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HARDY, FRANK WILTON

AN HISTORICIST PERSPECTIVE ON DANIEL 11

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

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AN HISTORICIST PERSPECTIVE ON DANIEL 11

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Frank Wilton Hardy

May 1983

ABSTRACT

AN HISTORICIST PERSPECTIVE ON DANIEL 11

by

Frank Wilton Hardy

Chairman: William H. Shea

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Thesis

Andrews University
Department of Religion

Title: AN HISTORICIST PERSPECTIVE ON DANIEL 11

Name of researcher: Frank Wilton Hardy

Name and degree of faculty adviser: William H. Shea, Ph.D.

Date completed: May 1983

Problem

The objective of the present study was to establish a rigorous exegetical basis for a historicist interpretation of Dan 11.

Method

In chapter I the various claims and presuppositions of preterism, futurism, and historicism were contrasted. In chapter II the structure of Dan 11 was examined in terms of both chiastic and linear outline formats, applying the historicist principles discussed in chapter I to the text. In chapter III comparisons were made, with regard to both form and content, between Dan 11 and Dan 8-9.

Results

It was shown that the narrative of Dan 11 is oriented toward Christ at two points in particular--11:22 and 12:1. The fact that there are two such historical goals in Dan 11 makes possible certain parallels with Dan 8-9, such that the end of the 70 weeks prophecy (Dan 9) corresponds to the middle of Dan 11 and the end of the 2300 days (Dan 8) corresponds to the end of Dan 11. The one pair of references brings us to the first coming of Christ, the other brings us to the second.

Conclusions

A major finding of the study was that the separate and distinct eras of history associated with the two comings of Christ at 11:22 and 12:1, respectively, provide the framework around which our narrative is organized. What the first coming and the second have in common is the One who comes. Thus, the primary basis for doing the suggested type of historicist interpretation in Dan 11 is a recognition of the crucially important role that Christ plays in the chapter.

I do not think we are through with this chapter.

-C. M. Sorenson, 1919 Bible Conference


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AN HISTORICIST PERSPECTIVE ON DANIEL 11

A thesis
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts

by
Frank Wilton Hardy

APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:



William H. Shea, Ph.D., Chairman



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17 May 1983

Date approved

For my mother, Margaret
Virginia Hardy, from whom I
first heard about Daniel

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PREFACE

Every author has several motivations for writing, and authors of technical books always have, as one motivation, the personal need to understand; that is, they write because they want to learn, or to understand a phenomenon, or to think through a set of ideas.

The present volume is no exception to this rule. It has its origin in a sense of intellectual need to understand Dan 11, to which the combined aura of difficulty and significance in the chapter has lent a certain excitement, even urgency.

If reading a book is anything like taking a trip, then reading this one will be more like backpacking. There's only so much simplicity that can be brought to bear on such a topic. And if writing a book can be compared to giving guided tours of the terrain, please bear in mind that while a guide shows his guests the scenery he is not responsible for putting it there.

In the case of Dan 11 God's handiwork is truly awesome. When its own claims are accepted--fully, at face value, and with exegetical implications following from that starting point--the chapter stands out as a singular monument both to God's perspective on and to His involvement in human history. It is a humbling experience to study Dan 11 in depth from such a perspective. One finds himself in the presence of a mind infinitely greater than his own.

¹A. Wayne Wymore, A Mathematical Theory of Systems Engineering: The Elements (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), p. v.

INTRODUCTION

Goals of the Study

Jesus Christ is the center and focus of Dan 11 properly understood. This is a large claim, and demonstrating the value of accepting it is a major goal of the present introductory study.

Chapter 1, below, reviews the literature representing three major schools of interpretation. Chapter 2 discusses Dan 11 in the larger context of Dan 10-12 and points out the working of two distinct yet complementary structural principles there--the one chiasmic, centering around 11:22 and the "prince of the covenant" (nəqīd bərīt); the other linear, oriented toward 12:1 with its reference to "Michael, the great prince" (śar). Then in chapter 3 the outline format proposed for Dan 11 is placed in the context of a parallel with Dan 8-9, showing that a well established precedent exists for the present analysis.

In the course of the thesis a principled explanation is given for a long-standing crux in the interpretation of Dan 11:23, which historicists have traditionally applied to a time earlier than 11:22.¹ It is also shown that the prophetic narrative under review refers to two mutually distant advents of Christ, thus emphasizing that the doctrine of two advents is present in the Old Testament.²

¹See Uriah Smith, The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, rev. ed. (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1944), p. 258.

²See, "The Glacier View Poll--What Does It Prove?" Evangelica 1 (December 1980):39, question #6.

Presuppositions

Unity of Scripture

The concept of Scripture that underlies the present research is based on an analogy between Scripture and the person of Christ.

The Church's consistent orthodox teaching on the nature of Christ--the incarnate Word--is that He was fully God and fully man. Classical heresies on the nature of Christ arose when one of these factors was emphasized at the expense of the other--whether humanity at the expense of divinity (e.g., Arianism),¹ or divinity at the expense of humanity (e.g., Apollinarianism).² Christ was neither part God nor part man. He was both, fully.³ Such a formulation admittedly only serves to state the problem rather than solve it, however; Christ's dual nature remains a mystery of the Christian faith.⁴

¹See Henry Bettenson, ed., Documents of the Christian Church, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 56-57; Lars P. Qualben, A History of the Christian Church, rev. ed. (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964), pp. 121-22. As originally formulated Arianism asserted that "Christ was 'different from and unlike the substance and peculiar nature of the Father in all respects.' He was also unlike man because he had no human soul" (Qualben, *ibid.*). Claims were thus made about both poles of the divine-human nature of Christ. But in the "Arian Syllogism" Christ's divinity was the main object of attack (Bettenson, pp. 56-57).

²Bettenson, Documents, pp. 63-65.

³But not separately. Separating the divine and human components of Christ's nature was the Nestorian heresy. See Qualben, History, p. 122.

⁴The creed adopted by the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) contains a balanced statement of the orthodox position: "We, therefore, acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Only-begotten,

The Scriptures participate in the same unique combination of qualities that Christ had.¹ The parallel is not perfect, since Scripture is not itself an object of worship, but such a model is instructive as a basis for approaching the mystery of inspiration, or at least for clearly defining the problem that it poses. Abraham Joshua Heschel, though not a Christian by faith and therefore not proceeding under the christological analogy proposed here, argues for a position of balance between two poles of influence involved in the formulation of the prophets' writings.

By insisting on the absolutely objective and supernatural nature of prophecy, dogmatic theology has disregarded the prophet's part in the prophetic act. Stressing revelation, it has ignored

complete God and complete man, of a rational soul and body; begotten of the Father before the ages according to (his) divinity, but in the last days . . . of Mary the Virgin according to (his) humanity; that he is of the same nature with the Father according to (his) divinity, and of the same nature with us according to (his) humanity. For a union of the two natures has taken place; wherefore we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord" (ibid., pp. 122-23).

¹See Ellen G. White's comment in the introduction to The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1911), pp. v-vi. She writes, "The Bible points to God as its author; yet it was written by human hands: and in the varied style of its different books it presents the characteristics of the several writers. The truths revealed are all 'given by inspiration of God' (2 Timothy 3:16); yet they are expressed in the words of men. The Infinite One by His Holy Spirit has shed light into the minds and hearts of His servants. He has given dreams and visions, symbols and figures; and those to whom the truth was thus revealed have themselves embodied the thought in human language.

"The Ten Commandments were spoken by God Himself, and were written by His own hand. They are of divine, and not of human composition. But the Bible, with its God-given truths expressed in the language of men, presents a union of the divine and the human. Such a union existed in the nature of Christ, who was the Son of God and the Son of man. Thus it is true of the Bible, as it was of Christ, that 'the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.' John 1:14."

the response; isolating inspiration, it has lost sight of the human situation. In contrast with what may be called "pan-theology," psychologists have sought to deduce prophecy entirely from the inner life of the prophets. Reducing it to a subjective personal phenomenon, they have disregarded the prophet's awareness of his confrontation with facts not derived from his own mind.

A rejection of both extremes must spring from the realization that the words of the prophets testify to a situation that defies both pan-theology and pan-psychology.

Not all exegetes have been so successful as Heschel in rejecting "both extremes." Relative emphasis on the divine and human influences in Scripture has shifted dramatically through time. With the Reformation came heavy stress on Biblical authority,² and the support of Protestant systems of belief became a primary goal of exegesis.³ But if there was any excess during the Reformation in the direction of minimizing contextual and historical matters, by a time some 300 years later the pendulum had swung entirely in the opposite extreme. The position of Johann Philipp Gabler was that inspiration need not be considered at all when dealing with Scripture. "What counts is not 'divine authority' but 'only what the [Biblical writers] thought.'"⁴

¹ Heschel, The Prophets, 2 vols. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1969), 1:ix.

² See Helmut T. Lehmann, gen. ed., Luther's Works, 55 vols. (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958), vol. 32: Career of the Reformer II, ed. George W. Forell, p. xviii, "Luther's presuppositions, his confidence in the Word as a final and sufficient authority for the proclamation of the church, combined with his lack of reverence for the accepted scholastic theologians, made him incomprehensible to most of his professorial colleagues. . . . 'Neither Gregory [whom Latomus had quoted] nor any angel has the right to set forth or teach in the church something which cannot be demonstrated from Scripture.'"

³ Gerhard F. Hasel, Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

On the nature of Christ, Berkouwer writes as follows by way of arguing for a balanced view among modern exegetes in this area:

One must not think that the acknowledgement of the historicity of Jesus of Nazareth is identical with the confession of the church touching the human nature of Christ. The acknowledgement of his historicity is not *half* of the Christological dogma. The point of this dogma is not that there was a historical person, one of whom it is believed on historical grounds that he really lived, but the issue is the significance of the teaching that he was true God and true man in the unity of the person. For this reason, despite the practically general agreement on the historicity of Jesus, the confession of the church regarding the human nature of Christ remains of critical importance.¹

A sequel to Berkouwer's caution cited above, regarding over-emphasis on and misapprehension of the humanity of Christ, could be introduced with reference to Scripture. Here also there is a possible over-emphasis currently on the magnitude of the human influences at work in the origin of Scripture.² We submit that it is not necessary to pit divine and human influences against each other at all, as though they competed for the same space. Christ was no less divine because He was fully human; the Scriptures are no less inspired because they participate fully in an objective historical matrix of events and circumstances. Both influences are fully present.

The possibility of finding unity in Scripture follows from its being inspired by one Holy Spirit. Inspiration is a prerequisite for unity. But even granting inspiration it must not be expected that unity in the Scriptures can be found at will, anywhere one chooses to

¹G. C. Berkouwer, The Person of Christ, Studies in Dogmatics (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954), p. 198.

²John C. Trever, The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), p. 173, argues for less emphasis on divine influence and appears to challenge inspiration generally.

look for it. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr. provides an extended discussion of the issues involved in selecting a theological center for the Old Testament.¹

More recently in OT studies, the prestigious voices of G. Ernest Wright and Gerhard von Rad have added their weight to a rising chorus that has decided that there is no unifying center to the OT. G. E. Wright rules out any single theme on the grounds that it would not be "sufficiently comprehensive to include within it all the variety of viewpoint." Von Rad, no less definite, asserts that the OT "has no focal point such as is found in the New." Interestingly enough, as already noted above, even the NT assurance has collapsed and also followed the lead of the OT field.²

Kaiser's counter position that some point of overall unity can be found within the Old Testament is a good point, but probably not a correct one. We would agree with Wright and von Rad that none is forthcoming, but for reasons other than theirs and with different implications. We would say that there can never be a truly unified theology of either the Old or the New Testament in isolation. The two must be brought together.³ Computing the mid point of half a circle might be possible mathematically, but to do so would be shortsighted. A much more significant center exists to be found. It

¹Toward an Old Testament Theology (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), chap. 2.

²Ibid., pp. 23-24.

³See Gerhard F. Hasel, review of Themes in Old Testament Theology, by William Dyrness, in Journal of Biblical Literature 100 (1981): 626. Dyrness sees both Old and New Testaments as a witness to Christ, and denies the existence of a theological center within the Old Testament alone. "While there are central themes, no single point can be taken as the center, . . ." (ibid). These positions are correct. It is a separate question whether they have been developed adequately.

is one, however, that lies within neither the one half nor the other.

What unifies the Old and New Testaments is the fact that, from different ages and in many different and varied ways, both contain a witness to Jesus Christ--when the references to Him in the Old Testament are recognized and His own claims in the New Testament are taken in their fullest sense.¹ If it is true that "'Each of the major themes of the Old [Testament] has its correspondent in the New, . . .'"² that is a useful fact, but the sort of unity we have in mind is not dependent on it. The very diversity of the witness to Christ in Scripture, both direct and indirect, is evidence of the power He exercises as a unifying factor. Christ in His person, and not any theological or literary considerations, is the Center around which Scripture is unified in the sense proposed here.

Prediction and History

If the entire Biblical canon looks, in a variety of different ways, toward Christ as its center, the book of Daniel also participates in this same type of goal direction.³ And because Christ was

¹See John 1:1-3 (cf. Gen 1:1; Ps 95:6-7), 1 Cor 10:4 (cf. Deut 32:1-4, 15, 18, 30-31; Ps 95:1), and other similar passages.

²Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Unity of the Bible," Ministry, May 1975, p. 9U.

³We take the historical life of Christ as a center and not an end point of the total Biblical message concerning Him. It is specifically the pre-existent Christ through whom God created the world (John 1:1-3), and it is Christ who took the place of fallen humanity on the cross (Matt 27:32-56; Mark 15:21-41; Luke 23:26-49; John 19:28-37). But although the canon ends roughly here in history the message of the canon does not. Christ comes again to reclaim those who love Him. "The turning point of all history is the first advent of Jesus Christ. This is the center of the NT's message. It completes the OT's incompleteness and yet moves beyond, to the final eschaton" (Hasel, "Unity," p. 14U). It completes what is past and moves beyond to what is still future.

still future as Daniel wrote down his various personal memoirs and vision reports, the issue of prediction in it is necessarily raised, which Kaiser refers to as "the original obstacle for most modern biblical scholars."¹

The matter of prediction is a complex one in Daniel's case, and accepting it fully involves making at least three related assumptions: (1) that God revealed factual information to Daniel, (2) that the information revealed had to do with the future at least in part, including future time that was still remote from Daniel's perspective, and (3) that even such details as specified time periods fall within the scope of that revelation. Each of the three points is accepted in the present study; each has been challenged elsewhere. We now cite some of the challenges--beginning with point (3), which is the strongest claim and therefore the most vulnerable, and working back to point (1).

The emphasis on specified time periods in apocalyptic, with special reference to those in Daniel, causes Baumgartner to write:

Through all apocalyptic there goes a fundamentally false sound. It falls under the judgment of the words of the New Testament: "It is not for you to know time or hour, which the Father has held in reserve by His authority" (Acts 1:7). "But no one knows the day and the hour, not even the angels in heaven nor even the Son, but the Father only" (Mark 13:32). This applies also to the book of Daniel. "It inquires into the clock stroke of world history [*dem Glockenschlag der Weltstunde*], rather than the eternal will of God."²

Next, Trevor challenges the idea that apocalyptic intends to deal with the distant future, apart from the matter of time periods. He writes:

¹Kaiser, Theology, p. 30.

²W. Baumgartner, Das Buch Daniel (Giessen: Topelmann, 1926), p. 40.

At least the message from the scrolls is clear that apocalyptic literature from ancient times should be re-examined as to its origin and purpose. Such an examination will show that this literature invariably appeared during periods of persecution and supreme testing of religious faith and loyalty. Furthermore, the ancient documents reveal that their authors had no intention of providing blueprints for the far distant future. The relevance of this genre of literature must first be seen in terms of the immediate future from the writer's perspective.¹

Another scholar representing the same viewpoint is Podskalsky.

Although the historical outlook of the book of Daniel and with it Jewish apocalyptic as such cannot be the object of our investigation, it should nevertheless be affirmed that on this, current exegetical research is united: the succession of world empires and their characteristics are not the proper subject matter of the prophecy, but rather the contrast between human history [*Weltgeschichte*] in general and God's rulership, in two eras.²

Even more fundamental than the difference between near future and distant future is the prior question of whether objective information is in fact conveyed about any period of time--future or otherwise. Rice argues largely in the negative.

Jonah's experience suggests that the real purpose of conditional prophecy is not to provide information about the future. Conditional prophecy is intended to evoke a positive response to God in the present. Indeed, this is the only way to make sense out of it. . . .³

A salient feature of conditional prophecy needs to be applied to prophecy in general. All prophecy is intended primarily to evoke a positive response to God. God wishes to inculcate a saving relationship. Biblical prophecy is never presented as a source of information for the detached or disinterested observer. It always

¹Trever, Scrolls, p. 179.

²G. Podskalsky, Byzantinische Reicheschatology, Münchener Universitäts Schriften, no. 9 (Munich: Fink Verlag, 1972), p. 4.

³Richard Rice, The Openness of God: The Relationship of Divine Foreknowledge and Human Free Will (Nashville: Review and Herald, 1980), p. 66.

involves a call to decision,¹ It is always an invitation to respond to God in the present.

Thus, a minimum of emphasis is placed on the details of any objective information conveyed in prophecy.²

The alternative we propose is to accept at face value the claims of the book of Daniel regarding itself, that God did convey factual information to His prophet,³ and that the information conveyed did have to do with future events, including many events in the distant future as seen from Daniel's perspective,⁴ and even including detailed specifications regarding time.⁵

Once the above points are accepted, and it is established that God is able to predict detailed events in the distant future, only the barest periphery of the claim being made here has been touched. The time of prediction and time of fulfillment for a given prophecy are obvious points of divine involvement in history. But there is no difference in principle between the involvement of God in predicting and fulfilling and that which He maintains constantly in the interim. God is constantly and intimately involved in human history, on a global and an individual level. Such involvement is the rule and not the

¹Ibid., p. 67.

²Note the similarity between Rice's position and what is called idealism by Desmond Ford (Daniel [Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1978], p. 68). The idealist school of interpretation contends "that it is not the purpose of prophecy to inform the church regarding future events" (ibid.). Instead only eternal truths are dealt with.

³See Dan 2:21-23, 27-28, 45, 47; 10:1, 21; 12:10.

⁴See Dan 2:28-29, 45; 8:26.

⁵See Dan 8:13-14; 9:24-27; 12:7, 11-12.

exception. As Kaufman has put it, God is not "one who suddenly and unexpectedly rips into human history and existence, tearing it open and leaving a gaping wound."¹ We do not worship an erratic Being.

What is true of God's relation with man in history also holds for His relation with man in prophecy. In the prophecies of Daniel God projects an active divine participation in human affairs from the time of His encounter with the prophet, through all the seeming disorder created by human attempts to gain power and force the subservience of others, until Michael at last stands up and brings such efforts to an unsuccessful conclusion. God's act of initially willing such a result did not "destroy human freedom; rather it set the context in which man's freedom would appear and mature, and what its ultimate destiny would be."² Thus, prophecy is an expression, not of coercion, but of the divine will to be involved with and close to mankind. It is the natural counterpart of God's involvement in human history, from which He is never absent.

Therefore, if God is constantly with His people in history one would expect the fact to be reflected in prophecy, and in the nature of prophecy's fulfillment generally. To say merely that prophecy exists and is capable of accurate fulfillment is not enough. Different parts of Daniel's prophecy, in some facet of their bearing on the plan of salvation, have been in process of fulfillment--in their primary significance--in every era of history since Daniel.

¹Gordon D. Kaufman, Systematic Theology: A Historicist Perspective (New York: Scribners, 1968), p. 90.

²Ibid., pp. 338-39.

The broader context of God's ongoing involvement with mankind in history and in prophecy suggests that it would be incongruous to apply Dan 11:2-35 to one very limited span of past time in myopically close detail, and then to apply the remaining verses to another very limited span of future time.¹ It might be felt that the history of the mid-second century B.C. is so accurately described in Dan 11 that no other serious historical explanation is available--that history demands the former and belief demands the latter. This is not the case, and it is a point to be made with emphasis. An alternative does exist, and it is one that corresponds to the breadth and level of significance one might expect from an inspired perspective on history. Details of minor importance are not allowed to take on major importance in the prophet's thinking.²

A corollary is that items of major importance are given major emphasis. And here is a matter that demands the most careful attention. A condensed summary of history, inspired by the God who actively works in history to save mankind, would be expected to contain at least some reference to the Saviour, through whom that work is effected. Indeed, it could be expected that such an analysis of history would

¹See chap. I below for discussion, under "Futurism."

²H. C. Lacey, July 7, 1919, Bible Conference, Archives, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C., p. 54, says by way of apologizing for physical weariness, "This is pretty heavy wading, and I feel it is also heavy for you. . . . Yet I think we ought to remember that this is God's word, and if he has chosen to give us these dry details [in Dan 11], it is because we should learn some lesson from them." We submit there are no dry details in Dan 11. The chapter deals with turning points in history, with items of significance and interest. Lacey's observation would be correct, however, in the context of confining the prophecy to the second century B.C.

revolve directly around the Savior's activity and be saturated with implications concerning Him. This is in fact the case.

In Dan 11:22, at the very center of a narrative spanning all of Dan 10-12, is a reference to Christ on the cross as the "prince of the covenant"--swept away, along with an overwhelming army of others, through a process of judicial murder, on falsified charges of disloyalty to Caesar.¹ This reference to Christ in 11:22 is pivotal to the entire narrative which surrounds it, and to our discussion of that narrative.

It takes more than human insight to recognize the significance of Christ's life, or His place in human history. When Peter stated, "'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God[,] Jesus replied, 'Blessed are you, Simon son of Jonah, for this was not revealed to you by man, but by my Father in heaven.'"² In the same way, Daniel's references to Christ match Him too closely to have been merely the product of human speculation.³ More than any scholarly argument the accuracy of these references confirms the inspiration of his prophecies.

"We have here, Montgomery rightly says, the first Jewish attempt since the Table of Nations in Gen. 10 to trace a universal history."⁴ In Dan 11 we have historical analysis at its best, at its very finest.

¹See John 18:28-40; 19:12-16.

²Matt 16:16-17. All Scripture quotations not otherwise specified are taken from the New International Version (NIV).

³On earth He was one "like a son of the gods" (Dan 3:25), in heaven "one like a son of man" (Dan 7:13). In chap. 8 we find Him as "the Prince of princes" (Dan 8:25), and in chap. 9 as "the Anointed One, the ruler" (Dan 9:25). He was the God-man, the Messiah-Prince.

⁴André Lacocque, The Book of Daniel, trans. David Pellauer (Atlanta: John Knox, 1979), p. 214.

Definition of Terms"North" and "South"

The most conspicuous and frequently recurring of the technical terms used in Dan 11 are "king of the North" and "king of the South." Table 1 summarizes NIV's use of "North" and "South" in the chapter.

TABLE 1
"NORTH" AND "SOUTH" IN DAN 11

	North	South
vv. 2-4	---	---
vv. 5-15	6, 7, 8, 9,* 11, 13, 15	5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15
vv. 16-22	---	17*
vv. 23-28	28*	25, 25
vv. 29-45	40, 44	29, 40

*Not present in the Hebrew text.

In each section where the terms occur North and South are rival factions within a larger single entity. Thus in vv. 5-15 North is Seleucid Syria and South is Ptolemaic Egypt, but both were Greek. In vv. 23-28 North is represented by Octavian based in Rome and South by Mark Antony based in Egypt, but both men were Romans. In vv. 29-45 the problem is more complex, but the same principle continues to apply.

The exilic context

Elsewhere in Scripture North and South do not represent rival factions of any identifiable larger entity. Such a relationship is unique to Dan 11. North in the exilic prophets is used to refer to

oppressive powers in general¹--especially Babylon,² but also Assyria.³ Occasionally the northern oppressor comes against Babylon rather than from within it.⁴ Egypt, on the other hand, is consistently depicted as a country that holds out the false prospect of security as an alternative to seeking help from God.⁵ In all of this North and South are poised for conflict, and so the theme of superpowers engaged in an ongoing rivalry that must inevitably involve God's people is consistent with Daniel's usage.

A second significance associated with Egypt is based on Exod 5:2. Here Egypt in the person of Pharaoh refuses to recognize Yahweh's existence or authority: "Pharaoh said, 'Who is the Lord, that I should obey him and let Israel go? I do not know the Lord and I will not let Israel go.'" Pharaoh's open, intelligent denial of and opposition to the true God may be taken as an appropriate symbol for such opposition generally. Atheism would be one extreme form of such an attitude.

Notice that if a long span of time is involved in the prophecy of Dan 11, which is a fundamental claim of the historicist interpretation,⁶ it will be necessary for the terms "North" and "South" to

¹Isa 14:31; 41:25; Jer 1:13-15; 4:6; 6:1, 22; 10:22; 13:20; 25:9, 26; 47:2; Ezek 1:4; 38:6, 15; 39:2. See also Isa 43:6; 49:12; Jer 31:8; Joel 2:20; Zech 2:6.

²Jer 25:9; 46:6, 10; Ezek 26:7. See also Zech 2:7.

³Zeph 2:13.

⁴Jer 50:3, 9, 41-46; 51:48.

⁵Isa 20:6; 30:1-14; 31:1-3; 36:6, 9; Jer 2:18-19, 36-37; 24:8-10; 37:6-10; 41:17-18; 42:13-22; 43:1-3; 44:11-14, 24-30; 46:17; Ezek 17:15-18; 29:6-7; Hos 7:11; 12:1-2. In Hos 7:11; 8:9 Assyria is consulted for assistance. Cf. Jer 2:36.

⁶See the section entitled "Prediction and History," above.

apply during more than one era of history. Since no single world empire was dominant during the entire course of the prophecy, under this model, the terms must be taken to have different historical referents during different periods.¹

And one must expect changes that go beyond the matter of one nation following another in time. As the prophecy of Dan 11 passes into the Christian centuries God's people² are no longer localized.³ Thus, while North and South remain agents of opposition, they begin to take less of their significance from the compass and more from the roles established for them in the exilic prophets and elsewhere in Scripture, as cited above.⁴ The usage of the exilic prophets--which describe events that Daniel himself lived through--remains a consideration of the greatest importance in determining the extra-geographical significance of North and South in Dan 11. We return to this matter at a later point.

¹John M. Kennedy ("A Study of the King of the North," Daniel 11 file, Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C., p. 14) suggests that "the title 'king of the north' has passed successively from one head to another throughout the seven world empires, these being the persecutors of the true church, . . ." See Rev 17:3, 7, 9-10.

²The definition provided by Paul in Gal 3:28-29 is accepted here. Paul states: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise" (ibid.). This Biblical definition is crucial to the entire discussion that follows.

³Acts 8:1-4; 17:6.

⁴p. 15, fns. 1-5. See also George McCready Price, The Greatest of the Prophets: A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1955), p. 314.

Verses 5-15

The first pair of representatives for North and South within Dan 11 is non-controversial. When v. 5 says "The king of the South will become strong," it means, in an individual sense, that Ptolemy I Soter (323-283 B.C.) would become strong. In a corporate sense it means that the power represented by Ptolemy I would become strong, and this power was of course Ptolemaic Egypt.

The example from v. 5 above illustrates a general principle of pronominal reference in the chapter. Consider v. 6 now, which says, "After some years, they will become allies." The pronoun "they" refers back to v. 5, which speaks of "the king of the South" and "one of his commanders." The persons indicated in v. 5 by these terms are Ptolemy I Soter and Seleucus I Nicator (312-281 B.C.), respectively. But the ones who consummated the alliance of v. 6 are in fact not Ptolemy I and Seleucus I but Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.) and Antiochus II Theos (261-247 B.C.). The pronoun in v. 6 refers back to South and North in v. 5, but not to the specific individuals who represented South and North there. Pronoun usage throughout the chapter will remain confusing until this principle of corporate reference is understood.

Notice that in the first manifestations of North and South, spanning Dan 11:5-15, Seleucid Syria is geographically north from Palestine, and that Ptolemaic Egypt is geographically south from Palestine.

Verses 23-28

The principle of corporate reference illustrated with examples from Dan 11:5-15 continues to apply as we come to the second pair of

representatives for North and South, in Dan 11:23-28.¹ Here only two individual rulers are involved in conflict--Octavian (later Caesar Augustus) and Mark Antony.² The focus of attention, however, is not on the men themselves but on the powers they represent. The one controlled the western part of the Roman Republic from Rome, the other ruled the eastern part from Egypt.

As regards the use of directional terms, South in these verses still represents Egypt, but North no longer represents Syria. The new North is Rome, in the person of Octavian. And Octavian is king of the North in vv. 23-28 primarily because he occupies the role of an opponent to the king of the South, not because of any geographical fact about Rome. Only South retains directional significance at this point.³

Geographical reference

The suggestion was made earlier that geographical reference in Dan 11 may be subject to gradual change. Having discussed two of the three verse groupings involved, the question should be raised whether a mere exception has occurred in the second group of verses, or whether some sort of actual progression is initiated that begins to move the

¹The Hebrew of vv. 16-22 contains no mention of these terms. See table 1, above.

²The historical setting in vv. 23-28 is that of the final battle of the civil wars, which had reached their climax some years previously between Julius Caesar and Pompey. This battle was fought near Actium in 31 B.C. (see F. E. Peters, The Harvest of Hellenism [New York: Touchstone Books, 1970], p. 386). The civil wars "had been bleeding the state for a century" (ibid., p. 387).

³We are not dealing here with an interpretation, but with a datum. Octavian's Rome was west from Palestine rather than north, while the geographical orientation of Antony's base remained south.

narrative away from an emphasis on literal geography. We propose that a general shift of significance is in fact introduced in the second group of verses (vv. 23-28), and that it is carried to completion in the third (vv. 29-45).¹ In vv. 5-15 both North and South refer to a geographical relationship with Palestine, while in vv. 23-28 only South does. In vv. 29-45 neither North nor South makes reference geographically to Palestine. These facts are summarized in table 2.

TABLE 2
PROGRESSION FROM LITERAL TO NONLITERAL
REFERENCE: OPPONENTS OF GOD'S PEOPLE

	Vv. 5-15	Vv. 23-28	Vv. 29-45
North geographically significant	+	-	-
South geographically significant	+	+	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "is," and let minus (-) be read "is not."

The progression summarized in table 2 comes in three stages (plus, plus; minus, plus; minus, minus) and deals only with powers that in different times and in different ways have opposed either God or His people. If the table had two stages with two variables (North, South) it would be either abrupt² or incomplete.³ As it stands the

¹The groups of verses referred to here are only those that contain a clear conflict motif. Such groupings are called "scenarios of conflict" at a later point.

²First both, then neither, geographically significant.

³First both, then only one but not the other, geographically significant.

progression is simultaneously complete and without abruptness.

There is a second progression moving away from literal geographical significance, which stands in contrast with the one shown in table 2. The second one involves God's people instead of those who oppose them. It contains only one variable (Palestine), and comes in only two stages (plus and minus). The dividing line between stages is the end of the 70 weeks prophecy of Dan 9:24-27, here placed in 34 A.D., approximately three and one half years after Christ's crucifixion.¹

¹The chronology of the 70 weeks is briefly outlined in this note. Dan 9:24-27 addresses the question of what part of the larger 2300 day prophecy of Dan 8:14 was to be "decreed," or more literally "cut off," for the Jewish people as a nation (see William H. Shea, "The Relationship between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9," in The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies, eds. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Leshar [Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1981], pp. 241-46). The position announced by the angel was that seventy weeks of the 2300 days (490 years out of 2300 years) would have special reference to Daniel's people (v. 24a). The "Anointed One" would begin His messianic office sixty-nine weeks (483 years) after the "decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem" (v. 25). This decree was issued early in 457 B.C. and went into effect "in late summer or early fall of that same year" (Siegfried H. Horn and Lynn H. Wood, The Chronology of Ezra 7, rev. ed. [Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1970], p. 127). The sixty-ninth week would therefore end in the fall of A.D. 27, the probable year of Jesus' baptism. (See John Threlley, "When Was Jesus Born?" Greece & Rome, 2nd series, 28 [1981]:87-88 for an alternative chronology.) The baptism was followed immediately by a special manifestation of the Holy Spirit, which descended upon Jesus in the form of a dove (Matt 3:13-17; Mark 1:9-11; Luke 3:21-22). The term "Christ," as applied to Jesus of Nazareth, refers specifically to the anointing by the Holy Spirit after His baptism. The year of Christ's baptism, therefore, marks the beginning of His approximately three and one half year earthly ministry as the "Anointed One" of Dan 9:25. Subsequently He was to be "cut off" (v. 26)--a reference to His crucifixion at the close of that earthly ministry. The time for this cutting off of the Anointed One is then specified more closely. He would "put an end to sacrifice and offering" by His death "in the middle of that week" (v. 27, margin), i.e., in the middle of the seventieth and final week of the prophecy. But there was still another half week left over, during which the Jewish people were both the focus of the prophecy and of the church's evangelistic outreach.

The seventieth week came to its end decisively with the stoning of Stephen (Acts 7:54-60). An event inseparably linked to Stephen's

Before this time the people of God were associated with a literal homeland in Palestine; afterward, however, the Biblical definition of who God's people are is broadened in such a way that geographical considerations become irrelevant.¹ The second progression away from literal geographical significance is now summarized in table 3.

TABLE 3
PROGRESSION FROM LITERAL TO NONLITERAL
REFERENCE: GOD'S PEOPLE

	During 70 Weeks	After 70 Weeks
Palestine geographically significant . . .	+	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "is," and let minus (-) be read "is not."

It will be helpful to compare the material in table 3 with that in table 2 and to notice the similarities and differences that are involved. In both cases the geographical importance of the land of

martyrdom is the conversion of Paul--the apostle to the Gentiles--and the subsequently widespread preaching of the gospel to people other than Jews (see Acts 9:1-31; chaps. 13-28). (For Stephen as in some respects the forerunner of Paul, or perhaps Paul as the surrogate of Stephen, see W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, The Life and Epistles of St. Paul [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971], pp. 56, 59.) F. F. Bruce, New Testament History (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969; Anchor Books, 1972), p. 225, states that "It is, in any case, difficult to date the stoning of Stephen and the conversion of Saul of Tarsus as late as 37." We tentatively place these events--and with them the end of the 70 weeks--in A.D. 34, on the basis of the chronology already in place for Jesus' baptism (late A.D. 27) and death (early A.D. 31), based on the time prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 as a whole

¹It is necessary to grasp the full import of this claim and to emphasize its Biblical basis. Gal 3:28-29 was cited earlier (p. 4, above, fn. 2). See also Rom 2:28-29; 4:9-12; 8:12-17; 11:1-24; Gal 3:6-9; and elsewhere. Rom 11:25-36 is a passage that should be taken within the present context as well.

Palestine is seen to diminish as the chapter progresses. This is a point of similarity. In the case of God's people (table 3) the change is related directly to the seventy-weeks prophecy of Dan 9:24-27 and the giving of the gospel to the Gentiles after its close, while in the case of those who oppose God's people (table 2) the change is more gradual and is less directly related to Dan 9. This is a point of difference. The facts of table 2 may be said to follow from those of table 3, which accounts simultaneously for the facts that the two are closely similar and that they are not identical. A comparison of information from tables 2 and 3 is given in fig. 1.

Table 3

		During 70 Weeks	After 70 Weeks	
Palestine	B.C.	+	-	A.D.

Table 2

		Vv. 5-15	Vv. 23-28	Vv. 29-45	
North		+	-	-	
South	B.C.	+	+	-	A.D.

Fig. 1. Comparison of information from tables 2 and 3 in time-line format. (Let plus [+] be read "is geographically significant," and let minus [-] be read "is not geographically significant.")

Verses 29-45

We now have a basis for turning our attention to the third of the three verse-groupings that bear on the present discussion. If the terms "North" and "South" are not to be interpreted directionally in Dan 11:29-45, the question arises whether they might have symbolic meaning there.¹

¹The belief that Dan 11 is devoid of all symbolism was prominently and frequently expressed during the 1919 Bible conference of

In the exilic prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, north is consistently seen as a direction from which oppressive powers come.¹ Oppression may therefore be taken as a basic component of Northness in Jewish thought at this time. And Babylon is often identified as the oppressor.² Such a link between Babylon and North in the Old Testament prophets is especially instructive, since Babylon as oppressor is a theme that occurs again in the New Testament book of Revelation.³ "Babylon" is used as a technical term in the book of Revelation,⁴ and its associations there are specifically religious ones.

Seventh-day Adventist church workers. A. G. Daniells, then General Conference president, speaks of "plain facts in simple language without symbols" (July 8, 1919 Bible Conference, Archives, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C., p. 100). In another place he says, "Now we come to the eleventh chapter and Daniel lays aside all the symbols and the figures and then takes up this history" (ibid., p. 96). Such a position is well taken at the beginning of the chapter; less so toward the end.

¹See p. 15, fn. 1, above.

²Ibid., fn. 2.

³On the question of taking New Testament data into account, see Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Unity of the Bible," Ministry, May 1975, p. 8U. There Hasel states: "At the beginning of our discussion we raised the question of whether we ought to read solely from the OT to the NT or from the NT back to the OT, or reciprocally from the OT to the NT and from the NT to the OT. A number of well-known theologians have addressed themselves to this question. One example is the late H. H. Rowley, who reminds us that 'the New Testament continually looks back to the Old.' . . . W. Eichrodt declares, 'In addition to this historical movement from the Old Testament to the New there is a current of life from the New Testament to the Old. This reverse relationship also elucidates the full significance of the realm of Old Testament thought.'"

⁴Rev 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21. See also 1 Pet 5:13, where "Babylon" is used in reference to the city of Rome, which represented North at that time in history. Alfred Wikenhauser, New Testament Introduction (New York: Herder and Herder, 1958), p. 507, states that ". . . Babylon [in 1 Pet 5:13] can only be a symbolic name for Rome, the capital of the Roman Empire which was the enemy of God; this

It was stated earlier¹ that in Dan 11 North and South are always rival factions within a larger unity. Thus, it was emphasized that both Seleucid Syria (North) and Ptolemaic Egypt (South) in vv. 5-15 were Greek, and that both Octavian (representing Rome, North) and Mark Antony (representing Egypt, South) in vv. 23-28 were Roman. In the same way there are elements of rivalry, and of continuity, between North and South in vv. 29-45.

First the rivalry. Broad principles are at issue in the last verses of Dan 11, and it would be too limiting to single out any one particular manifestation of Northness, or of Southness, as satisfying the entire range of characteristics involved.² Whenever Christians of any denomination seek forcibly to impose their beliefs on others, the principles of the king of the North are illustrated. The extent to which force is used is the extent to which North-like principles are in evidence. Similarly, whenever the claims of God are set aside the principles of the king of the South are illustrated. The extent to which they are set aside is the extent to which South-like principles are in evidence. The one system seeks to assert religious tenets with force; the other seeks to deny religious tenets, with or without force.³

was also the view of the early Church (Eusebius H.E. II 15,2: Peter figuratively (τροπικώτερον) calls the city of Rome Babylon in 1 Pet 5, 13; Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 8)."

¹P. 14, above.

²See George McCready Price, The Time of the End (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1967), pp. 67, 82-84, 89. Price's entire book should be studied carefully. It is filled with insight.

³For further comment see the chapter entitled "Summary and Conclusions," below.

Next the continuity. Notice that in vv. 43-45 Northern and Southern forces actually merge. North does not destroy Egypt at the end of the chapter; instead it "gain[s] control of the gold and silver and all the riches of Egypt, with the Libyans and Nubians in submission."¹ Only then, after the subjection and assimilation of South is accomplished, does North "set out in a great rage to destroy and annihilate many."² The similarities between North and South eventually outweigh their differences in the final verses of the chapter. Then both together direct their attentions toward God's people.

"Scenarios of Conflict"

The term "scenario of conflict" is used in the present study to refer to verse groupings in which North and South oppose each other. In vv. 2-4 the terms "North" and "South" have not yet been introduced, and so for convenience they are omitted at the present time. In vv. 5-15, however, both North and South are prominent.³ In vv. 16-22, where the Hebrew text mentions neither North nor South, no conflict between them can occur and the term "scenario of conflict" does not apply. In vv. 23-28 only South is named,⁴ but the required conflict motif is clearly present, with a pitched battle taking place between South and some other power, presumably North.⁵ In vv. 29-45 both terms

¹v. 43.

²v. 44.

³For North see vv. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, and 15; for South see vv. 5, 6, 9, 11, 14, and 15. "North" is not present in the Hebrew of v. 9.

⁴See v. 25, two occurrences. "North" is not present in the Hebrew of v. 28.

⁵See previous discussion, pp. 17-18, above.

are used and once more the conflict motif is present.¹

A question now arises as to the status of vv. 23-28. Like vv. 16-22 the section does not make any reference to North, but like vv. 5-15 and 29-45 it does exhibit a clear conflict motif. We summarize the problem concerning vv. 23-28 by repeating the substance of table 1 as table 4, where the issue is no longer which particular verses contain the terms "North" and "South," but which entire sections contain them in the Hebrew.²

TABLE 4
PRESENCE OF "NORTH" AND "SOUTH"
BY SECTION (SEPARATELY)

Verses	North	South
5-15	+	+
16-22	-	-
23-28	-	+
29-45	+	+

Table 4 is now in turn restated as table 5, where those sections are identified which refer overtly, in the Hebrew text, to either North or South. The existence of such reference within a given section is shown to be equivalent to the existence of a conflict motif.

¹For North see vv. 40 and 44; for South see vv. 29 and 40.

²Grouping vv. 29-35, 36-39, and 40-45 together is largely a matter of convenience at this point. A much fuller discussion of the verse divisions of the chapter is given in chap. II. It would also be possible to argue for four scenarios of conflict (vv. 5-15, 23-28, 29-35, 40-45), by contrast with three (vv. 5-15, 23-28, 29-45). The important thing to notice in either case is the absence of this motif in vv. 16-22; for its absence in vv. 36-39 see below. North/South conflict is not ubiquitous within Dan 11; it is confined to certain sections only.

TABLE 5
 PRESENCE OF "NORTH" OR "SOUTH"
 BY SECTION (JOINTLY)

Verses	North/South	Conflict
5-15	+	+
16-22	-	-
23-28	+	+
29-45	+	+

On the basis of table 5, vv. 23-28, where North and South oppose each other, are grouped together with vv. 5-15 and 29-45, and are seen to contrast with vv. 16-22 where neither North nor South is mentioned. The three scenarios of conflict are therefore vv. 5-15 (Greek era), 23-28 (Roman era),¹ and 29-45 (Christian era).²

However, the section of greatest interest is none of those where North/South conflict is present, but rather vv. 16-22 where it is absent. This point of emphasis differs radically from that of many commentators, as the following chapter shows.

¹By "Roman era" we mean the period of time that begins with Rome's first formal alliance with the Jewish state in 161 B.C. (see E. Mary Smallwood, The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, no. 20 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976], pp. 6-7) and ends with events surrounding Constantine's acceptance of Christianity and the moving of his capital from Rome to Constantinople. The one event occurred in A.D. 312 (see Peters, Harvest of Hellenism, p. 684), the other in A.D. 330 (ibid., pp. 685-86). In both the second century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. Rome was, by these actions, entering into relationship with God's people, as Greece had done earlier (see vv. 5-15). The "Greek era" precedes the second century B.C.; the "Christian era" follows the fourth century A.D.

²Or, in a four-scenario model: vv. 5-15 (Greek era), 23-28 (Roman era), 29-35 (Christian era, past), and 40-45 (Christian era, future). For further discussion see chap. II, below.

CHAPTER I

COMMENTARIES

A comparison of many commentaries that sets out to deal with Dan 11 in all its aspects across a wide range of divergent personal and ideological opinion would be of little practical value. There must be an organizing principle. Here attention is focused on competing interpretations of the "prince of the covenant" in v. 22 and the "contemptible person" of v. 21.

According to the Introduction, above,¹ vv. 16-22 promise to be the one section of greatest interest within the present narrative; here it is asserted that the item of greatest interest within that section is v. 22. In fact, seeing all of Dan 11 from the perspective of v. 22 is so productive of insight that the resulting model serves, in chapters II and III respectively, to account not only for our narrative's internal structure but for its relationship to other parts of Daniel as well.

Review of Literature

The literature on Dan 11 falls within three different schools of interpretation. These are preterist, futurist, and historicist. Topics discussed in each case are inspiration and the dating of Daniel, prediction and application to history, chapter outline and commentaries, and other comments.

¹p. 27.

Preterism

Preterist interpreters produce consistent results. Our differences with them do not lie in the area of how preterist presuppositions should be worked through to logically sound preterist conclusions.¹ Rather the differences concern the presuppositions themselves.

Inspiration and the dating of Daniel

For preterists inspiration is simply not a viable concept in any functional sense. John J. Collins states:

We do not wish to prejudge the question whether the author of Daniel had genuine visionary experiences in which he "saw" these visions, or whether he composed them as literary works. There is in fact no criterion by which we can establish the author's state of mind. For our purpose, the difference between the two alternatives is not significant. In either case, the visions are imaginative constructs which arise out of the author's experience of historical events.²

Thus, there is no basis for distinguishing writings that are inspired from ones that are not, and the circumstances surrounding extra-Biblical apocalyptic works serve as the norm for evaluating Biblical apocalyptic.

Once again the evidence from the Qumran documents is such that it should force concerned students of the Bible to take a new and careful look at the history of the Biblical canon. Books that deal with how the Bible came to be must be rewritten. More attention must be paid to the human decision-making process that has always been implied in the story of the Bible but now comes forcefully to light in such a way as to demand new answers to the vital question, How does God work in history? Our definitions of such phrases as "the Bible as the inspired Word of God,"

¹One important exception is discussed in the section entitled "Other Comments," below.

²The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel, Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 16 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), p. 95.

or "the Bible as revealed Word," or "the prophetic Word," must be re-examined.¹

In this view the divine element in Scripture is minimized.

Another position minimized by preterist scholars is the historicity of Daniel as a person. Collins states that

While we cannot exclude the possibility that there may have been a Jewish youth named Daniel during the exile, whose career gave rise to certain stories, no critical scholar could entertain much hope for the success of a quest for the historical Daniel.²

Any identification of the hero of the book of Daniel with Danel, referred to in Ezek 14:14 and 28:3, is rejected.³ And in any event the existence of such a person would be irrelevant as regards dating the various literary fragments of Daniel, because Daniel as a historical person is not seen as having any role in the authorship of the book that bears his name.

It is possible to refer to a "final author or redactor" of the book,⁴ but beyond this lies an entire "apocalyptic community."⁵ And

¹John C. Trever, The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), p. 173.

²Apocalyptic Vision, p. 1.

³In Daniel the name is spelled דַּנְיֵאל (*dny'l*, Daniel), in Ezekiel it is spelled דַּנְיֵל (*dn'l*, Danel). This fact has led to speculation that two different men are referred to. See George A. Barton, "Danel, a Pre-Israelite Hero of Galilee," Journal of Biblical Literature 60 (1941):213-25; Martin Noth, "Noah, Daniel und Hiob in Ezechiel XIV," Vetus Testamentum 1 (1951):251-60; John Day, "The Daniel of Ugarit and Ezekiel and the Hero of the Book of Daniel," Vetus Testamentum 30 (1980): 174-84.

⁴Ziony Zevit, "The Exegetical Implications of Daniel VIII 1, IX 21," Vetus Testamentum 28 (1978):489.

⁵Roger Alan Hall, "Post-Exilic Theological Streams and the Book of Daniel" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1974), p. 226. Insight is attainable into "both the experience and the psychology of the apocalyptic group" (*ibid.*).

beyond the second century B.C. apocalyptic community lies a literary prehistory that deserves an entire study in its own right.¹

As regards a probable date for the final redaction, preterists place this "between 168 and 163 B.C.E."²

. . . the author of Daniel, writing between 168 and 163 B.C.E., i.e. after the second campaign against Egypt of Antiochus IV and before his death in Persia, is living in the crisis period of 11:29-35, while describing events future to him (Dan 11:40-12:3).³

¹For general discussion of the prehistory of Daniel see Otto Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: An Introduction, trans. P. R. Ackroyd (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 522-28; H. L. Ginsberg, "The Composition of the Book of Daniel," Vetus Testamentum 4 (1954):246-75; John J. Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic," Journal of Biblical Literature 94 (1975):218-34; idem, Apocalyptic Vision, pp. 7-21; John G. Gammie, "The Classification, Stages of Growth, and Changing Intentions in the Book of Daniel," Journal of Biblical Literature 95 (1976):191-204; J. Coppens, "Le livre de Daniel et ses problèmes," Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses 56 (1980): 1-9. Against positing a deep literary prehistory is H. H. Rowley, "The Unity of the Book of Daniel," Hebrew Union College Annual 23 (1950-51): 233-73; idem, "The Composition of the Book of Daniel: Some Comments on Professor Ginsberg's Article," Vetus Testamentum 5 (1955):272-76. For discussion of Dan 2 see David Flusser, "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel," Israel Oriental Studies 2 (1972): 148-75. On Dan 7 see M. Delcor, "Les sources du chapitre VII de Daniel," Vetus Testamentum 18 (1968):290-312. On Dan 9 see Carey A. Moore, "Toward the Dating of the Book of Baruch," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 36 (1974):312-20; Emanuel Tov, "The Relation between the Greek Versions of Baruch and Daniel," in Armenian and Biblical Studies, ed. E. Stone (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1976), pp. 27-34. On Dan 11 see John J. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic," Vetus Testamentum 25 (1975):596-612.

²Richard J. Clifford, "History and Myth in Daniel 10-12," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, no. 220 (1975):23.

³Ibid. See also André Lacocque, The Book of Daniel, trans. David Pellauer (Atlanta: John Knox, 1979), p. 214.

Other more general estimates are sometimes given, with the book's date being placed in "c. 165 B.C.,"¹ "about 160 B.C.,"² or in "the middle of that [second] century."³ But Lacocque is quite specific: "According to all the evidence Dan. 11 was written during the first part of 166."⁴

Prediction and application to history

Dan 11:2-39 is considered by preterists to be history rather than prophecy.

In chapter 11 we come to the heart of the message of the angel in human guise. In an enigmatic form designed to establish the fiction of a prophecy *ante eventum*, and also perhaps to maintain a prudently esoteric manner, the angel presents the chronological unfolding of history between the fourth and second centuries BCE. In so doing, he shows that everything takes place according to a pre-established divine plan.

¹G. R. Driver, The Judaean Scrolls (New York: Schocken, 1965), p. 447.

²G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), p. 123.

³Stephen A. Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," Journal of the American Oriental Society 93 (1973):327; cited in Herhard F. Hasel, "The Book of Daniel and Matters of Language: Evidences Relating to Names, Words, and the Aramaic Language," Andrews University Seminary Studies 19 (1981):211-25. (Hereafter cited as AUSS.)

⁴Lacocque, Daniel, p. 232. See also W. Baumgartner, "Neues keilschriftliches Material zum Buch Daniel?" Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 44 (1926):38. where it is stated that "On few questions is Old Testament scholarship so united as with regard to the time of composition [Abfassungszeit] for the book of Daniel, whose placement in the Maccabean age during the course of the nineteenth century has been adopted more and more and today enjoys an almost general recognition."

⁵Lacocque, p. 214.

But Dan 11:40-45 is taken, as a majority view, to be genuine prediction.

The fictional prophecy begun in 11:2 concludes in 11:39. The present section contains no historical information at all, but purports rather to be a genuine prediction of events to happen after this apocalypse was composed and presumably circulated among the faithful. The trouble is that nothing in these verses matches the actual course of history as it is known from other sources.¹

The last verses of the chapter represent prediction because they don't represent history; they are "absolutely imaginary."² History in Dan 11 ends with v. 39 in 166 B.C.

Chapter outline and commentaries

All preterist commentators that we consulted offer an outline compatible with the following: vv. 2, 3-4, 5-20, 21-39, 40-45. The substance of such an outline can be reduced to three main sections: vv. 2-20, history before Antiochus Epiphanes; vv. 21-39, history during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; and vv. 40-45, prediction of the death of Antiochus. A summary of preterist commentaries is given in table 6, showing page numbers for each writer's entire discussion of Dan 11, as well as for the specific treatment of v. 21 and v. 40.

¹Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, The Book of Daniel, Anchor Bible (Garden City: Doubleday, 1978), p. 303. See also James A. Montgomery, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, International Critical Commentary (New York: Scribners, 1927), p. 465; Lacocque, p. 232.

²Montgomery, p. 465.

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF PRETERIST COMMENTARIES

Author/Date	Dan 11	V. 21	V. 40
Bentzen (1937)	45-51	49	51
Charles (1929)	272-322	297	317
Clifford (1975)	23-26	24	25
Driver (1922)	162-200	177	198
Hartman & Di Lella (1978)	256-305	294	303
Lacocque (1979)	214-33	226	232
Montgomery (1927)	420-70	446	464
Porteous (1965)	155-70	165	169
Slotki (1951)	86-100	94	99
Szold (1897)	573-600	590	598

NOTE: For bibliographical information concerning the volumes listed see the Bibliography under "Commentaries."

Three commentators--Bentzen, Lacocque, and Szold--group the verses of the chapter in a way that appears to reduce the importance of breaking at v. 21 and v. 40. Bentzen's groupings are vv. 2-10, 11-28, and 29-45;¹ Lacocque's are vv. 1-9 and 10-45;² and Szold's are vv. 2-4, 5-15, 16-24, 25-35, and 36-45.³ But despite this seeming novelty the comments offered on crucial verses are no different from those of other preterist interpreters listed above. Thus, v. 21 introduces

¹Aage Bentzen, Daniel, Handbuch zum Alten Testament, no. 19 Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1937), pp. 46, 48, and 50, respectively.

²Lacocque, Daniel, pp. 214, and 218, respectively.

³Benjamin Szold, "The Eleventh Chapter of the Book of Daniel," in Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut, ed. George Alexander Kohut (Berlin, 1897; reprint ed. Jerusalem, תשל"ב [1972]), pp. 580, 583, 588, 592, and 596, respectively.

Antiochus Epiphanes and v. 40 introduces genuine prediction. Of the commentators listed above only Driver¹ and Slotki² suggest that vv. 40-45 deal with real events after 168 B.C.³

Other comments

There is one point of methodology on which we take issue with preterist scholars, and it goes all the way back to Porphyry, who may be considered the father of that school of interpretation as regards the book of Daniel.⁴

Porphyry, the heathen commentator of Dan., in his argument against the Christian interpretation of Dan. as a Messianic prophecy, had given a detailed historical interpretation of c. 11, proving step by step that it is veiled history culminating with the Macc. period, and hence logically the earlier cc. must be similarly interpreted.⁵

The point we question is the appropriateness of interpreting Daniel's

¹S. R. Driver, The Book of Daniel, Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), pp. 196-98.

²Judah J. Slotki, Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah, Soncino Books of the Bible, ed. A. Cohen (London: Soncino, 1951), p. 99.

³A view held by only a minority of preterist scholars. For summaries of such views see A. A. Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel for the Use of Students (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892), p. 298; Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, The Book of Daniel, Anchor Bible (Garden City: Doubleday, 1978), p. 303.

⁴See P. M. Casey, "Porphyry and the Origin of the Book of Daniel," Journal of Theological Studies 27 (1976):15-33. The argument put forward by Casey is that Porphyry did not originate the views he championed, but inherited them. If such is the case then the father of modern preterism was an unknown Christian or Jew living in Syria during a previous generation.

⁵Montgomery, Commentary on Daniel, p. 469.

prophecies by starting with the last vision and going to the first, in the order Dan 10-12, 8, 7, 2.

. . . it is necessary to respect the given order of the four major visions in the book of Daniel, in chapters 2, 7, 8, 10-12. They begin with the simple outline of successive political world events (chap. 2), continue with an enlargement and amplification of religious-ecclesiastical events within the previously outlined political framework centering on the covenant people of God and their worship (chaps. 7 and 8), and finally the book ends with a complicated and detailed outline of all those political conflicts that have a bearing on the true covenant people of God from Daniel's time onward until the close of probation and the day of resurrection (chaps. 11-12:2). To approach this apocalyptic book from the end, that is from the last vision, and to work backward to explain the previous visions, has been the fundamental error of many efforts to open the mysteries of the book of Daniel that were sealed till "the time of the end" (12:4, cf. 8:17) (cf. AA, p. 585, GC 356).¹

The methodological weakness pointed out here is a fundamental one.

Futurism

Futurism is defined in this paper, with special reference to Dan 11, as any system of interpretation that applies part of the chapter to the future without leading up to that future application in gradual historical stages.

Futurism is closely associated with dispensationalism, which, "as a system, arose as a reaction against the spiritualizations of the liberal theology of the nineteenth century."² However, as defined

¹Hans K. La Rondelle, "Interpretation of Prophetic and Apocalyptic Prophecy," in A Symposium on Biblical Hermeneutics, ed. Gordon M. Hyde (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1974), p. 242. Professor La Rondelle is not a preterist.

²idem, "The Essence of Dispensationalism," Ministry, May 1981, p. 5.

here, futurism is not strictly synonymous with dispensationalism. It takes a number of different forms, only one of which can be considered dispensationalist.

The possibilities involved are these: This section [vv. 36-45] refers to Antiochus Epiphanes, or it is a section which is in a general way typical of the Antichrist, or it is a direct prophecy of the Antichrist.¹

Applying the final verses of Dan 11 to Antiochus alone is, of course, the preterist position; futurism applies the verses either to Antichrist by typological extension from Antiochus, with the proportions of emphasis varying,² or to Antichrist alone. Only a direct application to Antichrist represents dispensationalist futurism.

Inspiration and the dating of Daniel

Futurists, a majority of whom are dispensationalists, have a high regard for Scripture and accept its divine inspiration. There is no uncertainty on this point, and therefore little basis for agreement with liberal scholars regarding it.³

¹H. C. Leupold, Exposition of Daniel (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1949), pp. 310-11.

²For refinements on Leupold's list of possibilities, see below under "Prediction and Applications to History."

³It would be unfair, however, to imply that all scholars who do not hold futurist views on the dating of Daniel, or the matter of prediction or even inspiration, lack respect for the book. Consider the following moderating remarks by Hubert Junker, a preterist, in his Untersuchungen über literarische und exegetische Probleme des Buches Daniel (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1932), pp. 103-4: "One of the older defenders of the book of Daniel, E. B. Pusey, had believed himself able to formulate the problem according to his [own] opinion: 'The book of Daniel is especially fitted to be a battlefield between faith and unbelief. It admits no half-measures. It is either or Divine or an imposture. To write any book under the name of another, and to give it out to be his, is in any case, a forgery, dishonest in itself, and

The theological liberal quite naturally opposes dispensationalism, for he finds completely unpalatable its plain interpretation, which is based on a verbal, plenary view of the inspiration of Scripture.¹

Two examples may serve to illustrate the nature of futurist attitudes toward Daniel. The first is provided by G. H. Lang, who states with special reference to Dan 11,

This heavenly writing is truth. It is not the shrewd speculations of men or of angels as to what is probable or desirable. It is not conjecture based on long observation of the ways of angels, demons, and men. It is a faithful transcript of what the foreknowledge² of God sees is to take place in the realm international of men.

