

The Four-Part World Empire Motif in Daniel and the Corresponding Seven-Part Motif in Revelation

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Introduction

Both Daniel and the book of Revelation describe a series of world empires that would follow each other in history.¹ The problem is that Daniel has four of them while Revelation has seven. In this paper I argue that the two series are one and the same and that the seeds of a later seven-part series are present already in the descriptions given by Daniel.

The present paper is in part a review of C. Mervyn Maxwell's recent commentary on Revelation entitled, *God Cares, II: The Message of Revelation for You and Your Family*.² As such it is a counterpart to my earlier paper, "Do Rev 4-5 and 19:1-10 Refer to the Judgment?"³ But it is also an interpretive essay in its own right. Maxwell's treatment of Rev 13 and especially 17 is one of the best that I expect to see for some time, but there are points that in my opinion are not given sufficient emphasis. The fact that I allow the discussion to center on Maxwell's work so extensively makes this a review; the fact that I emphasize points which he does not, or emphasize them in different ways, makes the present paper an independent exegetical essay.

As Maxwell himself points out, the literary analysis of Revelation on which his work is based was originally developed by Kenneth A. Strand.⁴ But the all-important fact that the world empire motif in Revelation derives from an earlier one in Daniel is not prominent in Strand's work. The fact that Maxwell insists on making it prominent gives considerable force to his remarks on Rev 12-13 and 17.

There is a series of world empires in Daniel, a corresponding series in Revelation, and according to Maxwell the two are the same. It is not just that they are similar. The two sets of empires begin together at the same point in history and end together as well. They can be mapped onto each other item by item throughout. Such a position requires us to think very carefully about the fourth empire in Daniel's series and also about how the series begins in Revelation, but doing this will be beneficial. For more than a century Seventh-day Adventists have taken the position that Daniel and Revelation agree and must be studied together. Maxwell has shown that in the case of Rev 12-13 and 17 the extent of the agreement goes even further than we had thought.

In the discussion that follows I begin where I commend Maxwell for beginning--with Daniel. After summarizing the four-part world empire motif as found in Daniel I review Maxwell's treatment of the seven-part empire motif in Revelation, placing both Maxwell's work and the subject matter he deals with in what I hope is a useful context.

Four World Empires in Daniel

General overview of the four empires

Daniel 2. In Dan 2 there is a symbolic image composed of four different metals (gold, silver, bronze, iron). In Daniel's interpretation of that image the different metals represent a succession of powers having international stature and importance. The series begins with Nebuchadnezzar, as the head of gold representing Babylon (vss. 37-38), and continues with other metals of decreasing value but increasing hardness. The last part of the image consists first of iron alone and then of iron mixed with clay. If the metals are numbered for ease of reference, gold is 1, silver 2, bronze 3,⁵ and iron 4. But in light of the distinction between iron and clay, it is necessary to subdivide the last part of the image, numbering iron 4a and iron mixed with clay 4b. We are dealing with four metals rather than five--clay is not a fifth metal--but the fourth part of the image clearly represents more than one thing. It is subdivided.

Daniel 7. In Dan 7 there is a series of four wild beasts (lion, bear, leopard, nondescript), parallel to the four metals of Dan2. Notice that the fourth beast eventually produces a little horn which attracts Daniel's attention separately. Thus, if the beasts are numbered in a manner similar to the metals, the lion is 1, the bear 2, the leopard 3, and the nondescript beast 4. But in light of the distinction between the terrible fourth beast and the little horn which grows out of it, we must number the beast 4a and the little horn 4b, just as iron is 4a and iron mixed with clay is 4b. In Dan 7 we are dealing with four wild beasts only--the little horn is not a fifth beast--and yet the fourth part of the sequence in this chapter also is subdivided. The beast and the little horn are neither entirely separate from each other nor entirely the same.

Daniel 8. In Dan 8, instead of four wild beasts as in chap.7, there are two domesticated beasts (ram, goat) and a little horn.⁶ Thus, although some elements of the vision have changed, others remain familiar. Babylon is not mentioned in Dan 8,⁷ but the ram is identified as Medo-Persia (vs. 20), which follows Babylon in history, and the goat is said to represent Greece (vs. 21). By contrast the little horn is mysteriously described as "a stern-faced king" (vs. 23). It is discussed at length but never identified.⁸ Both of these facts are reminiscent of chap.7. On the one hand neither the terrible fourth beast nor its little horn are identified, while on the other hand they occupy together no less than eleven out of twenty-eight verses (see vss. 7-8, 11, 19-26). In Dan 8 the treatment is selective; only part of the earlier sequence of world empires is represented. If we are to interpret chap.8 in a manner consistent with the previous two vision reports, the ram will have to be numbered 2, the goat 3, and the little horn 4b. The little horn in both chapters is the same, as one would initially expect. It is inconsistency between chapters that would require explanation, not the reverse.

Because the fourth in the series of world empires was subdivided both in Dan 2 and in Dan 7, the fact that we find only the second part of it in Dan 8 should not be surprising. In fact it would be out of place to speak of the terrible fourth beast of chap.7 in the present context. Only domesticated beasts are mentioned in chap.8, while those in chap.7 are all wild. It would be natural to assume that the terrible fourth beast was purposely omitted from chap.8 for this reason.

There is no mistake here about the origin of the little horn. It does not come up out of the head of the Greek goat or out of any of the goat's four horns. Vertical motion of this sort

would require the verb *ʿālâ*, which is not used here. Instead the little horn goes forth (*yāšāʾ*) horizontally from one of the four winds of heaven, i.e., from one of the four points of the compass.⁹ The beast that carries the horn is not described, nor is there any clue as to which direction it comes from. Both of these facts are consistent with the aura of mystery surrounding the fourth beast in chap.7, as stated above. I submit that the little horn in Dan 8 is identically the same as the little horn in Dan 7 and that in both chapters it is not Greek but Roman.

From the above we can generalize broadly that Dan8 passes over in silence both the first world empire and the fourth. More specifically what is passed over is the entire first empire and that part of the fourth which corresponds to the terrible beast of chap.7. The part of the fourth empire that corresponds to the little horn of chap.7, however, is not omitted but described in detail. Consistent use of beast imagery requires the terrible fourth beast to be absent from chap.8, even though on the same basis we would have to say that the horn is attached to it in both cases. But this omission is not so unusual as it might seem. Chap.8 as a whole is selective in its emphasis. Thus, in regard to the fourth world empire, only the little horn is of interest. The two chapters supplement and explain each other and this is especially true of those features which attract Daniel's greatest attention. The little horn in chap.8 is the same as the little horn in chap.7.

Daniel 11. In Dan 11 the angel conveys his intent by speaking of people rather than metals, wild beasts, or domesticated animals. Again, as in chap.8, Babylon is omitted. But Persia is mentioned in Dan 11:2 and the Macedonian conqueror Alexander the Great is referred to in vss. 3-4. Scholars disagree on how many verses deal with the Greek or Hellenic period.¹⁰ In my view this important period is confined to vss. 3-15.¹¹ But whatever conclusion we reach on this matter, it should be clear that Dan 2, 7, 8, and 11 all trace a series of powers that are international in importance and that each time it is presented the series is the same. There are four different symbolic descriptions, but only one set of events. See table 1.

