell’s statements is his choice of words in a few places. He says that the event is “highly significant.” This, of course, is his conclusion. Why is it more “highly significant” than 1309 or the other times when the pope lost temporal authority, as under Charlemagne, Leo or Otto the Great?

The second word chosen is the definition of 1798 as the “climax.” Who has decided that it is the “climax”? Is there any comparison with other significant events involving the papacy to compare it with? Maxwell does not attempt to justify his conclusion that the captivity of the Pope and the suspension of Papal government in 1798 is the climax of the Papal decline. Again, it is a subjective decision arbitrated by Maxwell.

The third phrase is the concept “the climax of several centuries of decline.” This is a contradiction of ideas. The concept of an “end” of a decline being called a “climax” is a bad choice of words. The end of a decline is not a climax, but the natural result of a prolonged process. The end of the decline of the Babylonian empire after its demise was hardly a “climax.” The end of the Persian empire after its demise was hardly a “climax.”¹¹⁹ The end of some 17-19th century Protestant churches in many parts of Australia, and indeed parts of the world such as the Methodist, Congregational when they amalgamated together, was hardly a “climax.” The choice of the word “climax” lends toward the idea that there is a build-up of the “declining” process for this event, with the final event in this “declining” occurring at that point in grand display. Is that what occurred? Was this the finale of the Papal “declining”? Was everything uphill from there? Or was there a “death” in the Catholic church after then? History records that Napoleon understood that there was a swing toward Catholicism in France while he was in Italy in 1797. Read in this comment from the Catholic Encyclopedia the words of Bonaparte to the pope seeking his aid to restore non-constitutional priests legitimacy in France:

Then, 24 October, he invited Cacault, the French minister at Rome, to reopen negotiations with Pius VI "so as to catch the old fox"; but on 28 October he wrote to the same Cacault: "You may assure the pope that I have always been opposed to the treaty which the Directory has offered him, and above all to the manner of negotiating it. I am more ambitious to be called the preserver than the destroyer of the Holy See. If they will be sensible at Rome, we will profit by it to give peace to that beautiful part of the world and to calm the conscientious fears of many people." Meanwhile the arrival in Venetia of the Austrian troops under Alvinzi caused Cardinal Busca, the pope's secretary of state, to hasten the conclusion of an alliance between the Holy See and the Court of Vienna; of this Bonaparte learned through intercepted letters. His victories at Arcoli (17 November, 1796) and Rivoli (14 January, 1797) and the capitulation of Mantua (2 February, 1797), placed the whole of Northern Italy in his hands, and in the spring of 1797 the Pontifical States were at his mercy.

The Directory sent him ferocious instructions. "The Roman religion", they wrote, "will always be the irreconcilable enemy of the Republic; first by its essence, and next, because its servants and ministers will never forgive the blows which the Republic has aimed at the fortune and standing of some, and the prejudices and habits of others. The Directory requests you to do all that you deem possible, without rekindling the torch of fanaticism, to destroy the papal Government, either by putting Rome under some other power or" which would be still better "by establishing some form of self government which would render the yoke of the priests odious." But at the very moment when Bonaparte received these instructions he knew, by his private correspondence, that a Catholic awakening was beginning in France. Clarke wrote to him: "We have become once more Roman Catholic in France", and explained to him that the help of the pope might perhaps be needed before long to bring the priests in France to accept the state of things resulting from the Revolution. Considerations such as these must have made an impression on a statesman like Bonaparte, who, moreover, at about this period, said to the parish priests of Milan: "A society without religion is like a ship without a compass; there is no good morality without religion." And in February, 1797, when he entered the Pontifical States with his troops, he forbade any insult to religion, and showed kindness to the priests and the monks, even to the French ecclesiastics who had taken refuge in papal territory, and whom he might have caused to be shot as émigrés. He contented himself with levying a great many contributions, and laying hands on the treasury of the Santa Casa at Loretto.

¹¹⁹ I am not including the Neo-Persian Empire here.

The first advances of Pius VI to his "dear son General Bonaparte" were met by Bonaparte's declaring that he was ready to treat. "I am treating with this rabble of priests [*cette prêtraille*], and for this once Saint Peter will again save the Capitol", he wrote to Joubert, 17 February, 1797. The Peace of Tolentino was negotiated on 19 February; the Holy See surrendered the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, and recognized the annexation of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin by France. But Bonaparte had taken care not to infringe upon the spiritual power, and had not demanded of Pius VI the withdrawal of those Briefs which were offensive to the Directory. As soon as the treaty was signed he wrote to Pius VI to express to him "his perfect esteem and veneration"; on the other hand, feeling that the Directory would be displeased, he wrote to it: "My opinion is that Rome, once deprived of Bologna, Ferrara, the Romagna, and the thirty millions we are taking from her, can no longer exist. The old machine will go to pieces of itself." And he proposed that the Directory should take the necessary steps with the pope in regard to the religious situation in France.

Then, with breathless rapidity, turning back towards the Alps, and assisted by Joubert, Masséna, and Bernadotte, he inflicted on Archduke Charles a series of defeats which forced Austria to sign the preliminaries of Leoben (18 April, 1797). In May he transformed Genoa into the Ligurian Republic; in October he imposed on the archduke the Treaty of Campo Formio, by which France obtained Belgium, the Rhine country with Mainz, and the Ionian Islands, while Venice was made subject to Austria. The Directory found fault with this last stipulation; but Bonaparte had already reached the point where he could act with independence and care little for what the politicians at Paris might think. It was the same with his religious policy: he now began to think of invoking the pope's assistance to restore peace in France. A note which he addressed to the Court of Rome, 3 August, 1797, was conceived in these terms: "The pope will perhaps think it worthy of his wisdom, of the most holy of religions, to execute a Bull or ordinance commanding priests to preach obedience to the Government, and to do all in their power to strengthen the established constitution. After the first step, it would be useful to know what others could be taken to reconcile the constitutional priests with the non constitutional."

While Bonaparte was expressing himself thus, the Councils of the Five Hundred and the Ancients were passing a law to recall, amnesty, and restore to their civil and political rights the priests who had refused to take the oath of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

Catholic Encyclopedia, Article [Napoleon I \(Bonaparte\)](#).

Far from being a party to the sentiments of the Directory in Paris, Napoleon had an independent and a favourable attitude to the value of Catholicism in the new France. This is not to say that things began to go well with the Church for the rest of the century. Indeed by the Church's own words the nineteenth century was not a good one for the Church. Even when Victor Emmanuel II took the Papal States in the 1870, he expected an outcry from Catholic countries aboard, but there was none: ¹²⁰([quote here](#))

¹²⁰ But the doom of his temporal power was sealed, when a year later Cavour and Napoleon III met at Plombières, concerting plans for a combined war against Austria and the subsequent territorial extension of the Sardinian Kingdom. They sent their agents into various cities of the Papal States to propagate the idea of a politically united Italy. The defeat of Austria at Magenta on 4 July, 1859, and the subsequent withdrawal of the Austrian troops from the papal legations, inaugurated the dissolution of the Papal States. The insurrection in some of the cities of the Romagna was put forth as a plea for annexing this province to Piedmont in September, 1859. On 6 February, 1860, Victor Emmanuel demanded the annexation of Umbria and the Marches and, when Pius IX resisted this unjust demand, made ready to annex them by force. After defeating the

Apart from these other reasons why Maxwell's statement regarding the "climax of the decline" of the Church, he is historically wrong on this for other reasons. One would expect the "climax" to be the last event in the drama of the decline of the Papacy. If that be the case, then Maxwell is in error. In 1809, Napoleon exiled the Pope and formally decreed the Papal States *in their entirety* (except Rome itself) to be a part of the French Republic. Is this then the "climax" of the decline of the papacy? Certainly, the consequence of the exile of the Pope Pius VI in 1797 was to be followed by the decree annexing the Papal States, but Napoleon hesitated until he finally decided that the attitude of Pius VII could only be dealt with by the decree of the Emperor. Up until 1809, the treaty of Tolentino of 1797 was in place, which only annexed the northern Legations of the Papal States (or Romagna) into the Cisalpine Republic. The Pontine Marshes, the Patrimony of St. Peter and Umbria were still in the possession of the pope. He could still collect rent on land owned by him.

The exile in 1809 was a greater climax than in 1798 because nearly the *entire* Papal territory was annexed by the Emperor. The Pope had virtually no temporal power after 1809 (and his power in Rome itself was hamstrung by the Republican government there), and had that decree stayed in place after the fall of Napoleon, the Pope would have continued to be without temporal power. In 1798, though the Pope was exiled, he still had temporal power. Maxwell wants to argue why the exile in 1798 was significant, and argues that it was different than the exiles of the pope in previous times because it was the "climax." Well, it was not the climax since, *as in previous exiles*, the Papal States remained the possession of the Papacy *in absentia*. But in 1809, the conditions of the exile were different, and the Pope was exiled *as well as* being almost entirely disenfranchised. One could also consider the disenfranchisement of Pius IX in 1849, when he had to flee Rome for his safety and a Republic was proclaimed and the temporal power of the Pope in the States extinguished, until the Austrian power restored the temporal power again.¹²¹ DO YOU NEED TO CHANGE YOUR POSITION HERE? YOU NEED TO SUBSTANTIATE THIS.

papal army at Castelfidardo on 18 September, and at Ancona on 30 September, he deprived the pope of all his possessions with the exception of Rome and the immediate vicinity. Finally on 20 September, 1870, he completed the spoliation of the papal possessions by seizing Rome and making it the capital of United Italy. The so-called Law of Guarantees, of 15 May, 1871, which accorded the pope the rights of a sovereign, an annual remuneration of 3¼ million lire (\$650,000), and extraterritoriality to a few papal palaces in Rome, was never accepted by Pius IX or his successors. (Catholic Encyclopedia on [Pius IX](#))

¹²¹ On 24 November Pius IX escaped in disguise to Gaeta in the Neapolitan Kingdom, whither King Ferdinand II had returned to take command in person. After the flight of the pope an assembly was elected to administer the government, the republic was proclaimed at Rome on 9 February, 1849, and the temporal sovereignty declared abolished. Mazzini with his international following ruled at Rome. In Florence also the republic was proclaimed on 18 February. But reaction followed quickly. This was hastened when the Austrians in a new passage of arms had defeated the Piedmontese at Mortara on 21 March, 1849, and at Novara on 23 March. Charles Albert thereupon resigned in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II. The Austrians were now more powerful in Upper Italy than ever. They brought back to Florence the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Ferdinand II suppressed the revolution in Sicily. Pius IX was readily heard when he appealed to the Catholic powers for assistance against the republic. To anticipate Austria Louis Napoleon, then president of the Second Republic, with the consent of the Constituent Assembly in Paris, sent a force under Oudinot into the States of the Church, where besides Mazzini many revolutionaries from other lands (including Garibaldi) had gathered, and a triumvirate, composed of Mazzini,

But is 1809 the “climax” of the decline of the Papacy? WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER REBELLIONS IN ITALY BEFORE 1870? YOU COULD DISCUSS THE IMPACT OF THEM ON THE PAPAL STATES HERE. According to the Catholic Church itself, the “climax” of the decline of the Papacy was in 1870, when Emperor Victor Emmanuel II had the Papal States, including Rome (for the first time), annexed to the Italian State forever. When the Concordat was signed in 1929, the Papacy agreed to the final surrender of all its former territories to the Italian government. The Papacy agreed to receive back from the Italian government that parcel of approximately 1000 acres now known as the Vatican City. According to the Mini World Factfile of the Reader’s Digest, the Vatican City area is 0.44 square kilometre, has a population of approximately 1,000 people; it is the world’s smallest independent sovereignty; and all “income is derived from voluntary contributions and interest on investments.” ([Reader’s Digest, 1993](#), p.211) The Catholic Church declares Maxwell to be incorrect. 1870, not 1798, was the “climax” of the decline of the papacy. The world calls 1870 the mortal “wound” that was not healed for many generations. It was the climax because the solution to the “problem,” as it was known, included the permanent loss of territory from which it could make an income. The territory it gained after 1929 mainly included the Papal building complexes with some room for expansion in the centuries to come. The Papacy could hardly exercise sovereignty over tenants as it did in times past. For all practical purposes, it had no population within its domain worth taxing. It was indeed a climax.

It is much more standard practise to point out *beginning* of a change of process in a historical setting rather than the obvious outcome of the process when the process has had time to run and develop itself fully. It is the signal for the *beginning* of a change in process in history that is a “highly significant” event, not the type of end events associated with that process. The details Maxwell states concerning the absence of any comment on the event in 1798 by the Spanish prime minister merely confirms my position that the event was *not* significant; it was half expected and certainly not a surprise. Even Maxwell’s account of the capture of the pope by Berthier indicates that event the pope himself was half expecting it. How can it be then the *climax*, when it is merely the *expiry* of an already mortally wounded institution? It is the event in 1309, when the chair of St Peter was moved to Avignon to be a puppet of the French king, which was the real mortal wound, and from which the Catholic Church never recovered. The eventual result of the “Babylonian exile” of the Papacy, as it is known in Catholic literature, was the Great Schism, producing a conflict that hurt the church forever afterward. I assert that the second mortal wound was the challenge to the papacy by Luther, and the third mortal wound was the Protest of the Princes, which the Pope was powerless to force them to retract and come back under the fold of Rome. The exiles of the pope and his temporary disenfranchisement in 1809 during the French Revolution constitute the fourth deadly wound, the last in 1870, with the permanent annexation of the Papal States by the Italian State. There were mortal wounds long before Berthier. They achieved a serious blow to the power of the Catholic Church. Examples could be

Aurelio Saffi, and Carlo Armellini, was administering the government. Oudinot's small force soon after its landing at Civitavecchia was, it is true, at first defeated before Rome. But now the Austrians also entered the States of the Church in the north, in the south the Neapolitans, while in Terracina Spaniards landed. Oudinot received reinforcements and began the siege of Rome. Garibaldi with 5000 volunteers cut his way through to continue the struggle in the Apennines. On 2 July, 1849, Oudinot entered Rome and again restored the temporal power of the pope. Pius IX re-entered Rome on 12 April, 1850. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article, “[States of the Church](#).”)

multiplied in the Reformation History of the smaller wounds that attacked the power of the pontiff, but the point is made. Berthier's action were served upon an institution barely alive. And yet this action was not the climax of the action to the Catholic Church to limit its temporal power.

If the papacy was able to resume both its parliament and install another pope on the throne in Rome, then the decree of The Directory did not have the same power as Justinian and as such cannot be compared to the former. An important signal that the affairs of the Papacy were carrying on as usual was the election of Pope Pius VII, virtually without missing a beat in the running of the Church. Another indication that the actions of the Directory bore no weight with the Church's understanding of its own authority throughout the exile of Pius VI, is the fact indicated below, that Pope Pius VII, in announcing his ascension to the holy chair, did not announce it to the *de-facto* government which was now called the Roman Republic, but rather it was announced to the Bourbons, to King Louis XVIII. Here is the account from the Catholic Encyclopedia under the Article Pope Pius VII:

According to an ordinance issued by Pius VI, 13 Nov., 1798, the city where the largest number of cardinals was to be found at the time of his death was to be the scene of the subsequent election. In conformity with these instructions the cardinals met in conclave, after his death (29 Aug., 1799), in the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio at Venice. The place was agreeable to the emperor, who bore the expense of the election. Thirty-four cardinals were in attendance on the opening day, 30 Nov., 1799; to these was added a few days later Cardinal Herzan, who acted simultaneously as imperial commissioner. It was not long before the election of Cardinal Bellisomi seemed assured. He was, however, unacceptable to the Austrian party, who favoured Cardinal Mattei. As neither candidate could secure a sufficient number of votes, a third name, that of Cardinal Gerdil, was proposed, but his election was vetoed by Austria. At last, after the conclave had lasted three months, some of the neutral cardinals, including Maury, suggested Chiaramonti as a suitable candidate and, with the tactful support of the secretary of the conclave, Ercole Consalvi, he was elected. The new pope was crowned as Pius VII on 21 March, 1800, at Venice. He then left this city in an Austrian vessel for Rome, where he made his solemn entry on 3 July, amid the universal joy of the populace. Of all-important consequence for his reign was the elevation on 11 Aug., 1800, of Ercole Consalvi, one of the greatest statesmen of the nineteenth century, to the college of cardinals and to the office of secretary of state. Consalvi retained to the end the confidence of the pope, although the conflict with Napoleon forced him out of office for several years.

With no country was Pius VII more concerned during his reign than with France, where the revolution had destroyed the old order in religion no less than in politics. Bonaparte, as first consul, signified his readiness to enter into negotiations tending to the settlement of the religious question. These advances led to the conclusion of the historic Concordat of 1801, which for over a hundred years governed the relations of the French Church with Rome (on this compact; the journey of Pius VII to Paris for the imperial coronation; his captivity and restoration, see CONCORDAT OF 1801, CONSALVI; and NAPOLEON I). After the fall of Napoleon a new concordat was negotiated between Pius VII and Louis XVIII.

Furthermore, only a few months after the election of Pope Pius VII, Napoleon Bonaparte sent word to Rome to indicate that he wanted to see the restitution of the damage to the Church done by the Revolution:

On the 25th of June, 1800, Bonaparte, after his victory at Marengo, passed through Vercelli, where he paid a visit to Cardinal Martiniana, bishop of that city. He asked that

prelate to go to Rome and inform Pius VII that Bonaparte wished to make him a present of thirty million French Catholics; that the first consul desired to reorganize the French dioceses, while lessening their number; that the *émigré* bishops should be induced to resign their sees; that France should have a new clergy untrammelled by past political conditions; that the pope's spiritual jurisdiction in France should be restored. Martiniana faithfully reported these words to Pius VII. It was only a few months before that Pius VI had died at Valence, a prisoner of revolutionary France. Pius VII, when elected at Venice, had announced his accession to the legitimate government of Louis XVIII, not to that of the Republic; and now Bonaparte, the representative of this *de facto* government, was making overtures of peace to the Holy See on the very morrow of his great victory. His action naturally caused the greatest surprise at Rome. The difficulties in the way, however, were very serious. They arose, chiefly;

(1) from the susceptibilities of the *émigré* bishops, from the future Louis XVIII, and from Cardinal Maury, who was suspicious of any attempt at reconciliation between the Roman Church and the new France;

(2) from the susceptibilities of the former revolutionaries, now the courtiers of Napoleon, but still imbued with the irreligious philosophy of the eighteenth century.

The distinctive mark of the negotiations, taken as a whole, is the fact that the French bishops, whether still abroad or returned to their own country, had no heart whatever in them. The concordat as finally arranged practically ignored their existence REF?

The events of 1870 are far more significant in the decline of the Catholic Church than that of the events of 1798. It was at this time that FINISH

From my observations, Maxwell has chosen the word "climax" to make history fit into the SDA mould of how history should be told. There are certain expectations upon SDA writers by the church's administration to conform to certain "party" lines when it comes to dealing with historical details associated with the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. The choice of the word "climax," however inaccurate, certainly pampers to these expectations. The reality of course is that this was no "climax" at all, as Maxwell's own sources clearly indicate.

Ford, on the other hand, attempts to link in our mind two decrees as exact opposites, the one dissolving what the other established: the former by Justinian establishing the papacy in the first place and the latter, by Napoleon, and in the second abolishing its power. In his words:

Supremacy for 1260 years (7:25). In apocalyptic prophecy, time as well as other matters is sometimes symbolically couched....For the present we would but point out that in harmony with Num 14: 34, Eze 4:6, and the passages in the Old Testament where "many days" actually means "many years" we interpret "time, 2 times and a half" as three and a half symbolic years, or 1260 symbolic days (cf. Rev 11:2, 3; 12:6; 13:5). Expositors vary in the way they have applied this period, but most have done so in such a manner as to span the centuries from about the time of Justinian, when the pope was declared head over all the churches and corrector of heretics, till the age of Napoleon, when the Papacy lost its temporal power. It was exactly 1260 years after the memorable decree of Justinian (AD 533) that another decree, this time from Napoleon's government, was promulgated, aiming at reducing papal influence in Europe. Five years after the decree of Justinian, the third of the Arian powers opposing papal supremacy received its deathblow. Similarly, five years after the French decree, Berthier of France invaded the Vatican and suspended for a time the papal government, imprisoning the pope....The

year 1798 was to bring death to the temporal power of the papacy. Thus Rev 13:3 speaks of the beast being wounded to death. It has a period of existence when it “is not.” But this is not the end of its career. It will ascent from the pit of death and do its most terrible work during the days when the judgment has begun in heaven....(1978, p.154)

Notice especially the comment by Ford:

Expositors vary in the way they have applied this period, but most have done so in such a manner as to span the centuries from about the time of Justinian, when the pope was declared head over all the churches and corrector of heretics, till the age of Napoleon, when the Papacy lost its temporal power. **It was exactly 1260 years after the memorable decree of Justinian (AD 533) that another decree, this time from Napoleon’s government, was promulgated, aiming at reducing papal influence in Europe.** Five years after the decree of Justinian, the third of the Arian powers opposing papal supremacy received its deathblow. Similarly, five years after the French decree, Berthier of France invaded the Vatican and suspended for a time the papal government, imprisoning the pope....The year 1798 was to bring death to the temporal power of the papacy.

Ford’s association of these two decrees is designed to make us think the decree by Napoleon “reducing papal influence in Europe,” is the antithesis of the setting up of papal supremacy by Justinian. We are to conclude that the act by Napoleon and Berthier cancels the decree by Justinian, thereby ending the 1260 year period when the decree of Justinian was in force. We are led to believe Napoleon “suspended” the power transferred to the pope by Justinian. This is incorrect. As Ford points out, it had no lasting effect – it was only a “temporary” event. Certainly 66 years shorter than the same event in 1309. In the SDA view, the event in 1309 had no material effect on the position of the pope as the leader of the churches of Christendom, nor on the temporal power of the pope. Therefore, by their own logic, Ford’s view is likewise faulty since a temporary banishment of the pope did not materially change the temporal power of the pope, and the acts of Napoleon in this regard were not a permanent loss of temporal power for the pope. The issue of the resumption by the Italian leaders of the Papal States in 1870 however, is a different matter. It was everything that SDA historicists argue about for 1798, but because it lies outside of their time frame it does not sit well with them. They consider it a “continuation” of the wound. This is nonsense. History knows of only one formal loss of temporal power of the papacy at this end of that millennium and it is 1870. No Catholic work of note discusses pope’s loss of temporal power in 1798. They discuss the baneful effect of this on the spirit of Catholics, but there is no mourning the loss of temporal power in 1798. It is 1870-1929 that is the focus of their discussion when talking about loss of Papal temporal power. Surely the Catholic Church knows its own history?

So when was the deadly wound inflicted?

Commenting on this topic Maxwell has this to say:

In 1798 Napoleon intended there would never be another pope. In 1801, however, he signed a church-state treaty or “concordat” with a new pope! As prophecy had foreseen, the mortal blow would only wound, not kill, the Catholic Church. On the other hand, in 1870 the newly emerging nation of Italy deepened the church’s woes for a while by taking away the Papal States, a considerable portion of the Italian peninsula, which the church had owned for centuries. Pope Pius IX in a huff, and all the popes after him till

1929, confined themselves in an ancient residence, the Castel Gandolfo, portraying a picture of the once-grand papacy suffering under house arrest.

But in 1929 Benito Mussolini signed a concordat granting the pope full authority over the state of the Vatican City, 108.7 acres in Rome, which included St. Peter's Cathedral. Once again, the pope was a monarch as well as a priest. The deadly wound was being healed. (1985, p.346)

Maxwell's comments are in direct contradiction to the facts of the events as recorded in the Catholic Encyclopedia. Firstly, Napoleon did not intend that there would not be another pope. Napoleon, quite the contrary, was responsible for the restoration of Catholicism in France after the Revolution. Napoleon did not have the same spirit of anti-Catholicism that The Directory had. As documented above, he showed the utmost respect for the Pope and delayed in carrying out the orders of the Directory to capture the Holy See, and especially warned his army when approaching Rome to show the utmost respect to the Church:

And in February, 1797, when he entered the Pontifical States with his troops, he forbade any insult to religion, and showed kindness to the priests and the monks, even to the French ecclesiastics who had taken refuge in papal territory, and whom he might have caused to be shot as émigrés. He contented himself with levying a great many contributions, and laying hands on the treasury of the Santa Casa at Loretto. REF?

