

Notes on the Linear Structure of Dan 11

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Introduction

The prophecy of Dan 11 deals with actual historical events that have occurred over a span of some 2500 years and are still occurring today. Because of its level of both difficulty and importance as the fourth and most fully developed prophetic commentary on world events in the book of Daniel, one should insist on the most careful attention to method when interpreting the present narrative. Four irreducible steps in the process are to determine: (a) what the text says, (b) how its words, phrases, or motifs are used elsewhere in the same book, (c) what the literary structures are that have been used to convey the text, and then, (d) what historical events offer the greatest insight into a given passage--once it is understood textually, in context, and on the basis of the structures employed by its author. Dealing with history in prophecy involves more than history.

In an earlier paper,¹ I discussed the structure of Dan 10-12 from a chiasmic point of view. A "chiasmic" outline format is one that starts at both ends of a narrative simultaneously and moves inward to a central point. Below I discuss the structure of Dan 11 from a linear point of view. A "linear" outline format is one that starts at one end of a narrative and goes toward the other. My purpose here is to give a general overview of positions that will be defended in later papers.

It is important to understand and to bear in mind that the chiasmic and linear aspects of Dan 11 are not here proposed as alternatives to each other. One cannot merely choose between them. Both points of view are a part of the structure of this many-faceted narrative and neither can be fully understood without the other. From a chiasmic point of view the chapter's physical center is also its exegetical center, while from a linear point of view the events at the end would normally receive the greatest attention. In fact both the center and the end of the present narrative deserve emphasis. Showing that this is the case in Dan 11:2-12:4 is a major purpose of the present paper.²

Historical Continuity in Dan 11

Daniel 11 has received considerable attention from preterist writers and from futurists.³ For historicists it has proven more challenging, but there are some things that can be definitely known about it at the outset. For one thing, the narrative begins in the Persian period. Another point of general agreement is that the narrative ends with the second coming of Christ at the end of history.⁴ It is not where the prophecy begins or ends that distinguishes futurist exegesis from historicist exegesis, or one group of historicist writers from another.⁵ Instead it is what happens in the middle. And even here there is no substantial disagreement up through vs. 13.⁶

Despite their shared assumption that no historical gaps of any consequence occur in Dan 11, there is variety in viewpoint among historicist writers on the subject of how historical

continuity is achieved.⁷ For some it is fundamental not only to assume that every major era from the Persian period to the second coming of Christ is represented in Dan 11, but also that those which appear are narrated in strict chronological sequence. For other writers the same periods of history are there but the item of greatest importance is to call prominent attention to Christ in the passages which refer to Him. Elsewhere I have pointed out that these two objectives are not compatible with each other.⁸

More is being conveyed in Dan 11 than a record of events. There is also an indication of what emphasis should be placed on them. Where the narrating angel deviates from strict historical sequence he avails himself of a small number of powerful literary devices and has a definite purpose for doing so in each case. Showing what is important is as much a function of the prophecy as showing what would happen. Dan 11 is a penetrating analysis of selected events. It is not a mere chronicle.

There are three ways in which the assumption of strict historical sequence is violated in Dan 11. (1) First, in three cases (vss. 16-22/23-28, 29-35/36-39, and 44-45/12:1-3) the same period of history is discussed twice, i.e., from two contrasting points of view.⁹ (2) Next, there are five clear examples of prolepsis (vss. 5, 16, 17, 24, 36). In a proleptic statement the narrative looks forward from a given point to show the outcome of events taking place and then continues at a later point where it had been interrupted.¹⁰ (3) And finally, in 11:27 we find one case of explanation after the fact. Here the narrative looks back out of sequence, instead of looking forward out of sequence as in the case of prolepsis. The above represent literary devices intentionally used for the purpose of clarifying the content of the prophecy.

Major Sections

The three main sections into which I propose dividing the narrative of Dan 11 are vss. 2-15, 16-28, and 29-45, with 12:1-3 as an epilogue.¹¹ This arrangement has the effect of dividing the chapter into three approximately equal parts containing 14, 13, and 17 verses, respectively. See fig. 1.

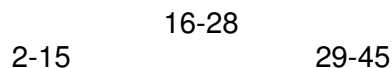


Fig. 1. Summary of the linear outline of Dan 11 in three main sections.

The sweep of history in Dan 11 is such that vs. 2 deals with the Persian period, vss. 3-15 with the Greek period, vss. 16-28 with secular Rome, and vss. 29-45 with religious Rome.¹² See table 1.

Table 1
Major Sections in Daniel 11
(Part 1)

	Section	Verses	Application
1	2-15	14	Persia and Greece
2	16-18	13	Rome (state)
3	29-45	17	Rome (churchstate)

None of the three main sections of the chapter is monolithic. Each can be divided into smaller parts. See fig. 2.

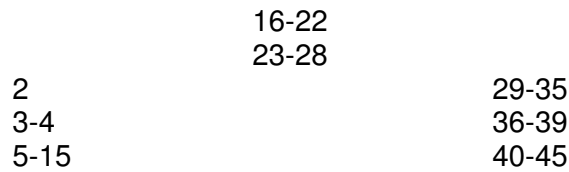


Fig. 2. Linear outline of Dan 11 with three main sections subdivided.

In fig. 2, above, notice especially the relationship between vss. 16-22 and 23-28. The two main blocs of text in the middle section are related to each other chiastically, as the innermost parts of the two halves of the chapter. Verses 2, 3-4, and 5-15 are not related in this way, nor are vss. 29-35, 36-39, and 40-45. See fig. 3.

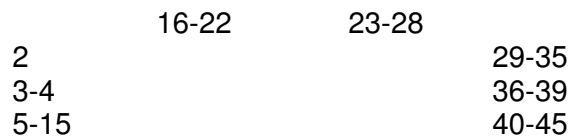


Fig. 3. Linear outline of Dan 11 with contrast between chiastic and nonchiastic relationships among subsections.

The structural facts summarized in fig. 3 are now restated in fig. 4, with nonchiastic differences eliminated.

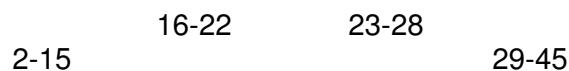


Fig. 4. Summary of the linear outline of Dan 11 retaining a subdivision only in the middle section.

The two outside sections and two middle subsections suggested in fig. 4 have 14, 7, 6, and 17 verses each, moving from left to right. Note that both halves of the original center section deal with the same historical entity that they did when taken together as a single unit in fig. 1.

Thus, both blocs of text within vss. 16-28 deal with Rome in its first, or secular, phase of power.¹³ See table 2.

Table 2
Major Sections of Daniel 11
(Part 2)

	Section	Verses	Application
1	2-15	14	Persia and Greece
2	16-22	7	Rome (state)
3	23-28	6	
4	29-45	17	Rome (church/state)

The discussion below will follow the original three-section arrangement of fig. 1, with parts divided as in fig. 2. But the relationship of the middle verses has been a topic of debate ever since Uriah Smith first wrote on the topic in 1865.¹⁴ For reasons that I am confident he did not understand, Smith was substantially correct in his interpretation of Dan 11:16-28. His problems begin at vs. 36, not at vs. 23.¹⁵

First Section: Verses 2-15

Part one: vs. 2

"Now then, I tell you the truth: Three more kings will appear in Persia, and then a fourth, who will be far richer than all the others. When he has gained power by his wealth, he will stir up everyone against the kingdom of Greece." (Dan 11:2)

Verse 2 deals with events in the Persian period of history and speaks of Xerxes' unsuccessful campaign against the Greeks in 478 B.C.¹⁶--one which at a later time would figure in Alexander's plans for a united Greek/Macedonian campaign against Persia.¹⁷

Part two: vss. 3-4

(3) "Then a mighty king will appear, who will rule with great power and do as he pleases. (4) After he has appeared, his empire will be broken up and parceled out toward the four winds of heaven. It will not go to his descendants, nor will it have the power he exercised, because his empire will be uprooted and given to others." (Dan 11:3-4)

Verse 3 speaks only of the outcome of the Macedonian campaign against Persia, begun in 334 B.C. with Alexander's crossing into Asia Minor. In the campaign that followed Alexander the Great (355-323 B.C.) would achieve unchallenged success. He would "do as he pleases" (vs. 3).¹⁸

Verse 4 describes the division of power among Alexander's generals following their leader's untimely death at the age of 32 in the year 323 B.C. There were a number of highly qualified generals ready to claim whatever part they could of Alexander's newly conquered

empire, but not all were equally successful.¹⁹ Four main divisions of the empire soon became recognizable--the Greek and Macedonian homeland, Anatolia, Syria with the territory it controlled in the east, and Egypt with its holdings in Africa.

Notice that vs. 4 indicates the Greek period would be one of political disunity. This is an important point. One outcome of Alexander's conquest of Persia was that Greek culture and especially the Greek language became widely known, but the vehicle for spreading them was the importation of soldiers from the homeland--needed in order to fight other Greek kings. As regards culture and language Greek rule would have a unifying effect, but as regards civil administration and government, "his empire will be broken up and parceled out toward the four winds of heaven" (vs. 4). Throughout vss. 5-15 the Greek kings of the South and North are constantly bickering with each other.

Part three: vss. 5-15

(5) "The king of the South will become strong, but one of his commanders will become even stronger than he and will rule his own kingdom with great power. (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, but she will not retain her power, and he and his power will not last. In those days she will be handed over, together with her royal escort and her offspring [margin] and the one who supported her.

(7) "One from her family line will arise to take her place. He will attack the forces of the king of the North and enter his fortress; he will fight against them and be victorious. (8) He will also seize their gods, their metal images and their valuable articles of silver and gold and carry them off to Egypt. For some years he will leave the king of the North alone. (9) Then the king of the North will invade the realm of the king of the South but will retreat to his own country. (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.

(11) "Then the king of the South will march out in a rage and fight against the king of the North, who will raise a large army, but it will be defeated. (12) When the army is carried off, the king of the South will be filled with pride and will slaughter many thousands, yet he will not remain triumphant. (13) For the king of the North will muster another army, larger than the first; and after several years, he will advance with a huge army fully equipped.