Table 1
Four World Empires in Daniel
(First Statement)

Empire	Identity	Dan 2	Dan 7	Dan 8	Dan 11
1	Babylon	Gold	Lion	---	---
2	Medo-Persia	Silver	Bear	Ram	2
3	Greece	Bronze	Leopard	Goat	3-15
4	Rome	Iron	Beast	Horn	16-45

In table 1 the fourth world empire is treated as a monolithic whole. To account for the fact that Daniel consistently divides this empire, however, the above material is now restated in table 2.

Table 2
Four World Empires in Daniel
(Second Statement)

Empire	Identity	Dan 2	Dan 7	Dan 8	Dan 11
1	Babylon	Gold	Lion	---	---
2	Medo-Persia	Silver	Bear	Ram	2
3	Greece	Bronze	Leopard	Goat	3-15
4a	Rome (part 1)	Iron	Beast	---	16-28
4b	Rome (part 2)	Iron/Clay	Horn	Horn	29-45

A closer look at Daniel's fourth world empire

Daniel 2. In Dan 2 the only information given about the fourth world empire is that it would have two distinct parts, as stated above. First there would be a period symbolized by iron alone and then a period symbolized by iron mixed with clay.

Daniel 7. In Dan 7 the same events are described, but the information is given in more detail. The fourth beast, which corresponds to iron in the earlier vision report, is introduced in vs. 7:

"After that, in my vision at night I looked, and there before me was a fourth beast-terrifying and frightening and very powerful. It had large iron teeth; it crushed and devoured its victims and trampled underfoot whatever was left. It was different from all the former beasts, and it had ten horns." (Dan 7:7)

Eventually the terrible fourth beast gives rise to a little horn. The little horn corresponds to iron mixed with clay in the earlier vision.

"While I was thinking about the horns, there before me was another horn, a little one, which came up among them; and three of the first horns were uprooted before it. This horn had eyes like the eyes of a man and a mouth that spoke boastfully." (Dan 7:8)

At this point Daniel's attention is distracted from the beast and its little horn on earth. He is shown an overview of events that would take place in heaven and more specifically in a session of the heavenly court.

(9) "As I looked, thrones were set in place, and the Ancient of Days took his seat. His clothing was as white as snow; the hair of his head was white like wool. His throne was flaming with fire, and its wheels were all ablaze. (10) A river of fire was flowing, coming out from before him. Thousands upon thousands attended him; ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. The court was seated, and the books were opened." (Dan 7:9-10)

When a court sits, what it does is called a judgment. After the judgment scene of vs. 9-10 the little horn regains Daniel's attention. None of the symbolism has changed. The little horn in vs. 11 is the same as it was in vs. 8 and still corresponds to iron mixed with clay in chap.2. The fact that the little horn's activity is either interrupted or rendered insignificant in

some way while the heavenly court is in session does not change the symbolism already introduced. Only after the judgment does the little horn attract Daniel's attention again.

"Then I continued to watch because of the boastful words the horn was speaking." (Dan 7:11a)

At last the decisions of the court are carried out. The little horn, the fourth beast, and the other beasts that preceded them are all destroyed and the Son of man is given "authority, glory, and sovereign power; all peoples, nations and men of every language worshiped him" (vs. 14).

Thus, in Dan 7 the little horn appears twice and between his two appearances there is a judgment scene in heaven. During that judgment the horn is reduced to relative insignificance and afterward, just before the decisions of the court concerning him are carried out, his influence is allowed briefly to resume the proportions it had before the judgment. Thus, Dan 7 suggests that the horn's influence is not continuous. This is not an unimportant fact about the chapter. Daniel 7 without the judgment scene of vss. 9-10 would not be the same narrative at all.¹² The above facts are now summarized in table 3.

Table 3
The Fourth World Empire in Dan 2
and Dan 7 (First Statement)

Number	Dan 2	Dan 7
4a	Iron	Beast
4b	Iron and clay	Horn Judgment Horn

The account of Daniel's fourth world empire in chap.2 does not contrast with his account of the same empire in chap.7. The one account is simply more detailed than the other. The same events are referred to in both cases.

Daniel 8. In chap.8 Daniel's treatment of the four-empire motif is selective. Instead of stating the entire series again one part of it is singled out for special attention. There is no mention of either Babylon or that part of the last world empire which corresponds to the terrible fourth beast of chap.7. But the little horn that grows out of that fourth beast and extends its influence historically is described at length (vss. 9-12).¹³

(9) Out of one of them came a little horn; it grew in power to the south and to the east and toward the Beautiful Land. (10) It grew until it reached the host of the heavens, and it threw some of the starry host down to the earth and trampled on them. (11) It set itself up to be as great as the Prince of the host; it took away the daily sacrifice from him, and the place of his sanctuary was brought low. (12) Because of rebellion, the host of the saints and the daily sacrifice were given over to it. It prospered in everything it did, and truth was thrown to the ground. (Dan 8:9-12)

While the initial activity of the little horn is followed by a judgment scene in Dan 7 (vss. 9-10), the corresponding feature of Dan 8 is the setting right of a sanctuary (vss. 13-14). When

the heavenly court sits the sanctuary is set right, in chap.7 there is a great judgment hall whereas in chap.8 there is a sanctuary, and so we conclude that the resulting state of being set right described in the later chapter is brought about by the process of judgment described in the earlier one.¹⁴ If the parallel holds, the sanctuary that is set right in chap.8 is located not on earth but in heaven.

The temple of God in heaven is simultaneously the place where the righteous Judge has His throne (a judgment hall) and the focus of all true worship (a sanctuary). The events which take place there show that Daniel's concept of judging includes much more than punishing. There is also an element of thought, of presenting evidence, of making clear all the relevant factors that impact on a decision. The court does not present evidence to God. That would be unnecessary. Instead God presents evidence to the court. The result of His doing so is that the sanctuary or place of judgment is set right, i.e., the system of government administered there is shown to be just and fair. The reasonableness both of the worship God requires from His loyal saints and of the decision that He knows is necessary in regard to the rebellious little horn is confirmed in the minds of all the thousands and tens of thousands who have assembled in the great hall to witness the proceedings (Dan 7:10). The best account of their response is given in the book of Revelation.¹⁵

(1) After this I heard what sounded like the roar of a great multitude in heaven shouting: "Hallelujah! Salvation and glory and power belong to our God, (2) for true and just are his judgments. He has condemned the great prostitute who corrupted the earth by her adulteries. He has avenged on her the blood of his servants." (Rev 19:1-2)

Daniel 11. Daniel 11 builds on what has been revealed earlier in chaps. 2, 7, and 8. It presents the same material but in greater detail. Because the fourth world empire in Dan 11 is discussed at length in another paper¹⁶ we can be brief here and merely assert that the event that interrupts the little horn's power in Dan 7:9-10 and the end of the 2300 day time prophecy in Dan 8:13-14 both correspond to the challenge sustained by the king of the North in Dan 11:40a. In Dan 11 there are no symbolic animals. The power symbolized by a little horn in Dan 7 and 8 is the king of the North in Dan 11:29-45. The perspective is different in the latter case because the king's susceptibility to challenge in vs. 40a is related to things that happen on earth instead of in heaven. His final defeat at the end of the chapter is also related to things that happen on earth. The first verses of Dan12 are required to complete the parallel with earlier chapters by introducing the corresponding events in heaven.¹⁷