His sentiments in favour of the pope was generally known in the leadership of the Revolution. Before the capture of the Pope, Napoleon was in communication with Pope Pius VI to try and turn the tide of opinion among the leaders in France toward the return of traditional (non-constitutional) Catholic priests. And immediately after the death of Pius VI, Napoleon as first consul, then as emperor, he encouraged the election of the new pope by offered to pay the costs involved:

According to an ordinance issued by Pius VI, 13 Nov., 1798, the city where the largest number of cardinals was to be found at the time of his death was to be the scene of the subsequent election. In conformity with these instructions the cardinals met in conclave, after his death (29 Aug., 1799), in the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio at Venice. The place was agreeable to the emperor, who bore the expense of the election. Thirty-four cardinals were in attendance on the opening day, 30 Nov., 1799; to these was added a few days later Cardinal Herzan, who acted simultaneously as imperial commissioner. REF?

Furthermore, Napoleon initiated contact with Pope Pius VII to develop a concordat that would restore Catholicism in France. This was successful. The full details of the Concordat may be read under the article [Concordat of 1801](#). These are the main points:

This name is given to the convention of the 26th Messidor, year IX (July 16, 1802), whereby Pope Pius VII and Bonaparte, First Consul, re-established the Catholic Church in France. Bonaparte understood that the restoration of religious peace was above all things necessary for the peace of the country. The hostility of the Vendéans to the new state of affairs which resulted from the Revolution was due chiefly to the fact that their Catholic consciences were outraged by the Revolutionary laws....

On the 25th of June, 1800, Bonaparte, after his victory at Marengo, passed through Vercelli, where he paid a visit to Cardinal Martiniana, bishop of that city. He asked that prelate to go to Rome and inform Pius VII that Bonaparte wished to make him a present of thirty million French Catholics; that the first consul desired to reorganize the French dioceses, while lessening their number; that the *émigré* bishops should be induced to resign their sees; that France should have a new clergy untrammelled by past political conditions; that the pope's spiritual jurisdiction in France should be restored. Martiniana faithfully reported these words to Pius VII. It was only a few months before that Pius VI had died at Valence, a prisoner of revolutionary France. Pius VII, when elected at Venice, had announced his accession to the legitimate government of Louis XVIII, not to that of the Republic; and now Bonaparte, the representative of this *de facto* government, was making overtures of peace to the Holy See on the very morrow of his great victory. His action naturally caused the greatest surprise at Rome....

The French Government by the concordat recognized the Catholic religion as the religion *of the great majority of Frenchmen*. The phrase was no longer as in former times, *the religion of the State*. But it was a question of a *personal profession of Catholicism on the part of the Consuls of the Republic*....

The concordat, notwithstanding the addition of the Organic Articles, must be credited with having restored peace to the consciences of the French people on the very morrow of the Revolution. To it also was due the reorganization of Catholicism in France, under the protection of the Holy See. It was also of great moment in the history of the Church. Only a few years after Josephinism and Febronianism had disputed the pope's rights to govern the Church, the Papacy and the Revolution, in the persons of Pius VII and Napoleon, came to an understanding which gave France a new episcopate and marked the final defeat of Gallicanism....

Secondly, neither the decree by the Directory in 1797 to rid France of Catholicism, nor the vote to proclaim the Roman Republic in Italy in 1798 took away the Papal States from the Holy See in Rome. The plain facts of history are that it was the assets of the Church in France that were annexed by the French to help defray the crippling debt it was suffering under. These assets were never part of the Papal States that the pope had *sovereign* control over. In 1797, when Napoleon captured three of the Pontifical States, he did so with courtesy, and annexed the French papal holding of Avignon:

The Peace of Tolentino was negotiated on 19 February; the Holy See surrendered the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, and recognized the annexation of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin by France. But Bonaparte had taken care not to infringe upon the spiritual power, and had not demanded of Pius VI the withdrawal of those Briefs which were offensive to the Directory. As soon as the treaty was signed he wrote to Pius VI to express to him "his perfect esteem and veneration"; on the other hand, feeling that the Directory would be displeased, he wrote to it: "My opinion is that Rome, once deprived of Bologna, Ferrara, the Romagna, and the thirty millions we are taking from her, can no longer exist. The old machine will go to pieces of itself." And he proposed that the Directory should take the necessary steps with the pope in regard to the religious situation in France.

Though these states were a part of the pontifical states, Napoleon only took the most valuable of the estates. He writes back to the Directory that without the income from these, and the loss of the French population from the church, the church will die a

natural death; and even that statement was made to placate the anti-church element in the Directory. His opinion was different. Except for the years between 1809 and 1815, the Papacy was earning revenue from these other sovereign estates throughout that time up until they were annexed by Victor Emmanuel II in 1860. The papacy could not earn revenue from an asset it does not own. Therefore the Pope still owned the states, though he was in exile. The Papal States gave the Pope temporal sovereignty, even though his residence was elsewhere. The Pope need not be present in Rome to be able to effect the execution of his responsibilities. In fact many a time throughout the history of the Papacy, whether it be for reasons of safety or political intrigue, the Pope ruled *in absentia*. This power of the Pope was not mitigated in any way by the *de-facto* revolutionary government in France. Therefore, contrary to Maxwell's claim, there was no mortal wound against either the temporal powers of the pope or his primacy in 1798.

One might want to argue along the lines of the ancient rules of possession: if you conquered it, you owned it. Notice this comment on this vein when Rome was threatened with the Lombards in 756:

If the Franks had not interfered, the territory would by right of conquest have fallen to the Lombards; Pepin by his intervention prevented Rome with the native population from falling into the hands of the foreign conquerors. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article "States of the Church.")

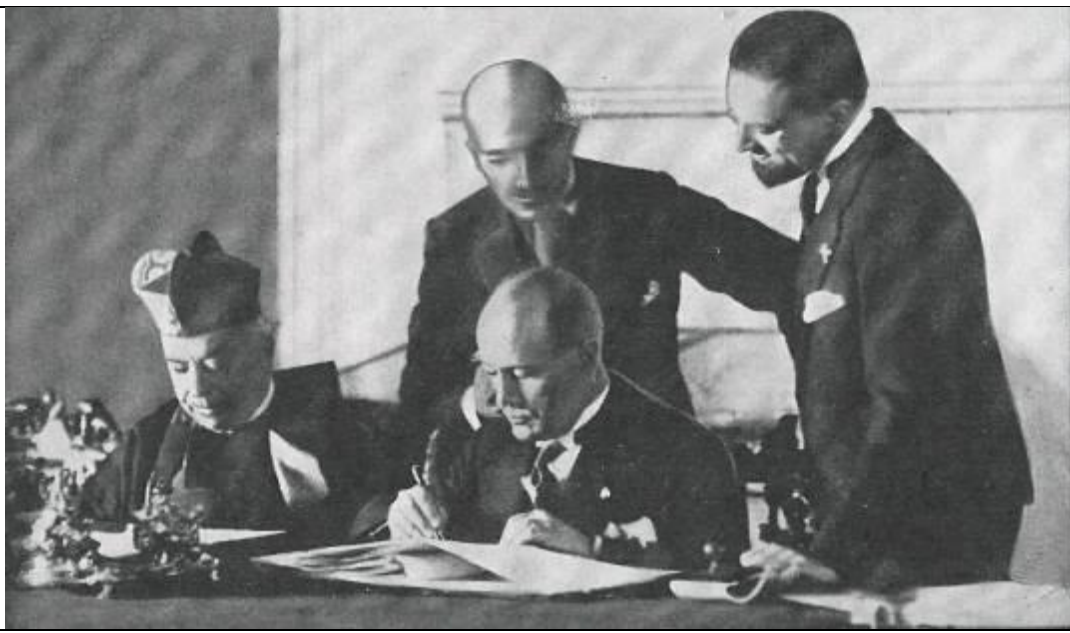
This same principle may be put forward to argue why Berthier's conquest of Rome and the establishment there of a declaration of the Roman Republic means that by right of conquest, all the states and temporal powers of the Pope came to an end then, at least until they were reinstated at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, when ownership of lands was reverted back to the owners pre-Napoleon, except for a few minor exceptions. But this is false logic. The temporal power never came to an end then, and Napoleon, Berthier's superior had no intention of ending the temporal powers of the papacy. Republic the Italians can have, but it is only the government of the people that they are dealing with here. For Napoleon ensured that the Papal States were preserved in the hands of the Papacy, except for those annexed by the Treaty of Tolentino. And why should he seek the others? There was more value for him in maintaining a puppet Pope than abolishing him entirely. So the Concordat of 1801 is the definition of the events of 1798; the Concordat spells out what spoils the conqueror of Italy claims by virtue of conquest. It did not extinguish papal temporal power.

In consideration of the end of the 1260-year period, it would be more correct, for instance, to name 1870 AD as the terminus for the deadly wound to be inflicted since this is when the temporal power of the pope was taken from him. The SDA standard work, Bible Readings for the Home Circle supports the view that the deadly wound was inflicted in 1870 and this wound was healed in 1929 by Premier Mussolini:

... in 1870 temporal dominion was taken from the Papacy, and the pope looked upon himself as the prisoner of the Vatican. By 1929 the situation had changed to the extent that Cardinal Gasparri met Premier Mussolini in the historical palace of Saint John Lateran to settle a long quarrel – returning temporal power to the Papacy “to heal the wound of 59 years” (*The Catholic Advocate* [Australian], April, 18, 1929, p. 16). (1949, p. 232)

Smith's work however, does not do so well in openly acknowledging these historical facts. It weaves an unstated association between the events explained about 1798 with those of 1929 in a way that leads the readers to make the assumption that 1929 is the reversal of the actions of Berthier in 1798.

Thus it is evident that it was the papal head that was wounded to death, and whose deadly wound was healed. This wounding is the same as the going into captivity. (Revelation 13:10) It was inflicted when the pope was taken prisoner by Berthier, the French general, and the papal government was for a time abolished, in 1798. Stripped of his power, both civil and ecclesiastical, the captive pope, Pius VI, died in exile at Valence in France, August 29, 1799. But the deadly wound began to be healed when the papacy was re-established, though with less of its former power, by the election of a new pope, March 14, 1800. (1944, p. 567)¹²²



RESTORING THE POWER OF THE PAPACY. Cardinal Gasparri and Benito Mussolini signed in 1929 the concordat which restored the temporal power of the papacy. (Smith, 1944, p. 568)

This is a very misleading alignment of details in Smith's book at this point. Smith discusses the deadly wound of Revelation 13:3 and explicitly states that the deadly wound was inflicted on the papacy in 1798 when, with the arrest of Pope Pius VI, there was no pope until 1800 when a new pope was elected. He considered this the *beginning* of the healing of the wound referred to in Revelation 13:3. There is no discussion at all on the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which restored pre Napoleon, the States of the Pope, including those annexed by the Treaty of Tolentino. There is no discussion by Smith at all of the actions in 1870 by the Italian government that took away the temporal power of the pope. On the following page we are given the photo reproduced above with the caption just as it is given above. Yet, the signing of the Concordat in 1929 is in no way associated with the events in 1798. SDA historicists merely associate that event with

¹²² One must ask the question, How did the Napoleon's concordat of 1801 limit the powers of the pope when compared to his powers before 1798? This is not substantiated. It is just an opinion. Where is the evidence? Civil powers or ecclesiastical powers?

1929 by arbitrary association. The historical event that 1929 marks with the signing of the Concordat that restored the temporal power of the pope is the event in 1870, when the temporal power of the pope was taken from him. If any event be called a wound, history has called the 1870 a wound. There is no reference to the formal loss of temporal power of the pope or the papal government in 1798. Notice this statement quoted by Bible Readings for the Home:

... in 1870 temporal dominion was taken from the Papacy, and the pope looked upon himself as the prisoner of the Vatican. By 1929 the situation had changed to the extent that Cardinal Gasparri met Premier Mussolini in the historical palace of Saint John Lateran to settle a long quarrel – returning temporal power to the Papacy “to heal the wound of 59 years” (*The Catholic Advocate* [Australian], April, 18, 1929, p. 16).

The front page of the *San Francisco Chronicle* of February 12, 1929, carries pictures of Cardinal Gasparri and Mussolini, signers of the Concordat, with the headline “Heal Wound of Many Years.” The Associated Press dispatch says, “In affixing the autographs to the memorable document, healing the wound which has festered since 1870, extreme cordiality was displayed on both sides.” (1949, p.232)¹²³

Thus, it is unfortunate of the editors of Daniel and Revelation to lead the readers of the book to a wrong association of the events of 1929 to be associated with those of 1798. These quotes from secular sources by Bible Readings for the Home clearly show that the association of 1929 can only be made with 1870. 1798 is a non-event in the issue of the temporal power of the pope. The pope elected in 1800 resumed all the temporal powers of Pope Pius VI as though there had been no interruption in papal leadership. There was no document or treaty that formally stripped the temporal power of the papacy over the city of Rome in 1798 as happened in 1870. There is ample evidence, - and Froome quotes extensively from it – to show that the *ancien regime* fell in 1798 to a new form of government. That is true, and cannot be gainsaid. But it is another thing to assert that this meant that the pope lost temporal power. That is a gross misuse of historical data. The pope never lost temporal power at all in 1798. If Napoleon had *not* made the Concordat, then one could assume that the proclamation of the Roman Republic also meant the annexation of the Papal States. But he was careful to get the Concordat correct. Had the Pope co-operated and closed his ports to English ships and had he re-

¹²³ The quote given here is preceded by this ambiguous statement: “The wound to the papal head was inflicted when the French, in 1798, entered Rome, and took the pope prisoner, temporarily eclipsing the power of the Papacy and depriving it of its temporalities.” What does “temporarily eclipsing the power of the Papacy” mean? And what does “depriving it of its temporalities” mean? Are we to understand that “temporal dominion” was taken from the pope? Or is “temporalities” just an ambiguous word chosen to confuse and also to sound like “temporal” helping us to mentally link without the editors actually saying it, that the “temporal” powers of the pope had been stripped from him at that time.? What is a “temporality”? The SOED defines it as “temporal or material possessions (esp. of the church or clergy). (Onions, 1980) Therefore, applying this definition to the statement in Smith, the papacy was deprived of its material possessions at this time. Did this occur? Did Napoleon take possession of all the material possessions of the Catholic Church at this time? Would this deprive the pope of his “temporal” powers by having his possession taken from him? Though Napoleon claim all the assets of the Vatican, it still would not effect the temporal powers of the Papacy. Did these possessions include the Papal States, as occurred in 1870? If this occurred, then there would be some substance to the claim that Napoleon took away the temporal power of the papacy.

inforced Ancona as Napoleon asked him to do, Napoleon would not have annexed the Papal States in 1809.

But beyond Napoleon, beyond the Congress of Vienna in 1815, beyond the vicissitudes of the of territorial losses and gains between then and 1860, it was basically still in place until it was formally taken from the pope by the Italian government in 1870. That must be the date, if any were chosen. This is the date quoted by Catholic historians as the date of the loss of the temporal power of the pope. Surely, there is no reason to doubt their own knowledge of their own church? The only reason this date is denied by SDA historicists is because the real facts in history do not fit in with their preconceived model of history, and they would far better choose to make up a fabricated story about some “temporary” loss of temporal power by the pope than acknowledge the glaring facts of history. Surely, if an 18 month lapse of papal leadership constitutes a deadly wound, what does the 70-odd year banishment of the pope in 1309?? ¹²⁴ But no sooner than Napoleon had discovered that Pius VI had died than he organised for the burial of the Pope and the meeting of the cardinals to elect the new pope. There was only a delay of some six weeks between when the Pope died and when the process continued. The time it took to choose Barnada Chiaramonti as Pope Pius VII was in no way connected to anything else than protracted deliberations by the cardinals to get the minimum number of votes for the most suitable candidate.

The world acknowledged the wound to the papacy as occurring in 1870. The world acknowledged the healing as taking place in 1929. History confirms these facts. It is indisputable. SDA historicists have no argument for the loss of papal temporal power in 1798. It does not exist. Examples could be multiplied.

Take this [website](#) for instance:

Popes in their secular role ruled much of the Italian peninsula for more than a thousand years until the mid 19th century, when many of the Papal States were seized by the newly united Kingdom of Italy. In 1870, the pope's holdings were further circumscribed when Rome itself was annexed. Disputes between a series of "prisoner" popes and Italy were resolved in 1929 by three Lateran Treaties, which established the independent state of Vatican City and granted Roman Catholicism special status in Italy. In 1984, a concordat between the Vatican and Italy modified certain of the earlier treaty provisions, including the primacy of Roman Catholicism as the Italian state religion.

Or from the Catholic Encyclopedia Online:

¹²⁴ The Catholic Encyclopedia calls the Western Schism “a grievous loss of authority.” “In consequence a third epoch of this period is filled with reaction against the evils of the preceding time, and with the evil results of wide-spread worldliness in the Church and the decline of sincerely religious life. It is true that the papacy won a famous victory in its conflict with the German Hohenstaufen, but it soon fell under the influence of the French kings, suffered a grievous loss of authority through the Western Schism and had difficulty at the time of the reform councils (Constance, Pisa, Basle) in stemming a strong anti-papal tide. Furthermore, the civil authority grew more fully conscious of itself, more secular in temper, and frequently hostile to the Church; civil encroachments on the ecclesiastical domain multiplied. In general, the spheres of spiritual and secular authority, the rights of the Church and those of the State, were not definitely outlined until after many conflicts, for the most part detrimental to the Church.” (Article, “[Church History](#).”) To my mind, this is much more significant than the events in 1798, and it is an event admitted by the Catholic Church itself as a time of loss of authority. This would probably a good point to choose as a deadly wound. Do SDA historicists want to educate the Catholic Church about its own history?

Other popes who were taken into exile

The exile and death of Pope Pius V was not the first time this had occurred to the papacy. There were others before him.

Catholic Encyclopedia online, article "Rome":

The seventh century was disastrously marked by a violent assault on the Lateran made by Mauricius, the *chartularius* of the Exarch of Ravenna (640), by the exile of Pope St. Martin (653), and by the visit of the Emperor Constans I (663). The imprisonment of St. Sergius, which had been ordered by Justinian II, was prevented by the native troops of the Exarchate.

[Innocent III](#) (1203) was obliged to flee from Rome, but, on the other hand, the friendly disposition of the mercantile middle class facilitated his return and secured to him some influence in the affairs of the communes, in which he obtained the appointment of a chief of the Senate, known as "the senator" (1207).

The absence of the popes from Rome had the most disastrous results for the city: anarchy prevailed; the powerful families of Colonna, Savelli, Orsini, Anguillara, and others lorded it with no one to gainsay them; the pope's vicars were either stupid or weak; the monuments crumbled of themselves or were destroyed; sheep and cows were penned in the Lateran Basilica; no new buildings arose, except the innumerable towers, or keeps, of which Brancalone degli Andalò, the senator (1252-56) caused more than a hundred to be pulled down; the revival of art, so promising in the thirteenth century was abruptly cut off. The mad enterprise of Cola di Rienzo only added to the general confusion. The population was reduced to about 17,000. The Schism of the West, with the wars of King Ladislaus (1408 and 1460, siege and sack of Rome), kept the city from benefiting by the popes' return as quickly as it should. Noteworthy, however, is the understanding between [Boniface IX](#) and the Senate as to their respective rights (1393). This pope and [Innocent VII](#) also made provision for the restoration of the city.

BUT THERE WAS NOT A CHANGE OF OCCUPATION DURING THIS TIME, THEREFORE THE POPE STILL CONTROLLED IT? WHAT ABOUT THE LOCAL ITALIAN MILITIA THAT OCCUPIED ROME? DOES THAT CONSTITUTE A LOSS OF CONTROL? No. Notice the following example, while Pope Clement V (1305-1314) was in France, his cardinals dealt with the issues at home in Rome:

Confusion and anarchy were prevalent, owing to the implacable mutual hatred of the Colonna and Orsini, the traditional turbulence of the Romans, and the frequent angry conflicts between the people and the nobles, conditions which had been growing worse all through the thirteenth century and had eventually driven even the Italian popes to such outside strongholds as Viterbo, Anagni, Orvieto, and Perugia. No more graphic illustration of the local conditions at Rome and in the Patrimony of Peter could be asked than the description of Nicholas of Butrinto, the historiographer of Emperor Henry VII, on his fateful Roman expedition of 1312 [see Von Raumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, Berlin, 1867, II (1), 745-65]. Among the untoward Roman events of Pope Clement's reign was the conflagration 6 May, 1308, that destroyed the church of St. John Lateran, soon rebuilt, however, by the Romans with the aid of the pope. Clement did not hesitate to try the conclusions of war with the Italian state of Venice that had unjustly seized on Ferrara, a fief of the Patrimony of Peter. When excommunication, interdict, and a general prohibition of all commercial intercourse failed, he outlawed the Venetians, and caused a crusade to be preached against them; finally his legate, Cardinal Pélagre, overthrew in a terrific battle the haughty aggressors (28 August, 1309). The papal vicariate of Ferrara was then conferred on Robert of Naples, whose Catalan mercenaries, however, were more odious to the people than the Venetian usurpers. In any case, the smaller powers of

Italy had learned that they could not yet strip with impunity the inheritance of the Apostolic See, and an example was furnished which the greatest soldier of the papacy, Gil d'Albornoz (q.v.), would better before the century was over. (Article: [Pope Clement V](#))

Even in the absence of the Pope from Rome, and the efforts of local warlords to control Italy and parts of the Papal states, the cardinals protected the interests of Clement V thereby asserting the authority of the pontiff in absentia. Therefore the presence or absence of the Pope was irrelevant to the issue: it was whether he still had control at home.

538 A.D. – The Start of the Period.

The obvious answer to the significance of 538 AD is that when a countback was done from 1798 AD, when historicists believed the end of the temporal power of the pope was ended, they came up with 538AD. That answer is the only correct answer to the significance of this date. But historicists have asserted that there is an event relating to the pope in that year which is significant to date the beginning of his temporal powers, and they have sought for the last two hundred plus years to try and justify it.

Typical of those who argued for the end of the temporal powers in 1798 and who sought its beginning in 538 is the following:

- Develop the historical development of the argument for 538
 1. it was first about the temporal power of the pope, in that when the Ostrogoths left, the pope controlled Rome, and no other power had its seat of power in that city – that is the basis of their argument. It could not stand historically, because, one did not need to be in the city to control it. The exarch of Ravenna controlled it, as did Totila, not being in the city.
 2. Another argument that accompanied it was that the pope was free after 538 AD in that there was no interference in the elections of the pope, nor was the pope dictated to by a hostile ruler. This is also incorrect, in that even Froom admits that the period after 538 was one of the worse for the pope, in that the Greek emperors interfered with the elections and sometimes foisted a Greek pope upon the Roman church, or that the pope was dictated to do the emperor's bidding, due to the caesoro-papist attitudes of the Greek emperors. So this argument is invalid as well.
 3. the next argument is that it was not the beginning of the temporal power of the pope, but that was when the "power of the Ostrogoths was significantly broken." (eg., Maxwell, Mansell, etc) This is also incorrect, since, by definition, the "plucking out" of the three horns meant their decimation, according to historicists definition of the first two "pluckings" of the horns. Had modern writers like Maxwell etc believed in the validity of the early arguments put up by historicists, they would have used them. The fact that they have not is significant, and highlights the paucity of anything to support 538. The arguments of Maxwell are just as lame as those of his forebears.