(14) "In those times many will rise against the king of the South. The violent men among your own people will rebel in fulfillment of the vision [*l'ha^amîd hâzôn*], but without success. (15) Then the king of the North will come and build up siege ramps and will capture a fortified city. The forces of the South will be powerless to resist; even their best troops will not have the strength to stand." (Dan 11:5-15)

Overview. Verses 5-15 deal with the rival Greek dynasties of Egypt, to the south of Judea, and Syria, to the north of Judea. Although a four-fold division of the empire is mentioned in vs. 4, only two of the four parts are of interest in the prophecy because they were the only ones that would come into direct contact with God's people. Verse 5 introduces the term "king of the South"²⁰ and shows that before the end of the section in vs. 15 the king of the North would be the stronger of the two. Between the beginning and end of the section is an account of the attempted alliance between North and South (vs. 6), a southern initiative against the north

(vss. 7-9), a northern initiative against the south (vss. 10-13), and finally an unexpected initiative by God's people against the religious abuses of the king of the North (vs. 14).

Prolepsis in vs. 5. Verse 5 indicates that while South was stronger than North at first, this situation would eventually change and in the end North would become the stronger of the two. This is important for one reason in particular. The buffer territory between Egypt and Syria was called Coele-Syria and included Jerusalem. Both countries were intent on controlling the district which lay between them. Initially it was controlled by Egypt. Then later it changed hands and was controlled by Syria. So, while it is true that North eventually did become stronger than South in a general sense within the time period covered by vss. 5-15, the point to notice is that North would be stronger than South with respect to God's people living in and around the city of Jerusalem.

Verses 5-9. The proleptic statement of vs. 5 states the agenda for vss. 5-15 as a whole. Following it, there is an attempted alliance in vs. 6 between Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246) and Antiochus II Theos (261-246) involving the former's daughter Berenice. In 246 B.C., however, Antiochus' wife Laodice poisoned Berenice, along with her son by Antiochus²¹ and Antiochus himself. The attempted alliance was a failure.

In vss. 7-8 the Egyptian response to these events was such that Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-221) went to war against Seleucus II Callinicos (246-225). The title "Euergetes," which means Benefactor, refers to the booty that Ptolemy III brought back from his successful campaign during the Third Syrian War (245-241). The war ended when Seleucus II Callinicos (246-225) expelled the Ptolemaic army of occupation in 241 B.C. and the former's "retreat to his own country" (vs. 9). Subsequently there was a period of peace between Egypt and Syria that lasted some twenty years until the death of Ptolemy III in 221 B.C.

Verses 10-13. We start with vss. 10-12, which describe the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.), in which Antiochus III the Great (223-187)--a son of Seleucus II and brother of Seleucus III Ceraunos (225-223)--attacked Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-203). Egypt did win the battle of Raphia, but as early as vs. 12 we begin to see the truth of the prediction in vs. 5 that the king of the North would eventually be stronger than the king of the South. Verse 12 states that the king of the South (Ptolemy IV) "will not remain triumphant." As the historian F. E. Peters has put it, "Egypt never recovered from the victory at Raphia."²²

The victory at Raphia in B.C. 217, it turned out, had been dearly bought. Antiochus III had been held at bay, and for the rest of his reign Ptolemy IV Philopator had nothing to fear from the otherwise distracted Seleucid. But the price exacted by the vizier Sosibius, calculated in terms of cash and as a lien on the future, sealed Egypt's doom. An independent Egypt dragged on its existence for nearly two centuries after Raphia. During most of that time, however, it was sheltered by the power of the Romans, who would eventually annex it. Freed of foreign tampering by Rome's nervous benevolence, Egypt was free to orchestrate her own downfall with the twin discords of financial disintegration and dynastic quarreling.²³

Next vs. 13 refers to the battle of Panium (200 B.C.). Panium had more significance for the Jews than Raphia. After the battle of Raphia the Jewish homeland had remained under Egyptian control, as it had been before, and this arrangement was generally acceptable. But after Panium, Coele-Syria including Jerusalem and Judea, was ruled by Syria. Not many years after Syria's victory the Jews would be severely persecuted for their religious beliefs and

practices. The change from ptolemaic to seleucid control was an important turning point for God's people in the history of the period under discussion.²⁴

The rival armies clashed in B.C. 200 at Panium near the Jordan's source, and the issue of who was to possess Coele-Syria, contested since the settlement after Ipsus a century earlier, was finally decided in favor of the Seleucids.²⁵

Verses 14-15. Verse 14 is of special interest here, because for one group of historicist writers a new section begins at this point, while for another group it begins at vs. 16.²⁶

It is significant that vs. 14 speaks of a vision (*hāzôn*). Although the NIV rendering "in fulfillment of the vision" is not grammatically impossible, *l'ha'âmîd hāzôn* is best translated with a purposive sense, i.e., "in order to fulfill the vision" (lit. "a vision"). It would be very helpful to know what the vision here referred to was about. With that knowledge we would be in a better position to identify the group that was motivated by it so forcefully.

This problem may not be so difficult as it seems. The key word in the passage is *hāzôn* "vision" (vs. 14). Daniel uses the same word elsewhere. Three notable parallels to the key word in question are found in Dan 2:19 (Aramaic *b'hezwā' dî-lêlyā'*, lit. "in a vision of the night"), 7:1 (Aramaic *w'hezwê rēšēh*, lit. "and visions of his head"), and 8:13 (Hebrew *hehāzôn*, lit. "the vision"). The first vision had to do with a metal image, the second with a series of wild beasts, and the third with domesticated beasts used in worship. In addition the third vision had to do with a sanctuary, which would undergo a period of defilement and then be cleansed, or set right.

Of the three available parallels to the word *hāzôn* in Dan 11:14 the one of greatest interest is Dan 8:13, taken together with vs. 14 which immediately follows it. There is no historical record of a major uprising among Daniel's own people, i.e., the Jewish people, during the second century B.C. based on the need to settle an issue having to do with metal images or wild beasts. But there is a well documented record of a Jewish uprising which had as its purpose to cleanse a sanctuary. This uprising, which occurred in 164 B.C., was led by Judas Maccabeus during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-163).²⁷

When the problem is approached exegetically before it is approached historically, the "violent men among your own people" can be confidently identified as the Jewish Maccabean freedom fighters and the vision they set about to fulfill can be identified with equal confidence as the one in Dan 8:13-14, which says in part, "then shall the sanctuary be cleansed" (vs. 14, KJV).²⁸ As for its outcome, the Maccabean uprising was a great success, resulting in the political independence of the Jewish nation for more than a century. The Maccabees, however, did not initially set out to establish an independent state. They set out to fulfill the prophecy of Dan 8:13-14.²⁹ "The men of violence among your own people shall lift themselves up in order to fulfill the vision; but they shall fail" (Dan 11:14, RSV). It may seem puzzling that Dan 11:14 should say the Maccabean uprising was "without success" (NIV), or that they would "fail" (RSV), in light of their obvious successes. But the text does not imply that the Maccabees failed to establish an independent state for Jews or to cleanse the temple in Jerusalem. It says they would fail in their attempt to fulfill the vision of Dan 8:13-14. The sanctuary they cleansed was not the one mentioned in the prophecy they thought they were fulfilling.³⁰ They did not accomplish what they set about to do.

Another factor to consider in identifying the "violent men" of Dan 11:14 has to do with the immediate context of the chapter. In Dan 11 most of the actors are violent. It is not necessary for the prophet to state that the king of the North is violent. That is obvious without being said. But as regards the individuals in vs. 14, an explicit statement that they are "violent" is necessary. Whatever makes that description apply is unusual enough to require the comment on it that we find in the text. The unusual feature here is precisely that the persons involved are Jews at a time when the Jewish nation is nothing more than a temple state with its center in Jerusalem. The Jews were not normally violent on a scale that would justify a comparison with their powerful neighbors to the north and south. They were unable to be violent on that scale, or at least that was the common perception. But on the occasion described in vs. 14 they did indeed assert themselves aggressively. That fact is noteworthy and deserves the special comment it receives.

There is also a spiritual dimension to the violence referred to in Dan 11:14. The primary meaning of the verb root **prš* is to break through, not break down. The idea in context is one of knowing no restraints.³¹ Judas Maccabeus fought on the Sabbath and solicited the friendship and support of the Romans, who would eventually crucify Christ and destroy Jerusalem. His Hasmonean successors would establish a dynasty of priest-kings based on a family from the tribe of Levi. This development shows a surprising lack of regard for the traditional separation of powers.³² The Maccabees had fought bravely to uphold the law of their ancestors, but in that law priests and kings never came from the same family. What started so well ended badly, if moral sensitivity is the basis for our evaluation.

Verse 15 refers to the successful invasion of Egypt by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 168 B.C. Antiochus' attack was not an initiative but a response. In 170 B.C. Ptolemy VI Philometor had sent an expedition of his own into Judea.³³

Both they [the Egyptians] and Antiochus sent embassies to Rome to present their claims but Rome was occupied with Perseus, and Antiochus defeated the Egyptian army and followed it into Pelusium and then Memphis. It was the first successful invasion of Egypt since that of Darius III one hundred and seventy-three years earlier, for Alexander had not invaded but merely occupied.³⁴

In this way Antiochus IV accomplished what Antiochus III had not. He successfully invaded Egypt, fulfilling the prediction of vs. 5 that, even within the Greek period, the king of the North would become stronger than the king of the South. But Rome had been invited to intervene and in B.C. 168 finally did so.

At the beginning of summer (168) he [Antiochus IV Epiphanes] was camped in front of Alexandria. But the Senate had sent out Caius Popillius Laenas as a special envoy. As soon as the news of the Roman victory over Perseus at Pydna came, Laenas hurried to Antiochus and, dramatically drawing a circle around him in the sand, demanded an immediate reply, whether for obedience or war. Antiochus knew that the Romans did not jest, and withdrew his forces both from Egypt and from Cyprus, but he kept Syria and Palestine, and can hardly be thought to have lost by the episode. As a matter of fact, there may have been Egyptian booty in the great triumph which he conducted at Daphne near Antioch soon after, in imitation of the Roman practice.³⁵

It is perhaps characteristic of Antiochus IV that he could return home and celebrate a triumph after being forced out of Egypt by a single Roman.³⁶ We will encounter this ruler's irrational ego again.