It is important to realize how close the relationship is between the events at the end of chap.11 and the beginning of chap.12. The king of the North comes to his end (11:45) because of the distress that suddenly overtakes him (12:1). The time of distress and the king's final end are related to each other as cause and effect. This last king of the North has swept all before him except for one last, small pocket of resistance. No one on earth could resist him. But when Michael stands up and comes to earth to rescue His beleaguered saints, the king of the North is powerless to resist Michael and sees all his hopes vanish. Michael stands up when the heavenly court finishes its session. He then comes to the earth personally, at the head of all the angel armies of heaven (Rev 19:11-16), to rescue His saints (Dan 7:26-27) and to carry out the court's decision on those who have attacked and threatened them (Rev 19:17-21). Dan 11:45 and 12:1 describe the same set of events from two different points of view.

In addition it is important to realize that the events of Dan 11-12 correspond to those of Dan 2, 7, and 8. To interpret the later chapters of the book in a context other than that required

by the earlier chapters could be not only unproductive but misleading. The prophecies of Daniel take place on a truly cosmic scale--in heaven and on earth, spanning centuries of time. If they had local interest only, Daniel's writings would not qualify as an example of apocalyptic. As it is, they provide the best and earliest example of that literary style. In history there is only one drama of this magnitude to describe and each of Daniel's visions or dreams describes it. The language is varied, but the events are all the same. The present discussion of Daniel is now summarized in table 4.

Table 4
Summary of Prophetic World
Empires in Daniel

Empire	Identity	Dan 2	Dan 7	Dan 8	Dan 11
1	Babylon	Gold	Lion	---	---
2	Medo-Persia	Silver	Bear	Ram	2
3	Greece	Bronze	Leopard	Goat	3-15
4a	Rome part 1	Iron Beast	---	16-28	
4b	Rome part 2	Iron/Clay	Horn	Horn	29-39
			Judgment	Sanctuary	40a
			Horn	---	40b-45

Seven World Empires in Revelation

There is only one Christ and one Satan, one conflict between them, one process by which it is carried forward, one result that must follow. It is described, however, "at many times and in various ways" (Heb 1:1a). And only when the role of God's "Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, and through whom he made the universe" (Heb 1:1b) is clarified can the truly cosmic nature of the conflict surrounding His right to rule be seen in perspective, or be seen at all. In this context it is entirely appropriate to study what the Holy Spirit has said in the books of Daniel and Revelation as a varied and diverse witness to only one set of events, which, incidentally, will never be repeated (see Nah 1:9).

Maxwell's work in relation
to that of Strand

In the second volume of his commentary, *God Cares*, Maxwell draws on a theory of literary structure for the book of Revelation that was first developed by Kenneth Strand. Strand's work is of fundamental significance for Revelation studies. There can be no question about this. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Maxwell is totally in Strand's debt and has made no contribution of his own.

"History" and "eschatology". Strand argues that the book of Revelation is divided thematically into two parts--chaps.1-14 with a historical viewpoint and chaps.15-22 with an eschatological viewpoint--and that these parts or sections are related to each other in a systematic way.¹⁸

The first main section of the book of Revelation (1:12- 3:22) presents letters to the seven churches; these letters give a description of what may be called the "Church Militant."

The last main section of Revelation (21:5-22:5) gives a description of the New Jerusalem and conditions of what may be called the "Church Triumphant." Thus the earlier section may be called historical; and the later one, eschatological.¹⁹

Here the terms "history" and "eschatology" ("historical" and "eschatological") are given a general and readily acceptable meaning, but elsewhere they assume the status of technical terms. There is nothing wrong in this. The problem is that they are never defined. Nor is this just a quibble. In the following statement, dealing with Rev 17, more weight is placed on the terms than they can be expected to bear without the support of rigorous and explicit definitions. An important exegetical point hinges on how the terms are used here. The fact that Strand and Maxwell diverge more widely on Rev 17 than on any other chapter in Revelation must be seen in this context.²⁰ Strand writes:

For interpretational purposes, treatment of these various animals [in Rev 12, 13, 17] as within the scope of either the historical series or the eschatological series--which ever is appropriate--is vital. To seek a fulfillment in history, for example, for the "is not" phase of the beast of chapter 17, when that phase is obviously a view of judgment, is illogical. Or to treat the whole of chapter 17 as having historical, rather than eschatological, fulfillment is to miss the very point of the chapter and of the whole second part of the book of Revelation in which it occurs.²¹

If by "eschatology" Strand here means events during the end time, I fail to see why it is necessary to distinguish so sharply between those eschatological events and the ones that immediately precede them in "history" just before the end time. Strand needs to make very clear the nature of the contrast he has in mind. By refusing to be rigid in this matter Maxwell opens the way for greater insight into the similarities between the "historical" beasts of Rev 12 and 13 on the one hand and the "eschatological" beast of Rev 17 on the other:

The beast of Revelation 17 is the same as the leopard- bodied beast of chapter 13, both of which stand in water and have seven heads and ten horns. There seem to be four animal symbols in chapters 12, 13, and 17--the dragon, the lamb-horned beast, the leopard-bodied sea beast, and the scarlet-colored sea beast. However, Revelation 16:13 and 20:10 speak of them as only three, the "dragon" (or "devil"), the "false prophet" (which is the lamb-horned animal), and the "beast" (not the "beasts").²²

This is not to say that Strand is wrong or that Maxwell disagrees with him on the essential principle of contrasting the "historical" and "exegetical" chapters of Revelation. Strand is right and Maxwell is in full agreement--in principle. But the two scholars do approach the matter in different ways and with correspondingly different exegetical results.

Daniel as a source of context for Revelation. It is not just that, if either chose to press the matter, Rev 17 would be a source of disagreement for Maxwell and Strand. There are reasons why this should be so which go beyond the specific matters Strand was dealing with in his 1979 study.²³

Strand broke new ground in a pioneering effort to understand the book of Revelation in terms of its own literary structures. Maxwell, on the other hand, had just finished writing a commentary on Daniel²⁴ and as such could be expected to have a greater awareness of the parallels and interrelationships between the two books. His insistence on dealing with Revelation in the external context of Daniel as well as the internal context of form and structure

places the latter in beneficial perspective and balances Strand's more highly focused approach.

Maxwell on Rev 12

According to Maxwell, Rev 12 contains three "great controversy scenes"--1 (vss. 1-5), 2 (vss. 6-12), and 3 (vss. 13-17). In the first, a woman gives birth to a male child and is then forced to flee to the desert in order to escape the attacks of "an enormous red dragon" (vs. 3). She stays there under God's special protection for "1,260 days" (vs. 6).

In the second and third scenes the dragon is again shown pursuing the woman into the desert, "where she would be taken care of for a time, times and half a time, out of the serpent's reach" (Rev 12:14). This is a repetition of earlier material.