The second, also concerned with Dan 11, comes from the recognized dispensationalist scholar, John F. Walvoord.

If the text is properly interpreted, the alleged historical errors fade; and Daniel's record stands accurate and complete, although not without problems of interpretation such as are true in any prophetic utterance. The expositor of this portion of Scripture has no convenient compromise between the two diverse views. Either this is genuine prophecy or it is not. The fact that it corresponds so closely to history should be, instead of a basis for criticism, a marvelous confirmation that prophecy properly understood is just as accurate as history.³

destructive of [sic] all trustworthiness. But the case as to the book of Daniel, if it were not his, would go far beyond even this. The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied, on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies which were never uttered, and miracles, which are assumed never to have been wrought. In a word, the whole book would be one lie in the name of God'. Today it is clear, that such were exaggerated inferences, which the Daniel critic and his opponent alike had posited at the outset. The Maccabean author did not go about to fabricate divine prophecies [*göttliche Weissagungen erdichten*] nor would he have wished in general to mislead his readers in any way. . . . His goal was to imbue [*erfüllen*] religious zeal with firm faith. . . ."

¹Charles Caldwell Ryrie, Dispensationalism Today (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965), p. 10.

²The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1940), p. 151.

³Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation (Chicago: Moody Press, 1971), p. 254.

Thus, within futurism the divine element in Scripture is acknowledged and emphasized.

Since futurists have no theological reasons to reject the concept of genuine prediction, and respect Scripture as having a divine as well as human origin, they consistently support an early date for the book of Daniel. Joyce G. Baldwin, after presenting a balanced and detailed summary of the issues, concludes that

When all the relevant factors are taken into account, including the arguments for the unity of the book, a late sixth- or early fifth-century date of writing for the whole best suits the evidence.¹

Prediction and application to history

Accepting any form of accurate reference in Dan 11 to events that are still future distinguishes futurists from preterists. "The preterist interpreter, to understand Daniel, always looks to the past--the days prior to and including the time of Antiochus IV."² The futurist looks to the past as well, but not always to the past. Future reference is also available to such an interpreter--in three forms, representing different degrees of emphasis.³ The present section

¹Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity, 1978), p. 46. See pp. 35-45 for her entire discussion of the topic. Other sources that make a case for the early authorship of Daniel are D. J. Wiseman et al., Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel (London: Tyndale Press, 1965); E. L. Emery, Daniel: Who Wrote the Book? (Elms Court: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1978); and Josh McDowell, Daniel in the Critics' Den: Historical Evidences for the Authenticity of the Book of Daniel (San Bernardino: Here's Life, 1979).

²Desmond Ford, Daniel, with a Foreword by F. F. Bruce (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1978), p. 65.

³Walvoord's second possibility--that of extended reference to Antichrist, assuming past emphasis--is subdivided here to include extended reference to Antiochus, assuming future emphasis.

describes the available alternatives, while the next applies them to specific areas of the chapter outline.

Reference to the past

A majority of futurists take vv. 21-35 to apply exclusively in the past.¹ Thus Walvoord writes:

Beginning with verse 21, a major section of this chapter is devoted to a comparatively obscure Syrian ruler who was on the throne from 175 to 164 B.C.,² previously alluded to as the "little horn" (Dan 8:9-14, 23-25).

Philip C. Johnson supports the same view.

Now [v. 21] Daniel comes to the king who was remembered and despised by the Jews more than almost any other oppressor in their history. This is Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, . . .³

Reference to the future

Past primary, future secondary. For some futurists there are parts of Dan 11 that represent history primarily, but which look forward typologically to events still in the future. Thus Louis T. Talbot considers Antiochus Epiphanes "a type of the Antichrist who is to come."⁴

And Baldwin states:

There is universal agreement that Antiochus Epiphanes (175-163) fulfilled the description given here [v. 21], but we may well wonder why so much space should be given in Scripture to an obscure (to us)

¹An exception is Lang, Histories and Prophecies of Daniel, p. 157, for whom vv. 5-45 are all future.

²Prophetic Revelation, p. 264.

³The Book of Daniel: A Study Manual (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1964), p. 87.

⁴The Prophecies of Daniel, in Light of Past, Present, and Future Events (Wheaton, IL: Van Kampen Press, 1940), p. 196. See also Leon J. Wood, Daniel: A Study Guide (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975), p. 141.

upstart of the second century BC. . . . Antiochus is the prototype of many who will come after him, hence the interest shown here in his methods and progress.¹

The same writer subsequently compares the way Antichrist is referred to in Dan 11 with the way the end of the age is referred to in Matt 24 and Mark 13. In both cases there is a primary historical application, according to Baldwin, and a secondary application to the future.²

Future primary, past secondary. For some futurists there are parts of the chapter that represent future events primarily, but which look back secondarily to history. Thus, Ford suggests that

The dramatic intensity of events increases as the chapter progresses. These verses [vv. 36-39] transcend Antiochus and pagan Rome, though including reminiscences of them.³

Keil places great emphasis on futurity at v. 36, but remains unable to dissociate himself entirely from a prior historical fulfillment:

¹Introduction and Commentary, pp. 191-92.

²Ibid., p. 202. Ford opposes such an application in Mark 13 (The Abomination of Desolation in Biblical Eschatology [Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1979], pp. 62, 67-68), but supports it with regard to Antiochus Epiphanes' role in Dan 11 (ibid., pp. 163-66; idem, Daniel, p. 266). A double application of the sort proposed by Baldwin, and supported by Ford in Dan 11, illustrates what Ford calls the "apotelesmatic principle." For definitions see Daniel, p. 49; idem, "Daniel 8:14 and the Day of Atonement," Spectrum 11, 2 (1980):34. See also George McCready Price, The Greatest of the Prophets: A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1955), pp. 30-31.

³Daniel, p. 271. See also C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, Commentary on the Old Testament, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d.), vol. 9: Ezekiel, Daniel, by C. F. Keil, p. 450. Ford's background is in historicism, not futurism, and therefore citing his 1978 Daniel commentary in a section on futurism requires explanation. Actually the book's classification is problematic; it will be seen that both futurist and historicist positions are defended. Thus, as a second-best solution, the commentary is dealt with both here and under "Historicism," below.

These circumstances also are not satisfactorily explained by the remark that the prophecy regarding Antiochus glances forward to the Antichrist, or that the image of the type (Antiochus) hovers in the image of the antitype (Antichrist); they much rather show that in the prophetic contemplation there is comprehended in the image of one king what has been historically fulfilled in its beginnings by Antiochus Epiphanes, but shall only meet its¹ complete fulfilment by the Antichrist in the time of the end.

Future only. Finally there are passages that are regarded by a majority of futurists to be applicable only in the future and not at all in the past. According to Walvoord,

Beginning with verse 36, a sharp break in the prophecy may be observed, introduced by the expression *the time of the end* in verse 35.²

Chapter outline and commentaries

Perhaps the most conspicuous characteristic of futurist exegesis in Dan 11, as regards the chapter's outline, is the existence of a historical "gap" separating distant past from near future. There is majority, though not universal, agreement among futurists on the need for a gap,³ but its placement within the chapter is a matter of discussion for at least some interpreters.

Most scholars agree as to the beginning and as to the end of this chapter, but there is a divergence of opinion concerning the middle. Obviously there is a gap somewhere, covering over 2,000 years, but where? 4,5? 20,21? 30,31? 35,36? In between these pairs of verses somewhere it must occur.⁴

¹Ezekiel, Daniel, pp. 462-63.

²Prophetic Revelation, p. 270. See also Johnson, Study Manual, pp. 90-91; Leupold, Exposition of Daniel, pp. 510-12; Talbot, Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 202, 206.

³See below. The question is what actually constitutes a gap.

⁴Geoffrey R. King, Daniel: A Detailed Explanation of the Book (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966), p. 228.

One further possibility, overlooked by King, is mentioned by Lang:

"Then at verses 34,35 the prediction passes on to the time of the end and the last emperor, the Antichrist."¹

Locating the gap in Dan 11 is an issue that rests on a number of supporting considerations, and these must be dealt with before the original question can be addressed adequately. Before selecting the "right" verse division for a gap one must know what the most reasonable possibilities are. The way futurists have proposed outlining the chapter must therefore be understood. Next, with a number of sections isolated, one must know the ways in which these have been interpreted. Isolating them is not enough. Then, after finding how expositors have grouped the outline fragments, it will be helpful to see how those fragments serve to group the expositors. With the background supplied by such information it will be possible to give a clear answer to the related questions of whether, and if so where, each commentator posits the historical gap that has come to be associated with futurism.

A synopsis of outline fragments proposed by futurist interpreters is given in table 7. It is clear from such a list of data that there is considerable divergence of opinion, in matters of detail, regarding a wide range of outline characteristics. The superficial nature of the differences, however, becomes clear in fig. 2, which states the information of table 7 in graph form and thus makes relationships among the various outline fragments subject to visual inspection.

¹Histories and Prophecies, p. 154. Lang is here reporting the views of B. W. Newton.

TABLE 7

FUTURIST OUTLINE FRAGMENTS WITHIN DAN 11
AND 12:1-3: COMMENTARY REFERENCES

Verses	Commentators
1, 2, 3-4	Baldwin 182, 185-86; Keil 423, 430, 432
1-2, 3-4	Ford 260-61; Walvoord 254, 256
1, 2-4	Johnson 82
5, 6, 7-9	Talbot 194
5-6, 7-9	Keil 433, 435
5-9	Baldwin 186; Keil 425; Wood 138
10-12, 13-15, 16-19, 20	Keil 425, 437, 439-40, 443
10-19, 20	Leupold 485, 492
10-20	Baldwin 187; Wood 139
5-20	Johnson 83; Wood 138
2-20	Keil 430
21-23, 24-26, 27-28 . .	Walvoord 264, 266
21-24, 25-28	Baldwin 192-93
29-30, 31, 32-33, 34-35	Baldwin 194-96
29-31, 32-35	Walvoord 267-68
21-24, 25-27, 28-32, 32-35	Keil 450, 453, 455, 458
21-24, 25-30a, 30b-35 .	Wood 141-42, 144
21-35	Ford*; Johnson 87; Lang 163; Leupold 493; Talbot 196; Wood 141
14-35	Ford*
36, 37-39	Baldwin 197; Walvoord 270, 273
36-39	Keil 461, 463; Leupold 510; Talbot 202; Walvoord 270; Wood 146
40, 41-43, 44, 45 . . .	Baldwin 202-3
40-43, 44-45	Keil 467, 472; Walvoord 277, 279
40, 41-45	Wood 147-48
40-45	Baldwin 201; Keil 461, 469; Leupold 519; Wood 147
36-45	Johnson 90-91; Keil 461; Walvoord 271; Wood 145
36-12:3	Keil 461; Leupold 510
21-45	Baldwin 191
21-12:3	Keil 450
5-45	Lang 157

NOTE: For bibliographical information concerning sources cited see the Bibliography under "Commentaries." Numerals following each author's name, above, are page references; the abbreviations "p." and "pp." are omitted in the interest of brevity. "Ford" indicates the 1978 Daniel commentary unless noted otherwise.

*"Ford Responds to Shea," Spectrum 11, 4 (1981):55.

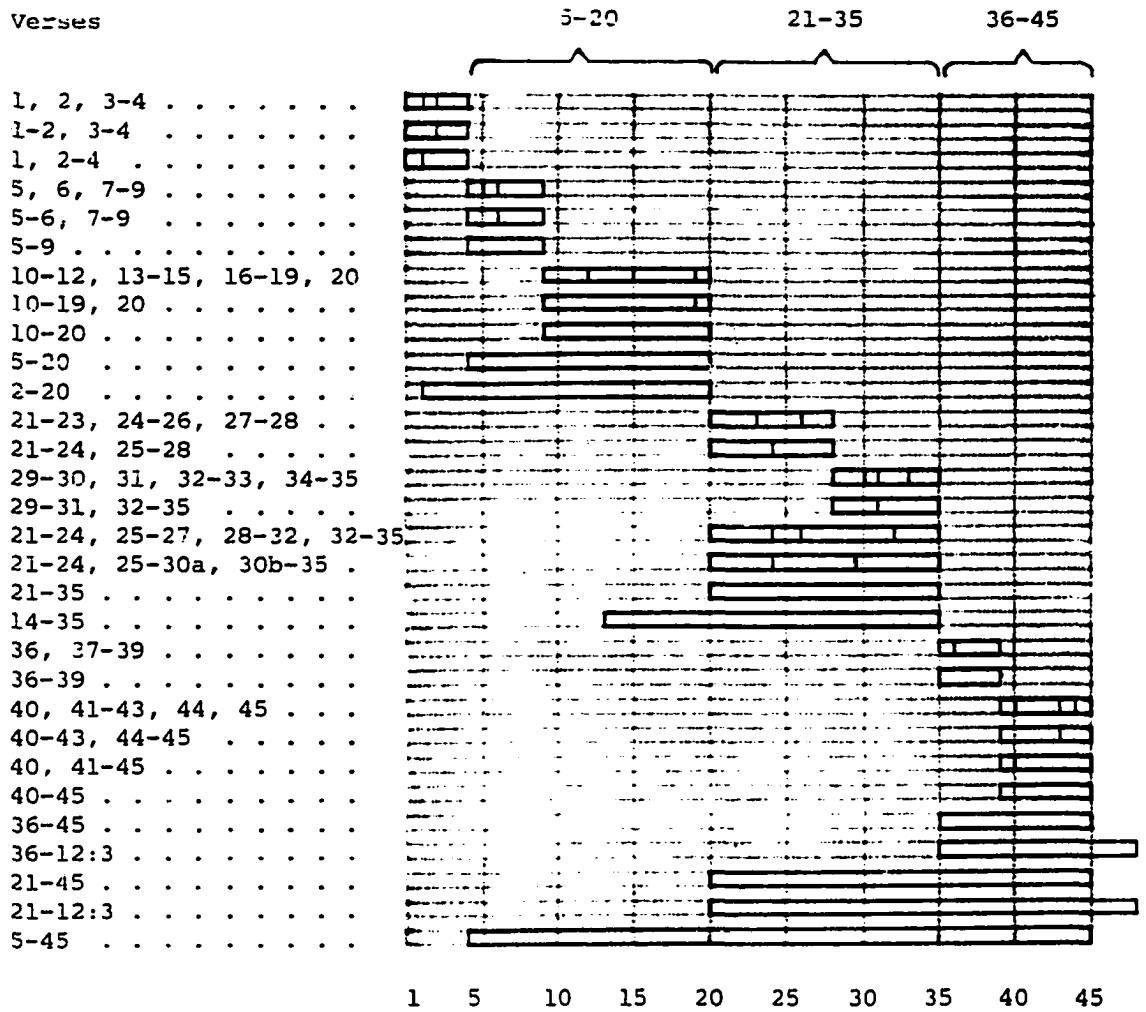


Fig. 2. Graphic representation of futurist outline fragments within Dan 11 and Dan 12:1-3, showing overall patterns.

Three major blocs of verses that can be isolated in fig. 2 are 5-20, 21-35, and 36-45. A further subdivision of vv. 36-45 into 36-39 and 40-45 is also possible, although vv. 39/40 as a section break is not emphasized by all futurist scholars.¹ In the present context one of King's four possible locations for the gap--vv. 30/31--is ruled out, as is Lang's suggestion concerning vv. 33 34. Verses 4/5, 20/21, and 35/36 are prominent options. Verses 39/40 should also be considered.

As regards vv. 5-20 (or 2-20) Keil suggests that these early verses in the chapter merely serve to bring the narrative up to v. 21, where the part that holds primary interest begins. He states:

The description of this war [between the world-kingdom and the kingdom of God] as to its origin, character, and issue forms the principal subject of this prophecy. It is set forth in the revelation of the angel from ch. xi.21 to the end (ch. xii.3), while the preceding description, as well of the course of the Persian and Javanic world-kingdoms as of the wars of the kings of the north and the south (ch. xi.2-20), prepares for it.

One dissenting voice is that of Lang, for whom all of vv. 5-45 are still future.³ But with this one exception futurists are agreed that the main significance of vv. 5-20 lies in the past. Verses 21-45 will be the main object of inquiry in the remainder of the discussion.

An overview of futurist positions on vv. 21-35, 36-39, and 40-45 is given in tables 9, 10, and 11, respectively. Only two writers, Lang included, place vv. 21-35 (table 9) exclusively in the future.

¹Keil, Ezekiel, Daniel, p. 461; Johnson, Study Manual, pp. 90-91; Walvoord, Prophetic Revelation, p. 271; and Wood, Study Guide, pp. 146-47, all do recognize this verse division.

²Keil, Ezekiel, Daniel, p. 427.

³Histories and Prophecies, p. 157. This is the view Lang himself supports, following Tregelles. Contrast his earlier remarks, this page.

TABLE 8

FUTURIST INTERPRETATIONS OF DAN 11:21-35

Time Frame	Commentators
Past	Johnson, Walvoord
Past/Future	Baldwin, Ford, Talbot, Wood
Future/Past	Keil
Future	Lang, Leupold

TABLE 9

FUTURIST INTERPRETATIONS OF DAN 11:36-39

Time Frame	Commentators
Past . . . .	. . . .
Past/Future	Baldwin
Future/Past	Ford, Keil
Future	Johnson, Lang, Leupold, Talbot, Walvoord, Wood

TABLE 10

FUTURIST INTERPRETATIONS OF DAN 11:40-45

Time Frame	Commentators
Past . . . .	. . . .
Past/Future	Baldwin
Future/Past	. . . .
Future	Ford, Johnson, Keil, Lang, Leupold, Talbot, Walvoord, Wood

Keil considers the verses to be primarily future, but a majority would say they are either secondarily future¹ or exclusively past.²

Tables 8-10, while making a needed contribution to the discussion, contain a mixture of views that it will now be useful to factor out. As a means of doing this consider table 11, which restates and augments the material from tables 8-10 with emphasis on individual interpreters.

TABLE 11
FUTURIST INTERPRETATIONS OF
DAN 11:21-45: ONE GROUP

Commentators	Past	Past/Future	Future/Past	Future
Baldwin		21-45		
Ford		21-35	36-39	40-45
Johnson	21-35			36-45
Keil			21-39	40-45
Lang				21-45
Leupold	21-35			36-45
Talbot		21-35		36-45
Walvoord	21-35			36-45
Wood		21-35		36-45

In table 12 the various commentators are divided into two groups, based on whether v. 36 is *exclusively* future in their thinking or not. These are called simply group 1 and group 2.

¹Baldwin, Ford, Talbot, Wood (table 8).

²Johnson, Walvoord (ibid.).

TABLE 12
 FUTURIST INTERPERTATIONS OF
 DAN 11:21-45: TWO GROUPS

Commentators	Past	Past/Future	Future/Past	Future
<u>Group 1</u>				
Johnson . . .	21-35			36-45
Lang				21-45
Leupold . . .	21-35			36-45
Talbot		21-35		36-45
Walvoord . .	21-35			36-45
Wood		21-35		36-45
<u>Group 2</u>				
Baldwin . . .		21-45		
Ford		21-35	36-39	40-45
Keil			21-39	40-45

Finally, in table 13 group 2 is subdivided according to whether v. 36 is *primarily* future or not. The resulting subdivisions are called group 2a and group 2b.

TABLE 13
 FUTURIST INTERPRETATIONS OF DAN
 11:21-45: GROUP 2 SUBDIVIDED

Commentators	Past	Past/Future	Future/Past	Future
<u>Group 2a</u>				
Ford		21-35	36-39	40-45
Keil			21-39	40-45
<u>Group 2b</u>				
Baldwin . .		21-45		

The most conspicuous patterns found in tables 12 and 13 are those formed by positions that are not taken. For example, in table 12 no group 1 futurist commentator suggests that any part of the chapter is secondarily future in meaning. Material that is not exclusively future is either exclusively past¹ or secondarily past.² Similarly, no group 2 futurist commentator suggests that any part of Dan 11 is exclusively past. Material that is not exclusively future for group 2 is either secondarily past³ or secondarily future.⁴ In table 13 it is clear that group 2b (Baldwin) interprets no part of the chapter as being exclusively future. Thus, group 2a does not use the category exclusively past, group 1 does not use the category secondarily future, and group 2b does not use the category exclusively future.

From a different perspective a simplified comparison of the positions of groups 1, 2a, and 2b regarding vv. 36-39 and 40-45 appears in table 14, arranged by groups of commentators. Note that v. 36 is considered to be exclusively future by group 1, primarily future by group 2a, and secondarily future by group 2b. Verse 40 is considered to be exclusively future by groups 1 and 2a, but secondarily future by group 2b.

The point concerning v. 36 is especially important. This is emphasized in table 15, where the same material is arranged by groups of verses. From table 15 it can be seen that one's interpretation of v. 36 is the only fact needed to correctly identify the type of futurism with which a given expositor is associated.

¹Johnson, Leupold, Walvoord.

²Talbot Wood.

³Baldwin, Ford.

⁴Ford, Keil.

TABLE 14

SIMPLIFIED SUMMARY OF FUTURIST INTERPRETATIONS
OF DAN 11:36-45: BY GROUPS OF COMMENTATORS

Commentators	Past	Past/Future	Future/Past	Future
<u>Group 1</u>				
Vv. 36-39 . . .				X
Vv. 40-45 . . .				X
<u>Group 2a</u>				
Vv. 36-39 . . .			X	
Vv. 40-45 . . .				X
<u>Group 2b</u>				
Vv. 36-39 . . .		X		
Vv. 40-45 . . .		X		

TABLE 15

SIMPLIFIED SUMMARY OF FUTURIST INTERPRETATIONS
OF DAN 11:36-45: BY GROUPS OF VERSES

Verses	Past	Past/Future	Future/Past	Future
<u>Vv. 36-39</u>				
Group 1 . . .				X
Group 2a . . .			X	
Group 2b . . .		X		
<u>Vv. 40-45</u>				
Group 1 . . .				X
Group 2a . . .				X
Group 2b . . .		X		

If the above information is to be used in identifying a gap within Dan 11, one further clarification must be made. It still remains to determine exactly what the defining characteristics of a gap are, and therefore what sort of historical verse division can qualify as a gap. There are three kinds of future reference available and three possible locations (vv. 21, 36, 40) where a change in or to future reference might be significant. A gap could be said to occur when future reference of any type is introduced, or when past reference of all types is left behind. But these two alternatives do not exhaust the possibilities. A gap could also be said to represent the point where the *bulk* of emphasis shifts from distant past to near future, whether or not a secondary time reference is also posited. Thus, only two significant categories would remain as regards defining the gap--exclusively past and primarily past on the one hand, and primarily future and exclusively future on the other. A comparison of these terms with previous ones is given in fig. 3.

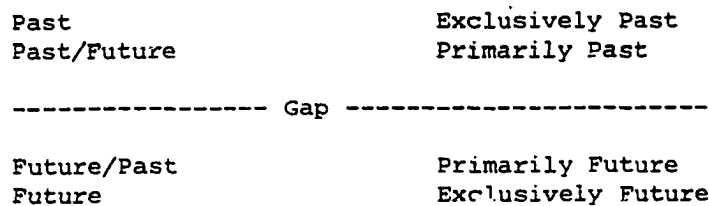


Fig. 3. A comparison of two sets of terms for time reference to describe categories used, with or without such terms, by futurist commentators.

It would be possible to make a case for either of the first two alternative methods for defining the gap, but the third is preferred here. What is indicated by the distinction between no future

reference and future reference of any kind is the dividing line between preterism and futurism in general. Three types of futurism are possible. In tables 12-14 the terms "group 1," "group 2a," and "group 2b" were used to label them. The distinction between no past reference of any kind and mixed reference to the past divides dispensationalist and non-dispensationalist forms of futurism. If the dispensationalist and non-dispensationalist forms of futurism are already defined in this way it is unnecessary to use the presence of a gap as a defining characteristic.

We now take up the matter of classifying the three forms of futurism. Group 1 futurism was said to be dispensationalist. Groups 2a and 2b are more of a challenge to name. We suggest calling group 2b futurism--which, within the present data base, consists of Baldwin's commentary--"idealist." The term is intended to have neutral connotations and is based primarily on the following two considerations. Ford uses the term "idealism" to describe an approach that emphasizes "eternal truths about good and evil"¹ rather than substantive details concerning the future. Baldwin states herself more generally than other futurists regarding who or what Antiochus Epiphanes typifies. For example, "Antiochus is the prototype of many who will come after him, hence the interest shown here in his methods and progress."² He typifies not one entity, but "many." Ford also links idealists, as representatives of a school of interpretation, closely with preterists. And John G. Gammie calls Baldwin's work "sufficiently open and irenic to suggest

¹Daniel, p. 68.

²Introduction and Commentary, p. 192.

that the day may be arriving when meaningful dialogue can transpire between evangelicals and higher critics."¹ Furthermore, Baldwin alone, among the futurist commentaries consulted, places the last sections of Dan 11 on the "past" side of table 15. Verses 36-39 and 40-45 for Baldwin are what fig. 3 would call "primarily past."² We therefore adopt the term "idealist" to describe Baldwin's work (group 2b), or, more specifically, claim that her work represents what could be called "idealist futurism."³ Group 2a is labeled "nondispensationalist/non-idealist futurism," as belonging to neither of the other categories. The above points are summarized, with regard to v. 36, in fig. 4.

Past	Preterist			
Past/Future	Futurist	Nondispensationalist	Idealist	Group 2b
Future/Past			Nondispensationalist/Non-Idealist	Group 2a
Future		Dispensationalist	Group 1	

Fig. 4. Relationships among preterists and group 1, 2a, and 2b futurists, with special regard to the type of future reference proposed at v. 36.

¹Gammie, Review of Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary, by Joyce G. Baldwin, in Journal of Biblical Literature 99 (1980):453.

²Bear in mind that "primarily past" is not the same as "exclusively past." Baldwin's position is not a preterist one.

³We would not say, with reference to the way the term is used here, that "most idealists are preterists" (Ford, Daniel, p. 68). The fact that they look in any way beyond the past makes them futurists in the present context--but futurists of a type least removed from preterism.

With the above background now in place it is possible to address the questions of exactly what a gap consists of, who among futurists posit one, and if so where.

A gap in the futurist sense within Dan 11 is best defined as the point at which the bulk of emphasis passes from distant past to near future. Other distinctions are possible, but they do not affect the definition of the gap. According to one set of terms used, the crucial point would be that between "past" or "past/future" on the one hand and "future/past" or "future" on the other; according to the alternative set introduced in fig. 3 it would be the point between "exclusively past" or "primarily past" on the one hand and "primarily future" or "exclusively future" on the other. Thus, a passage in time reference from either of the first two categories to either of the second two constitutes the gap.

By the above definition Lang, Talbot, Leupold, Johnson, Walvoord, and Wood (group 1), as well as Keil and Ford (group 2a), do posit a gap. Baldwin (group 2b) does not. The gap proposed by group 1 represents a shift to the future exclusively, while that of group 2a represents a shift to the future primarily. In order to distinguish between the two positions, and to enable persons to talk about that distinction, we propose calling the one a "strong" gap and the other a "weak" gap.

For Lang the gap comes at v. 5, while for the other members of group 1 it comes at v. 36.¹ For Keil, within group 2a, the gap

¹See table 13.

comes at v. 21, for Ford at v. 36.¹ The gap at v. 5 proposed by Lang, and at v. 36 by Talbot, Johnson, Walvoord, and Wood, is a shift to exclusive future; the gap at v. 21 proposed by Keil, and at v. 36 by Ford, is a shift to primary future. The former represent strong gaps, respectively, the latter weak gaps. Note that for a majority of futurist scholars v. 36 is a major point of transition within Dan 11.

An overall summary of futurist commentaries is now given in table 16. This summary includes a list of commentators, showing their group membership within futurism, the strength and location of the gap they posit, and page numbers for the entire treatment of Dan 11 as well as for the points in each commentary where the discussion of vv. 21, 36, and 40 begins. One item included in the summary, although not laid under heavy emphasis by futurists, is the "prince of the covenant" figure of v. 22. Since v. 22 figures prominently in subsequent discussion it is included within table 16 for reference.

¹See table 13. In the interest of clarifying our earlier claim that Ford's 1978 Daniel commentary inclines toward both historicism and futurism--with special reference here to v. 36--note the following, from *ibid.*, p. 272. "Almost all evangelical Protestants have for centuries applied 11:36-39 to the Papacy. (Such volumes as Froom's *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* can be reviewed with profit for the evidence.) Over the past century or so a growing number have applied these verses to a future antichrist. Such expositors should by no means be limited to dispensationalists. In view of what Scripture has to say regarding earth's last confederacy under the direction of satanic spiritism and in view of the apotelesmatic principle, we have no quarrel with this application, *providing it does not deny previous historic fulfillment of the passage.* Verses 40-45 are an obvious consummation to what is begun in verses 36-39, and therefore some type of latter-day application should be looked for."

TABLE 16
SUMMARY OF FUTURIST COMMENTARIES

Author/Date	Gap		Page References to Comments on Specific Items				"Prince of the Covenant"	
	Strength	Location	Dan 11	V. 21	V. 36	V. 40	V. 22	Identity
<u>Group 1</u>								
Lang (1940) . .	Strong	V. 5	150-76	163	169	172	163	(unnamed)
Talbot (1940) .	Strong	V. 36	191-211	196	201	206	197	Ptolemy VI
Leupold (1949)	Strong	V. 36	470-525	493	510	519	495	Onias III
Johnson (1964)	Strong	V. 36	82-93	87	90	92	87	Onias III
Walvoord (1971)	Strong	V. 36	252-80	264	270	277	265	Onias III
Wood (1975) . .	Strong	V. 36	135-50	141	145	147	142	Onias III
<u>Group 2a</u>								
Keil (n.d.) . .	Weak	V. 21	423-74	450	463	467	451	(no spec. person)
Ford (1978) . .	Weak	V. 36	252-77	266	270	274	266-67	Onias III, Christ
<u>Group 2b</u>								
Baldwin (1978)	None	. . .	182-203	191	197	201	(191-92)	(no mention)

NOTE: For bibliographical information concerning the volumes listed see the Bibliography under "Commentaries."

Other comments

There are substantial areas of difficulty implicit in a futurist exegesis of Dan 11. One indication of this appears in a statement made by Leupold, himself a futurist.

One can hardly begin to read this chapter before it becomes evident that a very special problem confronts the Bible student. A certain minuteness of prediction in matters of detail is noted after the opening verses of the chapter have been read. It is true that the prophetic Scriptures do not usually seem to go into detail at such great length, except perhaps in matters that are of the utmost importance, such as the minutiae of the life of the Christ.¹

The problem is stated somewhat more boldly by Farrar, a critic of the futurist position.

If this chapter were indeed the utterance of a prophet in the Babylonian Exile, nearly four hundred years before the events--events of which many are of small comparative importance in the world's history--which are here so enigmatically and yet so minutely depicted, the revelation would be the most unique and perplexing in the whole Scriptures. It would represent a sudden and total departure from every method of God's providence and of God's manifestations of His will to the mind of the prophets. It would stand absolutely and abnormally alone as an abandonment of the limitations of all else which has ever been foretold.²

Leupold accuses Farrar of speaking in "words that savor of strong partisanship."³ Such an accusation might well be justified, but partisanship is not the only component of his remarks. There is enough of substance in them to merit further consideration here.

Farrar's criticism comes in three related parts, and the parts

¹Leupold, Exposition of Daniel, pp. 470-71.

²Ibid., p. 471; Walvoord, Prophetic Revelation, p. 253.

³Leupold, Exposition of Daniel, pp. 470-71.

in turn are set within a context. Specific points mentioned have to do respectively with the chapter's overall level of significance in terms of world history, its apparent minuteness of detail, and the lack of any precedent for such writing in the prophetic literature. The context, which is an inseparable part of the argument as a whole, is the conservative assertion that some 400 years separate the time when Dan 11 was predicted and the time when most of it was fulfilled --i.e., in the second century B.C. according to Leupold's view.

Note carefully that the objection put forward is not simply against details in prophecy (point 2) that are inconsequential in world history (point 1), but against inconsequential prophetic details that are claimed to have been predicted "nearly four hundred years before the events."¹ It is the unlikely combination of large scale perspective and small scale significance for which the critic finds no precedent (point 3).

Farrar's own solution to the problem he poses is to deny that any large scale perspective of 400 years exists. Thus, for him the chapter applies in the second century B.C. and was also written in the second century. The solution is to make perspective correspond to significance; for Farrar both factors were small. This of course is only one of two possible alternatives.

In response to Farrar, Walvoord uses two lines of evidence to show that detailed prophecy does have a Biblical precedent. The one is "the whole subject of Messianic prophecy which predicted the coming

¹Leupold, p. 471; Walvoord, p. 253.

of Christ with hundreds of details";¹ the other concerns the fall of Babylon and other similar historical predictions. Jer 50:38; 51:32, 36, 39, 57; Isa 13:17-18; 21:1-10; Zech 9:1-8 are cited. In conclusion the above author states:

Actually, however, proof texts are not needed, as the issue is a clear-cut question as to whether God is omniscient about the future. If He is, revelation may be just as detailed as God elects to make it; and detailed prophecy becomes no more difficult or incredible than broad predictions.²

Walvoord is right, of course, as regards faith, and Farrar could profitably have come to a similar conclusion. But something of the force of Farrar's criticism is lost in the way this conclusion was reached. Messianic prophecy does not really address the issue, because although its prophetic perspective is large--details of Christ's life were predicted centuries in advance--its level of significance is large as well. And the various historical fulfillments cited do little better, because the prophets involved lived fairly close to the events they predicted. If the level of significance for the rest of world history in such cases is small the prophetic perspective is also small. Thus perspective and significance correspond in both cases and the original problem is not solved but set aside.

Actually solving the problem implies first realizing that it is a problem. A vital first step is to admit that Farrar was correct in pointing out an incongruity between futurist exegesis of the first part of the chapter and views on its authorship. A simultaneous claim for large scale perspective and small scale significance in Dan 11 does

¹Walvoord, p. 253.

²Ibid.

represent a significant problem exegetically. But changing perspective to match significance is not the only solution to it. In this case the level of both would be small. It is also possible, and would seem much more desirable, to change significance to match perspective. In this case the level of both would be large. Unfortunately the second alternative involves making serious modifications in the type of application that was popular for much of the chapter when Farrar wrote, and is still popular today. We now take up the matter of what should be changed and why.

If we could be permitted a simple illustration, it is as though a streamer of crepe paper were attached firmly to two different objects at a distance from each other across a room. The streamer in the present illustration is a timeline designed to represent the course of salvation history from Daniel's time to the second coming of Christ. On the left are the centuries before Christ, on the right the centuries after Christ.



Fig. 5. Abstract representation of timeline as crepe paper streamer extending between two distant objects.

If it were felt that most the paper should in fact not extend in this way from one point to another, but should be placed on top of a step ladder near the left hand side of the room, any attempt to put it there would have two immediate results. First, a gap would appear in the streamer. Second, the resulting mass of paper placed in the

confined space provided by the ladder's top would appear to have much more complexity than that found in an equivalent distance measured along an extended part of the streamer. In fact the amount of complexity would appear to be extreme.



Fig. 6. Timeline or streamer with gap at a later point (c) and great complexity at an earlier point (a). (Step ladder not shown.)

There is insight here into the nature of both the gap in Dan 11 (fig. 6[c]) and the chapter's complexity (fig. 6[a]). The gap is not a sudden leap forward. It results from moving a large expanse of history back in time, not from moving a small number of events forward in time. Froom has ably demonstrated that a majority of conservative Christians through the centuries believed that the prophecies of Daniel represent a preview of history that would cover the entire span of time between Daniel's visions and the second coming of Christ.¹ Thus,

¹LeRoy E. Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1951). See especially vol. 1: Exposition, Subsequent Deflections, and Medieval Revival, pp. 401-64, and vol. 2: Pre-Reformation and Reformation Restoration, and Second Departure, pp. 783-96. If it is objected that Jerome was a futurist (see Jerome's "Commentary on Daniel," trans. Gleason L. Archer, Jr. [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1978; paperback edition, 1977], p. 134), we counter that he should have been. He looked forward to something that was future and was correct in doing so. It would not be equally correct to look forward to something that is past. Actually, however, as regards Antichrist, there is more than one fulfillment, one of which does remain future. As Ford (Daniel, p. 272) points out, the danger is not in seeing a future Antichrist, but in ignoring a past Antichrist. See also George McCready Price, The Time of the End (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1967), pp. 63-123.

an end-time conclusion for the chapter has always been available. The second-century confinement of history that produces the gap also produces the "minuteness of prediction in matters of detail" that many associate with Dan 11.¹ The minuteness is not in the chapter; it is in a second-century application of the chapter. The two are not the same.

Confining history within Dan 11 primarily to the second century B.C. has a third result, apart from producing a large gap and an extreme amount of apparent detail. For this third consequence we return to the illustration above. Suppose that the outline of a cross had been drawn on the crepe paper in india ink at a point to the right of the step ladder. The cross would be prominent as long as the paper was extended to its full length, but would no longer be visible when the gap was created and most of the paper was brought together on top of the step ladder. The cross of Christ is indeed drawn indelibly on human history, and more than that, it is part of its very substance. To take down the expanse of history within Dan 11 and confine it primarily to a single century at some point before the cross, obscures the cross and removes Christ from view within the chapter.

Such an omission imposes exegetical limitations on Dan 11 that are as insurmountable as they are unnecessary. We propose in the present study to repair the gap, put the streamer of history in Dan 11 back in position, and let the cross on it be plainly seen. This is the second alternative solution to Farrar's problem--the one he did not choose.

¹Leupold, p. 470.

But once one accepts it the original problem is resolved and in fact disappears altogether. No exegetical incongruity exists. The prophet's perspective is on a large scale, and so is the chapter's level of overall significance in terms of world history. The narrative ceases to be minute but does not cease to be detailed. Such a preview of history finds its precedent in Dan 2, 7, and 8 and its parallel in the New Testament book of Revelation.

In our own attempt to counter Farrar a strong claim for Dan 11 has emerged. This claim bears no similarity to the position that

. . . there is a drab sameness about history which allows us to say that, in addition to being a prophecy of a particular period of Syrian and Egyptian history, this may be regarded as a panoramic view of all history in a picture that is idealized, at least to some extent.¹

On the contrary, what is envisioned is a panorama of all history that is neither drab nor idealized, but highly significant in its sweep and specific in its details. The alternatives, apart from denying at the outset that a problem exists, are the skepticism of Farrar and the claim of faith that God, in this one remarkable chapter, has summarized all history from the time of Daniel's visions to the second coming of Christ.

The position that Farrar represents was discussed in the section on preterism, above. The position with which we have proposed countering Farrar is now discussed in the section on historicism.

¹Leupold, pp. 475-76.

Historicism

Historicism, as the term is used here, is an application to prophecy of a principle whose associations are quite broad.¹ The application is that Daniel's prophecies, and Dan 11 in particular, make a valid claim to represent the course of human history in its essential features from the time the visions were received until the second coming of Christ. The principle, on the other hand, is that all of God's dealings with mankind are characterized by ongoing involvement and take place within an extended historical matrix of ordinary experience.²

The need to take seriously God's activity amid such common experience is pointed out by Kaufman, who regrets that

. . . the relationship between the *Heilsgeschichte* with which Christian faith is especially concerned and the ordinary, workaday, secular history in which all of us live every moment of our lives

¹Borrowing words from Kaufman (*Systematic Theology*, p. xii, fn. 3), "I am aware, of course, that the term 'historicism' has been used in a variety of ways to indicate this or that interpretation of history, including positivism, historical determinism, historical relativism, etc. In using this term I am not seeking to identify my views with any that may previously have been intended. I use the word simply because it suggests a viewpoint that understands the world in historical terms, and man in terms of the radical implications of his historicity; and it is precisely this kind of viewpoint that the present analysis attempts to express." Historicism in this neutral sense is not so much a hermeneutic for history as an emphasis on history; this emphasis in turn becomes a hermeneutic for other areas, such as prophecy in the present context.

²But not only in a historical matrix of ordinary experience. Note Heb 8:1-2, which reads, "The point of what we are saying is this: We do have such a high priest, who sat down at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven, and who serves in the sanctuary, the true tabernacle set up by the Lord, not by man." There is divine activity on earth through history, and in heaven through the priestly ministry of Christ. The divine-human Christ entered both spheres of experience on our behalf--the one qualifying Him for His unique ministry on behalf of mankind in the other.

remains almost entirely unspecified. So despite its interest in "history" the Christian faith appears to many moderns to be in fact completely irrelevant to the only history which they know.¹

Kaufman sees "God's manifestation of himself in a continuous and developing history . . . ,"² from which neither God nor man is ever absent.

We submit that the prophecies of Daniel must be seen in a context such as the one indicated above, as well as that provided by what Jewish apocalyptic eventually came to be. These prophecies, including that of chap. 11, are not an other-worldly exercise in determinism. Bruce William Jones suggests that "Much of what is called 'determinism' in Daniel is really confidence in God's ability and willingness to save Israel."³ In fact they are not other-worldly at all, in the sense of detracting from the central role and importance of human history. A divine element is added, and yet the human element is not taken away. A majority of apocalyptic writers

. . . effectively robbed mundane history of its significance. For these writers it is the other world which is the real world. It is there that events on earth are initiated and there that their outcome is determined.⁴

Such, however, is not the message of Daniel, taken in its fullest

¹Systematic Theology, p. xii.

²Ibid., p. 86.

³"Ideas of History in the Book of Daniel" (Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1972), p. 165. Jones goes on to say, ". . . we found many opportunities in the book for the exercise of free choice. As a unit, the book is an appeal to its readers to exercise that choice, to become one of the wise and righteous, and to share in God's blessings" (p. 177).

⁴Frost, quoted in Jones, p. 124.

import. It is true that a successful outcome is assured.¹ But along with the result of God's working out His purposes in history, emphasis needs to be placed on the process by which this comes about. God's will is eventually accomplished on earth because He is constantly at work on earth causing it to be accomplished. This is the point to be gained from the present discussion. Daniel does not teach deism; God is not absent from any generation of His people individually, or in history as a whole, or in prophecy.²

Leaders of the nineteenth-century Millerite movement stressing Christ's imminent return shared historicist presuppositions with many of their conservative fellow Protestants.³ Today the spiritual heirs of the latter are futurists, while the primary representatives of historicism, as a school of interpretation for prophecy, are Seventh-day Adventists. It is assumed below, unless stated otherwise, that a

¹Dan 2:44-45; 7:11-14, 26-27; 8:13-14, 25; 11:45; 12:1-3.

²Two points. First, the present discussion has introduced an appropriate context for Matt 1:22-23 (see Isa 7:14). God was not only "with us" in the person of Christ, who fulfilled Isa 7:14 literally during His life on earth. On the contrary, Christ is the promise that God will never fail to be with us. Second, an appropriate context for Heb 7:25 is also introduced, which in KJV says, "Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost [εἰς τὸ παντελές] that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them." The fact that Christ can save "to the uttermost" is connected with the fact that "he ever liveth to make intercession." Note also v. 3, where "he remains a priest forever" (NIV), and v. 16, which speaks of "the power of an indestructible life." The setting therefore is one of ongoing time, and active divine involvement with human need during the full course of that time.

³See P. Gerhard Damsteegt, Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), pp. 19, 57-77 for discussion. See also Froom, Prophetic Faith, vol. 3: Part I, Colonial and Early National American Exposition/Part II, Old World Nineteenth Century Advent Awakening, pp. 382-410; vol. 4: New World Recovery and Consummation of Prophetic Interpretation, pp. 738-51.

historicism writer is a Seventh-day Adventist writer, and vice versa.¹

Inspiration and the dating of Daniel

The attitude of Seventh-day Adventists toward Scripture is expressed by Ellen G. White as follows:

In His word, God has committed to men the knowledge necessary for salvation. The Holy Scriptures are to be accepted as an authoritative, infallible revelation of His will. They are the standard of character, the revealer of doctrines, and the test of experience.

C. M. Sorenson voices the same measure of confidence.

We have two mighty pillars of strong conviction in an infallible Bible and the principle of predictive prophecy, and holding these two great anchors of the soul, the Lord will lead us on step by step, and what further we need to know about the situation, will be revealed to us in His own good time by his own good providence.³

The word "infallible" is used in both of the above quotations, and yet there is no lack of awareness of the human element present in Scripture's origin and transmission.⁴

¹Taking historicism apart from prophecy there are exceptions. Kaufman, whose work has been cited above, and with whose emphases we find ourself in close agreement, is an example of a non-Adventist historicist. But Kaufman says nothing in his book about prophecy; it is unclear how he would choose to apply historicist principles there. As regards prophecy, and specifically Daniel, we know of no twentieth-century interpreter who is a historicist but not an Adventist.

²Great Controversy, p. vii.

³July 6, 1912 Bible Conference, Archives, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C., p. 79.

⁴Most Adventists would no longer use the word "infallible" in this way, for the same reason that many evangelicals, Billy Graham included, would avoid the word "inerrant." "'I believe the Bible is the inspired, authoritative word of God,' Graham says, 'but I don't use the word "inerrant" because it's become a brittle, divisive word'" (Kenneth L. Woodward, Newsweek, 26 April 1982, p. 91). Such was not the case sixty years ago. At that time "infallible" meant perfectly trustworthy, and used in this sense the term is still appropriate today.

Written in different ages, by men who differed widely in rank and occupation, and in mental and spiritual endowments, the books of the Bible present a wide contrast in style, as well as a diversity in the nature of the subjects unfolded. Different forms of expression are employed by different writers; often the same truth is more strikingly presented by one than by another. And as several writers present a subject under varied aspects and relations, there may appear, to the superficial, careless, or prejudiced reader, to be discrepancy or contradiction, where the thoughtful, reverent student, with clearer insight, discerns the underlying harmony.¹

Again, such awareness does not obscure God's saving power mediated through His Word.

God committed the preparation of His divinely inspired Word to finite man. This Word, arranged into books, the Old and New Testaments, is the guidebook to the inhabitants of a fallen world, bequeathed to them that, by studying and obeying the directions, not one soul would lose its way to heaven.²

Thus, the Scriptures represent thoughts that are God's in words that are man's.³

The attitude of Seventh-day Adventists toward the book of Daniel is an extension of their attitude toward Scripture generally. It is accepted--intelligently, but at face value and with reference to all its claims--as the inspired Word of God. Historicists are in full agreement with futurists on this matter.

As regards dating also, historicist and futurist positions are equivalent. Hasel concludes a recent two-part survey of research that bears on the dating of Daniel with the following statement:

¹White, Great Controversy, p. vi.

²Idem, Selected Messages from the Writings of Ellen G. White, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1958-80), 1:16.

³The concept is not that the thoughts are God's and the words are God's also, except in such portions of Scripture as the Ten Commandments. Verbal inspiration is not taught by Adventist writers.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that the classical problems of the syntax and spelling of the Aramaic of Daniel used in the past by certain scholars as support for an alleged late date and a Western provenance appear now in an entirely new light. The new evidence and reassessment point to a pre-second-century-B.C. date and to an Eastern (Babylonian) origin. On the basis of presently available evidence, the Aramaic of Daniel belongs to Official Aramaic and can have been written as early as the latter part of the sixth century B.C.; linguistic evidence is clearly against a date in the second century B.C. Even if the exact date of Daniel cannot be decided on linguistic grounds alone, there is abundant and compelling linguistic evidence against a second-century Palestinian origin.¹

Prediction and application to history

Any hermeneutic for interpreting prophecy can be approached in one of the two following ways: what happened in fulfillment of a given prophecy, and how the event was understood when it happened.² Only the former has been considered above for any school of interpretation.

An epistemological refinement on the historicist approach to prophecy has been suggested by Froom in vol. 1 of Prophetic Faith. He suggests that the prophecies of Daniel were not only fulfilled gradually across a broad expanse of history, but that they were correctly understood by at least a significant number of pious exegetes at the time they were fulfilled. This position is referred to below

¹Hasel, "The Book of Daniel and Matters of Language: Evidences Relating to Names, Words, and the Aramaic Language," AUSS 19 (1981): 224-25. See also *ibid.*, pp. 211-25, and *idem*, "The Book of Daniel: Evidences Relating to Persons and Chronology," AUSS 19 (1981):37-49. Not cited in either of the above papers but consistent with their conclusions is H. W. F. Saggs, review of The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic, by W. G. Lambert, in Journal of Semitic Studies 26 (1981):312-13. A further paper by Hasel on the dating of Daniel is, "Daniel Survives the Critics' Den," Ministry, January 1979, pp. 8-11.

²Ontology and epistemology, respectively: what is, and knowledge of what is. See Anthony Kenny, Wittgenstein (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 203-18.

as the "Froom hypothesis."¹ Froom states the background for his views as follows:

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

For example, your investigator has been brought slowly but irresistibly to the conclusion that prophecy has been progressively understood just as fast as history has fulfilled it, step by step, down through the passing centuries. And, further, that always at the time of fulfillment of each major epoch and event of prophecy there have been numerous men of eminence and godliness, widely scattered geographically, who have recognized that a fulfillment was taking place before their very eyes. They have sensed where they were on the timetable of prophecy, and have left the record of that recognition. Such is the evidence.²

This position is not equivalent to the claim that *all* persons studying a given portion of Daniel that was then being fulfilled understood what they studied. To reach conclusions is not necessarily to reach correct conclusions.³ But at least a significant number are claimed to have correctly understood each portion as it was fulfilled.

There are two further qualifications that must be introduced. First, in evaluating what Froom said, note carefully what he did not say. He did not say that a given prophecy in Daniel could be correctly understood by succeeding generations in many different ways, or even in

¹Note that Froom himself speaks in terms of a "conclusion" that prophecy has been correctly understood by at least some at each point in history. What was a conclusion for Froom is a hypothesis for his readers, to be tested against the documentation he and others provide.

²Prophetic Faith 1:15.

³Construing the *belief* that prophecy has been fulfilled as the *fact* that prophecy has been fulfilled is an error equivalent to ignoring the distinction between ontology and epistemology. The two factors must be kept distinct.

many similar ways.¹ The claim is that the various parts of one overall system of prophetic history were fulfilled serially, and that each time a part of the whole came due for fulfillment--in its primary significance--the fact was recognized by someone. The circumstances surrounding Christ's birth, alluded to in Dan 9:24,² provide an illustration of the point being made. When the event finally occurred there were some who recognized its significance--a few shepherds,³ an old man and woman,⁴ some oriental scholars.⁵ They surely did not realize all its significance; if the disciples after Christ's death did not understand the full breadth of His mission⁶ these earlier witnesses could not be

¹See Ford, Daniel, p. 49 on "*The Possibility of Dual or Multiple Fulfillment*". This should not be thought of as implying a double sense or prophecy but rather the same sense in recurring situations. This is sometimes called 'the apotelesmatic principle.' Froom would not have invoked the apotelesmatic principle in Dan 11; he would not have needed to, since every specification is accounted for by other means. There are cases, however, where its use is legitimate. A paradigm example is Christ's miniature apocalypse in Matt 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21. For the vexed question of whether Ford does or does not see these chapters in terms of the apotelesmatic principle see his book, Abomination of Desolation, pp. 62-74; "Ford Responds to Shea," and "Shea Replies to Ford," Spectrum 11, 4 (1981):56-57, 59. So powerful a hermeneutical device requires the assistance of rigorous controls if its maximum benefit is to be gained.

²By the phrase, "to bring in everlasting righteousness" (event #4). The Hebrew of "everlasting righteousness" is šēdeq 'ōlāmīm. This expression is not restricted to eternity future, but applies equally to eternity past. Consider Mic 5:2, "'But you, Bethlehem Ephrathah, though you are small among the clans of Judah, out of you will come for me one who will be ruler over Israel, whose goings out are from of old, from days of eternity'" (margin). The life of Jesus did indeed introduce a righteousness that was "from days of eternity" (Mic 5:2), and that would remain "the same yesterday and today and forever" (Heb 13:8). For further comment on Dan 9:24 see chapter III, below.

³Luke 2:8-20.

⁴Luke 2:25-38.

⁵Matt 2:1-12.

⁶Luke 24:13-49.

expected to do so. But they knew God was acting in a marked way to accomplish His purposes. Thus God was not left without witnesses to this supremely important turning point in history. And this was not a prophecy whose significance would be repeated.

Second, note that the Froom hypothesis does not conflict with the fact that Daniel's prophecies were sealed. As a general rule, according to the implications of the hypothesis, as much of Daniel was sealed at any one time as was still future at that time. The fact that the prophet was told to "'close up and seal the words of the scroll until the time of the end. . . ,'"¹ merely supports the assertion that a good deal of it would not apply until far into the future. Thus the scope of the prophecy is shown to be broad. The parts that were fulfilled, however, were unsealed--at that time and subsequently. The Froom hypothesis does not claim that future parts of Daniel were understood in any given era of history, but that parts then present were understood. There is no inconsistency here.

Thus, in every age of history God reaches out to those who place confidence in Him and instructs them concerning His will. Such instruction takes the form of practical guidance for individual experience and growth, and also includes some indication of God's overall purpose in the plan of salvation. Through Daniel it has been possible for people in every age to understand, if they wished to learn, something of the context for their experience in terms of their own and preceding generations.

¹Dan 12:4. See also v. 9.

We submit that the view of prophecy outlined above does not in any way go beyond what Scripture claims for itself, as those claims are allowed to speak for themselves without embellishment. When Christ says, in Matt 28:20, "'And surely I will be with you always, to the very end of the age,'" the assurances implicit within Daniel are stated openly. Matt 28:20 is an explicit affirmation of historicism's central premise.

Chapter outline and commentaries

It would be out of place here to attempt a history of historicist exegesis over the better part of two centuries.¹ The primary concern is what historicism now is, not what it once was. Therefore only Seventh-day Adventist expositors are dealt with, all but one of them writing in the last thirty years.² These expositors are Uriah Smith,³ George McCready Price,⁴ Edwin R. Thiele,⁵ Robert D. Brinsmead,⁶ Roy

¹See Froom, Prophetic Faith, vol. 4; Damsteegt, Message and Mission, pp. 3-77.

²Uriah Smith wrote during the past century (fn. 3, below). Other sources occasionally referred to are Stephen N. Haskell, The Story of Daniel the Prophet, Heritage Library (Battle Creek: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1901; reprint ed., Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1977), and J. Grant Lamson, The Eleventh of Daniel Narrated (Minneapolis: [published privately], 1909).

³The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, rev. ed. (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1944). Originally published as Thoughts, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Daniel (Battle Creek: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1873).

⁴The Greatest of the Prophets: A New Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1955).

⁵"Outline Studies in Daniel," Pacific Union College, n.d. (Mimeographed.)

⁶The Vision by the Hiddekel: A Verse by Verse Commentary on Daniel Eleven (Denver: International Health Institute, 1970).

Allan Anderson,¹ Desmond Ford,² and C. Mervyn Maxwell.³

Historicist interpreters can be divided into two groups, according to whether they place section breaks within Dan 11 at vv. 16 and 23,⁴ or at vv. 14 and 21.⁵ Of these the latter break (at v. 23 and 21 respectively) is the more important, since it bears directly on one's interpretation of v. 22 with its reference to the "prince of the covenant." A further diagnostic point among historicist writers has to do with v. 29, placed by one group in the fourth century A.D.,⁶ and by the other either considerably earlier⁷ or considerably later.⁸ The above matters are summarized in table 17.

¹Unfolding Daniel's Prophecies (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1975).

²Daniel, with a Foreword by F. F. Bruce (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1978). Here Ford's views are considered from the standpoint of historicism. For Ford as futurist see above, p. 41, fn. 3; p. 56, fn. 1; p. 57, table 16.

³God Cares, 2 vols. (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1981), vol. 1: The Message of Daniel for You and Your Family.

⁴Group 1: Smith, Price, Brinsmead, Anderson. It should be noted that since the time when The Vision by the Hiddekel was published in 1970 Brinsmead's views on Daniel have undergone radical change. We are dealing here with the Brinsmead of the 1960s, not the Brinsmead of the 1970s. For the latter see idem, 1844 Reexamined: Institute Syllabus 1979 (Fallbrook, CA: I[nternational] H[ealth] I[nstitute], 1979).

⁵Group 2: Ford, Maxwell, Thiele.

⁶Anderson, Brinsmead, Price, Smith.

⁷Ford.

⁸Maxwell, Thiele.

TABLE 17

SUMMARY OF RECENT HISTORICIST COMMENTARIES

Author/Date	Dan 11	V. 14/16	V. 21/23	V. 29	Prince
<u>Group 1</u>					
Anderson (1975) . . .	130-67	16 (p. 135)	21 (p. 142)	IV A.D.	Christ
Brinsmead (1970) . .	21-97	16 (p. 39)	23 (p. 45)	IV A.D.	Christ
Price (1955)	275-323	16 (p. 286)	23 (p. 293)	IV A.D.	Christ
Smith (1944)*	233-99	16 (p. 246)	23 (p. 258)	IV A.D.	Christ
<u>Group 2</u>					
Ford (1978)	252-77	14 (p. 263)	21 (p. 266)	II B.C.	Onias III, Christ
Maxwell (1981) . . .	268-88	14 (p. 281)	21 (p. 283)	XII A.D.	Christ
Thiele (n.d.)	126-71	14 (p. 133)	21 (p. 138)	XII A.D.	Christ

NOTE: For bibliographical information concerning the volumes listed see the Bibliography under "Commentaries."

*Originally published in 1873 (see Bibliography). The history of Smith's work on Daniel and the development of his book Daniel and Revelation is summarized in Roy Adams, The Sanctuary Doctrine: Three Approaches in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 1 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1981), pp. 22-23, fn. 4.

Just as it was considered helpful to take preterist views into account when discussing futurism,¹ it will now be helpful to take futurist views into account as a backdrop against which to see the differences within historicism.

We begin with v. 22. Christ is a possible referent of the prince figure in v. 22 for all historicists; for most futurists the prince is Onias III.² See table 18.

TABLE 18
THE PRINCE

Interpreters	Prince (V. 22)
Historicists	Christ
Futurists	Onias III

The fact that Christ is not present in futurist exegesis of v. 22 must be seen in the context of v. 21. The application to Antiochus Epiphanes of the villain figure in v. 21 is taken to be an established datum by most futurists³ and all preterists,⁴ and the apparent strength of such a historical setting makes it impossible to apply v. 22 to Christ in any primary sense. The villain for group 1 historicists,

¹See fig. 3, p. 54, above.