Second Section: Verses 16-28

Preliminary remarks

In table 3 I present a harmony of historical events occurring in the two main parts of the present section (vss. 16-22, 23-28). Both parts of this section deal with roughly the same period of time and for this reason may be said to overlap, but they do not repeat each other in respect to the events they deal with. Each point of history mentioned is unique in some way. See table 3.

Table 3
Harmony of Events Discussed
in Dan 11:16-22 and 23-28

Event in History	Verse
Rome orders Antiochus Epiphanes to leave Egypt in 168 B.C.	16a
Rome's treaty with the Jews in 161 B.C. and rise to power	23
Pompey's army reduces Jerusalem in 63 B.C.	17a
Pompey enters the temple in Jerusalem	24a
Julius Caesar in conflict with Pompey	18
Julius Caesar's largess to the Jews after Pompey's death	24b
Julius Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C.	19
Octavian's early association with Mark Antony	27a
Octavian's war with Mark Antony at Actium in 31 B.C.	25
Octavian's victory accounted for	26
End of the republic	27b
Octavian's return to Rome after Actium	28a
Octavian's census and nonviolent death	20a
Tiberius' rise to power in A.D. 14	21
Christ's crucifixion in A.D. 31	22b
Tiberius' reign of terror	22a
Jerusalem destroyed in A.D. 70	16b
Jews rebel against Rome on various occasions	17b
Rome persecutes the church	28b
Rome under Constantine quits persecuting the church	28c
Rome no longer the capital of the Empire	24c

The above events give a well rounded overview of the period under discussion. There are two reasons in particular, however, why they are not presented in the chapter as shown in table 3, i.e., as a mere listing of successive events. First, the treaty of friendship between the Jews and Romans requested by the Jews in 161 B.C. (vs. 23) had two signatories and in my view it is the intention of the narrating angel to trace the history of both, showing the differences between what would happen to both parties involved. Verses 16-22 may be said to discuss Jews in relation to Romans, while vss. 23-28 discuss Romans in relation to Jews and later to the Christian church. Thus, the one period of time is discussed from two different points of view.

The second reason for narrating the events of table 3 in two subsections is that if those events were enumerated in the manner of a simple chronicle, the crucifixion of Christ at the center of the section in vs. 22 would appear to have been presented as nothing more than one event among many. It was not just one event among many in history and no impression to this effect is allowed to remain in the prophecy. The narrative throughout is structured in such a way as to bring special attention to events of special importance. The way the death of Christ on a Roman cross is presented at the center of a section, and of the entire chapter, illustrates this principle.

At issue here is what one sees Dan 11 as accomplishing. I have suggested above that the prophecy's task is broader than just telling people some things that would happen. Dan 11 is a history in the best sense of the term, not a chronicle. The significance of events is dealt with as well as the fact that certain things would occur. The angel comments in addition to reporting. Only a few pivotal events could be mentioned at all in so short a space and not everything that was mentioned could be expected to have equal importance or deserve equal attention. The choice of which events to discuss or omit from discussion is one level of historical comment in the chapter. Using literary structure to focus selective attention on those events that deserve it most is another level of historical comment. Applying these principles, notice that in Dan 11 the most climactic event in the Jewish relationship with Rome is not depicted as the loss of its capital (mentioned in a prolepsis in vs. 16), but the death of its Messiah. That is the point to which all of vss. 16-22 lead. Then, with that emphasis established, the history of secular Rome is summarized in a few verses and, while the moving of the capital to Byzantium is treated in a prolepsis in vs. 24c, the end of persecution for Christians is what closes the section (vs. 28). To establish these same points without making any special use of literary structure to do so would have required a much longer prophecy. There is an elegant simplicity in Dan 11 that demands the reader's respect. It certainly demands a writer's respect.

Verse 22 deserves one further remark, making our emphasis correspond to that of the prophecy it is a part of. As regards vs. 22, the results are all the same whether one approaches the structure of Dan 11 on the basis of a chiasmic outline or a linear one. In either case it is a point on which the prophecy's attention is focused. This fact, along with its corollaries in parallel chapters, represents the single most powerful argument I know of in support of the divine inspiration of the book of Daniel. There are sound linguistic and historical reasons for believing that this book was written far in advance of the events it discusses.³⁷ But the great prominence given to the culminating event in the earthly ministry of Christ--one which remains incomprehensible to Jews even now in the twentieth century and which mystified the disciples until three days after it had happened--cannot be the result of clever speculation, whether six centuries or two centuries before the fact. In my view God's penetrating, effortless insight into history, as revealed in Dan 11, is as impressive a display of power as any of His other acts in history. We should be at least as willing now to acknowledge the evidence as those pagan magicians in antiquity who, after the plague of gnats, told Pharaoh, "This is the finger of God" (Exod 8:19).

Part one: vss. 16-22

(16) [a] The invader will do as he pleases [*ya^ašeh habbā' ʔēlāyw kiršônô*]; no one will be able to stand against him. [b] He will establish himself in the Beautiful Land and will have the power to destroy it. (17) [a] He will determine to come with the might of his entire kingdom and will make an alliance with the king of the South [*wîšārîm ʿimmô*]. [b] And he will give him a daughter in marriage in order to overthrow the kingdom [*l'hašhîtāh*], but she [margin] will not succeed or help

him.³⁸ (18) Then he will turn his attention to the coastlands and will take many of them, but a commander will put an end to his insolence and will turn his insolence back upon him. (19) [a] After this, he will turn back toward the fortresses of his own country [b] but will stumble and fall, to be seen no more.

(20) "His successor will send out a tax collector to maintain the royal splendor. In a few years, however, he will be destroyed, yet not in anger on in battle.

(21) "He will be succeeded by a contemptible person who has not been given the honor of royalty. He will invade the kingdom when its people feel secure, and he will seize it through intrigue. (22) [a] Then an overwhelming army will be swept away before him; [b] both it and a prince of the covenant will be destroyed."

Where does the section begin? Here I argue that vs. 16 is the correct location for a section break and that vs. 14 is not. There are three main reasons for this.

The first reason for breaking at vs. 16 has to do with the contents of vs. 16 itself. As pointed out in an earlier paper, "the invader" of Dan 11:16 (*habbāʾ ʾēlāyw*, lit. "the one who comes to him") stands in parallel to "the ruler who will come" in Dan 9:26.³⁹ This is the ruler whose people "will destroy the city and the sanctuary" (Dan 9:26). The nation that did this was Rome. If the passages are parallel and if Rome is referred to in Dan 9:26, it follows that Rome is also referred to in Dan 11:16. This is an argument that vs. 16 is the latest available point for a transition from Greece to Rome.

The second reason for breaking at vs. 16 has to do with the contents of vs. 15. Recall that in the proleptic statement of vs. 5 South was initially stronger than North, but that this situation would change. As predicted, in vs. 15 North finally does become stronger than South--by Antiochus III's possession of Judea after the battle of Panium (vs. 13), and by Antiochus IV's successful invasion of Egypt in 167 B.C. (vs. 15).⁴⁰ Egypt was powerless to repel Antiochus. His invasion was no less a fulfillment of vs. 5--which deals with the relationship between the king of the South and the king of the North--because a new king of the North prevented an earlier one from staying in Egypt. Verse 15 would be an appropriate place to end a subsection that begins with vs. 5. It would be less appropriate to end the subsection with any earlier verse, i.e., before its opening prediction is fulfilled. If the previous section ends with vs. 15, then the present one begins with vs. 16. This is an argument that vs. 16 is the earliest available point for the transition to Rome.

The third reason for breaking at vs. 16 is that it contains the formulaic expression "[he] will do as he pleases" (*wʿyāʿās . . . kirṣônô*). A form of this same expression occurs in Dan 8:4 with reference to the Persian ram, in 11:3 with reference to the Macedonian conqueror Alexander the Great, and in 11:36 with reference to Rome as a religious power. Here in Dan 11:16 I suggest that the formula refers to Rome as a secular power. If this is the case then *wʿāśâ kirṣônô*, in its various forms, is used one time each in regard to the dominating power of Persia, Greece, secular Rome, and religious Rome. The formula *wʿyāʿās . . . kirṣônô* (its form in Dan 11:16) represents a beginning point for some power in the prophecy, which I take to be secular Rome.

The fourth reason for breaking at vs. 16 has to do with an interesting set of relationships among the historical events of vss. 14, 15, and 16 taken together. In vs. 14 the king of the North is shown in relation to God's people as the Maccabees successfully resist Antiochus Epiphanes. In vs. 15 the same king of the North is shown in relation to the king of the South as Antiochus

Epiphanes successfully invades Egypt. In vs. 16 one king of the North is shown in relation to another – an earlier king giving way to his successor, the power of Greece giving way to the power of Rome – as Rome commands Antiochus Epiphanes to leave Egypt. Rome's entrance into the prophecy in this way simultaneously causes Antiochus to be displaced as king of the North on an individual level and, more importantly, causes Greece to be displaced as the genetic point of origin for future kings of the North.

Thus, in these three verses we find a microcosm of the relationships developed in various ways throughout the chapter. In each of three major blocs of text there is a king of the North and this king is shown in relation to: (1) God's people, (2) the king of the South, and (3) either a previous or a subsequent king of the North. This three-fold sequence is not complete without the third point mentioned. In the present case point (1) corresponds to vs. 14, point (2) corresponds to vs. 15, and point (3) corresponds to vs. 16. See table 4.

Table 4
Summary of Relationships Illustrated
in Dan 11:14, 15, and 16

Vs.	Relationship	Event
14	King of North/God's people	Maccabees repel Antiochus(165)
15	King of North/king of South	Antiochus invades Egypt (168)
16	King of North/king of North	Rome dislodges Antiochus (168)

I have argued above that Rome appears no later than vs. 16 and that the Greek period of history ends no earlier than vs. 15. Thus, vs. 16--by contrast with any later or earlier verse--must be considered the point of transition from Greece to Rome in the prophecy.

