

# Paul's Intention to Go to Spain

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## Introduction and Prologue

In Rom 15:19 Paul states that "from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum, I have fully proclaimed the gospel of Christ." At a later time he revisits some of the churches he has raised up--those in Macedonia (1 Tim 1:3), Troas (2 Tim 4:12), and Miletus (2 Tim 4:20). He would not have done this without reason.<sup>1</sup> And yet Paul was not called to be a pastor; he was called to be an apostle (Rom 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1). It is one proof of Paul's calling that the freedom which the above accomplishments now impose on him is not taken as a license for retirement but as an opportunity to enter new territory. If his plans mature as he hopes, they will take him literally to the ends of the earth as his contemporaries knew it.

But now that there is no more place for me to work in these regions, and since I have been longing for many years to see you, (24) I plan to do so when I go to Spain. (Rom 15:15)

From the above passage we know that Paul planned to go to Spain. Whether he actually got there or not is another question. Taken in itself the issue may never be fully settled. But the fact that he completed his earlier commission to evangelize the Greek speaking eastern half of the Mediterranean world gives us a valuable window of opportunity just as it did him.

If one were to discuss Paul's planned mission to Spain at length instead of dismissing it with a footnote or some other minimal comment, issues could be clarified that would serve us well in later papers. So that is what I propose doing here. There has been occasion earlier to discuss Rome's position in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup> Here it will be possible to catch at least a glimpse of Rome's position in the west. The emphasis, however, is not on the Empire's impressive military successes but on the people that Paul might have had in mind as objects of his apostolic ministry.

## The Broader Setting in Terms of Prophecy

In our ongoing discussion of Dan 11 it will be well to understand what Rome was doing in the west because the next point on which the prophecy focuses (vss. 29-35) is the decline of the western Roman Empire and what in many ways can be thought of as its displacement by the Roman Catholic church in western Europe. Rome rose and then fell, but its influence was never fully lost. It is with us still in any number of important ways.

The great Germanic migrations during the half millenium after Christ will figure in later papers. But we should realize that there was an almost equally great series of Celtic migrations during the half millenium before Christ.<sup>3</sup> By the time Paul went on his various missionary journeys there were Celtic communities in Asia Minor which had been there for centuries. The

epistle to the Galatians, for example, was written to churches composed predominantly of Celtic Christians.

Elsewhere there was a strong Celtic presence in Illyricum<sup>4</sup> and the tattered remains of an earlier one in northern Italy.<sup>5</sup> Celtic tribes occupied all of Gaul at this time.<sup>6</sup> And Celts also occupied both Spain and Portugal, especially in the central and northwestern parts of the peninsula.<sup>7</sup> Thus, while we think of the first Christian century politically as a Roman age, we could think of it ethnically as the twilight of an earlier Celtic age.

Popular wisdom has it that the course of empire runs from east to west, and indeed such a pattern can be seen in Dan 2 where Babylon controls a territory extending as far west as the Mediterranean sea, Persia as far west as the Aegean, Greece as far west as the Adriatic, and Rome as far west as the Atlantic. But we must be able to think in terms of north to south movement as well. In the dim past the Greeks,<sup>8</sup> Illyrians,<sup>9</sup> and Romans<sup>10</sup> alike all reached their eventual homelands on the Mediterranean from the north. So did the Celts. And at a later time the various Germanic tribes followed them, in company with others who wished to share their adventures.<sup>11</sup> The prophecy of Dan 11, around which the present journal has grown up, does not confine itself to the more "civilized" east-west expansions alone but takes in at least one of the "barbaric" north-south expansions as well--the later Germanic one. All of these facts must be taken into account if the prophecies of Daniel are to be well or fully understood. But my point here is that the Germanic tribes, when they eventually came, were following a well established, almost traditional, pattern and that they had been preceded by Celts.

The sizable Celtic populations all along the northern Mediterranean, from Galatia in Asia Minor to the Atlantic, represent a fact which Paul cannot have been unaware of and which must have heavily influenced his thinking at the time in question. If this is the case, the same factors must influence our thinking as well, and to the same degree, or we will never successfully enter Paul's mind or understand what he wrote in regard to his plans for further evangelism. It is true that Paul had a burden for Christ to be preached. But I think it would be more accurate to say he had a burden for the preaching of Christ to be heard. His was a Christ-oriented ministry, but it was also a people-oriented ministry. He longed to bring the two together and could therefore speak of his work as being priestly in nature (Rom 15:16). The tall, blond, and unruly lot who had stoned him at Lystra (Acts 14:19-20) after first trying to worship him as a god (vss. 11-13) must have held a special place in his heart and I suggest that he had a special burden for them. These were the impressionable, changing, "foolish Galatians" (Gal 3:1) who had begun so well in the faith and then exchanged Paul's gospel for a hollow substitute.

Paul had an expansive concept of the work to be done. He was "obligated both to Greeks and non-Greeks, both to the wise and the foolish" (Rom 1:14), and he did not want to spend his efforts on those who had already heard what he was telling them (Rom 15:20). The Celts, or Celtiberians, in Spain would qualify eminently as being both uninstructed and unreached. We are not, however, defending a new suggestion that Paul wanted to evangelize the Celts. We are explaining the fact that Paul wanted to work in Spain. In my view explaining a fact is equivalent to setting it in context. Thus, I attempt below to recreate a context in which Paul's selection of Spain as a preferred location for future labor can be seen as the natural choice that in fact it really was.

Another factor in Paul's thinking is the more obvious one of knowing that there was another field of labor comparable in size and scope to that which had occupied his attention up to now. The task of evangelizing the Latin speaking western half of the Roman Mediterranean world would present itself clearly enough to one who had just finished preaching Christ

throughout the length and breadth of the Greek speaking eastern half. The place where these two inherently different motivations converged was Spain.

## Paul and Illyricum

There is a question what Paul means when he says "all the way around to Illyricum" (vs. 19). Does he mean to include or exclude Illyricum as one of the places where he actively ministered? One interpretation or the other might present itself from the wording of the passage, depending on which translation we use, but in fact the Greek can be taken either way.

Why does Paul say that Illyricum was the boundary of his labors?

To answer the above question about Illyricum we must know something about Paul's labors but we must also know something about Illyricum. Our story therefore begins in an earlier day.