²Onias III was at one time the legitimate, and conservative, high priest in Jerusalem. He was treacherously murdered by Menelaus, a liberal successor in office, during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. See 2 Macc 4:33-35; John Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia: Westminster, [1959]), pp. 403-4. The murder was subsequently avenged by Antiochus (2 Macc 4:36-38).

³See table 16, p. 57, above.

⁴See pp. 32-33, above.

however, is not Antiochus but Tiberius Caesar. See table 19.

TABLE 19
THE VILLAIN AND THE PRINCE

Interpreters	Villain (V. 21)	Prince (V. 22)
Historicists (gr. 1) .	Tiberius	Christ
Futurists	Antiochus	Onias III

In table 19 not all four of the items listed have equal importance within their respective schools of interpretation. For group 1 historicists Tiberius as villain follows from Christ as Prince, and for a majority of futurists Onias III as prince follows from Antiochus

¹See Smith, Daniel and Revelation, p. 255; Price, Greatest of the Prophets, p. 291; Brinsmead, Vision by the Hiddekel, p. 44; Anderson, Unfolding Daniel's Prophecies, p. 141. Our most important source of information about Tiberius is the historian Tacitus. In Tacitus' Annals, over and beyond such group characters as the Roman army and senate, "developing slowly and portentously over several books, tower those gigantic psychopaths, the Emperors. Claudius--uxorious, pedantic, and grotesque, with the odd appeal of those wholly devoid of dignity. Nero, the roistering young bully-boy with a taste for lechery and the arts, passing to the matricide and *folie de grandeur* of his later years. Above all, Tiberius--Tacitus' masterpiece, on which he lavished all his powers--the inscrutable countenance and the cold heart, the unwearying malevolence and the recondite lusts. In him Tacitus saw the archetype of the tyrant-Emperor, to which the sequel was Domitian. In his reign the law of treason was to unfold to an instrument of terror: then began that fearful system of spying and denunciation which so harassed the men of Tacitus' generation, reducing them all to silence, and sending the best of them to their graves. Tacitus' portrait of Tiberius is surely one of the most damaging indictments ever brought against a historical figure" (Donald R. Dudley, trans., The Annals of Tacitus: A Modern New Translation by Donald R. Dudley, New American Library [New York: Mentor Books, 1966], p. xiii). For a discussion of Tacitus' attitudes and biases toward his literary subjects see John Percival, "Tacitus and the Principate," Greece & Rome, second series, 27 (1980):119-33. For the chronology of Tiberius relative to Christ see Maxwell, God Cares, pp. 216-19.

as villain. Thus, the essential elements of contrast between historicism and futurism at vv. 21-22 are Christ in v. 22 on the one hand and Antiochus in v. 21 on the other. This important fact is captured in table 20 by restating previous material with the two lesser characters indicated by an "X" rather than being named.

TABLE 20
THE ESSENTIAL CONTRAST BETWEEN
VILLAIN AND PRINCE

Interpreters	Villain (V. 21)	Prince (V. 22)
Historicists (gr. 1) .	X	Christ
Futurists	Antiochus	X

While Christ is a possible referent of the "prince of the covenant" figure for all historicists, the way the application is made varies, and so does the identity of the villain--as well as the amount of internal cohesion between vv. 21 and 22.

For Thiele the villain of v. 21 is the papacy.¹ Such an interpretation would create severe contextual difficulties for an application to Christ in the following verse if both villain and prince figures were taken in a non-extended sense. What v. 22 says about the prince is that he would be "destroyed,"² and if such a term were applied to Christ in a primary sense it would have to refer to the crucifixion

¹"Outline Studies," p. 138.

²"Then an overwhelming army will be swept away before him; both it and a prince of the covenant will be destroyed" (Dan 11:22).

under Pontius Pilate. So to maintain both pope as villain and Christ as Prince, Thiele generalizes the word "destroyed" in v. 22 to include spiritual abuse and applies the verse to the church's later disregard for Christ's role as sole Agent of forgiveness, full and complete Sacrifice, intercessory High Priest, and so on.¹ For Maxwell the issue of what happens to the prince and when it happens remains moot; it is not addressed. But Christ is identified in a number of places as the "prince of the covenant,"² and, following Thiele, the villain is the papacy.³ Thus, Thiele posits a fifth and sixth century A.D. application of both villain and prince, and what Maxwell writes is least consistent with such an interpretation. These two exegetes are referred to below as group 2a historicists.⁴

For Ford the villain is Antiochus but can also be Rome,⁵ and the prince is Onias III but can also be Christ.⁶ The primary application is in the second century P.C., the secondary application is in the first century A.D. Ford is referred to below as a group 2b historicist.

¹"Outline Studies," p. 150.

²God Cares, pp. 281, 285-86. Note the absence of any reference to the "prince of the covenant" on p. 283.

³Ibid., pp. 283, 286.

⁴Although Christ is the only application of the "prince of the covenant" for group 2a historicists in v. 22, the interpretation of v. 21 does not follow from this fact. Nor on the other hand does the application to Christ in v. 22 follow naturally from the interpretation of v. 21. The relationship between the two verses is somewhat strained. There are reasons why such contextual tensions are allowed to remain, but they have to do with v. 23 and the chapter's overall timeline or flow of history. These matters are introduced at a later point.

⁵Daniel, p. 267.

⁶Ibid.

As regards the "prince of the covenant" in v. 22, Christ is the term's only reference for group 1 and 2a historicists, but a secondary reference for group 2b. The destruction of the Prince is applied in a primary sense by group 1 and 2b historicists, but in a secondary sense by group 2a.¹ These facts, in comparison with the position taken by most futurists, are summarized in table 21.

TABLE 21

THE PRINCE: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY
REFERENCE AND SENSE

Interpreters	Reference	Sense	Prince
<u>Historicists</u>			
Group 1	1	1	Christ
Group 2a	1	2	Christ
Group 2b (Ford) . . .	2	1	Christ
<u>Futurists</u>			
Ford	1	1	Onias III
Most futurists . . .	1	1	Onias III

NOTE: Let "1" be read "primary," and let "2" be read "secondary."

¹"Reference" and "sense" are used here as technical terms. An application of one phrase to two different persons--both Onias III and Christ for example--is multiple reference; an application to one person in two different ways is multiple sense.

The present use of the above terms is similar to that proposed by the philosopher Frege (*Bedeutung*/"reference," *Sinn*/"sense"). See G. Frege, "On Sense and Reference," in Logic and Philosophy for Linguists: A Book of Readings, ed. J. M. E. Moravcsik (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), pp. 13-32. "If words are used in the ordinary way, what one intends to speak of is their reference" (*ibid.*, p. 15). "The reference of 'evening star' would be the same as that of 'morning star', but not the sense" (p. 14). Another way in which the morning or evening star could be referred to, that would convey still another sense to most persons, would be to call it the planet Venus. For discussion see Anthony Kenny,

As regards the "contemptible person" of v. 21, Tiberius is the term's only reference for group 1 historicists, and the papacy is the only reference for group 2a. Ford as historicist (group 2b) accepts Rome as a secondary reference for the villain, while Ford as futurist takes the primary reference to be Antiochus. No historicist expositor applies the villain figure in a secondary sense as opposed to reference. These facts are summarized in table 22.

TABLE 22

THE VILLAIN: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY
REFERENCE AND SENSE

Interpreters	Reference	Sense	Villain
<u>Historicists</u>			
Group 1	1	1	Tiberius
Group 2a	1	1	Papacy
Group 2b (Ford) . . .	2	1	Rome
<u>Futurists</u>			
Ford	1	1	Antiochus
Most futurists	1	1	Antiochus

NOTE: Let "1" be read "primary," and let "2" be read "secondary."

The most consistent and internally cohesive of the positions dealt with above are those of group 1 historicists and most futurists,

Wittgenstein (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 29, 35, 54, 58, 60-62, 95; and a number of relevant papers in Danny D. Steinberg and Leon A. Jakobovits, eds., Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics and Psychology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971). Critical comment is offered by Bertrand Russell, "On Denoting," reprinted in Bertrand Russell: Logic and Knowledge, Essays 1901-1950, ed. Robert C. Marsh (New York: Putnam's Sons; Capricorn Books, 1956), pp. 41-56.

as can be seen from the information now brought together in table 23.

TABLE 23
SUMMARY OF INTERPRETATIONS
FOR PRINCE AND VILLAIN

Interpreters	Prince (V. 22)		Villain (V. 21)	
	Century	Ref./Sense	Century	Ref./Sense
Group 1 historicists .	I A.D.	1 1	I A.D.	1 1
Group 2a historicists	V/VI A.D.	1 1	V/VI A.D.	1 2
Ford as historicist .	I A.D.	2 1	I A.D.	2 1
Ford as futurist . . .	II B.C.	1 1	II B.C.	1 1
Most futurists	II B.C.	1 1	II B.C.	1 1

NOTE: Let "1" be read "primary," and let "2" be read "secondary."

Recall from tables 21 and 22 that the prince and villain for a majority of futurists are Onias III and Antiochus IV, respectively (both in II B.C.), which is Ford's primary position--as a futurist. For group 2a historicists the Prince and villain are Christ and the papacy (both in V/VI A.D.), and for group 1 historicists they are Christ and Tiberius (both in I A.D.), which, with less emphasis on Tiberius, is Ford's secondary position--as a historicist. Thus, for most futurists and Ford no secondary reference or secondary sense is involved in applying v. 21 to Antiochus, from which placing Onias III in v. 22 follows. And for group 1 historicists no secondary reference or secondary sense is involved in applying v. 22 to Christ, from which placing Tiberius in v. 21 follows. But group 2a historicists can't apply the prince figure to Christ in its primary sense and Ford (group 2b) can't apply that figure to Christ in its primary reference.

It has been pointed out that group 1 historicists and the majority of futurists provide the most internally consistent positions --among the interpretations considered. But recall that futurism at this point is identical with preterism. It would be too much to claim that preterists follow futurists at v. 21 or anywhere else in Dan 11; instead, up to v. 36 as a rule, futurists follow preterists. So we would submit that the real contrast in table 22 is not between historicism and futurism, but between historicism and preterism. And the central issue in that contrast is now what it has always been through history--i.e., Christ. Porphyry's application of the villain figure to Antiochus was not an exegetical end in itself, but the central rallying cry of an attack on the messiahship of Christ.¹

Futurism makes an attempt to provide a compromise solution. Exegetical difficulties inherent in the attempt have been pointed out earlier. Ford also proposes a type of compromise, using the apotelesmatic principle. A possible secondary reference to Christ in v. 22 is made available by this method, but the thrust of the chapter lies elsewhere.² The real compromise is that attempted by futurism, but

¹See Jerome's "Commentary on Daniel," trans. Gleason L. Archer, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House 1958), pp. 129-30; Casey, "Porphyry and the Origin of the Book of Daniel," pp. 21, 23; Montgomery, Commentary on Daniel, p. 469.

²Ford's views on Dan 11 have not changed since the 1978 Daniel commentary was published. As late as 1981 he says, "There seems to me to be only one way to make exegetical sense of the Daniel passage: . . ." (Spectrum 11, 4 [1981]:55), and then quotes the following paragraph from Daniel, p. 267, "Verse 22 should be specially noted. As Antiochus is 'credited' with betraying princes to whom he professed friendship, and in his day, according to Jewish tradition, the deposed high priest Onias III was murdered, so Rome broke the 'prince of the covenant' in AD 31. The latter term is reminiscent of 'the Prince of the host' (8:11), 'the Prince of princes' (8:25), and 'an anointed one, a prince' (9:25). Just

we believe it has been unsuccessful from an exegetical standpoint, despite its widespread popularity.

So, barring compromise, it becomes necessary to choose. If Antiochus is genuinely the subject of v. 21, then Christ is excluded from v. 22 in any primary sense. The points of difference between futurists and preterists would remain unaffected in this case, since such differences do not appear until v. 36. But if, on the other hand, Christ is genuinely the subject of v. 22--as the primary or sole referent of the "prince of the covenant" figure--a powerful contextual constraint is introduced that makes a fundamental and thoroughgoing reassessment of the entire chapter necessary. The following, then, becomes a very crucial question: Is there or is there not a rigorous basis for choosing between Christ and Antiochus as interpretations of vv. 22 and 21, respectively? There is, and we turn to it now.

Other comments

The Prince

Two Hebrew words, *śar*¹ and *nāgīd*,² are occasionally translated "prince" in the book of Daniel. A *śar* is a "representative of the

as in Mt 24 and all Old Testament descriptions of 'the day of the Lord,' the perspective can abruptly change by the introduction of a feature that transcends the immediate historical occasion, so it is here." Thus, a secondary rather than primary application to Christ in v. 22 is still characteristic of Ford's views. As regards the importance of Antiochus in Dan 11, Ford writes, "I would challenge Dr. Shea or anyone else to make exegetical sense of the passage by using any other power than Antiochus Epiphanes as central to verses 21-35" (ibid.).

¹Translated "official" in 1:7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 18; "prince" in 8:11, 25; 9:6, 8; 10:13, 13, 20, 20, 21; 12:1; "commander" in 11:5.

²Translated "ruler" in 9:25, 26; "prince" in 11:22.

king, official,"¹ while *nāqīd* refers to a "minor leader," or leader "in a smaller domain."² The word in Dan 11:22 is *nāqīd*.

Prince as *nāqīd*. We now consider each of the three occurrences of *nāqīd* within Daniel. These are *māšī^ah nāqīd* "an anointed one, a prince," or more freely "an anointed prince";³ *nāqīd habbā'* "the prince who comes";⁴ and *nēqīd bərīt* "a prince of a covenant."⁵ There are two different princes in these references.⁶ The second reference, *nāqīd habbā'* "the prince who comes" (9:26), is best interpreted as being parallel with *habbā'* 'ēlā(y)w "the one who comes against him" in 11:16 on the basis of *habbā'*,⁷ rather than with *māšī^ah nāqīd* "an anointed Prince" in 9:25 on the basis of *nāqīd*.⁸ What *māšī^ah nāqīd* "an anointed

¹Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, eds., Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), pp. 929-30.

²Ibid., p. 592.

³Dan 9:25, "the Anointed One, the ruler" (NIV), "an anointed one" (NIV margin); "Messiah the Prince" (KJV).

⁴Dan 9:26, "the ruler who will come" (NIV); "the prince that shall come" (KJV).

⁵Dan 11:22, "a prince of the covenant" (NIV); "the prince of the covenant" (KJV).

⁶See Jacques Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9: An Exegetical Study," in The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies, eds. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Leshar (Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1981), p. 264. Doukhan points out that "the second *nāqīd* (or 'prince') comes against the first one--as his adversary, and also as his usurper. . . . In fact, the motif of a great conflict in Dan 9 between the two 'princes' pervades the whole book of Daniel and belongs to its basic theology" (ibid.). On the identity of the second prince notice that both "the prince who comes" in Dan 9:26 and "the one who comes against him" in Dan 11:16 remain unidentified and rather mysterious. The same is true of the fourth power of Dan 7 (see vv. 7, 19, 23). We suggest that the two references to a prince who comes on the one hand, and the fourth power of Dan 7 on the other, are identical; the fourth power of Dan 7 and the fourth power of Dan 2 are in turn the same. Here is the final power of Dan 11 as well--the last rival king of the North.

⁷"The one who comes."

⁸"A prince."

prince" (9:25) should be compared with in 9:26 is *māšīḥ* "an anointed one."¹ These facts are summarized in table 24 for the Hebrew terms involved, and in table 25 for their English equivalents. We assume below, on the basis of tables 24 and 25, that the "anointed one" of 9:26, the "anointed prince" of 9:25, and the "prince" of 11:22 are all one and the same.

Of the two princes (*nāqīd*) above, only the first, mentioned in Dan 9:25 and 11:22, is of interest here. And of these two texts only 9:25 can be used to establish the prince's identity, since identifying him in 11:22 is the question at issue.

We now consider how the church interpreted Dan 9:25 early in its history. Writing in the fourth century A.D. Eusebius states:

These facts may also serve us as proof of the fulfilment of another prophecy on the manifestation of our Saviour Jesus Christ. It is quite obvious that in Daniel the text defines the number of certain weeks [ἐβδομάδων], which I have treated of elsewhere, in so many words as "until Christ the ruler," and prophecies that after the accomplishment of these weeks the anointing among the Jews shall be destroyed. The fulfilment of this at the time of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ is clearly demonstrated.²

Jerome, writing in the late fourth or early fifth century A.D., holds the same view of this prophecy that Eusebius has expressed.

And as for the angel's statement, "For he shall establish a compact with many for one week (variant: 'a compact for many weeks'), and in the midst of the week the sacrifice and offering shall cease," it is to be understood in this way, that Christ was born while Herod was reigning in Judaea and Augustus in Rome, and He preached the Gospel for three years and six months, according to John the Evangelist. And he established the worship of the true

¹Dan 9:26, "the Anointed One" (NIV), "an anointed one" (NIV margin); "Messiah" (KJV).

²Kirsopp Lake, trans., Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1926), 1:54-55.

TABLE 24

THE TWO NĀGĪD PRINCES (HEBREW)

Prince	Dan 9		Dan 11
Nāgīd #1 . .	(9:26) māšī' h	(9:25) māšī' h nāgīd	(11:22) nəgīd bərit
Nāgīd #2 . .		(9:26) nāgīd habbā'	(11:16) habbā' 'ēlā(y) w

Detailed description of Table 24: This table maps Hebrew terms for two princes across two chapters. Nāgīd #1 is associated with (9:26) māšī' h and (9:25) māšī' h nāgīd. Nāgīd #2 is associated with (9:26) nāgīd habbā' and (11:16) habbā' 'ēlā(y) w. Dashed arrows indicate relationships: a vertical arrow from (9:26) māšī' h to (9:25) māšī' h nāgīd; a vertical arrow from (9:26) nāgīd habbā' to (9:25) māšī' h nāgīd; a vertical arrow from (9:25) māšī' h nāgīd to (11:22) nəgīd bərit; a vertical arrow from (9:26) nāgīd habbā' to (11:16) habbā' 'ēlā(y) w; a horizontal dashed arrow from (9:26) māšī' h to (9:26) nāgīd habbā'; and a horizontal dashed arrow from (9:25) māšī' h nāgīd to (11:16) habbā' 'ēlā(y) w.

TABLE 25

THE TWO NĀGĪD PRINCES (ENGLISH)

Prince	Dan 9		Dan 11
Nāgīd #1 . .	(9:26) Anointed One	(9:25) Anointed Prince	(11:22) Prince of Covenant
Nāgīd #2 . .		(9:26) Prince Who Comes	(11:16) One Who Comes against Him

Detailed description of Table 25: This table maps English descriptions of the two princes across two chapters. Nāgīd #1 is associated with (9:26) Anointed One and (9:25) Anointed Prince. Nāgīd #2 is associated with (9:26) Prince Who Comes and (11:16) One Who Comes against Him. Dashed arrows indicate relationships: a vertical arrow from (9:26) Anointed One to (9:25) Anointed Prince; a vertical arrow from (9:26) Prince Who Comes to (9:25) Anointed Prince; a vertical arrow from (9:25) Anointed Prince to (11:22) Prince of Covenant; a vertical arrow from (9:26) Prince Who Comes to (11:16) One Who Comes against Him; a horizontal dashed arrow from (9:26) Anointed One to (9:26) Prince Who Comes; and a horizontal dashed arrow from (9:25) Anointed Prince to (11:16) One Who Comes against Him.

God with many people, undoubtedly meaning the Apostles and believers generally. And then, after our Lord's passion, the sacrifice and offering ceased in the middle of the week. For whatever took place in the Temple after that date was not a valid sacrifice to God

We conclude that it is a classical teaching of the Christian church that the Anointed One and Prince of Dan 9:25--with supporting reference to the Anointed One in v. 26 and the broader context of both in vv. 24-27--constitutes a messianic prophecy. And a lexical parallel was established earlier between Dan 9:25 and 11:22. Thus, if Dan 9:25 refers to Christ, Dan 11:22 also refers to Christ. The messianic interpretation of Dan 9:25 comes with sterling historical credentials, and the parallel with Dan 11:22 is based on a lexical correspondence. The interpretation proposed here for the "prince" references in Dan 9 and 11 comes, as nearly as is possible for any part of Scripture, from within the text itself.

Prince as śar. We have discussed the word nāgîd; we now turn to the word śar. There are four occurrences of śar in the book of Daniel that can be taken to have a more-than-human referent. These are śar hassābā' "the Prince of the host" in 8:11, śar śarîm "Prince of princes" in 8:25, mīkā'ēl śarkem "Michael, your prince" in 10:21, and mīkā'ēl haśśar haggādōl "Michael, the great prince" in 12:1.

It was pointed out earlier that śar indicates a higher level of office than does nāgîd. If nāgîd in Dan 9 and 11 refers to Christ it might be asked how śar refers to anyone higher. In fact both refer to Christ, and in such a context the distinction between śar and nāgîd

¹Archer, Jerome's "Commentary," p. 102.

is seen not to be random. Note that there is a straightforward precedent for it elsewhere in the book. In 3:25 we find one "like a son of the gods," and in 7:13 "one like a son of man." We submit that the expression in both cases refers to Christ.¹ When the pre-existent Christ appeared in the human context of the blazing furnace He was "like a son of the gods"; and when, after He had taken human flesh in the incarnation, He appeared in the context of the heavenly court, He was "one like a son of man." The same type of distinction holds with regard to the terms *śar* and *nāgīd*. In Dan 8, 10, and 12 Christ as Prince is either pre-existent² or glorified³ and is called *śar*--a greater office. In Dan 9 and 11 Christ as Prince is involved in the course of His earthly ministry, and is called *nāgīd*--a lesser office.⁴ But in both cases He remains a Prince, with or without any outward manifestation of His divinity.

¹For discussion of this vexed question see Julian Morgenstern, "The 'Son of Man' of Daniel 7 13 f.: A New Interpretation," Journal of Biblical Literature 80 (1961):65-77; John J. Collins, "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel," Journal of Biblical Literature 93 (1974):50-66; Arthur J. Ferch, "Daniel 7 and Ugarit: A Reconsideration," Journal of Biblical Literature 99 (1980):75-86. Collins writes: "Accordingly it seems most likely that the figure of the one like the son of man represents the archangel, Michael, who receives the kingdom on behalf of his host of holy ones, but also on behalf of his people Israel" (ibid., p. 64). We would agree that the "one like a son of man" is to be identified with Michael, but would go beyond this to suggest that Michael in turn be identified with Christ.

²Dan 10:21.

³Dan 8:11, 25; 12:1.

⁴In this context see Heb 2:9, which speaks of Jesus being made "a little" lower (text), or "a little while" lower (margin), than the angels. The latter is to be preferred. For βαχύ τι as referring to time see LXX Isa 57:17.

In summary, the referent of the "son" figure in Dan 3 and 7 is claimed to be the second Person of the Godhead, and so is the referent of the "prince" figure--both *šar* in Dan 8, 10, and 12, and *nāqīd* #1 in Dan 9 and 11.¹ Christ's presence in Dan 9:25 and 11:22 may now be considered established--an identification that will have profound implications for the identity of the villain in 11:21.

The villain

The argument so far has been primarily for Christ, rather than against Antiochus. We now turn our attention to Antiochus by way of conclusion. Christ is identified in Dan 11:22 primarily on textual evidence, i.e., evidence that comes from within the book of Daniel itself; Antiochus, on the other hand, is identified in Dan 11:21 by appeal to historical evidence. The latter is a comparatively weak position from which to argue. Consider the following comments by Leupold:

There is another deeper reason why such details as these are worthy of the work of the Spirit of prophecy, and that is that what is foretold here is in reality, with minor variations, the pattern into which all history falls. Is there not an appalling sameness about this business of leagues and pacts between rival nations, of disagreements, of wars, of alliances, of political marriages, of recriminations, of treachery, of temporary ascendancy, of defeat and utter downfall, of recovery through some aggressive leader; and then the same thing all over again with a slightly different sequence of events? From this point of view there is a drab sameness about history which allows us to say that, in addition to being a prophecy of a particular period of Syrian and Egyptian history, this may be regarded as a panoramic view of all history in a picture that is idealized, at least to some extent.²

¹Note in passing that the "son" references are both in the Aramaic part of the book, while the "prince" references are all in the Hebrew part.

²Leupold, Exposition of Daniel, pp. 475-76.

If there really is a "drab sameness about history" of the sort Leupold describes, then perhaps Antiochus is not so inevitable a choice of villains as has been thought. Perhaps another villain could emerge from history, if we have to emphasize villains, that would fit the description of Dan 11 even more closely than Antiochus does. Such a possibility is not refuted by showing that miscellaneous facts about the chapter can be made to describe Antiochus.

But the identity of a prophetic character cannot be fully refuted, any more than it can be fully established, on the basis of apparent historical resemblances or their absence alone. Shea has proposed an argument against identifying Antiochus with the "little horn" of Dan 7 and 8 that is germane here, and once more it comes from within the text of the book.¹ The reasoning goes as follows. Dan 11:31, which speaks of the "daily sacrifice" being abolished and is parallel to 8:11, follows rather than precedes Dan 11:22, which refers to Christ and is parallel to 9:25. The parallel to 11:22 in 9:25 describes the activity of the "Anointed One," or Christ, while the parallel to 11:31 in 8:11 describes the activity of the "little horn." Thus, the "little horn" follows Christ in history. If this is the case the "little horn" cannot be Antiochus.² The argument is an extremely important one, and is summarized in table 26.

¹William H. Shea, "Daniel and the Judgement," Andrews University, 1980, p. 104.

²See Talbot, Prophecies of Daniel, p. 196; Johnson, Study Manual, p. 87; Walvoord, Prophetic Revelation, p. 264, for the belief that he is.

TABLE 26
THE TEXTUAL CASE AGAINST ANTIOCHUS

Sequence	Dan 8	Dan 9	Dan 11
1st		(9:25) Anointed Prince	----- 11:22
2nd	(8:11) Little Horn	-----	----- 11:31

Ford counters that it is impossible to argue for sequence in this way.¹ For him all of vv. 14-35 are roughly contemporaneous. Thus, the fact that in Dan 11 the abolition of the "daily sacrifice" (v. 31) follows the destruction of the "prince of the covenant" (v. 22) has little significance.

The case for sequence rests on Christ's exegesis of Dan 11:31,² found in Matt 24:15-16, "'So when you see standing in the holy place "the abomination that causes desolation," spoken of through the prophet Daniel--let the reader understand--then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains.'" Jesus is here speaking from the time frame of Dan 11:22 and warns His hearers of a future event to take place in the time frame of Dan 11:31. It follows that the "daily sacrifice"

¹"Ford Responds to Shea," Spectrum 11, 4 (1981):55.

²Also Dan 9:27; 12:11. Parallel with Dan 8:11.

had not already been taken away in the early first century A.D.,¹ nor had the "abomination that causes desolation" been set up then. No primary interpretation which posits that they had been--in, e.g., the second century B.C.--can be considered possible,² when Christ's exegesis of the passage is accepted.³

¹To understand how the "daily sacrifice" could be abolished (11:31) or taken away (8:11) it is necessary to understand how it was set in place originally. The "daily sacrifice" (or just "daily," *tāmīd*) is a comprehensive term that includes all the activities of the sanctuary leading up to the day of atonement, which marked the end of the ceremonial year. Every aspect of the sanctuary's cultus finds its antitype in the person of Jesus Christ--including not only the sacrifices that were continually offered (John 1:29), but the priests who ministered their blood (Heb 8:1). The point at which the need for such a system would end is predicted simply and clearly in Dan 9: "'He will confirm a covenant [the covenant of which He was Prince, Dan 11:22] with many for one "week," but in the middle of that "week" he will put an end to sacrifice and offering'" (Dan 9:27, margin). Christ, by His death on the cross, effectively brought the one system to a close and set the other in motion. By taking flesh and thereby identifying Himself with two spheres of existence Christ was simultaneously at home, and not at home, in both of them. On earth He was man, but also God; in heaven He is God, but also man. There is deep significance in the fact that Christ's sacrificial death was accomplished at a point--midway, as it were, between heaven and earth. His subsequent work would be on behalf of mankind, but would be carried forward in the presence of God.

In v. 22 the antitypical Sacrifice is provided; in v. 31 it is set aside. To abolish or take away or set aside Christ's Sacrifice and His subsequent ministry of its benefits does not imply a denial that the Sacrifice took place, or even imply that it lacks importance. Anything, however well intentioned, that intervenes between God and man, besides Christ, competes with Christ--at once obscuring the all-sufficient nature of His Sacrifice and rendering it less accessible to the people it was designed to benefit. The degree to which such intervention takes place is the degree to which abolition of the Sacrifice takes place.

²To say that second-century B.C. events in some way foreshadowed events still future to Christ is readily acceptable, but this is not an application in the strict sense and it is not the claim commonly made by those who emphasize Antiochus Epiphanes in their exegesis of Dan 11.

³It is not necessary to suggest that Christ here reinterprets Daniel. Reinterpretation means change, and since in Matthew the order is Christ then "little horn," the sequence in what was being reinterpreted would have to be "little horn" then Christ. But this is not

Other Comments¹

In the review of literature presented above three different schools of interpretation were discussed. These were preterism, futurism, and historicism. Having discussed each separately we now point out some relationships among them.

The schools of interpretation and their subdivisions were all distinguished on the basis of when in history the various parts of Dan 11 are applied (distant past,² near future, intermediate period), and, with reference to near future only, the manner of application (secondarily future, primarily future, exclusively future). The one set of distinctions provided the basis for defining schools of interpretation; the other set provided the basis for defining subdivisions within one of those schools, viz. futurism. Subdivisions within futurism are a major factor addressed in the present summary.

At v. 36 the dispensationalist (group 1), non-dispensationalist/non-idealist (group 2a), and idealist (group 2b) forms of futurism posit exclusive, primary, and secondary degrees of future reference, respectively. At v. 40, however, these relationships are blurred, since, although groups 1 and 2b continue to maintain the same level

the case. Consider table 26 once more, which shows that the only available order of events within the text of Daniel is Christ then "little horn," precisely as Christ Himself asserts. Arguments to the contrary, as in "Ford Responds to Shea," p. 55, are not really arguments against sequence, but rather in favor of reversing the present sequence.

¹These remarks complete the section entitled, "Review of Literature," begun on p. 28, above.

²By "distant past" we mean the time preceding and including that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

of futurity as at v. 36, group 2a changes to exclusive future and thus becomes indistinguishable from group 1. The reason for such a change has less to do with the importance of v. 40, which for most futurists is a relatively minor section break, than with the fact that no historical events are available there to support secondary past reference--the natural counterpart of primary future reference. The historical impossibility of a strong secondary reference to actual events in the distant past requires group 2a to posit exclusive future reference at this point. The underlying pattern, however, for groups 1, 2a, and 2b--at v. 40 no less than v. 36--is exclusive, primary, and secondary future reference, respectively. An overall summary of the above points is given in table 27.

TABLE 27

TEMPORAL REFERENCE IN DAN 11 ACCORDING TO
THE DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF INTERPRETATION

Schools of Interpretation	Distant Past	Near Future						Intermedi- ate Period
		V. 36			V. 40			
		At Least Secondarily	At Least Primarily	Exclusively	At Least Secondarily	At Least Primarily	Exclusively	
<u>Historicism</u>	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
<u>Futurism</u> Dispensationalist	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Non-dispensationalist, non-idealist	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
Idealist	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<u>Preterism</u>	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "does posit reference to," and let minus (-) be read "does not posit reference to."

*Conditioned by extraneous historical factors.

The relationships shown in table 27 can be simplified by eliminating mention of specific verses. In this case the question is first whether anywhere in Dan 11 future reference is acknowledged at least secondarily, and then whether any such reference is acknowledged at least primarily. The first question separates preterism from other possible alternatives, while the second separates preterism and idealist futurism from other alternatives. See table 28.

TABLE 28
TEMPORAL REFERENCE IN DAN 11 ACCORDING TO
THE DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF INTERPRETATION
(FIRST RESTATEMENT)

Schools of Interpretation	Distant Past	Near Future*			Intermediate Period
		Secondarily	Primarily	Exclusively	
<u>Historicism</u>	+	+	+	+	+
<u>Futurism</u> Dispensationalist . .	+	+	+	+	-
Non-dispensationalist, non-idealist	+	+	+	+	-
Idealist	+	+	-	-	-
<u>Preterism</u>	+	-	-	-	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "does posit reference to," and let minus (-) be read "does not posit reference to."

*The various degrees of futurity should be understood as in table 27; the words "at least" are omitted only for economy of space.

In table 28 it is no longer possible to distinguish between the dispensationalist and non-dispensationalist/non-idealist subdivisions of futurism, since there is a point in the chapter where both posit exclusive future reference. For whatever reason, none of the three subdivisions stops at primary future reference. Thus, two of the rows in table 28 must now be collapsed. See table 29.

TABLE 29
 TEMPORAL REFERENCE IN DAN 11 ACCORDING TO
 THE DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF INTERPRETATION
 (SECOND RESTATEMENT)

Schools of Interpretation	Distant Past	Near Future*			Intermediate Period
		Secondarily	Primarily	Exclusively	
<u>Historicism</u>	+	+	+	+	+
<u>Futurism</u>					
Non-idealist	+	+	+	+	-
Idealist	+	+	-	-	-
<u>Preterism</u>	+	-	-	-	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "does posit reference to," and let minus (-) be read "does not posit reference to."

*The various degrees of futurity should be understood as in table 27; the words "at least" are omitted only for economy of space.

Notice that in table 29 two of the columns are still identical with each other, and the matrix is therefore not in its simplest form. No distinction between primary and exclusive degrees of future reference is necessary when vv. 36 and 40 are taken together. See table 30.

TABLE 30

TEMPORAL REFERENCE IN DAN 11 ACCORDING TO
THE DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF INTERPRETATION
(THIRD RESTATEMENT)

Schools of Interpretation	Distant Past	Near Future*		Intermediate Period
		Secondarily	Primarily	
<u>Historicism</u>	+	+	+	+
<u>Futurism</u>				
Non-idealist	+	+	+	-
Idealist	+	+	-	-
<u>Preterism</u>	+	-	-	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "does posit reference to," and let minus (-) be read "does not posit reference to."

* Remaining degrees of futurity should be understood as in table 27; the words "at least" are omitted only for economy of space.

There is one further change to make. Since all schools and subdivisions of schools make some application to the distant past in Dan 11, this feature has no value as a means of making distinctions among the different interpretations. The "distant past" column is therefore eliminated in table 31.

TABLE 31

TEMPORAL REFERENCE IN DAN 11 ACCORDING TO
THE DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF INTERPRETATION
(FOURTH RESTATEMENT)

Schools of Interpretation	Future Second- arily*	Future Prim- arily*	Inter- mediate Period
<u>Historicism</u>	+	+	+
<u>Futurism</u>			
Non-idealist	+	+	-
Idealist	+	-	-
<u>Preterism</u>	-	-	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "does posit reference to," and let minus (-) be read "does not posit reference to."

*Remaining degrees of futurity should be understood as in table 27; the words "at least" are omitted only for economy of space.

Now the matrix is in its simplest form. On the basis of table 31 it is clear that a second way to approach the subdivisions within futurism is possible. Earlier the case was made for a primary division between dispensationalist and non-dispensationalist subgroupings, with a subsequent split in the latter.¹ Such an arrangement resulted in three subdivisions numbered 1, 2a, and 2b. It is also possible to make a case for first establishing non-idealist and idealist subgroupings, with a subsequent split in the former (not shown in table 31). Such an arrangement implies numbering the subdivisions 1a, 1b, and 2.

¹See tables 12 and 13, p. 49, above.

The two possibilities are compared in table 32.

TABLE 32

ALTERNATIVE WAYS TO SUBDIVIDE FUTURISM

Subdivisions	Tables 13, 14	Table 33
Dispensationalist . .	1	1a
Non-dispensationalist, non-idealist	2a	1b
Idealist	2b	2

Conclusion

An important point to notice, and in fact the main thrust of the above summary, is that the most significantly opposed positions are not those of historicism and futurism, or of futurism and preterism. Indeed, if the lowest degree of future reference is taken to be zero it could be argued that preterism is on a continuum with futurism in a way that historicism is not. Instead the most significantly opposed views are those of historicism and preterism. In table 31 the one has all pluses, the other all minuses. Futurism occupies middle ground between these two exegetical poles.

A corollary of the argument that pits historicism against preterism is that a choice must be made between them--largely on the basis of how the words "a prince of the covenant" are interpreted in v. 22, but with reference also to the villain of v. 21.

It was pointed out that to be consistent with other chapters of Daniel the prince figure has to be interpreted messianically, with

whatever implications such a view might have for the preceding verse.

There appears to be no adequate compromise solution that can make Christ simultaneously the center of the chapter and not the center of the chapter. He is, unequivocally, at the heart of Dan 11.

CHAPTER II

OUTLINE FORMATS

Chapter I, above, ends with the assertion that the "prince of the covenant" in Dan 11:22 must be identified as Christ, and that the exegesis of v. 21 must be allowed to follow from this fact. In chapter II a structural context for such claims is put forward.

Notice that v. 22 is located at the center of Dan 11, which in turn has approximately equal amounts of narrative on either side of it within Dan 10-12. These are not isolated facts. Throughout Dan 10-12 material at a given distance before 11:22 broadly parallels that found at a similar distance after 11:22. This type of arrangement, which moves in toward a central point from both sides, is called a chiasm.¹ In the discussion that follows we argue that v. 22--as the center of a broad chiasm taking in not only Dan 11 but Dan 10-12 as a whole--is the exegetical focal point of the last fourth of the book.

A major claim of the present research is that there is both linear and chiastic structure in Dan 11. Matters of outline, such as those on which this hypothesis rests, cannot be dealt with in general terms. Any argument that attempts to support it--and any argument that attempts to refute it--will have to be set out in detail. Although

¹Named after the Greek letter *chi* (χ) for its X-like shape. The abstract arrangements ABA, ABBA, ABCBA, ABCCBA, and so on, are all examples of chiastic form.

Christ's presence in 11:22 is supported independently by a lexical relationship with 9:25, which is clearly messianic, the level of importance this fact should have in any historicist exegesis of Dan 11 is best shown by setting v. 22 in the context of the chapter's chiastic and linear form. The full significance of Christ's presence at this crucial point will not be understood and cannot be fully appreciated until the structure of the narrative which surrounds it is made clear.

Chiastic Structure

Specific correspondences that provide a basis for positing chiastic structure in Dan 10-12 are now introduced, starting from the chiasm's peripheries and working inward to its center. The examples are divided into sections in a preliminary way as follows: 10:1-21 (A)/12:1-13 (A'), 11:1-4 (B)/11:40-45 (B'), 11:5-15 (C)/11:29-39 (C'), 11:16-21 (D)/11:23-28 (D'), and 11:22 (E). Solid underlining indicates lexical parallels; broken underlining indicates thought parallels.

Dan 10:1-21 (A)/Dan 12:1-13 (A')

(1) Beginnings and Endings (Part 1)¹

a. A

(10:1) In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia, . . .

b. A'

(12:13) "As for you, go your way till the end. You will rest, and then at the end of the days you will rise to receive your allotted inheritance."

¹Text citations are numbered below for ease of reference. As the resulting numbered displays are neither tables nor figures we propose calling them "exhibits" during the course of the discussion.

In the first verse of Dan 10 and the last verse of Dan 12 there are references, respectively, to the beginning of Medo-Persian rule and to the end of the human political experience generally. We therefore equate Dan 10:1 with 2:32, where the dual empire established by Cyrus is symbolized by a "'chest and arms of silver,'" and Dan 12:13 with 2:44, where the God of heaven sets up a kingdom that "'will crush all those kingdoms and bring them to an end, . . .'"¹

(2) Waiting in Affliction

a. A

(10:2) At that time I, Daniel, mourned for three weeks.

(10:3) I used no lotions at all until the three weeks were over.

b. A'

(12:7) "It will be for a time, times and half a time."

(12:11) ". . . there will be 1,290 days."

(12:12) "Blessed is the one who waits for and reaches the end of the 1,335 days."

In exhibit (2a) Daniel, and in (2b) God's people of a later age, wait with anticipation for God to act, vindicating His interests on earth. The one waiting period is short, the other long.

¹Note that all of Dan 10, and not just 10:1, is cast in a time at the beginning of power #2; and that much of Dan 12, rather than 12:13 alone, deals with a time at the end of power #4. Thus, there is no substantial flow of time represented in either chap. 10 or chap. 12. Historical narrative pertaining to events that occur under the second, third, and fourth world powers is confined to, and takes place within, the central chapter of the chiasm. Michael's standing up in 12:1 occupies a position in the narrative of Dan 11 parallel to that of the stone that strikes the metal image on its feet in Dan 2. Since the latter is directly related to the second coming of Christ and the end of the present world order, the former is also.

(3) The Man Dressed in Linen¹

a. A

(10:5) I looked up and there before me was a man dressed in linen ['iš-'ehād lābūš baddīm], . . .

b. A'

(12:6) One of them said to the man clothed in linen [lā'iš lābūš habbaddīm], . . .

(12:7) The man clothed in linen ['et-hā'is lābūš habbaddīm], who was above the waters of the river, . . .

The "man clothed in linen" in exhibit (3), above, provides a lexical parallel, as does "your people" in exhibit (4), below.

(4) Your People

a. A

(10:14) "Now I have come to explain to you what will happen to your people [^Cammekā] in the future, . . ."

b. A'

(12:1) "But at that time your people [bənê ^Cammekā]--everyone whose name is found written in the book--will be delivered."

One further example of the expression "your people" is found in Dan 11:14.

¹Maxwell (God Cares, p. 259) interprets the figure of "a man dressed in linen" as a description of Christ: "Both John and Daniel saw a Being of transcendent beauty and ineffable radiance, robed like a priest. . . . When the three disciples saw Jesus glorified, they 'fell on their faces and were filled with awe.' Soon Jesus touched them and said, 'Rise, and have no fear.' Matthew 17:6, 7. When John saw Jesus in vision, he 'fell at his feet as one dead,' but Jesus laid a hand on him and said, 'Fear not.' Revelation 1:17. When Daniel saw Jesus, he too fell to the ground, until a hand touched him and a voice said, 'Fear not.' Daniel 10:10-12." "In Daniel 9 He sent His highest created angel, Gabriel. In Daniel 10 He sent His Son" (ibid.).

In exhibit (5) there is a thought parallel between seeing or not seeing the present vision on the one hand and understanding or not understanding it on the other.

(5) Seeing and Understanding

a. A

(10:7) I, Daniel, was the only one who saw the vision; the men with me did not see it, . . .

b. A'

(12:10) "None of the wicked will understand, but those who are wise will understand."

The four parts of the parallel form a chiasm of their own, as shown in table 33.

TABLE 33

CHIASM BETWEEN DAN 10:7 AND 12:10

Negativity Value	Seeing (10:7)	Understanding (12:10)
Negative	B the men with me did not see it;	B' None of the wicked will understand,
Positive	A I, Daniel, was the only one who saw the vision;	A' but those who are wise will understand.

Daniel's seeing in 10:7 corresponds to those who are wise in 12:10 understanding, while the men with him who do not see correspond to the wicked in the latter verse who do not understand.¹

¹"Understand" in exhibit (5) and table 33 comes from the Hebrew root *byn. Other examples of this root in Dan 10 are found in vv. 1, 11, 12, and 14.

Continuing the same thought, Daniel is first asked and then asks to receive certain information, in 10:19 and 12:8, respectively. In the one case he receives it, in the other he doesn't. See exhibit (6).

(6) Accepting and Pursuing Information

a. A

(10:19) I was strengthened and said, "Speak, my lord, since you have given me strength."

b. A'

(12:8) So I asked, "My lord, what will the outcome of all this be?"

The two-fold contrast illustrated above is summarized in more abstract form in table 34.

TABLE 34

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
DAN 10:19 AND 12:8

Text	Initiative from Daniel	Information Conveyed
10:19 . .	-	+
12:8 . .	+	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "was," and let minus (-) be read "was not."

The source of information opened to Daniel in chaps. 10 and 11, and then sealed away from him in chap. 12, is called "the Book of Truth"

(10:21), or simply "the scroll" (12:4).¹ See exhibit (7).

(7) The Book or Scroll

a. A

(10:21) ". . . but first I will tell you what is written in the Book of Truth [biktāb 'ēmet]."

b. A'

(12:4) "But you, Daniel, close up and seal the words of the scroll [hassēper] until the time of the end."

Sealing is mentioned in both 12:4 and 9, although the word "scroll" (sēper) does not appear in v. 9. A "book" (also sēper), of unspecified relationship to that of 10:21 and 12:4, is mentioned in 12:1.

The final exhibit in the present section contains a pair of lexical parallels--including both "Michael" and "prince" (šar).²

¹Whether or not an actual identity exists between the "Book of Truth" in (7a) and the "scroll" in (7b), the relationship is a very close one. It is worthwhile to enlarge the comparison so as to include the "scroll [βιβλίον] with writing on both sides" in Rev 5:1. Notice that the "scroll" in Rev 5 is prophetic, as are both of those in exhibit (7), describing events at a time when they had not yet occurred. Also, it has "writing on both sides"; it is filled with writing, and by implication is filled with significance. Like Daniel, such a document could be expected to make use of types and symbols of various sorts. Finally, it is "sealed with seven seals" (ibid.), a fact which confirms its prophetic and specifically apocalyptic nature. The events it describes do not take place until the distant future, and so they cannot be understood until the distant future. They come to be understood when the events described are fulfilled, and then only when the Lion (Rev 5:5) or Lamb (5:6)--both symbols of Christ--is allowed to unseal them. Whether John saw the "Book" of Dan 10:21 or the "scroll" of Dan 12:4 is not entirely clear, assuming they are different. What he saw was in heaven like the one, and sealed like the other. It would be entirely reasonable to assume that the scroll unsealed in Rev 5 is the one sealed in Dan 12.

²For discussion of words translated "prince" see the Introduction, pp. 85-91, above. Other examples of šar in Dan 10 are "the prince of the Persian kingdom" (10:13); "the prince of Persia" and "the prince of Greece" (10:20).

(8) Michael, Your Prince

a. A

(10:13) "Then Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me,"

(10:21) "(No one supports me against them except Michael, your prince. . . .)"

b. A'

(12:1) "At that time Michael, the great prince who protects your people, will arise."

In exhibit (8), above, 10:21 is the last verse of the first chapter compared, while 12:1 is the first verse of the last chapter.¹

Dan 11:1-4 (B)/Dan 11:40-45 (B')

(9) Beginnings and Endings (Part 2)

a. B

(11:1) "(. . . And in the first year of Darius the Mede, I took my stand to support and protect him.)"

b. B'

(11:45) "Yet he will come to his end, and no one will help him."

There is a contrast in exhibit (9), as there was earlier in exhibit (1), between a beginning and an end. In exhibit (1) the contrast was located in the first and last verses of Dan 10-12 as a whole; in exhibit (9) it appears in the first and last verses of Dan 11. Historical events referred to both cases are roughly contemporaneous.²

¹Recall that chapter divisions are not part of the text.

²A discussion of the relationship between Cyrus the Persian

Note that in 11:1 help is given, while in 11:45 it is withheld. The divine relationship with the four-part series of world powers was to decline over time.

References to specific countries by name occur both early and late in Dan 11, but not in the middle sections. A summary of examples is given in exhibit (10).

(10) Named Countries

a. B

(11:2) Persia, Greece

b. B'

(11:41) Edom, Moab, Ammon; (11:42) Egypt; (11:43) Egypt, Libyans, Nubians

There is a sequential relationship between exhibits (11a, 11b) and (12a, 12b), respectively.

(11) Initiative

a. B

(11:2) "When he has gained power by his wealth, he will stir up everyone against the kingdom of Greece."

b. B'

(11:40) "At the time of the end the king of the South will engage him in battle, . . ."

(10:1) and Darius the Mede (11:1) lies outside the scope of the present chapter. See William H. Shea, "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period," I-IV, Andrews University Seminary Studies 9 (1971):51-67, 99-128; 10 (1972):88-117, 147-78 for the position that Darius was Ugbaru, the general who captured Babylon for Cyrus.

(12) Superior Response

a. B

(11:3) "Then a mighty king will appear, who will rule with great power and do as he pleases."

b. B'

(11:40) ". . . and the king of the North will storm out against him with chariots and cavalry and a great fleet of ships."

In (11a, 11b) a power is laid under heavy opposition, while in (12a, 12b) there is a delayed but superior response.¹ The verb "rule" in (12a) is from the Hebrew root *mšl, which itself provides a later lexical parallel. Examples are found in Dan 11:3, 4, and 5 on the one hand and 11:39 and 43 on the other.²

Dan 11:5-15 (C)/Dan 11:29-39 (C')

(13) Mutual Recognition

a. C

(11:6) "After some years, they will become allies. The daughter of the king of the South will go to the king of the North to make an alliance, . . ."

b. C'

(11:30) "He will return and show favor to those who forsake the holy covenant."

(11:32) "With flattery he will corrupt those who have violated the covenant, . . ."

(11:39) ". . . and will greatly honor those who acknowledge him."

¹For comment on v. 40 see Price, Greatest of the Prophets, pp. 311-14. Price's views on vv. 40-45 deserve most careful consideration.

²Not shown.

Exhibit (13) shows formerly opposed powers putting aside their differences. The expressions "become allies" and "alliance" in (13a) represent different Hebrew roots. The one is translated from *yithab-bārū* (*hbr "be united"), the other from *mēšārīm* (*yšr "be straight"). The allied relationship in (13b) must be inferred, but the inference is a natural one to make. A dominant power shows favor, corrupts with flattery, and greatly honors a group of people; the group of people acknowledge him (11:39), and in so doing both violate (11:32) and forsake (11:30) the holy covenant. The violation of the holy covenant is accomplished by entering a second relationship which competes with it.

Exhibits (14) and (15) both contain lexical parallels. In (14) the key word is "fortress," from *mā'ôz* in its various forms.

(14) Fortresses

a. C

(11:7) "He will attack the forces of the king of the North and enter his fortress; . . ."

(11:10) "His sons will prepare for war and assemble a great army, which will sweep on like an irresistible flood and carry the battle as far as his fortress."

b. C'

(11:31) "His armed forces will rise up to desecrate the temple fortress and will abolish the daily sacrifice."

(11:38) ". . . he will honor a god of fortresses; . . ."

(11:39) "He will attack the mightiest fortresses with the help of a foreign god"

In (15) parallel lexical items are "god(s)" (from 'ēlō^ah); "valuable articles," "costly gifts," and "riches" (from *hemdâ*); "silver" (*kēsep*)

and "gold" (zāhāb); and finally "[in captivity]" (baššəbf) and "captured" (bišbf).

(15) Gods, Gifts, Gold, and Captivity

a. C

(11:8) "He will also seize their gods, their metal images and their valuable articles of silver and gold and carry them off [in captivity] to Egypt."¹

b. C'

(11:38) ". . . a god unknown to his fathers he will honor with gold and silver, with precious stones and costly gifts."

(11:43) "He will gain control of the treasures of gold and silver and all the riches of Egypt, . . ."

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

Other references to "god" or "gods," besides that in (15b), are found in vv. 32, 36, 36, 37, 37, 38, and 39.

An additional lexical parallel is found in exhibit (16), where the verbal expressions "will be filled with pride" in (16a) and "will exalt . . . himself" in (16b) are both translated from the root *rwm, which has to do with the idea of height.

¹The words "[in captivity]" are not directly translated in NIV; both they and the word "captured" in (15b) (v. 33) are from Hebrew šəbf. For a possible New Testament parallel to the present preoccupation with silver and gold and other items of wealth see Rev 17:4: "The woman was dressed in purple and scarlet, and was glittering with gold, precious stones and pearls. She held a golden cup in her hand, filled with abominable things and the filth of her adulteries."

(16) Self Exaltation

a. C

(11:12) "When the army is carried off, the king of the South will be filled with pride [yārūm]¹ and will slaughter many thousands, yet he will not remain triumphant."

b. C'

(11:36) "The king will do as he pleases. He will exalt and magnify himself [wəyitrômēm] above every god and will say unheard-of things against the God of gods."

(11:30) "Then he will turn back and vent his fury against the holy covenant."

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

(11:34) "When they fall, they will receive a little help, . . ."

(11:35) "Some of the wise will stumble, . . ."

A supporting parallel follows from the villain's pride in exhibit (16). His haughtiness is directed not only "against the God of gods" (11:36), but against those people who remain loyal to the God of gods. He vents his fury against the holy covenant, therefore, in the person of the saints who identify themselves with it. This is the reason why they "fall" (11:33, 34), or "stumble" (11:35). The "many thousands" of (16a) correspond to "the wise" of (16b).

¹This is the Kətib reading, literally "he will be high, exalted"; the Qərê is wəxām, literally "and he will be high, exalted." The one is a Qal imperfect, the other a Qal converted perfect. There is no difference in meaning between the two.

It was in the sanctuary that the holy covenant was commemorated anciently--a fact to which both 11:14 and 11:31 allude.

(17) The Vision, the Temple, and the Daily Sacrifice

a. C

(11:14) "The violent men among your own people will (take it upon themselves to fulfill) the vision, . . ." ¹

b. C'

(11:31) "His armed forces will rise up to desecrate the temple fortress and will abolish the daily sacrifice."

The suggested parallel between 11:14 and 11:31 rests on three premises: (a) that the "vision" (*hāzôn*) in 11:14 is the same as the "vision" (*hehāzôn*) in 8:13; (b) that the "temple fortress" (*hammiqdāš hammā^Côz*) and "daily sacrifice" (*hattāmīd*) in 11:31 are the same, respectively, as the "place of his sanctuary" (*məḵôn miqdāšô*) and "daily sacrifice" (*hattāmīd*) in 8:11; and (c) that 8:11 is inseparably linked to 8:13. Thus, if 11:14 is parallel to 8:13, if 11:31 is parallel to 8:11, ² and if 8:11 and 13 are parallel to each other, it must follow that 11:14 is parallel to 11:31. The implications of this fact for the exegesis of both passages can hardly be over-estimated. ³

¹The Hiphil infinitive construct *leha^Cāmīd* ("to fulfill") here expresses purpose, as also in 1 Chr 15:16 ("to appoint"). NIV translates "in fulfillment of," which affects the meaning of the clause.

²See table 28, p. 93, above.

³Dan 11:14 clearly records an attempt to fulfill Dan 8:14, i.e. to cleanse the sanctuary. Those in view here are not Romans, then, but Maccabees (see Brinsmead, *Vision by the Hiddekel*, pp. 33-36). Next, notice that if the sanctuary defiled in 11:31 is the same one cleansed in 11:14 the sequence of events remains unaccounted for. Defilement should come before cleansing if 11:31 refers to a time before Christ--as 11:14 properly does. However, there is a discrepancy only when both verses are applied in II BC; with 11:31 after Christ no problem arises.

The last parallel in the present section is a lexical one, based on the Hebrew root *bw' "come."

(18) Siege Ramps and Invasion

a. C

(11:15) "Then the king of the North will come [wayābō'] and build up siege ramps and will capture a fortified city."

b. C'

(11:29) "At the appointed time he will invade [ûbā'] the South again, . . ."

The content of the parallel is significant, and its location is worth noting as well. In a later section it is argued that both vv. 16-22 and vv. 23-28 are linear sections of Dan 11. For the present it is enough to point out that, once those sections are established, the verses in exhibit (18) will provide an inclusio around them.¹

Dan 11:16-21 (D)/Dan 11:23-28 (D')

(19) Emphasis on Wealth

a. D

(11:20) "His successor will send out a tax collector to maintain the royal splendor."

b. D'

(11:24) "He will invade the richest (parts of the province) and will achieve what neither his fathers nor his forefathers did."²

¹Examples of the root *bw' do occur elsewhere in the chapter, but are concentrated in the verses before 16 and after 28.

²The words "the richest (parts of the province)" represent Hebrew *ûbemišmannê medînâ*. The first word of the Hebrew is a plural adjective, which in construct should be translated as a noun.

Notice, the sending out of a tax collector in (19a) and the venture into the richest parts of the province in (19b) both have to do with wealth, and more specifically with wealth that is outside one's possession but not outside one's power.

(20) Battles and Wars

a. D

(11:20) "In a few years, however, he will be destroyed, yet not in anger or in battle [*bamilhāmâ*]."

b. D'

(11:25) "The king of the South will wage war [*lammilhāmâ*] with a large and powerful army, but he will not be able to stand because of the plots devised against him."

In exhibit (20a) a ruler "will be destroyed," but not in "battle" (from *milhāmâ*), and in (20b) a different ruler "will not be able to stand" in "war" (also from *milhāmâ*).

The "contemptible person" of v. 21 now finds a counterpart. The figures compared are not identical, however, in the present model.

(21) The "Contemptible Person"

a. D

(11:21) "He will be succeeded by a contemptible person who has not been given the honor of royalty."

b. D'

(11:23) "After coming to an agreement with him, he will act deceitfully, . . ."

The "contemptible person" (*nibzeh*) in v. 21 is a fitting counterpart of the power that was to "act deceitfully" (*ya^Cāšeh mirmâ*) in v. 23.

The last parallel in the chiasm before reaching v. 22 also occurs in vv. 21 and 23.¹

(22) The Villain's Rise to Power

a. D

(11:21) "He will invade [ûbâ'] the kingdom when its people feel secure [bāsalwâ], and he will seize [wāhehēziq] it through intrigue [bahālaqlaqqôt]."

b. D'

(11:23) ". . . and with only a few people he will rise to power [wə^casam] (by stealth) [bāsalwâ]."

From exhibit (22) three relevant clauses can be isolated, as shown in table 35.

TABLE 35

THREE CLAUSES FROM DAN 11:21 AND 11:23

Clause	Verbal Phrase	Adverbial Phrase
<u>v. 21</u> #1	will invade/ <u>ûbâ'</u>	when its people feel secure/ <u>bāsalwâ</u>
#2	will seize/ <u>wāhehēziq</u>	through intrigue/ <u>bahālaqlaqqôt</u>
<u>v. 23</u> #3	will rise to power/ <u>wə^casam</u>	by stealth/ <u>bāsalwâ</u>

The three clauses contain one thought parallel (wāhehēziq, clause #2; wə^casam, clause #3), and one lexical parallel (bāsalwâ, clause #1; bāsalwâ, clause #3). The thought parallel is a close one. "Seize"

¹As the verses eventually came to be divided by the

(*wahehēzīq*) is from the root **h̄zq* "grow strong"; "rise to power" (*wə^cāsam*) is from the root **Csm* "be mighty." There is little difference between the two concepts. The information in table 35 is now restated in table 36, with the parallels indicated in their most direct forms, respectively--the thought parallel in English, the lexical parallel in Hebrew--and with less relevant information marked "X" rather than being fully specified.