Prolepsis in vs. 16b. Verse 16b contains a proleptic statement showing what the end result would be of the events introduced in vs. 16a:

"The invader [*habbāʾ ʾēlāyw*] will do as he pleases. He will establish himself in the Beautiful Land and will have the power to destroy it" (Dan 11:16).

Rome established itself in the "Beautiful Land" of Palestine very gradually over the course of a century and a half and would not destroy it until A.D. 70. Verse 16 looks forward to the time when the king of the North just introduced would do such things, i.e., it looks forward to A.D. 70 when Rome would come and destroy Jerusalem. The parallel to the above verse, in Dan 9:26, reads as follows:

"After the sixty-two 'weeks,' the Anointed One will be cut off and will have nothing. The people of the ruler who will come [*nāgîd habbāʾ*] 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" (Dan 9:26, margin).

Prolepsis in vs. 17b. Verse 17b also contains a prolepsis. There are a number of difficulties here. First, there is the expression *bat hannāšîm*, lit. "the daughter of women,"⁴¹ which I take as a metaphorical reference to the Jewish people. And also, there is the word *lʿnašhîtāh*, which means "to corrupt her," as in the American Standard Version of 1901, or more literally "to

destroy her." If the Jewish nation is "the daughter of women," and if *l^ehašhîttāh* refers to the destruction of the nation, then vs. 17b is not only proleptic but parallel in some way to the similar statement in vs. 16b. But the one verse does not merely repeat the other. I would suggest that in 17b we see the demise of the Jewish nation from Rome's point of view.

The Jewish factions of Palestine had shown themselves, from the moment of Pompey's arrival, capable of armed revolt and prolonged resistance in the fortified places in the country, and this was the pattern that was to bedevil the Roman authorities for another century.⁴²

Rome finally did destroy Jerusalem, but its Jewish problems did not end in A.D. 70. For another sixty-five years the conqueror would have good cause to reflect on its Jewish problem.

The census of Quirinus preliminary to the incorporation of Judaea as a Roman province provoked the first violent Zealot sedition under Judah of Galilee. Thenceforward the province was under an almost continuous state of guerrilla siege down to the final apocalyptic suppression of Zealot activity and of Jerusalem itself, in A.D. 135.⁴³

When the Jews were finally beaten down and driven from their homeland into the already well established diaspora--after fighting viciously against Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, and finally Hadrian--they were like other such groups in certain ways. "In one crucial sense, however, the Jews were different from those other national groups: they were not only unassimilated, they were unassimilable."⁴⁴ Assimilation for a Jew was tantamount to apostasy. He would not be dominated and could not be assimilated. If the "daughter of women" (*bat hannāšîm*) is another term for the Jewish nation and if vs. 17b refers to the problems Rome would have trying to possess her, then the actual situation is well described by the verse.

Verses 16-19. It has been pointed out that vs. 16a refers to Rome's assertion of authority over Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 168 B.C. and the resulting transition from a Greek king of the North to a Roman king of the North.⁴⁵ Verse 17a refers to the establishment of Roman political influence in Palestine by Pompey and later by Gabinius.⁴⁶ In vs. 18 Julius Caesar defeats Pompey and in vs. 19 is himself assassinated.

*Verses 20-22.*⁴⁷ Verse 20 describes the death of the first Roman emperor, Caesar Augustus in A.D. 14.⁴⁸ Augustus was the Caesar in power at the time of Christ's birth. Verse 21 describes the corresponding rise to power of Augustus' successor, Tiberius. Tiberius was the Caesar in power at the time of Christ's death. The culminating event in the section comes at vs. 22 where the "prince of the covenant" dies along with a large number of others in what would develop as a reign of terror under Tiberius.⁴⁹

Daniel 11:22 is closely paralleled by Dan 9:25-27. This link with a well known and extensively documented passage in an earlier chapter provides a firm basis for the present analysis. From its earliest days the Christian church interpreted Dan 9:25-27 as a prophecy of Christ's ministry on earth and death on the cross. Dan 11:22 is more brief, focusing exclusively on Christ's crucifixion under the Roman procurator Pontius Pilate,⁵⁰ but notice that both passages contain: (1) the word *nāgîd* ("ruler" [9:25], "prince" [11:22]), (2) a verb with the contextual meaning to kill (*yikkārēt* "will be cut off" [9:26], *yīššābēr* "will be destroyed" [11:22]), and (3) the word *b^erît* ("covenant" [9:27; 11:22]). Thus, in 9:25-27 the "Anointed One, the ruler" (vs. 25) "will be cut off" (vs. 26) establishing "a covenant with many" (vs. 27). In 11:22, "a

prince of the covenant will be destroyed."⁵¹ The One referred to is the same in both passages and can be clearly identified as Christ.

Part two: vss. 23-28

(23) "After coming to an agreement with him, he will act deceitfully, and with only a few people he will rise to power. (24) [a] When the richest provinces feel secure [*b^ešalwâ*],⁵² he will invade them and will achieve what neither his fathers nor his forefathers did. [b] He will distribute plunder, loot and wealth among his followers. [c] He will plot the overthrow of fortresses – but only for a time.

(25) "With a large army he will stir up his strength and courage against the king of the South. The king of the South will wage war with a large and very powerful army, but he will not be able to stand because of the plots devised against him. (26) Those who eat from the king's provisions will try to destroy him [*yisb^erûhû*]; his army will be swept away, and many will fall in battle.⁵³ (27) The two kings, with their hearts bent on evil, will sit at the same table and lie to each other, but to no avail, because an end will still come at the appointed time. (28) [a] The king of the North) will return to his own country with great wealth, [b] but his heart will be set against the holy covenant. He will take action against it [c] and then return to his own country." (Dan 11:23-28)

Verses 23-24. Four major historical events are referred to in the first two verses of the section: (1) the time of first contact between Jews and Romans at the time when Jerusalem requested a treaty with Rome in 161 B.C.,⁵⁴ (2) Pompey's desecration of the temple by entering the most holy place in 63 B.C.,⁵⁵ (3) Julius Caesar's largess to the Jews as a reward for their help in his war against Pompey, which ended in 48 B.C.,⁵⁶ and--proleptically--(4) the end of the period during which secular Rome would figure in the prophecy.⁵⁷

Verse 23 is a general statement: "with only a few people he will rise to power."

As regards vs. 24a, the text states that "He will overrun the richest districts of the province and succeed in doing what his fathers and forefathers failed to do, . . ." (vs. 24a, NEB). The "province" in question is Palestine and the "richest districts" of it would have to include Jerusalem. Within Jerusalem the richest part would be the temple. There is no record that any Roman (or Greek, or Persian, or Babylonian) ruler had ever entered the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem before Pompey did so in 63 B.C. He succeeded in doing "what his fathers and forefathers failed to."

As regards vs. 24b, when Julius Caesar fought against Pompey in the east soon after the events just mentioned, the Jews were quick to take his side in the conflict. When Pompey was finally defeated, Caesar lavished favors on the Jews for giving him such good support in the war.⁵⁸ And after Caesar's assassination the Jews did not forget his generosity.

At the height of the public grief a throng of foreigners went about lamenting each after the fashion of his country, above all the Jews, who even flocked to the place for several successive nights.⁵⁹

The first contact between Jews and Romans is clearly a beginning point for Rome in its dealings with God's people and Constantine's move from Rome to Byzantium is just as clearly the end of an era. In between these two outer points the motifs of a king of the North entering a temple only to defile it by his presence and of a king of the North showing favor on a lavish

scale to those who serve his purposes are themes that will be seen again. In vss. 23-24 we have a microcosm of events and relationships that will occupy our attention at a later time in vss. 29-39. These facts are summarized in fig. 5.

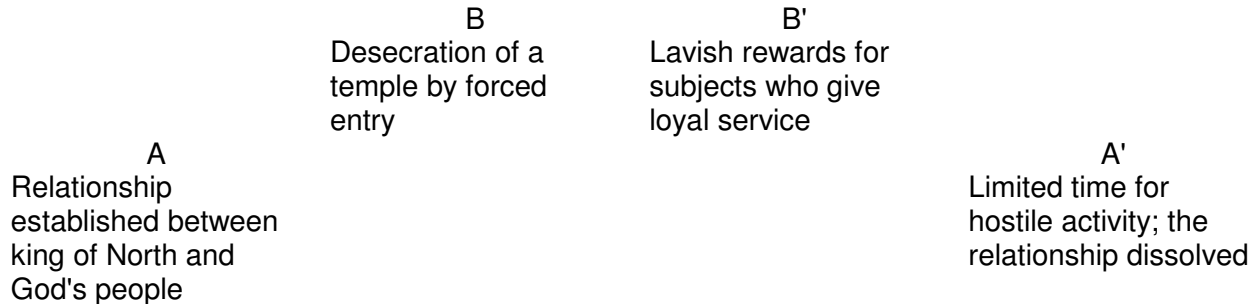


Fig. 5. Motifs illustrated in Dan 11:23-24, showing themes that occur repeatedly in the chapter.

Prolepsis in vs. 24c. There is good reason why the prolepsis in vs. 24c does not occur at the beginning of a subsection, as those in vss. 5, 16, and 36 do. Verses 23 and the first part of 24 describe a method of self assertion that would be characteristic of Rome and would prove highly successful. The method was both simple and effective--to use force (vss. 23-24a) when necessary but appeal to self interest if possible (vs. 24b).⁶⁰ Once the general principle has been illustrated with historical examples we find the assertion that it would continue in use for an extended period of time. The nature of Rome's policy had to be illustrated in vss. 23-24b before its duration would become an issue in vs. 24c

The Roman Empire was not to continue in the prophecy for an indefinite period of time: "He will plot the overthrow of fortresses--but only for a time." The empire itself would continue on, but the Byzantine version of it is not mentioned in Dan 11. Instead attention remains fixed on the former capital at Rome. There is a reason for this. The city which began as the capital of a universal empire went through a relatively brief period of transitional weakness and then emerged again, this time as the seat of a universal church which eventually developed immense political influence. One must appreciate both the continuity and the contrast between Rome's two eras of power to understand that city's role in Dan 11.