At the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Celtic tribes invaded Illyria,<sup>12</sup> just as they also invaded Italy at about this time. In 383 B.C. there was an attempt by the Illyrians to mount a united defense against the newcomers. One reason why the plan did not work is that Philip, father of Alexander the Great, considered the Illyrians to be the greater of the two threats. He was used to thinking of them as enemies and so, planning only for the immediate future, he soundly defeated them in battle. The Celtic place names in Dalmatia are a testimony to the results of this policy. It would have made sense for Philip to allow his present Illyrian enemies to blunt the thrust of his future Celtic enemies.<sup>13</sup> The point to notice, however, is that the Macedonians to the east were traditional enemies of the Illyrians, as were the other Greek speaking states to the south.

While "Illyria" is a Greek word, "Illyricum" is the Latin equivalent. In 229 B.C., and again in 219, the Romans went to war with Illyria for control of the seas, since Illyrian pirates were out of all control and the Adriatic was no longer safe for commercial shipping.<sup>14</sup> From then until 180 B.C. Skodra in modern Albania was the capital of an independent Illyria--minus some of its pirates. In 168 B.C. the country was again conquered by Rome. It should be noted, however, that in 156 B.C. Gaius Marcius Figulus was driven back to the Roman frontier trying to conquer it again. In 119 B.C. L. Caecilius Metellus celebrated a triumph in Rome for the military victories he had been forced to win over these same Illyrians. In 33 B.C. Caesar Augustus would also have to defeat them. It was not until A.D. 9 that Tiberius actually did what all these earlier generals thought or hoped they had done. He truly and thoroughly defeated the Illyrians. Thus, whether the borders of Illyria separated Illyrian dialects from Greek or separated Greek from Latin, they appear always to have represented a linguistic as well as ethnic frontier.<sup>15</sup>

One indication of just how tenacious the Illyrians were comes to us from Albanian, by the very fact that it is still a living language spoken today.<sup>16</sup> Here is a forceful testimony to the individuality of some Illyrians. Not all, however, remained so aloof. Most became thoroughly Romanized. As evidence consider that the "barracks" emperors Decius (249-51), Claudius II (268-70), Aurelian (270-75), Probus (276-82), Diocletian (284-305), and Maximian (287-305) were all Illyrians by birth.<sup>17</sup>

Albania is at the far southern end of ancient Illyria from a Roman perspective. In the north that region extends as far as Italy. Thus, those tribes that kept their native language were in one sense the most remote, although in fact most travel between the two countries was by sea. But for whatever reason, Roman Illyricum, on its southern and eastern borders, presented a clean break with the Hellenic culture beyond it. In the south Latin was never universally accepted by the people for spoken use.<sup>18</sup> Neither was Greek. But the language of administration, as opposed to home use, was Latin throughout. And here is the point that applies to Paul's case. In Paul's day Greek was spoken to the east and south of Illyricum and Latin to the west and north. Illyrians never blended well with their Greek speaking neighbors.

The linguistic facts associated with the Illyrian border are one reason why Paul can be expected to have stopped there. When he says "from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum, I have fully proclaimed the gospel of Christ" (Rom 15:19), we may safely assume that the area inside Illyricum is excluded. Paul did not enter Illyricum in the sense of working there. And yet the famous Roman Via Egnatia, or Egnatian Way, which provided overland contact between the Adriatic and Aegean seas, ran close to Illyricum and Paul must have used it leaving Thessalonica.<sup>19</sup> Any outlying Illyrian communities he might see along the way would surely have been thought provoking for him. It is hard for anyone to appreciate this fact until he has served among another people. Now Paul's attention was beginning to turn toward the other half of the Mediterranean world--the half where Latin rather than Greek was the predominant international language.

## Paul and Spain

When Paul was first set apart by the Holy Spirit for his apostolic ministry, along with Barnabas (Acts 13:1-3), their object may have been to raise up some churches in the hinterland. But it often takes time to realize the full important of what the Holy Spirit is saying to us. On the second missionary journey Paul and Silas went farther than Paul and Barnabas had on the first journey but they were forbidden by the Holy Spirit to enter either the province of Asia to the south (on the Mediterranean) (Acts 16:6) or Bithynia to the north (on the Black Sea) (vs. 7). The apostle who went north up to and possibly beyond the Black Sea was Andrew.<sup>20</sup> Paul and Silas had business they did not yet know about in Europe (vs. 9).

Years later, with all this behind him, Paul's concept of what needed to be done was expanding again. He had carried his ministry as far as Illyricum. He now wanted to carry it as far as Spain.

What did it mean for Paul  
to want to go to Spain?

When Paul says that he wants to go to Spain in Rom 15:24 he has more in view than just Spain. In the same verse where Paul speaks of extending his ministry to the western extremity of the Empire he mentions wanting to spend some time with the Roman believers en route. This part of his plan is both typical of him and instructive. How many other places would he visit along the way? Or would he stop nowhere else but at Rome and then Tarraco (or perhaps Saguntum)?<sup>21</sup> It would be consistent with everything else we know about Paul if what he had in mind was to work all the way around to Spain (vs. 24), just as he had worked "all the

way around to Illyricum" (vs. 19), or else to press for the destination and then work his way back.

These things show how forward-looking was Paul's plan to travel beyond Rome to Spain (Rom. 15:24, 28), a project in which he clearly expects the co-operation of the Roman Christians. Even if his first object was the Hellenized towns, 'it marks the beginning of an entirely new enterprise; behind it lies Gaul and perhaps Germany and Britain. He is about to pass over from the Greek into the distinctly Roman half of the civilized world' (J. Weiss, *History of Primitive Christianity*, 1, 1937, p. 359).<sup>22</sup>

But if Paul had more than Spain in view, it is still the case that Spain itself held a special attraction for him. Why should this be? It would be out of character to suppose that Paul wanted nothing more than to earn the distinction of carrying the gospel farther westward than anyone else. I think there is a better explanation.

What was Spain like during Paul's lifetime?

We will never understand why Paul wanted to go to Spain in the first century if we know nothing about first century Spain. I suggest that he was not being drawn by the place alone, but that what drew him to the place was the people who lived there. He was not attracted to Spain because of what he did not know--thinking of it now as a distant place of mystery or romance--but precisely because of what he did know about it. His zeal, I suspect, was based on knowledge (see Rom 10:2). If this is the case, i.e., if Paul was drawn to Spain by its people and if he knew who they were, who were they?