(15) Then from his mouth the serpent spewed water like a river, to overtake the woman and sweep her away with the torrent. (16) But the earth helped the woman by opening its mouth and swallowing the river that the dragon had spewed out of his mouth. (Rev 12:15-16)

In the first case the woman is attacked and protected. In the other, three things happen: (1) the woman undergoes a period of hardship lasting "a time, times and half a time"; (2) she finds relief as "the earth helped the woman"; and finally (3) the attacks against the woman resume: "Then the dragon was enraged at the woman and went off to make war against the rest of her offspring--those who obey God's commandments and hold to the testimony of Jesus" (Rev 12:17).

The motif of hardship and then rest from hardship in vss. 1-6 is therefore part of the broader motif found in vss. 13-17, e.g., hardship, rest from hardship, and renewed hardship. There are no substantive differences between the two accounts. Only the amount of detail varies.

Maxwell on Rev 13

Revelation 13 contains an additional set of three great controversy scenes, numbered in sequence with the ones previously introduced--4 (vss. 1-4), 5 (vss. 5-10), and 6 (vss. 11-18). One could argue that scenes 4 and 5 belong together because they both deal with the leopard-bodied beast and that scene 6 is separate from the others because it deals with the lamb-horned beast. Instead of grouping 4 and 5 (leopard-bodied beast) against 6 (lamb-horned beast) I would prefer to group 5 and 6 (hardship, rest, hardship) against 4 (hardship, rest, hardship). Maxwell does not arrange these miniature structural units in groups at all, but merely presents them one after another. This I believe is a weakness in his presentation, although a minor one. The six great controversy scenes are not all related to each other in the same way. Their relationships should be specified.

Offsetting this is a major point of strength. Maxwell takes the parallels between Rev 13 and Daniel fully into account:

As the many-headed monster lunged up out of the waves and more of its hulk came into view, John experienced further surprises. He saw that overall the new beast looked "like a leopard." Its feet, however, looked "like a bear's," and its mouth was "like a lion's mouth."

Leopard, bear, lion. We have run across this list before. In a vision six centuries earlier, Daniel saw a lion, a bear, a leopard—and a fourth, indescribable animal—emerge out of the sea. Altogether, they had seven heads and ten horns. (The leopard had four heads, the other three had one each, and the fourth beast had ten horns.) See Daniel 7 and GC 1:107-111.

Daniel's lion, bear, and leopard symbolized successively the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek Empires. His fourth beast symbolized Rome—and among its ten horns he saw an eleventh horn sprout up which was at first a "little horn" but which developed into a stout, blasphemous persecuting power. In the fifth great-controversy scene, which we'll be discussing next, we'll see that the behavior of the leopard-bodied beast was the same as the behavior of the little horn.²⁵

Notice that within great controversy scene 4 the leopard-bodied beast is introduced (vss. 1-2), its activities are curtailed (vs. 3a), and then restored (vss. 3b-4). Here is a third repetition of an earlier motif (hardship, rest, and renewed hardship), but stated in terms of the beast's activity rather than the woman's. Thus, in scene 4 we have oppression, restraint, and renewed oppression.

The same sequence of events is repeated for a fourth time in scenes 5 and 6 (vss. 5-18) but in more detail. There we find an initial period of oppression lasting "forty-two months" under the leopard-bodied beast (vss. 5-10), a time of restraint when the lamb-horned beast first appears (vs. 11a), and then a time of renewed oppression when this same beast, which had looked so gentle at first, starts to speak like a dragon (vss. 11b-18).

Discussion: Rev 12 and 13

Great controversy scenes. Rev 12 and 13 are only one part of a larger section that consists of Rev 11:19 to 14:20. This in turn is one of eight main divisions of the book.²⁶ The concept that these divisions are related chiastically, such that within them any major section has a counterpart in the other half of the book, has already been noted. But in Strand's 1979 discussion of how the parts of these divisions should be analyzed, he takes chaps. 12 and 13 together as a unit under the single heading, "Evil Forces Attack God's People, 12:1-13:18."²⁷ There is no discussion of the smaller units within this extended passage. Thus, the concept of great controversy scenes is Maxwell's own and it is an important feature of his work on this part of Revelation. The six scenes as he lists them are divided equally between the two chapters:

1. Rev 12:1-6 The woman, her child, and the dragon introduced.
2. Rev 12:7-12 The dragon wars with Michael.
3. Rev 12:13-17 The dragon wars with the woman and with her "remnant" children.
4. Rev 13:1-4 The leopard-bodied sea beast introduced.
5. Rev 13:5-10 The leopard-bodied beast wars with the saints.
6. Rev 13:11-18 The lamb-horned earth beast compels the world to worship the leopard-bodied beast.

Some such analysis is necessary if the material in Rev 12 and 13 is to be mapped onto history in any meaningful way. The approach Maxwell has taken is certainly correct. But, as stated above, there is more structure in the two chapters than a consecutive listing of six scenes would imply. From a historical, rather than thematic, point of view scenes 2 and 3 should be taken together and scenes 5 and 6 should also be taken together. And after the scenes have been grouped in this way there is an element of repetition that must also be

recognized. The same events are presented two times in chap.12 from the perspective of the oppressed woman and then another two times in chap.13 from the perspective of the beasts that oppress her.

And yet there are six great controversy scenes rather than four. If this is the case, more than one type of historical relationship is in evidence. Some of the scenes represent the same time period, while others follow each other in time. Specifically, I suggest that, while great controversy scenes 2 and 3 are related consecutively to each other, taken together they stand in parallel with scene 1. And in the same way, while great controversy scenes 5 and 6 are related consecutively to each other, taken together they stand in parallel with scene 4:

- | | | |
|------|-------------|---|
| 1. | Rev 12:1-6 | Overview: the woman, her child, and the dragon introduced. |
| 2-3. | Rev 12:7-17 | Cosmic struggle: part 1 (vss. 7-12), the dragon's attack on Michael in heaven; part 2 (vss. 12-17), the dragon's attack on the woman and her "remnant" children on earth. |
| 4. | Rev 13:1-4 | Overview: the leopard-bodied sea beast introduced. |
| 5-6. | Rev 13:5-18 | Persecution of the church: part 1 (vss. 5-10), the beast from the sea; part 2 (vss. 11-18), the beast from the earth. |

Thus, thematically there are six great controversy scenes in Rev 12-13, as Maxwell indicates, but historically there are only four different series of events and these four in turn all deal with substantially the same period of time.

The church's temporary rest from persecution. A point that Maxwell does make, but with less emphasis and less consistent emphasis than I would prefer, is that the early career of the beast out of the earth in Rev 13:11 corresponds to a time of rest for the church--a time when the church is free from persecution. It is an important point and failing to miss it is not enough. Its bearing on other parts of the prophecy must be pointed out and fully explored.