Verses 25-28. During the time of Pompey and Caesar, Rome was a republic. By the time the civil wars came to an end it had become an empire. The remaining verses in the present section deal with those events that brought about the transition from republic to empire.

The first Roman emperor was Caesar Augustus--a grand nephew of Julius Caesar--and the event that finally made Octavian the sole ruler of the Roman world⁶¹ was the battle of Actium in B.C. 31. Within vss. 25-28, the prophet's attention is first directed to the battle itself (vs. 25) and the reasons for Octavian's victory (vs. 26). Then, after the battle has been summarized in vs. 25 and the circumstances surrounding it have been explained in vs. 26, some addition information is given in vs. 27 by way of background.

The clause that reads, "because an end will still come at the appointed time" (vs. 27), does not refer forward to vs. 28. In vs. 28 Octavian is already returning home in triumph with the

booty he has won in battle. The "end" referred to in vs. 27 that "will come at the appointed time" is the end of the battle already described in vs. 25-26. After this event the king of the North goes back home. Thus, the content of vs. 27 is closely related to the content of vss. 25-26. Here is one reason for believing that vs. 27 refers to earlier events rather than later ones.

Another reason for taking vs. 27 as an explanation of previous material after the fact has to do with the content of vs. 28. Following vs. 27 the king of the North is no longer preoccupied with a challenge from the king of the South. After Actium there was no one left who could mount a serious challenge to Octavian. The effect of his victory was to consolidate power and bring the entire Roman world under a single unified government.⁶² Instead of any lingering political opposition (none was forthcoming), the attention of the king of the North was directed toward the "holy covenant": "but his heart will be set against the holy covenant. He will take action against it and then return to his own country" (vs. 28b).

The king of the North in vs. 28 is larger than Octavian. There was no hostile action during his lifetime against anything that could be called the "holy covenant." At a later time, however, the empire he called into existence destroyed the city of Jerusalem, eventually stamping out every hope for the survival of a Jewish nation as such. This would be one level of fulfillment for the passage, although it could be argued that if Jerusalem had itself not rejected the "holy covenant" it would have enjoyed the protection of God and would not have been destroyed. So the king of the North is more than Octavian in vs. 28 and the "holy covenant" is more than the Jewish nation. With the passing of time Rome also took a hostile position against the Christian church, occasionally persecuting it violently.⁶³ Here is the fullest meaning of both terms. But the persecution would not continue indefinitely. "He will take action against it and then return to his own country" (vs. 28b).

Summarizing the argument, there is nothing in vs. 28 for vs. 27 to refer to. Verse 28a speaks of Octavian's arrival in Rome as a conqueror after the end of the battle of Actium had already occurred at an "appointed time" (vs. 27), bringing with him a vast quantity of captured wealth.⁶⁴ "The king of the North will return to his own country with great wealth" (vs. 28a). With that battle a form of government had been finally set in place that would be beyond challenge for centuries. During much of that time Rome would persecute the Christian church. "[B]ut his heart will be set against the holy covenant. He will take action against it" (vs. 28b). The end of state-sponsored persecution comes at a later time. "He will take action against it and then return to his own country" (vs. 28b).

Notice that while vs. 28b looks forward over a considerable period of time it is not proleptic, because the timeframe for the next part of the narrative takes place later and not earlier.

Discussion

The role of prolepsis. It has been pointed out above that prolepsis occurs at or near the beginning of a number of the verse groupings in Dan 11. This is the case in vss. 16-28 as well. Prolepsis is a literary device that allows the writer to treat sequence and emphasis separately. In the present case, the last event to occur within both halves of the section is not the most important and is handled in a proleptic statement early on.

Verses 16-22 deal with the relationship between Jews and Romans mostly from a Jewish perspective. Thus, a succession of prominent Romans who became involved with the

Jewish nation are mentioned--all but one of them coming to the east in person at one time or another. These include Pompey, Julius Caesar, Caesar Augustus when he was still called Octavian, and Tiberius Caesar.⁶⁵ The final involvement of Rome with Jews on their own territory was the destruction of Jerusalem and the crushing of resistance that brought that nation to a complete and final end. The destruction of Jerusalem is mentioned in the prolepsis of vs. 16. But the most important event during that period, and the one mentioned last, is the crucifixion of Christ in vs. 22.

Verses 23-28 deal with the relationship between Jews and Romans (later Christians and Romans) mostly from a Roman perspective. Rome would come to Palestine, enter the temple, lavishly reward its supporters, become an empire, and persecute the church. Its purposes were served now by open hostility, now by gifts and flattery. The last event to occur during this period was Constantine's move from Rome to Byzantium. This event, as important as it is, is mentioned in a proleptic statement in vs. 24. But the most important event during the period, and the one that brings the section to a close, is the end of persecution for the Christian church.

Distribution of motifs. There are a number of other points that require brief summary here in regard to the literary structure of vss. 16-28. First, notice that--in dramatic contrast to vss. 5-15--there is no North/South conflict at all in the first half of the section, while there is in the second half. Verses 16-22 trace a succession of prominent Romans who came in contact with God's people from the time of first contact to the time of Christ's crucifixion under Tiberius Caesar. Verses 23-28, on the other hand, do resume the motif of North/South conflict, doing so in connection with the final event in Rome's long period of civil war, the end of which brought about Rome's transformation from a republic to an empire.

There is more structure in vss. 16-28 than simply dividing the section in half would imply. As a whole the middle verses (vss. 20-24) are unusual in that they contain no violence of any kind, with or without a motif of North/South conflict, except that done in vs. 22 to the harmless "prince of the covenant" and those who died at about the same time during the reign of terror that characterized Tiberius' later years in power. Thus, the section in question has three main parts (vss. 16-19, 20-24, 25-28) consisting of four, five, and four verses, respectively, and within the middle group of five, the central verse (vs. 22) is unique.

The prophetic "time" of vs. 24b. Notice three related points having to do with vs. 24. First, vs. 24c says that the king of the North, which at this point is secular Rome, would "plot the overthrow of fortresses--but only a time." The Hebrew word for "time" here is *et*. Second, if interpreted symbolically, as in Dan 12:7, 11, and 12, a "day" would represent a year and a "time" (or year) would represent 360 symbolic days or 360 literal years.⁶⁶ Third, the period of time from 31 B.C., when Octavian won the battle that made Rome an empire, to A.D. 330, when Rome lost its status as the capital of that empire, was 360 years. These three points are simply facts. They are data. There was a Rome before that city was the capital of an empire, and there was an empire long years after Rome had ceased to be its capital, but the period during which the Empire of Rome was administered from the city of Rome was exactly and precisely 360 years. The question is whether these facts are significant in relation to each other. I submit that they are. The "time" of vs. 24c is a symbol representing 360 literal years in the customary prophetic manner, and the period so symbolized is prophetically significant. The above facts are summarized in fig. 6.

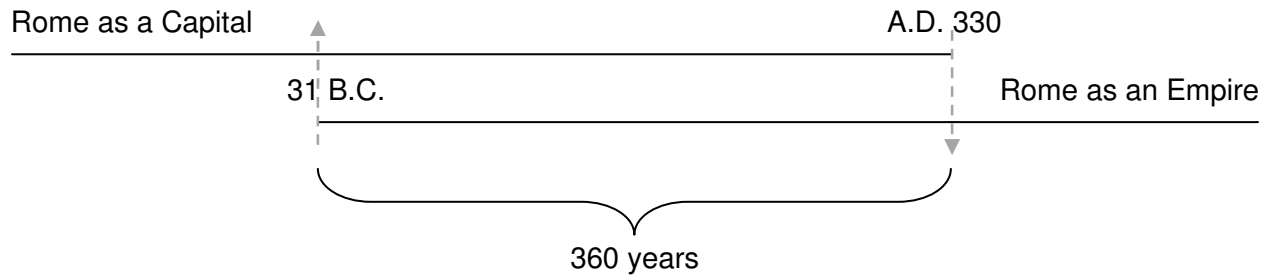


Fig. 6. The time during which the city of Rome was the capital of an empire.

There are three ways in which the prophetic "time" of vs. 24c is significant. First, by moving the capital of the Empire away from Rome in A.D. 330 Constantine created a power vacuum in Rome which was eventually filled by the papacy. This is not a small or insignificant fact about the history of the Middle Ages in Europe. Second, the use of time symbolism, which seems out of place in an otherwise literal vision report, is not out of place at all. It does not represent an isolated fact about the chapter but illustrates a major shift of emphasis in the chapter from things that are literal and secular to things that are figurative and spiritual. And third, the example of time symbolism under discussion occurs in the second half of the chapter. Points two and three are related. Earlier, in vss. 6 and 8, when the angel wanted to indicate years he said "years." But in vs. 24c when he wants to indicate a period of 360 years he does not say 360 years, but uses a symbolic expression to convey the same idea. In a similar way, the subject matter of vss. 5-15 is almost entirely secular and political, while vss. 36-39 speak almost entirely of religious matters. The major thrust of the two sections (vss. 5-15 and 36-39) is not the same at all. The point of transition between predominantly secular emphasis and predominantly religious emphasis is vs. 29 rather than vs. 24, but that transition, when it occurs, has a context and vs. 24 is part of it. With the establishment of the Christian church, God's people are no longer a nation with a homeland localized in Palestine. Instead they become a community of faith distributed all over the Mediterranean world, Europe, and Asia.

Third Section: Verses 29-45

Part one: vss. 29-35

(29) "At the appointed time he will invade the South again, but this time the outcome will be different from what it was before [*w^olō²-tihyeh kāri²šōnâ w^okā^oah^orōnâ*]. (30) Ships of Kittim [margin] will oppose him, and he will lose heart. Then he will turn back and vent his fury against the holy covenant. He will return and show favor to those who forsake the holy covenant.