*Early visitors to Spain.* Spain has an especially rich and diverse ethnic past. Despite, or perhaps because of, this fact Spain is not an easy place to learn about. And yet it would not serve the purposes of this research to give an easy answer to a difficult question. Let it occupy our minds for a while, as it must surely have occupied Paul. One problem is that those who came to Spain first were so dramatically overshadowed by a succession of major foreign powers who came for the purpose of establishing commercial relationships based on silver mining.<sup>23</sup> By the first century A.D. Spain had already been exploited by Phoenicians and Greeks, populated by Celts, and conquered by Romans.

There is doubt as to the exact age of ancient Gadir (modern Cádiz),<sup>24</sup> but, barring the discovery of older occupation levels, it was probably founded by Tyre sometime between 1100 and 600 B.C.<sup>25</sup> The Greeks came later, founding Emporion around 575 B.C. from their base in Massilia (Marseilles).<sup>26</sup> While Gadir was in the extreme west of Iberia (beyond the Strait of Gibraltar on the Pacific coast rather than the Mediterranean), Emporion was in the extreme east (at the base of the Pyrenees near the modern border with France). There were other later colonies in between these two points along the southern coast of Spain, most of them of Phoenician origin.<sup>27</sup> Then, as a result of the second Punic war (218-201 B.C.) Spain became Rome's first colony and the long and thorough process of Romanization began.<sup>28</sup>

The Celts of Spain are in a category of their own because they came not primarily to trade but to settle. Their earliest homeland lay in the area of the upper Danube, Rhine, and Weser rivers in central Europe. From this starting point (Austria, Bohemia [place of the Boii], and Germany) Celtic tribes expanded first north and west, then south and east. But these

movements occurred at different times. During the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Celts were taking up positions in central Gaul, Britain, and Spain. During the fourth and third centuries B.C. they were moving into southernmost Gaul, over the Alps into Italy, and across the Danube into Illyria, Thrace, and Asia Minor.

The Celts entered Spain from the north around the upper end of the Pyrenees and settled mostly in the northwestern and central parts of the Iberian peninsula.<sup>29</sup> After a certain time classical authors speak of Celtiberians in Spain rather than Celts,<sup>30</sup> but this fact should not be misinterpreted.<sup>31</sup> The Celtiberians were a distinctly Celtic people and their language can be identified as belonging to the Goidelic group.<sup>32</sup> Thus, they were closely related to those tribes which eventually settled Ireland. There may also have been a migration of Indo-Europeans from the north which preceded the Celts,<sup>33</sup> but if this is the case they became Celticized at some later time.

The Iberians themselves come down to us in history as a silent people. It would seem (although the impression must be resisted) that the extent to which they are archaeologically visible is the extent to which they once came under foreign influence. Pre-Roman archaeology in Spain is largely occupied with tracing Phoenician and Greek influences. We know all too little about the Iberians themselves.

*The peoples of Spain during Paul's day.* Rome had done a thorough job of establishing itself in Spain by the time Paul planned to go there. And yet it is unlikely that he was motivated by a desire to reach the comfortable Roman administrators and businessmen who managed the affairs of the province. They would have opportunity to hear about Christianity in the major cities of the Empire on visits home. Paul's mission would rather be to those who populated the countryside and who, for so many centuries, had been influenced by these and other foreigners.

Without attempting any detailed treatment, let me suggest that the number of Carthaginians (people of Phoenician origin) living in Spain two hundred years after the Roman takeover would be negligible, and the number of Greeks nil. There were Romans, of course, but many of them would consider Spain little more than a place to serve the Empire or turn a profit. Their real homes were elsewhere. The people whose homes were not elsewhere would fall into two main categories based on language--those who lived in areas dominated by Celts and those who did not.<sup>34</sup> Both were eventually dominated by Romans, of course, but the people thus dominated can be distinguished from each other in the above manner. First century Spain was very much a Celtic as well as Iberian place.<sup>35</sup>

It is one thing to establish with hindsight what the facts of a given case were, but it is another to establish the manner in which they were perceived at the time. Only the latter can account for how people respond to the information currently at their disposal. In Paul's day educated Greeks

. . . made do with a picture of the world in which there figured, alongside the civilized states of the Mediterranean and the orientals, three great barbarian peoples: the Scythians, somewhere to the north-east, the distant Iberians and the Celts in the near west. Beyond that region, that is, in the Back of Beyond, were thought to be the Hyperboreans, a race so little known that the frontiers of their homelands could only be shown as the north wind, the *Boreas*.<sup>36</sup>

One could use the above facts to argue against my hypothesis that Paul had a burden for the Celts. Perhaps he really wanted to work for some group other than Celts, e.g., Iberians.

But in view of the civilizing impact of two centuries under Rome there is a question how barbaric the Iberians were by this time. Paul was a well informed individual,<sup>37</sup> and I suspect that he knew a good deal about the ethnic makeup of Spain before laying any definite plans for a missionary journey there. If I am correct, his knowledge of such things is one reason why he laid the plans that he did. One could make a strong case that Paul saw Spain as (1) a place where he could work for a people with whom he had some familiarity as well as a great burden (the Celtiberians or Celts of Iberia) and (2) a place where he could carry the gospel to the ends of the earth--literally. Beyond the western border of Roman Hispania lay only the sea. Spain, therefore, held out to Paul's mind the best of two worlds and it was the combination of both these factors that so strongly drew him to the idea of going there.

Did Paul ever reach Spain?

The question of whether Paul did or did not actually reach Spain as planned may never be satisfactorily answered. There is simply not enough evidence to resolve the problem with any confidence. Both positions offer certain wisps of evidence that can be advanced to support them.