4. This is the beginning of the period when the pope “controlled the hearts and minds of the people” for 1260 years.” This is another one of historicist’s attempts to justify the date. But the text of Dn7 says nothing of this. It talks about a plucking out, and a wearing out of the saints. If the pope was the puppet of the emperor during this period more than any other, it is hard to say that at this point in history he was controlling the hearts and minds of the people. The reality of the matter is that the *emperor* was controlling the hearts and minds of the people. One need only to look at the Iconoclastic controversy to verify this. The *emperor* had control over the hearts and minds of the empire, in no uncertain terms.
5. Looking at the decree of 533, SDA historicist say that this decree could not go into force until Rome was free for the pope. Now think through the logic. The decree said that the pope was first above all other bishops, with the bishop of Constantinople being first after the bishop of Rome. Now this is an issue of position among a collection of people. It is a statement of ranking. How then does the state of affairs in the city where these bishops live influence their ranking among other persons that do not live in that same city? It does not influence it at all. The political state of a city has nothing to do with church authority. Church authority can operate without being impacted upon by the affairs of the world. So ranking among these bishops is not influenced by the affairs of the world. Rome did not have to be free for the pope to be first among all other bishops. Rome did not have to be free for the bishop of Constantinople to be first after the bishop of Rome. The arguments put up by SDA historicists is a desperate attempt to try and mix in some issue of temporal authority with the date of 538, so that there is some correspondence with the events of 1798, when they say his temporal authority was ended.

So there is still no valid argument to support 538 as the start of the period. The older arguments are discarded by modern historicists as being without historical support and the modern arguments are without foundation at all as well.

John Dowling addresses Miller's arguments regarding 538 A.D.

Appendix For 538 AD

Check out Gordon's Pioneer Articles on this point.

Ellen White

J. White

Andrews

Smith

And more contemporary writers

Cottrell

Ford

Maxwell

Doukhan

Pfandl

Shea

Signs of the Times Special Edition

Sabbath School Pamphlets

This I believe...

SDABC

Haynes

Branson

Damsteegt

Gordon

Weber

"Millerism Opposed"

This little volume, written in 1840, argues cogently against Miller's logic and material. The original document can be found at <http://ex-sda.com/cosmopolite.htm>. The following comment relates directly to the underlying support Miller gave in his argumentation to 538 A.D. as a credible date. He not only quotes the 533 A.D. decree of Justinian as occurring in 538 A.D., he goes one step further and argues that a major controversy on the Arian faith culminated near 538A.D. as well:

Among the proofs of Miller's dishonesty, I cannot avoid noticing the following, which is taken from his seventeenth lecture:

I believe all writers and commentators on the Apocalypse agree that the church of Christ has been in the wilderness more than twelve centuries past. Some have fixed the time of the church entering into her wilderness state as early as A. D. 534, when the

great controversy between the Orthodox and Arians, which in the days of Justinian shook the religious world. &c.

Here we have a palpable falsehood, which may be detected at any time. There was no such controversy in the days of Justinian. The empress Theodora endeavored to promote the sect of Acephali, and, finding that she could not obtain her ends, persecuted the pope, who was stripped of his pontifical ornaments, and sent into exile. This happened in the days of Justinian. But the great Arian controversy took place in the fourth century. The council of Nice decided against Arianism in 325, although the dispute was continued a few years after that date.

It is easy to perceive that Miller places this controversy in the days of Justinian, in order to fix the date of his wilderness church as near to 538 as possible.

The opinion for which the empress Theodora contended was simply that of one nature in Christ; that he was wholly divine, and not possessed of a human soul at all. The Arians contended that Jesus Christ was a created being, who existed before the world was made, but inferior to the Father.

In order to convict Mr. Miller of falsehood, although hardly necessary, I will quote from three different authors to prove that the great Arian controversy was settled in the fourth century.

Voltaire says:

Constantine convened at Nicea, opposite to Constantinople, the first ecumenical council in which Osius presided. There was determined the great question which disturbed the church, concerning Christ's divinity; one side availing themselves of the opinion of Origen, who, in chapter vi against Celsus, says, "We offer up our prayers to God, through Jesus, who holds the middle place between created nature and the uncreated nature, who brings to us his Father's grace, and presents our prayers to the great God as our high priest."

Dr. Priestly, the Unitarian, says:

The emperor Constantine, having endeavored in vain to compose those differences in the religion which he had lately professed, and especially to reconcile Arius and Alexander, at length called a general council of bishops at Nice, the first which had obtained that appellation, and in this council after much indecent wrangling, and violent debate, Arius was condemned and banished to Illyricum, a part of the Roman empire very remote from Alexandria, where the controversy originated.

Gahan, in his *Church History*, says:

To put a stop to the unhappy disputes that were raised by the Arians and divided the church, Constantine, the emperor, zealously concurred in assembling a general council, this being the only remedy adequate to the growing evil, and capable of restoring peace to the church. By letters of respect he invited the bishops, from all parts of the world, to the city of Nice, in Bythinia, and defrayed their expenses. They assembled in the imperial palace on the 19th of June, in the year 325. The emperor entered the council without guards, nor

would he sit till he was requested, as Eusebius says. The renowned Osius, bishop of Corduba, in Spain, presided thereat in the name of St. Sylvester, by whom he was commissioned. The fathers, thus assembled, in invitation of the apostles on a similar occasion, examined, refuted, and proscribed the doctrine of Arius, and cut him off from the communion of the faithful. They ascertained the Catholic faith, and drew up a solemn profession, known by the name of the *Nicene Creed*; wherein, to exclude all the subtleties of the Arians, they declared, in terms that left no subterfuge for error, no room for heresy to play in, *the Son consubstantial with the Father*.

Now Mr. Miller has expressly stated that his wilderness church took its flight at the time of the great Arian controversy. Then what becomes of his 1260 years, his 666 years, and his 538, for the setting up of the papal beast? **He knew that his reckoning would be wrong if he gave the correct date for this controversy; and he therefore pretends that it occurred in the day of Justinian, two centuries after it really took place.**

In the days of Justinian, the empress Theodora took sides with the Acephali -- a rigid sect of the Eutychians. But these people did not divide the church into two great parties: they were dissenters from the church, and were divided among themselves. Dr. Priestly says:

In 535 the Eutychians divided, some of them maintaining that there were some things which Christ did not know, while others asserted that he knew everything, even the time of the day of judgment.

How would that people have been surprised had they lived in this day of light and knowledge, when mere mortals know all about the day of judgment! Alas! mathematics had not then undergone those improvements in which we rejoice in this age! Had the bishops exchanged the miter and crosier for the slate and pencil, they might have become wiser than Christ. (Note: The online document is not given page numbers, but this comment comes in the last chapter of the book).

Clearly, Miller was either a very poor researcher, or he was a dishonest researcher, since he not only has the date of the Code of Justinian incorrect, but also the Arian controversy of the fourth century. He cites in his lectures and other printed works authorities that should have given him the correct date for these; and so we ask the question, did he bend the truth a bit, for the sake of expediency, to make the numbers work?

John Dowling, "An Exposition of the Prophecies, supposed by William Miller to Predict the Second Coming of Christ, 1843."

John Dowling, 125 added to the swell of criticism against Miller's arguments, and his book demanded serious attention, to the extent that attempts were made by Millerite writers to reply to Dowling's criticism.

Here are some of Dowling's statements relative to Miller's comments on 538 A.D.:

¹²⁵ The online version is at <http://ex-sda.com/dowling.htm>.

Mr. M. supposes that in the year AD 508, obtained by the above easy process, "the pagan abomination" was to come to an end. Because there is a difference of 30 years between the two numbers 1290 and 1260, he concludes that "The Papal abomination will be set up 30 years after 508, viz.: in AD 538." To effect this, Mr. M. decides, not, as would be most natural, that the two periods 1260 and 1290 *end* 30 years apart, but that they *begin* thirty years apart, and end together.

Mr. Miller supposes that these 1260 years were completed in 1798, having before obtained this date, as we have seen in the last section, by subtracting 45 from his first discovered number 1843. Of course this will give 538 as the date of the rise and establishment of the Papal Antichristian dominion.

$$\begin{array}{r} 1798 \\ 1260 \\ \hline 508 \end{array}$$

Now let us proceed to inquire whether the language of prophecy and the voice of history will give their testimony in favor of this, as the true date of the establishment of the Papal power.

In Mr. Miller's attempts to establish this date, he has manifested a most superficial acquaintance with ecclesiastical history.

On page 274, he says:

Some have fixed the time of the church entering into her wilderness state as early as AD 534, when the great controversy between the orthodox and arians, in the days of Justinian, shook the religious world into two great divisions.

And again just after,

Other writers say that it was as late as AD 606, when the pope obtained civil and ecclesiastical power, and that he came out publicly wearing two swords. Between these two points, I believe *all* writers fix the time of the church entering into her wilderness state, "a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there 1260 days."

Now every one who is acquainted with ecclesiastical history knows that "*the great controversy* between the orthodox and the arians" took place, not in 534, but between the years 320 and 400.

The following are the dates of the principal events in this celebrated controversy:

Date A.D.	Event
325	The Arians were condemned at the <i>Council of Nice</i> , under the emperor Constantine.
326	Athanasius chosen bishop of Alexandria.
335	Synod at Tyre in reference to Athanasius,

who is banished to Treves.

337 Death of Constantine the Great. Arianism triumphs under his son Constantius, from 337 to 361.

355 Athanasius, the orthodox bishop of Alexandria, is driven from Alexandria by Constantius, who appoints a Arian, named George, in his stead.

363 Athanasius returns to Alexandria, upon the accession of Jovian to the empire.

370 The emperor Valens destroys eighty ministers, by burning a vessel.

381 The Council of Constantinople confirms the Nicene creed.

It is true that in the beginning of the sixth century the Arian cause was maintained by the Vandals in Africa, and the Goths and some other nations. "The triumphs of Arianism were, however," says Mosheim,

and its prosperous days were entirely eclipsed, when the Vandals were driven out of Africa, and the Goths out of Italy, by the arms of Justinian. One thing is certain, that from this period the Arian sect declined apace, and could never after recover any considerable degree of stability and consistence.

This conquest of the Vandals, and consequent overthrow of Arianism, took place about the date above named in the extract from Mr. Miller's book. Of course I shall not be expected, *orthodox* as I claim to be, to admit that the overthrow of Arianism was the establishment of antichrist!

Nor, indeed, does Mr. M. quite fall into this absurdity; he places the latter event four years afterwards, viz. AD 538. It will be remembered that Mr. Miller had before fixed upon this date as the commencement of the 1260 years, to make it agree with his year 1843; that is, with the addition of the 45 years that he supposes are to follow the downfall of antichrist, thus,

Rise of the papal antichrist	538
Propetic period,	1260
Between the downfall of Popery and the end of the world	45
	1843

To establish this latter date, therefore, *he must find some event* to correspond with 538, which he may explain as the commencement of the dominion of this Antichristian power; when, as we learn from the passages of scripture at the head of this section, "the saints were to be given into his hand for a time and times and the dividing of time," the true church should fly from his persecutions into the wilderness for "a thousand, two hundred and three-score days," and power should be given unto him, to continue forty and two month." Now I should be willing to challenge the ingenuity of any one of my historical readers to guess the event which Mr. M. has selected as the fulfillment of these prophecies, the commencement of the 1260 years and the persecution of the true church.

What do my readers imagine is this event? It is the establishment of the Emperor Justinian's celebrated code of civil law to regulate the jurisprudence of his empire !!!

Even this did not occur just at the date required, viz.: 538, but in 534. There is however, no other event so near to 538, by several years, as this is, which can by any possibility be made to serve the purpose; and therefore, for want of a better, this must do.

Let not the reader who is acquainted with history suppose that this notion is too absurd to proceed even from the *fruitful* mind of Mr. Miller! Here are his words (page 276),

We find that Justinian, emperor of Constantinople, formed a code of laws about AD 534, which were published and sanctioned, in the *Western Empire* (!) at Rome, about four years afterwards; *on which code of laws the Pope has claimed his authority* (!!) to rule over kings and punish heretics with confiscation of their goods, imprisonment or torture of body, and even death.

Upon this strange statement, which ever person but moderately acquainted with history will perceive to be the very essence of absurdity, I have only to remark, *first*, that the *Western Empire ceased to exist* in the year 475, more than half a century before the code of Justinian was ever framed, upon the conquest of Rome by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, and the deposition of Augustulus, the last of the Western Emperors; and *secondly*, this said code had nothing whatever to do with the Pope's ruling over kings and punishing heretics. This celebrated *Justinian code* of laws was nothing more nor less than a digest of the numerous works on Roman jurisprudence which had appeared before the age of Justinian. It was drawn up by the learned civilian, Tribonian, himself, as was supposed, a heathen, and nine associates; and it settled the civil and criminal law of the empire, pointed out the relations between fathers and children, husbands and wives, guardians and wards, &c., established laws in relation to property, inheritance, and succession, legacies, trusts, interest of money, &c., and settled what crimes should be punished with death, &c.

At the time this code was published, the city of Rome was in the power of the Ostrogoths. *Two years* (Not "about four") afterwards, viz.: in 536, Belisarius, the general of Justinian, took the city of Rome, and added it to the empire of his master Justinian, when as a matter of course it was governed, as all the rest of the empire was, by the Justinian code of laws. But what has all this to do with the establishment of the papal dominion? "The magistrates appointed by the Justinian code were not subject to the authority of the church," as we are informed by the historian Gibbon (vol. 4, page 137). The pope, who was at that time only a bishop, upon the approach of Belisarius to the walls of the city, humbly proffered his voluntary allegiance to Justinian, the emperor, his master. Surely this was not the time when "POWER was given unto him that he should continue forty and two months"!

In the extract before quoted from page 274 of Mr. M.'s book, after mentioning the year 534, he proceeds to inform us that some writers place the establishment of the Papal dominion "as late as AD 606, when the Pope attained *civil* and ecclesiastical power, and came out publicly *wearing the two swords*."

This again is incorrect. The Pope had for many years before 606 been adding to his *ecclesiastical* power, which was finally established in that year; but it was many years after this, not indeed till 755, or at the earliest, in 727, that he obtained *civil* power, or *became a temporal prince*.

It is true the year 606 is a remarkable era in the history of Papacy, and one which many judicious expositors fix as the commencement of the 1260 years.

In that year the Emperor Phocas, one of the most wicked men and cruel tyrants that ever swayed a scepter, bestowed upon Pope Boniface III the title of *Universal Bishop*, and thus constituted him the supreme earthly head of the universal church. This title had been assumed by John, bishop of Constantinople, in 588. In consequence of this assumption, a fierce contention arose between the rival sees of Rome and Constantinople, which should be the greatest.

This quarrel was decided as above stated by the Emperor Phocas; and "when the bishops of Constantinople maintained," as we are informed by an ancient writer, "that their church was not only equal in dignity and authority to that of Rome, but also the head of all the Christian churches, this tyrant opposed their pretensions, and granted the pre-eminence to the church of Rome." Thus was established *the supreme ecclesiastical dominion* of Papal Rome.

In proof of the above facts, and in disproof of Mr. Miller's assertion that the Pope obtained his *civil power*, as well as his ecclesiastical power, in the year 606, the reader is referred to Mosheim, Milner, Jones, and all the respectable writers on ecclesiastical history.

Immediately after the words from Mr. M.'s book, last quoted, he adds (page 275),

Between these two points (that is between 534 and 606) I believe ALL writers fix the time of the church entering into the wilderness state, "a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there 1260 days."

Now let the reader peruse the following extracts from such well known writers as Scott, and Adam Clarke, the commentators, Milner, the ecclesiastical history, and Newton, the author of the dissertations on the prophecies (to which many more might be added), and then compare them with this assertion of Mr. Miller, and decide for themselves whether he is a man of such extensive reading as to be qualified to publish to the world what ALL writers say on this subject.

FIRST EXTRACT. -- (Scott's Notes upon Rev. 11 : 2.) --

The pope became universal bishop, AD 606, and was fully established as a temporal prince AD 756. (Mosheim says, 755.) . . . The beginning of these years (the 1260 years) cannot well be fixed sooner than AD 606, nor later than AD 756.

SECOND EXTRACT. -- The learned Dr. Adam Clarke, in his commentary on *Dan. 7 : 25*, where it is said of the papal Antichrist, "he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of a time," remarks,

In prophetic language a *time* signifies a year, and a prophetic year has a year for each day. Three years and a half, a day standing for a year, will amount to 1260 years, if we reckon *thirty* days to each month, as the Jews do.

In his introductory remarks at the head of the same chapter, he says,

It will be proper to remark that the period of *a time, times and a half*, mentioned in the 25th verse as the duration of the dominion of the little

horn that made war with the saints (generally supposed to be a symbolical representation of the papal power) had most probably its commencement in AD 755 or 756, when Pepin, king of France, invested the Pope with temporal power. This hypothesis will bring the conclusion of the period to about the year of Christ 2000, a time fixed by Jews and Christians for some remarkable revolution, when the world (as they suppose) will be renewed, the wicked cease from troubling the church, and the saints of the Most High have dominion over the whole habitable globe.

THIRD EXTRACT. -- (Dr. Milner's church history, vol. 1, p. 557.) --

From the year 727 to about the year 2000 (calculating exactly it would be 1987) we have the dominion of the beast, and the prophesying of the people in sackcloth, which was to continue 1260 years. We must now look for the real church, either in distinct individual saints, who, in the midst of popery, were preserved by effectual grace in vital union with the son of God, or in associations of true Christians, formed in different regions, which were in a state of persecution and much affliction.

FOURTH EXTRACT. -- (Newton's dissertations, p. 617.) --

In the year 727, the pope and people of Rome revolted from the exarch of Ravenna, and shook off their allegiance to the Greek emperor. In the year 755, the pope obtained the exarchate of Ravenna for himself, and thenceforward acted as an absolute temporal prince. In the year 774, the pope, by the assistance of Charles the Great (Charlemagne), became possessed of the kingdom of the Lombards. In the year 787, the worship of images was fully established, and the supremacy of the pope acknowledged by the second council of Nice. From one or other of these transactions, it is probable that the beginning of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated. What appears to be most probable is, that it is to be dated from the year 727, when, as Sigonius says, "Rome and the Roman dukedom came from the Greeks to the Roman pontiff." Hereby he became in some measure *a horn* or *temporal prince* (see *Dan. 7 : 8, 20, 21, 24, 25*), though his power was not fully established till some years afterwards. Before he was *a horn* at all, he could not answer the character of *the little horn*. If, then, the beginning of the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated from the year 727, their end will fall near the year 2000.

I have quoted the above extract at length from Bishop Newton partly because it is an instance of that modesty which will ever characterize a *truly learned* man, and partly because it expresses nearly my own views on the commencement of the 1260 years.

I think, with Newton, that one of the above dates is the true era of the establishment of the Papal power. I prefer, however, though without professing any certainty on the subject, the year 755, which is the true date of the Pope's becoming fully *a horn* or *temporal prince*, to the year 727 which seems to be preferred by Newton and also by Milner.

As I select the year 755, when the Pope became a temporal sovereign, as the most probable commencement of the 1260 years, it may be expected that I should state the

circumstances which led to this memorable event. These circumstances were as follows. In the year 751, while Childeric II was seated upon the throne of France, the celebrated Pepin, son of the great conqueror Charles Martel, was mayor of the palace to Childeric, and possessed of more real power than his royal master. Having conceived the design of deposing Childeric, and establishing himself on the throne, Pepin sent ambassadors to the Pope of Rome, with the inquiry, "Whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a monarch, who was incapable of discharging any of the functions of royalty and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the state?" Pope Zachary, with the hope of securing the protection of the powerful Pepin, and by his means enlarging his own power, readily gave an answer in the affirmative.

When this favorable decision of the Roman pontiff was known in France, Pepin found no difficulty in dethroning Childeric, and seizing upon the throne without the smallest resistance. Pope Stephen II, the successor of Zachary who died after the above event, solemnly confirmed this decision; and though Pepin had been anointed king by Boniface, the Pope's legate, yet desiring that this unction should be again administered by the Pope himself, Stephen traveled into France, and anointed and crowned Pepin a second time.

Favors like these were not to pass unrewarded. In the year 755, Aistulphus a bitter enemy of the Pope, having been entirely conquered by Pepin, a territory in the north of Italy, called the Exarchate of Ravenna, was taken away from Aistulphus, together with Pentapolis, and different cities, castles, and territories in the Roman dukedom, and delivered up to the Pope of Rome. Thus, in the year 755, the Pope became, *bona fide*, a temporal prince.

I have come to the conclusion that this is, most probably, the true commencement of the 1260 years, not to support any preconceived scheme, but simply from the terms of the prophecies. (1840, ch 5,n.p.)

At the end of the book by Dowling there is an essay on *The Millennium*, and there are a few comments in that essay the owner of the website has quoted relating to Miller's arguments relating to 538 A.D.:

The Rise of the Pope's Supremacy.

Dowling gives a lengthy excerpt from Jones's *Church History*, showing how the bishop in Rome achieved supremacy in 606, the interesting part of which is as follows.

In the year 588 -- half a century after the pope of Rome, according to Miller, had achieved supremacy -- John the Faster, patriarch of the church in Constantinople, assumed the title of *Universal Bishop* and was confirmed in this title by a council. This move was opposed by Pelagius II, then bishop of Rome, who called it execrable, profane, and diabolical. But his invectives were disregarded. (So much for him being supreme.)

In the year 560 Pelagius was succeeded by Gregory the Great, a voluminous writer whose works are still extant and in high reputation with Catholics. Gregory wrote a letter to the emperor, complaining of the claim to supremacy by John the Faster. Peter, he says, was given the keys of heaven, and the power of binding and loosing; yet he is not called *Universal Apostle* -- though this holy man, John, my fellow priest, labors to be called *Universal Bishop*!

Further on in his letter he writes:

But, far from Christians be this blasphemous name, by which all honor is taken from all other priests, while it is foolishly arrogated by one. It was offered to the bishop of Rome by the reverend council of Chalcedon, in honor of St. Peter, prince of the apostles; but none of them either assumed or consented to use it, lest, while this privilege should be given to one, all others should be deprived of that honor which is due unto them. Why should WE refuse this title when it was offered, and another assume it without any offer at all? This man [John the Faster], contemning obedience to the canons, should be humbled by the command of our most pious sovereign. He should be chastised who does an injury to the holy catholic church! whose heart is puffed, who seeks to please himself by a name of singularity . . . In case he submits to your most just sentence, or your favorable admonitions, we will give thanks to Almighty God, and rejoice for the peace of the church, procured by your clemency. But if he persist in this contention, we shall hold the saying to be most true, "Every one that exalteth himself shall be abased." And again it is written, "Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall."

In obedience to my sovereign, I have written to my brother priest both gently and humbly, urging him to desist from this vainglory. If he gives ear unto me, he hath a brother devoted unto him, but if he continue in his pride, I foresee what will befall him -- he will make himself *His* enemy of whom it is written, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble."

The letter seems to have produced no effect. John soon afterwards died; but Cynacus, who succeeded him, adopted the same title.

All of which puts a telling light on Miller's requirement that the bishop of Rome became supreme in 538.

Pope Gregory, in a later letter, complained to the emperor about Cynacus. Even more than his earlier letter it would have provided William Miller with some interesting reading in view of his supposed papal chronology. Gregory writes:

I am bold to say that whoever adopts, or affects the title of UNIVERSAL BISHOP, *has the pride and character of Antichrist*, and is in some manner his forerunner in this haughty quality of elevating himself above the rest of his order. And, indeed, both the one and the other seem to split upon the same rock; for, as *pride makes Antichrist strain his pretensions up to Godhead*, so whoever is ambitious to be called the only or Universal Prelate arrogates to himself a distinguished superiority, and rises, as it were, upon the ruins of the rest.

Jones, whom Dowling quotes, comments that:

It is worthy of notice that a Pope held in so high estimation as Gregory the Great should pronounce a decision which so plainly stamps his successors with the character of Antichrist, as do the last two sentences of this epistle, which was written by Pope Gregory only a few years before the title in dispute, viz.: that of UNIVERSAL BISHOP was solicited and obtained by Boniface III.

Another writer quoted by Dowling adds that although Gregory disclaimed the title of Universal Bishop, he was

succeeded by Pope Boniface III, who had no scruples about adopting this proud title. He readily accepted, or rather importunately begged it from the emperor Phocas, with the privilege also of transmitting it to all his successors. The profligate emperor, to gratify the inordinate ambition of this court sycophant, deprived the bishop of Constantinople of the title which he had hitherto borne, and conferred it upon Boniface, at the same time declaring the church of Rome to be the head of all other churches. [The year was] AD 606.

606 makes a far stronger showing for when the pope attained supremacy than the year required by William Miller.