TABLE 36
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
DAN 11:21 AND 23

Clause	Verbal Phrase	Adverbial Phrase
<u>V. 21</u> #1	X	<i>bašalwâ</i>
#2	grow strong	X
<u>V. 23</u> #3	be mighty	<i>bašalwâ</i>

On the basis of table 36 we conclude that if the two clauses in v. 21 are taken as a unit, a fairly direct comparison is possible with v. 23.¹

Massorettes, exhibit (22b) takes in the first word of v. 24 as well. A revised verse division between vv. 23 and 24 is defended in a forthcoming paper.

¹The closeness of the comparison drawn here is strongly supported by the revised verse division mentioned in the previous note, but support for such a revision is in fact independent of those issues relating to the present chiasm. Thus, the chiasm assumes the revised verse division, but the revised verse division does not assume the chiasm.

Discussion of the chiasm that spans Dan 10-12 is now virtually complete, and the proposal that such structure exists may be considered established. It only remains to set the textual and hermeneutical center of the chiasm in place, which is Dan 11:22. We now turn our attention to this verse.

Dan 11:22 (E)

(23) The "Prince of the Covenant"

(11:22) "Then an overwhelming army will be swept away before him; both it and a prince of the covenant will be destroyed."

In v. 22 it is the Prince who finds a counterpart; there is a parallel within the verse itself. Both an "overwhelming army" of others and the "prince of the covenant" suffer the fate of execution--on the pretext of treason, under Tiberius Caesar.¹ This verse provides an additional point of Biblical context for events surrounding the crucifixion. The entire chiastic structure of Dan 10-12 serves to focus attention on this verse, and on Christ whose death is mentioned in it.

There are two Hebrew words translated "prince" in Dan 10-12. That in v. 22 is *nāqīd*; elsewhere *śar*.² The most interesting parallel

¹Compare John 18:28-40 with Donald R. Dudley, trans., The Annals of Tacitus (New York: Mentor Books, 1966), p. xiii: "In his [Tiberius'] reign the law of treason was to unfold to an instrument of terror: then began that fearful system of spying and denunciation which so harassed the men of Tacitus' generation, reducing them all to silence, and sending the best of them to their graves" (ibid.). See p. 78, above, fn. 1.

²See 10:13, 20, 20, 21; 11:5; 12:1. The only use of *śar* in Dan 11 ("one of his commanders," v. 5) has reference to a person who is clearly human, while Michael (10:13, 21; 12:1) is just as clearly more than human. Maxwell (God Cares, pp. 260-61), following NEB, TEV, The Interpreter's Bible, and other sources, suggests that the "prince of Persia" and "prince of Greece" (both in 10:20) are malicious angel patrons of the countries named. See also pp. 85-91, above.

involving princes, relevant to the present discussion, is a thought parallel between *nāqīd* in Dan 11 referring to Christ, and *śar* in Dan 10 and 12 referring to Michael.

TABLE 37

A CHIASTIC ARRANGEMENT OF
"PRINCE" REFERENCES

	Dan 10	Dan 11	Dan 12
Term	<i>śar</i>	<i>nāqīd</i>	<i>śar</i>
Referent . . .	Michael	Christ	Michael

I suggest below that Christ and Michael are the same. Here the fact could be taken to mean that Christ has less status than we had thought, or that Michael has more status than we had thought. We take Christ's pre-existent, incarnate, and glorified divinity as a given and assume there is more we need to learn about Michael. A discussion of the issues is germane at this point.

Michael

The word *śar* refers to Michael in Dan 10 and 12. The same word is used to denote a more-than-human Personage in Josh 5 as well.¹

(13) Now when Joshua was near Jericho, he looked up and saw a man standing in front of him with a drawn sword in his hand. Joshua went up to him and asked, "Are you for us or for our enemies?"

(14) "Neither," he replied, "but as commander [*śar*] of the

¹The extra-human nature of the Commander in Josh 5:13-15 is indicated by contextual rather than lexical considerations. The point here is not simply that *śar* is used in Dan 10, 12 and Josh 5, but that the term is used in both places to denote a more-than-human Personage.

army of the Lord I have now come." Then Joshua fell facedown to the ground in reverence, and asked him, "What message does my Lord have for his servant?"¹

Note carefully that the Commander does not reject Joshua's act of worship. On the contrary, He demands an even greater token of respect. "The commander of the Lord's army replied, 'Take off your sandals, for the place where you are standing is holy.' And Joshua did so."²

An earlier counterpart to Joshua's encounter with the Commander of the Lord's army is found in Exod 3.

(1) Now Moses was tending the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, the priest of Midian, and he led the flock to the far side of the desert and came to Horeb, the mountain of God. (2) There the angel of the Lord [*mal'ak YHWH*] appeared to him in flames of fire from within a bush. Moses saw that though the bush was on fire it did not burn up. (3) So Moses thought, "I will go over and see this strange sight--why the bush does not burn up."

(4) When the Lord [*YHWH*] saw that he had gone over to look, God called to him from within the bush, "Moses, Moses!"

(5) "Do not come any closer," God said. "Take off your sandals, for the place where you are standing is holy ground." (6) Then he said, "I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob." At₃ this, Moses hid his face, because he was afraid to look at God.

Here we have the profoundly thought-provoking circumstance that the "angel of the Lord" (*mal'ak YHWH*, v. 2) is Himself "the Lord" (*YHWH*, v. 4).⁴ He is also "God," who subsequently answers Moses' question regarding the divine Name. "God said to Moses, 'I am who I am. This

¹Josh 5:13-14.

²Josh 5:15.

³Exod 3:1-6.

⁴Christ points out substantially the same problem for human understanding in Matt 22:41-45. Cf. Judg 6:11-24.

is what you are to say to the Israelites: "I AM ['hyh] has sent me to you."¹ And, since there is only one God, it must be assumed that the same Being who required Joshua to take off his sandals in Josh 5 had required Moses to do so in Exod 3.

A New Testament counterpart to the above is found in John 8.

Jesus said,

(56) ". . . Your father Abraham rejoiced at the thought of seeing my day; he saw it and was glad."

(57) "You are not yet fifty years old," the Jews said to him, "and you have seen Abraham!"

(58) "I tell you the truth," Jesus answered, "before Abraham was born, I am."²

Here Christ quotes the words of the Angel of the Lord who had previously declared to Moses, "'I am who I am. . . .'"³ By quoting these words Christ claimed equality with the One who had originally uttered them--a fact not lost on His hearers, who immediately tried to stone Him.⁴ The claim of Christ in John 8, like that of the Angel in Exod 3, was not only to holiness, but to self-existence.

Both Michael and the Commander who confronted Joshua were more-than-human Personages referred to by the term *śar*; both the Commander who confronted Joshua and the Angel who confronted Moses requested the human partner in the conversation to take off his sandals because of

¹Exod 3:14. Note the similarities between *'ehyeh* (consonants *'hyh*) "I am" and *yihyeh* (consonants *yhyh*) "he is"--both from **hyh* "be, become, exist; occur"--and between the latter and "Yahweh" (consonants *yhw*). "I am" in Exod 3:14 is equivalent in significance to "Yahweh," i.e., "Jehovah."

²John 8:56-58.

³Exod 3:14.

⁴John 8:59.

the holiness of the One he was talking to, and both the Angel who confronted Moses, and at a later time Christ, used the words "I am" in a way that constituted an unmistakable claim to self-existence. Thus, if Michael is the same as the Commander, and the Commander is the same as the Angel, and the Angel is the same as Christ, it follows that Michael must Himself be the same as Christ. This argument is summarized in table 38. A corollary is that if either title refers to a divine Being the other does also.

TABLE 38

THE CASE FOR AN IDENTITY RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN MICHAEL AND CHRIST

Who	Where	What		
Michael Commander/ Joshua Angel/Moses Christ	Dan 10, 12 Josh 5 Exod 3 John 8	šar	Sandals off Sandals off	"I am" "I am"

Other Comments

On the basis of the above discussion we conclude, first, that Christ in 11:22 appears at the textual center and as the hermeneutical center of Dan 10-12, and second, that Dan 11 is bounded on either side by additional references to Christ in the person of Michael.

In each case this Being is spoken of as a Prince. The word used in Dan 10 and 12 is *šar*, which implies a relatively greater status and is left unqualified. In Dan 11:22 the word is *nāgīd*, which implies

a relatively lesser status and is qualified by barit "covenant." The addition of barit explains the change to nāqid. Before His life on earth the pre-existent Christ ". . . was with God, and the Word was God. He was with God in the beginning."¹ He is with God now.² But the mission of placing the ancient covenant promises on a stable, in fact permanent, and legally sound basis³ required Him to leave such surroundings and come to earth. He did not come as a Visitor; that

¹John 1:1-2. As regards the translation of καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος at the end of v. 1 see Bruce M. Metzger, "The Jehovah's Witnesses and Jesus Christ," Theology Today, April 1953, pp. 74-76. The value of this article goes far beyond its necessarily polemical starting point.

²Heb 8:1-2, "The point of what we are saying is this: We do have such a high priest, who sat down at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven, and who serves in the sanctuary, the true tabernacle set up by the Lord, not by man."

³This needed to be done. Before Moses could so much as offer the Hebrews a choice between blessings and cursings in Deut 28 they had already broken the covenant dramatically on at least two occasions --in Exod 32 by making the golden calf at the foot of Mount Sinai, and in Num 25 by indulging in cultic immorality with the Moabite women around them. Prominent at a later time were the religious innovations of Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 12. These eventually led to the downfall of Israel. Nor were the innovations confined to the northern kingdom. "During the reign of King Josiah, the Lord said to me, 'Have you seen what faithless Israel has done? She has gone up on every high hill and under every spreading tree and has committed adultery there. I thought that after she had done all this she would return to me but she did not, and her unfaithful sister Judah saw it. I gave faithless Israel her certificate of divorce and sent her away because of all her adulteries. Yet I saw that her unfaithful sister Judah had no fear; she also went out and committed adultery. Because Israel's immorality mattered so little to her, she defiled the land and committed adultery with stone and wood. In spite of all this, her unfaithful sister Judah did not return to me with all her heart, but only in pretense,' declares the Lord" (Jer 3:6-10). Thus, the covenant relationship between God and His people was broken repeatedly, one might even say routinely. If a stable covenant relationship was to obtain there had to be a better basis for it than an ongoing cycle of sin and repentance, and that "only in pretense" (ibid., v. 10). For this reason God sent Christ, the Prince or Mediator of a covenant "founded on better promises" (Heb 8:6). See Jer 11:4-5; 31:33-34.

would have accomplished nothing. Michael (Dan 10 and 12)--the Angel of the Lord (Exod 3) and Commander of the Lord's army (Josh 5)--laid His glory aside and took on human flesh.

Who, being in very nature God,
 did not consider equality with God something
 to be grasped,
 but made himself nothing,
 taking the very nature of a servant,
 being made in human likeness.
 And being found in appearance as a man,
 he humbled himself
 and became obedient to death--
 even death on a cross!¹

Thus, Christ during His life on earth was indeed a Prince--consistent with His divinity, but a lesser Prince or *nāgīd*--consistent with His humanity in and of itself and with the humility that characterized His life and death.

The covenant of which Christ is "prince" (Dan 11:22) or "mediator" (Heb 8:6) was one between heaven and earth. By virtue of His divinity He would be able to approach God on man's behalf, and by virtue of His humanity He would be able to approach man on God's behalf. If either component of Christ's divine-human nature had been missing He would not have been able to mediate a covenant relationship at all between such disparate parties, and none would have been possible. But the issues involved go beyond the matter of mediation. If "covenant" is defined as the basis on which a relationship is predicated, then Jesus Christ, as the Basis on which a positive relationship between God and man is predicated, is Himself the Covenant. Through Him, sin,

¹Phil 2:6-8. See also Isa 53:2-9.

which is the breaking of a covenant,¹ is not allowed to separate heaven and earth permanently, or even sporadically.

It is clear that nāqīd and barīf are both crucially important terms--because of their meaning and because of their location within Dan 11. The same is true of the word šar--because of its meaning, in relation to nāqīd, and because of its location within Dan 10-12, in relation to nāqīd. Such facts cannot be fully appreciated without understanding that the structure of the last three chapters of Daniel is broadly chiasmic in nature.

Linear Structure

Recall that the verse divisions used in presenting the chiasmic structure of Dan 10-12 were said to be preliminary,² i.e., they were used before they were discussed. Discussion of these verse divisions now follows, in the form of a systematic overview of our narrative's linear structure.³ Attention is confined primarily to Dan 11 at this point.

¹The covenant broken by a sin against God is the law of God, but the matter does not end there. Notice that in Col 2:14 the law is said to be nailed to the cross, while in the gospels (Matt 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:33; John 19:18; in light of Luke 24:39-40; John 20:20, 25-27) the Object nailed to the cross is Christ's person. A juxtaposition of Scriptures such as this is both legitimate and instructive. The law codifies Christ's character, and Christ in turn embodies the principles of the law. We speak of a broken law (see Exod 32:19); on the cross we are confronted with broken flesh. These two factors cannot be separated.

²P. 105, above.

³The term "linear structure" is used here mostly for convenience. In a non-technical sense it is adequate, but as a technical term it contrasts in the linguistics literature with "immediate constituent structure," which is more accurate. (See Noam Chomsky, Syntactic Structures, Janua Linguarum, Series Minor, no. 4 [The Hague: Mouton, 1957], pp. 26-30; John Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968], pp. 209-15; Victoria Fromkin and Robert Rodman, An Introduction to Language, 2nd ed. [New

The problem of reducing Dan 11 to sections is approached by indicating a series of single points where the narrative reaches a transition, whether for textual or historical reasons. Each dividing point then serves as one end of two adjacent sections, which are themselves subdivided, as appropriate, and so on. In simplified terms each division of the text makes one part into two parts.¹ The resulting

York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978], pp. 198-202.) The basic difference between the two terms is that linear structure does not allow internal subgroupings, while immediate constituent structure does. To illustrate the difference, if either a preterist or futurist were to divide the entire chapter [2-45] into two parts those parts would be [2-20, 21-45]. (We simplify the bracketing here for ease of exposition.) If the preterist were to divide one of these parts again his choice would be [21-39, 40-45] and the futurist would choose [21-35, 36-45]. A third division for the preterist would lead to [[21-35, 36-39] 40-45], and for the futurist [21-35 [36-39, 40-45]]. Thus, with four different sections isolated, the overall preterist outline would be [2-20 [[21-35, 36-39] 40-45]], and the futurist outline would be [2-20 [21-35 [36-39, 40-45]]]. Both sets of outlines illustrate immediate constituent structure because both have internal subgroupings of verses. These facts are summarized below in tabular form.

	Preterist	Futurist
	[2-45]	[2-45]
Two-part	[2-20, 21-45]	[2-20, 21-45]
Three-part	[2-20 [21-39, 40-45]]	[2-20 [21-35, 36-45]]
Four-part	[2-20 [[21-35, 36-39] 40-45]]	[2-20 [21-35 [36-39, 40-45]]]

If the subgroupings were now removed, but the sections themselves retained, the result in both cases would be [2-20, 21-35, 36-39, 40-45]. In this case the structure would be linear in the technical sense of the word, and it would be impossible to tell whether a preterist or a futurist had proposed the outline.

Now that the distinction between linear and immediate constituent structure is understood we would like to ignore it. Because it communicates more immediately to more people, the term "linear structure" is used below in a non-technical sense that allows the inclusion of subgroupings.

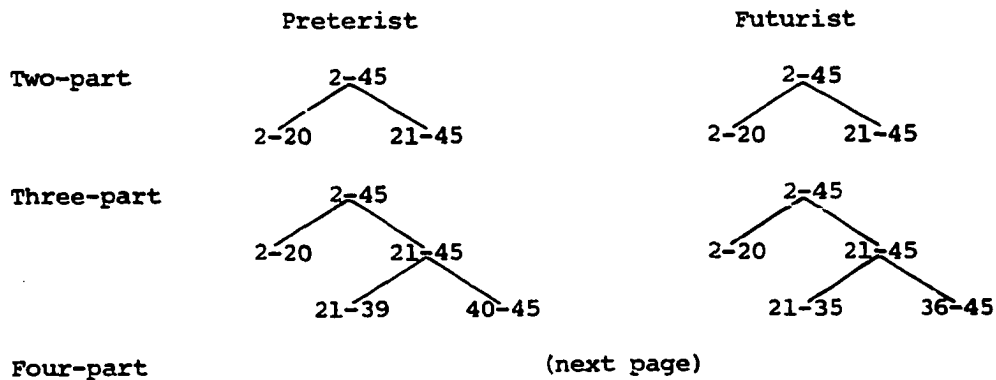
¹In unsimplified terms, divisions of the text are accomplished by "context-free rules," of which a special case is what Kimball calls "regular rules" (John P. Kimball, The Formal Theory of Grammar, Prentice-Hall Foundations of Modern Linguistics Series [Englewood Cliffs,

larger number of smaller units, making up the chapter, come in groups, i.e., they have what linguists call "immediate constituent structure."¹ Occasionally the groups can be arranged in more than one way. Arrangements of verse groupings, or sections of the chapter, are illustrated throughout by means of tree diagrams to clarify their relationships.²

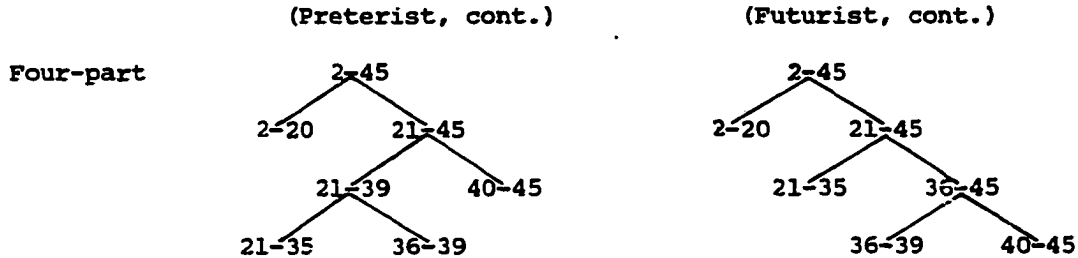
NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973], pp. 13-16). The difference is that regular rules, in Kimball's terminology, produce terminal strings, while other context-free rules do not. Terminal strings in this case means groups of verses that do not need to be subdivided later. Most divisions of the text are done below in such a way that one part represents a terminal string.

¹See fn. 3, pp. 129-30, above. In the present section we parse, or perform a constituent analysis of, Dan 11 just as though it were a single complicated sentence, with non-terminal verse groupings equivalent to phrases and terminal verse groupings equivalent to words. But our reasons for doing so are not theoretical in nature. The techniques involved are rudimentary, but they work, and using them is convenient. For the terms "constituent analysis" and "parsing" see Chomsky, Syntactic Structures, pp. 26-30. For a much more sophisticated attempt to relate linguistic concerns to theological ones see Irene Lawrence, Linguistics and Theology: The Significance of Noam Chomsky for Theological Construction, ATLA Monograph Series, no. 16 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1980).

²A conceptual basis for tree diagrams is introduced by Adrian Akmajian and Frank Heny, An Introduction to the Principles of Transformational Syntax (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1975), pp. 27-28. The two-, three-, and four-part linear outlines of a majority of preterist and futurist scholars, respectively, stated in a simplified form of labelled bracketing in fn. 3, pp. 129-30, above, are now restated in terms of tree diagrams for purposes of illustration.



Considerations that serve to define sections of the chapter fall within three main categories--periods of history,¹ the presence or absence of a North/South conflict motif, and the degree to which poetic literary features are in evidence.



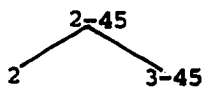
Such diagrams are used because they are easier than labelled bracketing to interpret quickly and accurately.

¹By "periods of history" we mean the eras associated elsewhere in the book of Daniel with the well-known series of four world empires. The series is here defined as comprising Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome in two phases. In Dan 2 the metal image consisted of gold, silver, bronze, and iron. But as regards the fourth metal there was iron alone (phase 1) and iron mixed with clay (phase 2). For a discussion of the identity of each of the four empires see Baldwin, Introduction and Commentary, pp. 59-68. She concludes as follows, speaking of the fourth empire: "We believe that the earliest Christian commentators were not mistaken in seeing the fourth kingdom as Rome, and the death and resurrection of Christ as the focal point to which chapters 2 and 7 were looking. They had Paul's Epistles on which to draw for evidence of the cosmic battle won on the cross (e.g. Eph. 1:19-22; Phil. 2:8-11; Col. 1:18-20; 2:15). But the days of conflict were not therefore over. Christians were engaged in a battle which required the whole armour of God (Eph. 6:11-18); wars and persecutions still lay ahead (Mt. 24:6-14) and Jesus went on to apply Daniel 9:27; 11:31; 12:11 to a time still future. The book of Daniel had future relevance for the church, even if at one level the prophecy seemed to have been fulfilled in the second century B.C. The end was 'not yet', for the task of proclaiming the kingdom throughout the world had yet to be carried out (Mt. 24:14). If, therefore, our western minds want a yes-or-no answer to the question we ourselves pose, 'What does the fourth kingdom stand for?', we may be asking the wrong kind of question." Baldwin hereby ends a strong discussion with a weak conclusion. The fourth empire is not an inadequately posed question; the fourth empire is Rome. See also Roland Kenneth Harrison, Introduction to the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), p. 1129.

Dan 11:2/3

Divisions of the text are introduced for the most part in their order of occurrence, not in their order of importance. The first division proposed is between vv. 2 and 3, and the basis for it is historical. Verse 2 is the last verse of Dan 10-12 that is cast in a Persian setting.¹

In an exegetical model that applies Dan 11 across a broad span of history, up to and including the present, it cannot be said that the present division (tree diagram 1) merely contrasts the Persian period with the Greek period. The contrast is between the Persian period (v. 2) and all subsequent history (vv. 3-45), not just that part of it that would come next.



Tree diagram 1. [2-45] → [2, 3-45]; history during the Persian period (v. 2)/ history after the Persian period (vv. 3-45).

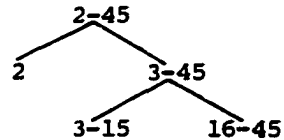
Dan 11:15/16

A claim of the present study, and of group 1 historicism generally,² is that v. 16 introduces Rome into the prophecy. The verse

¹Thus, in one sense, it is the only verse cast in a Persian setting; the narrative of Dan 11 properly begins with v. 2. Note that the Babylonian empire (power #1) is not mentioned or alluded to in Dan 11, or 8, but only in Dan 2 and 7. The series of world empires in Dan 11 begins with power #2--Persia. There is a reason for this. In the "third year of Cyrus king of Persia" (10:1), when the explanations that occupy Dan 11-12 were given, there was no more Babylonian empire to refer to; the history of Babylon as an independent world power had already run its course. Dan 11 looks to the future, not to the past.

²See pp. 75-76, above.

division in tree diagram 2, however, is stated as a contrast between the Greek period (vv. 3-15) and all subsequent history (vv. 16-45).



Tree diagram 2. [3-45] → [3-15, 16-45]; history during the Greek period (vv. 3-15)/history after the Greek period (vv. 16-45).

The claim that a new power is introduced at 11:16 is strengthened by the fact that this verse contains one of the three instances in Dan 11 of the formula "will do as he pleases" (*wəyā^cās . . . kir-šōnō*).¹ Both here and in Dan 8 it is used only once for any given power. Thus, in 8:4 it refers to Persia, in 11:3 to Greece, in 11:16 to pagan Rome, and in 11:36² to Christian Rome. Greece is not introduced a second time in II B.C.; the power just emerging then was Rome.

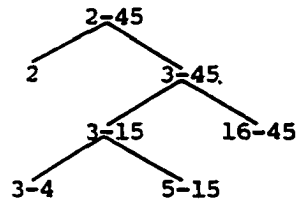
An alternative and perhaps more insightful sequence of verse divisions would be [2-45] → [2-15, 16-45] (pre-Rome/Rome) → [2, 3-15, 16-45] (Persia/Greece/Rome), rather than [2-45] → [2, 3-45] (Persia/post-Persia) → [2, 3-15, 16-45] (Persia/Greece/Rome) as above.

¹The tense varies. At v. 3 Bernhard Hasslberger calls this formula a "stereotyped turning-point" (*stereotype Wendung*), and shows a section break there in his chapter outline accordingly (*Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis: Eine formkritische Untersuchung zu Dan 8 und 10-12*, Münchener Universitätschriften [St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1977], pp. 206, 319). At 11:36 also he states that, "The new section begins in 36a with the formula *šy k·=rašō^c+n=ō [wə^cāsâ kirsōnō]*" (ibid., p. 273). That the same author should then call the same formula in 11:16 no more than a "modifier [*Umstandsbestimmung*], which elucidates and defines the verb more closely" (ibid., p. 235), is inconsistent and unconvincing.

²Below I argue that vv. 36-39 are a poetic summary of vv. 29-35. Thus, if a new power is introduced in v. 36, and if vv. 36 and 29 begin parallel sections, the same power is introduced in both verses. There is no claim beyond this, however, for sequence in vv. 36-39.

Dan 11:4/5

The first mention of the North/South conflict motif occurs in v. 5, as shown in tree diagram 3.



Tree diagram 3. [3-15] → [3-4, 5-15]; Greek period before the North-South conflict motif is introduced (vv. 3-4)/Greek period after the North-South conflict motif is introduced (vv. 5-15).

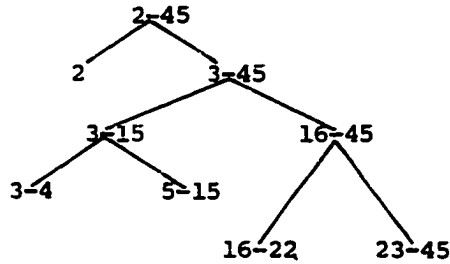
Whether the section ending at v. 15 begins with v. 2 (pre-Roman period), v. 3 (Greek period), or v. 5 (beginning of North-South conflict) is a matter of relative emphasis. Each has its proper place.

Dan 11:22/23

Verses 16-22 come after the Greek period and lead up to Christ's first coming,¹ while vv. 23-45 come after the Greek period and lead up to Christ's second coming.² See tree diagram 4.

¹Only group 1 historicists divide at vv. 22/23 rather than 20/21. For them v. 22 with its "prince of the covenant" ends a section (thus, vv. 22/23); for others v. 21 with its "contemptible person" begins a section (thus, vv. 20/21). This verse division will reflect one's approach to the entire chapter. For discussion see pp. 85-94, above.

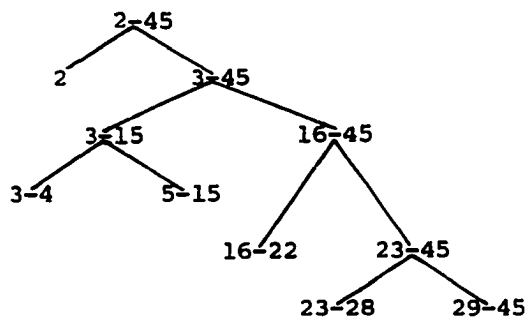
²Vv. 16-22 and 23-45 represent different perspectives and have different historical end points. There are two distinct streams of narrative in the chapter. If this is true, as we hope to demonstrate, it would be peculiar for the two sections mentioned not to have a common historical starting point--the end of the Greek period in this case. In the present model both are identical throughout the Greek period and run parallel during the Roman period up to the death of Christ. Then, while one ends there at the first coming, the other continues on to the second. For another example of the same relationship see chapter III.



Tree diagram 4. [16-45] → [16-22, 23-45]; after Greek period, leading up to Christ's first coming (vv. 16-22)/after Greek period, leading up to Christ's second coming (vv. 23-45).

Dan 11:28/29

It was stated above that vv. 23-45 represent that span of history which follows the Greek period and leads up to Christ's second coming. This interval of time necessarily includes within it both phases of the fourth world empire. Of these--equating the fourth empire with Rome--vv. 23-28 correspond to Rome phase 1 (cf. Dan 2:40, iron alone) and vv. 29-45 correspond to Rome phase 2 (cf. Dan 2:41-43, iron mixed with clay).¹ See tree diagram 5.



Tree diagram 5. [23-45] → [23-28, 29-45]; Rome phase 1 (vv. 23-28)/Rome phase 2 (vv. 29-45).

¹For the concept that power #4 must be subdivided in Dan 11 see

There is no duplication of distinctions here between vv. 16-22, 23-45 (tree diagram 4) and vv. 23-28, 29-45 (tree diagram 5). The one, between vv. 16-22 and 23-45, has reference to the two comings of Christ; the other, between vv. 23-28 and 29-45, has reference to the two phases of Rome in the prophecy. These facts are summarized in table 39.

TABLE 39

COMINGS OF CHRIST AND PHASES OF ROME
IN DAN 11:16-22, 23-28, AND 29-45

	Vv. 16-22	Vv. 23-28	Vv. 29-45
Coming of Christ	1	(2)	2
Phase of Rome	1	1	2

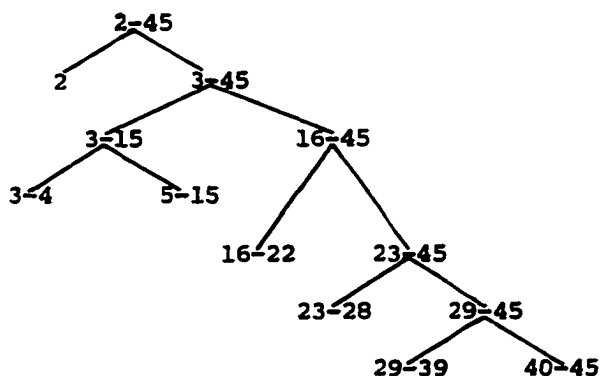
NOTE: Let "1" be read "first," and let "2" be read "second."

Dan 11:39/40

The next two divisions of the text are predicated on literary grounds. Verses 29-39 are not prose,¹ while vv. 40-45 are. See tree diagram 6.

tables 41 and 42 below. A distinction such as that in Dan 2 is not arbitrarily superimposed on Dan 11, but it is presented in terms of the parallel with Dan 2 at this point for ease of exposition.

¹See the section on Dan 11:35/36, below, for the ways in which vv. 29-39 fail to be prose.

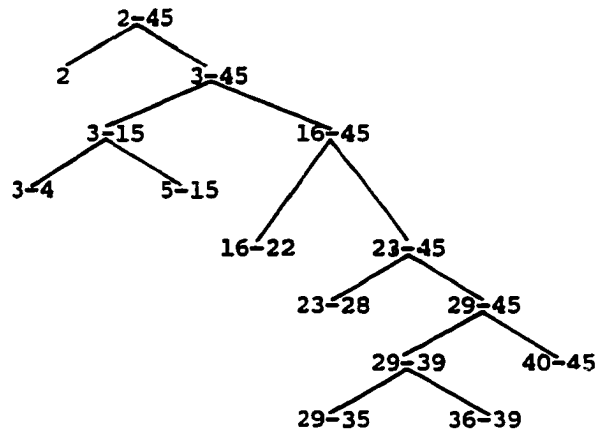


Tree diagram 6. [29-45] → [29-39, 40-45]; not prose (vv. 29-39)/prose (vv. 40-45).

Dan 11:35/36

Verses 29-35 represent a literary style called "poetic prose," which has line parallels, or colation, but not meter.¹ Verses 36-39 represent true poetry, with both colation and meter. The contrast between the two sections is stated in tree diagram 7 as one between material that is not poetry (vv. 29-35) and material that is (vv. 36-39).

¹The term "poetic prose" was introduced by Shea in "The Unity of the Creation Account," Origins 5 (1978):9-38. See especially pp. 14-17.



Tree diagram 7. [29-39] → [29-35, 36-39]; not poetry (vv. 29-35)/poetry (vv. 36-39).

The verse divisions at 35/36 and 39/40, above, were both proposed on literary grounds. Two literary factors (colation, meter)¹ were introduced, and three literary styles (poetry, prose, poetic prose) were identified with respect to them. Of the two factors, poetic prose (vv. 29-35) was said to have colation but not meter, poetry (vv. 36-39) both, and prose (vv. 40-45) neither. These facts are summarized in table 40.

¹A useful discussion of what is here called colation appears in Maxwell, *God Cares*, pp. 204-6. The phenomenon is quite common in Hebrew poetry. For further comment on colation (*parallelismus membrorum*) and meter in the Old Testament see Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, pp. 57-64.

TABLE 40

LITERARY FACTORS AND STYLES
AT DAN 11:35/36 AND 39/40

	Vv. 29-35	Vv. 36-39	Vv. 40-45
Colation	+	+	-
Meter	-	+	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "do exhibit," and let minus (-) be read "do not exhibit."

Literary considerations are not the only ones relevant to vv. 29-45; there are historical ones as well. The latter figure more prominently in the discussion of vv. 29-35, 40-45; the former in that of vv. 36-39.

First, with regard to historical considerations, vv. 29-35 are claimed to represent Rome phase 2 up to the present, while vv. 40-45 represent Rome phase 2 beyond the present. But both are included within Rome phase 2. This is also called the Christian period,¹ in light of the fact that Christian Europe arose out of the ashes of the Roman empire--at once superseding and perpetuating Roman institutions.²

¹Or "Christian era" (see p. 27, above).

²The fact is as important as it is simple that Christian Europe follows Rome and precedes the return of Christ. In the same way, drawing on the parallel with Dan 2, iron-and-clay (2:33b, 41-43) follows iron (2:33a, 40) but precedes the Rock cut out of a mountain without human hands (2:34, 44-45)--which is Christ. The historical application is both straightforward and precise. For Old Testament applications of rock symbolism to God see Deut 32:4, 15, 18, 30-31. For New Testament applications to Christ of Old Testament rock symbolism see and

Thus, while the series of world powers consists of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome (phase 1, phase 2), it may be said to comprise a Babylonian period (no reference), Persian period (v. 2), Greek period (vv. 3-15), Roman period (vv. 16-28), and Christian period (vv. 29-45). The existence of five historical eras does not imply there are five world empires; there are four, but the fourth is subdivided. These facts are summarized in table 41.

TABLE 41
TWO SETS OF TERMS FOR THE SERIES
OF WORLD POWERS

	#1 (. . .)	#2 (v. 2)	#3 (vv. 3-15)	#4	
				Phase 1 (vv. 16-28)	Phase 2 (vv. 29-45)
Powers . .	Babylon	Persia	Greece	Rome	Rome
Periods . .	Babylonian	Persian	Greek	Roman	Christian

Second, with regard to literary considerations, vv. 36-39 are claimed to summarize in poetry what vv. 29-35 say first in poetic prose. There is no break between vv. 35 and 40 in the chapter's ongoing flow

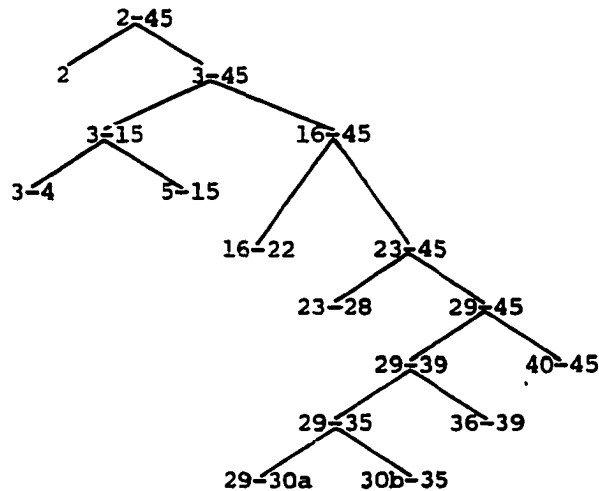
compare Exod 17:6; Num 20:7-11 and 1 Cor 10:3-4 (Christ as the Rock that accompanied Israel in the wilderness); Isa 8:14 and Rom 9:30-33; 1 Pet 2:8 (Stumbling Stone); Isa 28:16 and 1 Cor 3:11; Eph 2:19-20 (Foundation); Isa 28:16 and 1 Pet 2:6 (Corner Stone); and Ps 118:22 and Matt 21:42; Luke 20:17 (Capstone). Finally, in Luke 20:18 Christ connects the Capstone figure with the Rock of Dan 2, and with Himself. Thus, "Everyone who falls on that stone will be broken to pieces, but he on whom it falls will be crushed." The statement is fulfilled at Christ's second coming; no nations (Dan 2:44 does not speak of individuals) were broken to pieces at His first. See also Heb 2:8-9.

of historical narrative. Where v. 35 ends v. 40 begins--historically, if not textually.¹

A third matter relevant to subdividing vv. 29-45 is the North/South conflict motif. This is the basis for the final verse division, at Dan 11:30a/30b, below.

Dan 11:30a/30b

Although the North/South conflict motif is represented in vv. 29-45,² it is not present ubiquitously. Verses 29-30a do exhibit the motif; vv. 30b-35 do not. See tree diagram 8.



Tree diagram 8. [29-35] → [29-30a, 30b-35]; North-South conflict motif present (vv. 29-30a)/North-South conflict motif absent (vv. 30b-35).

¹A similar relationship between history and text is found in vv. 15 and 23. The narrative that ends at v. 15 begins again in v. 23 with no historical break. An unbroken narrative runs through vv. 1-15, 23-35, and 40-45. When vv. 16-22 and 36-39 are included there are duplications in one sense, although not in another. Verses 16-22 focus special attention on the Prince; vv. 36-39 focus special attention on the villain. These sections stand apart from the chapter's timeline.

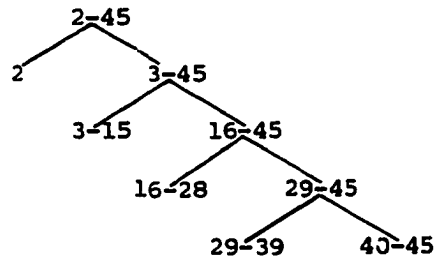
²See pp. 25-27, above.

Criteria for Verse Divisions

Three main criteria (periods of history, presence or absence of a conflict motif, literary style) have served as a basis for making verse divisions in the discussion so far. Since the divisions were presented sequentially it was not possible to consider the above factors, as such, in a systematic way. This is done now.

Periods of history

Dan 11 as seen only from the perspective of which periods of history are represented in its verse groupings has the form shown in tree diagram 9.

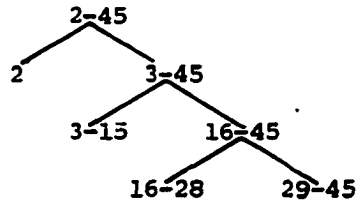


Tree diagram 9. Dan 11 as seen only from the perspective of periods of history, with vv. 16-45 subdivided into three parts.

The last division within tree diagram 9 (vv. 29-39, 40-45) does not refer in the present context to a literary distinction between what is and is not prose, as in tree diagram 6 above, but to a historical distinction between the Christian period up to the present (vv. 29-39) and the Christian period beyond the present (vv. 40-45).¹

¹See pp. 140-41, above. Note that in tree diagram 9 vv. 29-39 are not subdivided, and so the points of contrast between vv. 29-35 and 36-39 are not relevant here. Also see note to table 42, below, on the use of the word "present" in this context.

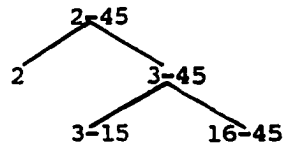
If none of the five historical periods associated with the series of world empires is subdivided the outline can be simplified, as in tree diagram 10.



Tree diagram 10. Dan 11 as seen only from the perspective of periods of history, with vv. 16-45 subdivided into two parts.

Here vv. 16-28 and 29-45 represent the Roman and Christian periods, respectively, or Rome phase 1 and Rome phase 2.

Going one step further, if none of the four world empires is subdivided into phases the outline can again be simplified, as in tree diagram 11.



Tree diagram 11. Dan 11 as seen only from the perspective of periods of history, with vv. 16-45 not subdivided.

Here vv. 16-45 take in all of Rome, the fourth world empire, from the fall of Greece to the return of Christ. Note that Babylon is not represented. Verse 2 deals with Persia and vv. 3-15 with Greece. Events surrounding the second coming of Christ are mentioned in 12:1-3. The above facts are summarized in table 42. Note the absence of verse divisions at 4/5, 22/23, 30a/30b, and 35/36.

TABLE 42

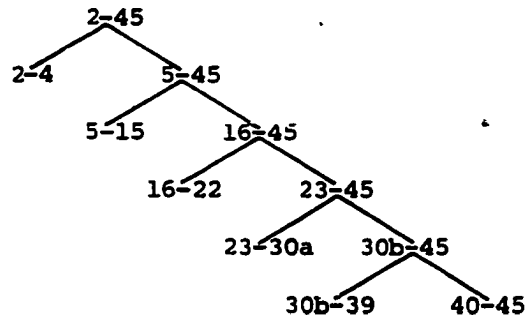
**DAN 11 FROM THE PERSPECTIVE
OF PERIODS OF HISTORY**

Powers	#2 Persia	#3 Greece	#4 Rome			Christ
			Phase 1	Phase 2		
				Past	Future	
Verses	11:2	11:3-15	11:16-28	11:29-39	11:40-45	12:1-3
Periods	Persian	Greek	Roman	Christian		

NOTE: For practical purposes the temporal frame of reference in this table is the present (late XX A.D.), but to account more precisely for v. 40a it would have to be considered the point at which the "time of the end" began (mid XIX A.D.).

Conflict motif

Dan 11 as seen only from the perspective of where the North/South conflict motif is or is not present has the form shown in tree diagram 12.



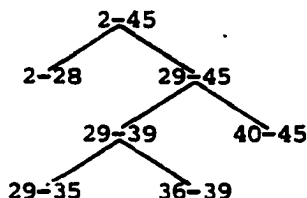
Tree diagram 12. Dan 11 as seen only from the perspective of the North/South conflict motif.

The conflict motif does not emerge until v. 5, with the introduction of South. It is then present at intervals throughout the remainder of the chapter. Sections where the motif is present are vv. 5-15 (with South dominant) and vv. 23-30a, 40-45 (with North dominant). Sections where the motif is not present are vv. 2-4 (before it is introduced), 16-22 (where it is irrelevant), and 30b-39 (where North's position is consolidated in such a way as to preclude all challenges).

In terms of periods of history, as in table 44 above, vv. 2-4 include material from both Persia (v. 2) and Greece (vv. 3-4), vv. 5-15 represent Greece only, vv. 16-22 represent Rome phase 1 only, and vv. 23-45 include both Rome phase 1 (vv. 23-28) and Rome phase 2 (vv. 29-45). Note the absence in tree diagram 12 of verse divisions at 2/3, 28/29, and 35/36.

Literary style

Dan 11 as seen only from the perspective of which verse groupings are written in poetry, or in prose, or in poetic prose, has the form shown in tree diagram 13.



Tree diagram 13. Dan 11 as seen only from the perspective of literary style.

Non-prose sections are confined to Rome phase 2. Verses 29-35 are written in poetic prose and vv. 36-39 in poetry. Note the absence in tree diagram 13 of verse divisions at 2/3, 4/5, 15/16, 22/23, and 30a/30b.

Up to this point vv. 29-39 have been compared literarily with what follows (vv. 40-45), and so the impression has been that the level of poetic structuring in Dan 11 decreases through the chapter. But when compared with what precedes (vv. 2-28) the opposite impression is gained, i.e., that the level of poetic structuring in Dan 11 increases through the chapter. It is the latter impression and not the former that is strengthened when vv. 29-39 are subdivided, as below. The first part of the section (vv. 29-35) is both more than prose and less than poetry, while the second part (vv. 36-39) is true poetry. The one has meter but lacks line parallels, the other has both. First there is prose (vv. 2-28), then poetic prose (vv. 29-35), and then poetry (vv. 36-39).

¹Pp. 140-42, above.

Neither the sequence in which poetic prose and poetry occur nor the location of their sections in the chapter is a random or incidental fact. Here we simply point out that, while vv. 40-45 have no features of poetic style, they do exhibit a measure of symbolism and symbolism represents a more forceful departure from literalness than does poetry. Thus, rather than illustrating a random fact at a random point in the chapter, the literary style of vv. 29-35 and 36-39 form one part of a general progression within Dan 11 away from literalness.¹ And this in turn has important exegetical implications.

Summary

The information brought together in tree diagram format above is summarized in tabular format below. See table 43.

TABLE 43
SUMMARY OF LINEAR VERSE DIVISIONS

Criteria	2/3	4/5	15/16	22/23	28/29	30a/ 30b	35/36	39/40
Periods of history . . .	x		x		x			x
Conflict motif		x	x	x		x		x
Literary structure . .					x		x	x

NOTE: Let "x" indicate verse divisions which do occur in connection with a given criterion, and let the absence of "x" indicate verse divisions which do not occur.

¹Maxwell, *God Cares*, p. 269, states, "The language of Daniel 11 is considered to be 'literal' in that it isn't symbolic in the same way that the language of chapters 2, 7, and 8 is. There are no multi-element images, no beasts or horns." This is certainly true, and it is a

Four of the verse divisions listed in table 43 are commonly accepted by historicists and non-historicists alike, and therefore require no special comment. These are vv. 2/3, 4/5, 35/36, and 39/40. The survey of futurist outline suggestions in fig. 2 may be conveniently referred to in this regard;¹ preterist sources will have to be consulted individually.

Three of the remaining verse divisions are characteristic of, but largely confined to, group 1 historicism. These are vv. 15/16, 22/23, and 28/29. Nevertheless two of them have also been proposed by certain futurist scholars. A break at vv. 15/16 is suggested by Keil, and one at vv. 28/29 is suggested by both Walvoord and Baldwin.²

Dividing the narrative at vv. 30a/30b is not characteristic of either futurism or historicism, but follows from literary considerations most readily appreciated from a study of the Hebrew text. One futurist, Wood, proposes a break at this point.³

Verse divisions encountered in the section on chiastic structure are now added to those summarized in table 43 with reference to linear structure, by way of comparison. See table 44.⁴

point worth making. Perhaps "figurative" would be a better word than "symbolic," but, whichever word is used, neither futurists nor historicists can claim that the language of 11:40-45 is literal. Chariots are no longer in use (v. 40), the kingdoms of Edom, Moab, and Ammon have been replaced by others (v. 41), and so on. The chapter is clearly not uniform with regard to literary style or literalness. We assert that such changes as occur are both systematic and exegetically significant.

¹P. 45, above.

²See table 7, p. 44, above.

³Study Guide, p. 144.

⁴Within table 44 linear verse divisions missing from the chiasmic outline are vv. 2/3, 30a/30b, and 35/36. The only chiastic verse division missing from the linear outline is vv. 21/22.

TABLE 44
SUMMARY OF CHIASTIC AND LINEAR
VERSE DIVISIONS

Criteria	2/3	4/5	15/16	21/22	22/23	28/29	30a/ 30b	35/36	39/40
<u>Chiastic outline</u> .		x	x	x	x	x			x
<u>Linear outline</u>									
Periods of history	x		x			x			x
Conflict motif		x	x		x		x		x
Literary structure						x		x	x

NOTE: Let "x" indicate verse divisions which do occur in connection with a given criterion and/or outline type, and let the absence of "x" indicate verse divisions which do not occur.

Other comments

Only one division in table 44 is shared by no one outside the relatively small circle of historicists; and in fact within that circle it is confined to group 1. This is the break found at vv. 22/23--a verse division whose exegetical implications are very broad indeed.

Futurists do not see Christ in v. 22 and place their section break at vv. 20/21. Group 2 historicists do see Christ in v. 22, but place a section break at vv. 20/21 along with futurist scholars. Group 1 historicists see Christ as central to v. 22 and place the section break at vv. 22/23. These facts are summarized in table 45.

TABLE 45

ON PLACING A VERSE DIVISION
AT VV. 20/21 OR 22/23

Interpreters	Divisions	Christ at V. 22
Futurists	Vv. 20/21	-
Historicists (group 2) . .	Vv. 20/21	+
Historicists (group 1) . .	Vv. 22/23	+

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "do posit," and let minus (-) be read "do not posit."

Of the three positions shown, those of futurists and group 1 historicists have the greater consistency,¹ while group 2 historicists and group 1 historicists have the advantage of emphasizing Christ. On the basis of table 46 notice that where exegetical consistency and

¹For discussion see pp. 83-84, above.

emphasis on Christ in v. 22 coincide they do so in the context of placing a verse division at vv. 22/23.

TABLE 46

THE CONSISTENCY AND CHRIST-CENTEREDNESS
OF PLACING A VERSE DIVISION
AT VV. 20/21 OR 22/23

Interpreters	Consistency	Christ	Divisions
Futurists	x		Vv. 20/21
Historicists (group 2) . .		x	Vv. 20/21
Historicists (group 1) . .	x	x	Vv. 22/23

NOTE: Let "x" be read "is characterized by" or "is characterized by an emphasis on."

Scope of the Narrative

It has been pointed out by a number of writers that the narrative of Dan 11, outlined in the preceding sections, does not consist of all and only Dan 11. As an alternative to 11:1-45, Keil, for example, suggests 11:2-12:3.¹

Such an arrangement reflects the important fact that 12:1-3 stands in close relation to what goes before, but it would be preferable to include v. 4. In this verse the angel concludes a discourse that began in chap. 10, while in 12:5 Daniel responds to what he has heard, starting a subsection of closing miscellanea.² Thus, an

¹Ezekiel, Daniel, p. 425. See also Clifford, "History and Myth in Daniel 10-12," p. 24; Baldwin, Introduction and Commentary, p. 203; Maxwell, God Cares, p. 289. But cf. Keil, p. 427 (10:21-12:3).

²According to Maxwell (ibid.) the format for 12:5-10 is one of questions and answers. Alternatively, 12:5-13 could be taken together as one question, posed by an angel for Daniel's benefit (v. 6), and one

improvement over 11:2-12:3 would be 11:2-12:4.

But the beginning point of Keil's section is also open to question. The angel's closing remarks have to do with a book (*seper*), which Daniel is to close and seal. This corresponds to an earlier book (*ketāb*), mentioned in 10:21a, which the angel is about to expound to Daniel, or open. Taking these two book references together, as parts of the chiasm discussed earlier, an improvement over 11:2-12:4 would be 10:21-12:4. A stronger case, however, could be made for 10:20-12:4, since including v. 20 allows us to say that all of the angel's remarks constitute a section. Thus, while 10:1-12:13 represents the whole encounter between Daniel and Gabriel, 10:20-12:4 represents Gabriel's central discourse within it.

Having said these things, it is necessary to clarify that Dan 12:1-3 is in fact a cohesive subsection in its own right, and does end one part of the narrative. Verse 3 is still an explanation, while v. 4 is a command. Note that in 12:1 there is a reference to Michael, which corresponds to a similar reference in 10:21b. The two references to Michael should be taken together, and if the second one is understood as belonging not merely to 12:1 but to 12:1-3, they help define 10:21b-12:3 as a viable structural unit within 10:20-12:4. It is the case, then, that 12:3 ends a section, but the section it ends does not begin at 11:2; it begins at 10:21b.

answer, supplied by the "man clothed in linen" (see p. 107, fn. 1, above) (vv. 7, 11-12). Verses 8-10 could be understood as an interruption on Daniel's part (v. 8) and a response directed specifically to that interruption (vv. 9-10). Note the resulting juxtaposition of the time periods in this passage--"a time, times and half a time" (v. 7), "1,290 days" (v. 11), and "1,335 days" (v. 12)--now adjacent to each other in an effectively unbroken series.

It is also the case that 11:2 begins a section. But if the section it begins doesn't end at 12:3 there is a question where it does end. We would suggest 11:45. Thus, what 12:3 ends is 10:21b-12:3, and what 11:2 begins is 11:2-45--not so very different from the scope of the traditional chapter division (11:1-45).

We have now reasoned from 12:4 backward to 10:20, from 12:3 backward to 10:21b, and from 11:2 forward to 11:45. The last three chapters of the book take in Daniel's entire encounter with Gabriel (10:1-12:13); the largest subsection isolated here from within these chapters (10:20-12:4) takes in Gabriel's entire discourse with Daniel; the second largest subsection (10:21b-12:3), within the first, takes in those of Gabriel's remarks that have to do with Michael's activities and concerns--both in heaven and on earth; and the third largest subsection (11:2-45), within the second, is restricted to those of Michael's activities and concerns on earth, i.e. those of God's people.

The distinction between 10:21b-12:3 (ending with 12:3) and 11:2-45 (beginning with 11:2) corresponds to the distinction between *śar* and *nāqīd*, discussed earlier.¹ As *śar* the Prince appears in a heavenly context, as *nāqīd* the same Prince appears in an earthly context. Any of the three sections discussed above would be acceptable as a way to delimit the narrative of Dan 11, depending on one's particular emphases, but 11:2-12:3 is not. It represents a conflation of two different units of text.

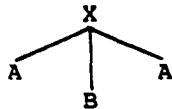
A summary outline of Dan 10-12, as it has been discussed up to

¹See pp. 85-91, 126-29, above.

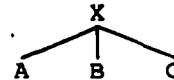
this point, is provided in tree diagram 14.¹ This diagram shows the proposed relationships among 10:1-12:13 (lines i-iii), 10:20-12:4 (lines iii-v), 10:21b-12:3 (lines v-vii), and 11:2-45 (lines vii-xiv).² The contents of each line are summarized in table 47 for the reader's convenience.

¹In this diagram some three-part text groupings are introduced, which fact deserves comment. (See p. 130, above, for the decision to state most verse divisions shown in tree diagrams in a two-part format.) In the case of 10:1-19; 10:20-12:4; 12:5-13 (lines ii-iii) the first and third members of the group of three sections are related chiastically (with the form ABA). This is also true of two other three-way text groups--10:20-21a; 10:21b-12:3; 12:4 (lines iv-v) and 10:21b-11:1; 11:2-45; 12:1-3 (lines vi-vii). By contrast, the three parts into which chap. 11 itself is initially divided (11:2, 3-15, 16-45; line viii) are related linearly (with the form ABC). For clarity of exposition, when a group of three sections branches simultaneously from a single node below (see Kimball, Formal Theory of Grammar, p. 3) and the two outer members of the group are related chiastically, the middle member is typed one line lower than the others. On the other hand, when a group of three sections branches simultaneously from a single node and all three members of the group are related linearly, they are typed on the same line. These arrangements are illustrated in abstract form below.

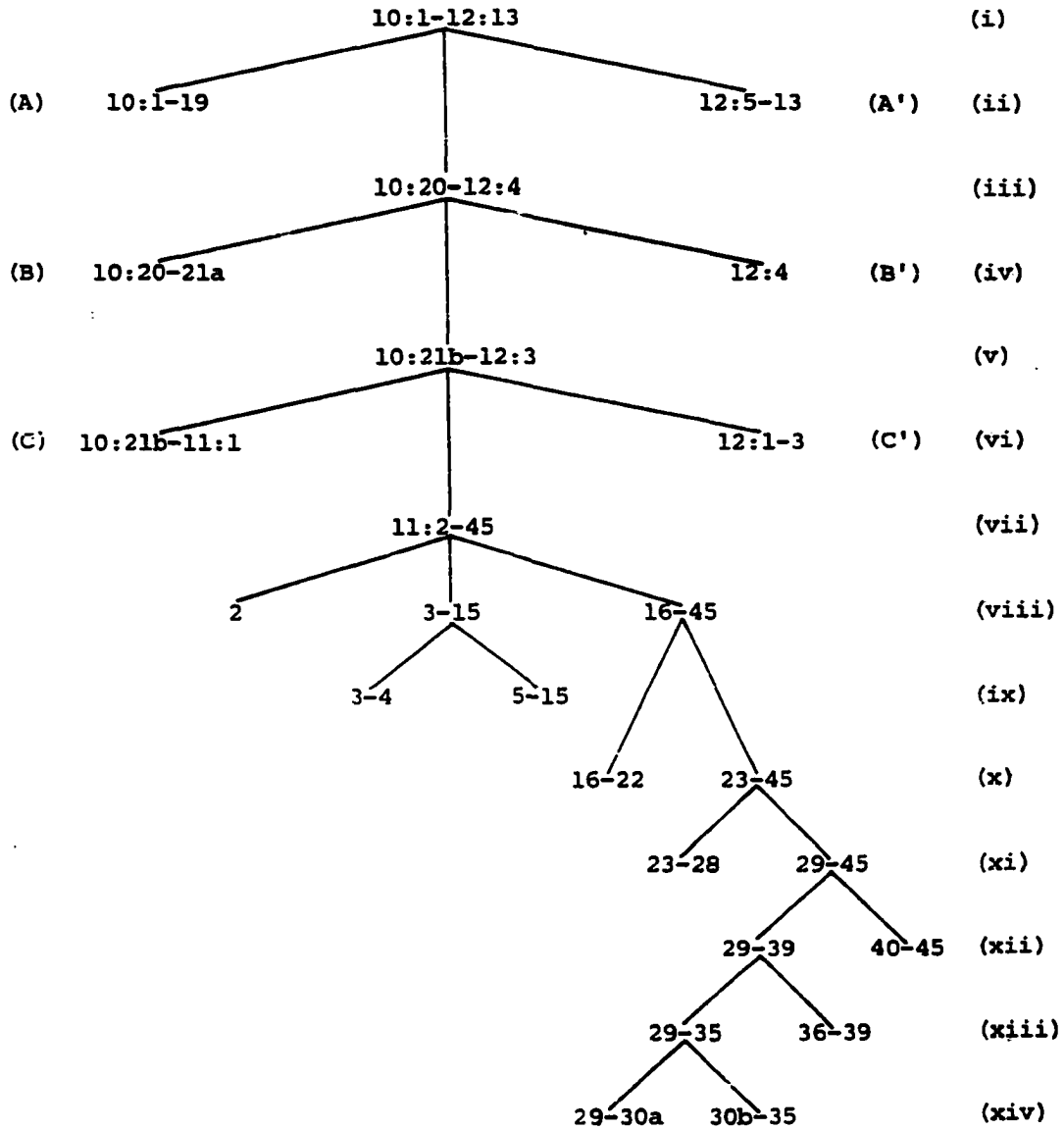
Chiastic Arrangement
in Three Parts



Linear Arrangement
in Three Parts



²No analysis of the linear structure of Dan 10:1-11:1 or 12:1-13 is provided in the present study; the only linear analysis has been that of 11:2-45. Thus, the mixed chiastic, non-chiastic, chiastic nature of the approach to Dan 10, 11, and 12, respectively, as component parts of Dan 10-12, is an artifact of our present emphases and not of the text itself. For a suggestion concerning the linear structure of Dan 12 see Maxwell, God Cares, p. 289: "Daniel 12 may be separated into four divisions: events at the time of the end, verses 1-4; questions and answers, verses 5-10; days and blessings, verses 11, 12; and a personal promise in parting, verse 13." See also fn. 2, pp. 152-53, above. For Dan 10 the reader is referred to Keil, Ezekiel, Daniel, pp. 405-24. As regards the flow of time in Dan 10-12 generally, see p. 106, fn. 1, above.