*The positive evidence.* There are two fairly creditable early sources that state or imply that Paul reached Spain as he had hoped to do. These are the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians (I A.D.) and the Muratorian Canon (II A.D.). Taking the later source first, we read that

Luke addressed them [Acts] to the most excellent Theophilus, because the several events took place when he was present; and he makes this plain by the omission of the passion of Peter and of the journey of Paul when he left Rome for Spain.<sup>38</sup>

But the above fragment was written a century after the fact, in about A.D. 170. 1 Clement was written c. A.D. 95 by a man who had known Paul personally and been his fellow worker at Philippi (see Phil 4:3). Thus, Clement would certainly be close enough to the events to clarify them for us, but unfortunately his style of writing is such that all the original questions survive our attempt to learn from him:

After that he [Paul] had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world and having reached the farthest bounds of the West [*to terma tēs duseōs*]; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance (1 Clement 5:5-7).<sup>39</sup>

Another rendering of the crucial phrase is "reaching the farthest limit of the west [or, reaching his goal in the west]."<sup>40</sup> If "the farthest limit of the west" is Spain, or if Spain is thought to be Paul's "goal in the west," then one could assume on the basis of what Clement writes that Paul did in fact reach Spain. This is the positive evidence.<sup>41</sup>

*The problem of Spanish tradition.* At this point there are still a number of unresolved problems for the theory that Paul successfully reached Spain. One of them is the tradition, current among Spanish churches from the seventh century onward, that James the brother of John first brought Christianity to their homeland. Relics purporting to be those of James can still be seen in a shrine at Compostella, which once rivalled Rome itself as a pilgrimage site.<sup>42</sup> The

above tradition has no historical basis whatever; James was executed in Jerusalem by Herod (Acts 12:2) before Paul's first missionary (see Acts 13:1-3). We can be very sure that James never saw Spain. But my point is that, granting the Spanish tradition about an apostolic mission to their shores by someone, it is not a tradition about Paul.

*The problem of no tangible results.* Another problem for the theory is that historically Christianity does not appear to have reached Spain from any quarter until after the end of the first century A.D., i.e., after Paul's death<sup>43</sup> So if Paul went there, where are the results? This is perhaps the single most damaging piece of negative evidence.

As a clarification, however, notice that the Muratorian Canon speaks of "the journey of Paul when he left Rome for Spain." It does not say "the journey of Paul when he arrived at Spain from Rome." It is possible that he started but did not complete his planned missionary journey to Spain. If there really is middle ground, such as this, between the two extremes of a successful Spanish mission by Paul and his not going at all, it would help to explain the conflicting nature of the evidence.

*The problem of Paul's second imprisonment.* Some of the problems surrounding Paul's last years appear to complement each other and offer hope of finding a pattern such as that alluded to above. For example, there is the nature of Paul's second Roman imprisonment.<sup>44</sup> Something must have happened to bring about this last confinement and to serve as a pretext for its extreme severity. We do not know what this might be but some chain of events occurred that would explain it if we had more information.

So on the one hand we have a result without a cause. And on the other hand we have something that might have served as a cause, provoking Paul's final arrest, but we have no exact idea of its immediate consequences--only that in the end Paul was put to death by the state. If Paul went to Spain, or started out to go to Spain, and if his preaching or clear intent to preach aroused such opposition that he was brought back to Rome in chains a second time, then the two facts might explain each other and in this case there is hope that, with further study, all the data might be accounted for. An abortive mission to Spain might help to explain the conditions of Paul's second imprisonment. The second imprisonment in turn might help to explain why any such mission, if it occurred at all, was cut short and prevented from producing results. Return visits of a pastoral nature to established churches in Macedonia (1 Tim 1:3), Troas (2 Tim 4:12), and Miletus (2 Tim 4:20) would be a slender basis for justifying the measures taken against Paul during his second imprisonment.

One possible scenario, therefore, is as follows: After being released by Nero, Paul went east and wrote the pastoral epistles. Then, toward the end of this temporary period of freedom, he set out for the west, as planned, but at some point en route was brought back under extremely harsh conditions. Once back in Rome he was imprisoned and eventually beheaded by Nero, probably during the summer of A.D. 67.<sup>45</sup>

*Another possible explanation.* The obscurity of Clement's language allows room for some alternative interpretations. Perhaps Clement did not intend to be understood in the way we have taken him up to this point. F. F. Bruce offers a conjecture:

This last expression, it might be argued, coming from a man who was resident and writing in Rome, would (however translated) most naturally point to a place farther west than Rome. Clement, however, does not expressly mention Spain, and his rhetorical and allusive style makes it difficult to



draw from his language straightforward historical inferences such as might otherwise have been made from an author writing only some thirty years after Paul's death.<sup>46</sup>

The passage from Clement, once more, says: "he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world and having reached the farthest bounds of the West [*to terma tēs duseōs*]" (1 Clement 5:6). It may be, as Bruce suggests, that when Paul had finally reached his "goal in the west" (an alternative translation of *to terma tēs duseōs*) he suffered martyrdom there. Rome is the only city that claims to be the place where Paul was martyred. Thus, the "goal" is Paul's death and the place where it occurs is Rome. If this is what Clement had in mind, there is no first century evidence of any kind that Paul's proposed Spanish mission ever took place.

## Conclusion and Epilogue

In the final analysis the question of whether Paul reached Spain, or set out for Spain, or simply abandoned the plan, must remain open. One new element of certainty, however, which may be attributed to the present discussion, is that if he did go there he did not remain long. We can be sure of that. But my purpose has not been so much to answer the above questions as to discuss them in support of a broader purpose.

Talking about Paul's relationship with the Latin speaking western provinces of the Roman world has given us an opportunity to discuss at least some of what was involved in their Romanization. Spain would eventually fall to the Visigoths. But here we have a glimpse of how things were before.

During Paul's lifetime Rome was very nearly at the height of its power. Then, from the fourth century to the sixth, the Empire gradually fell victim to our barbarian ancestors. The process of decline would continue and soon Rome would be unable to defend its own walls, much less its former colonies.<sup>47</sup> A permanent legacy of former Romanness, however, remains even now throughout much of the Empire.

The afterglow of having once been a part of the great Roman Empire is a part of our western European heritage. The English I am using to state this claim is one of the strongest arguments in its support, since, by some estimates, it is more than fifty percent French.<sup>48</sup> And French in turn is the common spoken Latin of soldiers and artisans as it developed in Roman and post-Roman Gaul over the course of several centuries. Similar statements could be made concerning the Latin of places other than Gaul as it became, e.g., Portugese, Spanish, Catalan, Provençal, Italian, and Rumanian. These languages are a perpetual reminder that the ancestors of those who now speak them were once brought and kept under the pervasive influence of Rome.