What is shown here for the date 538 holds for the rest. Miller claimed that although many had attacked his ideas, no one could ever prove him wrong. And Ellen White, despite her claims to inspiration, believed this claim. Indeed she adopted into her own writings many of his dates (508, 538, 1798, 1843/44) and theories. But the fact is that William Miller's exposition of the prophecies, the product of many years' effort by this self-taught man, *went wrong at every point*.

If that is so (and a book much larger than Dowling's could be written to show at great length that it is), then I would leave you with this question. If Miller and 1844 go, how do they not take the inspiration of E. G. White and the pretensions of the SDA movement with them? (*Ibid*)

Theodoric, The Ostrogothic Ruler in Rome

King of the Ostrogoths, born A.D. 454 (?); died 26 August, 526. He was an illegitimate son of Theodomir, of the royal Ostrogothic family of Amali. When eight years old Theodoric was brought as a hostage to the Court of Constantinople. Here he learned to comprehend the education given by ancient civilization. At eighteen he was allowed to return home and became the leader of a great horde of his countrymen, whose increasing numbers drove them to seek new lands. As King of the Ostrogoths he was sometimes an ally, sometimes an enemy, of the emperors. The inconsistencies of his policy may probably be explained by his having as rival another Theodoric, called Strabo (squint-eyed), who was able to influence the Court of Constantinople against him. When Strabo died in 481, Theodoric the Great received from the Emperor Zeno the titles of *patricius* and *magister militum* and in 484 was appointed consul.

Theodoric was now compelled to set out with his own people to conquer new territory. The course to be pursued was suggested by the Emperor Zeno. The Ostrogoths were to expel the usurper Odoacer, and thus the emperor thought to be rid of dangerous neighbours. In 488 Theodoric started on the march with his own people and a large number of Rugians. In 489 he defeated Odoacer on the Nonsa, later at Verona, and in 490 on the Adige. He then besieged him in Ravenna and forced him to surrender in 493. Theodoric promised Odoacer both life and freedom, but murdered him at a banquet fearing perhaps that he might revolt again.

Theodoric's mastery of Italy being thus established, he at once showed his appreciation of the ancient culture and political organization of the Empire, claiming to be its vicegerent and restorer in Western Europe. His efforts in this capacity were faithfully seconded by his minister Cassiodorus. Proud of his Gothic nationality, Theodoric, unlike the earlier barbarian emperors, believed it possible to reconcile Roman and Germanic interests. His people seemed to him equal to the Romans in antiquity of descent and military renown, and he realized that his power rested solely on Gothic prowess. Apparently his kingdom was a continuation of the Roman Empire; in reality his policy was in direct and fundamental contradiction to the Roman conception, by which all national individuality was to be lost in the State as a whole. This theory of government which sought to suppress nationalities was opposed by Theodoric: he had a profound respect for national independence, and had repeatedly taken up arms to maintain it.

Among his many schemes was a great project to combine in one harmonious system, around the shores of the Mediterranean, all the conflicting barbarian nations, and for this reason he repeatedly aided the Frankish king Clovis against the Alamanni and Visigoths. He based his authority to carry out this wide policy not on his office as vicegerent of the Eastern Emperor, but, as he said, on the *leges gentium*. The precise degree of his dependence on the Byzantine Empire is not known: he certainly recognized its suzerainty and desired to maintain friendly relations with Constantinople. Still, the "Variæ" of Cassiodorus, a collection of documents of the reign of Theodoric, shows that he firmly believed the Western Empire to be continued in his person. The many intermarriages between his family and the royal families of other Germanic kingdoms were undoubtedly intended to prepare the way for the predominance of his dynasty in the West. Yet his supremacy was a divided one: to the Goths he was the king; to the Romans the patrician. Both nations were ruled by their own laws. The *Edictum Theodorici* of 512 was intended to introduce some degree of uniformity into the criminal law. All Theodoric's decrees, including this code, were in their language very conciliatory towards the Romans: the Roman population was to consider Gothic supremacy the guarantee of its security and prosperity.

In reality Theodoric's reign appeared to bring once more a Golden Age to the sorely-tried peninsula. Experts in well-boring were brought from Africa to help restore the cultivation of the waterless country where the woods had been cut down; and swamps were drained. Books of magic and theatres were forbidden, edicts were issued for the protection of ancient monuments. Roman literature once more flourished in Italy: its most brilliant representative was Boethius, who was able to combine the lofty ideals of Christianity with the dignity of the ancient philosophy. While tolerating the Catholic Church, Theodoric considered himself the protector of Arianism; accordingly he sought to intervene diplomatically in favour of the Arians who were being persecuted by Justinian I. Nevertheless he allowed complete freedom to the Catholic Church, at least so far as dogma was concerned, though he considered himself entitled to appoint a pope, or to act as arbitrator in the schism between Symmachus and Laurentius, and in general to bring any ecclesiastic to judgment. This same king who had come to Italy as the emperor's representative should not, at the end of his reign, have used such barbarous cruelty in suppressing that Roman national revolt against Gothic rule in which the opposition of the Roman Church to Arianism led the pope, Constantinople, and the educated laity to unite. The Senate in its judicial capacity was ordered to try those implicated in this conspiracy, and Boethius and his aged father-in-law, the Senator Symmachus, were condemned to death. Theodoric succumbed to the effects of the bitter conviction that his conciliatory policy had failed, and from that time his health declined. He was buried in the truly regal tomb at Ravenna. At a later date excessive zeal prompted the disinterment of the Arian king, but he continues to live in a wonderful legend, which assumes many forms, as the warrior king of the heroic age of the German people. On stormy nights the peasants still whisper of Dietrich of Berne, as they call Theodoric, riding through the air with his wild followers. SOURCE? :Catholic Encycy? Wikipedia? Encyclopædia Britannica?

Belisarius

Belisarius (from 1911 [Encyclopedia Britannica](#))

Belisarius (505-565) was probably the greatest general of the Byzantine Empire. He is not very well known today, but this is due more to a lack of attention to Byzantine history than to his skill and accomplishments, which were matched by few, if any, military commanders.

Early life and career

Belisarius was born in Germane, Illyria (modern day Yugoslavia), though we are not sure of the exact date. He entered the Byzantine army as a young man and seems to have risen to the rank of general during the reign of the emperor Justin I. Following Justin I's death in 527, the new emperor, Justinian I, gave Belisarius command of part of his army and sent the general east to deal with skirmishes on the Persian border. His novel disposition of troops and territory initially bewildered the opposing generals, and he easily repelled their initial forays and ended up routing the much larger Persian army. In June, 530 he led the Byzantines to a victory over the Persians at Dara, followed by a near defeat (really a mutual escape) at Callinicum on the Euphrates River in 531, followed by the negotiation of an "Endless Peace" with the Persians.

In 532, he was the ranking military officer in the capital of Constantinople when the Nika riots (among factions of chariot racing fans) broke out in the city and nearly toppled the emperor

Justinian I. Belisarius, with the help the magister militum of Illyria, Mundus, suppressed the rebellion in a bloodbath that is said to have claimed the lives of 20,000 people.

Campaigns against the Vandals

For his efforts, Belisarius was rewarded by Justinian with the command of a great land and sea expedition against the Kingdom of the Vandals. The Vandal king Gelimer had recently offended Justinian by deposing and imprisoning the Vandal king Hilderic, and Justinian coveted the Kingdom's territory (much of the northern coast of Africa) in any event; while barbarian tribes held both Africa and Italy, Byzantium had little access to the western Mediterranean. In the late summer of 533, Belisarius sailed to Africa and landed near the city of Leptis Magna, from which he marched along the coastal highway toward the Vandal capital of Carthage.

Ten miles from Carthage, the forces of Gelimer (who had just executed Hilderic) and Belisarius finally met at the Battle of Ad Decimium (Tenth Milestone). It nearly turned into a devastating defeat for the Byzantines; Gelimer had chosen his position well and had great success against the opposing forces along the main road. However, when on the verge of victory, he became distraught upon learning of the death of his nephew in battle. This gave Belisarius a chance to regroup, and he went on to win the battle and capture Carthage. A second victory at the Battle of Ticameron later in the year resulted in Gelimer's surrender early in 534 at Mt. Papua, permitting the lost Roman provinces of north Africa to be restored to the empire. Belisarius was given a triumph in Constantinople in 534.

Campaigns against the Ostrogoths

Justinian now resolved to restore as much of the western Roman Empire as he could. In 535, he commissioned Belisarius to attack the Ostrogoths. Again, he chose well, as Belisarius quickly captured Sicily and then crossed into Italy proper, where he captured Naples and Rome in 536 and then moved north, taking Mediolanum (Milan) and the Ostrogoth capital of Ravenna in 540.

At this point Justinian offered the Goths a generous settlement, too generous by far in Belisarius' eyes: the right to maintain an independent kingdom in the Northwest of Italy, with the requirement that they merely give *half* of all their treasure to the empire. Belisarius conveyed the message to the Goths, although he himself refrained from endorsing it. The Goths, on the other hand, felt that there must be a snare somewhere. They didn't trust Justinian, but because Belisarius had been so well-mannered in his conquest they had more faith in him and agreed to the terms on the condition that Belisarius endorsed it. This led to an impasse.

Some enterprising Goth pointed out that their own king, who had just lost, was something of a weakling, and they would need a new one. He endorsed Belisarius, and the rest of the kingdom agreed, so they offered him their crown. Belisarius was a soldier, not a statesman, and still loyal to Justinian. He pretended to accept the offer, rode to Ravenna to be crowned, and promptly arrested the leaders of the Goths and reclaimed their entire kingdom - no halfway settlement - for Byzantium.

Justinian was furious. The Persians had been attacking in the east, and he wanted a stable neutral country separating his western border from the Franks, who were unfriendly. Belisarius returned expecting honours; he was coldly received and sent off to the eastern frontier. Persia had already broken the Eternal Peace treaty and overrun Syria, a crucial province of the empire. Belisarius took the field and waged a brief, inconclusive campaign against them, but ultimately (545) was able to negotiate a peace (aided with payment of a large sum of money, 5000 pounds of gold), in which the Persians agreed not to attack Roman territory, not for eternity, but for five years. It is interesting that in the meantime (542) the bubonic plague had broken out in Constantinople for the first time in history, spreading through Europe.

Belisarius then returned to Italy, where he found the situation had changed greatly. In 541, the Ostrogoths had elected a new leader, known to history as Totila, and this brilliant commander had recaptured all of northern Italy and even driven the Byzantines out of Rome. Belisarius took the offensive, tricked Totila into yielding Rome along the way, but then lost it again after a jealous Justinian, fearful of Belisarius' power, starved him of supplies and reinforcements. Belisarius was forced to go on the defensive, and in 548, Justinian relieved him in favor of Narses, of whom he was more trustful.

His later life and campaigns

However, Belisarius was too valuable to leave on the shelf, and Justinian called upon him again in 559, when the Bulgars crossed the Danube River for the first time and raided Byzantine territory.

Belisarius accepted the command, defeated the Bulgars, and drove them back across the river. It was his last victory.

In 562, Belisarius stood trial in Constantinople on a charge of corruption. The charge was likely trumped-up, and modern research suggests that his bitter enemy, his former secretary Procopius of Caesarea, the author of the *Secret History*, may have judged his case. Belisarius was found guilty and imprisoned. However, not long after the conviction, Justinian pardoned him, ordered his release, and restored him to favor at the imperial court.

Fittingly, Belisarius and Justinian, whose sometimes-strained partnership doubled the size of the empire, died within a few weeks of one another in 565.

Reference Edward Gibbon has much to say on Belisarius in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter 41.

(<http://www.brainyencyclopedia.com/encyclopedia/b/be/belisarius.html>)

Totila, the Ostrogothic Ruler

Totila was king of the Ostrogoths, chosen after the death of his uncle Ildibad in 541. His real name was **Baduila**, which can be seen from the coinage issued by him.

His life's work was the restoration of the Gothic kingdom in Italy and he entered upon the task at the very beginning of his reign, collecting together and inspiring the Goths and winning a victory over the troops of the emperor Justinian, near Faenza.

Having gained another victory in 542, this time in the valley of Mugello, he left Tuscany for Naples, captured that city and then received the submission of the provinces of Lucania, Apulia and Calabria. Totila's conquest of Italy was marked not only by celerity but also by mercy, and Gibbon says "none were deceived, either friends or enemies, who depended on his faith or his clemency."

Towards the end of 545 the Gothic king took up his station at Tivoli and prepared to starve Rome into surrender, making at the same time elaborate preparations for checking the progress of Belisarius who was advancing to its relief. The Imperial fleet, moving up the Tiber and led by the great general, only just failed to succour the city, which must then, perforce, open its gates to the Goths. It was plundered, although Totila did not carry out his threat to make it a pasture for cattle, and when the Gothic army withdrew into Apulia it was from a scene of desolation. But its walls and other fortifications were soon restored, and Totila again marching against it. He was defeated by Belisarius, who, however, did not follow up his advantage. Several cities were taken by the Goths, while Belisarius remained inactive and then left Italy, and in 549 Totila advanced a third time against Rome, which he captured through the treachery of some of its defenders.

His next exploit was the conquest and plunder of Sicily, after which he subdued Corsica and Sardinia and sent a Gothic fleet against the coasts of Greece. By this time the emperor Justinian was taking energetic measures to check the Goths. The conduct of a new campaign was entrusted to the eunuch Narses; Totila marched against him and was defeated and killed at the battle of Taginae in July 552.

(<http://www.brainyencyclopedia.com/encyclopedia/p/pr/procopius.html>)

When the Pope Gained Temporal Power.

Need to look at the popes between Vigilius and 756 and verify this point. The question is whether there was a noticeable "change in the Papacy"? What type of change are we looking for? A greater political focus?

Vigilius (537-55)

Pelagius I (556-61)

John III (561-74) Elected properly. During the Lombard invasions; no records remain.

Benedict I (575-79) Elected properly. During the Lombard invasion; no records remain. Communication with Constantinople was difficult, and life was hard enough in Rome.

Pelagius II (579-90) A Gothic pope. Elected properly. During the blockade of Rome by the Lombards, and the truce arranged by the exarch of Ravenna. Definitely not a political pope. The schism of the Three Chapters healed during his term.

St. Gregory I (the Great) (590-604) Elected properly. The aftermath of the Lombard invasion saw the necessity of Gregory as a natural leader in the city for the rebuilding of the social fabric and the humanitarian programs set up to help all the refugees in the city from the invasion. "The

inroads of the Lombards had filled the city with a multitude of indigent refugees, for whose support Gregory made provision, using for this purpose the existing machinery of the ecclesiastical districts, each of which had its deaconry or "office of alms". The corn thus distributed came chiefly from Sicily and was supplied by the estates of the Church. The temporal needs of his people being thus provided for, Gregory did not neglect their spiritual wants, and a large number of his sermons have come down to us. It was he who instituted the "stations" still observed and noted in the Roman Missal (see STATIONS). He met the clergy and people at some church previously agreed upon, and all together went in procession to the church of the station, where Mass was celebrated and the pope preached. These sermons, which drew immense crowds, are mostly simple, popular expositions of Scripture. Chiefly remarkable is the preacher's mastery of the Bible, which he quotes unceasingly..."

"There is no lack of evidence, however, to illustrate Gregory's activity as manager of the patrimony of St. Peter. By his day the estates of the Church had reached vast dimensions. Varying estimates place their total area at from 1300 to 1800 square miles, and there seems no reason for supposing this to be an exaggeration, while the income arising therefrom was probably not less than \$1,500,000 a year. The land lay in many places — Campania, Africa, Sicily, and elsewhere — and, as their landlord, Gregory displayed a skill in finance and estate management which excites our admiration no less than it did the surprise of his tenants and agents, who suddenly found that they had a new master who was not to be deceived or cheated. The management of each patrimony was carried out by a number of agents of varying grades and duties under an official called the *rector* or *defensor* of the patrimony. Previously the rectors had usually been laymen, but Gregory established the custom of appointing ecclesiastics to the post. In doing this he probably had in view the many extra duties of an ecclesiastical nature which he called upon them to undertake. Thus examples may be found of such rectors being commissioned to undertake the filling up of vacant sees, holding of local synods, taking action against heretics, providing for the maintenance of churches and monasteries, rectifying abuses in the churches of their district, with the enforcing of ecclesiastical discipline and even the reproof and correction of local bishops."

Still Gregory never allowed the rectors to interfere in such matters on their own responsibility. In the minutiae of estate management nothing was too small for Gregory's personal notice, from the exact number of *sextarii* in a *modius* of corn, or how many *solidi* went to one golden pound, to the use of false weights by certain minor agents. He finds time to write instructions on every detail and leaves no complaint unattended to, even from the humblest of his multitude of tenants. Throughout the large number of letters which deal with the management of the patrimony, the pope's determination to secure a scrupulously righteous administration is evident. As bishop, he is the trustee of God and St. Peter, and his agents must show that they realize this by their conduct. Consequently, under his able management the estates of the Church increased steadily in value, the tenants were contented, and the revenues paid in with unprecedented regularity. The only fault ever laid at his door in this matter is that, by his boundless charities, he emptied his treasury. But this, if a fault at all, was a natural consequence of his view that he was the administrator of the property of the poor, for whom he could never do enough."

"With regard to the other Western Churches limits of space prevent any detailed account of Gregory's dealings, but the following quotation, all the more valuable as coming from a Protestant authority, indicates very clearly the line he followed herein: "In his dealings with the Churches of the West, Gregory acted invariably on the assumption that all were subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman See. Of the rights claimed or exercised by his predecessors he would not abate one tittle; on the contrary, he did everything in his power to maintain, strengthen, and extend what he regarded as the just prerogatives of the papacy. It is true that he respected the privileges of the Western metropolitans, and disapproved of unnecessary interference within the sphere of their jurisdiction canonically exercised. . . . But of his general principle there can be no doubt whatever" (Dudden, I, 475). In view of later developments Gregory's dealings with the Oriental Churches, and with Constantinople in particular, have a special importance. There cannot be the smallest doubt that Gregory claimed for the Apostolic See, and for himself as pope, a primacy not of honor, but of supreme authority over the Church Universal. In Epp., XIII, 1, he speaks of "the Apostolic See, which is the head of all Churches", and in Epp., V, cliv, he says: "I, albeit unworthy, have been set up in command of the Church." As successor of St. Peter, the pope had received from God a primacy over all Churches (Epp., II, xlvi; III, xxx; V, xxxvii; VII, xxxvii). His approval it was which gave force to the decrees of councils or synods (Epp., IX, clvi), and his authority could

annul them (Epp., V, xxxix, xli, xlv). To him appeals might be made even against other patriarchs, and by him bishops were judged and corrected if need were (Epp., II, I; III, lii, lxiii; IX, xxvi, xxvii). This position naturally made it impossible for him to permit the use of the title Ecumenical Bishop assumed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, John the Faster, at a synod held in 588. Gregory protested, and a long controversy followed, the question still at issue when the pope died. A discussion of this controversy is needless here, but it is important as showing how completely Gregory regarded the Eastern patriarchs as being subject to himself; "As regards the Church of Constantinople," he writes in Epp., IX, xxvi, "who can doubt that it is subject to the Apostolic See? Why, both our most religious lord the emperor, and our brother the Bishop of Constantinople continually acknowledge it." At the same time the pope was most careful not to interfere with the canonical rights of the other patriarchs and bishops. With the other Oriental patriarchs his relations were most cordial, as appears from his letters to the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria."

"With Agilulf and the Dukes Ariulf of Spoleto and Arichis of Benevento, Gregory soon had to deal, as, when difficulties arose, Romanus, the exarch, or representative, of the emperor, preferred to remain in sulky inactivity at Ravenna. It soon became clear that, if any successful resistance was to be made against the Lombards, it must be by the pope's own exertions. How keenly he felt the difficulty and danger of his position appears in some of the earliest letters (Epp., I, iii, viii, xxx); but no actual hostilities began till the summer of 592, when the pope received a threatening letter from Ariulf of Spoleto, which was followed almost immediately by the appearance of that chief before the walls of Rome. At the same time Arichis of Benevento advanced on Naples, which happened at the moment to have no bishop nor any officer of high rank in command of the garrison. Gregory at once took the surprising step of appointing a tribune on his own authority to take command of the city (Epp., II, xxxiv), and, when no notice of this strong action was taken by the imperial authorities, the pope conceived the idea of himself arranging a separate peace with the Lombards (Epp., II, xlv). No details of this peace have come down to us, but it seems certain that it was actually concluded (Epp., V, xxxvi). Dr. Hodgkin (*Italy and her Invaders*, v, 366) pronounces Gregory's action herein to have been wise and statesmanlike, but, at the same time, undoubtedly ultra vires, being quite beyond any legal competency then possessed by the pope, who thus "made a memorable stride towards complete independence". Gregory's independent action had the effect of rousing up Romanus the exarch. Wholly ignoring the papal peace, he gathered all his troops, attacked and regained Perugia, and then marched to Rome, where he was received with imperial honours. The next spring, however, he quitted the city and took away its garrison with him, so that both pope and citizens were now more exasperated against him than before. Moreover, the exarch's campaign had roused the Northern Lombards, and King Agilulf marched on Rome, arriving there probably some time in June, 593. The terror aroused by his advance is still mirrored for us in Gregory's homilies on the Prophet Ezechiel, which were delivered at this time. The siege of the city was soon abandoned, however, and Agilulf retired. The continuator of Prosper (*Mon. Germ. SS. Antiq.*, IX, 339) relates that Agilulf met the pope in person on the steps of the Basilica of St. Peter, which was then outside the city walls, and "being melted by Gregory's prayers and greatly moved by the wisdom and religious gravity of this great man, he broke up the siege of the city"; but, in view of the silence both of Gregory himself and of Paul the Deacon on the point, the story seems scarcely probable. In Epp., V, xxxix, Gregory refers to himself as "the paymaster of the Lombards", and most likely a large payment from the papal treasury was the chief inducement to raise the siege. The pope's great desire now was to secure a lasting peace with the Lombards, which could only be achieved by a proper arrangement between the imperial authorities and the Lombard chiefs. On Queen Theodelinde, a Catholic and a personal friend, Gregory placed all his hopes. The exarch, however, looked at the whole affair in another light, and, when a whole year was passed in fruitless negotiations, Gregory began once again to mediate a private treaty. Accordingly, in May, 595, the pope wrote to a friend at Ravenna a letter (Epp., V, xxxiv) threatening to make peace with Agilulf even without the consent of the Exarch Romanus. This threat was speedily reported to Constantinople, where the exarch was in high favour, and the Emperor Maurice at once sent off to Gregory a violent letter, now lost, accusing him of being both a traitor and a fool. This letter Gregory received in June, 595. Luckily, the pope's answer has been preserved to us (Epp., V, xxxvi). It must be read in its entirety to be appreciated fully; probably very few emperors, if any, have ever received such a letter from a subject. Still, in spite of his scathing reply, Gregory seems to have realized that independent action

could not secure what he wished, and we hear no more about a separate peace. Gregory's relations with the Exarch Romanus became continually more and more strained until the latter's death in the year 596 or early in 597. The new exarch, Callinicus, was a man of far greater ability and well disposed towards the pope, whose hopes now revived. The official peace negotiations were pushed on, and, in spite of delays, the articles were at length signed in 599, to Gregory's great joy. This peace lasted two years, but in 601 the war broke out again through an aggressive act on the part of Callinicus, who was recalled two years later, when his successor, Smaragdus, again made a peace with the Lombards which endured until after Gregory's death. Two points stand out for special notice in Gregory's dealings with the Lombards: first, his determination that, in spite of the apathy of the imperial authorities, Rome should not pass into the hands of some half-civilized Lombard duke and so sink into insignificance and decay; second, his independent action in appointing governors to cities, providing munitions of war, giving instructions to generals, sending ambassadors to the Lombard king, and even negotiating a peace without the exarch's aid. Whatever the theory may have been, there is no doubt about the fact that, besides his spiritual jurisdiction, Gregory actually exercised no small amount of temporal power."