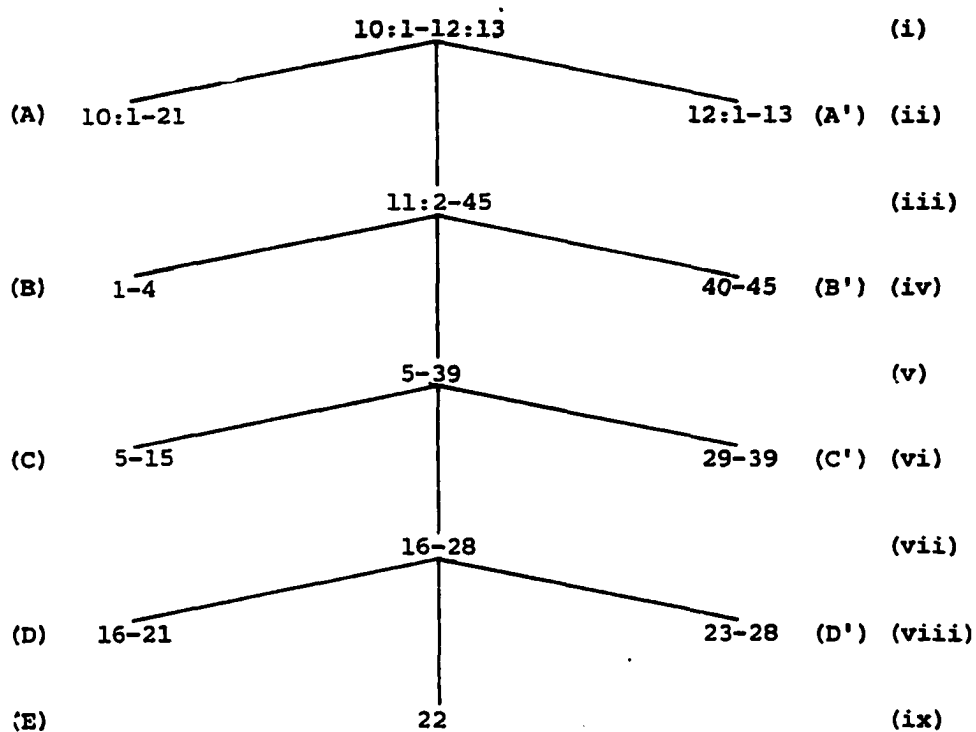


Tree diagram 14. Summary outline of Dan 10:1-12:13. Lines indexed for cross-reference to table 47.

TABLE 47
SUMMARY OF CONTENTS FOR
TREE DIAGRAM 14

Line	Contents
i	Daniel's entire encounter with angelic beings (10:1-12:13)
ii	Introduction (A, 10:1-19) and conclusion (A', 12:5-13) to the angel's discourse
iii	The angel's discourse (10:20-12:4)
iv	Those parts of the angel's discourse which do not constitute a prophetic explanation of future events (B, 10:20-21a; B', 12:4)
v	The angel's prophetic explanation of future events (10:21b-12:3)
vi	Those parts of the prophetic explanation which emphasize Michael's activity and concerns in heaven (C, 10:21b-11:1; C', 12:1-3)
vii	Those parts of the prophetic explanation which emphasize Michael's activity and concerns on earth (11:2-45)
viii	Power #2 (Persia) (v. 2), power #3 (Greece) (vv. 3-15), power #4 (Rome) (vv. 16-45)
ix	Power #3 before the introduction of a North-South conflict motif (vv. 3-4), power #3 after the introduction of a North-South conflict motif (vv. 5-15)
x	Power #4, leading up to Christ's first coming (vv. 16-22); power #4, leading up to Christ's second coming (vv. 23-45)
xi	Power #4 phase 1 (vv. 23-28), power #4 phase 2 (vv. 29-45)
xii	Non-prose (vv. 29-39), prose and symbolism (vv. 40-45)
xiii	Poetic prose (vv. 29-35), poetry (vv. 36-39)
xiv	North-South conflict motif present (vv. 29-30a; see also 5-15, 23-28, 40-45), North-South conflict motif not present (vv. 30b-35; see also 1-4, 16-22, 36-39)

The outline in tree diagram 14 combines chiastic and linear elements. For reference and comparison we now summarize the purely chiastic outline which served as our original basis for discussion. Indexing of lines in tree diagram 15 is for ease of reference only; there is no accompanying table.¹



Tree diagram 15. Summary outline of Dan 10:1-12:13. Chiastic elements only. Later modifications not included.

¹For the contents of this outline, which for the most part are defined textually, rather than historically as in table 47, see exhibits (1)-(8), pp. 105-11 (A, A'); (9)-(12), pp. 111-13 (B, B'); (13)-(18), pp. 113-18 (C, C'); (19)-(22), pp. 118-20 (D, D'); and (23), p. 122 (E).

An important weakness of the chiastic outline in tree diagram 15 is that it doesn't show the beginning and end points of the angel's narrative. Thus, the relationship of 10:20-11:1 and 12:1-4 on the one hand, and 10:21b-11:1 and 12:1-3 on the other, with 11:2-45, is not shown. Such refinements are easily added, as in tree diagram 14, which summarizes a later and more detailed discussion. The narrative can be studied in any of three different forms (10:20-12:4; 10:21b-12:3; 11:2-45), and each has its place. Below we deal mostly with 11:2-45, after first pointing out the considerable importance of 12:1-3.

Other Comments¹

The fact that the narrative of Dan 11 extends somewhat beyond the confines of that chapter is worth noting, but in and of itself has little significance. The important thing is what any additional verses contribute to the narrative in terms of objective content.

In the case of 12:1-3 those added verses contribute a scene in which Michael dramatically intervenes to prevent the destruction of God's people, and in so doing brings an end to the power that had oppressed them. The villain's sudden downfall is a result (in 11:45) that testifies eloquently to its supernatural cause (in 12:1); the two verses describe one event from different perspectives.

It is the same sort of catastrophic end, brought about by direct divine intervention, as marks the termination of all the other lines of prophecy given in this book of Daniel. In the second chapter the great image was destroyed by a stone cut out of the mountain "without hands." Verse 45. The beast of the vision of chapter 7 "was slain, and its body destroyed, and it was given to be burned with fire." Verse 11. Of the terrible horn of chapter 8 it is said: "He shall be broken without hand." Verse 25. Here this God-defying

¹These remarks complete the section entitled, "Linear Structure," begun on p. 129, above.

power shall come to his end, and none shall help him. The meaning is that all these powers exist down to the close of all human history, but all are terminated by the supernatural intervention of the powers of heaven at the second coming of Christ.¹

If the downfall of hostile powers in Dan 2 is parallel with the downfall of hostile powers in Dan 10-12, it follows that one cause accounts for both events. From Price's statement, just quoted, a parallel may be assumed among the oppressors at the end of Dan 2, 7, 8, and 10-12, and among the means by which they are destroyed. I conclude that the benevolent power represented by the stone in Dan 2, which destroys the metal image, is the same as that represented in Dan 12 by Michael, who destroys the power of the villain and his host. And we would go further to suggest that the party in question in both cases is the glorified Christ at His second coming.

It was pointed out earlier that Christ applied the stone figure of Dan 2 to Himself.² But so far we have had only the application, not the fulfillment. This is not to say that the prophecy will not be fulfilled in the future, but merely that it has not been fulfilled in the past, and more especially at Christ's first coming. A potential or promised fulfillment does not qualify in the present context. The prediction in Dan 2:44 is that God's kingdom would ". . . crush all those [human] kingdoms and bring them to an end, . . ." This clearly has not happened yet. Such events, however, could be expected to occur at Christ's second coming. And that is the point; both Dan 2:34, 44-45 and Luke 20:18--and Dan 12:1--refer to the second coming.

¹Price, Greatest of the Prophets, p. 317.

²Luke 20:18 says, "Everyone who falls on that stone will be broken to pieces, but he on whom it falls will be crushed." See pp. 140-41, fn. 2, above.

There are other New Testament parallels that should not be ignored. For example, much of Rev 19-20 can be taken as commentary on Dan 11:44-12:3.¹ In Rev 19:11-16 a Rider on a white horse leads out the armies of heaven. Note the description.

(11) I saw heaven standing open and there before me was a white horse, whose rider is called Faithful and True. With justice he judges and makes war. (12) His eyes are like blazing fire, and on his head are many crowns. He has a name written on him that no one but he himself knows. (13) He is dressed in a robe dipped in blood, and his name is the Word of God. (14) The armies of heaven were following him, riding on white horses and dressed in fine linen, white and clean. (15) Out of his mouth comes a sharp sword with which to strike down the nations. "He will rule them with an iron scepter." He treads the winepress of the fury of the wrath of God Almighty. (16) On his robe and on his thigh he has this name written: KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS.²

The parallel is with Michael in Dan 12:1.

In Rev 19:19-21 the beast and the kings of the earth assemble and try unsuccessfully to resist the Rider on the horse.

(19) Then I saw the beast and the kings of the earth and their armies gathered together to make war against the rider on the horse and his army. (20) But the beast was captured, and with him the false prophet who had performed the miraculous signs on his behalf. With these signs he had deluded those who had received the mark of the beast and worshiped his image. The two of them were thrown alive into the fiery lake of burning sulfur. (21) The rest of them were killed with the sword that came out of the mouth of the rider on the horse, and all the birds gorged themselves on their flesh.³

The parallel is with the villain and his forces in Dan 11:44-45.

Finally, in Rev 20:11-15 there is a resurrection of the dead, as in Dan 12:2, and books are used in deciding the fate of those raised, as in Dan 12:1.⁴

¹Verse 44 is included because it speaks of the villain's forces being gathered; in v. 45 they are destroyed. The parallel is to both.

²Rev 19:11-16.

³Rev 19:19-21.

⁴Note: 12:1, not 12:4.

(11) Then I saw a great white throne and him who was seated on it. Earth and sky fled from his presence, and there was no place for them. (12) And I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne, and books were opened. Another book was opened, which is the book of life. The dead were judged according to what they had done as recorded in the books. (13) The sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them, and each person was judged according to what he had done. (14) Then death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire. The lake of fire is the second death. (15) If anyone's name was not found written in the book of life, he was thrown into the lake of fire.

We quote these passages at length because the point needs to be securely made that Dan 11:44-12:3, with which the materials from Revelation are parallel, has reference to events surrounding the second coming of Christ. The chain of parallels pointed out in this regard is two-fold. Dan 12:1 is parallel to Dan 2:44, which Christ applies to Himself in Luke 20:18; and also Dan 11:44-12:3 is parallel to Rev 19b-20. Both sets of parallels lead to Christ, and both lead specifically to His second coming.

If such is the case, then the narrative of Dan 11, broadly defined to include 10:21b-12:3, makes two separate references to Christ and distinguishes two separate advents. The first is in 11:22, where Christ is Prince in the sense of *nāqīd*¹; the second is in 12:1, where He is Prince in the sense of *šar*. And this fact in turn makes possible a much more significant comparison between the chiastic and predominantly linear outlines in tree diagrams 15 and 14, respectively, than that one excludes important material from chap. 12 while the other includes it. The first outline focuses attention on Christ in one passage (11:22); the second outline--by incorporating material from

¹Rev 20:11-15.

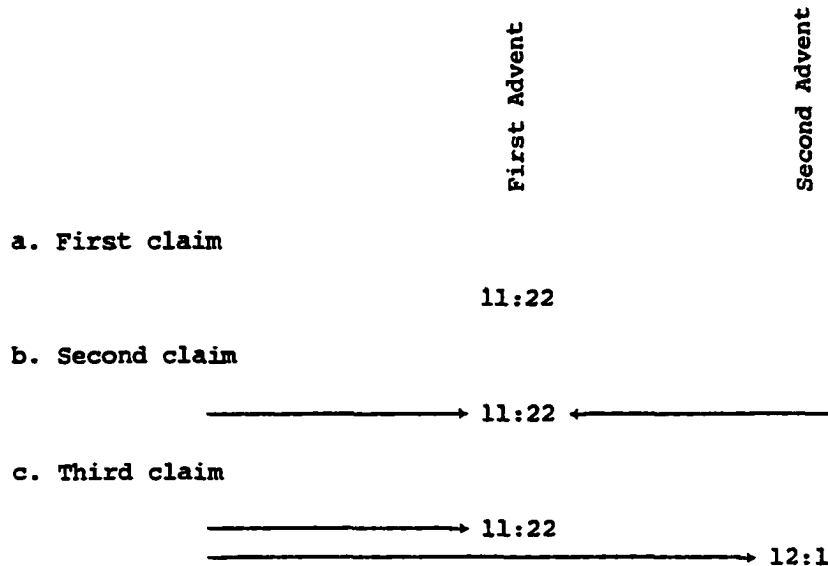


Fig. 8. Comparison of three claims made with regard to the fact of Christ's presence in 11:22 (a), His presence in 11:22 as sole focus of a chiastic outline (b), and His presence in both 11:22 and 12:1 as dual focus of a linear outline (c).

The sequence from fig. 8a through 8b to 8c is a graded one, but even in three parts it is not yet complete, and its lack of completeness obscures the relationships that properly exist among those parts of the series that are present. The relationships that are most significant here are not those in fig. 9a, but in fig. 9b.

a. Fig. 8a > Fig. 8b > Fig. 8c

b. $\frac{\text{Fig. 8a}}{\text{Fig. 8b}} = \frac{\text{Fig. 8c}}{x}$

Fig. 9. Comparison of two sets of relationships involving the claims summarized in fig. 8. One set is complete in three parts (a); the other is incomplete, with an expected four parts (b).

Fig. 9b should be read: Fig. 8a bears approximately the same relation to fig. 8b that fig. 8c does to a fourth member of the series which has not yet been introduced. Thus, fig. 8a makes an exegetical assertion and 8b provides it with structural support. Then fig. 8c makes another exegetical assertion, and a final item, which places 8c in structural context, may be expected to complete the sequence. Supplying this missing item is the task of the present section. When available, the fourth part of fig. 8 will be our final and most fully developed attempt to represent the essential structural characteristics of Dan 11 briefly.

Discontinuities in the Timeline

Dan 11:16-45 can be divided in more than one way, as has been pointed out already. On the one hand vv. 16-22 lead up to Christ's first coming and vv. 23-45 lead up to His second coming.¹ On the other hand vv. 16-28 represent Rome phase 1 and vv. 29-45 represent Rome phase 2.² If both positions are accepted, it becomes clear that vv. 16-22 and 23-28 both cover Rome phase 1 and that a duplication exists in the chapter's timeline. Such a view of vv. 29-45 was made explicit in table 39, repeated here for convenience.

¹See pp. 102-3, 122-29, 135; tree diagram 4, p. 136; table 47, p. 157; pp. 159-63, above.

²See tree diagram 5, p. 136; table 41, p. 141; table 42, p. 145, above.

TABLE 39

COMINGS OF CHRIST AND PHASES OF ROME
IN DAN 11:16-22, 23-28, AND 29-45

	Vv. 16-22	Vv. 23-28	Vv. 29-45
Comings of Christ	1	(2)	2
Phases of Rome	1	1	2

NOTE: Let "1" be read "first," and let "2" be read "second."

If the chapter outline proposed by group 1 historicists does not result in a substantially continuous timeline after all, an explanation of fig. 5--which implies that it does--is called for.¹ This in turn means reconsidering the majority futurist view by way of contrast, represented interpretively in fig. 6.² Both the futurist and group 1 historicist timelines for Dan 11 are seen, at this point in the discussion, to be discontinuous, but in two different ways. For futurists there is a major period of history that is not dealt with at all in the chapter; for certain historicists there is a shorter period that is dealt with twice. Thus, group 1 futurists have a gap in their timeline, while group 1 historicists have an overlap in theirs. These facts are summarized in fig. 10, drawn to a rough approximation of historical scale.

¹P. 61, above.

²P. 62, above.

a. Futurist



b. Historicist (group 1)

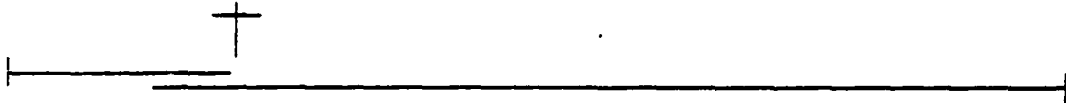
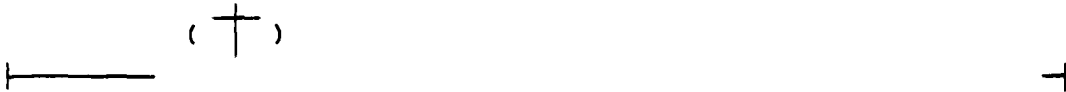


Fig. 10. Comparison of futurist (a) and group 1 historicist (b) timelines for Dan 11.

Group 2a historicists have, as a primary objective, the goal of eliminating all discontinuity in the chapter's timeline.¹ This third possibility is now added to the others in fig. 11.

a. Futurist



b. Historicist (group 2a)



c. Historicist (group 1)



Fig. 11. Comparison of futurist (a), group 2a historicist (b), and group 1 historicist (c) timelines for Dan 11.

¹The strained relationship between vv. 21 and 22 in group 2 exegesis may follow from this. (See fn. 4, p. 80, above.) For group 1 v. 22 with its reference to Christ's crucifixion is primary and the

The futurist gap (fig. 11a) takes in all of the period between the death of Antiochus Epiphanes and a time shortly before the second coming of Christ; the historicist overlap, confined to group 1 (fig. 11c), takes in approximately the last 100 years before Christ's crucifixion.

Nor is this all. We suggest that there is a second overlap in the timeline--introduced in the present paper and therefore not characteristic of historicist exegesis generally--involving vv. 36-39.



Fig. 12. Extension of group 1 historicist timeline, showing two overlapping sections rather than one.

Figure 12 is now restated as fig. 13, with proposed historical duplications removed from the timeline and placed above it.



Fig. 13. Restatement of fig. 12, with historical duplications removed from the timeline and placed above it.

Note that the timeline which results from the above restatement is no longer discontinuous. According to fig. 13 an unbroken

chapter's timeline is allowed to be shaped by that reference; for group 2a the need to maintain an uninterrupted timeline is primary and the application of v. 22 is allowed to be shaped by that objective and its exegetical implications.

series of historical events in Dan 11 is provided by vv. 2-15, 23-35, and 40-45, i.e., the chapter apart from vv. 16-22 and 36-39.¹

There is a reason for both of the historical duplications indicated in fig. 13, which has to do with the special emphasis they lend to the subject matter. Dan 11 is a chapter of conflict. In one sense its opposed parties are the kings of the North and South, but over and beyond these human kings there must be seen the working of a more-than-human villain whose principles they illustrate in dealing with God's people. Here is the opposite counterpart of the chapter's Prince. Comparing these two figures makes a fascinating study in contrasts. Recall that vv. 16-22 lead up to the Prince's death and apparent defeat; vv. 36-39, on the other hand, deal with the villain's period of greatest success.² The one's place in the chapter is unobtrusive, that of the other marked and pompous. The existence of such sections as vv. 16-22 and 36-39 places forceful and contrasting emphasis on the narrative's two ultimate protagonists.

Structural Corollates

The relationship between vv. 16-22 and 36-39 is now taken up in greater detail. At issue is the matter of assigning relative emphasis to the chapter's more-than-human Prince and more-than-human villain. In order to approach this task as objectively as possible the structure of Dan 11 is examined from two different chiastic perspectives--that of v. 29 and that of v. 22.

¹See p. 142, fn. 1, above.

²The claim is not that in vv. 36-39 the king of the North is the chapter's larger villain, but rather that in the former's words and attitudes the latter's are accurately reflected.

A chiasm around v. 29

Periods of history

It is an interesting structural fact about vv. 16-22 and 36-39 taken together that the one verse grouping comes before the section it parallels historically (vv. 23-28), while the other comes after the section it parallels (vv. 29-35). The four groups of verses are related chiastically as follows.

	23-28	29-35	
16-22			36-39

Fig. 14. The chiastic relationship of vv. 16-22 and 36-39.

By adding the material that comes before v. 16 and after v. 39 the whole chapter is brought into chiastic form. But notice that this time, by contrast with pp. 105-23 above, the chiasm centers around v. 29.

	23-28	29-35	
	16-22		36-39
2-15			40-45

Fig. 15. The chiasm of fig. 14, with its center at v. 29, expanded to include the entire chapter.

Verses 2-15 are here taken as a single unit that covers a time from the beginning of the narrative to a point just before the introduction of Rome. Thus, in terms of the periods of history represented by its six verse groupings, the chiasm of fig. 15 has the form shown in fig. 16.

	Rome 1	Rome 2a	
	Rome 1	Rome 2a	
Before Rome			Rome 2b

Fig. 16. Periods of history represented by the verse groupings of the chiasm in fig. 15, in six-column format.

Rome phase 1, of course, corresponds to the Roman period--both Republic (1a) and Empire (1b), and Rome phase 2 corresponds to the Christian period--both past (2a) and future (2b).¹

Notice that the six-part ABCCEA chiasm in fig. 15 makes reference to only four periods of history (before Rome [A], Rome 1 [B, C], Rome 2a [C', B'], Rome 2b [A']). We now bring this insight into the summary by restating fig. 15 as fig. 17, with four columns rather than six.

23-28	29-35
16-22	36-39
2-15	40-45 .

Fig. 17. The chiasm of fig. 15 stated in four columns rather than six, based on the number of periods of history present within it.

Periods of history represented by the different parts of fig. 17 are now given in comparable four-column format in fig. 18.

¹See table 42, p. 145, above. Rome phase 1 is not subdivided in table 42, and notice it is not subdivided in fig. 16 either. Both references to Rome 1 take in both Republic and Empire, i.e., secular Rome. The chronological relationship between vv. 16-22 and 23-28 is one of substantial identity--both dealing with the period of the republic, the latter containing a proleptic statement about the empire in v. 24b.

Rome 1	Rome 2a		
Rome 1	Rome 2a		
Before Rome		Rome 2b	

Fig. 18. Periods of history represented by the verse groupings of the chiasm in fig. 17, in four-column format.

Just as the arrangement of columns in fig. 15 was simplified in fig. 17 (from six to four), so now the arrangement of rows in fig. 17 is simplified in fig. 19 (from three to two). Those verse groupings which make up the chapter's timeline form one row in fig. 19, and those which do not, form a second row above the first.

16-22	36-39		
2-15	23-28	29-35	40-45

Fig. 19. The chiasm of fig. 17 stated in two rows rather than three, based on which verse groupings do and do not participate directly in the chapter's timeline.

In terms of the literary relationships among its various parts, fig. 19 has the form shown in fig. 20.

	B	B'		
A	C	C'	A'	

Fig. 20. Literary relationships within the ABCCBA chiasm centered around v. 29, as stated in fig. 19.

The verse groupings in fig. 19 provide what amounts to an index or key to fig. 13, with supporting information supplied by figs. 18 and 20. For clarity of exposition fig. 13 is now restated, with only

relatively minor changes: The verse groupings of which its base consist are now represented by separate line segments of arbitrarily equal length, and all line segments are now given verse labels.

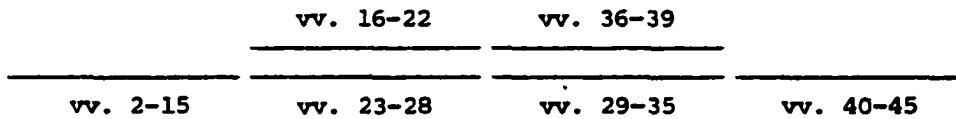


Fig. 21. The chiasm of fig. 19 stated in a line format comparable to that in fig. 13, but with the base divided into four arbitrarily equal parts corresponding to the four periods of history its component verse groupings represent.

One further permutation of the chiasm in fig. 19 remains to be introduced. It was pointed out earlier that vv. 16-22 precede the section they parallel historically, while vv. 36-39 follow the section they parallel. To help make this fact readily apparent within the summary, let the vertical arrangement of verse groupings in fig. 22 correspond to the linear arrangement they have within the chapter. Thus, vv. 16-22 must still be placed above vv. 23-28, since vv. 16-22 come before vv. 23-28; but vv. 36-39 are placed below vv. 29-35, since vv. 36-39 come after vv. 29-35.

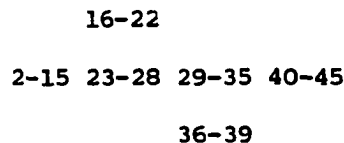


Fig. 22. The chiasm of fig. 19 stated in such a way that the vertical relationships of verse groupings reflect their linear ones within the chapter.

The arrangement of verse groupings in fig. 22 can now be restated in a line format comparable to that of fig. 21. See fig. 23.

vv. 16-22			
vv. 2-15	vv. 23-28	vv. 29-35	vv. 40-45
		vv. 36-39	

Fig. 23. The chiasm of fig. 22 stated in line format, with a correspondence between the vertical ordering of verse groupings in the table and linear ordering of verse groupings in the chapter.

Conflict motif

By contrast with almost all other verse groupings in the chapter neither vv. 16-22 nor vv. 36-39 exhibit the North-South conflict motif. Verses 2-4 and 30b-35 can both be viewed as isolated parts of larger sections¹--consisting respectively of vv. 2-15 (before Rome)² and 29-35 (Rome 2a)³--which do have the conflict motif. The important generalization to capture, therefore, is that those verse groupings which participate in the chapter's ongoing and substantially continuous flow of history do exhibit the conflict motif, while the two major verse groupings that do not participate in that flow of history do not exhibit the conflict motif. The two factors in question (timeline, conflict motif) vary together rather than separately.

In order to incorporate this important concept into the summary

¹For the distribution of the conflict motif in the chapter see tree diagram 12, p. 146, above.

²See p. 171, above.

³See table 42, p. 145; p. 172, above.

let vv. 2-15, 23-28, 29-35, and 40-45, which do have the conflict motif, be represented in fig. 24 by a double line; and let vv. 16-22 and 36-39, which do not have the motif, be represented by a single line.

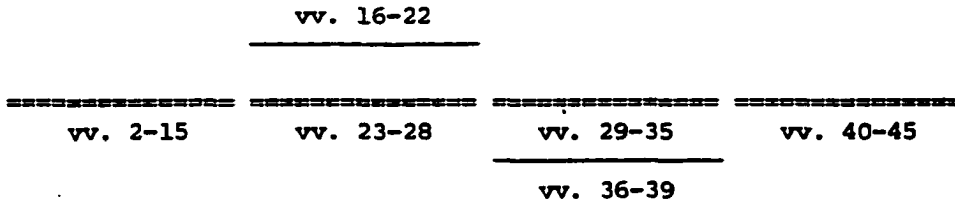


Fig. 24. The line summary of fig. 23, with double line representing the presence of the conflict motif and single line representing the absence of the conflict motif.

By way of balancing the present emphasis on how sections differ with an equal emphasis on their continuity, single lines are joined to double ones in fig. 25. This is especially appropriate in the case of vv. 16-22, since vv. 15 and 16 are brought together as a result; for vv. 36-39 see below.

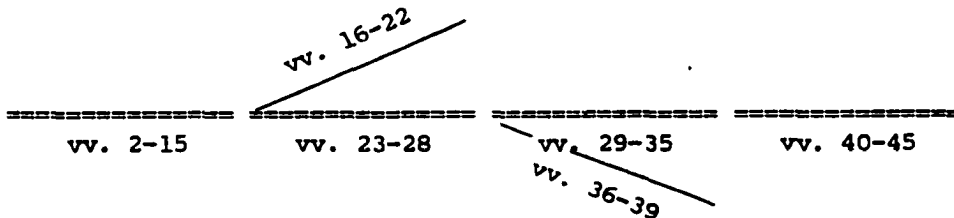


Fig. 25. The line summary of fig. 24, with single lines joined to double ones.

Literary style

The status of vv. 36-39 is the same as that of vv. 16-22 in certain respects, but fundamentally different in others. A point of

similarity is that neither section participates in the chapter's main timeline; another is that both bring emphasis to one of the chapter's more-than-human protagonists. But beyond this, there is a two-fold contrast between prose coupled with narration of historical events on the one hand (vv. 16-22) and poetry coupled with description of a characteristic state of affairs on the other (vv. 36-39).¹

The single most important difference between the two sections is not prose versus poetry, but narration as opposed to description. Verses 16-22 stand outside the chapter's main timeline, as the term has been used here,² because the events they narrate have a different historical goal than others in the chapter. Verses 36-39 also stand outside the chapter's timeline, but for different reasons. Verse 39 cannot be said to follow v. 36 in time in the same way that v. 22 follows v. 16. Instead statements within this section apply to a set of conditions that characterize the villain's entire period of unlimited success. Thus, vv. 2-15, 23-35, and 40-45 narrate a sequence of historical events that share a common historical goal. Verses 16-22 narrate a sequence of events that have a different historical goal and which lack a North/South conflict motif. Verses 36-39 do not narrate at all, but describe, and, since they exhibit no historical movement or goal, their contents are not and could not be part of the chapter's flow of history. These facts are summarized in table 48.

¹For background information related to this distinction see Bernard Comrie, Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 13, 24-40, 48-51.

²By "timeline" we mean that series of events which connects a narrative's earliest and latest points, and also its graphic representation on paper. The term is used in both senses above.

TABLE 48
NARRATION AND DESCRIPTION IN RELATION
TO THE CHAPTER'S TIMELINE

	Vv. 2-15, 23-35, 40-45	Vv. 16-22	Vv. 36-39
Participate in the chapter's timeline	+	-	-
Narrate a sequence of historical events	+	+	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "do," and let minus (-) be read "do not."

To mark the distinction between the two parts of the chapter that contain a goal-oriented progression of historical events and the one part that does not, I place a wedge-shaped mark on those segments ending at vv. 22 and 45. Let the presence of such a mark indicate narration; its absence, description. See fig. 26.

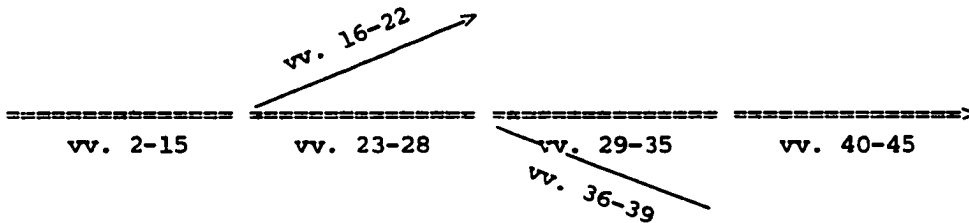


Fig. 26. The line summary of fig. 25, with wedge-shaped marks placed on line segments ending at vv. 22 and 45 to indicate a goal-oriented progression of historical events.

The dual narrative claimed earlier for Dan 11 is now defined.¹ It consists of those segments in fig. 26 which end at vv. 22 and 45 respectively--marked plus (+) for narration in table 48. We return to this matter after the following section has been presented.

The chiasm around v. 22

A simplified timeline summary--one which excludes vv. 36-39 from special consideration--is also possible, and the conclusions to be drawn from comparing it with that in fig. 26 are among the most important ones in the study.

Our starting point is the familiar chiastic outline summarized previously in tree diagram 15. The essential points of this outline are now restated in fig. 27. Note that fig. 27 has seven parts.

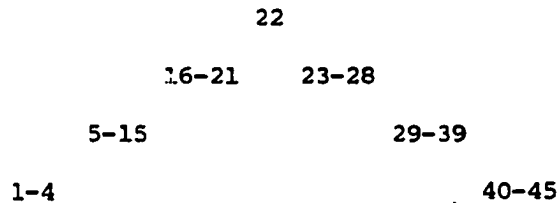


Fig. 27. Unmodified restatement of the chiastic outline from tree diagram 15. Seven parts.

It will first be necessary to move the chapter's initial verse division from vv. 4/5, as in fig. 25, to 2/3 ([1-4, 5-15] → [1-2, 3-15]), since present emphasis is not on the conflict motif (vv. 4/5) but on the fact that all of vv. 3-15 represent the Greek period of history. Next we change the beginning point to v. 2 ([1-2, 3-15] → [2, 3-15]).²

¹See pp. 135-37, 159-63, above.

²See pp. 152-54.

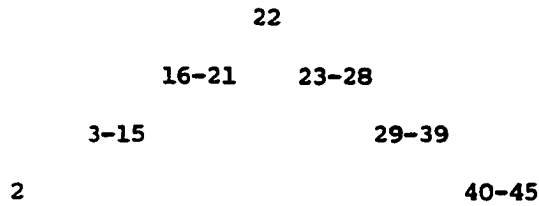


Fig. 28. The chiasm of fig. 27, with the chapter's first verse division moved from vv. 4/5 to 2/3. Seven parts.

A further change, made in tree diagram 14 on the basis of linear considerations, is to drop the division at vv. 21/22. The chiasm in this case has six parts rather than seven. See fig. 29.

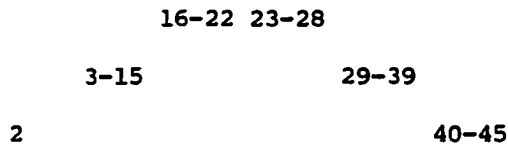


Fig. 29. The chiasm of fig. 28, with the division at vv. 21/22 omitted. Six parts.

In terms of periods of history fig. 29 has the form shown in fig. 30.

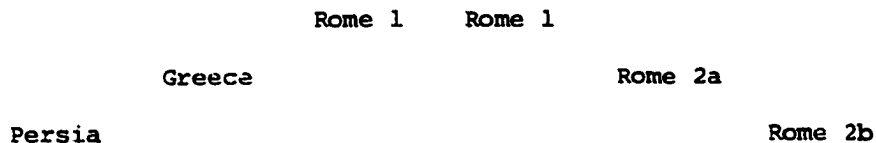


Fig. 30. The chiasm of fig. 29, stated in terms of periods of history represented by its verse groupings. Six parts.

There are six verse groupings represented in figs. 29 and 30, but only five periods of history. We now restate fig. 29 as fig. 31, with vv. 16-22 and 23-28--both of which represent Rome phase 1 historically--in a single column.

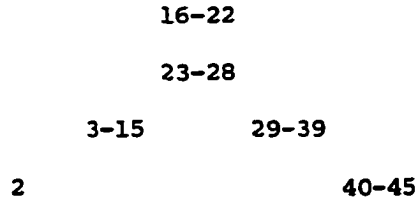


Fig. 31. The chiasm of fig. 29, with vv. 16-22 and 23-28 in one column representing one period of history (Rome I). Five columns.

Figure 31 can now be simplified by bringing vv. 23-28 down on the same line as vv. 3-15 and 29-39, which are adjacent and participate with them in the chapter's timeline, by contrast with vv. 16-22 which do not. The resulting arrangement, in fig. 32, has three rows rather than four.

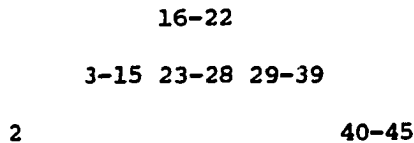


Fig. 32. The chiasm of fig. 31, with vv. 23-28 on the same level as vv. 3-15 and 29-39. Three rows.

It is a natural extension of fig. 32 to place all verse groupings that participate in the chapter's timeline on the same level. Such a simplified arrangement, shown in fig. 33, has two rows rather than three.

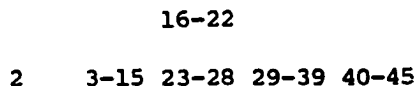


Fig. 33. The chiasm of fig. 32, with all verse groupings that participate in the chapter's timeline placed on the same level, by contrast with vv. 16-22 which alone do not. Two rows.

There is one further change to make. The number of periods of history in fig. 33, and of verse groupings representing them, is now reduced from five to three. The newly consolidated periods of history consist of time before Rome (this combines Persia [v. 2] and Greece [vv. 3-15]), during Rome 1 (same as above), and during Rome 2 (this combines Rome before the present up to the end of XVIII A.D. [vv. 29-39] and Rome extending into the future [vv. 40-45]). Consequently we have the following three verse groupings making up the chapter's timeline: vv. 2-15, 23-28, and 29-45. These facts are summarized in fig. 34.

16-22

2-15 23-28 29-45

Fig. 34. The chiasm of fig. 33, with a timeline made up of verse groupings representing only three periods of history (before Rome, Rome 1, Rome 2). Three columns, two rows.

At this point the information in fig. 34 is restated in a format comparable to that of fig. 24, above.

vv. 16-22

=====

vv. 2-15

=====

vv. 23-28

=====

vv. 29-45

Fig. 35. The chiasm of fig. 34 in line format, as in fig. 24.

And finally, fig. 35 is restated as fig. 36, with vv. 16-22 joined to the timeline and with the goal-oriented flow of historical narrative in both parts of the chapter indicated by means of wedged-shaped marks.

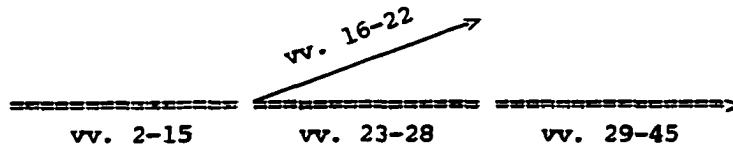


Fig. 36. The line summary of fig. 35, with single and double lines joined and wedge-shaped marks in place indicating a goal-oriented progression of historical events.

Other comments¹

The three-part summary in fig. 36 and four-part summary in fig. 26 are now both repeated, with the one piece of information added which completes them--an indication of what the historical goal-orientation of their narrative portions is oriented toward. We submit that the overall sense of goal direction in both narratives, whether in fig. 37 (36) or fig. 38 (26), is one that is based on and directly focuses on Christ at His two comings.

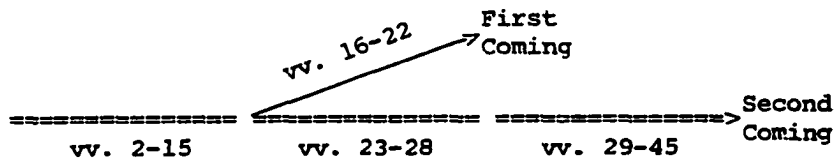


Fig. 37. Final three-part summary of the timeline in Dan 11.

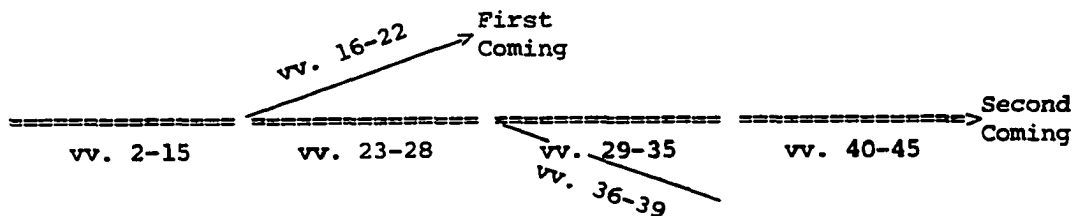


Fig. 38. Final four-part summary of the timeline in Dan 11.

¹These remarks complete the section entitled, "Structural Corollates," begun on p. 169, above.

The primary similarity between the three-part summary in fig. 37 and the four-part summary in fig. 38 is that both contain two streams of narrative, culminating at 11:22 and 12:1, respectively. Thus, in both cases, vv. 16-22 have one focus of attention and vv. 23-45--whether with (fig. 37) or without (fig. 38) vv. 36-39--have another. The primary difference is that fig. 37 has one group of verses (vv. 16-22) isolated from the timeline while fig. 38 has two (vv. 16-22, 36-39),¹ not that the one has three parts while the other has four.

So far two major claims have been made about the chapter's Prince. We argued in chapter I that Christ is present in the narrative of Dan 11.² This first claim was based on 11:22. In the sections of chapter II entitled "Chiastic Structure"³ and "Linear Structure"⁴ we then argued that more than being present in Dan 11 Christ is prominent there. This second claim was based on the relationship between 11:22 and 12:1, and on the existence of two distinct yet complementary streams of narrative leading up to these verses and oriented toward them.

A third claim--based on the relationship between 11:16-22 and 36-39--has been made available more recently by the section entitled "Synthesis of Structures,"⁵ viz., that more than being prominent in Dan 11 Christ is the central consideration of the entire narrative. Now

¹The one fact follows from the other. Removing vv. 36-39 from vv. 29-45 causes the latter to be subdivided, which produces a four-section timeline. What comes first is the isolating of vv. 36-39, not the subdividing of vv. 29-45, although the practical result is the same.

²See pp. 85-103 in particular.

³Pp. 105-29.

⁴Pp. 129-63.

⁵This section begins on p. 163. See especially pp. 169 ff.

the villain is everywhere present in Dan 11, while the Prince is mentioned only twice. But deciding the relative importance of these protagonists isn't just a matter of counting verses. An illustration may help to make this point clear.

Whenever one travels at least one major consideration must be the point of arrival, although the time spent arriving is hardly a fraction of the time spent traveling so as to be able to do so. The significance of the event bears no relation to the actual amount of time it occupies. Similarly, the small number of verses in which the Prince is mentioned in Dan 11 can't by itself be taken as an adequate measure of His importance there, because the verses where He does appear are points on which the whole chapter focuses. Returning to the illustration, a traveler's destination is never totally absent from his or her awareness. This awareness may not be acute at any given time, but it will be pervasive, and each facet of the trip will have to be seen in relation to such goal direction or fail to be understood. In the same way, each verse before us may be said to require a certain awareness of Christ. The full meaning of each will be found only in its bearing on Him, and on His place in the history it helps to convey.

Such cannot be said about the chapter's villain. The chiasm around v. 29 (in fig. 38) which brings the villain to prominence includes the Prince equally, while the chiasm around v. 22 (in fig. 37) which brings the Prince to prominence says nothing about the villain. See table 49.

TABLE 49
 RELATIVE PROMINENCE OF THE
 PRINCE AND THE VILLAIN

Context	Prince	Villain
The chiasm around v. 29 . . .	+	+
The chiasm around v. 22 . . .	+	-

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "is prominent in," and let minus (-) be read "is not prominent in."

Thus, the *similarities* between figs. 37 and 38 make available the paper's second most important point--that within Dan 11 there are two narratives, leading up to Christ's two direct invasions of human history at His two advents respectively. And the *differences* between figs. 37 and 38 make available the paper's single most important point--that within Dan 11 the Prince is more prominent than the villain. Both summaries are valid, but they differ; and their differences are instructive.

Other Comments¹

The series of major structural claims found above in fig. 8 could be completed by either of the two summaries just discussed. The better of the two for present purposes, however, is the four-part summary in fig. 38. The three-part summary in fig. 37 trims away details of secondary importance which have the effect of obscuring those that

¹These remarks complete the section entitled, "Synthesis of Structures," begun on p. 163.

are truly primary, but at this point it is desirable to include all details so as not to lose information. The summary in fig. 8 is now restated as fig. 39, with fig. 38 as its fourth and final member.

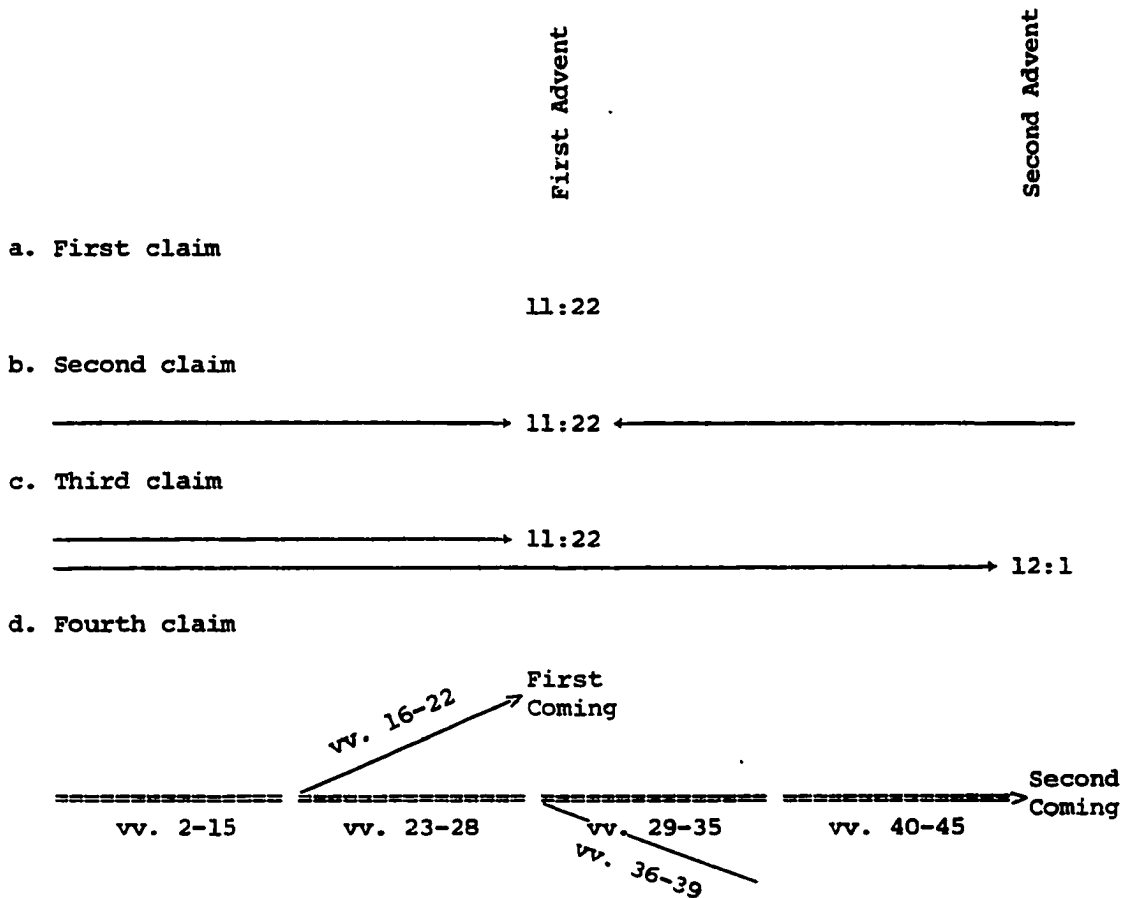


Fig. 39. Comparison of four claims made with regard to the fact of Christ's presence in 11:22 (a), His presence in 11:22 as sole focus of a chiastic outline (b), His presence in both 11:22 and 12:1 as dual focus of a linear outline (c), and the concept that there are two distinct yet complementary streams of narrative leading up to the chapter's two historical goals (d).

Conclusion

The challenge of the present chapter has been to provide a structural context for the claim that Dan 11:22 refers to Christ. What the chapter has in fact shown is, first, that the verse cited forms the center of a chiasm spanning all of Dan 10-12; second, that in terms of linear structure there is not only one major reference to Christ (in 11:22) but two (in 11:22 and 12:1); and third, that the concept of two such references is supported by a distinction between two overlapping streams of narrative within the chapter. Thus, Christ is the focal point toward which Gabriel's entire discourse is oriented, and the further claim is made that Christ is not only present in Dan 11 but prominent there.

This is not to say that the villain in Dan 11 is not prominent in his own right. On the contrary, his work is everywhere evident. Without it God's people would not face such dire challenges or find themselves in such constant peril. But while the villain's activity occupies much of the course of the narrative, it is not the goal toward which any part of it moves. Since Christ, on the other hand, is twice over the focal point of the angel's narrative in Dan 11, He may be said, in an important and useful sense, to be the narrative's most prominent feature.

Our next task, taken up in chapter III, is to show that the two-part outline format proposed here for Dan 11 has a well-established precedent in Dan 8-9.

CHAPTER III

PARALLELS

The purpose of the following discussion is to show that, at least for Seventh-day Adventist readers, there is a familiar precedent within Daniel for the concept of an outline format which contains two overlapping streams of narrative with different historical goals,¹ such as that proposed for chap. 11 earlier in the study. The part of Daniel compared with chap. 11 below is the two-fold time prophecy of Dan 8-9, which includes both the 70 weeks of Dan 9:24-27 and the 2300 days of Dan 8:1-14. The relationship between the 70 weeks and the 2300 days is asserted to be parallel with that between outline segments 1-2 and 1-3 of Dan 11, as shown in fig. 38 (repeated above as fig. 39d).²

¹Note: two streams of narrative (leading to 11:22 and 12:1 in the case previously discussed), not two structural principles such as chiastic and linear. A two-part outline format for Dan 11 could in fact be maintained, though less articulately, without reference to the chapter's chiastic structure. The latter merely serves to clarify the fact that a verse at the center of the narrative must share attention equally with those at its end. In comparing Dan 8-9 with Dan 11, as opposed to taking the latter in isolation, however, there is no basis for misunderstanding. Any parallel between the dual narratives that characterize both of these prophecies must be predicated on their linear structure, because Dan 8-9 does not have the same type of broad all-encompassing chiastic framework that Dan 10-12 does. This is not to deny the possibility of smaller chiasms within Dan 8 (see Shea, "Daniel and the Judgment," pp. 398-414).

²The goals of the present chapter are best served by using the four-part linear outline of fig. 38 (39d) as a basis for discussion rather than the three-part linear outline of fig. 37. All references to outline segments 1-3 should be understood in the context of fig. 38 (three segments out of four), not fig. 37 (three segments out of three).

First Part of the Parallel: Dan 11

The task of this section and the next is to summarize, introduce, and arrange the relevant information from chaps. 11 and 8-9 in such a way that the comparisons to be made subsequently are easily understood by the reader. Our starting point is fig. 39d.

The only historical points of reference given in fig. 39 were the two comings of Christ, and these were indicated only in general terms. It will be useful at this point to specify a time frame for each of the major subdivisions, or outline segments, of fig. 39d, which is now repeated as fig. 40 with further time information added.

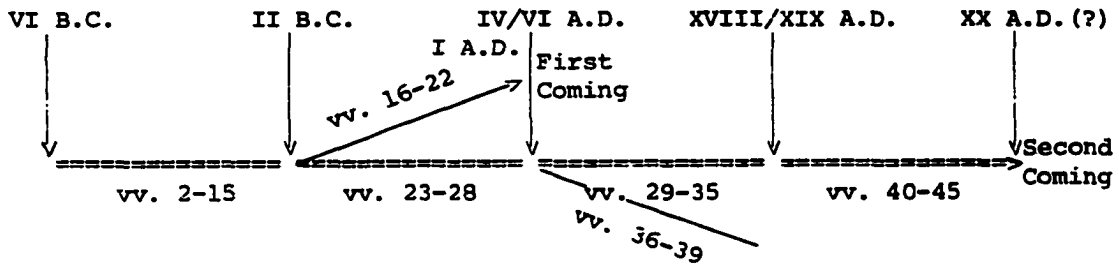


Fig. 40. Restatement of fig. 39d with approximate time information specified for each segment of the outline.

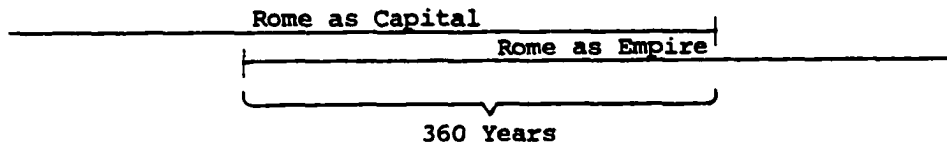
In fig. 40 outline segment 1 (vv. 2-15) extends from the beginning of the Persian world power (VI B.C.) to a point just before the entrance of Rome into the prophecy (II B.C.). Outline segment 2 contains two parts which must be distinguished, even though they occur in parallel, because of a brief but far-reaching proleptic statement regarding time in v. 24b.¹ The first part of segment 2 (vv. 16-22) extends from

¹In fig. 40 vv. 16-22 are parallel to vv. 23-28 and both are applied to the time of Rome's rise as a republic, its early involvement

the entrance of Rome into the prophecy (II B.C.) to the first coming of Christ (I A.D.), while the other (vv. 23-28) covers Rome's beginnings as a world power (II B.C. and before) to the end of the city of Rome's status as capital of the Empire (IV B.C.).¹ Outline segment 3 extends from the beginning of the city of Rome's status as seat of the primary

with God's people in Palestine, and its first few years as an empire. Verse 24b, however, looks forward briefly to a time in the early fourth century A.D. when the seat of government was moved from Rome to Constantinople. Dan 11:24b says, "He will plot the overthrow of fortresses--but only for a time."

¹The phrase "but only for a time" (wə^cad cēt), mentioned above, could be understood in one of two different ways. It could be taken as the equivalent of "but only for a while," i.e., in a general sense; or it could be taken as the equivalent of "but only for a prophetic 'time' or year," i.e., 360 literal years. (For an introduction to this topic see Smith, Daniel and Revelation, p. 533.) The latter choice is to be preferred, since, if Rome as a capital city is the focus of the remark in v. 24b, the length of time during which it was the seat of empire was in fact 360 years. We count this period starting from Octavian's victory over Antony at Actium in 31 B.C. (not from 27 B.C. [see Peters, Harvest of Helenism, pp. 386-87]; without Actium the legal manipulations of 27 B.C. would have been meaningless) to the time when Constantine finally moved his capital from Rome to Constantinople in A.D. 330 (see H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney, eds., The Cambridge Mediaeval History, 8 vols. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947], 1:16-18). The pivotal importance of Actium in Roman history is certainly defensible and the date for the moving of the capital to Constantinople is not subject to interpretation. There was a Rome long before there was a Roman Empire, and there was a Roman Empire long after the city of Rome had ceased to be its capital. But the time during which Rome as capital and Rome as empire coincided was 360 years, as shown below.



What we propose, then, is not that 360 years transpired as discussed above, but that the fact of such a 360-year period is prophetically significant. Otherwise one would have to argue that the occurrence of the term cēt in 11:24 (familiar from 12:7) and the lapse of 360 years in a history of such vital importance to God's people are coincidental with reference to each other. In our view this is unlikely.

bishop of the Empire (VI A.D.) to the "time of the end" (v. 35, XVIII/XIX A.D.). And outline segment 4 extends from the beginning of the "time of the end" (v. 40, XVIII/XIX A.D.) to the second coming of Christ (XX A.D. [?]).

It is important to bear in mind the claim that the narrative of 11:2-15, 23-35, 40-45 is essentially an unbroken one historically. There is no historical break at either vv. 15/23 or vv. 35/40. Since our initial emphasis is on events preceding v. 40, we exclude vv. 40-45 at this point and include vv. 36-39. Thus, the two parts of Dan 11 that serve as a first basis for comparison with Dan 8-9 below can be stated as vv. 2-22 (outline segments 1-2) and vv. 2-15, 23-39 (outline segments 1-3), respectively.

The information relating to time for outline segments 1-2 and 1-3 is now abstracted from fig. 40 and stated differently in a simplified format as fig. 41, with suggestions indicated as to specific dates rather than broad timeframes alone.

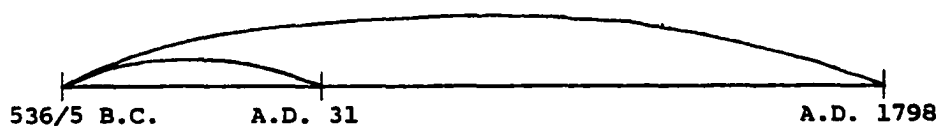


Fig. 41. Specific time relationships of outline segments 1-2 (536/5 B.C.-A.D. 31) and 1-3 (536/5 B.C.-A.D. 1798).

In fig. 41 the date 536/5 B.C. represents the third year of Cyrus, based on Dan 11:2;¹ A.D. 31 represents the crucifixion of Christ, based

¹The timeframe for Dan 11:2, where the relevant part of the narrative begins (see pp. 152-57, above), is "the third year of Cyrus king of Persia" (Dan 10:1). The first regnal year of Cyrus extended from March 24, 538 to March 11, 537 B.C. (Shea, "An Unrecognized Vassal

Dan 11:22;¹ and A.D. 1798 is extrapolated from Dan 7:25 and 12:7, along with other related passages.² With fig. 41 material for the first part of the parallel is complete.

Second Part of the Parallel: Dan 8-9

The two-part outline format shown in fig. 41 for Dan 11 is compared below to that of the two-part time prophecy of Dan 8-9,³ which contains both the 70 weeks of Dan 9:24-27 and the 2300 days of Dan 8:1-14. Both of these passages must be discussed individually before the relationship between them can be pointed out, and this in turn must be done before the parallel between Dan 8-9 and Dan 11 can be drawn.

King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period," part II, Andrews University Seminary Studies 9 [1971]:108). Thus, the third regnal year of Cyrus would be 536/5 B.C., counted from spring to spring. Maxwell, God Cares, p. 258, raises the possibility, however, that Daniel was using a dating system based on the Jewish fall to fall civil calendar, and says, "The time [of Dan 10:1] was spring in the 'third year of King Cyrus,' probably 535 B.C. Seventy years had passed since Daniel had been compelled to accompany Nebuchadnezzar's army on its march from Jerusalem to Babylon" (ibid.).

¹See Maxwell, *ibid.*, pp. 215-19, for an excellent discussion of the issues involved in dating both the baptism and crucifixion of Christ. The date A.D. 31 in fig. 41 refers to the crucifixion.

²Rev 11:2, 3; 12:6, 14; 13:5. The "time of the end" is a technical term in Daniel (see N. Weider, "The Term $\text{וְ\text{עַל}}$ in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Hebrew Liturgical Poetry," Journal of Jewish Studies 5 [1954]:22-31; Bruce William Jones, "Ideas of History in the Book of Daniel" [Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1972], pp. 278-88), and it has become a technical term in the work of historicist writers. For discussion of this term in historicist usage see Damsteegt, Adventist Message and Mission, pp. 2021, and elsewhere; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:226-45, 845-47, 1118-19. Another useful source is C. Mervyn Maxwell, "An Exegetical and Historical Examination of the Beginning and Ending of the 1260 Days of Prophecy with Special Attention to A.D. 538 and 1798 as Initial and Terminal Dates" (M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1951).

³See Shea, "The Relationship between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9," 228-50.

The 70 Weeks (Dan 9:24-27)¹

From earliest times it has been a teaching of the Christian church that Dan 9:24-27 points forward to Christ at His first coming. Both Eusebius (writing IV A.D.) and Jerome (writing IV/V A.D.) were quoted as applying the 70-weeks prophecy to Christ,² and there is no reason to change this interpretation. It comes down to later generations with unimpeachable credentials.³ According to a majority of historicist scholars the 70 weeks extend from 457 B.C. to A.D. 34, as shown in fig. 42.⁴

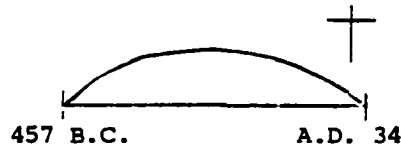


Fig. 42. The 70 weeks of Dan 9:24-27, as applied by a majority of historicist scholars (457 B.C.-A.D. 34).