(31) "His armed forces [*ûz^orō^oim mimménnû*] will rise up to desecrate the temple fortress and will abolish the daily sacrifice. Then they will set up the abomination that causes desolation. (32) With flattery he will corrupt those who have violated the covenant, but the people who know their God will firmly resist him.

(33) "Those who are wise will instruct many, though for a time they will fall by the sword or be burned or captured or plundered. (34) When they fall, they will receive a little help, and many who are not sincere will join them. (35) Some of the wise will stumble, so that they may be

refined, purified and made spotless until the time of the end, for it will still come at the appointed time."

Prolepsis in vs. 30b. Verse 30b states that the king of the North introduced in vs. 29 would assert himself primarily in one of two ways--he would "vent his fury against the holy covenant" and would "show favor to those who forsake the holy covenant" (vs. 30b). These are not isolated events that happen early in the time period under discussion. Instead they are general facts about what the king of the North does throughout this section of the chapter. It takes time for power to be abused to the extent described here. Verse 30b looks ahead to summarize what the unexpected results would be of this particular king of the North's rise to power. More details are given in vss. 31-35 and 36-39.

Verses 29-32. There are a number of points to notice about vs. 29. First, there is a king of the South for the king of the North to attack. This fact is noteworthy. In vss. 23-28 the southern challenge had been put down quite decisively. There is a passage of time between the battle of the previous section and the present one.

The NIV rendering implies that "the outcome" of this new round of fighting between North and South would be what makes the situation different "from what it was before" (vs. 29).⁶⁷ The outcome, however, is that the king of the North wins, and as soon as this happens his attention--no longer detained by the king of the South--turns toward God's people in a hostile manner. This is no different from the outcome in vs. 28 previously or in vss. 44-45 later on. What is different in this case is in fact not the outcome but the circumstances under which it is brought about. This interpretation is entirely consistent with the Hebrew, which reads *w^lō²-tihyeh kārī²šōnâ w^lkā²ah^arōnâ*, lit. "and it will not be as before, or as after." The point to which the narrating angel calls attention is not the result of this encounter but the manner in which it proceeds. In vs. 29 the king of the North is so weak and the challenge before him is so severe that "he will lose heart" (vs. 29). There are a number of reasons for this.

Previously the king of the North had represented a powerful state; after vs. 29 this same figure would be used to represent a powerful church/state. But during the time between these two eras of power there was a relatively brief period of weakness and vulnerability. The Roman church was able to rise on the ashes of the Roman Empire in the west precisely because the removal of the capital had left a political vacuum behind. It was a vacuum that could not be filled immediately. Religious Rome was not built in a day. It had a period of small beginnings, just as its secular predecessor had had in vs. 16.⁶⁸

The reference to "ships of Kittim" (vs. 30a, margin) falls within the present context. In vs. 29 a new king of the North arises to assert himself against the South and meets an intimidating challenge from the "ships of Kittim." There are not two conflicts here. The "ships of Kittim" in vs. 30 carry out the Southern response to the Northern initiative just previous to this. Thus, while the two most essential facts about the term in question are that ships are involved and that those ships come from a distant place,⁶⁹ they do not come from just any distant place. Contextually the "ships of Kittim" come from the South.

I apply the term "ships of Kittim" with reference to barbarian groups who attacked the Roman empire during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. A number of different tribes attacked the Roman Empire during this period. Notice that the two main Gothic invasions for example--one into Italy, the other into Spain--both came from the area of Rumania and Hungary,⁷⁰ which lies northeast of Rome. Notice also that the Goths attacked by land. But there was one group that

situated itself across the Mediterranean from Rome, immediately to the south in the area of ancient Carthage, and attacked Rome as a nautical power. This was the Vandal-Alan alliance, of which the dominant member was the Vandals. Verse 30 has special reference to this group.

There is a very important reason for making the above application of vss. 29-30. Most of the Germanic tribes who attacked the empire were Christians, but as a rule they were not orthodox in their beliefs. Most were adherents of the Arian heresy, and this was true of the Vandals as well. But, also as a rule, the Arian tribes who took over various parts of the Empire did not try to force changes in the religion of their Catholic subjects.⁷¹ Only the Vandals were prominent in doing so. Thus, the only group to attack Rome from the South was the only group to attack Rome by sea, and also the only group to persecute the church of Rome.

Among some of the measures taken by him [Huneric] the most important is the notorious Edict of 24 January 484, in which the king ordered that the edicts made by the Roman Emperors against heresy should be applied to all his Catholic subjects unless they adopted Arianism by 1 June in that year. . . . Perhaps Catholicism might have been quite rooted out in Africa if the king had not died prematurely on 23 December 484.⁷²

While the religio-political papacy was rising to power its primary opposition was of two sorts. There was the ideological challenge from a doctrine which undermined its central teaching on the nature of Christ and there was a military challenge from the political champions of that doctrine. It is significant that a body which draws its genius from combining the attributes of a church and a state should be challenged in both ways at the beginning of its rise to power. The intimidating response from the South in vs. 30 was not just ideological and not just military. It was both, equally. And Rome reeled under the attack. Arianism had perhaps as dramatic an effect on the Roman church at this time as its mostly barbarian proponents had on the Roman state.

When the finer nuances are stripped away, Arianism amounts to an attack on the deity of Christ.⁷³ The success of the church's teaching on the doctrine of Christ at this time appeared to depend on the success of its own political champions. This is why Clovis was, and still is, so highly regarded by Catholics. He was the first barbarian of any political importance to hold orthodox views on the nature of Christ.⁷⁴ There will be a sequel to the attack on Christ's full and complete deity in a later section of the chapter.⁷⁵

Ironically, after recovering from the combined doctrinal-military threat of Arianism early in its history, which had nearly devastated it, Rome abused power as a church in much the same way she had done before as an empire. The continuity between these two eras of Roman power must be emphasized. In both cases--the one openly hostile to Christ, the other seemingly well-intentioned--individual Christians of sincere piety went through a period of hardship and distress. The context for this distress is in vs. 31, where the "daily sacrifice" is abolished and the "abomination that causes desolation" is set up.⁷⁶ In addition to violence there is abundant good will for all who cooperate: "With flattery he will corrupt those who have violated the covenant" (vs. 32). Here are the outlines of a familiar pattern in Dan 11, whereby a series of different kings of the North combine force with favor to obtain their ends.⁷⁷

Verses 33-35. In vs. 32 there is passive resistance to the king's abuses, but in vs. 33 there is a positive counteroffensive on the part of God's people.⁷⁸ "Those who are wise will instruct many, though for a time they will fall by the sword or be burned or captured or plundered" (vs.

33). The "wise" (*maškilê ʿām*, lit. "the wise [ones] of the people") represent a voice of reform. Wycliffe would be a good example of this; Huss, Luther, and Tyndale are others. Notice that of these four men only two died a natural death.⁷⁹

"[A]nd many who are not sincere will join them" (vs. 34). Sir Morice Powicke begins his history of the Reformation in England with the following sentence: "The one definite thing which can be said about the Reformation in England is that it was an act of State."⁸⁰ The Reformation was necessary and good. Its leaders were men of sincere piety. But more than religion was involved in the social ferment of the times. A popular movement that could involve all of Europe and question the authority of a church that for centuries had been thought to hold men's eternal destiny in its grasp, at a time when that church was still a political force to be reckoned with, could not avoid having political overtones. Not everyone who espoused the Reformation's cause had the same reasons for doing so.

The expression, "until the time of the end," refers to the same period as the term does when it is used again at the beginning of vs. 40. There the text says, "At the time of the end the king of the South will engage him in battle" (vs. 40). There is no flow of time between the two references to the "time of the end" in vs. 35 and vs. 40. The intervening group of verses (vss. 36-39) represents a narrative interlude but not a historical one.⁸¹

Part two: vss. 36-39

(36) [a] "The king will do as he pleases. He will exalt and magnify himself above every god and will say unheard-of things against the God of gods. [b] He will be successful until the time of wrath is completed, for what has been determined must take place. (37) He will show no regard for the gods of his fathers or for the one desired by women, nor will he regard any god, but will exalt himself above them all. (38) Instead of them, he will honor a god of fortresses; a god unknown to his fathers he will honor with gold and silver, with precious stones and costly gifts. (39) He will attack the mightiest fortresses with the help of a foreign god and will greatly honor those who acknowledge him. He will make them rulers over many people and will distribute the land at a price."

Prolepsis in vs. 36b. Verse 36 looks forward from a time when the "time of wrath" is in full effect to the time when it is comes to an end. Verses 36-39 then go on to describe the attitudes of the king of the North during the course of the "time of wrath" (vs. 36b) Here is a classic example of prolepsis.

Notice that when the "time of the end" (vss. 35, 40) begins, the "time of wrath" (vs. 36) ends. Thus, at least initially, the "time of the end" is not a time of wrath. Instead it is characterized by learning and discovery with regard to the prophecies:

"But you, Daniel, close up and seal the words of the scroll until the time of the end. Many will go here and there to increase knowledge" (Dan 12:4).

There are not three times of the end here, but three references to one "time of the end" (11:35, 40; 12:4). Already in vs. 35 we are brought up to the beginning of this period. In vss. 36-39 we are brought up to it again. Here we gain insight into the state of mind that resulted in the policies and actions that have just been described in vss. 30b-35. The two sections complement each other.

Verses 36-39. The single most important fact to notice about vss. 36-39 is that the issues dealt there with are almost entirely religious in nature. In earlier sections this was not the case. The emphasis here, by contrast with the overall emphasis in vss. 5-15, 16-22, and 23-28, has undergone a dramatic change.⁸²

Verse 37 shows who the king of the North will not regard. "He will show no regard for the gods of his fathers . . ." Verse 38, on the other hand, shows who the king will honor. "Instead of them, he will honor a god of fortresses; . . ." The meaning is the same, but the one proposition is stated in different ways--first what the king of the North will not do, and then what he will do. The "gods of his fathers" are, in my opinion, the gods worshipped by earlier Romans during the time of the Empire (vs. 37). It is understandable that a Christian king of the North would not worship the pagan Roman pantheon. The irony, however, is that the new king of the North, during the height of his power, will not show any practical regard for the "one desired by women" either (vs. 37).⁸³ Here theory must be distinguished from practice. The main characteristic of this particular king of the North is thus shown to be arrogance. He "will exalt himself above them all" (vs. 37), i.e., above the older Roman gods and also above Christ. Such attitudes were not formed immediately. It takes time to fall this far.