The gradual military decline of the Roman Empire in the west is discussed in later papers and so is the question of its aura of continuing influence in Europe, both medieval and modern.<sup>49</sup> If we are ever to have an intelligent grasp of Dan 11, these are things we will have to understand. The present paper should be read for its own content and also as a preface to that later discussion.

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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.

<sup>1</sup>This of course assumes that there were two Roman imprisonments. The assumption that there were can be challenged but in my view there is good evidence to support it (see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2.22).

<sup>2</sup>See Hardy, "Historical Overview of Dan 11:16-22," *Historicism* No. 14/Apr 88, pp. 2-49; "Historical Overview of Dan 11:23-28," *Historicism* No. 15/Oct 88, pp. 2-61.

<sup>3</sup>"Out of revolutionary disturbances had emerged a culture whose members spread almost in one movement over the greater part of Europe. Around 300 BC there were Celts in France, Spain, Switzerland, southern and central Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, northern Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, England and Ireland. They probably gave the Rhine its name, as well as the Main (Moin), the Neckar, the Lahn, the Ruhr, the Lippe, the Isar, the Inn and the Tauber (Dubra, meaning simply 'water'). South Germany alone they must have settled so intensively that it is difficult to find a single region in Bavaria or Wurtemberg that does not have its 'Celtic fort'" (Gerhard Herm, *The Celts: The People who Came out of the Darkness*, [New York: St. Martins Press, 1976], pp. 138-39).

<sup>4</sup>The idea of a relationship between Illyrians and Celts is one with deep historical roots. "The Halstatt culture at the time consisted of two great regions; one in the west showing increasingly clear Celtic features; and an eastern one in Carinthia, the north Adriatic and Yugoslavia, affected by their cousins the Illyrians and the Veneti. Only now did the three peoples originally from Bohemia begin to separate distinctly; though there was never complete separation, there being Celtic elements in Illyrian art and Illyrian ones in Celtic" (Herm, *The Celts*, p. 116). Apart from the matter of a shared past, there was also a major Celtic invasion of Illyrian territory at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

<sup>5</sup>The Celts entered Italy over the Alps around 400 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 6). In either 390 or 387 B.C. (there is a question as to the date) Brennus and his hords sacked Rome (*ibid.*, pp. 11-13), having established themselves on the Adriatic coast of northern Italy as little as a decade before. A hundred years later the Romans beat these Adriatic Celts back so systematically that some tribes lose their historical identity after 280 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 18). But they were never entirely removed from Italian soil. Polybius, writing in the second century B.C., speaks of a well established Celtic population in northern Italy. "The large number of inhabitants' flourishing in these favourable circumstances, 'their stature and their beauty, and their prowess in war, may easily be discerned in the list of their achievements'" (*ibid.*, p. 7). But Herm, who includes the above quotation, goes on to speak of "the Celts, some of whose descendants must in Polybius's day still have been settled in these regions, . . ." (*ibid.*). So the Celts' prosperity in northern Italy did not last indefinitely but we are nowhere told that they were entirely driven out either.

<sup>6</sup>"There [the region of Heuneburg], in around 520 BC, villages began to be burned, ramparts torn down and hidden stores plundered. From the upper Danube a wave of destruction spread to the valley of the Rhine, on to eastern France, reaching the Rhône valley and finally northern Italy. The whole network of market-places and trade-routes that had arisen in the previous centuries was torn apart" (*ibid.*, p. 114).

<sup>7</sup>"Spain had been widely Celticized since the early La Tène period. In the great changes at the end of the sixth century BC strong tribes from the north had not only penetrated the French homelands of the Iberians but also crossed the Pyrenees. From the intermingling of the two peoples emerged the great barbarian group that Ancient geographers describe as the Celtiberians. Later they discovered within this area the Galicians as well, in the extreme north-west, the Lusitanians in modern Portugal and, along with lesser tribes, the Vaccaeii. Only

in the south and east of the peninsula did older peoples manage to preserve themselves from interbreeding" (ibid., p. 166).

<sup>8</sup>Philologists can deduce that a non-Indo-European people occupied Greece before the arrival of the Indo-European Greek-speaking tribes. Archaeology and philology have determined in general terms that the centres of dispersion from which the two groups came to the Aegean were for the former probably upper Armenia and for the latter probably south Russia. In this narrative, which is concerned mainly with the Greek peninsula, the invading peoples are described as being of Mediterranean and of Nordic stock respectively" (N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.*, 3rd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986], p. 21). The later Dorians were of no distant provenience. "These and further waves of invasion [around 1100-1000 B.C.] clearly flowed from the highland areas of north-west Greece, comprised between Doris, Thessaliotis, western Macedonia, and Thesprotia" (ibid., p. 76). And from another source, "The Dorians were among the authors of this civilization [the Early Iron Age culture of Macedonia] and carried its traditions with them to the South, driven out perhaps by the pressure of Illyrian and Celtic tribes to the north and west" (V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans: A Study of Indo-European Origins* [New York: Dorset Press, reprinted 1987], p. 50).

<sup>9</sup>The Illyrians, on linguistic evidence, are distinct from the neighboring Greeks and Romans and more closely related to peoples living in eastern Germany and Poland. "For example, names like *Acrabanis* make it probable that the Indo-European voiced aspirates became voiced stops in Illyrian, and that the Indo-European *o* became *a*; and *Vesclevesis* shows both that intervocalic *-s-* was preserved and that the language belonged to the centum group. These and other features contrast strongly with the contiguous Greek and Italic, and afford links with the northerly Germanic and Balto-Slavic idioms. Another indication that the Illyrian homeland may have lain in eastern Germany or Poland is afforded by a large number of place names common to both regions, e.g., *Setwia* in both Dalmatia and Silesia" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1964 ed., s.v. "Illyrian Language").