"The reign of Gregory the Great marks an epoch in papal history, and this is specially the case in respect to his attitude towards the imperial Government centered at Constantinople. Gregory seems to have looked upon Church and State as co-operating to form a united whole, which acted in two distinct spheres, ecclesiastical and secular. Over this commonwealth were the pope and the emperor, each supreme in his own department, care being taken to keep these as far as possible distinct and independent. The latter point was the difficulty. Gregory definitely held that it was a duty of the secular ruler to protect the Church and preserve the "peace of the faith" (Mor., XXXI, viii), and so he is often found to call in the aid of the secular arm, not merely to suppress schism, heresy, or idolatry, but even to enforce discipline among monks and clergy (Epp., I, lxxii; II, xxix; III, lix; IV, vii, xxxii; V, xxxii; VIII, iv; XI, xii, xxxvii; XIII, xxxvi). If the emperor interfered in church matters the pope's policy was to acquiesce if possible, unless obedience was sinful, according to the principle laid down in Epp. XI, xxix; "Quod ipse [se imperator] fecerit, si canonicum est, sequimur; si vero canonicum non est, in quantum sine peccato nostro, portamus." In taking this line Gregory was undoubtedly influenced by his deep reverence for the emperor, whom he regarded as the representative of God in all things secular, and must still be treated with all possible respect, even when he encroached on the borders of the papal authority. On his side, although he certainly regarded himself as "superior in place and rank" to the exarch (Epp., II, xiv), Gregory objected strongly to the interference of ecclesiastical authorities in matters secular. As supreme guardian of Christian justice, the pope was always ready to intercede for, or protect anyone who suffered unjust treatment (Epp., I, xxxv, xxxvi, xlvii, lix; III, v; V, xxxviii; IX, iv, xlvi, lv, cxiii, clxxxii; XI, iv), but at the same time he used the utmost tact in approaching the imperial officials. In Epp., I, xxxix a, he explains for the benefit of his Sicilian agent the precise attitude to be adopted in such matters. Still, in conjunction with all this deference, Gregory retained a spirit of independence which enabled him, when he considered it necessary, to address even the emperor in terms of startling directness. Space makes it impossible to do more than refer to the famous letters to the Emperor Phocas on his usurpation and the allusions in them to the murdered Emperor Maurice (Epp., XIII, xxxiv, xli, xlii). Every kind of judgement has been passed upon Gregory for writing these letters, but the question remains a difficult one. Probably the pope's conduct herein was due to two things: first, his ignorance of the way in which Phocas had reached the throne; and second, his view that the emperor was God's representative on earth, and therefore deserving of all possible respect in his official capacity, his personal character not coming into the question at all. It should be noted, also, that he avoids any direct flattery towards the new emperor, merely using the exaggerated phrases of respect then customary, and expressing the high hopes he entertains of the new regime. Moreover, his allusions to Maurice refer to the sufferings of the people under his government, and do not reflect on the dead emperor himself. Had the empire been sound instead of in a hopelessly rotten state when Gregory became pope, it is hard to say how his views might have worked out in practice. As it was, his line of strong independence, his efficiency, and his courage carried all before them, and when he died there was no longer any question as to who was the first power in Italy."

"During his pontificate, he established close relations between the Church of Rome and those of Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Illyricum, while his influence in Britain was such that he is justly called the Apostle of the English. In the Eastern Churches, too, the papal authority was exercised with a

frequency unusual before his time, and we find no less an authority than the Patriarch of Alexandria submitting himself humbly to the pope's "commands". The system of appeals to Rome was firmly established, and the pope is found to veto or confirm the decrees of synods, to annul the decisions of patriarchs, and inflict punishment on ecclesiastical dignitaries precisely as he thinks right. Nor is his work less noteworthy in its effect on the temporal position of the papacy. Seizing the opportunity which circumstances offered, he made himself in Italy a power stronger than emperor or exarch, and established a political influence which dominated the peninsula for centuries. From this time forth the varied populations of Italy looked to the pope for guidance, and Rome as the papal capital continued to be the centre of the Christian world." Article "[St. Gregory the Great](#)."

From these statements by the Catholic Encyclopedia, we see that the Lombard invasion placed a new situation before both emperor and pope, and the pope was the one, by necessity, whose position was greatly elevated as a result. This was true in regard to economic matters, military matters and international matters, being all-the-while, an obedient servant of the emperor.

The term of Gregory the Great has to be the one, if any, of the popes from which a change in the political nature of the papacy is to be dated.

[Sabinian](#) (604-606) Elected properly, but his pontificate was filled with the shadow of the Lombard threats and famine.

[Boniface III](#) (607) Elected properly, and introduced stricter decrees concerning the election of the papal successor. "After his elevation to the See of Rome, Boniface obtained a decree from Phocas, against Cyriacus, Bishop of Constantinople, by which it was ordained, that "the See of Blessed Peter the Apostle should be the head of all the Churches", and that the title of "Universal Bishop" belonged exclusively to the Bishop of Rome—an acknowledgment somewhat similar to that made by Justinian eighty years before (Novell., 131, c. ii, tit. xiv)." He died within a year of his election.

[St. Boniface IV](#) (608-15) Elected properly

[St. Deusdedit \(Adeodatus I\)](#) (615-18) Elected properly; nothing of significance to note.

[Boniface V](#) (619-25) Elected properly; nothing of significance to note.

[Honorius I](#) (625-38) Elected properly; nothing of significance to note, apart from the fact that he was deposed as a Monothelitic heretic.

[Severinus](#) (640) Elected properly, but complications arose upon the confirmation of the election from the Emperor in Constantinople. The Catholic Encyclopedia, Article "[Pope Severinus](#):" says "Severinus, a Roman and the son of Abienus, was elected as usual on the third day after the death of his predecessor, and envoys were at once sent to Constantinople, to obtain the confirmation of his election (Oct., 638). But the emperor, instead of granting the confirmation, ordered Severinus to sign his *Ecthesis*, a Monothelite profession of faith. This the pope-elect refused to do, and the Exarch Isaac, in order to force him to compliance, plundered the Lateran Palace. All was in vain; Severinus stood firm. Meanwhile his envoys at Constantinople, though refusing to sign any heretical documents and deprecating violence in matters of faith, behaved with great tact, and finally secured the imperial confirmation. Hence, after a vacancy of over a year and seven months, the See of Peter was again filled, and its new occupant proceeded at once to declare that as in Christ there were two natures so also were there in Him two wills and two natural operations. During his brief reign he built the apse of old St. Peter's in which church he was buried."

Here is another example of the pope being subject to the whims of the emperor, this time, a Monothelitic emperor.

[John IV](#) (640-42) Elected properly, confirmed by Exarch of Ravenna; nothing of significance to note.

[Theodore I](#) (642-49) Elected properly; confirmed by Exarch of Ravenna; nothing of significance to note.

[St. Martin I](#) (649-55) Elected properly; embroiled in the Monothelitic controversy. "The pope appointed John, Bishop of Philadelphia, as his vicar in the East with necessary instructions and full authority. Bishop Paul of Thessalonica refused to recall his heretical letters previously sent to Rome and added others, —he was, therefore, formally excommunicated and deposed. The Patriarch of Constantinople, Paul, had urged the emperor to use drastic means to force the pope and the Western Bishops at least to subscribe to the "Typus". The emperor sent Olympius as exarch to Italy, where he arrived while the council was still in session. Olympius tried to create a

faction among the fathers to favor the views of the emperor, but without success. Then upon pretence of reconciliation he wished to receive Holy Communion from the hands of the pontiff with the intention of slaying him. But Divine Providence protected the pope, and Olympius left Rome to fight against the Saracens in Sicily and died there. Constans II thwarted in his plans, sent as exarch Theodore Calliopas with orders to bring Martin to Constantinople. Calliopas arrived in Rome, 15 June, 653, and, entering the Lateran Basilica two days later, informed the clergy that Martin had been deposed as an unworthy intruder, that he must be brought to Constantinople and that another was to be chosen in his place. The pope, wishing to avoid the shedding of human blood, forbade resistance and declared himself willing to be brought before the emperor. The saintly prisoner, accompanied by only a few attendants, and suffering much from bodily ailments and privations, arrived at Constantinople on 17 Sept., 653 or 654, having landed nowhere except the island of Naxos. The letters of the pope seem to indicate he was kept at Naxos for a year.

“From Abydos messengers were sent to the imperial city to announce the arrival of the prisoner who was branded as a heretic and rebel, an enemy of God and of the State. Upon his arrival in Constantinople Martin was left for several hours on deck exposed to the jests and insults of a curious crowd of spectators. Towards evening he was brought to a prison called Prandearia and kept in close and cruel confinement for ninety-three days, suffering from hunger, cold and thirst. All this did not break his energy and on 19 December he was brought before the assembled senate where the imperial treasurer acted as judge. Various political charges were made, but the true and only charge was the pope's refusal to sign the "Typus". He was then carried to an open space in full view of the emperor and of a large crowd of people. These were asked to pass anathema upon the pope to which but few responded. Numberless indignities were heaped upon him, he was stripped of nearly all his clothing, loaded with chains, dragged through the streets of the city and then again thrown into the prison of Diomede, where he remained for eighty five days. Perhaps influenced by the death of Paul, Patriarch of Constantinople, Constans did not sentence the pope to death, but to exile. He was put on board a ship, 26 March, 654 (655) and arrived at his destination on 15 May. Cherson was at the time suffering from a great famine. The venerable pontiff here passed the remaining days of his life. Article, “Pope Saint Martin I.”

Here is yet another example of the pope being subject to the whims of the emperor, this time, a Monothelitic emperor.

[St. Eugene I](#) (655-57) The election of the successor of Pope Martin I is unsure. “With regard to the circumstances of his election, it can only be said that if he was forcibly placed on the Chair of Peter by the power of the emperor, in the hope that he would follow the imperial will, these calculations miscarried; and that, if he was elected against the will of the reigning pope in the first instance, Pope Martin subsequently acquiesced in his election (Ep. Martini xvii in P.L., LXXXVII).”

He encountered the same mindset with the emperor and Patriarch of Constantinople as had Martin I. “One of the first acts of the new pope was to send legates to Constantinople with letters to the Emperor Constans II, informing him of his election, and presenting a profession of his faith. But the legates allowed themselves to be deceived, or gained over, and brought back a synodical letter from Peter, the new Patriarch of Constantinople (656-666), while the emperor's envoy, who accompanied them, brought offerings for St. Peter, and a request from the emperor that the pope would enter into communion with the Patriarch of Constantinople. Peter's letter proved to be written in the most obscure style, and avoided making any specific declaration as to the number of "wills or operations" in Christ. When its contents were communicated to the clergy and people in the church of St. Mary Major, they not only rejected the letter with indignation, but would not allow the pope to leave the basilica until he had promised that he would not on any account accept it (656). So furious were the Byzantine officials at this contemptuous rejection of the wishes of their emperor and patriarch that they threatened, in their coarse phraseology, that when the state of politics allowed it, they would roast Eugene, and all the talkers at Rome along with him, as they had roasted Pope Martin I (Disp. inter S. Maxim. et Theod. in P.L., CXXXIX, 654). Eugene was saved from the fate of his predecessor by the advance of the Moslems who took Rhodes in 654, and defeated Constans himself in the naval battle of Phoenix (655).” Article “[Pope Saint Eugene I](#).”

Had not the incursion of the Moslems occurred, we would have seen yet another example of the emperor's (and Patriarch's) control over the pope.

St. Vitalian (657-72) Elected normally; ecclesiastical contact was made during his pontificate between Rome and Constantinople, the latter being fully in favour of the Monothelitic persuasion regarding the will of Christ. "Thus ecclesiastical intercourse between Rome and Constantinople was restored on the basis of this mutual reserve over the dogmatic question, and Vitalian's name was entered on the diptychs of the Byzantine Church---the only name of a pope so entered between the reign of Honorius I (d. 638) and the Sixth (Ecumenical Council of 680-81)." Article "Pope St. Vitalian."

Adeodatus (II) (672-76) Little is known of him.

Donus (676-78)

St. Agatho (678-81) Elected normally; ended the Monothelitic controversy: "The chief event of Agatho's pontificate is, however the Sixth Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 680, at which the papal legates presided and which practically ended the Monothelite heresy. Before the decrees of the council arrived in Rome for the approval of the pope, Agatho had died." Article "Pope St Agatho."

St. Leo II (682-83) Elected normally, confirmed after nearly 2 years delay by the emperor. "Under Leo's predecessor St. Agatho, negotiations had been opened between the Holy See and Emperor Constantine Pogonatus concerning the relations of the Byzantine Court to papal elections. Constantine had already promised Agatho to abolish or reduce the tax which for about a century the popes had had to pay to the imperial treasury on the occasion of their consecration, and under Leo's successor he made other changes in what had hitherto been required of the Roman Church at the time of a papal election." (Article, "Pope St. Leo II") The encyclopedia believes it was this issue that prolonged the confirmation of his election by the emperor.

Here we have highlighted the topic of tax paid by the Papacy to the emperor for the consecration of a new pope. This highlights the relationship between the Papacy and the emperor. The Pope is definitely a tax paying servant of the emperor.

St. Benedict II (684-85) Elected normally and sought to have the process for imperial confirmation of that election changed. "To abridge the vacancies of the Holy See which followed the deaths of the popes, he obtained from the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus a decree which either abolished imperial confirmations altogether or made them obtainable from the exarch in Italy [cf. "Liber Diurnus RR. PP., ed. Sickel (Vienna, 1889), and Duchesne's criticism, "Le Liber Diurnus" (Paris, 1891)]." (Article, "Pope St. Benedict II).

John V (685-86) Elected normally and installed immediately. The highlight of his pontificate was to have the emperor reduce the tax burden on the papal landed property. "He obtained such favour in the eyes of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus that the latter lessened the taxes which had been imposed on the papal patrimonies in Sicily and Calabria, and generally reduced the fiscal burdens from which the Church suffered." (Article "Pope John V"). Clearly, this tax burden on the property of the pope by the emperor shows the relationship of the two unambiguously. The pope was the servant and the emperor was still the master.

Conon (686-87) Elected normally and confirmed by the Exarch of Ravenna. An affable pope, "he was in favour with the savage Emperor Justinian II who informed him that he had recovered the Acts of the Sixth General Council, by which, he wrote, it was his intention to abide. Justinian also remitted certain taxes and dues owing to the imperial exchequer from several papal patrimonies." (Article "Pope Conon").

St. Sergius I (687-701) Was elected after a protest against the efforts of a Pascal to bribe the Exarch of Ravenna to force his election. The people and the clergy protested and won the day. However things did not look good for Sergius. "The cruel Emperor Justinian wanted him to sign the decrees of the so-called Quinisext or Trullan Council of 692, in which the Greeks allowed priests and deacons to keep the wives they had married before their ordination, and which aimed at placing the Patriarch of Constantinople on a level with the Pope of Rome. When Sergius refused to acknowledge this synod, the emperor sent an officer to bring him to Constantinople. But the people protected the pope, and Justinian himself was soon afterwards deposed (695)."

From this event we see that the Pope is not out of reach from the imperial arm. We nearly had a repeat of the Pope Martin affair.

John VI (701-05) Elected normally; no change in the nature of the papacy during his pontificate. Lombards attacked parts of the Duchy of Rome while the local militia was defending the pope against a seemingly hostile by the exarch of Italy from Sicily.

[John VII](#) (705-07) Elected normally; he staved off a confrontation with Justinian II. "...when the fierce Emperor Justinian II sent him the decrees of the Quinisext Council, 'in which were many articles against the See of Rome', with a request that he would set forth what he approved in them, John simply returned them, as though there were nothing to condemn in them." (Article, "[Pope John VII](#)").

[Sisinnius](#) (708) Only a pope for three weeks before he died.

[Constantine](#) (708-15) Elected normally, and had his pontificate under Justinian II, who was trying to force the Roman See to acknowledge the decisions of the Trullan Council. "In 692 the Emperor Justinian II had caused to assemble the so-called Quinisext or Trullan Council. At this assembly, which was attended only by Greek bishops, 102 canons were passed, many of which established customs opposed to those of Rome. By canon xiii the celibacy of the Greek secular clergy became a thing of the past; and by canon xxxvi, a further step was taken in the direction of rendering the Patriarch of Constantinople quite independent of the Holy See. Justinian made every effort to secure the adhesion of the popes to these decrees. But one after another they all refused. At length he sent an order to Constantine to repair to Constantinople. Leaving behind him, according to the custom at the time, the archpriest, the archdeacon, and the *Primicerius*, or chief of the notaries, to govern the Church in his absence, he set sail for the East (709) with a number of bishops and clergy. Wherever his vessel touched, he was, by Justinian's orders, received with as much honour as the emperor himself. He entered Constantinople in triumph, and at Justinian's request crossed over to Nicomedia, where he was then residing. Strange to say, this cruel prince received the pope with the greatest honour, prostrating himself before him and kissing his feet. After receiving Holy Communion at the hands of the pope, he renewed all the privileges of the Roman Church. Exactly what passed between them on the subject of the Quinisext Council is not known. It would appear, however, that Constantine approved those canons which were not opposed to the true Faith or to sound morals, and that with this qualified approval of his council the emperor was content."

We can see a similar reoccurrence of the Pope Martin affair, except for the personality of Pope Constantine. The emperor gave ground, allowing the Western church a difference of opinion to his own. Following the dethroning of Justinian II, the new emperor Philippicus determined to revive Monothelism and a feud ensued between Old Rome and New Rome. Eventually John, the Patriarch of Constantinople conceded: "acknowledging that the 'apostolical pre-eminence of the Pope is to the whole Church, what the head is to the body', and that 'according to the canons he is the head of the Christian priesthood.' John assured the pope that, while cooperating with the Emperor Philippicus, he had always been orthodox at heart, and that the decree, drawn up at the council in which the heretical emperor had hoped to re-establish Monothelism (712), was really orthodox in sense, although not apparently so in words. (See John's letter in the epilogue of the Deacon Agatho, in Mansi, 'Coll. Conc.', XII, 192.)" (Article "[Pope Constantine](#)").

[St. Gregory II](#) (715-31) Election was normal; and was instrumental, as a deacon, in securing the emperor Justinian II's agreement with Pope Constantine over the Quinisext Council's resolutions. "...he had given such signs of character and superior intelligence that he was chosen by Pope Constantine to accompany him when he had to go to Constantinople to discuss the canons of the Quinisext Council with the truculent tyrant, Justinian II. The pope's trust was not misplaced. The deacon Gregory 'by his admirable answers,' solved every difficulty raised by the emperor." During his pontificate, though deferent to the emperor, he took a stand against exorbitant taxes imposed by Emperor Leo III. "...greater commotion in Italy than could have been caused by his advent was aroused by the publication there of the decrees of the Greek emperor, Leo III, known as the Isaurian or the Iconoclast (727). The Italians had been previously enraged by his attempt to levy an extraordinary tax on them. Despite the attempts of Greek officials to take his life, Gregory opposed both the emperor's illegal taxes and his unwarrantable interference in the domain of ecclesiastical authority. Now was the opportunity of the Lombards. When the exarch attempted to compel the pope to obey the imperial decrees, they became his defenders. Nearly all the Byzantine districts of Italy also turned against the emperor, and but for the pope would have elected another emperor to oppose him. When all seemed lost to the Byzantine cause in Italy, Eutychius, the last of the exarchs, contrived to wean the Lombards from the pope and to make them turn against him. The exarch was to help Liutprand, the Lombard king, to bring the almost independent Lombard Dukes of Benevento and Spoleto into complete subjection of his authority, and Liutprand was to assist him in bringing the pope to his knees. But the personal influence of Gregory over Liutprand

was able to dissolve this unnatural alliance, and he repaid the exarch's treatment of him by furnishing him with troops to put down a rebellion against the imperial authority." The same article goes on to discuss the possibility of the temporal authority of the pope beginning in the times of Gregory II, but this depends on the authenticity of two letters from Pope Gregory II to Emperor Leo III. "In connection with Gregory's struggle against the Iconoclast emperor and his Italian representatives, certain doubtful points have been hitherto passed over. For instance, it is certain that about the year 730 Ravenna fell for a brief space into the hands of the Lombards, and that by the exertions of the pope and the Venetians, it was recovered and continued to remain for a year or two longer a portion of the Byzantine empire. It is not, however, certain whether it was Gregory II or Gregory III who rendered this important service to Leo III. Probably, however, it was done by Gregory II about the year 727; though perhaps it is not quite equally probable that the two famous condemnatory letters which Gregory II is said to have sent to Leo III are genuine. If they are authentic, then it is certain not only that Ravenna was captured by the Lombards about 727, but that the independent temporal authority of the popes which in fact began with Gregory II was consciously felt by him. But when later Greek historians asserted that Gregory "separated Rome and Italy and the whole West from political and ecclesiastical subjection" to the Byzantine Empire, they are simply exaggerating his opposition to the emperor's illegal taxes, and Iconoclastic edicts. Despite all provocation, Gregory never for a moment swerved in his loyalty to the Iconoclast emperor; but, as in duty bound, he opposed his efforts to destroy an article of Catholic Faith. By his letters sent in all directions he warned the people against the teachings of the emperor, and in a council at Rome (727) proclaimed the true doctrine on the question of the worship of images. To the best of his power, also, he supported St. Germainus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, in the resistance he was making to the "gospel of Leo", and threatened to depose Anastasius, who had replaced the saint in the See of Constantinople, if he did not renounce his heresy." (Article "[Pope St. Gregory II](#)")

[St. Gregory III](#) (731-41) Elected normally and consecrated by the exarch of Ravenna. Continued the protest against iconoclasm propagated by Leo III, only to be invaded by the emperor. "Leo, whose sole answer to the arguments and apologies for image worship which were addressed to him from both East and West, was force, seized the papal patrimonies in Calabria and Sicily, or wherever he had any power in Italy, and transferred to the patriarch of Constantinople the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which the popes had previously exercised both there, and throughout the ancient Prefecture of Illyricum." His conflict with the Lombards impelled to call on the Franks for assistance, since he was offside with the emperor. "The Franks gave a momentary peace and then the pope died." (Article "[Pope St. Gregory III](#)".)

[St. Zachary](#) (741-52) Elected and consecrated normally. Pope Zachary's pontificate occurred during a time when diplomacy was the major order of the day. "When Zachary ascended the throne the position of the city and Duchy of Rome was a very serious one. Luitprand, King of the Lombards, was preparing a new incursion into Roman territory. Duke Trasamund of Spoleto, with whom [Pope Gregory III](#) had formed an alliance against Luitprand, did not keep his promise to aid the Romans in regaining the cities taken by the Lombards. Consequently Zachary abandoned the alliance with Trasamund and sought to protect the interests of Rome and Roman territory by personal influence over Luitprand. The pope went to Terni to see the Lombard king who received him with every mark of honour. Zachary was able to obtain from Luitprand that the four cities of Ameria, Horta, Polimartium, and Blera should be returned to the Romans, and that all the patrimonies of the Roman Church that the Lombards had taken from it within the last thirty years, should be given back; he was also able to conclude a truce for twenty years between the Roman Duchy and the Lombards. A chapel to the Saviour was built in the Church of St. Peter at Rome in the name of Luitprand, in which the deeds respecting this return of property were placed. After the pope's return, the Roman people went in solemn procession to St. Peter's to thank [God](#) for the fortunate result of the pope's efforts. Throughout the entire affair the pope appears as the secular ruler of Rome and the Roman territory. In the next year Luitprand made ready to attack the territory of Ravenna. The Byzantine exarch of Ravenna and the [archbishop](#) begged Pope Zachary to intervene. The latter first sent envoys to the Lombard king, and when these were unsuccessful he went himself to Ravenna and from there to Pavia to see Luitprand. The pope reached Pavia on the eve of the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul. He celebrated the vigil and the feast of the princes of the Apostles at Pavia, and was able to induce the king to abandon the attack on Ravenna and to restore the territory belonging to the city itself. Luitprand died shortly after than and after his first

successor Hildebrand was overthrown, Ratchis became King of the Lombards. The pope was on the best of terms with him. In 749 the new king confirmed the treaty of peace with the Roman Duchy" (Article, "[Pope St. Zachary](#)"). There is becoming a noticeable change in the role of the papacy here, and with his predecessors, Gregory II and Gregory III. To be sure, the situation demanded it, but the occasion then set the scene for an ongoing trend we see repeated as the occasion demanded it.

[Stephen II](#) (752) Only four days in the pontificate before dying.