¹ (24) "Seventy 'weeks' are decreed for your people and your holy city to finish transgression, to put an end to sin, to atone for wickedness, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal up vision and prophecy and to anoint the most holy.

(25) "Know and understand this: From the issuing of the decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem until the Anointed One, the ruler, comes there will be seven 'weeks,' and sixty-two 'weeks.' It will be rebuilt with streets and a trench, but in times of trouble. (26) After the sixty-two 'weeks,' the Anointed One will be cut off and will have nothing. The people of the ruler who will come will destroy the city and the sanctuary. The end will come like a flood: War will continue until the end, and desolations have been decreed. (27) He will confirm a covenant with many for one 'week,' but in the middle of that 'week' he will put an end to sacrifice and offering. And one who causes desolation will come on the wings of abominations until the end that is decreed is poured out on him" (margin).

² See pp. 87-89, above.

³ A discussion of the hermeneutical principles on which a messianic interpretation of the 70 weeks prophecy is predicated are given in a subsequent footnote.

⁴ See Fromm, Prophetic Faith, 4:846-47, 1118-19, also 1289.

The 2300 Days (Dan 8:1-14)¹

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a large number of Protestants, and some Catholics,² in the Americas and in

¹(1) In the third year of King Belshazzar's reign, I, Daniel, had a vision [*hāzōn*], after the one that had already appeared to me. (2) In my vision I saw myself in the citadel of Susa in the province of Elam; in the vision I was beside the Ulai Canal. (3) I looked up, and there before me was a ram with two horns, standing beside the canal, and the horns were long. One of the horns was longer than the other but grew up later. (4) I watched the ram as he charged toward the west and the north and the south. No animal could stand against him, and none could rescue from his power. He did as he pleased and became great.

(5) As I was thinking about this, suddenly a goat with a prominent horn between his eyes came from the west, crossing the whole earth without touching the ground. (6) He came toward the two-horned ram I had seen standing beside the canal and charged at him in great rage.

(7) I saw him attack the ram furiously, striking the ram and shattering his two horns. The ram was powerless to stand against him; the goat knocked him to the ground and trampled on him, and none could rescue the ram from his power. (8) The goat became very great, but at the height of his power his large horn was broken off, and in its place four prominent horns grew up toward the four winds of heaven.

(9) Out of one of them came another horn, which started small but 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.

(13) Then I heard a holy one speaking, and another holy one said to him, "How long will it take for the vision [*hehāzōn*] to be fulfilled--the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, the rebellion that causes desolation, and the surrender of the sanctuary and of the host that will be trampled underfoot?"

(14) He said to me, "It will take 2,300 evenings and mornings [*āreb-bōqer*]; then the sanctuary will be reconsecrated [*waniṣdaq qōdeš*]."

²See Alfredo Felix Vaucher, Lacunza, un heraldo de la segunda venida de Cristo (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1970).

Europe, made the 2300 days of Dan 8:1-14 an object of intensive study.¹ This prophecy was approached in the same way as the 70 weeks, i.e., by means of the same hermeneutical principles. Inherent in a messianic interpretation of the 70 weeks is what historicists call the day-year principle, whereby each "day" in the prophetic time period represents a literal year.² And now, since the day-year principle had provided a

¹See Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:204-851 passim, also 1290.

²One need look no farther than the text of the 70-weeks prophecy to find Scriptural support for the day-year principle; it is contained in the Hebrew of Dan 9:24-27 itself. Consider the crucial term $\text{šābū}^{\text{c}}\text{īm}$ in v. 24, which with its present vocalization means "weeks." Both this word and the one translated "seventy" ($\text{šib}^{\text{c}}\text{īm}$) have the same consonant letters ($\text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym} \text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym}$). The letters $\text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym} \text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym}$ could be vocalized $\text{šib}^{\text{c}}\text{īm} \text{šib}^{\text{c}}\text{īm}$ ("seventy seventies"), $\text{šib}^{\text{c}}\text{īm} \text{šābū}^{\text{c}}\text{īm}$ ("seventy weeks"), or $\text{šābū}^{\text{c}}\text{īm} \text{šib}^{\text{c}}\text{īm}$ as the text actually reads (also "seventy weeks"). (See A. E. Cowley, trans., Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, as Edited and Enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch, 2nd English ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980], pp. 290-91, §97f, as regards the acceptability of both word orders--numeral noun, noun numeral.) The only other possibility is not viable, since $\text{*šābū}^{\text{c}}\text{īm} \text{šābū}^{\text{c}}\text{īm}$ would be automatically changed by morphological rules to $\text{šābū}^{\text{c}}\text{ē} \text{šābū}^{\text{c}}\text{īm}$ "weeks of weeks" ("weeks" taken in groups of seven?), which has the nonattested consonant letters $\text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{y} \text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym}$. With two vocalizations, there can only be four combinations.

But in any event altering the text to accommodate this last reading would not eliminate the concept of the weekly cycle ("weeks of weeks!"); a singular form is required to do that. Note the following from Gesenius (ibid.): "The tens from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the units (so that the plural here always stands for ten times the unit), thus, 30, שְׁלֹשִׁים , 40, אַרְבָּעִים , 50, חֲמֵשִׁים , 60, שִׁשִּׁים , 70, שִׁבְעִים , 80, חֲמִשָּׁנִים , 90." So whenever the numeral šēba^{c} "seven" is expressed in plural form ($\text{šib}^{\text{c}}\text{īm}$) the meaning is not "sevens," but "seventy." To say "sevens" the singular would have to be used, preceded by a numeral that indicates how many sevens are meant, e.g., $\text{šēba}^{\text{c}} \text{šib}^{\text{c}}\text{īm}$ "seventy 'sevens'"--with the consonant letters $\text{šb}^{\text{c}} \text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym}$. This is one argument; the plural of "week" is "weeks," but the plural of "seven" is "seventy," so only the former reading ("weeks") is plausible in 9:24.

A second argument, which makes the first unavoidable, rests on the corresponding singular in 9:27, spelled šbw^{c} . In this form the word can only mean "week"; "seven" lacks the letter w. So if the translation is to be "seven(s)" in Dan 9:24-27, šbw^{c} would have to be changed to šb^{c} in v. 27 and $\text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym} \text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym}$ would have to be changed to $\text{šb}^{\text{c}} \text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym}$ in v. 24. Such activity is not translation but textual criticism. The only correct translation of $\text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym} \text{šb}^{\text{c}}\text{ym}$ in the present context is "seventy

basis for correctly understanding the 70 weeks of Dan 9, it was applied to the 2300 days of Dan 8--on the premise that the two prophecies were closely related, which in fact they are. It is important to emphasize that no new principle of interpretation was introduced in this way. Entirely to the contrary, equating a "day" in prophecy with a year in history was as old as the earliest church fathers' writings.¹ The only

weeks," and the only correct translation of šbw^c here or elsewhere is "week." If these two claims are factually accurate the day-year principle is inherent in the Hebrew text of the prophecy.

We now assert that such a conclusion is not only required by grammar but entirely natural exegetically. It is a popularly held view that in Dan 8 the number 2300 refers to units of activity. Thus, 1150 evening sacrifices plus 1150 morning sacrifices make up a total of 2300 sacrifices, and the 2300 evening-mornings are equivalent to 1150 days. It is also popularly believed that in Dan 9 the number 70 refers to abstract units of seven. Thus, little connection is seen to exist between the two chapters on this basis. It would be very natural, however, to interpret the number 2300 as referring to units of time (2300 evening-mornings equivalent to 2300 days), and the number 70 also as referring to units of time (70 weeks). In this case the ongoing cycle of daily sacrifices is arranged in groups--by days in Dan 8 (two sacrifices per day), and by weeks in Dan 9 (seven sacrifice pairs per week). (Such a relationship, incidentally, demonstrates the unity of the symbol, not the absence of symbolism.)

We submit that, from both a linguistic and an exegetical point of view, the day-year principle is fully Scriptural. It is inseparably linked to the Hebrew text of Dan 9:24-27; the one is neither more nor less secure than the other.

¹Consider the following series of quotations abstracted from Jerome (Gleason L. Archer, Jr., trans., Jerome's Commentary on Daniel [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958; paperback edition, 1977]), writing in approximately A.D. 400. Jerome's approach to Dan 9:24-27 is primarily that of summarizing the views of earlier commentators. (Minor editorial notes have been omitted without comment below.) "And so, because thou dost supplicate for Jerusalem and prayest for the people of the Jews, hearken unto that which shall befall thy people in seventy weeks of years, and those things which will happen to thy city" (Jerome, paraphrasing the passage from Dan 9, p. 95); "There is no doubt but what it constitutes a prediction of Christ's advent, for He appeared to the world at the end of seventy weeks. . . . These fifty-nine plus eight-year periods produce enough intercalary months to make up fifteen years, more or less; and if you will add these fifteen years to the four hundred seventy-five years, you will come out to seventy weeks of

years, that is, a total of four hundred and ninety years'" (quoting Africarus, pp. 95, 97-98); "'That is to say, the purpose is that seven weeks be counted off, and then afterward sixty-two weeks, which come to a total of four hundred and eighty-three years after the time of Cyrus'" (quoting Eusebius Pamphili, p. 99).

"This same Eusebius reports another view as well, which I do not entirely reject, that most authorities extend the one [last] week of years to the sum of seventy years, reckoning each year as a ten-year period [reading the corrupt *upputatio* as *supputatio*]. They also claim that thirty-five years intervened between the passion of the Lord and the reign of Nero, and that it was at this latter date when the weapons of Rome were first lifted up against the Jews, this being the half-way point of the week of seventy years. After that, indeed, from the time of Vespasian and Titus (and it was right after their accession to power that Jerusalem and the temple were burned) up to the reign of Trajan another thirty-five years elapsed. And this, they assert, was the week of which the angel said to Daniel: 'And he shall establish a compact with many for one week.' For the Gospel was preached by the Apostles all over the world, since they survived even unto that late date. According to the tradition of the church historians, John the Evangelist lived up to the time of Trajan. Yet I am at a loss to know how we can understand the earlier seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks to involve seven years each, and just this last one to involve ten years for each unit of the seven, or seventy years in all" (pp. 102-3). It is the fact that the issue was discussed that draws our attention here.

"For from the coming forth of the Word, when Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, to the forty-ninth year, that is, the end of the seven weeks [God] waited for Israel to repent'" (quoting Apollinarius of Laodicea, p. 104, who also espouses an unusual interpretation but makes use of the day-year principle in doing so).

"When Origen came to deal with [reading *praefuisset* instead of *profuisset*] this chapter, . . . he made this brief observation in the tenth volume of the *Stromata*: 'We must quite carefully ascertain the amount of time between the first year of Darius, the son of Ahasuerus, and the advent of Christ, and discover how many years were involved, and what events are said to have occurred during them. Then we must see whether we can fit these data in with the time of the Lord's coming'" (quoting Origen, pp. 105-6); "'How, then, are we to show that Christ came within the sixty-two weeks? . . . Let us see, then, how the years are fulfilled up to the advent of Christ'" (quoting Tertullian, p. 106).

The fact that among the various writers quoted there is a certain diversity of opinion on matters of detail is not surprising and is even expected. However, to draw primarily from these quotations that such diversity existed is to miss the essential point. All the varieties of exegesis listed are messianic in nature and all presuppose some form of the day-year principle. A theme must exist before there can be variations on it; the similarities outweigh the differences. It is clear that the day-year principle was universally accepted as valid by the early Christian church. It is by no means a recent innovation.

innovation was to apply that principle to the 2300 days as well as the 70 weeks. Such a method for the exegesis of a new passage is certainly sound from a procedural standpoint, and the result of calculations based on it deserves the serious consideration of any Biblical scholar. As a result of this work historicist interpreters concluded that the 2300 days extend from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1844.¹

Relating Dan 8 and Dan 9

The 70 weeks are a time period in their own right, but end with, and begin with, two larger time prophecies, respectively.

The period that ended together with the 70 weeks was that during which one group more than any other had the special privilege of being God's chosen people. That privileged status began with God's promises to Abraham (Abram) in Gen 12, and according to Dan 9:27 ended some three and a half years after Christ's death on the cross.² See fig. 43.

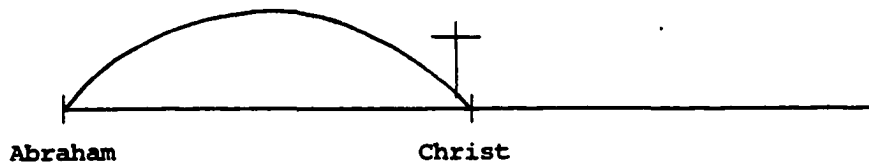


Fig. 43. The period, from Abraham to Christ, during which God had a chosen people whose privileges were defined in terms of physical descent.

¹For discussion see Damsteegt, Adventist Message and Mission, pp. 84-100; see also Maxwell, God Cares, pp. 153-81.

²It is important to notice that Christ died in the middle of the seventieth week, not at its end. ("... in the middle of that "week" he will put an end to sacrifice and offering" [Dan 9:27, margin].) Conversely it was at the end of the seventieth week that the

The period that began together with the 70 weeks was the 2300 days of the preceding chapter, shown in fig. 44.

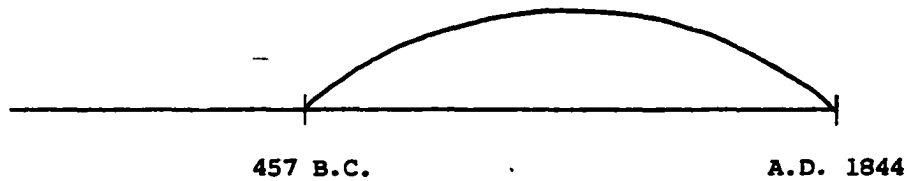


Fig. 44. The 2300 days of Dan 8:1-14, as applied by a majority of historicist scholars (457 B.C.-A.D. 1844).

The two larger time periods given individually in figs. 43 and 44, above, are now shown together in fig. 45. Their intersection--the time during which they occur together--is here asserted to be identical with the 70 weeks of Dan 9.

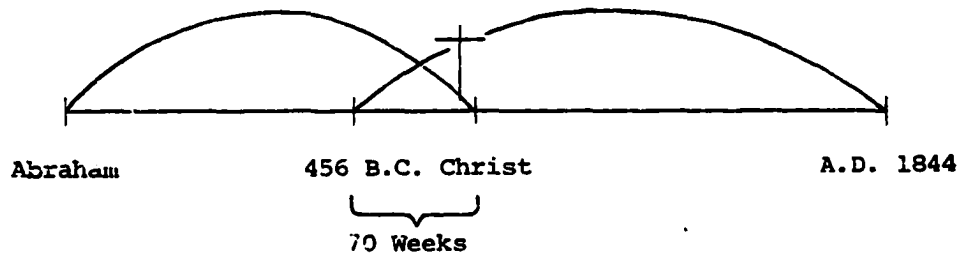


Fig. 45. The 70 weeks of Dan 9, defined as the intersection of fig. 43 (Abraham to Christ) and fig. 44 (457 B.C.-A.D. 1844).

period of the Jews' special status as God's chosen people ended, and not in the middle. ("He will confirm a covenant with many for one "week," . . ."[Dan 9:27, margin]--not for half a week only.) The two events are not the same; they come approximately three and a half years distant from each other, according to the verse quoted. In figs. 43 and 45 the word "Christ" should be taken in a general sense as a reference to the end, and not the middle, of the seventieth week, i.e. to A.D. 34 rather than A.D. 31. Thus, the point of emphasis is the closeness of the relationship between Christ's death and the end of the 70 weeks, even though His death and the end of that lengthy time period are not technically identical.

Thus, the claim in fig. 45 is that Dan 9:27 marks the end not only of the 70 weeks but of the period during which God had a chosen people based on physical descent, which had been the case ever since Abraham.¹ And Dan 9:24 marks the beginning not only of the 70 weeks but also of the 2300 days, which together form a single time prophecy having two separate and distinct historical goals.

Those parts of fig. 45 which pertain to the 70 weeks and 2300 days alone--i.e., omitting the earlier part that deals with Abraham--are now restated as fig. 46. With fig. 46 material for the second part of the parallel is complete.

¹"God did not reject his people, whom he foreknew" (Rom 11:2). But He did eventually remove the last of their special privileges. This is an important distinction to bear in mind. The chosen people were subsequently any and all who accepted the chosen Person--Jesus Christ. And so Paul could say, "He redeemed us in order that the blessing given to Abraham might come to the Gentiles through Christ Jesus, so that by faith we might receive the promise of the Spirit" (Gal 3:14). And not only this. Within the chosen people only a certain number had the further advantage of being a firstborn son, but in Christ--"the firstborn over all creation" (Col 1:15)--every believer has that advantage. So the blessing was not only transferred to the church; it was augmented in the process. Christ took the liabilities that were ours so as to give us the privileges that are His. The nature of the relationship is an exchange. But the blessings have no independent existence; they are inseparably associated with Christ, so that whoever has Christ has the covenant blessings and whoever does not have the one does not have the other. Thus, as regards Israel, there is no divine bias against Jews and no divine bias in favor of Jews. Any individual Jew--such as Paul--can have all the blessings of Christ, if he or she freely accepts Christ. And so can any individual Gentile. What God did with the covenant blessings He removed from Israel at the end of the 70 weeks, therefore, was to distribute them from one end of the earth to the other, wherever the gospel is preached and believed.

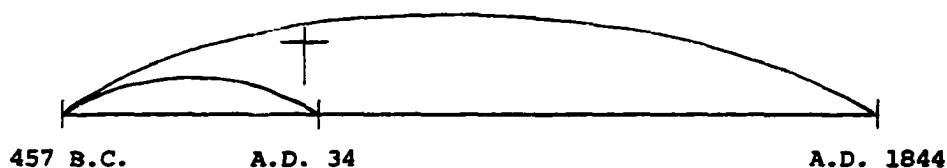


Fig. 46. Specific time relationships of the 70 weeks (457 B.C.-A.D. 34) and 2300 days (457 B.C.-A.D. 1844).

Drawing the Proposed Parallel
between Dan 8-9 and Dan 11

The present section draws together the similarities between Dan 8-9 and Dan 11. Fig. 41 is now repeated for ease of reference.

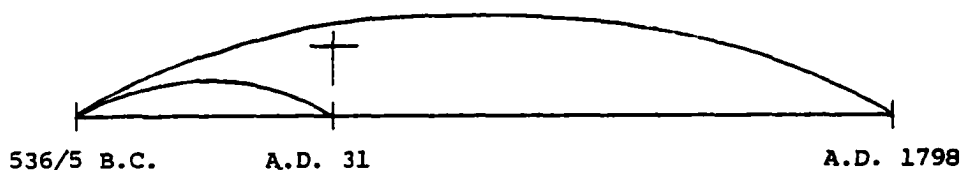


Fig. 41. Specific time relationships of outline segments 1-2 (536/5 B.C.-A.D. 31) and 1-3 (536/5 B.C.-A.D. 1798).

In fig. 47 the two preceding figures (46 [Dan 8-9], 41 [Dan 11]) are superimposed on each other to show the closeness of the relationship between them. This is the first of two comparisons to be made.

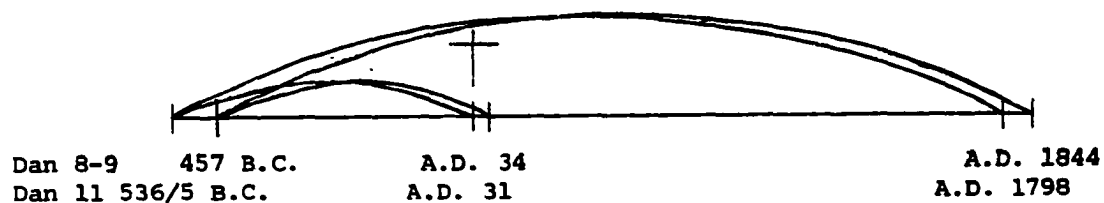


Fig. 47. Comparison of time relationships between Dan 8-9 (fig. 46) and outline segments 1-2 and 1-3 of Dan 11 (fig. 41). (Dan 11 starts first.)

The second is between fig. 46, as previously, and outline segments 1-2 and 1-4 of Dan 11, which extend not to the "time of the end" but to the second coming of Christ. See fig. 48.

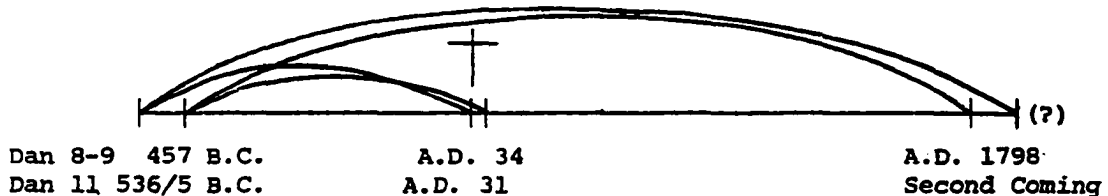


Fig. 48. Comparison of time relationships between Dan 8-9 (fig. 46) and outline segments 1-2 and 1-4 of Dan 11. (Dan 11 starts first.)

The differences between outline segments 1-3 and 1-4 of Dan 11 are seen to be minimal when stated in an approximation of historical scale.¹ Either subdivision provides a very close comparison with material from Dan 8-9, as shown in figs. 47 and 48, respectively.

On the Nature of the Relationship between Dan 8-9 and Dan 11

The purpose of the preceding discussion has been to place the two-part outline format of Dan 11 in broader context. We have attempted to do this by showing that it has a well-known precedent in Dan 8-9. In the present section the nature of the relationship between these two prophecies is summarized.

¹Recall that the differences in proportion associated with historical scale were collapsed, for ease of exposition during an earlier discussion, in the course of developing the chapter's present outline summary. See pp. 173-74; cf. fig. 13 (p. 168) and fig. 21 (p. 173).

The 70 weeks and 2300 days are two clearly distinct narratives that are here asserted to begin together, thus constituting a single prophecy with dual emphasis. The two streams of narrative in Dan 11 clearly begin together and are here asserted to be distinct, thus also constituting a single prophecy with dual emphasis. The overlapping relationship of the 70 weeks and 2300 days has been generally recognized by historicist interpreters ever since the 2300-days prophecy started coming under special emphasis early in the nineteenth century.¹ And the relationship we propose for the two major streams of narrative in Dan 11 is no different from this. In both cases the period of history dealt with first is dealt with twice, and in both cases there is a resulting dual emphasis on Christ.

The similarity between Dan 8-9 and Dan 11 does not stop with structural considerations; it extends to the matter of content as well. The shorter narrative in Dan 11 (segments 1-2) emphasizes Christ's sacrificial death on the cross at His first coming (11:22). The shorter narrative in Dan 8-9 emphasizes the beginning of Christ's first phase of priestly ministry² in heaven shortly after that first coming (9:24,

¹See Froom, Prophetic Faith, pp. 226-48, 392-93, 396-97; Damsteegt, Adventist Message and Mission, pp. 84-100.

²In the Levitical system a contrast between two separate phases of priestly ministry was made in each of three ways--between common priests and high priest, between first apartment and second apartment, and between daily service and yearly service. Thus, in terms of the priesthood, the structure of the sanctuary building, and the liturgical calendar used in its services--i.e., in terms of people, space, and time, respectively--a distinction of ministries was maintained. The most economical hypothesis would be that a distinction made so carefully in the type would have some counterpart in the antitype; a series of contrasts so pervasive as the above must be considered purposeful.

event #6).¹ The longer narrative in Dan 8-9 points to the beginning

¹Dan 9:24 reads, "'Seventy "weeks" are decreed for your people and your holy city to finish transgression, to put an end to sin, to atone for wickedness, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal up vision and prophecy and to anoint the most holy'" (margin). Keil, Ezekiel, Daniel, pp. 340-41, comments as follows: "The six statements [of 9:24] are divided by Maurer, Hitzig, Kranichfeld, and others into three passages of two members each. . . . Rather we have two three-membered sentences before us. This appears evident from the arrangement of the six statements; i.e. that the first three statements treat of the taking away of sin, and thus of the negative side of the deliverance; the three last treat of the bringing in of everlasting righteousness with its consequences, and thus of the positive deliverance, and in such a manner that in both classes the three members stand in reciprocal relation to each other: the fourth statement corresponds to the first, the fifth to the second, the sixth to the third--the second and the fifth present even the same verb אָנּוּן."

We would further suggest that the three pairs of events listed in 9:24 refer to Christ's life (#1, #4), death (#2, #5), and priestly ministry (#3, #6), respectively. Thus, when comparing pairs there is a progression in time; within individual pairs, however, there is not. The relative order of Christ's atoning for sin (event #3) and anointing the most holy (event #6) is determined by the constraint that the first be negative and the second positive. Historical sequence is a different matter altogether, and in fact, as regards historical sequence, the order of events #3 and #6 must be reversed.

To clarify this point it is necessary to determine what "most holy" means and what "anoint" means--both in event #6, above.

First, the "most holy" to be anointed in event #6 cannot be Christ, because the Hebrew expression qōdēš qōdāšîm is never used in the Old Testament with reference to a person. Nor, if it is a place, can the "most holy" be the temple in Jerusalem, since the anointing referred to was to take place at the end of the 70 weeks, and the significance of the Jerusalem temple as a center of worship was due to end at about that time (see Matt 27:51; Heb 8:1-7, 13). Whatever place is intended must be one whose significance as a center of worship--and of priestly ministrations in particular--was about to begin, not end, at the time of Jesus' life and death on earth. A place meeting these qualifications is certainly available, but not on this earth. "The point of what we are saying is this: We do have such a high priest, who sat down at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in heaven, and who serves in the sanctuary, the true tabernacle set up by the Lord, not by man" (Heb 8:1). This is the object referred to in 9:24. "Most holy" there refers to the antitypical sanctuary in heaven.

Second, anointing is always an act of dedication. Both the wilderness tabernacle (Lev 8) and Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 8) were dedicated before they were used. Thus, in Dan 9:24 also to "anoint" means to dedicate for use. See Jacques Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9: An Exegetical Study," in The Sanctuary and the Atonement, eds. Wallenkampf and Leshner, pp. 278-79, for discussion.

Christ would not have served in the heavenly sanctuary before

of Christ's second phase of priestly ministry¹ in heaven shortly before His second coming (8:14).² And the longer narrative in Dan 11 (segments

it was dedicated, and so the important point to draw from Dan 9:24 (event #6) is that the anointing of the most holy marks the beginning of Christ's priestly office in heaven. First the most holy is dedicated (event #6), then it serves as a place where blood previously shed can be ministered to make an atonement for sin (event #3). Both phases of Christ's priestly ministry in heaven follow this initial ritual of dedication at the end of the 70 weeks, which is to say that the cross precedes both phases of Christ's priestly ministry in time.

¹In Dan 8:14 there is a long period of 2300 evening-mornings (*ĕreb bōqer*), and then, after these have come to an end, a presumably short period during which the sanctuary is set right (*waniṣdaq qōdeš*). It would be reasonable to compare the preliminary period of evening-mornings in 8:14a with the continual round of the sanctuary's daily service; the allusion is clear even without a direct verbal link between *ĕreb bōqer* and the Penteteuch. And similarly it would be reasonable to compare the period of setting right which immediately follows this in 8:14b with the sanctuary's yearly service or day of atonement; again the allusion is clear even though--just as with *ĕreb bōqer*--there is no direct verbal link between *waniṣdaq qōdeš* and the Penteteuch. It is clear that sanctuary symbolism is being used in 8:14; it should be equally clear, with the above references to time, that what is being symbolically characterized is the sanctuary's liturgical calendar--whose two major divisions are a daily service and a yearly service. The setting right which comes second (in 8:14b) cannot be divorced from the evening-mornings which come first (in 8:14a). The two must be taken together as making up between them the parts of a full antitypical cultic cycle. We conclude that both a daily and a yearly--involving two different phases of priestly ministry--are referred to within Dan 8:14, and are clearly distinguished there from each other.

²Granting now that two different sanctuary services and their distinct associated phases of priestly ministry are represented in Dan 8:14, it remains to determine when and where these services take place. To find out one must place 8:14 in the context of 8:9-12. But the contextual force of these verses cannot be taken for granted; it must be established exegetically.

We start here, as in chapter I, with the Prince rather than the villain (see pp. 77-103, above). Doing so reflects a major hermeneutical orientation of the study. The "Prince of the host" (*šar haṣṣābā'*) in 8:11 must be the Father, the Son, an angel, a human, or none of the above. There are only so many choices. Items 1 and 4 in this list can be quickly eliminated. The Father would not be called a Prince in this way, nor would an ordinary man--which leaves the Son and the angels. Relevant parallel uses of the word *šar* within Daniel are "prince of princes" (8:25), "Michael, your prince" (10:21), and

1-4) points to events surrounding the second coming itself (11:45, with 12:1-3). Thus, the two comings to earth form an inclusio around the two ministries in heaven. The first phase of ministry begins shortly after the first coming, and the second phase of ministry begins shortly before the second coming. These four items can be stated in the form of an ABBA chiasm, as in fig. 49.

First phase of Ministry	Second Phase of Ministry
First Coming	Second Coming

Fig. 49. The four major events of Dan 8-9 and Dan 11 stated in the form of an ABBA chiasm.

"Michael, the great prince" (12:1), all of which have been applied to Christ earlier in the discussion (see pp. 89-91, above). An especially interesting parallel to "Prince of the host" in Dan 8:11 is "commander of the army of the Lord" in Josh 5:14. Here "Prince" is from the same word as "commander" (both from *śar*), and "host" is from the same word as "army" (both from *śābā'*). The two titles (*śar hassābā'* [Dan 8], *śar-śābā'-YHWH* [Josh 5]) are in fact identical, and both unequivocally refer to Christ (see Josh 5:15; Exod 3:5-6; John 8:58).

If the Prince of the host in Dan 8:11 is Christ the reference could be to heaven or earth as regards space, and before or after the cross as regards time. It was argued elsewhere (pp. 204-5, fn. 1, above) that there was no priestly ministrations of any kind in heaven before the time of Dan 9:24 (event #6). Even Ford, who places the antitypical daily service before the cross and the antitypical yearly service afterward, does not suggest that any priestly ministrations took place in heaven before the cross. He writes that, "In the comparison of Hebrews 9 'the first apartment [of the ancient sanctuary] is symbolic of the whole earthly sanctuary during the Jewish age' prior to the cross (243; see verse 9), and the second apartment, of the entire ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary between His first and second Advents . . ." ("Daniel 8:14 and the Day of Atonement," *Spectrum* 11, 2 [1980]:33). For the views of Albion Ballenger see Roy Adams, The Sanctuary Doctrine: Three Approaches in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 1 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1981), pp. 112-18. For both Ford and Ballenger Christ's priesthood is confined to heaven after the cross.

Since the "Prince of the host" from whom the "daily sacrifice" is taken away in 8:11 is Christ, and since He could not have ministered it at any time before the cross (Dan 9:24, event #6; Heb 8:4), we suggest that the "daily" is ministered in heaven after the cross. See Appendix for a fuller discussion of the above issues.

Together the two prophecies of Dan 8-9 and Dan 11 form a surprisingly complete overview of Christ's redemptive activity on behalf of mankind--both as Priest (in His first and second phases of ministry in heaven) and as Prince (throughout, but especially at His first and second comings to earth).¹

The relationship between Dan 8-9 and Dan 11 was neither entirely lost on, nor entirely grasped by, earlier historicist writers. More than a century ago Smith, for example, pointed out that Dan 11:22 corresponds to the end of the 70 weeks of Dan 9, with both passages mentioning Christ's sacrifice on the cross.² But no connection was made between Dan 11:40-45 and the end of the 2300 days of Dan 8, and as a direct result of this the relationship between 11:40-45 and 12:1 itself remains obscure in Smith's model.³ Despite this serious exegetical weakness, however, Smith does mention the 2300 days in comment on Dan 12:1.⁴ As such there is no novelty in our making such comparisons here. The

¹See Zech 6:9-13 for a parallel.

²Daniel and Revelation, p. 258.

³Dan 11:40-45 deals with the saints' final experiences on this earth, while 12:1 deals with the completion of Christ's work for them in heaven. The reason why their Prince stands up in 12:1 is to bring history to a close and by so doing to rescue His universally beleaguered people. But if the immediately preceding verses are interpreted as being politically localized and therefore remote from all but one or a few unfortunate groups then Michael's global response to that situation is robbed of its context and of its fullest significance. Dan 12:1 cannot be properly understood in isolation from 11:40-45, or the reverse. To the extent that Smith has isolated the two passages from each other by his emphasis on the political fortunes of Turkey, he has obscured both. This is especially true of 11:40-45.

⁴Ibid., p. 303.

only innovations lie in treating the resulting parallels systematically and in giving higher priority to insights derived from them.

Conclusion

In terms comparable to figs. 39d and 40, the material presented above may be summarized as follows. Outline segments 1-2 (vv. 2-22) extend to a point marking the end of the first coming and beginning of Christ's first phase of priestly ministry in heaven. These two events substantially coincide, since it was the crucifixion, mentioned in 11:22, that simultaneously brought the ancient typical system to an end and brought the antitypical system into existence.¹ Outline segments 1-3 (vv. 2-15, 23-39) then extend to the beginning of Christ's second phase of priestly ministry, and segments 1-4 (vv. 2-15, 23-45) to the second coming. See fig. 50.

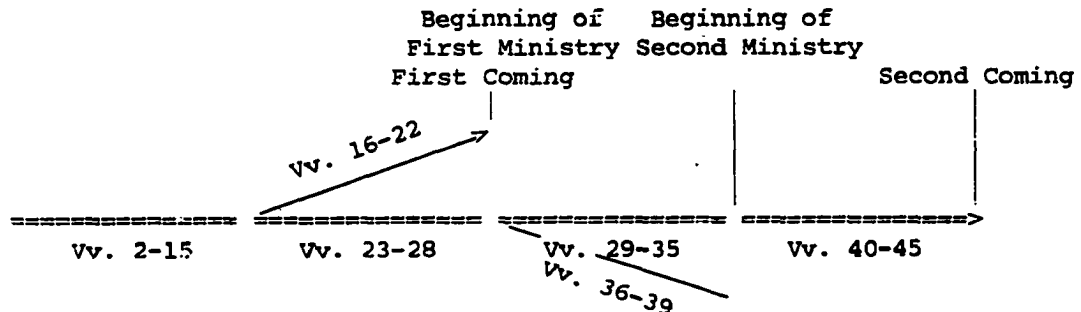


Fig. 50. Restatement of fig. 39d with the four major events of Dan 8-9 and Dan 11 indicated, as shown in fig. 49.

¹"By calling this covenant 'new,' he has made the first one obsolete; and what is obsolete and aging will soon disappear" (Heb 8:13). The type was not obsolete until the antitype took its place; and conversely, the beginning of the antitype was the only event that could make the type obsolete. This transition from old to new occurred at the cross. The significance of the words "will soon disappear" must be that the Jerusalem temple was still standing at the time of authorship, as noted by Brooke Foss Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews: The

We have argued that Dan 8-9 and Dan 11 are closely related in content as well as form, that both exhibit an outline format characterized by a double narrative with one starting point but two distinct end points, and that the natural result of positing such an outline format is a two-fold emphasis on Christ in both cases. Pointing out such similarities has the effect of placing the outline format suggested earlier for Dan 11 in a familiar and significant context.

Greek Text with Notes and Essays (reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), pp. xlii-xliii, 226. The systems of sacrifice and priestly ministry being contrasted in this case would be the typical or earthly on the one hand and the antitypical or heavenly on the other. See Wikenhauser, New Testament Introduction, p. 470, however, for differing views on the time of authorship for this epistle.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The summary, below, shows how each major section has contributed to the argument of the study as a whole.¹ The conclusions extend that argument and apply it to two practical issues--that of answering question #6 on the Glacier View poll² and that of deciding Smith's adequacy as an exegete in the earlier part of Dan 11.³ In addition, the nature of historicism as a hermeneutic for interpreting apocalyptic prophecy is clarified.

Summary

Major sections encountered in chapters I-III are now summarized under the same headings with which the material in them was originally associated.

¹What follows is an interpretive essay that brings together those streams of thought from the body of the work which we consider to be most significant. Discussion has not been limited solely to reporting what has and has not already been said. Some facets of the topic have been augmented somewhat for the sake of clarity.

²Question #6 has to do with whether two separate advents of Christ are taught in the Old Testament. See "The Glacier View Poll--What Does It Prove?" Evangelica 1 (December 1960):39.

³We have special reference to vv. 2-35. At issue is the relationship between vv. 16-22 and 23-28 (Daniel and Revelation, pp. 245-66).

"Introduction"

"Goals of the study" (p. 1)

The primary goal of the study has been to show that the narrative of Dan 10-12, and more especially Dan 11, has Christ as its exegetical center.

"Presuppositions" (pp. 2-13)"Unity of Scripture" (pp. 2-7)

It was claimed that the nature of Christ explains the nature of Scripture, such that both the living and written Word of God are fully human and fully divine with no inherent conflict between the two sets of influences.¹ This analogy with Christ provides a basis for understanding the interrelatedness of divine and human factors throughout Scripture--with special emphasis on prophecy, where prediction of future events must be accounted for.²

By bringing together the distinct principles of dependent and independent existence Christ provides a basis for also understanding the unity of Scripture. It is neither humanity alone nor divinity alone

Note: To distinguish review headings from those which introduce new material below, the former are enclosed in quotation marks. Page numbers of the sections to which the review headings refer are given in parentheses following the headings, except for chapters as a whole.

¹See Berkouwer, Person of Christ, pp. 209, 225. The analogy is our own; Berkouwer's remarks are confined to Jesus, the living Word.

²See Kaiser, Old Testament Theology, p. 30. The same issue is involved in both prediction and inspiration, though perhaps not so prominently in the case of the former. Both prediction and inspiration involve a uniting of human and divine influences. To deny that such a union is truly possible constitutes a literary version of docetism (cf. Berkouwer, Person of Christ, p. 199).

that explains how humanity and divinity can be united, but rather Christ's person which unites them. In the same way, it is not any one of the many literary themes and motifs contained in Scripture that accounts for the underlying unity among them.¹ The solution lies in an entirely different direction. It is Christ Himself, and not any of the literary allusions to him (much less literary allusions to other factors), that ultimately explains how the full spectrum of Scriptural diversity can be said to represent a unified whole.² The center of both

¹The concept that such underlying unity exists cannot be taken for granted. Hasel summarizes the nature of the issues as follows: "It is evident that even the most carefully worked out single center or formula will prove itself finally as one-sided, inadequate, and insufficient, if not outrightly erroneous, and therefore will lead to misconceptions. The phenomenon of constantly increasing numbers of new suggestions at what constitutes the center of the OT and how they contribute to systematized structures of the variegated and manifold testimonies is in itself a telling witness to the evident inefficiency of a single concept, theme, motif, or idea for the task at hand" (Old Testament Theology, pp. 94-95). "G. E. Wright has frankly stated: 'It must be admitted that no single theme is sufficiently comprehensive to include within it all variety of viewpoint'" (ibid., p. 94). "Such single concepts, themes, ideas, or motifs as 'covenant,' 'election,' 'communion,' 'promise,' 'the kingdom of God,' 'the rulership of God,' 'holiness' of God, 'experience' of God, 'God is Lord,' and others have shown that they are too narrow a basis on which to construct an OT (or Biblical) theology which does not relegate essential aspects of the OT (or Biblical) faith to an inferior and unimportant position. Therefore, twin concepts in the form of 'the rule of God and the communion between God and man,' 'Yahweh the God of Israel, Israel the people of Yahweh,' and covenant-kingdom have been suggested, hoping that these broader conceptions give more room for the total OT (or Biblical) witness. Among these broadened suggestions are also the positions which hold that the entire book of Deuteronomy or 'creation faith' provide the total horizon of OT (or Biblical) theology. No consensus on any of these centers has been reached nor can ever be reached" (ibid., pp. 98-99).

²We submit that the unity and diversity of Scripture do not compete with each other for the same space. This statement is essentially the same as an earlier one that the divine and human influences in Scripture do not compete. The divine element in Scripture is a unifying influence, the human element in Scripture is a diversifying

Old and New Testament is God in Christ¹--in a personal rather than strictly literary sense, and in the context of an ongoing conflict between good and evil. Similarly, the center of Dan 11 is God in Christ, as seen in a context of intense conflict--not only between North and South, or between God's people and the combined forces of North and South, but between Christ and Satan. In this sense Dan 11 is a microcosm of the book as a whole and of Scripture generally.

influence. There is no inherent conflict between the two when the nature of both is understood. Thus, the position that Scripture has a center should not be taken to imply that it cannot also have a periphery, or vice versa. Neither makes the other impossible or in any way compromises its importance.

¹This position may be illustrated by the following examples: Christ is said to be the Agent of creation (John 1:1-3; cf. Gen 1:1), the great self-existent I AM (John 8:58; cf. Exod 3:14), the One who led the Exodus out of Egypt (1 Cor 10:4; cf. Deut 32:4, 15, 18, 30-31), Israel's rightful Bridegroom or Husband (Matt 9:15; John 3:27; 2 Cor 11:2; cf. Isa 62:5; Jer 2:31-32; Hos 2:16), and the One who brings the present world order to an end (Matt 21:44; cf. Dan 2:44-45). Furthermore, Christ is typified by the entire succession of Davidic kings (Matt 22:41-46) and Aaronic priests (Heb 8:1-2). The broad motifs of rule and of worship are here brought together. The motif of covenant is personified by Christ, who is Himself the basis for God's continued relationship with mankind and of man's right relationship with God (see Col 1:19-20). The motif of promise is also personified by Christ, who inherits on behalf of His people all the good things God has to offer (Gal 3:16; Heb 1:2). In addition the motif of rest is personified by Christ, who had no intellectual or moral points of difference with His Father and offers this same rest or peace to us (Matt 11:28-30; John 14:27; Heb 4:6-11). The motif of restoration is personified by Christ, who by His doing and dying won back for humanity everything Adam had originally lost (1 Cor 15:22, 26). And the list could be extended indefinitely. One further example is that Christ is the personification of God on the one hand and of all Israel (all mankind) on the other--simultaneously deserving and rendering perfect worship.

No literary theme, or group of themes, could possibly unify so many different aspects of the total Scriptural witness. Hasel says that "the OT is in its essence *theocentric* just as the NT is *christocentric*" (Old Testament Theology, pp. 99-100). I would prefer to say that the Old Testament emphasizes *God in Christ*, while the New Testament emphasizes *God in Christ*. This admitted difference of emphasis should not be confused with a difference in objective information.

"Prediction and history" (pp. 7-13)

Both the prediction and the fulfillment of Daniel's prophecies were said to be clear examples of divine involvement in history.¹ The predictions deal with factual information--some of it about distant future events--and include specifications regarding time. The fulfillments correspond to the predictions, with the result that every age since Daniel's own represents a time of primary fulfillment for some aspect of the total range of events foreseen.² Thus, God's involvement with mankind in prophecy, like His involvement with mankind in history, is seen as being continuous. No major period of time is omitted from its purview--including the twentieth century but not excluding the centuries which have led up to it.

There is more here than an assertion that genuine, factual, and detailed predictions are represented in Dan 11 or that the resulting written prophecy has a scope of fulfillment spanning some 2500 years. It is not enough to realize that the chapter talks about a broad expanse

¹We do not mean to imply that God's involvement with mankind in history is limited to things He predicted. He is with us constantly.

²Jones remarks that "The universality [of apocalyptic] is apparent in that (1) the whole world and not just Israel is included within the story, and (2) that human events from beginning to end are covered" ("Ideas of History," pp. 98-99). This is only partly true for Dan 11, however. The same author points out elsewhere that "Von Rad traced the roots of apocalyptic to wisdom literature rather than to prophecy on the grounds that wisdom and apocalyptic share a disinterest in the past" (ibid., p. 139). Dan 11 may indeed take in the whole world as regards space (vv. 40-45), but it does not take in all ages of history from beginning to end as regards time. In common with the other prophetic chapters of Daniel, chap. 11 looks to the future only, not to the past.

of history; one must also realize what the chapter is saying about the expanse of history that it deals with. In this case what is being said is that all history is oriented toward Christ at one of His two comings. An important characteristic of the material before us, therefore, is goal direction--in true apocalyptic fashion.¹ And the particular goal that is present, pervading the narrative, is of the highest significance.

In its unity, scope, direction, and finally in its overall level of historical significance the characteristics Dan 11 is perceived to have by the exegete are inseparably linked with the latter's view of Christ's personal role in the prophecy.

"Definitions of terms" (pp. 14-27)

"'North' and 'South'" (pp. 14-25)

The terms "North" and "South" are best defined in terms of the exilic context of Daniel's prophecies. "North" is most often used in

¹One could successfully argue that it is the prophecy's underlying focus on Christ that gives it its broad historical perspective and the other defining characteristics of apocalyptic. Here then is an alternative view on the origin of apocalyptic--compatible only with an early date of authorship for Daniel and implying a closer connection with classical prophecy than with wisdom literature.

Three important facts about apocalyptic are accounted for by assuming that an underlying focus on Christ is inherent in Daniel's prophecies. The three points clarified are Daniel's breadth of spacial perspective which contrasts heaven and earth, its interest in the distant future coupled with a lack of any corresponding interest in the distant past, and its primarily written rather than spoken format. As regards space, Christ was to come to earth (9:24-27; 11:22), return to heaven (8:11, 25; 7:13-14), and then come back to earth again (12:1-3). As regards time, Christ's first coming, priestly ministry, and second coming remained future, covering a broad expanse of time, but had no bearing on the past. And as regards literary format, because Christ's earthly activity would not begin until a time in the distant future there would be no need to give oral messages concerning it. Both His first and His second comings were for future generations to experience, not Daniel's own.

the other exilic prophets with reference to Babylon and "South" is always associated with Egypt. Both Babylon and Egypt were powers that failed to acknowledge the sovereignty of Yahweh,¹ although Babylon was consistently hostile to Yahweh's people while Egypt was not.² Thus, North and South had points of mutual similarity and difference already in exilic times. Their disregard for God was a point of similarity; their attitude toward His people was somewhat more complex, but for the most part represented a point of difference. Southern resolve in the second half of the chapter was never strong,³ and this inherent weakness was a characteristic feature of Middle Eastern super-power politics even before exilic times.⁴

A major point to bear in mind throughout is that God's people are the reason why such larger powers as those represented by North and South have significance in the story. Just as exilic relationships provide one point of reference for North and South, God's people provide another. The former draw their significance from the latter. Thus, at one level there are not only two protagonists (North, South), but three (North, God's people, South).⁵

¹Dan 5:1-24; Exod 5:1-2.

²See fns. 1, 2, and 5, p. 15, above.

³South is dominant in vv. 5-15, no direction symbolism is used in vv. 16-22, and then North is dominant in vv. 23-45. A consistent motif in Dan 11 is that North finally wins--as regards South.

⁴See 2 Kg 18:21.

⁵It was pointed out that pronoun reference in Dan 11 must be understood in terms of what is here called "corporate reference," whereby the kings of both North and South are not individuals as such, but rather powers represented by individuals.

Vv. 5-22. Throughout v. 5-15 North is Seleucid Syria and South is Ptolemaic Egypt. In vv. 16-22 the terms do not occur in the Hebrew text and the conflict motif associated with them elsewhere is absent.

Vv. 23-28. In vv. 23-28 South is still Egypt, as represented by Antony who ruled the eastern part of the Roman Mediterranean world from there; but North is no longer Syria. Instead North is the power that opposes South, and in Antony's time this was the western part of the Roman Mediterranean world ruled from Italy by Octavian, later Caesar Augustus. It is important to notice, however, that as regards the prophecy the conflict was not so much between Octavian and Antony as between North and South--which at this point must be equated with Italy and Egypt, or more specifically Egypt and Rome.

Vv. 29-39. In vv. 29-35 North is still Rome, but South is no longer geographical Egypt. Instead South, which receives very little attention in these verses, is the power that opposes North.¹ Over the

¹Dan 11:30 says, "Ships of the western coastlands will oppose him, and he will lose heart." The powers that opposed western Rome during the early Christian centuries, especially the fifth, were for the most part Germanic tribes that had become Arian Christians--"the Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, the Vandals in Africa, and the Ostrogoths in Italy" (H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney, eds., The Cambridge Mediaeval History, 8 vols. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947], vol. 1: The Christian Roman Empire and the Foundation of the Teutonic Kingdoms, p. 276). Rome was sacked by two of these groups (Visigoths, AD 410; Vandals, A.D. 455) and governed for a number of years by the third. All three may be said to have opposed Rome. But Dan 11:30 speaks particularly of a naval power, which makes it necessary for the historicist exegete to show some way in which Rome was opposed by the Vandals that it was not also opposed by the Visigoths and Ostrogoths.

A distinction of this sort is indeed available, and it is of the highest interest. Visigoths, Vandals, and Ostrogoths alike opposed the Roman state, but only the Vandals opposed the Roman church. They mounted a vigorous persecution of Catholic (non-Arian) Christians under Huneric (A.D. 477-84): "Among some of the measures taken by him the most important is the notorious Edict of 24 January 484, in which the king

course of the prophecy geographical symbolism becomes more abstract¹ and literal geography as such loses its significance. There is a reason for this. As God's people begin to be defined in spiritual rather than spatial terms during the early Christian centuries, the forces that threaten them are also defined in terms not related to geography.²

The historical situation described narratively in vv. 29-35 is given a poetic summary in vv. 36-39. During this whole period,³ except

ordered that the edicts made by the Roman Emperors against heresy should be applied to all his Catholic subjects unless they adopted Arianism by 1 June in that year. Next, orthodox priests were forbidden to hold religious services, to possess churches or build new ones, to baptise, consecrate and so forth, and they were especially forbidden to reside in any towns or villages. The property of all Catholic churches and the churches themselves were bestowed on the Arian clergy. Laymen were disabled from making or receiving gifts or legacies; court officials of the Catholic creed were deprived of their dignity and declared infamous. For the several classes of the people graduated money-fines were established according to rank; but in case of persistence all were condemned to transportation and confiscation of property. Huneric gave the execution of these provisions into the hands of the Arian clergy, who carried out the punishments threatened with the most revolting cruelty, and even went beyond them. Repeated intervention on the part of the Emperor and the Pope remained quite ineffectual, for they confined themselves to representations. Perhaps Catholicism might have been quite rooted out in Africa if the king had not died prematurely on 23 December 484" (ibid., p. 312)..

¹See fn. 1, pp. 148-49, above, as regards symbolism in Dan 11.

²Note Price's remarks in Time of the End, p. 46: ". . . when God had a political group or nation as His representative on earth, the beasts opposing it [as symbolized in Daniel and Revelation] were also nations. But God and all the inhabitants of heaven are always more interested in the spread of ideas or doctrines than in the shifting of national or political boundaries. Therefore in the course of centuries, when God's work became international in extent, Satan's organized opposition also became more universal. Hence the symbolic beasts which represent Satan's work during our day, the time of the end, must necessarily represent more universal or ideological influences, rather than mere national or political groups. We can see this on a world-wide basis today."

³Roughly the Middle Ages.

for a faltering start in vv. 29-30a,¹ North's control--over South and over God's people--is represented as being absolute.

¹Arianism provided both military and religious opposition to Rome in the early Christian centuries. It is here seen as a secularizing influence within the church and a fitting representative of South. In Exod 5:2 a much earlier king of the South said, "'Who is the Lord, that I should obey him and let Israel go? I do not know the Lord and I will not let Israel go.'" Pharaoh challenged the authority of Yahweh by challenging His status as a deity. Such a position is no different in principle from the Arian refusal to accept Christ's status as a deity. The two rejections are closely similar, and by weakening divine claims both must have the ultimate result of strengthening opposed human claims. This is what we mean by the term "secular."

Arianism attacked the orthodox Christian church most conspicuously through the Vandals, who were both a naval power and in opposition to Rome--the two qualifications imposed by Dan 11:30a. The emphasis on ships brings attention to the one barbarian group known to have used them extensively, and the resulting emphasis on that group brings attention to the religious parameters of their attack on Rome. There were many barbarian groups that harassed and weakened the Roman state during the fifth century A.D., but of these only the Vandals concertedly attacked and persecuted the Roman church. The conflict in vv. 29-30a is not, therefore, between the Vandal people and the Roman people only, but between Arianism and orthodox Christianity. For a time orthodoxy was very much on the defensive, as specified in v. 30a.

Notice further that Arius had been an Egyptian, serving for a time as presbyter in the church of Alexandria (Sozomen 1:15, in Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, gen. eds., A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, second series, vol. 2: Sozomenus, Sozomenus: Church Histories [reprint ed., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976], p. 251). The conflict between Arianism, which spread from Egypt, and orthodox Christianity, whose center was gradually being established as Rome, can be thought of as a combined military and ideological counterpart to the earlier exclusively military conflict between Egypt and Rome in vv. 23-28.

The fact that South represents a secularizing philosophical position is significant and will receive further emphasis in connection with vv. 40-45, below. North's eventual triumph was over Arianism as a special case of secularism. The ensuing age was a religious one.

²Most changes in history happen gradually and the development of the church's secular power during the early Middle Ages was no exception. Lord Acton's masterful essay entitled "The States of the Church" (Essays on Church and State [New York: Thomas Y Crowell, Apollo Editions, 1968], pp. 86-122) provides a sympathetic account of the church's rise to and exercise of political power, written by a Catholic author. There were challenges to the church's power in every century, but it may be said to have been substantially consolidated by the end of the sixth.

Vv. 40-45. But then in v. 40a we read, "'At the time of the end the king of the South will engage him in battle, . . .'" The very fact that such an initiative had become possible represents a dramatic change over vv. 36-39, where North tolerated no opposition. The weakening of Northern control referred to in v. 40a is by now a completed process, as a result of which much of the modern world has already experienced more than 200 years of genuine civil and religious freedom. During the time since the Age of Faith gave way to the Age of Reason there has been a gradual but thoroughgoing secularization of science,¹

¹"At the time of the Reformation there was another powerful current of thought, already two hundred years old: the Renaissance. . . . Because of the Renaissance's faith in reason, it did not see any necessity for revelation from God" (William E. Hordern, A Layman's Guide to Protestant Theology, rev. ed. [New York: Macmillan, 1968], p. 30).

"In the older mathematical sciences of physics and astronomy, the decade [of the French revolution] capped the achievement of the century with a series of great works of synthesis. Of these the most striking is the *Système du Monde* of Laplace, and its continuation the *Mécanique celeste*. Laplace filled out the Newtonian system into a rounded whole, extended and completed the infinitesimal calculus, and, taking up a suggestion thrown out by Kant, developed the nebular hypothesis, according to which the solar system was evolved from a rotating mass of incandescent gas. Beyond the nebulae he refused to go, and a Creator is significantly absent from his work" (Crane Brinton, A Decade of Revolution: 1789-1799 [New York: Harper and Row, 1934; Harper Torchbooks, 1963], p. 269). "The origins of modern geology also lie in the late eighteenth century. Buffon had already had trouble in reconciling his study of natural history with the book of Genesis. William Hutton published in 1785 his *Theory of the Earth*, in which he pointed out that stratification of rocks and the embedding of fossils were processes still at work, and that the existing face of the earth could be explained by the long-continued past action of such processes. His work was continued by his countryman William Smith, who was able to establish geological periods by noting the relative ages of fossils in different strata. The Frenchman Cuvier extended the biological aspect of the science by comparing the structures of existing animals with those of fossils, thus establishing the fact of biological continuity. At the beginning of the next century, Lamarck was thus in a position to unite the work of geologists and paleontologists into a genuine theory of evolution" (ibid., p. 270).

In 1859 Charles Darwin published his monumental work, The Origin

politics,¹ and a number of other disciplines including some aspects of

of Species (New York: Mentor, 1958), and evolution had finally found its spokesman. Since that time the theory has taken firm hold in the scientific community and, although Darwin himself could end his book by speaking of life "having been originally breathed by the Creator" (ibid., p. 450), his ideas are generally taken to eliminate the need for one. For comment on the current state of evolutionary theory and the views of its practitioners on God's relationship to natural phenomena see Jerry Adler and John Carey, "Enigmas of Evolution," Newsweek, 29 March 1982, pp. 44-49.

¹"The Pax Romana was reinforced by the Pax Dei. The unity of the Roman Empire was the reflection of the celestial unity, over which the One True God governed in perfect law and order, backed by a heavenly hierarchy and a standing army of invincible strength. It was God's Will, as His Son had explicitly stated, that the world should be similarly governed. . . . God's minister for the unification and pacification of this world was the Roman emperor, whom He himself elected and crowned, with the concurrence of the old Roman estates of senate, army and people, and the newer, though not indispensable, sanction of the Christian Church" (Romilly Jenkins, Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries, A.D. 610-1071 [New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1966], p. 5).

An undergirding belief that rightful rule is something delegated by God to a human agent did not leave the western part of the Roman empire when the emperor did. And so over time, as the empire crumbled, a number of local kings committed their realms to the representative of Christ in Rome, both to legitimize their kingship and to protect their kingdoms. This process had the result of giving vast political influence to the church. "The Papal system of states [not to be confused with the States of the Church in central Italy, for which see fn. 2, p. 219, above] gradually extended itself, till in the thirteenth century it reached its culminating point, when its great semicircle encompassed the States of the German Emperors" (Lord Acton, Essays, p. 148). What Lord Acton calls the "Papal system of states" ultimately took in southern Italy (ibid., 129; including Naples, pp. 130, 155), Sicily (pp. 130, 142), Corsica and Sardinia (p. 153), Provence (p. 130), Navarra (p. 147), Aragon (pp. 131, 140-41), the city of Tarragona in Catalonia (p. 131), Portugal (p. 131), England (pp. 132-34), Ireland (pp. 133-34), Scotland (pp. 156-57), the Isle of Man, the Hebrides, and the Orkneys (p. 135), Norway (p. 157), Pomerania (p. 157), Poland (pp. 126, 157), Ruthenia (p. 157), Hungary (pp. 125-26), and Croatia (p. 128). For these nations to belong to the "Papal system of states" meant that their respective kings ruled in their own lands as vassals of the pope, to whom they paid taxes for the privilege.