<sup>10</sup>In the XVth century B.C. a new people made their appearance in the Po valley among the old Mediterraneans of Upper Italy. Unlike their Ligurian predecessors and neighbours, the intruders cremated their dead, depositing the ashes in cinerary urns which were laid out, closely packed together, in two cemeteries near each village. The villages themselves were pile-structures on the dry land and are known to archaeologists as *terremare* [singular *terramara*]. They were always laid out in accordance with a deliberate plan. The latter reproduces to the smallest detail the Roman camp of historical times: . . ." (Childe, *Aryans*, p. 68). (As regards the plan of a Roman military camp, which was always square, see Polybius 6.26.10-6.32.5.) According to Childe pottery almost identical to that of the *terremare* builders is found to the east in Carniola, Croatia, or Bosnia. "On chronological grounds the Bosnian material cannot indeed be looked upon as the parent of the Italian but rather as a parallel development of one common stock. In some sense this common stock is in turn related to that Balkan culture which we were able to recognize as early as 2200 B.C., and very specially to the Early Iron Age civilization of Macedonia. On the other hand there are threads which might serve to attach the *terremare* civilization more especially to Bavaria or again to Moravia and Galicia" (*Aryans*, pp. 71-72). If the Macedonian hypothesis is correct, the Romans will have come to their homeland from the east, thus confirming some of Livy's speculations. Otherwise, they will have entered Italy from central Europe.

<sup>11</sup>An authoritative source on the Germanic invasions, to which we shall have frequent recourse in later papers, is Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, trans. Thomas J. Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). For a convenient summary in English of linguistic evidence supporting what we otherwise know from history and archaeology see E. Prokosch, *A Comparative Germanic Grammar*, William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series (Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, 1939), pp. 21-34.

<sup>12</sup>See Michael Grant, *Atlas of Ancient History*, rev. ed. (New York: Dorset Press, 1985), p. 46. After 400 B.C. Celts invaded southern Gaul, northern Italy, and Pannonia (Hungary south of the Danube and extending over into Yugoslavia). The city of Singidunum (now Belgrade) was founded at the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers by the Celtic Scordisci during the third century.

<sup>13</sup>Philip did not live to see the Celtic threat mature, but around 280 B.C. there were major incursions into Macedonia (ruled by the Antigonids) and Asia Minor (ruled by the Attalids). Three tribes were involved at first: the Tolistoagii, Trocmians, and Tectosages. They came from beyond the Danube and eventually pressed eastward to become the Galatians Paul wrote to some two and a half centuries later. But the third century would see more Celts cross the Danube. For a time there was also a Celtic empire in the area of Adrianople. See Herm, *The Celts*, pp. 36-41.

<sup>14</sup>See Fritz M. Heichelheim and Cedric A. Yeo, *A History of the Roman People* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp. 126-27.

<sup>15</sup>According to one writer in the last century the ethnic frontier extended farther south. Thus, the Epirotes who lived on the mainland above the Gulf of Corinth may not have been ethnic Greeks (Johann Georg von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien* [Albanian studies] [Jena: Friedrich Mauke, 1854], pp. 215-16). They were certainly ruled by Greeks but there are hints in classical writers that the population of Epirus was originally of a different stock, and Hahn would say they were Illyrians.

<sup>16</sup>"The ancient Illyrian languages fall into two groups, the northern, closely connected with Venetic, and the southern, perhaps allied to Messapian and now probably represented by Albanian" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1964 ed., s.v. Illyria).

<sup>17</sup>See Stipčević, *The Illyrians*, pp. 69-70 gives the dates for Decius as 248-51, but he also has Claudius II ruling from 262-64, which is clearly wrong. Claudius II was proclaimed emperor in a time-honored manner--by his troops--after the assassination of Gallienus (253-268).

<sup>18</sup>Ironically, although some Illyrians in the south maintained their native language in spoken form, they did not use it for writing. While Latin (and a few Greek) inscriptions appear in Roman Illyricum, we must cross over into southern Italy to find inscriptions in a language closely related to Illyrian (Messapic). Stipčević states baldly that "the Illyrians left not a single inscription in their own language" (*The Illyrians: History and Culture*, trans. Stojana Culić Burton [Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1977], p. 68). But here again we must point out that one such inscription has been found. It is three words long and reads *ana oēthē iser* ("to the sacred goddess Oethe").

<sup>19</sup>In Greek nomenclature, Illyria embraced the westernmost region of Roman Macedonia (including the seaport of Dyrrhachium, one of the western termini of the Egnatian Way). Paul would in any case have had to pass through part of this region to reach the Roman province of Illyricum. If he crossed the provincial frontier, he would have found himself for the first time in his apostolic career in a province where the culture was more Latin than Greek. It is in the context of his reference to reaching Illyricum with the gospel that he tells the Roman Christians of his plan to visit Spain and repeat there the evangelistic programme which he had completed in the Aegean world. Illyricum would have given him some idea of what it would be like to evangelize a province, such as Spain was, where the culture was wholly Latin and not at all Greek" (F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History* [Garden City: Doubleday, 1972], pp. 335-36). So Greek Illyria extended slightly to the south of the Via Egnatia. Roman Illyricum, however, stopped a little short of reaching this road. "Illyria [Illyricum], then, as a geographical unit can best be fixed as the area which is bounded on the north by the Save, on the west by the Adriatic from the west side of the Istrian peninsula, on the east by the Morava-Vardar corridor and on the south by a line which runs from Dyrrhachium due eastwards along a line that passes north of lakes Ochrida and Prespa to the Vardar. This last boundary is the only one which is not

essentially geographical. It corresponds roughly with the line of the Via Egnatia, itself an earlier Greek and perhaps prehistoric route. The northern boundary of Macedonia in Roman times was fixed a little north of this route" (Stanley Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926], p. 291). By using the Latin term even though he was writing in Greek Paul may well mean that he had been north of the Via Egnatia at some point, although this is by no means required by the evidence.

<sup>20</sup>Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History*, 3.1) tells us that the responsibility for evangelizing Scythia, along the north shore of the Black Sea, was given to Andrew. His base of operations, however, was probably Sinope, a Greek colony on the south shore. In the Russian "Tale of Bygone Days" or "Primary Chronicle" it is stated that the apostle Andrew also labored among the Slavs farther north (see Serge A. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales* [New York: Dutton, 1963], pp. 47-48). His point of departure for this missionary journey among the Slavs is said to be Sinope. How far he actually got it is difficult to say. The narrator has Andrew going not only all the way up the Dniepr river past Kiev, and all the way up the Lovat' and Volkhov rivers past Novgorod, but beyond that to Sweden ("among the Varangians") and thence all the way around to Rome, finally returning to Sinope. The details of Andrew's itinerary have obviously been enhanced in the telling, but the fact that both the beginning and end of his journey is linked to Sinope is reasonable and might well represent a historical fact. Whether he ever worked among the Slavs must remain an open question.