[Stephen III](#) (752-57) Elected but Ravenna had fallen to the Lombards the previous year. He was consecrated normally. Had to face the invasion of the Lombards. In the words of the Catholic Encyclopedia: "He had at once to face the Lombards who were resolved to bring all Italy under their sway. With the capture of Ravenna (751), they had put an end to the power of the Byzantine exarchs and were preparing to seize the Duchy of Rome. In vain did Stephen apply for help to Constantinople and freely spent his money to induce them to keep the peace they had made with him, and to refrain from hostilities. He accordingly devoted himself to prayer and endeavoured to obtain assistance from Pepin and the Franks. As a last resource he went himself to Gaul to plead his cause before the Frankish king. Receiving a most favourable reception, he crowned Pepin as King of the Franks, and at Kiersey was solemnly assured by him that he would defend him, and would restore the exarchate to St. Peter. Failing to make any impression on Aistulf, the Lombard king, by repeated embassies, Pepin forced the passes of the Alps, and compelled him to swear to restore Ravenna and the other cities he had taken (754). But no sooner had Pepin withdrawn from Lombardy than Aistulf roused the whole Lombard nation, appeared in arms before the walls of Rome (Jan., 756), ravaged the neighbourhood, and made a desperate attempt to capture the city. After receiving one appeal for help after another from the pope, Pepin crossed the Alps a second time (756), and again forced Aistulf to submission. This time Stephen was put in possession of the cities of the exarchate and of the Pentapolis, and became practically the first pope-king.

Towards the close of this same year Aistulf died amid preparations for once more violating his engagements. On his death two rivals claimed the Lombard throne, Desiderius, Duke of Istria and Ratchis, brother of Aistulf, who in 749 had resigned the Lombard crown, and had taken the monastic habit in [Monte Cassino](#). Desiderius at once invoked the assistance of the pope, and, on condition of his help, promised to restore to Rome certain cities in the exarchate and the Pentapolis which still remained in the hands of the Lombards, and to give the pope a large sum of money. Stephen at once sent envoys to both the rivals, and, impressing on Ratchis the duty of being true to his monastic vows, succeeded in bringing about peace, and preventing civil war. Ratchis returned to his monastery and Desiderius was recognized as king (about March, 757). The latter, however, did not fulfill his promise to the pope in its entirety. He gave up Faenza, Ferrara, and two small towns, but retained Bologna, Imola, and other towns in the Pentapolis till his overthrow by [Charlemagne](#). Stephen had scarcely established a system of government in the exarchate when he had to quell the rebellion of Sergius, [Archbishop](#) of Ravenna, whom he had made its governor. He, however, caused the rebel to be brought to Rome, and kept him there whilst he lived."

Here is a definite escalation of the temporal power of the papacy.

[St. Paul I](#) (757-67) Elected normally and was consecrated episcopally. His was a pivotal pontificate regarding the temporal powers of the papacy. "Paul continued his predecessor's policy towards the Frankish king, Pepin, and thereby continued the papal supremacy over Rome and the districts of central Italy in opposition to the efforts of the Lombards and the Eastern Empire. Pepin sent a letter to the Roman people, exhorting them to remain steadfast to St. Peter. In the reply sent by the senate and the people of Rome to the Frankish king, the latter was urged to complete the enlargement of the Roman province which he had wrested from the barbarians, and to persevere in the work he had begun. In 758 a daughter was born to Pepin, and the king sent the pope the cloth used at the baptism as a present, renewing in this way the papal sponsorship. Paul returned thanks and informed Pepin of the hostile action of Desiderius, who had failed to deliver the cities of Imola, Osimo, Ancona, and Bologna to Rome, and had also devastated the Pentapolis on his expedition against the rebellious Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento. The two duchies were conquered and annexed by Desiderius (758). At Benevento Desiderius had a conference with the Greek ambassador Georgios, and agreed on a mutual alliance of Byzantines and Lombards in central Italy. On his way home Desiderius came to Rome, and when the pope demanded the return of the aforesaid cities, he refused to comply. He promised to give back Imola, but on condition that the pope should persuade Pepin to send back the Lombard hostages whom the Frankish king

had carried off, some time before, at the time of his second victory over the Lombard King Aistulf. If Paul would not do this, Desiderius threatened to go to war with him. The pope was in great straits. He found it difficult even to get the Frankish king informed of his position. He gave two letters to Bishop George of Ostia and the Roman priest Stephen, his ambassadors to Pepin, who made the journey with the Frankish messenger Ruodpertus. In the one letter that was to secure the envoys a safe passage through Lombard territory, he agreed to the demands of Desiderius and begged Pepin to accede to the wishes of the Lombards by making a treaty of peace and returning the hostages. At the same time the envoys were to give the Frankish king a second secret letter, in which the pope communicated to him the latest occurrences, informed him of the agreement of Desiderius with the Byzantines for the conquest of Ravenna, and implored Pepin to come to the aid of the pope, to punish the Lombard king, and to force him to yield the towns retained by him. Towards the close of 759 another envoy was sent to Pepin. Early in 760 two Frankish envoys, Bishop Remidius of Rouen, brother to Pepin, and Duke Antschar, came to Desiderius, who promised to return its patrimony to the Roman Church in April, and also to yield the towns demanded by the pope. But he again refused to carry out his promises, dallied, and even forced his way into Roman territory. Once more Paul implored the Frankish king's help. The position of affairs was made even more threatening by Byzantine action. Georgios had gone from southern Italy to the court of Pepin and had here won over a papal envoy, Marinus. With all his efforts Georgios could not move Pepin. In 760 a report spread through Italy that a large Byzantine fleet was under sail for Rome and the Frankish kingdom. Later it was reported that the Byzantines intended to send an army to Rome and Ravenna. The [Archbishop](#) Sergius of Ravenna received a letter from the Byzantine emperor, in which the latter sought to obtain the voluntary submission of the inhabitants of Ravenna. The same attempt was also made in Venice. Sergius sent the letter of the emperor to the pope, and the pope notified Pepin. In case of a war with the Eastern Empire it was important to make sure of the support of the Lombards, consequently Pepin desired to come to an agreement with Desiderius. Thereupon the Lombard king showed more complaisance in the question of the Roman patrimony included in the Lombard territory, and when he visited Rome in 765, the boundary disputes between him and the pope were arranged. The Frankish king now directed Desiderius to aid the pope in recovering the Roman patrimony in the regions in southern Italy under Byzantine rule, and to support the ecclesiastical rights of the pope against the bishops of these districts. Paul's opposition to the schemes of the Emperor Constantine Copronymus had no real political basis. The pope's aim was to defend ecclesiastical orthodoxy regarding the doctrine of the Trinity and the veneration of images against the Eastern emperor. Paul repeatedly dispatched legates and letters in regard to the veneration of images to the emperor at Byzantium. Constantine sent envoys to western Europe who in coming to King Pepin did not disguise their intention to negotiate with him concerning dogmatic questions, also about the submission of the Exarchate of Ravenna to Byzantine suzerainty." (Article "[Pope Paul I](#)").

[Stephen IV](#) (767-72) Duly elected and consecrated after two usurpers attempted to gain the chair of Peter. He continued the papal play in political affairs: "Through Stephen's support the archdeacon Leo was enabled to hold the See of Ravenna against a lay intruder, and in turn through the support of the brothers [Charlemagne](#) and Carloman, Kings of the Franks, Stephen was able to recover some territories from the Lombards. But their king, Desiderius, managed to strike two serious blows at Stephen. He brought about a marriage between his daughter and [Charlemagne](#), and in some mysterious manner effected the fall of the pope's chief ministers, Christopher and Sergius." (Article, "[Pope Stephen \(III\) IV](#)").

[Adrian I](#) (772-95) Elected and consecrated normally. His pontificate was the critical period for the future of the papacy "His pontificate of twenty-three years, ten months, and twenty-four days was unequalled in length by that of any successor of St. Peter until a thousand years later, when Pius VI, deposed and imprisoned by the same Frankish arms which had enthroned the first Pope-King, surpassed Adrian by a pontificate six months longer. At a critical period in the history of the Papacy, Adrian possessed all the qualities essential in the founder of a new dynasty.

"The new pontiff's temporal policy was, from the first, sharply defined and tenaciously adhered to; the keynote was a steadfast resistance to Lombard aggression. He released from prison or recalled from exile the numerous victims of the chamberlain's violence; and, upon discovering that Afiarta had caused Sergius, a high official of the papal court, to be assassinated in prison, ordered his arrest in Rimini, just as Afiarta was returning from an embassy to Desiderius with the avowed intention of bringing the Pope to the Lombard court, "were it even in chains." The time seemed

propitious for subjecting all Italy to the Lombard rule; and with less able antagonists than Adrian and Charles (to be famous in later ages as Charlemagne), most probably the ambition of Desiderius would have been gratified. There seemed little prospect of Frankish intervention. The Lombards held the passes of the Alps, and Charles was engrossed by the difficulties of the Saxon war; moreover, the presence in Pavia of Gerberga and her two sons, the widow and orphans of Carloman, whose territories, on his brother's death, Charles had annexed, seemed to offer an excellent opportunity of stirring up discord among the Franks, if only the Pope could be persuaded, or coerced, to anoint the children as heirs to their father's throne. Instead of complying, Adrian valiantly determined upon resistance. He strengthened the fortifications of Rome, called to the aid of the militia the inhabitants of the surrounding territory, and, as the Lombard host advanced, ravaging and plundering summoned Charles to hasten to the defence of their common interests. An opportune lull in the Saxon war left the great commander free to act. Unable to bring the deceitful Lombard to terms by peaceful overtures, he scaled the Alps in the autumn of 773, seized Verona, where Gerberga and her sons had sought refuge, and besieged Desiderius in his capital. The following spring, leaving his army to prosecute the siege of Pavia, he proceeded with a strong detachment to Rome, in order to celebrate the festival of Easter at the tomb of the Apostles.

“Two months later Pavia fell into the hands of Charles; the kingdom of the Lombards was extinguished, and the Papacy was forever delivered from its persistent and hereditary foe. Nominally, Adrian was now monarch of above two-thirds of the Italian peninsula; but his sway was little more than nominal. Over a great portion of the district mentioned in the Donation, the papal claims were permitted to lapse. To gain and regain the rest, Charles was forced to make repeated expeditions across the Alps. We may well doubt whether the great King of the Franks would have suffered the difficulties of the Pope to interfere with his more immediate cares, were it not for his extreme personal veneration of Adrian, whom in life and death he never ceased to proclaim his father and best friend. It was in no slight degree owing to Adrian's political sagacity, vigilance, and activity, that the temporal power of the Papacy did not remain a fiction of the imagination.”

“He died universally regretted, and was buried in St. Peter's. His epitaph, ascribed to his lifelong friend, Charlemagne, is still extant. Rarely have the priesthood and the empire worked together so harmoniously, and with such beneficent results to the Church and to humanity, as during the lifetime of these two great rulers. The chief sources of our information as to Adrian are the *Life in the Liber Pontificalis* (q.v.), and his letters to Charlemagne, preserved by the latter in his *Codex Carolinus*. Estimates of Adrian's work and character by modern historians differ with the varying views of writers regarding the temporal sovereignty of the popes, of which Adrian I must be considered the real founder.” (Articles “[Pope Adrian I](#)” and “[Charlemagne](#)”).

There we have it. The considered opinion of a Catholic historian. The temporal sovereignty of the popes began in the times of Adrian I, when “the Papacy was forever delivered from its persistent and hereditary foe. Nominally, Adrian was now monarch of above two-thirds of the Italian peninsula.” Charlemagne turned that nominal monarchy into reality. The Pope was now monarch of two-thirds of Italy. And the date of this event? 773-4 AD.

“What history does record with vivid eloquence is the first visit of Charles to the Eternal City. There everything was done to give his entry as much as possible the air of a triumph in ancient Rome. The judges met him thirty miles from the city; the militia laid at the feet of their great patrician the banner of Rome and hailed him as their *imperator*. Charles himself forgot pagan Rome and prostrated himself to kiss the threshold of the Apostles, and then spent seven days in conference with the successor of Peter. It was then that he undoubtedly formed many great designs for the glory of God and the exaltation of Holy Church, which, in spite of human weaknesses and, still more, ignorance, he afterwards did his best to realize. His coronation as the successor of Constantine did not take place until twenty-six years later, but his consecration as first champion of the Catholic Church took place at Easter, 774. Soon after this (June, 774) Pavia fell, Desiderius was banished, Adalghis became a fugitive at the Byzantine court, and Charles, assuming the crown of Lombardy, renewed to Adrian the donation of territory made by Pepin the Short after his defeat of Aistulph. (This donation is now generally admitted, as well as the original gift of Pepin at Kiersey in 752.)” (Article “[Charlemagne](#)”).

[St. Leo III](#) (795-816) Elected and consecrated normally. The pontificate of Leo continues this new tradition regarding the nature of the papacy. “In the following year (800) Charlemagne himself

came to Rome, and the pope and his accusers were brought face to face. The assembled bishops declared that they had no right to judge the pope; but Leo of his own free will, in order, as he said, to dissipate any suspicions in men's minds, declared on oath that he was wholly guiltless of the charges which had been brought against him. At his special request the death sentence which had been passed upon his principal enemies was commuted into a sentence of exile.

A few days later, Leo and Charlemagne again met. It was on Christmas Day in St. Peter's. After the Gospel had been sung, the pope approached Charlemagne, who was kneeling before the Confession of St. Peter, and placed a crown upon his head. The assembled multitude at once made the basilica ring with the shout: "To Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, to our great and pacific emperor life and victory!" By this act was revived the Empire in the West, and, in theory, at least, the world was declared by the Church subject to one temporal head, as Christ had made it subject to one spiritual head. It was understood that the first duty of the new emperor was to be the protector of the Roman Church and of Christendom against the heathen. With a view to combining the East and West under the effective rule of Charlemagne, Leo strove to further the project of a marriage between him and the Eastern empress Irene. Her deposition, however (801), prevented the realization of this excellent plan. Some three years after the departure of Charlemagne from Rome (801), Leo again crossed the Alps to see him (804). According to some he went to discuss with the emperor the division of his territories between his sons. At any rate, two years later, he was invited to give his assent to the emperor's provisions for the said partition.

"...after Michael I came to the Byzantine throne, he ratified the treaty between him and Charlemagne which was to secure peace for East and West.

Not only in the last mentioned transaction, but in all matters of importance, did the pope and the Frankish emperor act in concert. It was on Charlemagne's advice that, to ward off the savage raids of the Saracens, Leo maintained a fleet, and caused his coast line to be regularly patrolled by his ships of war. But because he did not feel competent to keep the Moslem pirates out of Corsica, he entrusted the guarding of it to the emperor. Supported by Charlemagne, he was able to recover some of the patrimonies of the Roman Church in the neighbourhood of Gaeta, and again to administer them through his rector. But when the great emperor died (28 Jan., 814), evil times once more broke on Leo. A fresh conspiracy was formed against him, but on this occasion the pope was apprised of it before it came to a head. He caused the chief conspirators to be seized and executed. No sooner had this plot been crushed than a number of nobles of the Campagna rose in arms and plundered the country. They were preparing to march on Rome itself, when they were overpowered by the Duke of Spoleto, acting under the orders of the King of Italy (Langobardia). The large sums of money which Charlemagne gave to the papal treasury enabled Leo to become an efficient helper of the poor and a patron of art, and to renovate the churches, not only of Rome, but even of Ravenna. "

After this extended survey of the popes after Silverius and Vigilius, one can then ask the question with greater understanding: Was there a noticeable change in the nature of the papacy? And when?

The conclusion: The change begins with the pontificate of Gregory the Great (590-604), then perhaps with St. Gregory II (715-31) if the letters of the pope are authentic; [Stephen III](#) (752-57) who received the donation from Pepin, "This time Stephen was put in possession of the cities of the exarchate and of the Pentapolis, and became practically the first pope-king;" then with [St. Paul I](#) (757-67) and [Stephen IV](#) (767-72) who continued with the efforts of Stephen III; and finally with Adrian I, (772-95), who became "monarch of above two-thirds of the Italian peninsula;" and, St. Leo III (795-816) who "approached Charlemagne...and placed a crown upon his head. By this act was revived the Empire in the West, and, in theory, at least, the world was declared by the Church subject to one temporal head... It was understood that the first duty of the new emperor was to be the protector of the Roman Church and of Christendom against the heathen."

The Problem with the activities of the horn, 321 AD and 538 AD

One of the problems with the SDA historicists rationale is that the little horn power could not exercise his power until the last of the three horns were plucked out, which did not happen until 538AD. What is the problem with this? Well, if he could

exercise his powers until 538 AD, then we can discount the reference to the change of the Sunday laws in the fourth century, because it is outside the time frame for the 1260 days.

The other problem is that we cannot refer to the little horn as an emperor since we are told that he did not gain power until the Arians were plucked out of Italy in 538 AD. And history confirms the emperors had had absolute power for centuries prior to this. Therefore we cannot argue to include the 321 AD action on the veneration of Sunday, since this was done by the emperor, not the pope. They argue that the little horn is a religious leader and can only refer to the papacy. Yet it was not the papacy that introduced the Sunday laws, it was the emperor. Yet the prophecy says it is the little horn that does change the times and laws. So, what represents the emperors in Dn7? The beast, the horns or both?

If it is the horns then what does the ten horns represent? Ten emperors? Then that would mean that the little horn would be one of the emperors, and the plucking off of three horns would represent the disposing of three emperors. This poses an unanswerable problem for historicists.

The other problem is what do the 1260 days represent? Is it the power of the little horn power? Or does it represent the time when he would change the times and laws for? Or does it represent when he would wear out the saints of the most High? Or is it both, dating it from the first action of either until the last action of either? If the changing of times and laws is to be included, then the 321 AD change of Saturday to Sunday is to be excluded since it occurred too early.

The Primacy of the Pope from the Second Century.

The following quote from the article “The Pope” in the [Catholic Encyclopedia](#) lays out strong evidence to indicate that the bishop at Rome had primacy nearly 3 centuries before Justinian ruled the primacy of the Roman See above the Holy See at Constantinople, thus putting the arguments in favour of 533 or 538 in serious doubt. Certainly the author of the article stops at the fourth century in detailing this point further. “The limits of the present article prevent us from carrying the historical argument further than the year 300. Nor is it in fact necessary to do so. From the beginning of the fourth century the supremacy of Rome is writ large upon the page of history.” (see below) He admits that all the procedural matters of the See of Rome’s relation with other Sees had not been finalised in canon law until later, but he emphasises that the supremacy of the See of Rome was never questioned or doubted during that time. To strengthen that conclusion is the constant reminder that Caesar, whether he be a western or eastern empire enforced that supremacy so many times over the realms of his empire. Sometimes the emperor would summon the pope to enforce the wishes of the Caesar; other times the pope would request the emperor for a council so that he could enforce the perspective of the See of Rome. So if the churches universally acknowledged the supremacy of the See at Rome, then the decree of Justinian is superfluous. Whatever the emperor endorsed *was* law and had the power over life or death. This had been done two hundred years before Justinian encoded that position. The legal basis must be dated, not from the decree of Justinian, but from when the pope used the word of the emperor to enforce the decision of a council.

During the pontificate of St. Victor (189-98) we have the most explicit assertion of the supremacy of the Roman See in regard to other Churches. A difference of practice between the Churches of Asia Minor and the rest of the Christian world in regard to the

day of the Paschal festival led the pope to take action. There is some ground for supposing that the Montanist heretics maintained the Asiatic (or Quartodeciman) practice to be the true one: in this case it would be undesirable that any body of Catholic Christians should appear to support them. But, under any circumstances, such a diversity in the ecclesiastical life of different countries may well have constituted a regrettable feature in the Church, whose very purpose it was to bear witness by her unity to the oneness of God (John 17:21). Victor bade the Asiatic Churches conform to the custom of the remainder of the Church, but was met with determined resistance by Polycrates of Ephesus, who claimed that their custom derived from St. John himself. Victor replied by an excommunication. St. Irenaeus, however, intervened, exhorting Victor not to cut off whole Churches on account of a point which was not a matter of faith. He assumes that the pope can exercise the power, but urges him not to do so. Similarly the resistance of the Asiatic bishops involved no denial of the supremacy of Rome. It indicates solely that the bishops believed St. Victor to be abusing his power in bidding them renounce a custom for which they had Apostolic authority. It was indeed inevitable that, as the Church spread and developed, new problems should present themselves, and that questions should arise as to whether the supreme authority could be legitimately exercised in this or that case. St. Victor, seeing that more harm than good would come from insistence, withdrew the imposed penalty.

Not many years since a new and important piece of evidence was brought to light in Asia Minor dating from this period. The sepulchral inscription of Abercius, Bishop of Hieropolis (d. about 200), contains an account of his travels couched in allegorical language. He speaks thus of the Roman Church: "To Rome He [Christ] sent me to contemplate majesty: and to see a queen golden-robed and golden-sandalled." It is difficult not to recognize in this description a testimony to the supreme position of the Roman See. Tertullian's bitter polemic, "De Pudicitia" (about 220), was called forth by an exercise of papal prerogative. Pope Callistus had decided that the rigid discipline which had hitherto prevailed in many Churches must be in large measure relaxed. Tertullian, now lapsed into heresy, fiercely attacks "the peremptory edict", which "the supreme pontiff, the bishop of bishops", has sent forth. The words are intended as sarcasm: but none the less they indicate clearly the position of authority claimed by Rome. And the opposition comes, not from a Catholic bishop, but from a Montanist heretic.

The views of St. Cyprian (d. 258) in regard to papal authority have given rise to much discussion. He undoubtedly entertained exaggerated views as to the independence of individual bishops, which eventually led him into serious conflict with Rome. Yet on the fundamental principle his position is clear. He attributed an effective primacy to the pope as the successor of Peter. He makes communion with the See of Rome essential to Catholic communion, speaking of it as "the principal Church whence episcopal unity had its rise" (*ad Petri cathedram et ad ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*). The force of this expression becomes clear when viewed in the light of his doctrine as to the unity of the Church. This was he teaches, established by Christ when He founded His Church upon Peter. By this act the unity of the Apostolic college was ensured through the unity of the foundation. The bishops through all time form a similar college, and are bound in a like indivisible unity. Of this unity the Chair of Peter is the source. It fulfils the very office as principle of union which Peter fulfilled in his lifetime. Hence to communicate with an antipope such as Novatian would be schism (Ep. 68:1). He holds, also, that the pope has authority to depose an heretical bishop. When Marcian of Arles fell into heresy, Cyprian, at the request of the bishops of the province, wrote to urge Pope Stephen "to send letters by which, Marcian having been excommunicated, another may be substituted in his place" (Ep. 68:3). It is manifest that one who regarded the Roman See in this light believed that the pope possessed a real and effective Primacy. At the same time it is not to be denied that his views as to the right of the pope to interfere in the government of a diocese already subject to a legitimate and orthodox bishop were inadequate. In the rebaptism controversy his language in regard to St. Stephen was bitter and intemperate. His error on this point does not, however, detract

from the fact that he admitted a primacy, not merely of honour but of jurisdiction. Nor should his mistake occasion too much surprise. It is as true in the Church as in merely human institutions that the full implications of a general principle are only realized gradually. The claim to apply it in a particular case is often contested at first, though later ages may wonder that such opposition was possible.

Contemporary with St. Cyprian was St. Dionysius of Alexandria. Two incidents bearing on the present question are related of him. Eusebius (Hist. eccl. 7:9) gives us a letter addressed by him to St. Xystus II regarding the case of a man who, as it appeared, had been invalidly baptized by heretics, but who for many years had been frequenting the sacraments of the Church. In it he says that he needs St. Xystus's advice and begs for his decision (*gnomen*), that he may not fall into error (*dedios me hara sphallomai*). Again, some years later, the same patriarch occasioned anxiety to some of the brethren by making use of some expressions which appeared hardly compatible with a full belief in the Divinity of Christ. They promptly had recourse to the Holy See and accused him to his namesake, St. Dionysius of Rome, of heretical leanings. The pope replied by laying down authoritatively the true doctrine on the subject. Both events are instructive as showing us how Rome was recognized by the second see in Christendom as empowered to speak with authority on matters of doctrine. (St. Athanasius, "De sententia Dionysii" in P. G., XXV, 500). Equally noteworthy is the action of Emperor Aurelian in 270. A synod of bishops had condemned Paul of Samosata, Patriarch of Alexandria, on a charge of heresy, and had elected Domnus bishop in his place. Paul refused to withdraw, and appeal was made to the civil power. The emperor decreed that he who was acknowledged by the bishops of Italy and the Bishop of Rome, must be recognized as rightful occupant of the see. The incident proves that even the pagans themselves knew well that communion with the Roman See was the essential mark of all Christian Churches. That the imperial Government was well aware of the position of the pope among Christians derives additional confirmation from the saying of St. Cyprian that Decius would have sooner heard of the proclamation of a rival emperor than of the election of a new pope to fill the place of the martyred Fabian (Ep. 55:9).