The system gradually collapsed. With the rebellion of Sicily in 1282 (ibid., p. 152; XIII AD), the transfer of the papal residence to Avignon and the schism of 1378 that resulted when it was moved back (p. 154; XIV AD), the Renaissance centered in Italy (XV AD), and the Reformation centered in Germany (XVI AD) the concept that one's right

religion.¹ This pervasive secularization, which affects the whole fabric of western society,² is related to the demise of Mediaeval institutions as cause and effect.

to rule is a gift from God, mediated by the church, began to lose its hold on the popular imagination and in the French revolution was rejected out of hand. The latter's "essential contribution to the evolution of modern democracy was that it enunciated the principle and worked out the implications of popular sovereignty" (Albert Goodwin, The French Revolution [New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965], p. 161). Not a sovereignty deriving from the church or even mediated by it, but one coming directly from the people themselves.

These sound like the ideals of the earlier American revolution, but in fact a better comparison would be with the later Russian revolution. All three of these may be said to have had democratic ideals, and all three involved a rebellion against the state, but only the French and Russian revolutions involved a rebellion against the church as well--this despite the fact that France had been a major champion of the western church, just as Russia had been a major champion of the eastern church. In the political atheism of the communist bloc we find the full flowering of French secularism, and the opposite counterpart of the vast political influence exercised by the church during the Middle Ages.

¹"One of the dominant themes in modern theology is expressed by the slogan 'worldly' or 'secular' Christianity. These terms, inspired by Bonhoeffer, describe Christians who feel called to enter into social and political spheres to serve God and man' (Horder, Layman's Guide, p. 233). "Harvey Cox, one of the most popular advocates of secularity, draws a distinction between 'secularism,' which he repudiates, and 'secularization,' which he embraces. By secularization, Cox means the historical process, which he believes is irreversible, whereby societies are delivered from ecclesiastical control and closed metaphysical views. It frees man from the idea that he is bound by fate or limited by sacred areas of life into which he dare not enter. The center of interest is this world and not some supernatural realm. On the other hand, for Cox, secularism is an ideology which brings a new closed world view and which functions very much like a new religion" (ibid., p. 235). "Van Buren attempts to describe Christianity in harmony with the biblical message and secularism. The term God is without meaning to secular man so it is necessary to express Christianity without references to God" (ibid., p. 246).

²"... the Romantic Revolution was as real as the French and the Industrial Revolutions, and complemented rather than opposed them" (Brinton, Decade of Revolution, p. 249). "... Christendom is past. That is, we no longer live in a culture in which the majority of people accept Christian values" (Horder, ibid., p. 233).

To understand these historical changes one must first understand the nature of the forces that interacted to produce them. Neither North nor South in vv. 40-45 is limited any more to a single organization. Instead the contrast is between two different types of ideology,¹ such that North represents a religious form of disregard for God (comparable to the Babylon of Rev 17-18) and South represents a secular or non-religious form of disregard for God (comparable to the Egypt of Rev 11).² Thus, there is continuity in vv. 40-45 with the symbolism of vv. 29-39, but also a broadening of perspectives so that North and South take on truly global proportions. The Southern offensive spoken of in v. 40a is here interpreted as the modern secular transformation of society, which dealt a catastrophic blow to the religious authority so prevalent during earlier centuries. This verse fragment (v. 40a) describes the world we now live in.³

An implication which follows from this fact is that vv. 40b-45 describe a world we are soon to live in. It would be natural to think of the present comparatively weak social and political situation of the church simply as the last in a series of three historical eras involving it, characterized by weakness, then strength, and then weakness again (in ABA form), as summarized in table 50.

¹This concept is one on which we draw heavily in the present research, but it is not original here. Its main proponent has been George McCready Price, in his book The Time of the End.

²Seventh-day Adventist commentators generally apply Rev 11:7-10 to the time of the French revolution (see Smith, Daniel and Revelation, pp. 535-39; Roy Allen Anderson, Unfolding the Revelation, rev. ed. [Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1974], pp. 106-11). God's two witnesses in this passage are the Scriptures (see John 5:39).

³See Price, pp. 65-98.

TABLE 50

HISTORICAL STAGES OF NORTHERN POWER
IN DAN 11:29-45 (THREE COLUMNS)

	Vv. 29-45		
North	Weak	Strong	Weak

Such an analysis is straightforward and correct as regards history, which looks only to the past, but it is not the emphasis given in the prophecy. It is important to bear in mind that v. 40a is not the last clause of vv. 36-39 (or 29-39), but the first clause of vv. 40-45. When v. 40a is compared with the rest of its own section instead of with the preceding one an entirely different pattern emerges. Instead of strength followed by weakness, the pattern is one of weakness followed by future strength. See table 51.

TABLE 51

HISTORICAL STAGES OF NORTHERN POWER
IN DAN 11:29-45 (FOUR COLUMNS)

	Vv. 29-39		Vv. 40-45	
North	Weak	Strong	Weak	Strong

North's inexorable rise to power is a major motif in Dan 11. And as persons, institutions, and ultimately ideas representing North and South change over the 2500-year course of the prophecy the motif

is repeated. In this context the symmetry found in table 51, now restated as table 52, is not a coincidental fact; a genuine motif of increasing Northern strength is present in vv. 40-45.

TABLE 52

HISTORICAL STAGES OF NORTHERN POWER
IN DAN 11:29-45 (TWO ROWS)

North	Weak	Strong
Vv. 29-39	Vv. 29-30a	Vv. 30b-39
Vv. 40-45	V. 40a	Vv. 40b-45

Actually table 52 is not yet complete. The motif of North's rise to power occurs three times in the last half of Dan 11--first in vv. 23-28, next in vv. 29-39, and finally in vv. 40-45. See table 53.

TABLE 53

HISTORICAL STAGES OF NORTHERN POWER
IN DAN 11:23-45 (THREE ROWS)

North	Weak	Strong
<u>Vv. 23-23</u> North: Rome, as ruled by Octavian South: Egypt, as ruled by Antony	Vv. 25-27*	V. 28
<u>Vv. 29-39</u> North: Orthodox Christianity, in Rome South: Arianism, from Egypt**	Vv. 29-30a	Vv. 30b-39
<u>Vv. 40-45</u> North: Religious disregard of God South: Secular disregard of God	V. 40a	Vv. 40b-45

*Verses 23-24 are introductory.

**As championed especially by the Vandals.

In vv. 23-28, after briefly summarizing Rome's entire career from beginning to end (vv. 23-24), the final events of the civil wars are described (vv. 25-27). The outcome of the struggle between Octavian and Antony is the undisputed supremacy of Rome, rather than Alexandria, as seat of the fledgling Empire (v. 28). In vv. 29-39 the challenge of Arianism (vv. 29-30a) is followed by the undisputed ecclesiastical supremacy of the mediaeval papacy (vv. 30b-39). And in vv. 40-45, which are of primary interest here, the massive challenge of modern secularism in all its forms (v. 40a) gives way at some future time before an equally massive resurgence of religious authoritarianism (vv. 40b-45).¹ For a brief period religion is in a position to require the same degree of submission that the Roman Empire did militarily before the Middle Ages or that the Roman church did ecclesiastically during the Middle Ages. In effect, the present secular age serves as a hiatus during a period of religious control spanning roughly vv. 29-45.² It might otherwise be seen as the end of an era. In the context of Dan 11 it is, entirely to the contrary, the beginning of one.

¹The conflict predicted in vv. 40-45 is not a race war, such as preoccupies the political far right; or a class war, as conceived by the political far left. Nor is it an international military catastrophe involving atomic weapons, as feared by the political center. Each of these three scenarios is entirely nonreligious, and as such the prophecy has no direct interest in them. The conflict of vv. 40-45 is one that pits religious interests against secular ones.

²"The deadly wound and its healing make clear that the system of anti-Christianity represented by the leopard beast [of Rev 13] was to exercise its despotic, persecuting power during two distinct periods of time. The first would be long--1260 years. The second will be short--'when he cometh, he must continue a short space.' (Revelation 17:10.) These two periods of beastly dominance (persecution) are separated by a period of inaction, called 'captivity' in Revelation 13:10--the period of the deadly wound" (Price, Time of the End, pp. 64-65): A significant ABA pattern can be isolated therefore (see p. 223 above), but instead of beginning and ending with weakness it begins and ends with strength.

Other comments. At the beginning of the chapter there were three protagonists on a human level (North, God's people, South), but at its end the number is reduced to two (North/South, God's people). North, having forcibly taken over South,¹ merges the latter's strength with its own and the two effectively become one.² This leaves North and South together on the one hand and God's people on the other.³

¹"He will extend his power over many countries; Egypt will not escape. He will gain control of the treasures of gold and silver and all the riches of Egypt, with the Libyans and Nubians in submission" (Dan 11:42-43). Observe that "Egypt" is not destroyed here; it is forced into submission, along with its satellites.

²This happens three times in the chapter (vv. 23-28, 29-39, 40-45); the third is merely the most noticeable. The assimilation of South is as much a motif in Dan 11 as the Northern rise to power, discussed earlier. More than this, the assimilation of South is the Northern rise to power. All three times that North achieves unchallenged supremacy it does so by making South a part of itself. Thus, in the first case (before Christ) Egypt was made an integral part of the Roman empire (cf. vv. 23-28), while in the second (after Christ) those Arian tribes that stayed in territory claimed by the empire all eventually converted to orthodox Catholicism (cf. vv. 29-39). Thus, Lord Acton could write: "This year 728 . . . marks not only the commencement of actual independence in Rome, but of the pontifical sovereignty over other territories. . . . [T]he Lombards were now orthodox Catholics, and even at the time when they were Arians they had never persecuted religion" (Essays, p. 98). The Vandals, by contrast, simply disappeared from history. First the Roman empire and then the Roman church emerged from a period of intense struggle to remain virtually unchallenged for some time. The third case will be similar to the two before it, except that the time element will be shortened (cf. Rev 17:10).

³Verses 40-45 record the king of the North's final campaign against the South. In so doing a motif is followed that runs through the entire chapter, i.e., North against South. This is an important point to notice. An attack on God's people grows out of this campaign, but its primary objective is the reduction of "Egypt" up through v. 43, not "the Beautiful Land" of Palestine. When the king of the North does attack God's people in vv. 44-45 he acts in concert with the king of the South, whom he had so recently subjugated. The events described do not themselves pertain to exilic times, but the language used to talk about them does (see p. 23, fn. 1; pp. 148-49, fn. 1, above); future events are here described in terms borrowed from the past. Such a unification of opposed forces never happened in history, nor will it be repeated.

"'Scenarios of conflict'" (pp. 25-27)

It is important to realize that human protagonists (North, God's people, South) are not the only ones in the chapter, and in fact they are not the most important ones. North/South conflict is a dominant theme in much of Dan 11. In two sections, however, it is conspicuously absent. The one (vv. 16-22) traces a succession of historical events roughly parallel to those in vv. 23-28, the other (vv. 36-39) does not deal with events at all, as such, but describes a state of affairs that parallels the historical events of vv. 29-35. The first section that lacks the conflict motif calls special attention to the chapter's Prince, the other to its villain. The Prince in Dan 11 is Christ, the villain is ultimately Satan.¹ In vv. 5-15, 23-28, 29-35, and 40-45 the most conspicuous parties are those represented as bickering kings from the North and South, respectively, with God's people caught in the middle. But in vv. 16-22 and 36-39 we catch a glimpse of issues that are larger than these and a controversy that transcends all the human turbulence surrounding it. On the one hand we see the ultimate expression of Christ's humility (vv. 16-22),² on the other a small but accurate reflection of Satan's overweening pride (vv. 36-39).

¹Rev 17:11 provides a context for this claim: "The beast who once was, and now is not, is an eighth king. He belongs to the seven and is going to his destruction." Satan, the eighth king, belongs to each of the seven world powers in the series. In every age of history he has attempted to exercise his own influence through human institutions. Dan 11 speaks of all but one of these powers. It omits Babylon (#1), but includes Persia (#2) (v. 2), Greece (#3) (vv. 3-15), Rome phase 1 (#4) (vv. 16-28), and Rome phase 2 (before the deadly wound [#5], vv. 29-39; during the deadly wound [#6], v. 40a; after the deadly wound [#7], vv. 40b-45).

²On the cross (v. 22). See Phil 2:6-8.

Summary

As regards the chapter's human protagonists, it is the nature of their orientation toward Christ that polarizes the original three groups (North, God's people, South) into two in vv. 40-45, with some (God's people) willing to put His wishes ahead of their own¹ but others (North/South) not willing to do so. As regards the chapter's more-than-human protagonists also, it is a singlemindedly negative orientation toward Christ that gives direction and purpose to all of Satan's activity in the massive challenge he has mounted against the government of God. And finally, the reader's own orientation toward Christ in an exegetical sense must be seen as having a decisive influence on his or her views of what the chapter contains and how its significance should be evaluated. We now turn to this last point in greater detail.

"Chapter I"

Chapter I compared the views of three schools of interpretation with regard to Dan 11. These were preterism, futurism, and historicism. It was suggested that in certain respects these three schools of interpretation represent only two fundamentally different points of view. Specifically, futurism is *identical* with preterism in its essential features up through v. 35 and *similar* to historicism from v. 40 on.²

¹At once fulfilling the requirements and illustrating the principles of His government.

²The details of futurist and historicist interpretation in vv. 40-45 do not closely correspond. But, whereas the two would never be mistaken for each other, in both cases the prophecies of Daniel are inspired, God is active in current events, and Jesus is coming soon. These are important similarities.

"Preterism" (pp. 29-35)

Preterist scholars interpret Dan 11, and all other parts of Scripture, without reference to inspiration. In such a model Daniel's accuracy with regard to specific historical events is taken as evidence that the events in question took place before the account we now have was written about them. And since human influences are assumed at the outset to be the only ones relevant in the prophetic process, genuine predictive prophecy containing divine insight into future events is not seen as a viable possibility. Preterist exegesis is concerned exclusively with the local situation and timeframe of the prophet.

The most common form of preterist outline in Dan 11 includes vv. 2-20, 21-39, and 40-45 as sections, where vv. 2-39 are history written after the fact and vv. 40-45 are genuine prophecy--identified as such by their purported historical inaccuracies.

A point of methodology on which we took issue with preterists was the matter of interpreting the earlier prophecies of Daniel by means of chap. 11 rather than interpreting chap. 11 by means of the book's earlier prophecies. The visions of Daniel are parallel and cumulative in their significance, which means that taking them in any order other than 2, 7, 8, and 10-12 introduces a potential for serious exegetical distortion.

"Futurism" (pp. 36-64)

Futurism accepts the concept of divine inspiration as a basic fact of Scripture. Thus, the divine element in prophecy is rightly emphasized and genuine predictive prophecy that spans long periods of

time with accuracy offers no exegetical difficulty. Since God is active in human affairs and knows the future Himself it is entirely possible for Him to share that knowledge with a prophet. Thus, futurists do not apply prophecy to events within the prophet's local situation only. God foresaw what would happen in modern times as well.

The most common form of futurist outline in Dan 11 includes vv. 2-20, 21-35, and 36-45 as sections. The verse division of most importance is that which separates past and future (vv. 35/36), with prediction throughout; whereas the corresponding break for preterists is between history and prophecy (vv. 39/40), with a II B.C. timeframe throughout. For futurists a gap of some 2100 years exists between the distant past and near future portions of the chapter, during which interval the prophecy is silent.

A weakness of the futurist position is the lack of congruity between the amount of detail and overall level of historical significance associated with a II B.C. application of vv. 14-35 on the one hand, and the claim that the prophecy originated fully four centuries previously on the other. It was pointed out that an unexpectedly large amount of detail, an unexpectedly small amount of significance, and a gap are all related factors. These incongruities can be resolved in either of two ways: by confining vv. 36-45 to II B.C. along with the rest of the chapter (with preterists), or by extending vv. 14-35 across the 2100 years leading up to XX A.D. (with historicists). When the prophecy is allowed to take in a wide range of historical events its details are distributed over time and the first problem disappears, as does the gap, while simultaneously the significance of topics discussed

assumes a level that is fully consistent with the divine-human claims made about the prophecy's origin.

"Historicism" (pp. 65-94)

Historicism accepts divine inspiration and the concept of genuine prediction in prophecy just as futurism does. And historicists, like futurists, date the book of Daniel in the Persian period. They accept this prophecy, and all the rest of Scripture, as God's authoritative revelation to mankind. But historicists maintain that God's involvement in prophecy should be seen as a counterpart to His involvement in history, which is held to be constant. In this model no period of history is passed over in God's absence and no period is passed over in prophetic silence. For historicists, as opposed to futurists, there is a symmetry between these two forms of divine involvement with us.

There are two main types of historicist outline. One places breaks at vv. 15/16 and 22/23 (group 1: vv. 2-15, 16-22, 23-28, 29-35, 36-39, 40-45), the other at vv. 13/14 and 20/21 (group 2: vv. 2-13, 14-20, 21-28, 29-35, 36-39, 40-45). These two apparently similar outlines, when simplified, take quite different forms. That for group 1, adopted in the present study, reduces to vv. 2-15, 16-28, 29-39, 40-45,¹ that for group 2 to vv. 2-20, 21-39, 40-45. The latter is minimally different from the basic futurist outline format of vv. 2-20, 21-35, 36-45.

The significance of these differences between group 1 and group 2 historicism has to do with the degree of emphasis they place on the Prince figure of v. 22. All historicists apply v. 22 to Christ in some

¹See pp. 171-73, above.

way. But for group 1 v. 22 with its reference to the "prince of the covenant" is made naturally prominent as the last verse in a section, while for group 2, though still applied to Christ, it is overshadowed somewhat by v. 21 with its reference to a "contemptible person." The real issue is not one of outlines and verse divisions as such, but of the roles that the persons referred to are seen to have in the chapter as a whole. The close relationship between one's outline and overall direction of emphasis in Dan 11 is illustrated in fig. 51.

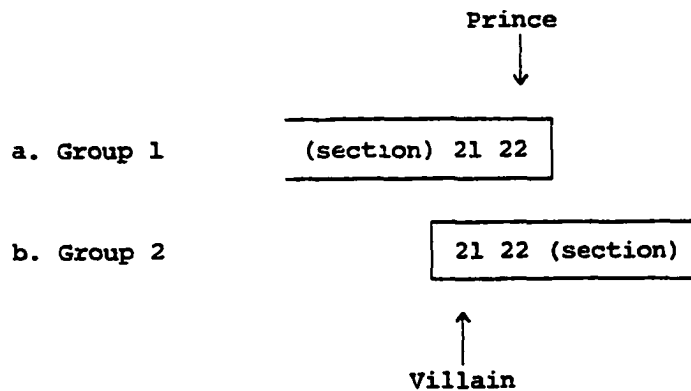


Fig. 51. Relative prominence of (a) the Prince in v. 22 and (b) the villain in v. 21 as influenced by the placement of verse divisions in two historicist outline fragments.

Both varieties of historicist interpretation in Dan 11 have areas that require exegetical clarification. We consider those of group 2 first and then those of group 1.

If v. 21 begins a section the problem for group 2 historicists is how to retain Christ in v. 22. The available villains are taken to be Antiochus (Ford) and the pope (Thiele, Maxwell). If Antiochus is the villain in II B.C. any reference to Christ in v. 22 must be seen as proleptic in nature. This is Ford's solution (group 2b). If, on the

other hand, the pope is the villain starting in VI A.D. then any reference to Christ in v. 22 must be understood in a secondary or extended sense to avoid being hopelessly out of sequence historically. This is the solution advocated by Thiele and Maxwell (group 2a). The above positions consistently result in tension between vv. 21 and 22, but this weakness is tolerated as the price of maintaining historical continuity at v. 23 (Thiele, Maxwell) or a II B.C. context (Ford).

If v. 22 ends a section the problem for group 1 historicists is just the reverse of that for group 2. There is no tension between vv. 21 and 22. The "contemptible person" of v. 21 is Tiberius Caesar--the Caesar who in one sense presided over Christ's death. But at v. 23 there is a puzzling historical overlap such that vv. 16-22 and 23-28 both apply to the early Roman period. Specifically, Uriah Smith applied v. 22 in I A.D. but v. 23 in II B.C.¹ Over the past century--during the years since Smith's first book on the subject. Thoughts, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Daniel,² was published--there have been a number of attempts to avoid this distinctive interpretation,³ which

¹Daniel and Revelation, pp. 256-59.

²Battle Creek: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1873. See Adams, Sanctuary Doctrine, pp. 22-23, fn. 4.

³In 1901 Haskell (Daniel the Prophet, pp. 218-34) applied vv. 23-31 to the early Christian centuries (I-VI A.D.), instead of to the time of the Roman civil wars (I B.C.). In this way v. 23 was made to follow v. 22 in time rather than precede it as Smith had suggested. Also, at the 1919 Bible conference, C. M. Sorenson (July 6, Archives, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C.) placed v. 28 in II A.D., v. 29 in V A.D., and so on into the Middle Ages. But neither Haskell nor Sorenson came to grips with the details of the passage. Haskell spoke only in the broadest generalities and Sorenson offered no comment whatever on vv. 23-27 (see *ibid.*, pp. 43-44). A third individual who held similar views was Edward Heppenstall ("The Eleventh Chapter of Daniel:

C. M. Sorenson called "in railroad terms a 'switchback'--where the line runs on a certain distance, and then turns back."¹

With these points in mind it would appear that of the various sub-categories of historicism available group 2a is to be preferred. Group 2a attempts to maintain a truly uninterrupted flow of history in Dan 11, while group 1 proposes a major discontinuity. And the amount of exegetical tension for group 2a at vv. 21/22 seems to be less than for group 1 at vv. 22/23. This conclusion, however, is wrong on both counts. Smith's interpretation of vv. 23-28 was the correct one.²

But Smith himself gave no evidence of understanding the nature of the resulting historical discontinuity. To Smith and his critics alike, vv. 23-28 were a section that turned the narrative back in time.

A Paraphrase and a Partial Interpretation," Daniel 11 File, Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C.). Heppenstall went into detail. The "agreement" of v. 23 was between Tiberius and Sejanus at about the same time as Christ's death (ibid., p. 11); the "loot and wealth" of v. 24 made reference to such wasteful emperors as Gaius Caligula (A.D. 37-41), Commodus (A.D. 180-92), and Caracalla (A.D. 211-17) (pp. 12-13); and vv. 25-28 should be assigned to "the period from Diocletian to Constantine, particularly the period 266-330 A.D." (p. 14, see also pp. 15-17). The differences between Heppenstall's interpretation and Thiele's ("Outline Studies," pp. 139-46) are more apparent than real. Both represent group 2a.

A different approach was taken by H. C. Lacey and M. C. Wilcox at the 1919 Bible conference (Archives, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C.). Verses 14-30a were confined to II B.C., with no reference to Christ at v. 22 (see Lacey, ibid., July 8, p. 65). Then in v. 30b papal Rome was suddenly introduced, along with a memory of Antiochus by secondary reference (ibid., pp. 23-24, 27). For comment on the general response to such innovation see Bert Halo-viak with Gary Land, "Ellen White and Doctrinal Conflict: Context of the 1919 Bible Conference," Spectrum 12, 4 (1982):30-32.

¹C. M. Sorenson, July 6, 1919 Bible Conference, Archives, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C., p. 36.

²It is important to make a clear distinction between the earlier and later verses of the chapter when evaluating the contributions of this influential scholar.

Actually such is not the case.¹ There is a historical irregularity at vv. 22/23, but vv. 23-28 do not take the narrative back. Instead vv. 16-22 take one branch of the narrative forward; they are proleptic.² The importance of this fact, and of making the above distinction with clarity, lies in a realization of what vv. 16-22 go forward to. Leaving the main narrative at v. 15 they lead up through a series of separate events to the crucifixion of Christ in v. 22.³ Then, having brought the reader's attention to this one supremely important point--in terms of both history and the structure of the chapter--the prolepsis ends, and the narrative resumes where it had previously been interrupted, just after v. 15. There is no break between vv. 15 and 23; v. 15 concludes the discussion of events under Greece and v. 23 introduces Rome. Thus, vv. 23-28 do not look back from the perspective of

¹If one assumes that vv. 16-22 are fully comparable to vv. 23-28 within the chapter then of course the earlier view would be unavoidable. It is a common and understandable assumption, but not a correct one. The line of narrative carried by vv. 2-15 and 23-28 is an unbroken one from which that in vv. 16-22 is distinct in one sense.

²Note that Ford's position on v. 22 also involves prolepsis (p. 233, above). Differences are that here an entire section (vv. 16-22) is claimed to break away from the main narrative and supply a preview of events farther in the future--as a unit and in a primary sense; while for Ford only the term "prince of the covenant" looks forward to Christ's time, and that in a secondary sense (Daniel, p. 267; Spectrum 11, 4 [1981]:55; fn. 2, pp. 84-85, above). The primary referent of the prince figure continues to be Onias III in Ford's view.

³Here in microcosm is the one issue that underlies all others in the thesis. If vv. 23-28 look back they look back to Rome, whereas if vv. 16-22 look forward they look forward to Christ. The one thought we would convey in this body of research more than any other is that to understand Dan 11 with insight one must place truly primary emphasis on the role that Christ plays within it. Thus, if the point about vv. 16-22 is missed, the whole conceptual structure of the thesis will have been missed as well.

v. 22; they resume an otherwise continuous line of narrative, doing so from the perspective of v. 15.

Summary

Modern scholarship on Dan 11 was reviewed under three main headings--preterism, futurism, and historicism. Relationships among categories can be approached from the standpoint of either similarities or differences. As regards similarities a number of subgroupings have been discussed which can be arranged to form something of a continuum;¹ as regards differences two widely separated positions on Dan 11 can be isolated. Here I emphasize the latter. It is a useful generalization that the three schools of interpretation listed above represent only two fundamentally different points of view.

The issue that more than any other divides expositors in Dan 11 is divine involvement. Thus, preterists do not accept the concepts of inspiration and prediction, while both futurists and historicists do. Such a distinction should be clear enough. But certain aspects of futurist interpretation derive from a partial acceptance of preterist views, and as such stand in a relationship of tension with futurist presuppositions. For example, the claim of a VI B.C. date of authorship is not supported by the amount of detail (too much) and degree of overall historical significance (too little) associated with an application that doesn't go beyond II B.C. until after v. 35. This restriction on

¹There are seven in all: preterism (pp. 29-36, above); idealist, non-idealist/non-dispensationalist, and dispensationalist futurism (pp. 36-63, 95-102); and--without additional labels--group 2b, group 2a, and group 1 historicism (pp. 65-94, 102-3).

vv. 2-35 accounts for the above incongruity and also for the historical gap which has become characteristic of dispensationalist futurism. Although futurists have theological reasons to welcome a christocentric interpretation in Dan 11 or elsewhere, they are kept from applying v. 22 to the crucifixion because of their borrowed position on vv. 2-35. See table 54.

TABLE 54

THE FUTURIST SIMILARITY
TO PRETERISM

	Preterism	Futurism	Historicism
Accept divine involvement in principle . .	-	+	+
Apply v. 22 to Christ .	-	-	+

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "does," and let minus (-) be read "does not." It would be expected for futurism and historicism to agree on both points.

The matter of Christ's personal role in the prophecy, referred to above, is only a more specific form of the original question about divine involvement. Neither preterists nor futurists apply any part of the chapter to Christ; only historicists do so. But whereas group 2 historicists apply v. 22 to Christ they do this in spite of their outlines, not as an integral part of them. It has been pointed out that Christ in v. 22 and a section break at vv. 20/21 are positions not easily reconciled to each other. See table 55.

TABLE 55

**THE GROUP 2 HISTORICIST
SIMILARITY TO FUTURISM**

	Futurism	Group 2 Historicism	Group 1 Historicism
Apply v. 22 to Christ .	-	+	+
Place a verse division at vv. 22/23	-	-	+

NOTE: Let plus (+) be read "does," and let minus (-) be read "does not." It would be expected for group 2 and group 1 historicism to agree on both points.

There is an intimate relationship between the nature of one's outline and the range of his or her exegetical options in Dan 11--even to the extent of affecting overall emphasis. This principle is illustrated by both futurism and group 2 historicism, where in both cases a very real tension has been created by adopting positions in the outline that are not fully compatible with the interpreters' presuppositions. But outline and emphasis cannot be successfully separated.

We submit that the most cohesive and internally consistent interpretations of Dan 11 are those of preterists and group 1 historicists, with futurism as a transitional category between them. On one end of the spectrum preterism represents, in a straightforward way, the concept that God has no functional role in Dan 11; group 1 historicism, on the other end of the spectrum, asserts that divine activity is pervasive, with the entire chapter revolving around Christ's personal part in it. These differences are epitomized by the central unifying figure

associated with each. The claim of the present study is that the figure at the center of Dan 11 is not Antiochus in v. 21 (with Onias III in v. 22 as prince), but rather Christ in v. 22 (with Tiberius in v. 21 as villain).¹ One cannot have it both ways. The difference is not one of individual identity only, but of the chapter's focus and point of central emphasis. For preterists, and for futurists, Dan 11 is a narrative about a villain; for historicists, in varying degrees, it is one about a Prince.²

"Chapter II"

Chapter II was a detailed structural formulation of the group 1 historicist position.³ Two types of structure were discussed separately--first chiastic, then linear--and the proposed relationships between them were pointed out.

"Chiastic structure" (pp. 104-88)

Dan 10-12 was shown to be broadly chiastic in form. Thus, the last part of Dan 10 corresponds to the first part of Dan 12, the earlier verses within Dan 11 correspond to the later ones, and so on inward until one reaches the center of the whole structure, which is 11:22. The existence of a chiasm spanning Dan 10-12 is not dependent on the views of any one school of interpretation, nor is the identification of

¹In a chapter that covers so much history as Dan 11, Tiberius could not be the villain throughout in the same sense that Christ is the Prince throughout. He is the villain only in the timeframe of vv. 21-22.

²See fig. 39a (p. 186), not repeated here, which conveys the assertion, based on purely exegetical considerations, that Christ is referred to in Dan 11:22. See also figs. 52-54, below.

³The formulation is original, the position being defended is not.

its center. These are not primarily exegetical facts, but structural facts that have exegetical implications.

If, as preterists believe, v. 22 refers to Onias III rather than Christ, it must therefore follow that Onias III is the party on whom all of Dan 10-12 focuses. But the preterist interpretation of these materials is not about Onias III; it is about Antiochus Epiphanes. Alternatively, since Antiochus is considered to be the center of the narrative it is incongruous that he not be found at the center of its broad, all-encompassing chiasm. The possibility should be explored that a mistake has somehow been made in identifying it. If Antiochus is the chiasm's central figure then v. 21 is its central verse. The way to demonstrate that this is the case is by demonstrating first, in a straightforward way, that vv. 20 and 22 have mutual similarities that are more significant than those shown on pp. 119-23 to exist between vv. 21 and 23, and that the former frame v. 21 between them. This has not yet been done, but if it ever were then a structural claim would have been falsified which must otherwise be seen as giving considerable support to the historicist position. In the first alternative above (Onias III in v. 22) relevant exegetical facts are unaccounted for; in the second alternative (Antiochus in v. 21) relevant structural facts are unaccounted for. The entire chiastic format of Dan 10-12 argues against any exegetical model which assumes the primary importance of v. 21.

For group 1 historicists, on the other hand, there is no conflict whatever between the exegetical and structural facts under discussion. The exegesis centers on Christ in v. 22 and so does the chiasm.

Actually there is no mistaking the center of this structure; we are not in fact off by one verse. The "contemptible person" of v. 21 corresponds--although in a historicist framework he is not identical--to the entity that "will deal deceitfully" in v. 23. And in between these paired references to villains, in vv. 21 and 23, is the "prince of the covenant" in v. 22.¹

A counterpart to the Prince is found within v. 22 itself, here referred to as an "overwhelming army." Whereas Tiberius (v. 21) was only one individual Roman oppressor, the power that was to "deal deceitfully" (v. 23) included the Roman state generally. And while Christ (v. 22b) was only one individual oppressed by Rome,² the "overwhelming army" (v. 22a) was a whole class of people--mostly prominent and influential Romans--who, like Christ, died during the reign of terror presided over by Tiberius. Oppressors (individual and corporate) are mentioned in vv. 21 and 23, the oppressed (corporate and individual) in v. 22. Here Christ identifies Himself with all who come under the power of oppression and injustice--Gentiles as well as Jews. There is symmetry here, but more than symmetry; there is also deep significance.

The argument for chiastic structure put forward in the first section of chapter II places the claims of chapter I firmly in context. Christ is not only present in Dan 11, but present at the center of a chiasm spanning the last quarter of the book. The prominent placement of v. 22 with reference to Dan 10-12 is not an exegetical bias but an objective fact. See fig. 52, which now restates fig. 39b separately for convenience.

¹See pp. 119-22, above.

²See Isa 53:8.

—————→ 11:22 ←————

Fig. 52. The assertion, based on chiastic structural considerations, that Christ in Dan 11:22 is the central focus of a chiasm spanning Dan 10-12.

"Linear structure" (pp. 129-64)

Just as the discussion of chiastic structure in the first part of chapter II (chap. IIA) placed the conclusion to chapter I in context, the discussion of linear structure in the second part of chapter II (chap. IIB) places the section on chiastic structure in context.

In the second part of chapter II linear verse divisions were made on the basis of three separate criteria--periods of history, the presence or absence of a North/South conflict motif, and literary style.

Periods of history discussed were those associated with Persia (v. 2), Greece (vv. 3-15), and Rome (vv. 16-45). Vv. 16-45 were then subdivided into a Roman period (Rome phase 1, vv. 16-28) and a Christian period (Rome phase 2, vv. 29-45),² corresponding to the distinction in Dan 2 between iron (2:40) and iron mixed with clay (2:41-43).

A motif of conflict between North and South is present through most of Dan 11. Significant exceptions to this generalization include vv. 16-22 (focus on the Prince in v. 22) and 36-39 (focus on the villain). Two further, though incidental, exceptions were vv. 2-4 (North and South not yet introduced) and 30b-35 (Northern power consolidated).

¹See especially pp. 143-52, above.

²See table 43, p. 141, above. In addition the Christian period was also subdivided (see table 44, p. 145; table 55, p. 229).

In terms of literary style the chapter was divided into sections of prose (vv. 2-28, 40-45), poetic prose (vv. 29-35), and poetry (vv. 36-39). Poetry was defined as having both meter and line parallels, poetic prose as having only the latter,¹ and prose neither. Instead of an abrupt return to unadorned prose in vv. 40-45, after poetry in vv. 36-39, there is what amounts to a fourth level of literary style at the end of the chapter. It was suggested that symbolism is found there and that symbolism generally should be considered comparable to poetry in its literary impact.² Consequently the chapter's progression of styles is not most significantly from prose, to poetic prose, to poetry, to prose again; but from prose, to poetic prose, to true poetry, to symbolism.³

¹This term and its definition are borrowed from Shea ("The Unity of the Creation Account," Origins 5 [1978]:17).

²Linguistically the two forms of expression are quite similar. Poetry has stylized syntactic features, while symbolism has stylized lexical features. It may well be that "figurative speech" would be a better term to use here than "symbolism," where a symbol would be expected to have a specific referent and a figure would not. It is not our purpose to make a rigorous distinction of this sort. The main point is that the passage under discussion (vv. 40-45) is not literal in its style.

³In addition to the above shifts over the course of the chapter from prose, through poetry, to symbolism or figurative speech, there is a gradual change from literal to stylized geographical reference for the terms "North" and "South" (see pp. 18-22, 215-26). In addition it is claimed that in its later sections the chapter's outlook becomes less military and more ideological or spiritual. Thus, at the beginning of Dan 11 political matters clearly predominate, whereas toward its end the proportions of emphasis have become reversed and spiritual issues are foremost, being virtually the only ones dealt with in vv. 40-45. This is not an isolated fact. North and South draw their significance from God's people, whom they oppose. When God's people were a political entity, so were North and South; as God's people became more widely diffused geographically, so did North and South. In the twentieth century God's people are in all parts of the world, and so too are North and South. Cf. Matt 28:18-20; Acts 8:1; 17:6; 24:5; Rom 1:13-17.

Taking together all the verse divisions defined in the above ways (i.e., periods of history, conflict motif, literary style) the resulting linear outline consists of nine sections, as follows: vv. 2, 3-4, 5-15, 16-22, 23-28, 29-30a, 30b-35, 36-39, 40-45.¹

Of the eight verse divisions between the sections just listed the single most important one to grasp and understand clearly is that between vv. 22 and 23, which has the effect of placing v. 22 at the end of a section (vv. 16-22). This, together with the proposed fact that the main purpose of vv. 16-22a in the chapter is to lead up to and emphasize v. 22b, gives vv. 22 a special prominence in Dan 11 even in terms of its linear structure, apart from the chiasmic considerations discussed previously.

A second verse division of great importance is that between 11:45 and 12:1, toward the latter of which, all history in chap. 11--outside vv. 16-22--is oriented. Thus, there are two verses in Dan 11 (broadly defined) that refer to Christ and which do so at pivotal junctures within the chapter--one pointing to the first coming at the center of the narrative, the other to the second coming, at its end. Reference to either must be seen as a special case of reference to both, and in this way the claims of the previous section with regard to 11:22 are placed in context. See fig. 53, which repeats fig. 39c.

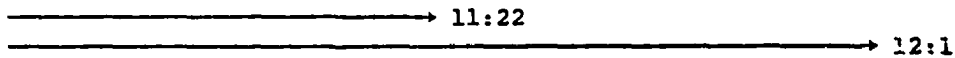


Fig. 53. The assertion, based on linear structural considerations, that Christ is referred to at His first and second comings in 11:22 and 12:1, respectively.

¹See fig. 44, p. 150, and related discussion.

"Synthesis of structures" (pp. 164-87)

In the third part of chapter II (chap. IIC) it was shown that the references to Christ within Dan 11 are not randomly distributed, but serve as the end points of two distinct streams of narrative leading up to His two advents, respectively. The one series of events extends to the first century A.D., the other to the twentieth century A.D. or shortly thereafter. But both start together. The events referred to are identical until the end of the Greek period in both cases, diverging only when Rome is introduced.¹ Then during Rome's earlier years in power the two run parallel to each other until the first ends at the crucifixion of Christ. Thus, the two proposed streams of narrative consist of vv. 2-15, 16-22 (vv. 2-22) on the one hand (emphasis on the first coming) and vv. 2-15, 23-45 on the other (emphasis on the second coming).

Two sections of Dan 11 (vv. 16-22 and 36-39) are unique in being free from the otherwise prominent North/South conflict motif, and at these points one's attention is drawn beyond the human kings of North and South to the more-than-human parties that seek to influence them.

The above-mentioned sections can be approached in either of two ways. Verses 16-22 and 36-39 can both be isolated together as having no conflict motif.² In this case there are six main sections, which can be arranged chiastically as in fig. 54.

¹Rome's entrance into prophetic history is treated separately in the two divisions of the narrative. Within the part oriented toward v. 22 Rome is introduced in v. 16; in the part oriented toward v. 45 Rome is introduced in v. 23.

²See pp. 170-78.

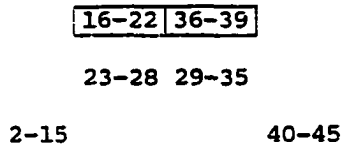


Fig. 54. Verses 16-22 and 36-39 isolated as having no North/South conflict motif. Six sections arranged chiastically.

Alternatively vv. 16-22 can be isolated alone as having a historical goal other than 12:1.¹ In this case there are four main sections,² which can be arranged chiastically as in fig. 55.

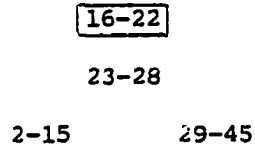


Fig. 55. Verses 16-22 isolated alone as having a historical goal other than 12:1. Four sections arranged chiastically.

Verses 16-22 lead up to the chapter's more-than-human Prince in v. 22; vv. 36-39, on the other hand, provide insight into the pride of the chapter's more-than-human villain. Notice that the first arrangement (fig. 54) emphasizes both of these figures together, while the second (fig. 55) emphasizes the Prince alone. This fact illustrates a principle that has been put forward with emphasis in the course of the study, that the chapter's Prince is of greater exegetical prominence than its villain.

¹See pp. 178-82.

²By reinserting vv. 36-39 between vv. 29-35 and 40-45 three of the earlier sections are consolidated as one. Instead of vv. 29-35, 36-39, and 40-45 separately we now have vv. 29-45 together.

As a corollary to the above, notice that Christ's first coming is portrayed in terms of both chiastic and linear structure, His second coming in terms of chiastic structure alone. Thus, while both advents are singled out for attention here, the first, in Dan 11, is the greater of the two. It is the cross that makes the second coming possible. After an introductory section common to both,¹ vv. 16-22 lead up to the first coming (11:22) and vv. 23-45 to the second (12:1). See fig. 56, which now repeats fig. 39d.

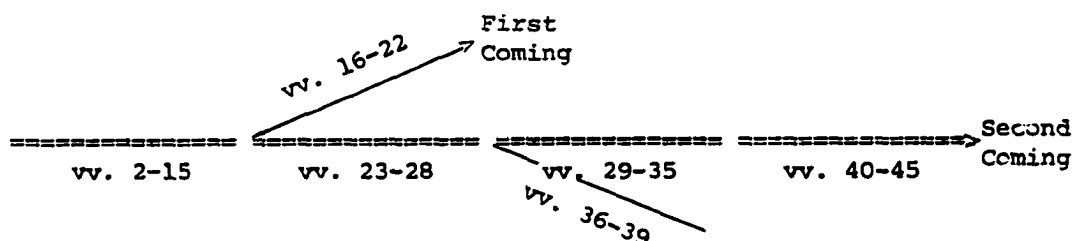


Fig. 56. The assertion, based on a combination of chiastic and linear structural considerations, that Christ's two advents, at the center and end of Dan 11 respectively, provide the historical goals toward which its two streams of narrative are oriented.

"Chapter III"

The two-part format of the narrative in Dan 11 was next shown to be closely paralleled by that of the two-part time prophecy in Dan 8-9. The relationship of the 70 weeks to the 2300 days on the one hand corresponds with that of 11:2-22 to 11:2-39 (or 2-45) on the other--the relationship of shorter to longer units in both cases being one of part to whole. Thus, while the 70 weeks are the first part of the 2300 days, 11:2-22 is, in a corresponding sense, the first part of 11:2-39 (or 2-45).

¹Vv. 2-15.

It should be noted also that the smaller and larger narrative segments begin together at one point and end separately at two. See fig. 57.

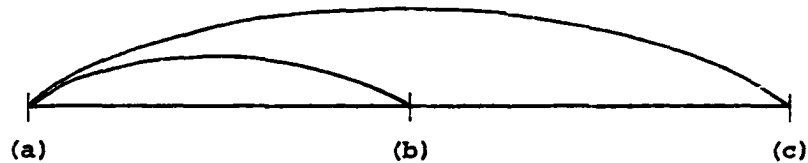


Fig. 57. An abstract format for the relationship of both the 70 weeks (ab) to the 2300 days (ac), and Dan 11:2-22 (ab) to Dan 11:2-39 (or 2-45) (ac). (Specific dates for points a, b, and c are different between Dan 8-9 and Dan 11--they are not identical in historical reference--but the form of both two-part narratives is the same.)

By showing that the two-part outline format proposed for Dan 11 is parallel to a relationship between Dan 8 and 9 which has been recognized as an established feature of historicist exegesis for over a century and a half,¹ I hope to have demonstrated that the proposed analysis of Dan 11 is a legitimate one that lacks novelty.

Summary

Chapter I discussed three schools of interpretation with regard to Dan 11, which were later shown to represent only two fundamentally different points of view. The most internally consistent exegetical results were said to be obtained by building an interpretation of the entire chapter around Antiochus or around Christ. The latter position was the one adopted in the present body of research.

From chapter II onward the argument consisted of establishing a four-fold confirmation for the original claim that Christ occupies the exegetical center of Dan 11.

¹See pp. 198 and 203, above.

Chapter IIA placed I in context by showing that Christ is not only present in Dan 11 but present at the center of a chiasm spanning Dan 10-12. Chapter IIB placed IIA in context by showing that the first coming is not the only one referred to (11:22); both are (11:22; 12:1). Chapter IIC placed IIB in context by showing that these references to Christ's two comings are the culminating points toward which two entire streams of narrative in Dan 11 are oriented. Chapter III then placed IIC in context by showing that the two parts of the narrative in Dan 11 bear the same structural relation to each other as do the two parts of the time prophecy in Dan 8-9.

Thus, chapter II explored the structural implications of the central exegetical claim made in chapter I about Christ in 11:22, and chapter III, on the basis of literary parallels within Daniel, showed that the conclusions reached in chapter II are reasonable and substantially accurate. An appendix, below, supports the legitimacy of using Dan 8-9 as the basis for a parallel with Dan 10-12.¹

Conclusions

There is more to be gained from a comparison between Dan 8-9 and Dan 11 than the realization that two important prophetic discourses parallel each other in form--as important as this fact is. What the paired time prophecies in Dan 8-9 deal with is Christ's priestly ministry in heaven, around which His two comings to earth form a historical inclusio in Dan 10-12. Thus, the two pairs of narratives are not only parallel but complement each other in an important way.

¹At issue is the timeframe for the 2300 days.

Consolidating the Model

Three points in history that emerged from the investigation as having special importance were: (a) Christ's ascension to heaven and the beginning of His priestly ministry (9:24, events #3 and #6; I A.D.), (b) the beginning of the second phase of that same ministry (8:14; XIX A.D.), and (c) the second coming (12:1). These pivotal events in history correspond to three major section breaks in Dan 11, with the relationships now shown in fig. 58.

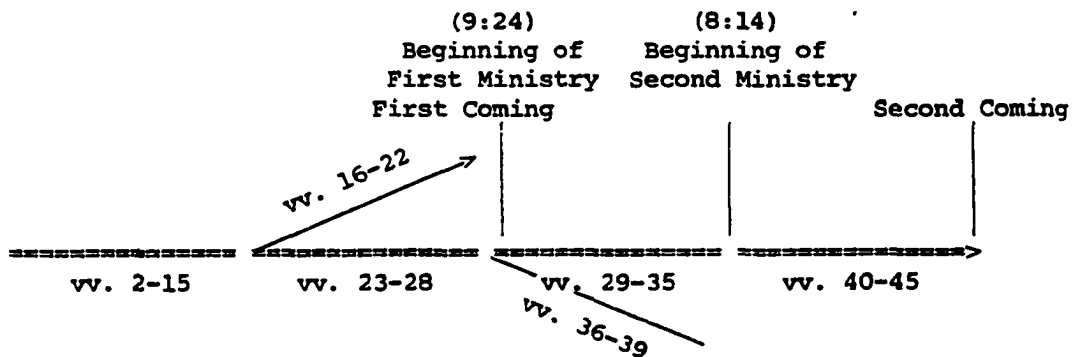


Fig. 58. Restatement of fig. 56 with the time of the first coming (11:22) and beginning of the antitypical daily service (9:24), beginning of the antitypical yearly service (8:14), and time of the second coming (12:1) shown in relation to the proposed outline of Dan 11.

Between the first point singled out for attention (beginning of first ministry) and the second (beginning of second ministry) an antitypical daily service took place in heaven, which was eventually opposed on earth by the horn of Dan 8. The period of the little horn's one-sided rivalry with Christ during the period of the daily, documented in 8:9-12, is now added to the summary from fig. 58. For this addition see fig. 59.

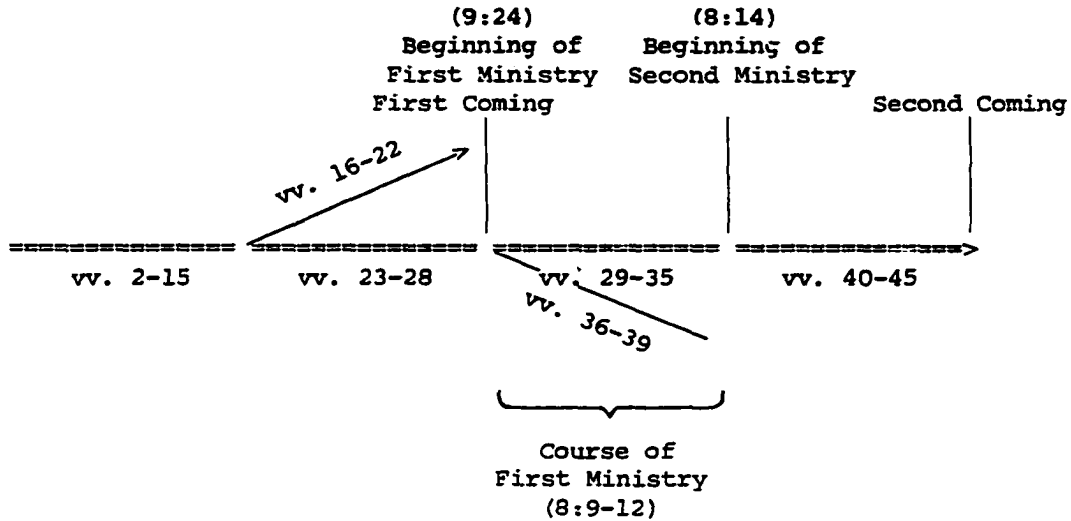


Fig. 59. Christ's first phase of ministry in heaven added to the previous summary.

Between the second point (beginning of second ministry) and the third (second coming) an antitypical yearly service takes place. This yearly service or day of atonement corresponds to the heavenly courtroom scene of Dan 7:9-14. In Daniel the day of atonement is a day of judgment.¹ And during this second phase of His ministry also,

¹For a parallel to Dan 7:9-10 see Joel 3:12-16: "'Let the nations be roused; let them advance into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, for there I will sit to judge all the nations on every side'" (v. 12); "Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision! For the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision!" (v. 14). An important question concerning this passage is who does the deciding. There are two possibilities. Either the people summoned make a decision about the Lord, or the Lord makes a decision about them. Taking v. 14 in the context of v. 12 one would have to say the latter. Notice that Joel 3 speaks from the perspective of those judged--all the nations gathered in the Valley of Jehoshaphat or valley of decision, while Dan 7 speaks from the perspective of those judging--seated on thrones in the heavenly court. The actual event, however, is one and the same. In both cases the decisions handed down are God's, although the basis for them must be related to the previous life choices of those summoned--i.e., to the

Christ's activity on man's behalf is eventually opposed.¹ See fig. 60.

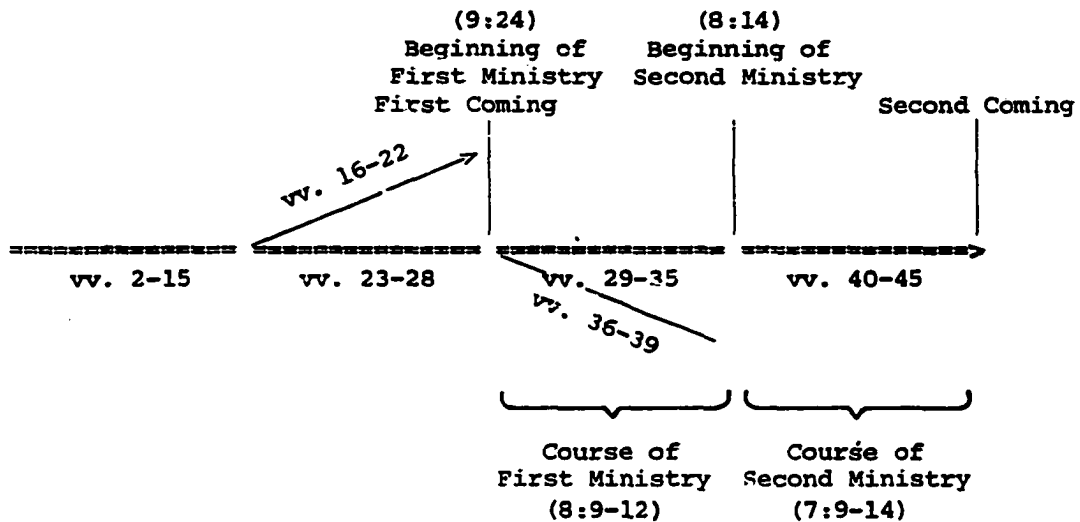


Fig. 60. Christ's second phase of ministry in heaven added to the previous summary.

Thus, between Christ's two comings to earth there is an extended period of time when He serves as our High Priest in heaven--first in an antitypical daily service, then in an antitypical yearly service.²

extent that these had some bearing on the individual's relationship with Christ. "For God will bring every deed into judgment, including every hidden thing, whether it is good or evil" (Eccl 12:14); "Nothing in all creation is hidden from God's sight. Everything is uncovered and laid bare before the eyes of him to whom we must give account" (Heb 4:13).

¹Dan 7:11.

²A word should be said about the apparent contradiction between Christ's being a High Priest and yet presiding over an antitypical daily service as one part of His responsibilities. Taking sanctuary symbolism in an antitypical sense the distinction of greatest significance is between events before as opposed to after the end of the 2300 days. In this case the special emphasis is that a yearly service follows the daily in point of time. Taking sanctuary symbolism in a cosmic sense, however, the distinction is between earth and heaven. Thus, in Rev 11: 1-2 human worshippers are gathered inside "the temple [τὸν ναὸν] of

We have endeavored throughout to show the importance of the two advents for both the form and content of Dan 11. These are the points toward which all history is oriented in the chapter. But during the interim period Christ is just as fully occupied on man's behalf as He was at the first coming or will be at the second. Christ did not cease His redemptive activity just because He passed from physical sight.¹ Our attention in all periods of history should be fixed on Christ; not just on the two occasions when He comes to earth in bodily form (Dan 10-12), but during the whole span of time in between (Dan 8-9).

We today have nothing to fear from acknowledging Christ's extended priestly ministry, but we do have something to fear from allowing our attention to be diverted from it. Equal emphasis should be placed on each facet of Christ's continuing activity²--as Prince

God" (v. 1), by contrast with the court outside which "has been given to the Gentiles" (v. 2). The term *ναός* must be identified in this passage with the first apartment (cf. Mario Veloso, "The Doctrine of the Sanctuary and the Atonement as Reflected in the Book of Revelation," in The Sanctuary and the Atonement, eds. Wallenkampf and Leshner, pp. 395, 403). The only difference between first apartment and court in Rev 11:1-2 is that between belief and unbelief; both groups occupy one geographical location--earth (see also Matt 5:14; Rev 1:12-13, 20; Heb 13:10, 15; 1 Pet 2:9). Christ, on the other hand, has entered "the inner sanctuary behind the curtain" (Heb 6:19), which is heaven. It is especially in the sense of having ascended from earth to heaven that Christ is a *High Priest* ever since entering the latter. In this particular comparison earth is the first apartment and heaven is the second. But in another equally valid sense the first apartment is associated with the period of time before the end of the 2300 days and the second apartment is especially associated with the period of time afterward. Cosmic sanctuary symbolism emphasizes space, antitypical sanctuary symbolism emphasizes time. There is no conflict whatever between them.

¹See Heb 7:11-9:28.

²Approximately equal emphasis. It was argued earlier (p. 247) that the Prince is twice prominent and the villain once, thus supporting the former's greater exegetical prominence in Dan 11. By the same token I now argue that the first coming is twice prominent and the second

(nāgīd) at the first coming, as Priest in the interim period, and as Prince (šar) again at the second coming. The above facts are now summarized in fig. 61.

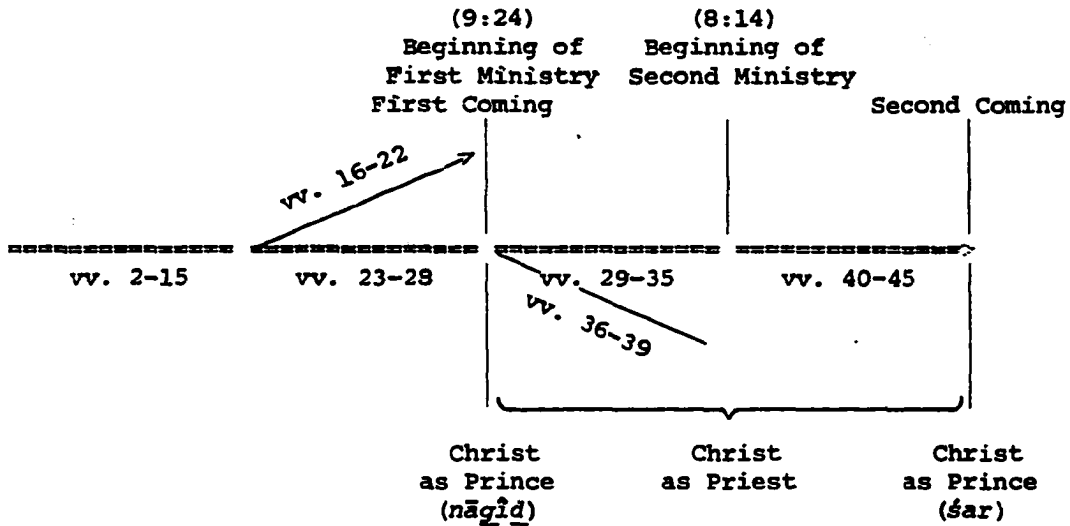


Fig. 61. Restatement of fig. 60 with emphasis on the continuity of Christ's role in history as Prince (nāgīd), Priest, and Prince (šar).

The natural result of formulating and applying this group 1 historicist interpretation of Dan 11 is not just a continuous view of history, but a continuous focus of attention on Christ who is never absent from history. Here is the special emphasis of historicism. Even though Christ is in a place to which we have no physical access He has not left us alone. Just as He promised, He has been with us "'always, to the very end of the age."¹

once, with the result that the glimpse of the crucifixion that we have in 11:22 is of even greater exegetical significance in the chapter than is the second coming at its close. It is Christ's death on the cross that makes the second coming possible.

¹Matt 28:20.

Other Comments

We now address the two issues raised at the beginning of the study.¹ The first had to do with item #6 on the doctrinal questionnaire circulated among a group of 114 Seventh-day administrators and theologians at Glacier View² on Sunday, August 10, and again on Friday, August 15, 1980.³ The second had to do with Uriah Smith's adequacy as an exegete in Dan 11. We take up first the one, then the other.

Glacier View

A proposed answer

Item #6 on the Glacier View poll asked whether the concept of Christ coming two times originated with the New Testament writers, or whether the distinction between His first coming in humility and second coming in glory was already being made in Old Testament times. The question reads as follows:⁴

6. A long span of time between two advents
 - a. is set forth in the Old Testament
 - b. is not set forth in the Old Testament
 - c. not sure

Of the 100 persons who responded to item #6 on Sunday, August 10, forty-one (41%) gave (a) as their answer, forty-nine (49%) gave (b), and ten (10%) (c). See fig. 62.

¹p. 1. See also p. 210.

²Glacier View Youth Camp is located near Ward, Colorado.

³[J. Robert Spangler], "Editorial Perspectives: Personal Glimpses into the Background and Results of the Glacier View Sanctuary Review Committee," Ministry, October 1980, pp. 6-7.