<sup>21</sup>Tarraco (modern Tarragona) was a Roman naval base located about midway between modern Barcelona and the mouth of the Ebro. Saguntum (modern Sagunto) lies further west between the Ebro and Cape Nao. The one is in Catalonia, the other in Valencia.

<sup>22</sup>*New Bible Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1982), s.v. "Spain." We should speak rather of Romanized towns by this time. The main Greek colonies in an earlier age were Emporion near the modern Spanish-French border and Hemeroscopion on the base of Cape Nao in Valencia. But by the time Paul would have gone there these earlier settlements were no longer centers of Greek culture. Spain was a distinctly Roman place in the first century A.D.

<sup>23</sup>"By the reign of Sargon in the late seventh century, the supply of silver had increased so sharply that it was used throughout the empire as the accepted currency, and may actually have declined in value. All this can be linked plausibly to the success of the Phoenicians in locating and exploiting the Rio Tinto silver mines in the late eighth century, and most especially to the establishment of firmer control over the Phoenician cities [by Assyria] after the fall of Sidon to King Esarhaddon in 671 BC" (Richard J. Harrison, *Spain at the Dawn of History: Iberians, Phoenicians and Greeks* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1988], p. 155). Modern samples from the Rio Tinto mines, which are still being actively worked, show that "the silver content was extremely variable, from 3.1 kg per ton of ore to nothing at all. Figures as high as 10 kg per ton could well have occurred in the richest spots. These assays are extraordinarily high and compare with modern ones which consider 0.6 kg of silver per ton to be among the richest still being mined today" (ibid., p. 150). Thus, Spain with its silver bore roughly the same relation to the eastern Mediterranean that the New World with its gold would later bear to Spain.

<sup>24</sup>"The Punic *Gadir* or *Aggadir* 'wall, enclosure, fortified place' appears in the Moroccan *Agadir*. To the Greeks the place was known as *Gádeira*, with which we compare the Biblical *Gadara* [see also Ezra 9:9, where the word translated "wall of protection" is Hebrew *gādēr*]. The Romans altered the termination: *Gades*. The Arabs transliterated this word with *q-*, doubtless in its ancient value, still extant in Egypt, of [g]: *Qâdis*. The pronunciation [k] supervened, and the Arabic vowels persisted, giving the Spanish *Cádiz*" (William J. Entwistle, *The Spanish Language together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque* [London: Faber and Faber, 1962], p. 42).

<sup>25</sup>There is uncertainty as to when exactly *Gadir* was founded. "Historical tradition credits the Phoenicians with voyages to southern Spain in the twelfth century BC and places the foundation

of their base at Gadir (Cádiz) around 1100 BC, by a fleet which sailed from Tyre" (Harrison, *Spain*, p. 41). "Gadir, whose Semitic name means fortress or bastion, was probably founded in the eighth century, if not before, from the Phoenician city of Tyre" (ibid., p. 96). "A related problem is the date of the foundation of Gadir, which has been an unresolved controversy for centuries. At the moment, there are no Phoenician finds older than 600 BC from the city, but we should not be too shocked if finds far older come to light to confirm the traditional foundation date of 1100 BC" (ibid., p. 126).

<sup>26</sup>"The other early foundation is Emporion, or 'the market' in Greek, founded around 575 BC from Massilia (modern Marseilles), which itself dates around 600 BC" (ibid., p. 96).

<sup>27</sup>There was a Greek sister colony located across the bay from Emporion. "Most of the other places which were believed to be Greek colonies such as Mainake, Abdera, Hemeroskopeion, or Sagunto, have to be excluded, either because they have been dug and shown to be Phoenician (as is the case with Mainake, probably equated with Toscanos in Malaga), or because they seem never to have been real colonies at all, but landmarks for sailors. Hemeroskopeion signifies a day look-out or viewpoint, and was attached to the mighty rock of Calpe; Sagunto has been little excavated, but may surprise us pleasantly, as Huelva has done" (ibid., p. 73). There are about a dozen known Phoenician sites scattered along the southern coast of Andalusia, of which Cartagena is the best known, apart from Gadir.

<sup>28</sup>See L. A. Curchin, "The Romanization of Spain: An Overview," *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 30, n. s. 5 (1986): 271-85.

<sup>29</sup>*Atlas of Ancient History*, rev. ed. ([New York]: Dorset Press, 1971), p. 46.

<sup>30</sup>"Spain had been widely Celticized since the early La Tène period. In the great changes at the end of the sixth century BC strong tribes from the north had not only penetrated the French homelands of the Iberians but also crossed the Pyrenees. From the intermingling of the two peoples emerged the great barbarian group that Ancient geographers describe as the Celtiberians. Later they discovered within this area the Galicians as well, in the extreme north-west, the Lusitanians in modern Portugal and, along with lesser tribes, the Vaccaeii. Only in the south and east of the peninsula did older peoples manage to preserve themselves from interbreeding" (Herm, *The Celts*, p. 166).

<sup>31</sup>Elsewhere, in southernmost Gaul, the Celts intermingled with the Ligurians also and to such an extent that one can read references to Celto-Ligurians (see Herm, *The Celts*, p. 129). At issue is which direction influence flowed for the most part. Did Celts become Ligurians and Iberians or did these other peoples for the most part blend in with the Celts? One could make a strong case for the latter argument.

<sup>32</sup>See Antonio Tovar, "Pre-Indoeuropeans, Pre-Celts, and Celts in the Hispanic Peninsula," *Journal of Celtic Studies* 1-2 [1949-58]: 11-12). Celts are still arguably identifiable in this region, although they are probably not the same ones. "Whether or not it can be proved that the Galicians are of Celtic stock in the sense that they may be related to the Bretons, Welsh or Irish, they persist in the belief that they are a Celtic people" (Meic Stephens, *Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe* [Llandysul, Dyfed, Wales: Gomer Press, 1976], p. 665). The claim to Celticness in Portuguese Galicia is restricted to cultural matters. The language has died away. "To the Portuguese Galician is an archaic but attractive form of his own language" (ibid., p. 667).

<sup>33</sup>"It is too early to take a position on the point, but there is reason to suppose that [the tribes known as] Cantabri, Astures, Pelendones, Carpetani, and Vettones, though not without some admixture of the following, belonged to the first movement of Indo-European invasion--they were, that is, pre-Celtic" (ibid., p. 12). As we examine Tovar's hypothesis, we should also bear in mind the caution with which he puts it forward.