The Middle Ages were not an easy time for men of great personal conviction. That both Wycliffe and Luther died natural deaths is nothing short of a miracle.²⁸ The dominant church's willingness and ability to destroy those who insisted on the free exercise of conscience was weakened during Luther's lifetime and as a result of his efforts, but not entirely set aside. Tyndale would still be burned at the stake for translating the New Testament.²⁹ But a lessening of the earlier force of the church's persecuting power is consistent with Christ's words, "If those days had not been cut short, no one would survive, but for the sake of the elect those days will be shortened" (Matt 24:22). It is not that the number of days was changed. Instead the level of hostility--their main characteristic--was reduced and this is what Christ refers to when He says that "those days" would be shortened. The last part of the 1260 days or years was easier for the church than the main course of that period had been.

By the time when the 1260 days finally came to an end in the late eighteenth century there was a general collapse of persecution. This trend was given all the appearances of finality by the secular nature of society at that time and especially by the outstanding constitutional freedoms of the newly formed United States of America.

The grandest achievement of the American Constitution was the creation of a nation with a friendly separation of church and state. The world had never seen such a thing before. Every other nation since ancient times had taxed the people to support a state religion, and most had

oppressed religious dissidents. The French Revolution, a little later than the American, experimented with a hostile separation of church and state. Marxist countries have exceeded France's temporary example.³⁰

The middle ages were plagued with religious persecution. We can discuss the length or severity of any given example, but cannot deny that persecution took place. In striking contrast our own more secular age has seen little of it. There is a question, however, what pattern these facts help to form. Just looking back, i.e., on historical grounds alone, it would be possible to claim that religious persecution is dead, that it is nothing more than an unpleasant memory from a barbarous past, and that it is dead now because we have outlived it. This is an evolutionary concept. On Scriptural grounds no such claim is justified. There was a persecuting beast. It sustained a mortal wound not because it chose to but because it was inflicted by superior force. And, according to the same prophecy that says there would be a wound in the first place, the wound must eventually heal. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been peaceful ones for the church. But the benign political environment we now enjoy contrasts with more than past hardship. We are in the quiet eye of a storm that has not yet finished passing us.

In a later summary statement Maxwell successfully shows that Rome's position in prophecy spans many centuries and assumes more than one form, but the prevailing calm of our own day is passed over in silence. It is not something to ignore. The prophecies under discussion do not indicate that church-state persecution would continue through all history, even in a sporadic manner, from the beginning of Daniel's fourth world empire until the end at Christ's coming. It is briefly but decisively interrupted, as anyone can testify who attends or has ever attended a Protestant church. The summary statement referred to reads as follows:

The dragon and the beast, both having seven heads and ten horns, represent one and the same spirit of church-state persecution. (Church-state persecution is a primary concern of Revelation.) Their seven heads call attention to the same sevenfold sequence of persecuting government. But whereas (a) the dragon calls special attention to *non-Christian persecution*, and (b) the beast calls attention to the old-fashioned *Catholic-style persecution*, (c) the lamb-horned beast calls attention to end-time *Protestantism* as it finally lapses into a dragonlike, beastlike spirit of persecution.³¹

There is an important exegetical reason why the interim period between "old-fashioned Catholic-style persecution" and "end-time Protestantism" must be emphasized. If all we have in our series of prophetic world empires are Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, Rome as a persecuting state, Rome as a persecuting church in the past, and Rome as leader of an end-time coalition in the future, then all we have is six parts in the series. If this is the case, then Rev 12-13 cannot be directly related to Rev 17, where there are seven parts in the series, and the all-important parallels with Daniel are also lost. For a representative sample of the proposed system of parallels see table 5.

Table 5
The Fourth World Empire in
Dan 2, 7 and Rev 13

Number	Dan 2	Dan 7	Rev 13:1-4	Rev 13:5-18
4a	Iron	Beast	Dragon	---
4b	Iron and clay	Horn	Authority	42 months
		Judgment	Wound	Lamblike
		Horn	Healing	Dragonlike

From a historical as well as exegetical point of view it is essential that we place in perspective the religious liberties maintained by the United States and other likeminded countries for more than 200 years. This involves pointing out the contrast between what the church's situation is now and what it was in the recent past. Doing so is not an exercise in paranoia but a simple requirement of good history and in this case good exegesis of prophecy.

The interests of exegesis and history coincide in an especially significant manner at just this point. To understand what the prophecies say about those periods when persecution is present one must understand what they say about the one prophetic period when it is conspicuously absent. The very fact that a discussion as open as this one can be published and read provides an additional illustration, if examples must be multiplied, that the wound is still limiting the beast's activity now. Maxwell's book could never have appeared during the middle ages. The church's present circumstances must be understood in a prophetic context as well as a historical one; otherwise the lessons that history offers to teach us will be missed. Without the illumination of the Holy Spirit we cannot correctly understand the future, the present, or the past.

Maxwell raises the above issues, but they merit further emphasis here. We now turn to Rev 17, where the church's present circumstances not only receive greater attention but where it is crucial to Maxwell's argument that this should be the case.

Maxwell on Revelation 17

The empires. By beginning with the parallels between Daniel and Rev 13 Maxwell places himself in a position to capture two extraordinarily useful insights into the meaning of the seven-headed beast of Rev 17. The first insight is that the seven heads, representing a seven-part world empire motif, have identically the same starting point and ending point in history as the corresponding four-part series of empires in Daniel:

. . . we should be reluctant to add empires (such as Egypt and Assyria) to the ones that are so prominent in Daniel and in the rest of Revelation. The prophecies of Daniel are our key to the interpretation of Revelation. Daniel gives us Babylon, Persia, Greece, Roman Empire, and the Roman Church, but says nothing about Egypt and Assyria.³²

In Strand's model the series of world empires in Rev 17 is consistent with the well-known sequence of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, Rome part 1, and Rome part 2. In this sense it may be said to agree with Daniel. But when the two series are numbered they do not fully correspond anywhere.³³ Maxwell insists that they correspond throughout. The concept that Daniel and Revelation agree is not in any way unique to Maxwell, but he has followed this

guiding principle more consistently than other writers and in my opinion has achieved correspondingly better results.

The timeframe. A second insight that follows from the first and is inseparably linked to it is that John speaks in Rev 17 from the perspective of our day rather than his, i.e., he speaks from the timeframe of the events to which his narrative has brought him.

. . . one of the simplest of the many interpretations of our puzzle looks at the seven heads as seven persecuting powers viewed from the time when John was writing Revelation.

In this scheme the five "heads" (or "mountains" or "kings") which had "fallen" (before John's day) are listed as Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and Greece. The head that "is" is seen as the Roman Empire, which was ruling in John's day. The head that "has not yet come" is taken to be the Roman Church, which in many ways resembles a nation and which in John's day had not yet risen to power. Egypt and especially Assyria were enemies of God's people in Old Testament times. We are familiar with the other governments.

As for the "ten horns" which are "then kings," they are perceived in this interpretation to be the nations of Europe, which in John's day were not yet in place. The "hour" they were to reign is the 1260 days. This interpretation has much to commend it.