⁴"The Glacier View Poll--What Does It Prove?" Evangelica 1 (December 1980):39.

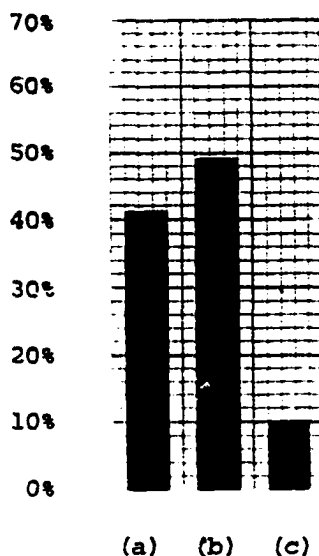


Fig. 62. Bar graph representing the distribution of responses to question #6 on the Glacier View poll on Sunday, August 10, 1980, by percent: (a) 41%, (b) 49%, (c) 10%. (One hundred respondents.)

Of the ninety-four persons who responded to question #6 on Friday, August 15, sixty (64%) gave (a) as their answer, thirty-three (35%) gave (b), and one (1%) (c). See fig. 63.

The response indicated by the present research is a clear and unequivocal (a). A distinction between two advents of Christ, separated by a long span of time, is indeed set forth in Dan 11 (10-12), which is part of the Old Testament.

Suggestions for further research

A matter that should be made the object of further research is the proposed identity relationship between Michael and Christ. This is a vital area to clarify. In the text of Dan 12:1 the Figure who stands

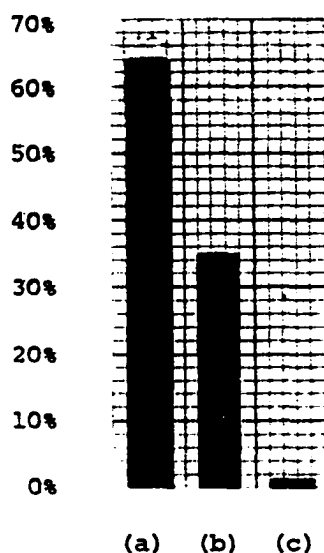


Fig. 63. Bar graph representing the distribution of responses to question #6 on the Glacier View poll on Friday, August 15, 1980, by percent: (a) 64%, (b) 35%, (c) 1%. (Ninety-four respondents.)

up is "Michael, the great prince." This event and those which immediately follow it were said to be associated with Christ's second coming. If the reference to Michael were not in fact a veiled reference to Christ the present case for two advents in Dan 11 (10-12) would be seriously weakened and the proposed parallels between Dan 11:44-12:3 and Rev 19-20 on the one hand,¹ and between Dan 11 and Dan 8-9 on the other,² would remain unaccounted for. If, however, Michael and Christ are the same then the present model is consistent with the fact and an important and potentially extensive source of Biblical data on the preexistent Christ becomes available to scholars.³

¹See pp. 161-62, above.

²See chapter III (pp. 188-209).

³One's terms should be chosen very carefully when dealing with Michael. The Hebrew term *mal'āk* "angel" is not directly applied to

A study of Michael from a christological point of view should concentrate first on the evidence from Daniel itself and the bearing this has on other Scriptural passages.¹ A history of extra-Biblical opinion based on the various apocryphal, pseudepigraphical, and patristic sources would be a necessary part of any comprehensive study, but the two approaches to the topic should not be confused with each other.² If undertaken by a Seventh-day Adventist scholar such a project--which would make an appropriate thesis or dissertation topic--should also include a summary of Ellen G. White's comments on the relevant passages.³

Michael in the Old Testament, nor is the Greek term ἄγγελος "angel" applied to Him in the New. In Dan 10:13 He is called "one of the chief princes" ('ahad haššārīm hārī'šōnīm), in Dan 10:21 "your prince" (šar-kem), and in Dan 12:1 "the great prince who protects your people" (haš-šar haggādōl hā'ōmēd 'al-banē 'ammakā). In Jude 9 Michael is called "the archangel" (ὁ ἀρχάγγελος)--a term that could be taken to imply that He commands the angelic host (emphasizing the prefix ἀρχ-; see Matt 26: 53 where Christ says, "'Do you think that I could not call on my Father, and he will at once put at my disposal more than twelve legions of angels?'), by contrast with the position that He is part of that host (emphasizing the noun -άγγελος). The former interpretation of the term is supported by Rev 12:7, which speaks of "Michael and His angels" in connection with Satan's being cast out of heaven. In short, even the term "archangel" should be used with care in regard to Michael. Definitions of "angel" and its cognates should here be allowed to follow from usage, rather than usage following from prior assumptions about terminology.

Note that in the Septuagint (Σ) of Daniel, Hebrew šar "prince" is translated with Greek ἄγγελος "angel," thus Μιχαηλ ὁ ἄγγελος (10:21), Μιχαηλ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ μέγας (12:1); whereas in Theodotian (Θ'), Hebrew šar "prince" is translated more accurately with Greek ἄρχων "ruler," thus Μιχαηλ ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν (10:21), Μιχαηλ ὁ ἄρχων ὁ μέγας (12:1).

¹See pp. 85-91; 106, fn. 1; 111; 123-26.

²The hypothesis is that the Scriptural and extra-Scriptural data lead to differing conclusions.

³Consider three examples: "Moses passed under the dominion of death, but he was not to remain in the tomb. Christ Himself called him forth to life" (The Desire of Ages: The Conflict of the Ages Illustrated in the Life of Christ [Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1940], p. 421) (see

The most fundamental theological issue to be dealt with--taking our identification of Michael with Christ in the context of the latter's full equality with the Father--would be Christ's unchanging status as God's Son.¹ The conclusions arrived at in this regard would in turn have important implications for our understanding of predictive prophecy and of the relationship between the Old and New Testaments.

Uriah Smith

The question to which we now turn is the correctness of Smith's views on Dan 11. It is necessary to clarify the scope of the question, however, before it can be answered in any meaningful way, since Smith's work on this crucial chapter is unfortunately not all of the same quality. Some parts of it are extremely good, while in other parts it is equally bad. This is a point that must be understood. Once a distinction has been made, however, between Smith's work on vv. 2-35 and vv. 36-45 the original question as to his adequacy as an exegete in Dan 11 can indeed be both meaningfully posed and clearly answered.

Jude 9); "For three weeks Gabriel wrestled with the powers of darkness, seeking to counteract the influences at work on the mind of Cyrus; and before the contest closed, Christ Himself came to Gabriel's aid" (The Story of Prophets and Kings, as Illustrated in the Captivity and Restoration of Israel [Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1943], p. 572) (see Dan 10:13); "The nations are now getting angry, but when our High Priest has finished His work in the sanctuary, He will stand up, put on the garments of vengeance, and then the seven last plagues will be poured out" (Early Writings of Ellen G. White [Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1945], p. 36) (see Dan 12:1).

¹The position indicated by the present body of research would be that Christ--fully divine both from and to eternity--was God's Son before He was Mary's; i.e., He was the Son in His preexistent state as well as in the incarnation. Christ's birth to Mary in Bethlehem of Judea made Him the Son of man, but not the Son of God; He was that already.

A proposed answer

The hypothesis of a two-part narrative for Dan 11, advocated in the present study, is a natural extension of Smith's interpretation of vv. 16-28, in which the first part of the chapter's story line comes up to v. 22 and ends, appearing to turn back at that point with subsequent movement toward a second historical goal in the rest of the chapter.¹ So the evidence provided by the one source would not be a good basis for launching a negative criticism of the other. Smith's work in Dan 10:20-11:35 and 12:1-4 is here asserted to be substantially correct, requiring no changes after more than a century except in matters of detail.

Such a model for the structure of Dan 11 is given major support by the parallels it makes possible between this chapter and the two-part time prophecy of Dan 8-9. There is a question, however, how forcefully Smith saw the closeness of the relationship between these prophecies, both of which have two separate and distinct historical goals. He certainly believed that a relationship was there to be examined,² but did not follow it through consistently and with emphasis in his comments on the last ten verses of Dan 11.

¹See pp. 235-37, above, for an important clarification.

²In comment on 11:23 Smith speaks of Dan 9: "Now that the prophet has taken us through the secular events of the Roman Empire to the end of the seventy weeks of Daniel 9:24, he takes us back to the time when the Romans became directly connected with the people of God by the Jewish league in 161 B.C." (Daniel and Revelation, p. 258). Similarly, in comment on 12:1 he speaks of Dan 8: "The great prophecy of the 2300 days gives us the definite beginning of the final division of the work in the sanctuary in heaven. The verse before us gives us data whereby we can discover approximately the time of its close" (*ibid.*, p. 303).

It is necessary to distinguish further between what Smith wrote concerning vv. 36-39 and what he wrote on vv. 40-45. Smith's remarks about France in vv. 36-39 do not necessarily misrepresent the facts of history or serve to contradict the points of emphasis a historicist scholar might be expected to deal with in an apocalyptic prophecy of this sort.¹ They merely fail to be relevant where he applies them.²

On the other hand, what Smith wrote about Turkey in vv. 40-45 showed a fundamentally inadequate grasp of the direction history was taking at the time and, with the heavy stress he placed on secular Turkey and the continuing role of literal Palestine in prophecy,³ his thinking at this point seems to be influenced more by the popular futurism of the religious press in his day than by the historicist principles he so carefully developed elsewhere.⁴ Thus, in vv. 40-45 Smith's work is not only incorrect but incongruous also. Throughout vv. 36-45 his positions are wrong, but in vv. 40-45 they are both wrong and out of character with the rest of his exegetical framework.

An integral part of Smith's thinking on Dan 11:40-45 was that Turkey would soon come to its political end, with no European power

¹Specifically, the history dealt with has a direct bearing on spiritual issues.

²Verse 40a would have been a more appropriate place to discuss secular reactions to the religious control over society that characterized the Middle Ages. See pp. 220-23, above, for discussion.

³"After a long interval, the king of the south and the king of the north again appear on the stage of action. We have met with nothing to indicate that we are to look to any locations for these powers other than those which shortly after the death of Alexander constituted respectively the southern and the northern divisions of his empire" (Daniel and Revelation, p. 289). Note the contrast with vv. 36-39.

⁴Two unpublished papers deal with this matter. The first is

offering it any assistance when that happened.¹ In fact the opposite has proved to be the case--on both counts. Turkey did not come to its end and it now enjoys the united if silent patronage of western Europe generally. There is a very good pragmatic reason for this: Turkey controls the Dardenelles. As a result it controls the Soviet navy's access to the perpetually ice-free waters of the Mediterranean. In its de facto status as custodian of the Dardenelles, Turkey is a power whose national interests are more closely bound up with those of western Europe than are those of any other single nation bordering on Europe, or on the Mediterranean, or on the Soviet Union.²

Granting that Smith's attempted application of Dan 11:36-45 to France and Turkey was wrong it is instructive to notice why it was wrong, because the same factor that weakens Smith's positions so seriously in 11:36-45 (especially vv. 40-45) constitutes at the same time his greatest strength in 11:2-35 (especially vv. 16-28). This one factor--simultaneously defining failure on the one hand and success on the other--is the potential that each proposed interpretation has for

"The Pioneers on Daniel Eleven and Armageddon" by Raymond F. Cottrell, the second the "Report on Eleventh Chapter of Daniel with Particular Reference to Verses 36-39" by a General Conference study group (see pp. 4-6). Both are in the Dan 11 file of the Biblical Research Institute (General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C.). "Uriah Smith, it seems, reflected the popular Protestant and secular viewpoint as he wrote under the title, 'Turkish Empire's Downfall,' and similar titles, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century" ("Report," p. 5).

¹See v. 45: ". . . yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him" (KJV). This prediction was certainly correct; only the application of it was not.

²It is not our purpose at this point to comment on the significance, if any, of such current geopolitical facts, but merely to show that certain of Smith's prophetic interpretations must be revised.

entering into close parallel relationships with other chapters of the same book.

Although Smith apparently did not realize the full importance of the parallels made available between Dan 11 and Dan 8-9 by his interpretation of the former up through v. 35, they are nevertheless impressive in their scope. These have been discussed, at length, in chapter III of the present study. Here is the undergirding strength of Smith's seemingly counterintuitive views on Dan 11:16-28. By contrast the weakness of his positions from v. 36 onward was assured by choosing to interpret the king of the North first as France rather than Rome (in vv. 36-39) and then as Turkey rather than Rome (in vv. 40-45).¹ Thus,

¹For Smith the second coming of Christ never lost its first immediacy (see Adams, Sanctuary Doctrine, pp. 31, 236-39). Thus, whereas in Dan 11:36-39 the papacy was an unacceptable referent of the villain figure because of a superficial understanding of the phrase "nor regard any god" in v. 37 (KJV), in 11:40-45 the determining factor was a conviction that the immediacy of Christ's second advent would be compromised by applying these verses to the papacy. The argument goes as follows: If history were at the *beginning* of vv. 40-45 when Smith wrote, then before Christ came the papacy would first have to recover from its deadly wound and then lose its strength a second time in the possibly distant future. So Smith would not apply the beginning of vv. 40-45 to his own day with the papacy as king of the North. And if history were at the *end* of vv. 40-45 the papacy's demise, which had certainly been accomplished in 1870 if not in 1798, should have been followed already by the standing up of Michael and His second coming. This obviously had not happened. So Smith could not apply the end of vv. 40-45 to his own day with the papacy as king of the North. But if history were somewhere in the middle--say *nearing* the end of vv. 40-45--then a political power other than the papacy would have to be found that could fall in the relatively near future with no one to help him, thus fulfilling v. 45 and ushering in the second advent.

Smith's ready acceptance of the popular Protestant and secular opinions of his day with regard to Turkey must be seen in the above context. Turkey was a power that could simultaneously fulfill the "come to his end" clause of v. 45 and yet allow the second coming to remain immanent. If what the prophecy specified were the downfall of a power (such as Turkey), that could happen at any time; if what the prophecy

from the perspective of inter-chapter parallels within Daniel one must conclude that Smith's interpretation of vv. 2-35 bears scrutiny in its essential features, while that of vv. 36-45 does not.

Suggestions for further
research

The research here proposed is of a practical rather than theoretical nature. More than a century has gone by since the initial publication of Uriah Smith's comments on Daniel.¹ There is broad consensus within the Seventh-day Adventist church at the present time that Smith's views on France in Dan 11:36-39 and on Turkey in Dan 11:40-45 were incorrect.² We therefore submit that the time has come to call for a

specified were the restoration of a power (such as the papacy), that could take a very long time indeed. Out of his well known love for the ideals of the great second advent movement Smith found any possibility of so long a delay in Christ's coming unacceptable, even though that possibility bore sound exegetical credentials.

We suggest that Smith erred with his pen in Dan 11:40-45 like Peter erred with his sword when he cut off the ear of the high priest's servant in the garden of Gethsemane (Matt 26:51; Mark 14:47; Luke 22:49-50). On both occasions Christ's ability to perform an expected mission appeared in danger of being curtailed (the ability to continue His earthly work on the one hand, and to discontinue His heavenly work on the other), in both cases the action taken to remedy the situation was wrong, and yet in both cases that action was motivated by a commendable love for the Master. Note carefully that, although many different factors undoubtedly affected Smith's thinking as he wrote on Dan 11, such motivations as the above are not at all the same as the mere desire for a popular acceptance of one's views. When this chapter in Adventist history is written definitively such balancing considerations as these must be taken into account. For further discussion see Cottrell, "The Pioneers," especially pp. 4-10.

¹See Adams, Sanctuary Doctrine, pp. 22-23, fn. 4, for a historical summary.

²Consider the following remarks from the "Report on Eleventh Chapter of Daniel" mentioned on pp. 262-63, fn. 4: "The committee felt that the evidence that there is a parallelism between chapter eleven and the earlier chapters of Daniel has been established beyond a reasonable doubt. . . . It was . . . the unanimous conclusion of the committee that . . . Daniel 11:36-39 must refer to the Papal power, . . ." (pp. 3-4).

revision of Smith's otherwise important and useful commentary. Any changes made should be consistent with that writer's status as a specifically group 1 historicist exegete.¹ To preserve the value of Smith's work as an artifact of Seventh-day Adventist doctrinal history a summary of his distinctive positions on Dan 11:36-45 might well be preserved in an appendix. But the main body of his comments on this section should be changed.²

The issues that make revision necessary go beyond the need to update the historical accuracy of a commentary that is still widely read. By proposing a power as king of the North in vv. 40-45 that has

¹Thus, special reference should be made to the work of such later group 1 writers as Anderson, Brinsmead, and Price--especially Price, who has written extensively and with great insight on the significance of last-day events. Just as Ford's Daniel is the primary statement of group 2b historicism and Thiele's "Outline Studies" occupies a similar position within group 2a historicism, as regards Dan 11, Price's The Greatest of the Prophets is the primary statement of group 1 historicism apart from Smith. It is a major source that in general may be said to deserve more attention than it has received within Adventist circles.

Another book to be mentioned at this point is Brinsmead's The Vision by the Hiddekel, published in 1970 before the author's dramatic shift to those doctrinal positions that now characterize his writing. A major flaw is the largely homiletical theme of four-fold restoration whereby Dan 2 deals with restoration of the kingdom, Dan 7 with restoration of the King, Dan 8 with restoration of the sanctuary, and Dan 10-12--as the prophet's culminating argument--restoration of the people (see *ibid.*, pp. 6-10). We disagree strongly with this perspective on Dan 11. The chapter's theme is Jesus Christ at both of His advents, not those He rescues by coming. But, if one can read around the above homiletical distortion, there is much in the book to praise. Brinsmead's comments on individual sections of the chapter are among the best and most readable to date, written for a popular audience. The book should not be neglected just because of its author's name.

²Smith's interests are poorly served by allowing respect for his work to ensure that parts of it which have become an embarrassment be left unedited, reminding us conspicuously of his mistakes. Even greater respect would prompt us to allow their revision.

no bearing on God's people as such,¹ Smith effectively reduced the connection between 11:40-45 and 12:1-3 to one of sequence only, with one section applying first and the other simply following it in time. In this case there is no relationship of cause and effect between the hostile activity of the king of the North in 11:44-45 and Michael's act of standing up in 12:1. But when the king's activity is seen to be of such a nature as to challenge Michael directly, in the person of His saints, both the fact and the scope of the response to that challenge are placed in context and take on their proper significance. It must be borne in mind that our emphasis in the present model is on the One who rescues His saints, and not on the saints themselves. Thus, a consistent group 1 historicist interpretation of Dan 11, which stresses the unity of the narrative and the parallels with earlier chapters, produces an exegetical framework that calls attention to Christ. The desirability of maintaining this direction of emphasis throughout Dan 11 is both a reason to consider making changes in Smith's Daniel and Revelation and a central consideration to bear in mind while making them.²

¹ ". . . the theory that he [Smith] seeks to maintain concerning Turkey cuts out God's people from that vision of Daniel 11 from 1798 forward" (M. C. Wilcox, July 9, 1919 Bible Conference, Archives, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C., p. 37). From the perspective of Smith's group 1 historicist hermeneutic a point that requires justification is why a Prince should be prominent at the end of the prophecy (12:1) if His subjects are not referred to (11:44-45).

² The question of where to revise and where to abstain is equivalent to asking where the above goal of Christ-centeredness has not already been achieved. Where it has been no change is necessary; where it has not been both the need for change and the direction of change are indicated simultaneously.

Conclusion

The answer for question #6 on the Glacier View poll suggested by the present body of research is that "A long span of time between two advents (a) is set forth in the Old Testament."¹ This answer comes with substantive exegetical support and is given unequivocally. Furthermore, in our discussion of Smith's adequacy as an interpreter of prophecy the main issue was seen to be the same, appearing in only slightly different form. Smith's work was strong where he wrote with the parallels between chap. 11 and other parts of Daniel in view, weak where he did not. It is Christ at His two advents--separated by a long span of intervening time spent in priestly ministry--that provides the basis for such comparisons.

Earlier, in chapter III, the details of the proposed parallels between Dan 11 and Dan 8-9 were discussed, after establishing a structural basis for them in chapter II, as regards Dan 11. The latter prophecy was shown to have two separate and distinct historical goals associated with two streams of narrative--leading up on the one hand to Christ's first coming and on the other to the immediate timeframe of His second coming. This entire framework for interpretation depends crucially on positions established still earlier in chapter I. Specifically, if Christ is the focal point of the narrative at 11:22 and 12:1 then He is, beyond all doubt, the Prince mentioned in 11:22.

The discussion has now come back to its original starting

¹"The Glacier View Poll--What Does It Prove?" Evangelica 1 (December 1980):39.

point. Having considered some of the structural and exegetical issues involved in making such an assertion, along with their more practical implications, we now return with broadened perspective to the study's first claim--profound in its simplicity--that properly understood the center and focus of Dan 11 is Jesus Christ.

APPENDIX

DAN 8:9-12 AND DAN 8:14

In the body of the paper, above, we argued that Dan 11 speaks of two mutually distant comings of Christ,¹ and that Dan 8 speaks of a two-part priestly ministry between them.² The main reference from within Dan 8 that supports a priesthood in two phases is v. 14, now quoted along with the question which precedes it in v. 13.

(13) Then I heard a holy one speaking, and another holy one said to him, "How long will it take for the vision to be fulfilled --the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, the rebellion that causes desolation, and the surrender of the sanctuary and of the host that will be trampled underfoot?"

(14) He said to me, "It will take 2,300 evenings and mornings [^Cēreb-bōqer]; then the sanctuary will be reconsecrated [^waniṣdaq qōdes̄]."

The problem addressed below is how 8:14 can be taken to describe events in heaven after the cross when just previously 8:9-12 refers to Antiochus IV Epiphanes on earth before the cross. How is such an exegetical leap possible? Two points. First, it isn't possible. And second, it isn't necessary. The simple fact is that 8:9-12 doesn't refer to Antiochus. The "horn, which started small" (8:9) is Roman, not Greek; the "place of his [the Prince's] sanctuary" (8:11) is in heaven, not on earth; and the time when the "daily sacrifice" (8:11) was taken away comes after the cross, not before.

Reevaluating the contextual force of 8:9-12 on 8:14 is not

¹See pp. 160-64.

²See pp. 203-11.

simply a matter of correcting the errors of detail that other interpreters have missed. There are indeed certain areas that we believe could bear further scrutiny by scholars, and these will be pointed out, but doing so is not the substance of my argument. Instead an entirely new orientation to the text is called for--the same orientation, it should be noted, as was expected of the host within the narrative.¹ In Dan 8, as well as Dan 11, the primary focus of attention must be directed to the Prince and not the villain.

We consider the passage first, discuss terms encountered in it ("prince of the host," "host," "horn," "daily sacrifice"), and then offer some other comments before concluding.²

The Passage

Dan 8:9

Dan 8:9 is one part of the context for 8:14, but requires some context of its own. We here quote v. 8 as well as v. 9.

(8) The goat became very great, but at the height of his power his large horn was broken off, and in its place four prominent horns grew up toward the four winds of heaven.

(9) Out of one of them came another horn, which started small

¹The host's great failing, and the reason they were eventually cast down and trampled, was that their overall focus of faith became shifted from the Prince in heaven to a villain on earth. We should not repeat as exegetes the same mistake that the host made. The result to us and to our conclusions would be no different from what the result to them was in an earlier age. The consummating lesson learned by any who study this passage carefully as scholars should be to avoid the single most tragic mistake made within it.

²The present discussion draws heavily on work by William H. Shea, as represented in his manuscript, "Daniel and the Judgement," pp. 63-66, 388-90. Portions of this document have recently been published under the title Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation, Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1982).

but grew in power to the south and to the east and toward the Beautiful Land.

In v. 9 the verb is *yāsā'* "go out, come forth." The most natural interpretation of this verb's meaning is that it refers to horizontal motion. If, however, the "horn, which started small," comes from a previous horn, the inference would be of vertical motion. There is a certain tension between the natural force of the verb and the customary view as to the antecedent in the phrase "Out of one of them." Of these factors it will be easier and more reasonable to change the customary view than the force of the verb.

Consider the phrases now brought together in table 56, representing the view that the "horn, which started small," comes up vertically from a previous horn. This is the first possibility.

TABLE 56

COMPARISON OF PHRASES UNDER THE VIEW
THAT THE HORN OF DAN 3:9 COMES
FROM A HORN IN DAN 8:8

Verses	Feminine	Masculine	Gloss
V. 8 . . .	<i>hāzūt 'arba^C</i>	. . .	"four prominent [horns]"
V. 9 . . .	<i>ūmin-hā'ahat</i>	<i>mēhem</i>	"and from one of them"

In table 56 both *'ahat* "one" (fem.) and *mēhem* "of them"¹ (masc.) must refer to *hāzūt 'arba^C* "four prominent [horns]" (fem.). In this case the masculine gender of "them" is unaccounted for and becomes subject

¹Literally "from them."

to textual emendation.¹

Table 57 now presents the alternative view that the horn goes out from one of the four winds of heaven, i.e., from one of the four points of the compass.

TABLE 57

COMPARISON OF PHRASES UNDER THE VIEW
THAT THE HORN OF DAN 8:9 GOES OUT
FROM ONE OF THE FOUR WINDS
IN DAN 8:8

Verses	Feminine	Masculine	Gloss
V. 8 . . .	'arba ^c rūhōt	haššāmāyim	"four winds of heaven"
V. 9 . . .	ūmin-hā'ahat	mēhem	"and from one of them"

In table 57, instead of "one" and "them" both referring to the same antecedent, the word "one" (fem.) refers to "winds" (fem.) and the word "them" (masc.) refers to "heaven[s]" (masc.).²

In this way the seemingly unrelated problems of the gender of "them" and the semantic force of *yāsā'* are addressed simultaneously. If a point of the compass is what the horn goes forth from, it may be assumed to do so horizontally. One result of this interpretation is

¹The note in the apparatus of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* at this point reads, "nonn Mss Edd ןמה," i.e., a number of Hebrew manuscripts and editions other than BHS have the feminine form *mēhen*.

²Both pairs of words seem to offer a potential contradiction as regards grammatical number. This is not the case, however. Only one of the winds is referred to, and the Hebrew word for "heaven" (*haššāmāyim*) is lexically nonsingular, thus "heavens."

that the horn of v. 9 and the Greek goat of v. 8 are dissociated from each other. The horn is shown not to be Greek.

But if the horn is not Greek, there is a question what it is. Since in the proposed interpretation the "horn, which started small," does not appear in relation with any of the four divisions of the Greek goat's large horn, it does not appear to be attached to anything. Although it is reasonable enough to symbolize a power that sallies forth from one of the four points of the compass by means of a horn coming from one of the four winds of heaven, the nature of the symbol still demands that the horn be attached to something. And it is, but the beast supporting it is not mentioned. See table 58.

There is a reason for this. Dan 7 speaks of wild beasts, while Dan 8 speaks of domestic beasts, and more particularly of beasts used for worship in the sanctuary. The so-called little horn is the same in both chapters, but the wild beast which gave rise to it historically in Dan 7 would not have been an appropriate one to mention in Dan 8. The issues there have to do with worship in the later parts of the narrative,¹ and especially with the sanctuary. In this context the fact that it was deemed appropriate to mention the horn, but not the beast under it, provides the chapter's first inference that the horn represents a religious power.

As regards the appropriateness of mentioning the horn without its associated beast, consider a similar usage from more modern times. When driving at night it is entirely appropriate for one to speak of

¹The concept of a gradual shift from secular to religious interests was discussed in connection with Dan 11 on pp. 264-65, above. Dan 8 provides a parallel.

TABLE 58

COMPARISON OF WORLD POWERS IN DAN 8

Nation	Beast	Horn(s)	Direction(s)
Medo-Persia (8:20) ("the kings of Media and Persia")	ram (8:4)	two long horns (8:4)	to: west, north, south (8:4)
Greece (8:21) ("the king of Greece")	goat (8:5)	a prominent horn (8:5)	from: west: (8:5)
unspecified (8:23) ("a stern-faced king")	no mention	another horn (8:9)	from: unspecified (8:8-9) ("Out of one of them," i.e. from one of "the four winds of heaven")

seeing headlights approach, without implying that no vehicle supports them or accounts for their movement. The situation is such that only the headlights capture one's attention. In the same way, the religious horn in Dan 8 is the only part of the beast next after Greece that captures Daniel's attention. That horn comes out horizontally from one of the four points of the compass firmly attached to the secular fourth beast of Dan 7.¹ The fourth beast of Dan 7 is Rome.

Dan 8:10-12

In the remainder of the section our remarks are confined to Dan 8:10-12. These verses read:

- (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.

In vv. 10-12 the horn--introduced above in v. 9--is said to deal with the host in v. 10, the Prince in v. 11, and the host again in v. 12. The host, Prince, host (*ṣābā'*, *śar*, *ṣābā'*) pattern spanning vv. 10-12 forms an ABA chiasm, stated vertically below as the first

¹See Shea, "Daniel and the Judgement," p. 390. Here is a parallel to the fact that the fourth metal in Dan 2 has two phases--iron (secular power) and iron mixed with clay (secular power mixed with religious power). Iron alone in Dan 2 corresponds to the fourth beast in Dan 7; iron mixed with clay corresponds to the unlikely combination of a secular beast and a religious horn growing out of it. Notice that the last power in Dan 2--the "'rock cut out of a mountain, but not by human hands'" (2:45)--is a mineral like the clay, not a metal like the iron. The kingdom it represents and establishes is the kingdom of God. In Dan 2 the power symbolized by iron mixed with clay has connections with the kingdom of God (clay) and also the kingdoms of men (iron). In Dan 8 the little horn, unlike the beast from which it derives, is a power that maintains relationships in both directions simultaneously.

of three columns (A) in a larger matrix of phrases that go to make up the verses under consideration. See table 59.

TABLE 59
THE PHRASES OF DAN 8:10-12 SEPARATED
INTO THREE MAIN COLUMNS

Verses	A	B	C
V. 10 . . .	Host	. . .	X down to earth ('ārsâ)
V. 11 . . .	Prince	Daily sacrifice	X brought low
V. 12 . . .	Host	Daily sacrifice	X cast to the ground ('ārsâ)

In table 59, column A shows who the horn deals with, column B on what basis, and column C with what results. The horn deals with both Prince and host (i.e., host, Prince, host) (A), in regard to the "daily sacrifice" (B), with the result that something is cast down to earth in each case (C). The three columns of phrases in table 59 are now considered individually.

Column A: Who the horn deals with

The first group of phrases in 8:10-12 is stated more fully below, in English (exhibit (24)) and in Hebrew (table 60).

(24) Dan 8:10-12, Column A

- V. 10 It grew until it reached the host of the heavens,
 V. 11 It set itself up to be as great as the Prince of the host;
 V. 12 . . . the host of the saints . . . [was] given over to it.

TABLE 60
THE HEBREW OF DAN 8:10-12, COLUMN A

Verses	i	ii	iii	iv
V. 10 . . .	wattiqdal	^C ad	šābā' haššāmayim	. . .
V. 11 . . .	. . .	wə ^C ad	šar haššābā'	higdīl
V. 12 . . .	. . .	. . .	wəšābā'	tinnātēn

Notice in table 60 that where column i contains material column iv does not, and vice versa. These two columns are in what linguists would call complementary distribution.¹ As such they can be collapsed. See table 61, where the previous columns i and iv appear together as column iii.

TABLE 61
THE HEBREW OF DAN 8:10-12, COLUMN A
(RESTATEMENT)

Verses	i	ii	iii
V. 10 . . .	^C ad	šābā' haššāmayim	tigdāl (<*gd1)
V. 11 . . .	^C ad	šar haššābā'	higdīl (<*gd1)
V. 12 . . .	. . .	šābā' . . .	tinnātēn (<*ntn)

The actual differences between vv. 10 and 11 are not so marked as the English translation in exhibit (24) would imply. The same

¹See Victoria Fromkin and Robert Rodman, An Introduction to Language, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), pp. 108-10.

preposition (^Cad "to") is used in both verses, and the same verb root (*gdl "become great") is used as will. The root in v. 12 clarifies that in vv. 10-11, since the giving over of the host results from its being taken over by the horn as part of an over-all pattern of self-aggrandizement.

Notice that the verb root *gdl "become great," used in vv. 10-11, has more to do with activity for self than against others. The basic idea conveyed by this root is not so much one of overt physical violence as of pride, although the former is not excluded.

Column B: On what basis

The second group of phrases in 8:10-12 is now stated, in both English (exhibit (25)) and Hebrew (table 62).

(25) Dan 8:10-12, Column B

V. 10 . . .
 V. 11 it took away the daily sacrifice from him,
 V. 12 Because of rebellion, . . . the daily sacrifice

TABLE 62

THE HEBREW OF DAN 8:10-12, COLUMN B

Verses	
V. 10 . . .	. . .
V. 11 . . .	ûmimmennû hûram* hattāmīd
V. 12 . . .	^C al hattāmīd bepāša ^C

*Qerê hûram; Ketîb hêrîm. The one vocalization of the consonant letters is passive, the other active.

The "daily sacrifice" is not mentioned in v. 10. In vv. 11-12 the word used is *tāmīd*, which literally means "continual"; "sacrifice" is not stated in the text but supplied. And in fact more than sacrifice is involved. The allusion is to the entire round of sanctuary activity during the course of the ceremonial year, leading up to the day of atonement at its close. So if any word must be added a better choice would be "service"--thus, "daily service" rather than "daily sacrifice."

An important point to notice is that the horn of Dan 8:10-12 does not exercise pride in the abstract while taking over the host to itself, but acts with special reference to the daily. In v. 12a NIV translates, "Because of rebellion, the host of the saints and the daily sacrifice [^C*al hattāmīd*] were given over to it." But ^C*al* doesn't mean "and," and--in support of this observation--the verb is not plural.¹ In this particular clause only the host is given over. The daily is given over in v. 11, whereas in v. 12 the only object given over is the host--with particular reference to (^C*al*, literally "on") the daily.

Column C: With what results

The third group of phrases in 8:10-12 is now stated, in English (exhibit (26)) and in Hebrew (table 63).

(26) Dan 8:10-12, Column C

- V. 10 and it threw some of the starry host down to the earth and
trampled on them.
V. 11 and the place of his sanctuary was brought low.
V. 12 It prospered in everything it did, and truth was thrown to
the ground.

¹The form is *tinnātēn*, in context "was given over." Note the unusual use of tenses.

TABLE 63

THE HEBREW OF DAN 8:10-12, COLUMN C

Verses	i	ii	iii	iv	v
V. 10 . .	wattappēl	'ārṣā	{ min haṣṣābā' ūmin haḳkōkābīm }	. . .	wattirmasēm
V. 11 . .	wəhūšlak	. . .	mekōn miqdāšō	. . .	{ wə'āsetā }
V. 12 . .	wətašlēk	. . .	'ēmet	'ārṣā	{ wəhīšlīhā }

Notice in table 63, as in table 62 above, that two of the columns of data are in complementary distribution. Columns ii and iv of table 63 both contain only the word 'ārṣā "to the earth/ground"; in table 64 they are collapsed and shown together as column ii.

TABLE 64

THE HEBREW OF DAN 8:10-12, COLUMN C
(RESTATEMENT)

Verses	i	ii	iii	iv
V. 10 . .	wattappēl	'ārṣā	{ min haṣṣābā' ūmin haḳkōkābīm }	wattirmasēm
V. 11 . .	wəhūšlak	. . .	mekōn miqdāšō	{ wə'āsetā }
V. 12 . .	wətašlēk	'ārṣā	'ēmet	{ wəhīšlīhā }

Subcolumns i-ii

Within column i of table 64, vv. 11 and 12, the same verb root (*šlk "cast") is used, and in column ii, vv. 10 and 12, the same

adverbial expression 'arsâ "to the earth/ground" occurs. Columns of phrases and their respective subdivisions within Dan 8:10-12 bring together materials that can be directly and profitably compared. Thus, in column i, whether something is caused to fall (*npl, v. 10) or cast down (*šlk, vv. 11-12) the result is all the same. And, in column ii, the expressions "to the earth" (v. 10) and "to the ground" (v. 12) represent identically the same Hebrew word 'arsâ.

Subcolumns iii-iv

Applying the above principle of comparability to columns iii and iv yields insights of special value in both cases.

Subcolumn iii. Taking the items in column iii together first, it becomes clear that the "truth" which was "thrown to the ground" (v. 12) is specifically the truth about "the place of his sanctuary" (v. 11). It is not "the place of his sanctuary" that is cast down as such, but the truth about the place of His sanctuary (comparing v. 11 with v. 12).

The casting down of the host can also be drawn into the parallel (comparing vv. 11-12 with v. 13). What links the casting down of both sanctuary and host is not physical but epistemological in nature. The "place of his sanctuary" may be presumed to have an independent physical existence, but the truth about that sanctuary must necessarily involve human perception. The word "truth" implies an intelligent awareness of facts in addition to the validity of the facts themselves. Thus, as regards the sanctuary the host's perceptions are called "truth," while as regards the host those same perceptions would be called "belief."

In this context, to cast down the truth about the sanctuary is to cast down the belief of the host in regard to the sanctuary.

It should be carefully noted that the above interpretation of column iii in table 64 does not exchange a more desirable literal interpretation for a less desirable metaphorical one. It could not, because no literal interpretation for the casting down of the "place of his sanctuary" is available.¹ When Antiochus confronted the Jews in II B.C. the physical structure of the second temple was firmly in place. To cast this structure down literally would imply destroying it--something Antiochus neither did nor attempted to do. Thus, for preterists and futurists as well as historicists, metaphor is required in order to interpret the present clause. The question is not whether it should be used, but what form it will take.

The specific metaphor that we propose involves two considerations in particular. First, we take v. 11 (sanctuary) in the context of v. 12 (truth) and suggest that the "place of his sanctuary" was cast down only in the sense that the truth about it was cast down. Second, we take column C (cast down) in the context of column A (heaven/earth vertical symbolism) and suggest that the horn's casting the truth about the sanctuary "down to the ground" (column C, v. 12) must be taken in the broader context of the horn's growing "until it reached the host of the heavens" (column A, v. 10).² Both expressions illustrate a spatial

¹See Shea (*ibid.*, p. 59) for related comment.

²Note the juxtaposition of "host" and "heavens." The host is clearly on earth but is spoken of in connection with heaven, thus the expression "the host of the heavens." This presents no difficulty when the connection is made in a nonphysical, i.e., metaphorical, sense. Once again no literal interpretation of the phrase is available.

symbolism whose two poles are respectively heaven and earth. Such symbolism is pervasive not only in Dan 8:10-12 but throughout the book and in apocalyptic generally.¹ Excluding the concept of heaven/earth symbolism is what would require special justification in columns i-iii; incorporating it there is the expected state of affairs.

Thus, in column C there is not just metaphor alone (cast down = defile), but metaphor contextually defined as being ideological in nature (cast down the sanctuary = cast down the truth about the sanctuary) and spatial symbolism contextually defined as being cosmic in scope (cast down to earth = cast down from heaven to earth). Now the truth about the sanctuary is that we have a High Priest there who in every way and for all time meets our spiritual needs.² Christ and His ministry in heaven cannot properly be excluded from the symbolism of our passage.

Subcolumn iv. We now suggest that columns i-iii are related to column iv as cause and effect. Thus, the great harm inflicted on the host in the verb *wattirmasēm* "and it trampled them" (v. 10, column iv) is the natural result of that host's attention being diverted from heaven to earth (v. 10, columns i-iii), not a separate action. And the great success that accrues to the horn (v. 12, column iv) is the natural result of his displacing the attentions of the host from heaven to earth in regard to the truth about the sanctuary (v. 12, columns i-iii). It is not that the horn's pride leads it to cast down the truth about the

¹See John G. Gammie, "Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature," Journal of Biblical Literature 93 (1974): 356-85, especially p. 367.

²See Heb 7:23-28; 8:1-6.

sanctuary. Instead the issues are such that the horn's pride with regard to the daily is itself the casting down of the truth about the sanctuary.

Only one over-all process is described in the entire section of three verses in 8:10-12. That process consists exclusively of the horn's drawing off to itself the host's attentions with regard to the daily. This act is described as constituting aggression against both the Prince¹ and the host,² the downfall of the latter,³ and the downfall of the truth about the sanctuary.⁴ The horn's activity may be assumed from Daniel's choice of verbs (*gdI)⁵ to have been primarily for self rather than against others, but it had enormous implications of a harmful nature. Whatever the actual intentions may have been, therefore, the results of this sustained concession to human pride and the desire for corporate self-aggrandizement are shown in our passage to have been totally disastrous.

Terms

In defining the main terms used in Dan 8:10-12 the Prince must be taken prominently into consideration. In fact there is good reason to insist on considering Him first, as has been done elsewhere in the study. This is because there are more potential villains than there are potential princes. Only one Person qualifies as *šar haššābā'* ("prince of the host")⁶ in light of the Scriptural parallels to this

¹Column A, v. 11.

²Column A, vv. 10, 12.

³Column C.iii, v. 10.

⁴Column C.iii, vv. 11-12.

⁵Column A, vv. 10-11.

⁶Column A, v. 11.

important title, but the number of persons, institutions, or whatever, that have been evil enough to qualify as villains over the past two and a half thousand years is much less restricted. This does not mean that any or all of them can fulfill the prophecy, but only that there are more to choose from than is the case with the Prince. Leupold indirectly supports this claim in the following quotation:

Is there not an appalling sameness about this business of leagues and pacts between rival nations, of disagreements, of wars, of alliances, of political marriages, of recriminations, of treachery, of temporary ascendancy, of defeat and utter downfall, of recovery through some aggressive leader; and then the same thing all over again with a slightly different sequence of events? From this point of view there is a drab sameness about history which allows us to say that, in addition to being a prophecy of a particular period of Syrian and Egyptian history, this may be regarded as a panoramic view of all history in a picture that is idealized, at least to some extent.¹

If one were to argue that a villain other than Antiochus Epiphanes is described in Dan 8, Leupold would not be able to counter that argument successfully on the basis of the statement just cited. Correctly identifying the Prince in Dan 8 establishes important controls on who or what the corresponding villain might be. As a result it is not only necessary to consider the Prince carefully, but to consider Him first.

The Prince

Who

If the "prince of the host" is not the Son of God, as we suggest, He will have to be either the Father, an angel, or an ordinary man--none of which satisfy the requirements of the close parallel between *śar has-ṣabā'* ("prince of the host") in Dan 8:11 and *śar-ṣabā'-YHWH* (commander

¹Leupold, Exposition of Daniel, pp. 475-76. See p. 91, above; also p. 64.

of the army of the Lord") in Josh 5:14. Just as any definition of the "horn" must take the "prince of the host" into account, any definition of the "prince of the host" must take the meaning and parallel uses of *śar hassābā'* into account. When the latter comparison is made, the "prince of the host" (Dan 8), or "commander of the army" (Josh 5), can only be Christ.

Where and when

If the Prince in Dan 8:11 is Christ then in that passage He is depicted as being either on earth or in heaven as regards space, either before the cross or after the cross as regards time. In addressing these two related issues one must bear in mind that any attempt to take the daily away could be made only at a time when it was otherwise available. Thus, if Christ was the Prince who ministered the daily, it follows that the time referred to was after the cross. And a time for the daily after the cross demands a place for it other than earth. Christ presents the merits of His blood, not on earth, but in heaven before the Father. We therefore submit that the reference in Dan 8 to a "prince of the host" in association with the daily is a prophetic look forward to Christ's priestly ministry in heaven after the cross, as documented subsequently in Heb 7-9.

The Host

As regards the "starry host" of Dan 8:10, consider the parallel with 12:3, which says, "Those who are wise will shine like the brightness of the heavens, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever." The "wise" of 12:3a are the same as those who "lead many to righteousness" in 12:3b. Thus, there may be a distinction in 8:10 between "the host" (*hassābā'*) and "the stars" (*hakkôkâbîm*), such

that the stars are those who lead many to righteousness and the host are the many led by them. Stars in this case would be leaders, and the host followers. Both leaders and led are cast down.

The spatial symbolism that relates the Prince to the host in column A involves a contrast between heaven and earth, and the same is true with regard to the relationship between sanctuary and host in column C. Being cast down to the ground in this context doesn't refer to being forced from a vertical position such as standing to a horizontal position such as lying prostrate. Such is not the nature of apocalyptic imagery. Instead the spatial symbolism of our passage contrasts heaven and earth throughout. If this fact is not given due emphasis, something of the apocalyptic nature of the passage is obscured. But if the contrast between heaven and earth is maintained in column A and in column C, the two groups of clauses are shown to harmonize both with each other and with the rest of the book as regards spatial symbolism.

The above point has extremely important implications. If the host is cast down from heaven to earth--something that would be clearly impossible in a physical sense--the issues involved are shown to be spiritual ones.¹

¹This is a point that may be considered implicit in such expressions as "starry host" (*min-haššābā' ūmin-hakkôkâbîm*, lit. "from the host and from the stars"), "host of heaven," and so on. A relationship between heaven and earth is indicated by the words chosen to talk about the host. But it couldn't be a bodily relationship; the "starry host" after all are the saints on earth. The host pertains to heaven in the sense that its commitments and loyalties are there.

The Horn

What

Identifying the horn power of Dan 8:9 depends crucially on correctly identifying the beast with which it is associated. This was said not to be the Greek goat of Dan 8 but rather the Roman fourth beast of Dan 7, whose presence is implicit in the later chapter. Context does not demand that the horn be Greek; entirely to the contrary, grammatical factors preclude such a possibility. The horn is Roman.

Where and when

The "horn, which started small," is introduced in Dan 8:9 as going out horizontally from one of the four points of the compass. The text does not specify which one, but the fact that direction again becomes the subject of comment is evidence that a third power is introduced in the narrative.¹

The question of when the horn goes forth has been addressed already in connection with the Prince. The Prince and the villain must be active at the same time in history or they could not come into conflict with each other. Since the Prince's activity has already been assigned to a period after the cross the villain's activity must be placed there also. Such a chronological requirement is consistent with the absence of any reference to the purely secular beast associated with the religious horn. Emphasis is placed on Christian Rome, not on the empire which preceded and gave rise to it historically.

¹See table 58, p. 275.

The Daily

Defining what was taken away and cast down is as important for a correct understanding of our passage as was identifying the Prince it was taken from. The daily and the sanctuary in which it was ministered have been dealt with in terms of truth rather than earthly blood, stones, and mortar. It is not just the "place of his sanctuary," but the truth about the place of his sanctuary, that was cast down. The points at issue are spiritual ones that concern the maintaining of a right relationship between worshipers on earth and Christ in heaven.

When the daily has been properly defined in each of the passages where it is referred to, the task of the exegete is not yet over. The term "daily" is the subject of discussion in vv. 11-22 and of an inquiry in v. 13; it would be reasonable to expect the same term to be the subject of a response in v. 14. But "daily" (*tāmīd*) does not appear there. What does appear is the expression "evenings and mornings" (*ereb-bōqer*, lit. "evening-mornings"). Thus, the daily of vv. 11-13 and the evening-mornings of v. 14 must be considered together.¹ It was

¹This is not to say, however, that they are identical. In Dan 8:13 NIV translates, "How long will it take for the vision to be fulfilled--the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, the rebellion that causes desolation, and the surrender of the sanctuary and of the host that will be trampled underfoot?" The Hebrew at this point says *ad-māṭay heḥāzōn hattāmīd wahappēša šōmēm tēt weqōdeš wešābā' mirmās*, which is more literally rendered, "Until when [will be] the vision, the daily, and the desolating rebellion making both sanctuary and host a trampling ground?" There are two points to notice. First, in the phrase *heḥāzōn hattāmīd wahappēša šōmēm* there are no construct forms, and so it is really not possible to translate "the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, . . ." and so on, as in NIV. If *heḥāzōn* were in construct with *hattāmīd* ["the vision of (i.e., concerning) the daily"] the former would not be able to retain the definite article. Because it has the article the phrase must be interpreted as containing a series of three

pointed out earlier that a better word than "sacrifice" to supply after "daily" would be "service." Thus, in both 8:11-13 (daily) and 8:14 (evening-mornings) the reference is not only to the sanctuary but to the liturgical calendar of the sanctuary, and within that calendar to the daily service in particular.

Note that it is the daily service, and not the yearly, that is taken away from the Prince of the host in 8:11--at a time after the cross. In this context, involving as it does the sanctuary's liturgical calendar, what follows the daily in 8:14 must be the corresponding yearly (*wanišdaq qōdeš*, v. 14). Thus, even though the term "daily" in 8:11-13 is not a literal translation of *tāmīd*, it does refer to an antitypical daily service as opposed to yearly service. And in the same way, even though KJV's translation "then shall the sanctuary be cleansed" has no verbal link with Lev 16, it does refer to an antitypical yearly service as opposed to daily service, and the most obvious Scriptural parallel to this reference would indeed be found in Lev 16, where the ancient counterpart to it is described.¹

co-equal items--all of them, including the first, in *status absolutus*--to be translated "the vision, the daily, and the desolating rebellion." Neither "daily" nor "desolating rebellion" is equivalent to "vision" in the passage before us. This raises our second main point.

In Dan 8:13 the angel's question places emphasis on the end of the series (*Caq-māṭay* "until when?"), not its beginning ("from when?") or general duration ("how long?"). In fact there are three different beginnings in 8:13 and that of the 2300 days in 8:14 represents a fourth, based on comparisons with Dan 9. The "vision" starts with the Persian ram in VI B.C. (8:3-4, 20; more than 500 years before Christ), the "daily" starts at the time of Christ's ascension to heaven in I A.D. (9:24 [event #6], 27), and the "desolating rebellion" starts--in a prophetically significant sense--in VI A.D. (12:7, 11; more than 500 years after Christ). But all three items come to an end at substantially the same time in XVIII-XIX A.D., as do the 2300 days of v. 14.

¹See fn. 1, p. 205, above.

To say this much is merely to affirm that the ancient types typified something; there was to be a counterpart in heaven for the symbols on earth. These symbols portrayed two phases of priestly ministry distinct from each other in time, and the focus of attention in this case--up to the end of the 2300 evening-mornings--is on the daily.

Other Comments

We now suggest a parallel between the way Christ's preaching on earth was received by Jews before the daily began and the way His subsequent daily ministry in heaven came to be received somewhat later by Christians. Both groups represent His people, though at different times.

Christ on Earth

Throughout much of Christ's earthly ministry He was opposed. Thus, Heb 12:3 says, "Consider him who endured such opposition from sinful men, so that you will not grow weary and lose heart." It is clear that opposition against Christ's preaching ministry did not begin immediately at His baptism; it began later and became intense gradually over time. The question at this point is whether the opposition to His work on earth was what caused that work to end at the cross. In a sense this may be, but the issues went infinitely far beyond Christ's personal enemies taking His life through an isolated act of violence.

Christ in Heaven

In Dan 8 opposition against Christ's heavenly ministry in the sanctuary is predicted. This opposition to His work in heaven, like that which preceded it during His work on earth, did not begin immediately but gradually, and with time it also became intense.

Those who opposed what Christ was doing--on earth first and later in heaven--thought in both cases that they were promoting God's honor in principle, not to mention contributing to the practical success of His cause on earth, by what they did. Jewish pride led the one group to reject Christ altogether, while later Christian pride led the other group to accept not only His person but His rightful responsibilities and prerogatives. This was especially the case in claiming to repeat the sacrifice of the cross¹--something that only Christ could do initially and which He had in fact already done in a completely full and satisfactory manner. Forgiving on earth sins against heaven falls into the same category.² This human attempt to do what Christ alone

¹"The Mass, which is the central act of religion, is the realization by the Church of the unique and primordial sacrifice of Christ on the Cross; it is this redemptive act accomplished once for all in the centre of history that the Mass makes present in the course of time. . . . Not that the death with the shedding of His Blood is repeated; Christ, for ever in glory, dies no more. But the Mass is a sacrament which makes present what happened on the Cross; the separation of the Body and Blood of Jesus, represented by the separate bread and wine, is effected anew by means of the transubstantiation--the whole substance of the bread is changed into that of His Body, the whole substance of the wine into that of His Blood. It is therefore indeed the divine Victim Himself that the Mass makes present among us, in His immolated state. The worship of infinite adoration, thanksgiving, expiation and intercessions which Christ gave to His Father on the Cross, He gives to Him afresh on the altar whenever Mass is celebrated" (Dom Gaspar Lefebvre, et al., Saint Andrew Daily Missal [Bruges, Belgium: Biblica, 1962], pp. 775-76).

There is a question how much help such an explanation makes available. If the host is "indeed the divine Victim Himself" then offering the one means offering the Other, and the sacrifice of the cross is verily repeated in the mass. If the host is merely a symbol of the divine Victim the problem disappears, but this is not the claim.

²If confession to a human priest were approached by both parties as a form of psychotherapy only, there would be no great harm in the practice. Psychotherapy is not immoral. But again, this is not the claim. See Anthony Wilhelm, Christ Among Us: A Modern Presentation of the Catholic Faith, 3rd ed. (New York: Paulist Press, 1981), p. 319.

could accomplish--whether in the past as regards sacrifice, or in the present as regards forgiveness--tended to emphasize His representatives in such a degree as to obscure the priestly role of the One they represented. Gradually Christ's own priesthood was eclipsed from view.

No malice or evil intent is required on the part of those perpetrating such errors for them in fact to be errors or for their net influence to be harmful. But for whatever reasons, and under whatever circumstances, the pride of Christ's people--both immediately before and shortly after the cross--had as its net result stiff opposition to the very work that God was then doing through His Son on their behalf.

In the Reformation this process was significantly counteracted, as Christ predicted it would be in Matt 24:22. One of Luther's primary accomplishments was that of restoring a right focus of faith on Christ. He called attention away from one's own works, which would compete with Christ's sacrifice, and from the assurances or pretensions to authority of any other fellow human which would compete with Christ's own priestly prerogatives of forgiveness. To deny that the deplorable state of affairs described above and in Dan 8:10-12 existed is to deny the need for the Reformation and to call into question its historical legitimacy. Reform was clearly needed in the mediaeval church. The only possible novelty in the present discussion lies in our suggesting that Dan 8:10-12 is a passage of prophetic Scripture where this situation was described.

It is an irony for Protestants to speak out strongly in praise of the Reformation in terms of history and yet to avoid indentifying any need for it in terms of prophecy. The need for reform existed; God realized ahead of time that it would exist, and in His wisdom He gave

predictions to this effect. God loves the church despite any faults it may have. But He must be taken seriously when He says, "'Those whom I love I rebuke and discipline.'"¹

We now return to the original question and ask whether the opposition of the horn caused Christ's mission in heaven to end with a setting right of the sanctuary. There might be a limited sense in which this is true, just as in the matter of Christ's enemies causing His crucifixion, but once again the issues go infinitely far beyond such considerations. Christ's work in both cases was destined for completion regardless of anything His enemies or friends might do to hinder or help. We conclude that the evening-mornings of Dan 8:14a would have been followed by a setting right of the sanctuary in 8:14b whether or not the horn had ever existed.

Supporting Evidence

The concept that a yearly service must follow the daily has been presented in terms of a comparison between how Christ's work was opposed by two groups of His people at different times. That work was not materially affected by the opposition raised against it. Thus, the work of the little horn cannot be said to have caused the yearly service of Dan 8:14 to take place. The constraints of the sanctuary's liturgical calendar have also been mentioned to show that a yearly service must follow the daily in Dan 8 in order for a correspondence to

¹Rev 3:19; see also Heb 12:4-12. God loves people no matter what they do, but condemns sin no matter who commits it. On the one hand we have the "whom I love" clause, on the other the "rebuke and discipline" clause. Neither clause should be allowed to negate or weaken its counterpart.

obtain between type and antitype. But there is an added dimension to this second line of reasoning that has not yet been introduced. We turn to it now.

In the ancient type the yearly service was not an artifact of the sanctuary's liturgical calendar only, but of the nation's cycle of annual feasts as well.¹ One in this series of annual feasts was the day of atonement, which came as surely and as punctually every year as the month in which it occurred. Neither the month of Tishri nor the day of atonement within it came any sooner or later, any more or less surely, because of human attitudes regarding it. In the type it was inevitable that a yearly service should follow the daily and, more than this, that it follow at a set time. In the antitype also there was a set time for the yearly service to begin, specified clearly and simply as follows: "Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed."²

Conclusion

If the above argument is valid, a question remains as to what effect the blandishments of the horn have had on the sanctuary. What the horn did wrong was to divert attention to itself--i.e., from a divine tāmīd in heaven to a human tāmīd on earth. If this wrong focus

¹See Stephen N. Haskell, The Cross and Its Shadow (South Lancaster: Bible Training School, 1914; reprint ed., Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1970), pp. 93-120, 201-44; M. L. Andreasen, The Sanctuary Service, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1947), pp. 170-87, 211-23; Salim Japas, Cristo en el santuario (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1980), pp. 73-79.

²Dan 8:14, KJV. On this translation of *nišdaq* see Frank Zimmermann, "The Aramaic Origin of Daniel 8-12," Journal of Biblical Literature 57 (1938):261-62.

of faith was the problem initially, then the solution would clearly be to transfer the focus of faith back to Christ and His priestly office in heaven. This was done in the Reformation to a significant degree and was an object of special emphasis later during the broadly inter-denominational great second-advent movement in the nineteenth century. Seventh-day Adventists, as the primary spiritual heir of that movement, have in fact initiated an overt discussion of Christ's priestly ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, which continues to the present time.¹

But corrective measures such as these do not constitute a setting right of the sanctuary. In the type it was not the attention of the worshipers waiting outside the tent that cleansed the sanctuary on the day of atonement, but the work of the high priest inside it. Just so, undoing the work of the horn by restoring a right focus of faith is not the same thing as restoring the sanctuary. We are not in a position to say what every aspect of restoring or cleansing the heavenly sanctuary might be, but are in a position to state that any further advances in our understanding will come from comparing the antitype in heaven with the type on earth which preceded it.

Until the end of the 2300 evening-mornings Christ ministered a daily service in "the sanctuary, the true tabernacle set up by the Lord, not by man,"² and after the end of the 2300 evening-mornings He began ministering a yearly service in heaven--with the result that the

¹See references in fn. 1, p. 296, above. See also Ellen G. White, Christ in His Sanctuary (Mountain View: Pacific Press, 1969); Wallenkampf and Leshner, eds., The Sanctuary and the Atonement.

²Heb 8:2.

sanctuary He ministers it in is set right. Our modern focus of attention on Christ's work in heaven should be no different now from what was properly expected of the host at an earlier time in history, and from which their attention was diverted to their hurt.¹

¹Similarly, of the things written here about both Prince and villain, the reader's greatest attention should be directed to what has been written about the Prince. In evaluating the present body of research, as well as the passages of Scripture it was written to elucidate, the discussion should revolve around Him.

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