<sup>34</sup>"From these essays it becomes evident that Spain is divided into two areas linguistically opposed. One, of course complex, but deeply indo-europeanized, embraces all the northwest of the Peninsula, down to the Tajo and, at Mérida . . . , down to the Guadiana; the

mountains of Cuenca and Teruel, the highlands of Soria, and La Rioja, form the oriental limit of this zone, bordering on the northeast the Basque territory, which indeed was crossed by the invaders but remained loyal to its tongue. . . . Non-Indoeuropean Spain may now be defined by contrast and negation: it covered, namely, the Mediterranean coast, the middle valley of the Ebro, Aragón, Navarra, the Basque provinces, the Baetica, and Portugal south of the Tajo. In this area there was no domination either in language or in social life by the Indo-European invaders, whose more or less constant penetrations were absorbed" (Tovar, "Pre-Indoeuropeans," pp. 12-13).

<sup>35</sup>There were other peoples as well. The Basques are one example. "From the archaeological point of view, it would seem most probable that the Basques were not Iberians in race; but race and language are independent, and the Basque language may not be indigenous" (Entwistle, *The Spanish Language*, p. 29). But Entwistle proceeds with moderation and elsewhere uses the term "Basco-Iberian," which implies both closeness and separation: "The traffic in loan-words between Basco-Iberian and Romance is thus seen to be slight, but ancient" (ibid., p. 35).

<sup>36</sup>Herm, *The Celts*, p. 50. The same thought appears elsewhere in Herm's book. "On the Caspian Sea there grew up, possibly as early as 1800 BC, the third of the three great barbarian peoples among whom the Greeks also included the Iberians and the Celts: the Scythians (though the earliest archaeological evidence dates from around 700 BC)" (p. 105).

<sup>37</sup>In addition to his encyclopaedic knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures he quotes Aratus (*Phaenomena* 5), or possibly Cleanthes, in Acts 17:28, Epimenides (*de Oraculis*) in Titus 1:12, and Menander (*Thais* [218]) in 1 Cor 15:33. *Thais* was a play (of which only seven lines survive) (Francis G. Allinson, trans., *Menander: the Principal Fragments*, Loeb Classical Library [London: Heinemann, 1921], pp. 356-57); the *Phaenomena* of Aratus was a work on natural history (A. W. Mair, trans., *Callimachus and Lycophron*; G. R. Mair, trans., *Aratus*, Loeb Classical Library [London: Heinemann, 1921], pp. 380-81). Paul was well read.

<sup>38</sup>Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 40.

<sup>39</sup>J. B. Lightfoot, trans., *The Apostolic Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Baker, reprinted 1967; originally published 1891), p. 15.

<sup>40</sup>F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972), p. 366. The brackets are in the source being quoted.

<sup>41</sup>The apocryphal Acts of Peter 1:3 is reported to make a similar assertion. The Acts of Peter was written around 200 A.D.

<sup>42</sup>John Coulson, *The Saints: A Concise Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Guild Press, 1958), s.v. "James the Greater."

<sup>43</sup>"Unnamed missionaries without doubt seconded his [Paul's] action, to judge by the results: by the middle of the third century there were [Christian] communities in all the main cities of each province" (Ricardo Garcia Villoslada, *Historia de la iglesia en España* [History of the church in Spain], 4 vols. [Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1979], vol. 1: *La iglesia en la España romana y visigoda (siglos I-VIII)* [The church in Roman and Visigothic Spain (centuries I-VIII)], p. 12). It is instructive that even so extensive an investigation of Spanish church history as that by Villoslada can offer nothing more definite than this about how the very first churches there came into existence.

<sup>44</sup>Some question whether Paul was released after the first imprisonment but Eusebius asserts that he was: "After pleading his cause [in Rome], he is said to have been sent again upon the ministry of preaching, and after a second visit to the city, that he finished his life with martyrdom" (Christian Frederick Cruse, trans., *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1955], 2.22, p. 74). In this context notice the wide disparity between Paul's cheerful outlook in Philemon and the firm reality with which he approached what was about to happen to him on this later occasion.

<sup>45</sup>"The apostle was looking into the great beyond, not with uncertainty or dread, but with joyous hope and longing expectation. As he stands at the place of martyrdom he sees not the sword of the executioner or the earth so soon to receive his blood; he looks up through the calm blue heaven of that summer day to the throne of the Eternal" (Ellen G. White, *The Acts of the Apostles in the Proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ* (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1911), pp. 512. One should read the entire chapter from which this statement is drawn (see *ibid.*, pp. 509-13).

<sup>46</sup>Bruce, *New Testament History*, pp. 366-67.

<sup>47</sup>This gradual process of retrenchment explains the Roman abandonment of Britain. They needed their troops elsewhere. They could not defend the Britons against the Scots and the Picts so Angles, Jutes, and Saxons were brought in as mercenaries (see Michael Wood, *In Search of the Dark Ages* [New York: Facts on File, 1987], p. 43). They eventually revolted and conquered their retainers' former lands. And so our English language is built today on a Germanic rather than Celtic base. The French element would begin infiltrating English some 600 years later.

<sup>48</sup>"The English vocabulary is now much the largest in the world, and well over half of it comes from French and Latin sources. It is often impossible to tell from which source an originally Latin word was actually borrowed; but even the direct Latin borrowings were certainly made easier by the fact that many French words were already in the language" (L. M. Myers, *The Roots of Modern English* [Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966], p. 131).

<sup>49</sup>See Hardy, "Historical Overview of Dan 11:29-35," *Historicism* No. 18/Apr 89. "Perhaps the most popular approach to the period in the last generation has been to deny the fall altogether--to emphasize the continuity between Rome and the Middle Ages. . . . The main line of substantial scholarly research into the fall of Rome, however, particularly in England but elsewhere as well, has emphasized that the fall of the Western Empire in the fifth century was a cataclysmic event, a sharp break in European history, and the the invasion of the barbarians was the chief act in the story. . . . The fact is, however, that the two points of view are not necessarily contradictory, and their adherents need not clash as much as they seem to" (Arther Ferrill, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1986], pp. 16, 17, 21).