There is another fairly simple interpretation, one which, however, views the puzzle from the end time rather than from John's day. It sees the five "fallen" heads as Babylon, Persia, Greece, Roman Empire, and Christian Rome. The sixth head (in the end time) "is" Christian Rome in its wounded state, to be followed soon by the seventh head that "has not yet come," Christian Rome in its revived condition. The "hour" when the ten kings reign with the beast is a brief period at the very end of time when with dictatorial intensity they aid the beast in reviving harsh persecution.³⁴

At the beginning of Rev 17 John is invited to witness the result that must follow from mystic Babylon's rebellion against God: "Come, I will show you the punishment of the great prostitute, who sits on many waters" (Rev 17:1). But Babylon was not punished in the first century A.D. The results of all its actions could not be known until they had been performed and in the first century they had not been. Babylon's fate is reserved until the end time. Indeed the fact that God then takes punitive action against her might be used as one defining characteristic of the end time. So Maxwell very reasonably contends that the setting for John's remarks about the beast in chap.17 is the same as for the events being described there: "We have often reminded ourselves that the second half of Revelation, in which our puzzle is located, is concerned almost exclusively with the end time."³⁵

Notice in passing that, despite the order of presentation in God Cares 2:473-74, Maxwell's position on the timeframe for John's remarks in Rev 17 follows from his position on the parallels between Daniel and Revelation and not the reverse.

The language. If the temporal perspective of Rev 17 is the end time, as asserted by Maxwell and clearly demanded by context, then the passage which speaks of "ten kings who have not yet received a kingdom" in vs. 12 requires explanation. The question is how Rev 17:12 can be applied to the immediate future if the ten kings are equated elsewhere with the ten toes of Dan 2 or, historically, with the independent states of Europe that rose as Rome fell, defining the start of the Middle Ages.

According to Maxwell the ten kings had indeed received a kingdom previously and had exercised its prerogatives throughout the long medieval period of "a time, times and half a time" (Rev 12:14) or "forty-two months" (Rev 13:5). His argument is that when John speaks of "ten kings who have not yet received a kingdom" in vs. 12 he is using the words in an "accommodated sense" that does not demand a complete absence of past authority:

We read in verse 8 that the beast "is not"; yet even while we're listening to the angel tell us this, we're looking at the beast through John's eyes. We can see it standing in the water with the great harlot riding on its back!

In a similar way, the ten kings are said in verse 12 to have "not yet received royal power." But in verses 1 and 2 they have already as kings gone to bed with the har-lot. "I will show you . . . the great harlot," says the angel, "with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication." So they once did have royal power. In chapter 13 we saw them wearing their crowns during the 1260 years. In a little while from now they're going to get "authority as kings" again (no doubt as totalitarian states) and rule with the beast for an "hour" (verse 12), during which they will "make war on the Lamb" (verse 14) and turn against the harlot.

So the beast "is not" in comparison with what it used to be and in comparison with what it will be; and the same is true for the kings. After a manner of speaking, in a certain sense, in comparison with their tremendous though temporary future reign as oppressive totalitarian states, the kings haven't yet begun to reign.³⁶

Here I think Maxwell gives too much away. He is certainly correct in asserting that the ten kings of vs. 12 have ruled before, but not in assuming that we must interpret John freely in arriving at such a conclusion. Consider vs. 2, which says, "With her the kings of the earth committed adultery . . ." If the two sets of kings in vs. 2 and 12 are the same, then in vs. 12 the reference to "ten kings who have not yet received a kingdom" is a statement about the future rather than the past and the sense would be that they are not now in power. The beast "now is not" (vs. 11); the kings have "not yet received a kingdom" (vs. 12). The beast's program is temporarily on hold. This is the point of the passage. But as regards John's use of words, the language of vs. 12 is no more accommodated than the language of vs. 11.

In English "not yet" compares events in two timeframes--the past with reference to the present, the present with reference to the future, possibly the past with reference to the future.³⁷ Consider such common expressions as, "I have not left the house yet" (one has an appointment in view), "I have not eaten yet," and so on. We hear such things constantly or say them ourselves without ever thinking how absurd they would sound if taken as absolute claims. Nor do the above expressions represent a free use of words. What they represent is a mutual understanding of context, which is part of communicating in any language.

The Greek word translated "not yet" in Rev 17:12 is *oupō*. John uses the same word with a similar meaning in John 6:17: "By now it was dark, and Jesus had not yet [*oupō*] joined them." The force of this statement can only be that on this particular occasion He had not yet joined them. In the past, on other occasions, Jesus had joined His disciples frequently. From this I conclude that it is entirely appropriate in Rev 17:12--as the first meaning of his words, i.e., not in any accommodated sense--to interpret John as having a present/future comparison in mind. From John's temporal point of reference in the chapter the ten kings were about to start their last, brief period of rule, but had not yet done so. To assume that because he uses

the word *oupo* John must be thinking of a past/present comparison would be unwarranted under any circumstances and in this case it would be incorrect as well.

Discussion: Revelation 17

For Maxwell both the sixth head of the beast in Rev 17 and the period of the leopard-beast's mortal wound in Rev 13 represent our own day and time:

Applying our three rules now, we see that of the "seven heads" the "five" that are "fallen" are entities familiar to us: (1) Babylon, (2) Persia, (3) Greece, (4) Roman Empire, and (5) Christian Rome. By the time of the vision (in the 1798/1844 "judgment" era), Christian Rome "is" enduring a critical illness resulting from a "mortal wound." So we are now living in the time of the sixth head-(6) Wounded Christian Rome—an unprecedented era of *separation of church and state*. The final head will be (7) Christian Rome Revived— and as it revives, the entire beast ("an eighth") will realize its climactic self-actualization. The "ten horns," which once represented the intolerant kingdoms of Europe and which are now more-or-less tolerant democracies, will momentarily become harshly intolerant totalitarian entities.³⁸

On historical evidence alone, i.e., without reference to prophecy, it would seem that Maxwell is wrong, that persecution is forever dead. But in Rev13 the leopard-beast's career does not end with the mortal wound. Its wound is little more than a temporary inconvenience,³⁹ which heals with time. If this were not so, the parallels with Daniel would be defective. But in fact the parallels are not defective. What we have is Babylon 1 (gold), Medo-Persia 2 (silver), Greece 3 (brass), secular Rome 4 (iron), and religious Rome--before the mortal wound 5, during the time the wound is in effect 6, and after the wound has healed 7. In an earlier vision iron mixed with clay corresponds to the entire period of time from the fall of secular Rome (iron alone) to the return of Christ (the rock that strikes the image on its feet)--a period that is not historically uniform. All facets of that period are included in the symbol of iron mixed with clay. The point to draw from this here is that the church's time of rest just before the end is as integral a part of the series of world empires as the events that follow and precede it.

For a summary showing the continuity of the world empire motif throughout Revelation see table 6 (next page). Table 6, which deals with the parallels in Revelation, should be compared with table 4, which deals with the parallels in Daniel. Only the size of the paper prevents these two tables from being combined and shown as one. They are closely connected with each other.