The limits of the present article prevent us from carrying the historical argument further than the year 300. Nor is it in fact necessary to do so. From the beginning of the fourth century the supremacy of Rome is writ large upon the page of history. It is only in regard to the first age of the Church that any question can arise. But the facts we have recounted are entirely sufficient to prove to any unprejudiced mind that the supremacy was exercised and acknowledged from the days of the Apostles. It was not of course exercised in the same way as in later times. The Church was as yet in her infancy: and it would be irrational to look for a fully developed procedure governing the relations of the supreme pontiff to the bishops of other sees. To establish such a system was the work of time, and it was only gradually embodied in the canons. There would, moreover, be little call for frequent intervention when the Apostolic tradition was still fresh and vigorous in every part of Christendom. Hence the papal prerogatives came into play but rarely. But when the Faith was threatened, or the vital welfare of souls demanded action, then Rome intervened. Such were the causes which led to the intervention of St. Dionysius, St. Stephen, St. Callistus, St. Victor, and St. Clement, and their claim to supremacy as the occupants of the Chair of Peter was not disputed. In view of the purposes with which, and with which alone, these early popes employed their supreme power, the contention, so stoutly maintained by Protestant controversialists, that the Roman primacy had its origin in papal ambition, disappears. The motive which inspired these men was not earthly ambition, but zeal for the Faith and the consciousness that to them had been committed the responsibility of its guardianship. The controversialists in question even claim that they are justified in refusing to admit as evidence for the papal primacy any pronouncement emanating from a Roman source, on the ground that, where the personal interests of anyone are concerned, his statements should not be admitted as evidence. Such an objection is utterly fallacious. We are dealing here, not with the statements of an individual, but with the tradition of a Church -- of that Church which, even from the

earliest times, was known for the purity of its doctrine, and which had had for its founders and instructors the two chief Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. That tradition, moreover, is absolutely unbroken, as the pronouncements of the long series of popes bear witness. Nor does it stand alone. The utterances, in which the popes assert their claims to the obedience of all Christian Churches, form part and parcel of a great body of testimony to the Petrine privileges, issuing not merely from the Western Fathers but from those of Greece, Syria, and Egypt. The claim to reject the evidence which comes to us from Rome may be skilful as a piece of special pleading, but it can claim no other value. The first to employ this argument were some of the Gallicans. But it is deservedly repudiated as fallacious and unworthy by Bossuet in his "Defensio cleri gallicani" (II, l. XI, c. vi).

Under the Article "[Apostolic See](#)," the Catholic Encyclopedia again affirms the primacy of the See of Rome:

An Apostolic see is any see founded by an Apostle and having the authority of its founder; *the* Apostolic See is the seat of authority in the Roman Church, continuing the Apostolic functions of Peter, the chief of the Apostles. Heresy and barbarian violence swept away all the particular Churches which could lay claim to an Apostolic see, until Rome alone remained; to Rome, therefore, the term applies as a proper name. But before heresy, schism, and barbarian invasions had done their work, as early as the fourth century, the Roman See was already the Apostolic See *par excellence*, not only in the West but also in the East. Antioch, Alexandria, and, in a lesser degree, Jerusalem were called Apostolic sees by reason of their first occupants, Peter, Mark, and James, from whom they derived their patriarchal honour and jurisdiction; but Rome is *the* Apostolic See, because its occupant perpetuates the Apostolate of Blessed Peter extending over the whole Church.

The Election of the Popes

"The right to elect their bishop has ever belonged to the members of the Roman Church. They possess the prerogative of giving to the universal Church her chief pastor; they do not receive their bishop in virtue of his election by the universal Church. This is not to say that the election should be by popular vote of the Romans. In ecclesiastical affairs it is always for the hierarchy to guide the decisions of the flock. The choice of a bishop belongs to the clergy: it may be confined to the leading members of the clergy. It is so in the Roman Church at present. The electoral college of cardinals exercise their office because they are the chief of the Roman clergy."

"Previous to the fall of the Western Empire interference by the civil power seems to have been inconsiderable...."

"After the barbarian conquest of Italy, the Church's rights were less carefully observed. Basilius, the prefect of Odoacer, claimed the right of supervising the election of 483 in the name of his master, alleging that Pope Simplicius had himself requested him to do so (Hard., II, 977). The disturbances which occurred at the disputed election of Symmachus (498) led that pope to hold a council and to decree the severest penalties on all who should be guilty of canvassing or bribery in order to attain the pontificate. It was moreover decided that the majority of votes should decide the election. Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who at this period ruled Italy, became in his later years a persecutor of the Church. He even went so far as to appoint Felix III (IV) in 526 as the successor of Pope John I, whose death was due to the incarceration to which the king had condemned him. Felix, however, was personally worthy of the office, and the appointment was confirmed by a subsequent election. The precedent of interference set by Theodoric was fruitful of evil to the Church. After the destruction of the Gothic monarchy (537), the Byzantine emperors went even farther than the heretical Ostrogoth in encroaching on ecclesiastical rights. Vigilius (540) and Pelagius I (553) were forced on the Church at imperial dictation. In the case of the latter there seems to have been no election: his title was validated solely through his recognition as bishop by clergy and people. The formalities of election at this time were as follows (Lib. Diurnus Rom. Pont., 2, in P. L., CV, 27). After the pope's death, the archpriest, the archdeacon and the primicerius of the notaries sent an official notification to the exarch at Ravenna. On the third day after the decease the new pope was elected, being invariably chosen from among the presbyters or

deacons of the Roman Church (cf. op. cit., 2, tit. 2, 3 5), and an embassy was despatched to Constantinople to request the official confirmation of the election. Not until this had been received did the consecration take place. The Church acquired greater freedom after the Lombard invasion of 568 had destroyed the prestige of Byzantine power in Italy. Pelagius II (578) and Gregory I (590) were the spontaneous choice of the electors. And in 684, owing to the long delays involved in the journey to Constantinople, Constantine IV (Pogonatus) acceded to Benedict II's request that in future it should not be necessary to wait for confirmation, but that a mere notification of the election would suffice. The 1088 (sic? "In 1088, the ____ of the exarchate..."-FB) of the exarchate and the iconoclastic heresy of the Byzantine court completed the severance between Rome and the Eastern Empire, and Pope Zacharias (741) dispensed altogether with the customary notice to Constantinople." (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article "[Election of the Pope](#).")

See also Gibbon on the Authority of the Emperors in the Election of the Pope A.D. 800-1060, in [Chapter 49](#).

Froom's Argument on The Legal Ratification of the Pre-Eminence of the Pope.

Earlier in the fourth century, the Roman bishop's precedence among equals, formerly accorded to him, had first been demanded on a new ground that was reiterated time after time until the Roman bishop received supremacy of dominion. The second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople (381), in Canon 2, had confirmed the various metropolitans – such as those of Alexandria, Antioch and Ephesus – in their respective spheres; but it also decreed (Canon 3) that "the bishop of Constantinople shall hold the first rank after the bishops of Rome."

Innocent I (d. 417) had maintained that Christ had (delegated supreme power to Peter and (b) made him bishop of Rome, and that as Peter's successor he was entitled to exercise Peter's power and prerogatives, and Boniface I (d. 422) had spoken similarly. At the Council of Ephesus, in 431, the legate of Pope Celestine had proclaimed publicly before all Christendom: "There is no doubt, and it is noted by everybody, that the holy and most blessed Peter is the leader of the apostles, a pillar of the faith, and the foundations of the Catholic Church, and that he received from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the human race, the keys of rulership with which powers is given to absolve and to bind sins; who [Peter] till our time and forever lives and exercises judgment in his successors."

Some twenty years later Leo saw the force implied by this claim, and entrenched himself behind it. He first outlined clearly the extreme limits of the claims of the medieval Papacy to universal rule of the church. Thus the church of Rome moved on toward the spiritual dictatorship of Christendom. More, perhaps, than any other, Leo laid the early foundations of that imposing edifice that towered among the nations for more than a thousand years, when papal bulls instead of imperial decrees began to rule the world....

That success attended Leo's scheme to make the seven-hilled city the center of the Christian world, is evident from the imperial authority secured from Valentinian III, in 445, for his *Western* supremacy.

"Since therefore the merit of St. Peter, who is the first in the Episcopal crown and the dignity of the Roman city and the authority of the sacred synod, had established the primacy of the Apostolic See, let no unlawful presumption try to attempt anything beyond the authority of that see...By this perpetual sanction we decree that neither should a Gallic bishop nor one of other provinces be permitted to undertake anything

against the old customs without the authority of the venerable man the pope of the eternal city...so that whoever among the bishops when summoned to the court by his Roman superior neglects to come, let him be forced to attend by the moderator of the province.” [Codex Theodosianus: *Novellae Constitutiones imperatorum TheodosiiII, Valentinian III, G. Haenel, ed., Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1842-44, cols 173-176*]

When however, the general Council of Chalcedon (451) asserted, in Canon 28, the equal dignity and privilege of the see of Constantinople with the see of Rome, Leo indignantly protested, writing letters to the emperor and others, declaring it a deviation from the canons of Nicaea. He wrote to the bishops assembled at Chalcedon that the bishop of Rome was officially “*guardian of the Catholic faith, and of the traditions of the fathers,*” thus asserting guardianship of the unwritten as well as the written rules of faith. But the time of full recognition of Rome’s headship over all the churches had not yet come.

In Leo’s time we have encountered a legal sanction for the pope’s superior jurisdiction in a decree of Theodosius and Valentinian. There had previously been another important edict, that of Gratian and Valentinian II in 379 or 379....

Let us now examine the successive steps in the legal recognition of the pope’s supremacy by imperial edicts. Under the reign of Constantine, Christianity had become the religion of the *emperor*; under Theodosius, sixty years later, it had become the religion of the *empire*, but legal sanction for the papal claims were yet to be secured.

There were four separate edicts, by different emperors – for imperial edicts were then laws of the empire – conferring or confirming the increasing privileges, immunities, and authorities, until the bishop of Rome became virtually unchallenged head of all churches. These four edicts are:

The edict of Gratian and Valentinian II in 378 or 379.

The edict of Theodosius II and Valentinian III, in 445.

The imperial letter of Justinian in 533 - becoming effective in 538.

The edict of Phocas, in 606.

Concerning *a*, the Roman primacy began to be recognized in a limited way by the edict of the Emperor Gratian (who laid aside the formerly pagan dignity of Pontifex Maximus) and Valentinian II in 378 or 379. This edict, probably issued at the request of a Roman synod, not only confirmed Damasus (d. 384) as bishop of Rome, in opposition to a banished rival claimant, but also provided that certain cases in the churches in the West should be referred or appealed to the pope and/or a council of bishops.

This gave various bishops, scattered over the West, occasion to write to the Roman bishops for decision on controverted points, which they answered by decretal epistles and ecclesiastical mandates and decisions. The earliest of these decretals still extant is a letter of Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona in 385.

“The decretals [commence] with the letter of Pope Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona in 385. Such decretal letters were issued to churches in most parts of the European West, Illyria included, but not to north Italy, which looked to Milan, and not to Africa, which depended on Carthage...It would even appear that a group of some eight decretals of Siricius and Innocent, Zosimus and Celestine, had been put together and published as a

sort of authoritative handbook before the papacy of Leo (441-461).”[*Cambridge Medieval History, vol 1p. 151*]

Thus the authority of the bishop of Rome was greater than that implied in the sixth Canon of the Council of Nicaea (325), which recognized the equal authority of the then leading patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus.

An edict of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius I, in 380 or 381 against heretics added imperial recognition of the Petrine theory, on which the Roman bishops based their claim as judge of the Christian faith, although the Roman bishop was recognized as sole judge of faith, the Alexandrian bishop being named in connection with Damascus.

“1. The Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius to the people of the City of Constantinople.

“We desire that all peoples subject to Our benign Empire shall live under the same religion that the Divine Peter, the Apostle, gave to the Romans, and which the said religion declares was introduced by himself, and which it is well known that the Pontiff Damascus, and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic sanctity, embraced; that is to say, in accordance with the rules of apostolic discipline and the evangelical doctrine, we should believe that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit constitute a single Deity, endowed with equal majesty, and united in the Holy Trinity.” [The Code of Justinian, book 1, *The Civil Law, translated from Corpus Juris Civilis, by S.P. Scott, Cincinnati: The Central Trust Company, 1932, 17 vols, title1.1*]

As to *c* – the Justinian decree of 533 – it was after the partitioning of the Western empire, that, under the victorious armies of Justinian, considerable areas of the West acknowledged him as the overlord. In this period the legal establishment of the bishop of Rome as head of all the churches – now including the East – was accomplished. Then the tide of barbarian conquest rolled again over Italy, effacing the imperial control and leaving the West permanently in the hands of the barbarian masters, and to the pope the exercise of the spiritual primacy and power conferred on him under law in Justinian.

Under *d*, the edict of Phocas in 606 merely reiterated and confirmed the Roman’s bishop’s pre-eminence over the rival bishop of Constantinople. But Phocas’ reign and authority was confined to the affairs of the East, rather than of the West....

Justinian’s third great achievement was the regulation of ecclesiastical and theological matters, crowned by the imperial Decretal Letter seating the bishop of Rome in the church as the “Head of all the holy churches,” thus laying the legal foundation for papal ecclesiastical supremacy.

This last achievement of Justinian’s reign was brought about not entirely by his imperial will and his decrees, but by circumstances which seemed to lead naturally and logically to such a development. Justinian had established the seat of government for the western part of his empire at Ravenna, thereby leaving the “eternal city” largely to the jurisdiction of its bishops. Further, the silent extinction of the consulship, which dignity had been revered both by Romans and barbarians, which he accomplished in the thirteenth year of his reign, likewise had the same tendency – that of establishing the influence of the bishop of Rome. Thus the entire conduct, policy, and exploits of Justinian, who reigned in such an important era of history, focalized in one point so far as the church was concerned – namely, the advancement of the see of Rome....

In tracing the full *legalized establishment* of the Papacy to the acts and reign of Justinian, there is solid and abiding ground on which to stand. As stated, one of the first

tasks that Justinian imposed upon himself, after ascending the throne in 527, was to reform the jurisprudence of the empire....But the real significance of that achievement, as bearing upon our quest in tracing the emergence of papal supremacy, is further set forth by Gibbon:

“Justinian has been already seen in the various lights of a prince, a conqueror, and a lawgiver: the theologian still remains, and it affords an unfavourable prejudice that his theology should form a very prominent feature of his portrait. The sovereign sympathized with his subjects in their superstitious reverence for living and departed saints; his Code, and more especially, his Novels [Novellae], confirm and enlarge the privileges of the clergy.” [Gibbon, Edward, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Edited by J. B. Bury, London: Methuen and Co., 1896-1900, 7 vols, Vol5: p. 132]

The full significance of this statement should not be lost. In Justinian’s code are incorporated edicts of former emperors in favor of the Roman church, and in the celebrated Novellae, or new laws, the canons of the former general councils are turned into standing laws for the whole empire. In so doing, Justinian improved the advantage afforded by his reconquest of Italy to achieve his design of *a universal conformity in religious matters* that would exclude heresy and schism, as well as strengthen his own authority over the Western kingdoms. His object was to secure a unity of the church which should embrace both East and West. He considered there was no surer way of reducing them all to one religion than by the advancement of the head of that church as the promoter of unity among them, whose business it should be to overawe the conscience of man with the anathemas of the church, and to enforce the execution of the heavy penalties of the law. From about 539, the sovereign pontiff and the patriarchs began to have a corps of officers to enforce their decrees, as civil penalties began to be inflicted by their own tribunals.

Justinian, of course, was well aware that such a profound change could not be achieved merely by co-operation without a certain amount of coercion. The spirit of religious liberty was quite foreign to the age. Therefore we find that Justinian re-enacted the intolerant laws formerly given, and accepted them into his code; for instance the law of Constantine, Constantius and Constans, which stated:

“Privileges granted in consideration of religion should only benefit those who observe the rules of the Catholic faith. We do not wish heretics to absolutely be excluded from these privileges, but that they should merely be restrained, and compelled to accept employment for which the said privileges afford exemption.” [The Code of Justinian, book 1, title 5.1]

Then there is the more severe law of the year 396 given by the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, which stated:

“Let all heretics know positively that their places of assembly shall be taken from them, whether these are designated under the name of churches, or are called diaconates, or deaneries, or whether meetings of this kind are held in private houses; for all such private places or buildings shall be claimed by the Catholic Church.” [The Code of Justinian, book 1, title 5.3]

In proportion as Christianity had become consolidated on the ruins of paganism, the emperors not only protected the public exercise of Christian worship but also confirmed by edicts the laws of the Church on faith, morals, and discipline. Thus the general Council of Nicaea had been confirmed by Constantine; the Council of Constantinople by Theodosius I (the Great); the Council of Ephesus, by Theodosius II (the Younger); and the Council of Chalcedon, by Marcian.

Other edicts confirmed the primacy of the Holy See, and the sanctification of Sunday and the festivals, together with the canonical penalties decreed by the church against transgression of her laws, so that there was scarcely an important article of faith or discipline not confirmed by imperial decree. Temporal penalties had been imposed on heretics, the laws of Theodosius being especially heavy and numerous. And Justinian not only inserted these contributions into his Code, but promulgated others. In the same law in which he placed the canons of the first four general councils among the civil laws of the empire, he decreed that anyone holding unauthorized church services in a private house could lose his property and be expelled from the province, and further that no heretic should have the right to acquire land, upon the pain of confiscation of his property, and without hope of restoration.

It is essential to understand the precise occasion and circumstance of the imperial letter that at last recognized the bishop of Rome as head of all the churches, East and West. Justinian was about to begin his Vandal wars, and was anxious to settle beforehand the religious disputes of his capital. The Nestorian controversy had created considerable disturbance. Justinian, with a personal penchant for theological questions, plunged into the controversy with recourse to persecution to augment his arguments.

By imperial decree the Nestorians were placed under a spiritual ban. In their distress some of the anathematised made appeal to Rome. The emperor then sent two Eastern prelates – Hypatius, bishop of Ephesus, and Demetrius, bishop of Phillipi – as envoys to Rome to lay the case before Pope John. In the imperial letter which they bore, Justinian ruled in favor of the primacy, or precedence, of the bishop of Rome, which had been contested by the bishop of Constantinople ever since the removal of the capital to that city. In the fullest and most unequivocal form Justinian recognized, maintained, and established by imperial authority the bishop of Rome as the chief of the whole ecclesiastical body of the empire.

The imperial letter details the “heresy” of the Nestorian monks, and desires a rescript from Rome to Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople, and to the emperor himself, giving papal sanction to the judgment pronounced by the emperor upon the heresy. Justinian expresses his desire to present to his “Holiness” at Rome all matters that concern the church at large. Justinian also states that the patriarch of Constantinople had likewise written the pope as being desirous in all things to follow the apostolic authority of the Roman bishop.

And for the purpose of preserving the unity of the apostolic see, Justinian states that he has exerted himself to unite all the priests of the Eastern church and subject them to the bishop of Rome, and that he does not permit anything pertaining to the state of the church to be unknown “to your Holiness,” *“because you are the Head of all the holy churches.”*

He was, of course, already the actual head in the West. Justinian concludes by declaring the doctrine held by the bishop of Rome to be the standard of the faith and the source of unity to all the Christian world.

The emperor’s letter to Pope John must have been written before March 26, 533, for, in a letter of that date, to Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople, Justinian speaks of it as having already been written, and repeats his decision to Epiphanius, that all things touching the church shall be referred to the pope of ancient Rome, since he is “head of all the most holy priests of God,” and adds that “by the decision and right judgment of his venerable see [heretics] are held in check.” [*Code of Justinian, bk1, title 1, 7*]

Pope John’s answer to Justinian, which is recorded in the Code, is our source for the emperor’s letter, for it quotes it entire, repeating the language of the emperor, applauding his homage to the Holy See, acknowledging the title – “head of all churches” – conferred

on him by the imperial mandate, and commending Justinian's reverence for the "See of Rome," in that he had "subjected all things to its authority." John refers to Justinian's having "promulgated an Edict" against heretics, which was "confirmed by our authority." Thus the transaction was fully understood by both pope and emperor.

Justinian's momentous document to Bishop John II, of Rome, was not left to the dubious fate of the royal archives. Together with John's reply, and the imperial letter to Epiphanius, it was put into the Code, and cast into the form of law. Thus it obtained the stamp of public authority as a law of empire. And this designation of the pope as supreme head of the churches was repeated in various ways in the Civil Code.

Its authenticity is sustained by the Preface to the ninth Novella, reading,

"Not only had the former Rome been allotted the origin of laws; but also there is no one who doubts that in her is the peak of the highest *pontificate*." [Novella 9 (collection 2, title 4) in Justinian, Corpus Juris Civilus]

And in the 131st Novella states:

"Hence, in accordance with the provisions of these Councils, we order that the Most Holy Pope of ancient Rome shall hold the first rank of all the Pontiffs, but the Most Blessed Archbishop of Constantinople, or New Rome, shall occupy the second place after the Holy Apostolic See of ancient Rome, which shall take precedence over all other sees." [Novella 131, of Justinian, 9th Collection, title 6, ch2]

Thus the supremacy of the pope over all Christians the fullest sanction that could be given by the secular master of the Roman world. From this time then, is to be dated the secular acknowledgement of the Papacy's claims to ecclesiastical primacy, which became effective generally in 538, by the freeing of Rome from the Ostrogothic siege.¹²⁶

It was thus that Justinian purchased the influence of Rome. Whatever the motive, the deed was done. And it was authentic and unquestionable, sanctioned by the forms of state, and never abrogated¹²⁷ – the act of the first potentate of the world. Thus the pen that

¹²⁶ The overthrow of the Ostrogoths had nothing at all to do with the power of the bishop of Rome to decide issues of heresy. When John decided the issue of the Nestorian heresy, he did not need the absence of the Ostrogoths to tell the emperor his judgment on the matter. From is just confusing the issue. Justinian did not need the absence of the Ostrogoths to recognise the primacy of the pope. He did not need the absence of the Ostrogoths to enforce the opinion of the bishop of Rome in the East. The Ostrogoths did not need decimation in order for the pope's primacy over the other bishops to be recognised. The Ostrogoths did not even question the issue of the primacy of the bishop of Rome over the other patriarchs in general, and the patriarch of Constantinople in particular.

They may have questioned other doctrines, but they were not matters concerning the primacy of the bishop of Rome.

¹²⁷ From has forgotten that the Code of Justinian collapsed when the Roman emperor was defeated with the overthrow of Constantinople in 1453, and the imperial throne was no more to enforce the Code of Justinian. The throne that gave the bishop his supremacy was crushed, and with it, the authority of the Code of Justinian. Of course the Code was never abrogated, because the empire disappeared with the defeat of Constantinople.

If the SDA historicists want to say that papal temporal power is nullified with the exile of the pope, what can they say about temporal power of the imperial throne, if the throne is thoroughly defeated? Surely, this act nullifies everything that the throne represents, including the seat of judgment and jurisprudence. There is an argument put forward by defenders of the Russian monarchy, that *it* was the continuation of the throne of Constantinople. EXPLORE THIS IDEA.

wrote that imperial letter gave legal sanction to another Rome that was to have spiritual dominion for even longer than imperial Rome, and was later to climb to the peak of civil as well as religious domination.