Discussion. There are two points to clarify before leaving this section. One has to do with time, the other with space. As regards time, notice that vs. 29 begins with a reference to an "appointed time" (*lammô'ēd*) and that, as stated earlier, vs. 35 extends to the "time of the end" (*ʿad ʿet qēṣ*). It is my interpretation that these references can be taken together as the beginning and end of a definite period that extends from the beginning of the subsection to the end of the subsection. Especially during this period the king of the North asserts himself by using the familiar combination of force and favor. In the process a temple is desecrated--presumably by the king's presence,⁸⁴ as in the days of Pompey--and the people loyal to him are lavishly rewarded, as in the days of Caesar following Pompey's death. In my view this is an accurate description of events that take place during the 1260 days of Rev 11:3 and 12:6, which in turn are the same as the 42 months of Rev 11:2 and 13:5 and the three and a half "times" or prophetic years of Dan 12:7. Here we have an accurate picture of the high Middle Ages throughout Europe and the Mediterranean world.⁸⁵

As regards space, notice that the prophet's use of directional terminology changes again at vs. 29.⁸⁶ In vss. 5-15, while God's people were a nation located in and around the city of Jerusalem in Judea, the kings of the North and South derived their significance in the prophecy from that fact. In vss. 25-28 the king of the South is still south from Palestine, but the king of the North is north only from the king of the South. In vss. 29-30 the kings of the North and South are again north and south from each other, but religious issues are beginning to figure in the meaning of the terms. By this I mean that at this point the terms are beginning to draw their significance from the way they are used in the prophets that Daniel might have studied or known personally. God's people at the beginning of the Middle Ages are distributed throughout the Mediterranean basin and Europe as well as Asia, i.e., they are less geographically localized than before and as a result the directional terms used to describe their oppressors take on a correspondingly different meaning.⁸⁷ In vss. 40-45 the terms North and South have nothing whatever to do with geography. At this point the transition to religious themes is complete. North is the religious world as a whole and South is the secular world hostile to religion. We now consider vss. 40-45.

Part three: vss. 40-45

(40) "At the time of the end the king of the South will engage him in battle, and the king of the North will storm out against him with chariots and cavalry and a great fleet of ships. He will invade many countries and sweep through them like a flood. (41) He will also invade the Beautiful Land. Many countries will fall, but Edom, Moab and the leaders of Ammon will be delivered from his hand. (42) He will extend his power over many countries; Egypt will not escape. (43) He will gain control of the treasures of gold and silver and all the riches of Egypt, with the Libyans and Nubians in submission. (44) But reports from the east and the north will alarm him, and he will set out in a great rage to destroy and annihilate many. (45) He will pitch his royal tents between the seas at the beautiful holy mountain. Yet he will come to his end, and no one will help him."

Preliminary comments. In vss. 40-45 we are no longer dealing with past events. Preterist scholars have tried unsuccessfully to map the present section onto history at a time before Christ and there is a consensus now that such is not possible, i.e., that the verses under discussion represent a genuine attempt to predict the future.⁸⁸ Thus, from a preterist viewpoint vss. 40-45 do not deal with past events because their contents are not events. I would rather say that vss. 40-45 do not deal with past events because their contents are not past. The events are real but are not discussed in literal language.

The imagery of the section appears to be a composite drawn both from earlier prophets and from Daniel's own experiences. The enemy that sweeps down from the North is reminiscent in some ways of Nebuchadnezzar's attack on Jerusalem in 605 B.C., in which Daniel himself was taken hostage to Babylon as a young man. But this comparison will not account for all the details we encounter. The writings of other prophets must be consulted as well. In Dan 11:40-45 we have an eschatological conqueror modeled on the ones spoken of repeatedly by Isaiah and Jeremiah, whether from Babylon, Assyria or the northern steppes beyond. It is highly important--and all the more since we are dealing with future events--to take the biblical context for this conqueror's activity fully into account. The reference of the passage is to modern times, but the context for the imagery used is the lifetime and experiences of the exilic prophet Daniel and the work of other prophets available to him as he wrote.

It has been pointed out previously that in vss. 5-15 and all but the last two clauses of 16-28 God's people consist of the Jewish nation localized in Palestine.⁸⁹ In vss. 29-39 God's people are to be identified with the Christian church throughout the Mediterranean basin, Europe, and Asia. In more modern times, after the discovery of the New World, God's people are a truly global community of faith. Christ's command to "go and make disciples of all nations" (Matt 28:19) has been substantially obeyed. The church is everywhere--in every part of the earth. For this reason it is meaningless to speak of God's people in terms of geographical boundaries at the present time.⁹⁰ In his very perceptively written book, *The Time of the End*,⁹¹ George McCready Price writes as follows:

In the early days of the world the Bible dwelt much on the replacement of one nation by another. But in the sight of Heaven the spread of ideas is much more important than the shift of national boundary lines. And since the work of God and its opposition have both become global in extent, the prophecies of the last days ignore national distinctions and deal with the spread of doctrines or ideologies.⁹²

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.⁹³

Verse 40a. In vs. 40a the king of the North is once again weak enough to be challenged--a dramatic change when contrasted with his situation in vss. 36-39. The weakness referred to should not be passed over in haste. Verse 40a has an important contribution to make to our understanding of the chapter's final king of the North. One part of the king's power in vss. 29-39 had resided in his willingness to combine religious beliefs with civil force to accomplish his own purposes. I suggest that the brief period of weakness described in vs. 40a is our present secular age during which, in a significant number of countries, there has been a separation of church and state. The separation of these two elements, which together had made the mediaeval church what it was, corresponds to the "mortal wound" inflicted on the leopard-like beast of Rev 13.⁹⁴ For a time the king has no more ability to persecute those who oppose him. At the same time there is a new interest in discovery and learning, especially in regard to the prophecies of Daniel, as described in Dan 12:4.

During the Middle Ages religion was on everyone's mind. With the rebirth of classical learning in Europe, such political upheavals as the French revolution, the scientific writings of men like Darwin and Huxley, and the social philosophy of men like Marx and Engels, a secular age was introduced that displaced the earlier Age of Faith. As a result secular thought is everywhere about us. No church can make monarchs tremble with the threat of excommunication in an intellectual climate such as this. And so the church cannot use the beliefs of such monarchs to persecute people with other views.

The challenge to religious Rome in vs. 40a is similar now to what it was in vss. 29-30a. During the fourth and fifth centuries the church's main threat came from Arianism--in the form of both a doctrine as such and a military fact of life made real by the doctrine's political defenders. Arianism is a belief concerning the nature of Christ in which the Son is not considered fully equal to the Father. Thus, it minimizes the deity of Christ and for this reason I see it as a secularizing influence at the time it arose.

The scientific materialism of our present age is the great Southern challenge of vs. 40a. It also minimizes our concept of deity, but not of Christ only. It attacks the deity, as it were, of God Himself. There is no need for a Creator if man could evolve from more primitive life forms over long periods of time. This philosophy also has its political champions. The modern world is divided roughly into two camps along ideological lines. And once again a hostile philosophy is as threatening in one way as its adherents' military presence is in another. An important difference is that while geographical distinction still had meaning in vss. 29-39, they do not in vss. 40-45.

The attack from the South in both cases involves introducing a secular philosophy, which is the main point here. Thus, we are dealing in this symbol with the scientific atheism of our friends as well as the political atheism of our enemies. The claims of God are set aside equally in both cases.

Ironically the church, as a community of believers in countries where there is freedom to worship at all, has found the present period of Southern skepticism to be in its favor. Since it is surrounded by secular people who have little time for religious matters, there is no great interest in persecuting those who hold unusual views. In communist countries, of course, the opposition takes a more active form. But in any case, in vss. 40b-43 we see a renaissance of religious zealotry from the North and a corresponding rebirth of religious oppression.

Verses 40b-43. Northern oppression came from secular Rome in vs. 28, where the state persecuted the church because to worship Christ meant not acknowledging the emperor's status as a god. We speak of "secular Rome," but the claims of Christ could not conflict with the claims of the state if the two were not in some way comparable. The state, in this case, demanded an allegiance that, under any name, was religious in nature.

In vss. 29-39 the Roman church persecuted other Christians, both before and after the Reformation, because to dissent was to deny the authority of the pope. By demanding of its members a loyalty which rivaled that owed to God, the church during the Middle Ages demanded the functional equivalent of worship. Insight into the nature of those demands can be gained by studying the ones made earlier by the emperors. Throughout the chapter this is a comparison that is made.

In vss. 40-45 oppression revives. Religious persecution is always associated with strong belief. The religious zealots of the present age are not generally Catholics, but conservative Protestants. It is my interpretation that Protestants eventually unite with Catholics in drawing on the power of secular legislation to enforce their religious convictions⁹⁵ and that laws will be enacted in this way that contradict the plain teachings of Scripture. This is an irony, because the laws now being sought on certain key issues involving public policy appear to correct genuine abuses. Taking decisive action on such issues seems not only right in itself but desirable and necessary for the good of society. But more than laws are being established when this happens. There are also precedents for future laws and a powerful method for dealing with cases where what one person does flies in the face of another's convictions about right and wrong. The theoretical framework of church-state relations worked out in cases where a genuine abuse really does need to be corrected will be applied later where there is no abuse at all, but where people simply disagree on how to interpret the Bible. What has begun well, to all appearances, will end in ways that are not now foreseen.

Thus, in three different eras of history widely separated by both time and circumstances, God's people are oppressed because religious beliefs are enforced by the state. As a result people are persecuted without cause and the rights of conscience are disregarded. This is a trait that all three periods have, or soon will have, in common.