Table 6
Summary of Prophetic World
Empires in Revelation

Empire	Rev 12:1-6	Rev 12:7-17	Rev 13:1-4	Rev 13:5-18	Rev 17:8	Rev 17:10
1	---	---	---	---	Once was	1 fallen
2	---	---	---	---	Once was	2 fallen
3	---	---	---	---	Once was	3 fallen
4	Dragon	Dragon	Dragon	---	Once was	4 fallen
5	1260 days	42 months	Authority	42 months	Once was	5 fallen
6	---	Earth	Wound	Lamblike	Now is not	One is
7	---	Remnant	Healing	Dragonlike	Will come	Will come

Other Comments

It is an irony of history that the freedoms we now enjoy developed in the very sort of secular, materialistic setting that the church is now trying to counteract. Freedom of worship and freedom of speech developed in the Age of Reason, not the Age of Faith. So although the church sees secularism as its enemy, and rightly so, in one sense this enemy has been an ally. Secular people, at least in modern western countries, have not tried to make others conform to a given religious point of view in part because their interests lie elsewhere. For one philosophy to feel threatened by another the two must be in some way comparable. Only then can they compete for the same loyalties. The church may not have much success in a secular society, but at least it has nothing to fear in terms of physical danger.⁴⁰

There is more to think about than physical danger. As the church succeeds in its goal of making society as a whole more sensitive to religious issues its very success could militate against it, in one of two ways, because the extent to which religious teachings are introduced back into the political arena is the extent to which the church stands in danger of having either its purity sullied or its freedoms threatened--depending on whether one agrees or disagrees with the beliefs currently in favor politically. Both dangers are equally real. The answer to a secular and corrupt society therefore is preaching rather than legislation. Christ gave us the only correct example of how to influence other people's minds. The church should show its zeal for Christ by converting people, as He did, not by attempting to regulate them. The one result can be accomplished only by the power of the Holy Spirit; the other can be accomplished only by the power of the secular state. For the church to turn from its legitimate source of power and embrace another is now and has always been adultery.

It is imperative that the church learn from its past failings. But it cannot learn if it does not realize what happened, or if it is willing to forget. Perhaps here also our success has become a potential liability, because the longer we enjoy our present freedoms the more remote their historical context becomes to us. Forgetting the past is the surest method of repeating it and the prophecy indicates that this will indeed happen. We have not simply outlived religious intolerance. The mortal wound of Rev 13 did not develop spontaneously, by default as it were. It was inflicted by the introduction of positive freedoms which counteract its influence. As those freedoms are eroded--as the gap between church and state narrows--the wound will heal.

Conclusion

That the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation agree with each other and are mutually instructive is a view commonly held by historicist writers, but Maxwell has applied this principle more consistently than others. Here is one of two great strengths in his exegetical system, with special reference now to Rev 12-13 and 17. The other is the extent to which he draws on the literary structure of Revelation for insights into its meaning.

In any discussion of technical material, including Maxwell's book and the present paper, there are things that could be said better. For example, in a summary statement quoted earlier Maxwell points out that the beasts of Rev 13 and 17 are the same and then says: "Their seven heads call attention to the same sevenfold sequence of persecuting government."⁴¹ Here one important point has been captured and another has been missed. The beasts are the same, yes, but it is not the case that each of the seven phases of power represented by them

persecutes. Only six do, the sixth does not. The key to understanding the world empire motif in Daniel and Revelation correctly--and it will never be understood at all if these books are studied separately--lies in being very clear on the one part of the sequence where persecution is absent.

Note: All Scripture quotations in this paper, except when noted otherwise, are from the *Holy Bible, New International Version*. Copyright (c) 1973, 1978, 1984 International Bible Society. In this version of the paper I remove an earlier table 4, which I now consider redundant, so if you're comparing the original print version of the paper with the present web version, the numbering of tables will be different following table 3.

¹There is an element of time in the series which some have attempted to avoid. John J. Collins, for example, writes: "It is probable that the Jewish redactor in Dan 2:35 is thinking not in terms of a series of kingdoms in chronological order, but of a statue composed of the metals of idolatry. Therefore, insofar as the redactor of Daniel 2 is interested in the content of the dream, he is concerned less with the future rule of the world than with the transcendent power of God to destroy all idols and the human kingdoms which worship them" (*The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 16 [Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977], p. 44). But such a view is not supported by the text. Daniel states in his interpretation, "After you, another kingdom will rise, inferior to yours. Next, a third kingdom, one of bronze, will rule over the whole earth. Finally, there will be a fourth kingdom, strong as iron--for iron breaks and smashes everything--and as iron breaks things to pieces, so it will crush and break all the others" (Dan 2:39-40). Nor can the idea of succession in time be considered an incidental feature of the narrative, because each new power occupies the same territory as its predecessor: "Next, a third kingdom, one of bronze, will rule over the whole earth" (Dan 2:38, 39). And over and above requiring a comparable geographical extent for the four kingdoms, which in itself indicates different timeframes, it is stated that the fourth kingdom would "crush and break all the others" (Dan 2:40). Thus, even if the first three kingdoms were simultaneous, which I challenge, the fourth kingdom does not coexist with the others. The replacement of one kingdom by another is very clear in this verse. So in three different ways--i.e., in the several concepts of different time, same space, and replacement -- succession is emphasized in Daniel's interpretation of the dream. It is not only present, but present with multiplied emphasis. The only way to avoid this fact is to ignore it, which I believe Collins has done.

²Boise: Pacific Press, 1985.

³*Historicism* No.6/Apr86, pp. 49-58.

⁴Maxwell acknowledges his colleague's influence as follows: "For many insights expressed in the ensuing discussion about Revelation I am especially indebted to Kenneth A. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, rev. and enl. ed. (Naples, Florida: Ann Arbor Publishers, Inc., 1970, 1972, 1976, 1979). I have departed from Strand only in a number of details" (*God Cares* 2:65, n. 6).

⁵Notice that gold, silver, and iron are all basic elements. Only bronze is not, unless Aramaic *n^qhāš* in Dan 2:32 (*n^qhāšā*², vs. 39) is to be translated "copper."

⁶See Hardy, "Daniel 8:9-12," *Historicism* Supplement/Jul 85, p. 4-9.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 11. William H. Shea was the first to point out the grammatical relationships on which the present interpretation is based. For a recent statement of this position see Shea, *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation*, Daniel & Revelation Committee Series, vol.1 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982), pp. 41-43.

¹⁰Alexander was a Macedonian by blood. "Alexander's progress through the East was not, however, merely an exercise in Macedonian imperialism. Alexander, like Philip before him, was conscious of--and insistent upon--his Hellenic role in Asia. He was the captain of a Greek League coming against the descendants of those Shahs who had humiliated the Hellenes in the past" (F. E. Peters, *The Harvest of Hellenism: A History of the Near East from Alexander the Great to the Triumph of Christianity* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970], p.37). "The army which was to realise the dream of Alexander was composed primarily of two elements, Macedonians and the Greeks of the League of Corinth. The latter had been created by Philip by force of arms and Alexander maintained the league as his instrument of control in Greece, hence the war against the Persians was presented as a pan-Hellenic cause" (Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, New American Library [New York: Mentor Books, 1963], p. 156).

¹¹See Hardy, "Notes on the Linear Structure of Dan 11," *Historicism* No.7/Jul86, pp. 14-16.