The title of the pope to supremacy over the church was later questioned in the East by the Patriarch of Constantinople, after the death of Justinian, and was in turn reaffirmed by Phocas in 606, as will be noted in chapter 22.....

And as the influence of Justinian's Code can be traced in the legislation of many European nations, this intertwining of religious and political powers by law remained constant practically till the time of the French Revolution, when it was dethroned in Europe and when the Code of Napoleon a few years thereafter made a distinct separation between the ecclesiastical and the secular spheres.¹²⁸

The time of Justinian is therefore incontrovertibly the time of the beginning of the era of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Papacy. The placing of the letter to the pope in civil law, thereby embodying his primacy in that law, was a remarkable – yes, an incontrovertible – way of accrediting the pope, and of making prominent his new power and dignity.

It should be stressed that the Justinian transaction has all the requirements of completeness, authority and publicity. Ecclesiastical dominion was conferred not only over the Western church but also over the Eastern – these two grand divisions theoretically embracing the territory of the Old Roman Empire – and it was enforceable as far as Justinian's authority extended, for it had all the sanction that could be given by the imperial will, all the formality which belonged to imperial law, and all the authority comprehended under imperial supremacy.

The beginning of the era of the headship of the Roman bishop over all the churches was not marked by some overmastering event in papal advance, or by an assumption of supreme ecclesiastical control; at that time the pope was hampered by the fact that Arian Ostrogoths were ruling in Italy. Rather, it was only by the removal of the impediment of the Ostrogothic control, as their besieging forces were cleared away from Rome, that the Roman pontiff was free to exercise the jurisdiction now legally provided for through the imperial Code of Justinian.¹²⁹ At that time the reinforcing second army of Justinian

This would mean that we date the overthrow of the Eastern throne with the overthrow of the Russian monarchy in the early twentieth century?

¹²⁸ This is a novel way of getting around the fact that the Justinian code was destroyed in the 15th century. The fact that there was a blend of religious and political laws in Europe up until the Code of Napoleon is no argument in favour of a continuity of the Justinian Code. This would not stand up in debate in any academic circle. This style of mixed legislation was just the milieu of the times, no less, no more. Ancient empires also had the same mixture. The Romans had a mixture; Persians etc. The influence of many cultures' laws impact on other cultures. But that does not mean that when a country borrows a concept from the laws of another country or civilisation, that those legal codes from which the idea was borrowed are being enforced and kept alive. There is a great chasm between borrowing a idea of jurisprudence and resurrecting the whole legal system from which it is borrowed. Froom's logic here is faulty.

¹²⁹ This is absolute nonsense. The pope exercised his primacy in 533 over the issue of the Nestorian monks, when the Ostrogoths were in Italy. The Ostrogoths did not provide any impediment in hindering either the emperor or the patriarch of Constantinople from seeing the bishop of Rome exercising his jurisdiction as head of the churches. Froom is trying to insinuate into this event in 538 an element of temporal power as necessary for his powers of primacy. It does not work. It is fallacious. The bishop of Rome does not need any temporal power to exercise his jurisdiction over all the churches. As Froom said earlier, the emperor himself backed up the primacy of the bishop of Rome with his own officers:

broke the Gothic siege of Rome, relieving the beleaguered Belisarius, and leaving thenceforth no power save the Papacy that could be said to hold sway through many centuries from the seven hills of the Eternal City.¹³⁰

One year and nine days had been consumed in the siege of Rome by the Goths, ending in March, 538. Thus the ancient seat of empire was preserved for the Papacy, for although Totila, king of the Goths, had resolved to make of Rome, which “surpassed all other cities,” but “a pasture land for cattle,” Belisarius wrote to dissuade him, and so he refrained from destroying it. The war against the Goths continued, for Ravenna did not immediately fall – five or six years passing before the remainder of the Gothic empire collapsed; but the grave of the Ostrogothic monarchy in Italy was dug by the defeat of this siege, the remaining resistance collapsing by 554. And with the failure of this siege, says Finley, “commences the history of the Middle Ages.”

Bishop Silverius of Rome (536-c.538) had been elected under the Gothic influence, and while Belisarius was besieged in Rome by the Goths under Witiges (Witigis, or Vitiges), Silverius was accused of favoring the Goths. So in 527 Silverius was banished by Belisarius; and the deacon Vigilius, favorite of Theodora, was then elected pope.

It is not to be concluded that Vigilius came into office wielding more influence than his predecessors. The time when Roman pontiffs were to be temporal princes playing power politics among the rulers of Europe, and demanding allegiance and submission from kings, was far in the future, and even then the Papacy was to have its ups and downs. In 538 the prestige of the popes was at a low ebb under the dominating spirit of Justinian. It is likely that Justinian never thought of Vigilius as anything more than the docile head of a “department of religion” in his imperial government, and intended to keep the reins more firmly in his own hands by subjecting the whole church to the jurisdiction of a court favorite.

But the imperial acceptance of the Roman pontiff’s assertion of primacy – already largely conceded in the West – had denied the claims of all rivals, and given him official status.¹³¹ Now Vigilius, owing his pontificate to imperial influence, and bolstered by this

“That success attended Leo’s scheme to make the seven-hilled city the center of the Christian world, is evident from the imperial authority secured from Valentinian III, in 445, for his *Western* supremacy.

“Since therefore the merit of St. Peter, who is the first in the Episcopal crown and the dignity of the Roman city and the authority of the sacred synod, had established the primacy of the Apostolic See, let no unlawful presumption try to attempt anything beyond the authority of that see...By this perpetual sanction we decree that neither should a Gallic bishop nor one of other provinces be permitted to undertake anything against the old customs without the authority of the venerable man the pope of the eternal city...so that whoever among the bishops when summoned to the court by his Roman superior neglects to come, let him be forced to attend by the moderator of the province.” [*Codex Theodosianus: Novellae Constitutiones imperatorum Theodosii III, Valentinian III, G. Haenel, ed., Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1842-44, cols 173-176*]

Therefore to argue now that the bishop of Rome needs temporal power to exercise his primacy is ludicrous. They are independent of each other., even though the Vatican used that argument as a basis for their claim to a parcel of land in the 1929 Concordat. Froome is merely “fudging” the record to try and fudge events to fit the traditional teaching of the SDA church on these dates, but they would never stand critical examination by non SDA peers.

¹³⁰ Here again this is incorrect. The history of the papacy by the Catholic church itself describes the many times throughout the centuries when hostile powers and warring factions overran Italy and forced the pope—if he escaped with his life—to find refuge in France, until the dangers were past.

¹³¹ This is blatantly incorrect. The Catholic Encyclopedia documents clearly how the primacy of bishop of Rome was recognised by the *Eastern Sees* for centuries before Justinian. (See the article

new legal recognition of the pope's *ecclesiastical* supremacy, marked the beginning of a long climb towards *political* power which culminated in the reign of such popes as Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Boniface VIII.¹³² The temporary nature of Justinian's union of East and West, and the subsequent decrease in the concern of the Byzantine emperors with Western church affairs, only left the pope with a freer hand to develop that power. The change in the character of the Papacy from Vigilius on, and the final result of that change, have been well described: "From this time on the popes, more and more involved in worldly events, no longer belong solely to the church; they are men of the state, and then rulers of the state." [*Charles Bémont and G. Monod, Medieval Europe, p.121*]

(Froom, 1950, pp.498—517)

Is the little horn of Dn7 the Emperor or The Pope?

The prophecy indicates according to Smith that the ten horns represents ten governments

It had ten horns, which are explained in verse 24 to be ten kings, or kingdoms, which should arise out of the empire. As already noted in Daniel 2, Rome was divided into ten kingdoms. These divisions have ever since been spoken of as the ten kingdoms of the Roman Empire.... (1944, p. 100)¹³³

on "The Pope" in [Catholic Encyclopedia](#)) It was not the legislation of Justinian that forced the Eastern Sees to recognise his primacy.

¹³² Froom sees the development of the powers of the papacy in **both** the legal recognition of his *ecclesiastical* primacy and the latter development of his *political* power. An integral part of that political power is the ownership of landed property. He dates the *beginning* the papal reign from the first of these powers realised by the papacy. One would think then that to be consistent, the logical thing to do would be to *close* the papal reign with the last of these powers to be taken from him. If the loss of *temporal* power of the papacy occurred in 1870 (and then later restored in 1929), when did his *ecclesiastical* primacy terminate? It has not, and with the Vatican as its own state, the Canons of the Primacy of the pontiff will never be abrogated. Therefore, by Froom's own categorisation, the period of the powers of the papacy have not yet ended.

¹³³ To study this period of history and find the ten kingdoms consistently throughout this period is not possible, according to T.R. Birks, one of SDA historicists' authoritative references. Notice a quote from his writings in [Bible Reading for the Home](#): "The ten horn may not be strictly permanent, but admit of partial change. Some may perhaps fall, or be blended, and then replaced by others. The tenfold character may thus be dominant through the whole, and appear distinctly at the beginning and close of their history, though not strictly maintained every moment."

"Amid fluctuations so numerous and unceasing as almost to defy an exact numeration, the prophetic description remains prominent, and a tenfold division of the Western Empire reappears from time to time. The correspondence with the prediction is thus accurate and complete. For it must be borne in mind that two opposite features had equally to be fulfilled. The tenfold number was to exist; but there was also to be a frequent intermingling with the seed of men. In the actual outline of European history, both of these predicted features are alike conspicuous. A tenfold division, such as some have looked for, mathematical and unvaried, would frustrate one-half of the prediction; and would deprive the rest of all its freedom and moral grandeur. But now every part is alike accomplished. At the same time, by these partial changes in the list of the doomed kingdoms, the reproach of a stern fatalism, which otherwise would cloud the equity of divine Providence, is rolled away. Rev. T.R. Birks, M.A., *The Four Prophetic Empires, and the Kingdom of Messiah: Being an Exposition of the First Two Visions of Daniel* (1845 ed), pp. 143, 144, 152." (1957, pp. 176f.)

This is perhaps the frankest admission that the unhistorical nature of the prophecy as it applies to actual history of the subdivisions of the Roman Empire. The first objection is to why the prophecy

If the ten governments represent the ten governments within the Roman empire, then there is a problem.¹³⁴ The most obvious question is: If the Roman Empire *first appears* with ten kingdoms, what has happened to the pagan Roman Empire? There is no mention at all as to the beginning of the Roman Empire. The Medo-Persian Empire is presented correctly in its rise by the lopsidedness of the beast, representing the preponderance of power to the Persians. And in the goat of Dn8, we see a goat with one horn having the horn broken to become 4 horns, which represents the division of Alexander's empire to his four sons. We have been lead to trust in some consistency in the dream imagery, yet SDA historicists leave us no option with their explanation than to believe there is a gap of history missing in the vision of Dn8 between the defeat of the Grecian empire and the rise of the divided Roman empire in the fourth century! The very same accusation SDA historicists level at dispensationalists who argue a gap of two thousand years in the prophecy of Dn9, should be turned on its head and directed at the historicists who find no place in the vision of Dn7 for the rise and development of the Caesars and their impact on Christianity. What? Is there to be no reference at all to the Caesars who crucified Christ? There is no mention of any horns that represent Caesars who gave Christians the options of either emperor worship or death?¹³⁵ Are we to believe that the horrors of the attempted decimation of the Christian religion under the Caesars is much less important a detail than the breakup of the Grecian empire among Alexander's sons, or that the Persian Empire was stronger than the Median Empire? What an inaccurate presentation of the historical facts? And how can the incursion of the northern tribes appear at the *beginning* of the Empire? Surely if we are going to say that these ten horns represent the ten barbaric kingdoms, then we can say that this beast can only be dated from the time that the tenth tribe crossed the Danube and settled in Roman territory,

focuses on just the *Western* division of the Roman Empire? We do not find two heads on this 4th beast with the ten horns only on one of the two heads. It does not have two sides as there is with the Medo-Persian beast. No!! This beast represents the full Roman Empire, including its Oriental and African dominion. These other parts of the world are included in their conquests since that is where they originated. It is only natural then that they be included in the dominion covered by the fourth beast. That is Birk's first mistake (and that of many other historicists'). His second mistake is that the prophecy of Daniel 2: 43 indicates that the mixture of iron with clay IS the meaning of the phrase "they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as clay is not mixed with clay." The text does not indicate that the mingling of the seed of men means that sometimes there will be ten kingdoms and sometimes less or more. The text does not allow that. It was the *binding* qualities of iron with clay, or better, the *lack* of good binding properties that was symbolised by the "mingling of the seed of men." The binding of these kingdoms has nothing to do with the *number* of kingdoms involved. In the words of Keil: "the figure of mixing by seed is derived from the sowing of the field with mingled seed, and denotes all the means employed by the rulers to combine the different nationalities, among which the *connubium* is only spoken of as the most important and successful means." (1978, p. 109)

¹³⁴ The ten divisions as enumerated by SDA historicism is one of many views on this topic. As Bible Readings for the Home indicates: "The Roman Empire was broken up into ten kingdoms in the century preceding A.D. 476. Because of the uncertainties of the times, religious writers have differed in the enumeration of the exact kingdoms intended by the prophecy. With good show of reason the following list has freely been adopted by interpreters of prophecy: Alamanni, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Franks, Vandals, Suevi, Burgundians, Heruli, Anglo-Saxons, and Lombards." (1957, p. 176)

¹³⁵ William Miller's explanation of the seven heads representing the various stages of the Roman empire goes some way to incorporating pagan history into this explanation, but even then there are insurmountable problems.

for how else can we count ten if there be not ten tribes within the borders of the Roman empire at the time of counting? But even that has problems. If we count these tribes by the time the last tribe entered the Empire's boundaries, by then the Heruli, the Vandals, and the Ostrogoths had already disappeared so the count is not as easy as simply counting ten migrant peoples throughout the stream of time. The beast appears with these ten horns/kingdoms on its head. It does not say that ten horns come up one after another, or there are three horns and then another three grow up after, with another four horns growing up last or something like that. It is clear that the appearance of the horns is on a time sequence since the eleventh horn *comes up after* the other ten horns have come up. This is clear indication that the appearance of the horns can be considered temporally. Given that, the appearance of the ten horns at the beginning of the beast must, by a simple principle of consistency in application, mean that these kingdoms are in place at the same time at the beginning of the fourth kingdom.

How can the Roman Empire in its initial development under the Republic, the Triumvirate, and then the Caesars, be represented as having these ten kings/kingdoms when there was only one Emperor to whom the kings of the other kingdoms submitted?

Even the pope himself was subject to the authority of the Emperor. A clear example is in 754 when Pope Stephen left Italy to engage support to regain patrimonies lost to the Lombards:

At the same time he [Pope Stephen II_FB] bestowed on Pepin and his sons the title of "Patrician of the Romans", which title, the highest Byzantine officials in Italy, the exarchs, had borne. Instead of the latter the King of the Franks was now to be the protector of the Romans. The pope in bestowing this title probably acted also in conformity with authority conferred on him by the Byzantine emperor. REF?

Another example to show that the Latin churches were nowhere near the size of the Eastern churches, consider the size of the East and West Churches after the schism:

In 431 began an almost continuous conflict with the Roman Church, that was crowned with success in 733, when an [Iconoclast](#) emperor withdrew from the jurisdiction of Rome all ecclesiastical Illyricum, i. e. more than a hundred dioceses. About the end of the ninth century, when Photius broke with the Roman Church, his own patriarchate included 624 dioceses (51 metropolitan sees, 51 exempt archbishoprics, and 522 suffragan bishoprics). At that time the Roman Church certainly did not govern so great a number of sees. At this period, moreover, by its missionaries and its political influence, Constantinople attracted to [Christianity](#) the Slav nations, Serbs, Russians, Moravians, and Bulgars, and obtained in these northern lands a strong support against the Roman and Frankish West. (Catholic Encyclopedia, Article, "Constantinople")

The Catholic Encyclopedia argues cogently that Constantinople, as the seat of the emperor, should be considered as the continuation of the Roman Empire after the fall of the West. In fact, toward the end of the empire in the west, it was Ravenna, not Rome that became the home of the emperors. And with the fall of the west, the Roman tradition was continued uninterrupted from Constantinople, with Ravenna being the preferred home for the emperor's representative, the exarch.

This ecclesiastical prosperity coincided with the political and municipal grandeur of the city. At the death of Theodosius the Great (395), when the Roman Empire was divided into two parts, Constantinople remained the centre and capital of the Eastern Empire. The Western Empire was destined soon to fall before the onslaughts of the barbarians. While

its provinces were held by uncouth German tribes, Constantinople alone remained to represent Christian civilization and the greatness of the Roman name. (Article "Constantinople")

How many provinces were there in the Roman Empire after the 5th Century?

There is no reason in Scripture to reduce the borders of the Roman Empire to just the Western Roman Empire. Assuming for the moment that the little horn represents the papacy, then the little horn does NOT represent the full beast; the fourth beast is bigger than the kingdom of the little horn, and indeed of all the kingdoms of the ten horns. Where, among the list of ten kingdoms listed by the SDA historicists is the mention of the members of the Byzantium empire: the Greeks, etc? These are entirely missing. And which of these horns is the Roman Emperor himself? None. Is he represented by the beast itself? Apparently not, since no SDA historicist suggests this. This is an appalling piece of interpretation. There is no representation of the historical facts as we have them. Again, it is the poor effort of making history fitting a paradigm rather than looking at history first and drawing conclusions from the facts. Taking the SDA historicists' interpretation of the third beast in Dn7, they argue that the four horns that evolve out of the single horn representing Alexander the Great are the four divisions of the Grecian empire. If this be the standard of interpretation to be applied in this chapter, then surely we would expect to see in the break-up of the Roman Empire as it was held by the Triumvirate in the Pagan Roman Empire, a representation of the number of parties involved in the break-up of the TOTAL kingdom as it was held under the Roman Caesars.

But the very standard of interpretation set by SDA historicists for their explanation of the Greek empire is abandoned entirely when they come to interpret the fourth beast and his horns. Surely this is pseudo-scholarship? All the principles used to explain the symbols for the Medo-Persian and Greek empires are abandoned entirely to make the SDA historicists' view of history to fit the symbolism of the fourth beast, rather than admitting that there is a real problem in this fourth beast and that the events of the fallout of the Roman Empire is not represented in the symbolism of Dn7. The next step would be to ask why? But historicism has avoided that path and created a version of history that does not fit the facts. Birks admits the difficulty in trying to find ten kingdoms during and after the Middle Ages, and the Bible Readings for the Home admits that there are a multiplicity of enumerations of peoples making up the ten kingdoms. They say (without giving the evidence) that they have developed their list of ten kingdoms "on good opinion." It appears this opinion was not as informed as it should have been.

In considering the four beasts of Daniel 7, it is significant that the fourth beast is seen as coming up with 10 horns right from the outset. There is no growth of these horns after the beast had been around for a while in the vision. They arrest Daniel's attention as soon as he sees the fourth beast.

7 After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns.

Thus the fourth kingdom arises with these ten kingdoms already in place. To be historically correct we would be looking for ten kingdoms in the Pagan Roman Empire when it overtook the Grecian empire. To argue that this represents the Germanic tribal invasion the century before 476, is to argue for a gap of seven hundred years after the fall of the Grecian Empire when there was no beast on the earth. This gap would be intimated in the words “after this” of Dn7:7, where, after the Grecian beast, the text says, “After this I say in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast...and it had ten horns.” There is nothing in the SDA historicists’ interpretation that allows for any of the Caesars to be indicated by even *one* of these horns. The ten horns, in their view, represent the break-up of the *Western* Roman Empire. So the fourth beast does not even represent the full Roman Empire, only part of it. If it represented the full empire, then the *Eastern* empire and all the provinces of the Byzantium and the Orient would need to be included as well. But they are excluded as well.

To be strictly correct the vision needs to be rewritten in order to allow the ten horns to represent the Germanic parts of the Western Empire.

The Conclusion

Froom has said:

When the beginning and the close of a prophetic period are seen in historical perspective, and are found to be in perfect correspondence and in harmony with the facts, then the soundness of the application may be regarded as checked and certified. Thus with the 70 weeks of years, the close of which involved the death of Christ in the seventieth week of years. The same is true with the special 1260-year era assigned by the Almighty to the course of the papal Little Horn, obviously stretching from Justinian on to the deadly wound that followed as the aftermath of the French Revolution. (1948, p.792)

The study of this paper has shown that the historicist’s explanation of *both the beginning and the end* of the 1260-day period in 538 AD and 1798 AD as proposed by the Advent movement and subsequently the SDA church, is *not* “in harmony with the facts” and consequently “the soundness of the application may be regarded as” faulty and should be discounted as valid. Furthermore, one cannot argue on the basis of this time period that “the time of the end” began in 1798. In harmony with the views of the early church, the 1260-year period is *still* a period of 3½ solar years, and from that we can argue that when that period does occur, the end of *that* 3½ year period will mark a short period called “the time of the end.” The passing of time has not diluted any of the power of the prophecy.

Other Conclusions

SDA historicism uses a circular argument to give support to its year-day theory. They develop their time-line based on their time principles of a year for every day in prophetic time, and then they search the history books to find an event to fit the bill. When they come to defend their position, they say, “History confirms their theory,” and they regurgitate the things they have arbitrarily chosen to support it and parade those facts as evidence.” But when it comes to working through the fine details of the historical records and match them up with the details they suppose to contain, scholarship goes out the window. No assessment is given to rival or contradictory historical data, and it is not

publicised. The church is kept in ignorance as to the paucity of evidence to support their assertions. Typical of considerations in this is the discussions in the 1919 Bible Conference, which highlight the vagaries of the historical details even back then and reiterated by other scholars through the years. INSERT THE RELEVANT STATEMENTS. WHERE IS THIS IN THE BODY OF YOUR ARGUMENT? YOU SHOULD BE ONLY DRAWING CONCLUSIONS ON MATERIAL DISCUSSED.

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Tasks to do

Tasks to do:

- Pope Pius VI organised a deputation of the College to attend to affairs of the Papacy while he was absent. Get this quote. In the photocopied sheets. There were two reps left from the College at Rome. Does this mean though the Pope be away, his College reps hold the papal claim on Rome for him, therefore PiusVI never forsook his claim? The Canon of Vatican state that it is the college together with pope as head that comprises the PAPACY
- .Did the Roman republic collect any taxes from the states it acquired from the pope or did it collapse before that could happen? Edward king's view seems to be that there was a total collapse of the finances of the papacy at this time.
- Clarify the relation between the Cardinals, the Senate/ mayor and the Republican government. Need to get Italian history books on this topic. Need names and positions in the cut and thrust of the changeover from the one system to the other. How did it work?
- Quotes of the Directory's orders to Napoleon
- Copy of De Chair's quotes of napoleon in the original
- Cambridge mod history on the topic.
- Cambridge Med History on the states of the pope and early church development
- State Lib on temporal power of pope
- Did the Catholic church itself see the loss of temporal power during the Roman Republic period, until Napoleon indicated that he would stand by Tolentino and not what the Republicans had declared? Some places they seem to see continuity of temporal power up until 1870; other places they seem to indicate loss of temporal power with declaration of Republic? Sometimes the loss of power is a fairly regular thing in some centuries. What is the answer? What is the nexus? The ownership of the land? Does the declaration of the Republic mean the transfer of land? There was the nationalisation of clergy property during this period. This indicates that

the mere declaration of a republic is not a resumption of private property – the pope's States were private property. Is this also the nationalisation of Rome, or was this untouched? A copy of the declaration of the nationalisation of clergy property would clarify this. Try Cambridge History first for this.

- Check Tacitus and Suetonius re expectation of Messiah and Farrar on the Life of Christ p. 21 for these refs. (Ass9: p. 176)

What were Napoleon's thoughts on the way things had run in Italy? Any correspondence relevant? How about the Roman govt before/after the Republic? What does he say?

2. What are the problems with defining 1798 as the end of the 1260 year period? Document the problems and list the sources for the argumentation on this
3. What are the problems with defining 538 as the beginning of the period? Document the problems and list the sources for the argumentation on this
4. What are the other assumptions used in support of this assumption? I.e., the year-day principle, apocalyptic prophecy is history in advance, and is not conditional; the prophecies could not have applied to an earlier period in time, such as the first century AD; the little horn is the papacy; then conclude that the problems with both dates are insuperable for a historicist.