¹²In his paper, "The Classification, Stages of Growth, and Changing Intentions in the Book of Daniel," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95 (1976), p.195, John G. Gammie suggests that Dan 2:4b-7:18 was the earliest portion of Daniel to be written, with the exception of 7:7b-8, 11a, and 12. Thus, in Gammie's critical model, vss. 9-10 were written first and the verses immediately surrounding them came later. One should realize, however, that if the text were cut into small enough pieces, they could be reassembled with almost any result. There are some very real dangers inherent in Gammie's approach.

¹³As stated earlier, the little horn does not come up vertically from one of the four horns of the Greek goat, but goes forth horizontally from one of the four winds of heaven, i.e., from one of the four points of the compass. If the beast that supports it is not the goat, then it is necessary to ask which one does. In chap. 7 it was the terrible and nondescript fourth beast. If the supporting beast is the same in both cases, there must be some reason why it is not mentioned in chap. 8. The reason appears to be that the terrible beasts is wild and is therefore inappropriate among the domesticated beasts of chap.8. See Hardy, "Daniel 8:9-12," pp. 12-15.

¹⁴Hardy, "*w'nišdaq* in Dan 8:14, Part 2: The Context of Judgment," *Historicism* No. 4/Oct 85, pp. 6-8.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 12-13.

¹⁶See Hardy, "Linear Structure," pp. 29-37.

¹⁷A spatial dualism which contrasts heaven and earth is characteristic of all apocalyptic. See Gammie, "Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93 (1974): 356-85.

¹⁸For a recent summary of Strand's model in the present journal see Hardy, "Rev 4-5 and Rev 19:1-10," pp. 53-54. See also the following note.

¹⁹Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation: Hermeneutical Guidelines, with Brief Introduction to Literary Analysis* (Naples, FL: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1979), p. 45.

²⁰Strand makes no mention of Rev 17 in a recent review of Maxwell's commentary (*Andrews University Seminary Studies* 24 [1986]: 284-86), confining himself to remarks of a more general nature. The tone is sincerely positive, but in fact if more details were discussed the two scholars' views would be seen to be widely different on chap.17--more different than anywhere else in the book of Revelation.

²¹Ibid., p. 54.

²²*God Cares* 2:474.

²³See n. 17, above.

²⁴*God Cares, I: The Message of Daniel for You and Your Family* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1981).

²⁵*God Cares*, 2:324-25.

²⁶See *ibid.*, p. 310.

²⁷See Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, p. 48.

²⁸Fuller, writing of [Wycliffe's] death, exclaims, 'Admirable that a hare, so often hunted with so many packs of dogs, should die quietly sitting in his form' (Philip Schaff, ed. *History of the Christian Church*, 8 vols. [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910; reprint ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984], vol. 6: *The Middle Ages from Boniface VIII., 1294, to the Protestant Reformation, 1517*, by David S. Schaff, p. 324). Wycliffe and Luther had much in common. Wycliffe's "language in controversy was so vigorous that it requires an unusual effort to suppress the impulse to quote at great length" (ibid., p. 326). "No more plainly did Luther preach against ecclesiastical abuses than did the English Reformer" (ibid., p.328). Luther in turn was compared with Wycliffe. Eck at Worms stated, "'Your plea to be heard from Scripture is the one always made by heretics. You do nothing but renew the errors of Wyclif and Hus'" (Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*, New American Library [New York: Mentor Books, 1950], p. 143). On Luther's death see ibid., p. 300, for Wycliffe's see Schaff 6:323.

²⁹For a moving account of Tyndale's imprisonment and death see F. F. Bruce, *The English Bible: A History of Translations from the earliest English Versions to the New English Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 50-52. Tyndale's last circumstances are reminiscent of Paul's in 2 Tim 4:9-13.

³⁰Maxwell, *God Cares* 2:343.

³¹Ibid., p. 474.

³²Ibid., p. 474.

³³See *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, table on p. 56. In Strand's table the "five have fallen" clause of Rev 17:10 refers to historical powers which preceded John's lifetime, i.e., which preceded the first century A.D. The following clause ("one is") refers to John's lifetime and the last ("one is not yet come") is the beast's ten horns, interpreted as being concurrent with each other rather than successive. All of the above corresponds to the "was" clause of Rev 17:8. The "is not" and "yet is" clauses of vs. 8 do not apply until the ten horns have come to their end:

Reference	Historical			Eschatological	
Rev 17:10	Five have fallen	One is	One is not yet come
Rev 17:8	Was			Is not	Yet is

³⁴*God Cares* 2:471-72.

³⁵Ibid., p. 473. Thus, as stated earlier, Maxwell agrees with Strand in dividing the central emphasis of the book of Revelation between historical events and eschatological events.

³⁶Ibid., p. 474-75.

³⁷There is a question whether the present can ever be completely eliminated from the meaning of this word. This would have to be established by linguistic research. In origin the word "yet" is cognate with German *jetzt* "now."

³⁸Ibid., p. 475. Here Maxwell asserts that the entire beast is the "eighth king" of vss. 11. This interpretation is correct: "The beast . . . is an eighth king." Louis F. Were, usually so insightful, fails us in this verse. For him the comparison is as follows (see *The Woman and the Beast in the Book of Revelation: Studies in Revelation 12-20* [Berrien Springs: First Impressions, 1983; originally published in Australia, 1952], p.129):

Verse 8 (first part): "The beast was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss" (R.V.).

Verse 8 (last part): "The beast was, and is not, and shall come" (R.V.).

Verse 11: "The beast was, and is not, even he is the eighth" (R.V.).

Maxwell's position, and mine, is that John writes from the perspective of the sixth head. The clauses "is about to come" in vs. 8a and "shall come" in vs. 8b both refer to the still future

seventh head. Verse 11 is parallel to both 8a and 8b. The part of the sentence in vs. 11 that corresponds to "is about to come" and "shall come" is "he is the eighth." Therefore the eighth king is the same as the seventh head. The seventh head is numbered 8 (see *ibid.*, pp.113-28). But this does not account for the obvious language of vs. 11 itself, as pointed out above: "The beast . . . is the eighth" (vs. 11, R.V.), not, "The seventh head . . . is the eighth." The language is apocalyptic in nature. Satan has used a variety of means throughout history to oppose God. Each time a major world power rises he is on hand to try to influence that power to serve his purposes. Thus, "He belongs to the seven and is going to his destruction" (vs. 11). Here is the sense in which one king who is not the same as any one of the seven prophetic world empires can pertain to them all.

³⁹Five propositions are at issue in the present model, of which only the last is open to any serious question: (1) Rome came to international prominence in history both as a state and as a church; (2) the Roman state persecuted Christians; (3) the Roman church was a persecuting power in the past; (4) the Roman church is not a persecuting power in the present; and (5) religious Roman will be a persecuting power in the future. Only the fifth point can be seriously challenged. The others are a matter of historical record. But the present account was not written as history. It was written as prophecy. The earlier parts of the prophecy were true. The later parts are true as well. The church will persecute again.

⁴⁰By secular societies I mean ones where the state ignores religious institutions altogether, not where the state is hostile toward religion. Eastern bloc countries are not secular in this sense. They are not truly irreligious. Their political ideology is itself a religion.

⁴¹*God Cares* 2:474.