In vs. 40b, when the king of the North unexpectedly becomes able to assert himself again, he "will storm out against him [the king of the South] with chariots and cavalry and a great fleet of ships." There are a number of reasons to believe that the language of this section is not literal. Dan 11:40b does not stop after saying that the king of the North "will storm out against him"; it goes on to specify that he would use "chariots and cavalry and a great fleet of ships" when he does so. Chariots and cavalry are not characteristic of modern warfare. The final verses of the chapter represent an extended metaphor in which the king of the North is a global power with religious interests, the king of the South is the secular world in general, and God's people are Christians in every part of the earth. The events of vss. 40-45 are very tangible and real, but the language used to describe them is borrowed from an earlier age and is metaphorical in nature.

In vs. 41, as the king sweeps down from the North, following the ancient trade route connecting Babylon and Egypt, he conquers everything in his path. The Beautiful Land is directly in his line of march and is overrun. Some Ammonites escape because they are on the east side of the Jordan whereas the attacking army is on the west.⁹⁶ Moab and Edom escape altogether because in addition to being across a river from the invading army they lie southward from Ammon, which absorbs the attack and serves as a buffer territory. There is no fully literal application of this passage at any time, including the future. Anciently the events described simply did not occur and to apply "Edom, Moab and the leaders of Ammon" to the modern state of Jordan, for example, is automatically to use the terms in a symbolic rather than literal manner. Edom, Moab, and Ammon no longer exist. Modern Arabs are descended from Ishmael, not from Esau (Edom), and Moab and Ammon have no modern counterpart. Thus, it is not just that the political map is drawn differently now. The people of Edom and of Moab and of Ammon have all long since been lost to history. If Dan 11:40-45 is applied to modern times this will have to be done metaphorically--futurist and historicist alike. The question is not whether to apply the passage metaphorically; the question is what form the metaphor will take.

In vss. 42-43, after the king of the North arrives in Egypt, which is the primary object of his attack, he does not destroy that country but takes over its resources and secures the loyalty of its political satellites, Libya and Nubia, to himself. In doing so, the king of the North reverses the course of events in vs. 8, in good chiasmic fashion, where it was predicted that the king of the South "will also seize their gods, their metal images and their valuable articles of silver and gold and carry them off to Egypt." Here it is the treasure of the South that is being taken over by the king of the North. To all observers it might appear that the king of the North has finally eliminated Southern resistance altogether, that no resistance of any kind or from any quarter still remains. He appears at last to rule with unchallenged and unchallengeable supremacy.⁹⁷

Verses 44-45. Up to this point, in vss. 40-43, the source of the challenge and the object of the response to it has been Egypt. The king of the North in these verses is fighting against the king of the South.⁹⁸ This is one set of relationships. In vss. 44-45 the object of the king's attention is no longer Egypt but Palestine, or what the angel refers to "the beautiful holy mountain" (vs. 45).⁹⁹ Thus, in vs. 44, "reports from the east and the north will alarm him [the king of the North], and he will set out in a great rage to destroy and annihilate many." The expression "from the north and the east" means from the northeast and the first country northeast of Egypt is Israel, which should be called Judea here because the present imagery is drawn from an earlier age--an age when Ammon, Moab, and Edom were still in existence. Now, however, in vss. 44-45, the king of the North directs his attention to those still occupying the "beautiful holy mountain" (vs. 45), whom he thought had already capitulated. The object of this metaphorical reference to Jerusalem and its environs is the Christian church, with special reference to those in it who arouse the king of the North's displeasure.

The king of the North retraces his steps at the head of his own Northern forces and now those from the South as well--those of Egypt, the Libyans and Nubians--along with all the other peoples he has recently conquered. The king has so many people under his command that as they attack Jerusalem they cannot surround the city, but pitch the bulk of their camp on the west because the ground falls off so steeply to the Dead Sea on the east. The army fills the plain "between the sea and the beautiful holy mountain," i.e., all of the plain that rises from the Mediterranean up to Jerusalem. "Yet he will come to his end, and no one will help him" (Dan 11:45).¹⁰⁰

Epilogue: Dan 12:1-4

(12:1) "At that time Michael, the great prince who protects your people, will arise. There will be a time of distress such as has not happened from the beginning of nations until then. But at that time your people – everyone whose name is found written in the book – will be delivered. (2) Multitudes who sleep in the dust of the earth will awake: some to everlasting life, others to shame and everlasting contempt. (3) 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. (4) But you, Daniel, close up and seal the words of the scroll until the time of the end. Many will go here and there to increase knowledge." (Dan 12:1-4)

Verses 1-3. Dan 12:1-3 deals with the same events as 11:44-45. Only the perspective is different. Dan 12:1 first points out that Michael would arise. It then continues by saying that there would be a "time of distress such as has not happened from the beginning of nations until then" (12:1). On the surface of things it appears that Michael causes a time of severe hardship for the king of the North by standing up, but this is not the case. The "distress" of Dan 12:1 should be compared with the "rage" of 11:44. It is not caused by Michael but by the king of the North: ". . . he will set out in a great rage to destroy and annihilate many" (11:44). Thus, it is not that Michael's standing causes the "time of distress," but that the "time of distress" for His people causes Michael to stand and take decisive action on their behalf.¹⁰¹ This is why the king of the North "will come to his end, and no one will help him" (11:45). When Michael comes to rescue His saints on earth, there is no helping those who have created the need for such action.

Elsewhere in the present paper I have argued that in what they refer to 11:16-22 and 23-28 overlap and that 11:29-35 and 36-39 also overlap. Here is a third example of this very effective literary device. The type of repetition I have pointed out is different from that discussed by William H. Shea in Dan 2-7, and yet his concluding remarks are germane and I quote them below.

Various commentators have observed that the type of writing present in Dan 4 and 5 is very repetitious. The dullness of the repetitions to the modern eye recedes in importance, however, when it is realized that these transparently repetitious passages actually form an integral part of the larger literary design of these two chapters. Thus, instead of contributing to boredom, these repetitions should enhance one's appreciation for this work as a carefully crafted piece. The narratives of the two chapters do indeed relate history, but they do so in an aesthetically artistic fashion.¹⁰²

The structure of Dan 2 could also be mentioned in regard to repetition of materials, because the vision of the metal image is related twice--once to summarize its contents (vss. 31-35) and a second time to explain them (vss. 36-45). The type of repetition I have proposed for Dan 11, therefore, is part and parcel of a style that is characteristic of the entire book.

Verse 4. According to Dan 12:4 the "words of the scroll" of Daniel's prophecy would be studied and understood more than ever before during the "time of the end" (11:35, 40; 12:4).¹⁰³ As a result of their study loyal Christians are fortified to go through the final "time of distress" brought on by the king of the North. There are two sets of events here. First, the church enjoys a brief respite from persecution at the beginning of the "time of the end." Then, they still face one last, brief, but intense period of hardship. When "Michael, the great prince" stands up to

rescue His waiting people at the end of this one last difficult period, they need to be rescued. Their respite from persecution has been only temporary. There are things we do not yet understand about the final verses of Dan 11 and the first ones of Dan 12, but this much should be clear. The prophecy was not given to frighten us, or to entertain us. It was given to prepare us for a specific challenge that lies ahead. "When these things begin to take place, stand up and lift up your heads, because your redemption is drawing near" (Luke 21:28).

Discussion

It is a prominent characteristic of Dan 11 that the kings of the North and South bicker back and forth between themselves. This bickering has a special significance during the Hellenistic period (vss. 5-15). The heirs of Alexander's empire were constantly fighting each other, and the soldiers they used for that purpose were generally Greeks or Macedonians. Greek kings did not usually draw soldiers from their native subject populations.

The Seleucid kingdom rested upon military conquest and it could be maintained only by military power. For this the Seleucids had to rely principally on Macedonian and Greek soldiers, and the early Seleucid kings, therefore, encouraged immigration from Europe. The newcomers were settled in old or new towns and cities; while a by-product of their presence in Asia was the diffusion of various elements of Greek culture, their primary purpose was to strengthen the power of the Seleucid dynasty.¹⁰⁴

The concept of arms in Ptolemaic Egypt was similar to that found in Seleucid Syria. Egyptian nationals did not, as a rule, fight in the Egyptian army. The army was made up of Greeks. A notable exception to this policy was made at the battle of Raphia. For that battle, contrary to all former practice, Egyptians were drafted into military service.

In their reversal of the traditional practice, Philopator and Sosibius were driven by military necessity to grant to the *laos* a share in the operation of the state. The military parity of Greek and Egyptian signaled by Raphia had subsequently to be redeemed by political and economic parity, and the exchange of these expectations for higher rents and the introduction of a poll tax raised native discontent to the level of insurrection. Raphia was a national, not a Ptolemaic, victory, and the nation was cheated of its rewards.¹⁰⁵

The policy of bringing in soldiers from the Greek and Macedonian homeland had the effect of making Greek culture widely known. During this time Greek became an international language of culture and commerce. The Greek period of history was characterized by military divisiveness and it was precisely the need to build up the military with immigrants from Europe that served as a catalyst to break down cultural and linguistic barriers. In this way the Greek kings' military divisiveness led naturally and unavoidably to a substantial degree of cultural and linguistic unity.

The contribution of Rome complemented that of Greece, but was not the same. After a period of turbulence during the civil wars which brought the Republic to its end--and resembled the kind of discord that characterized the political relationships of Hellenistic kings--the Roman Empire established one government. This government drew on the cultural unity left behind by its Greek predecessors but added to that cultural base a political stability that the Greeks had never been able to achieve.

I submit that in both cases the world was being prepared to receive the gospel. When Christ was born the Mediterranean world effectively spoke one language¹⁰⁶ and acknowledged the authority of one government. Here--during the Greek period--is the broader context for the incessant bickering of the Ptolemies and Seleucids (with power maintained by means of Greek speaking soldiers) and the reason why Raphia (217 B.C.) is singled out for attention near the close of that era (where reversing this state of affairs brought about the decline of Egyptian power that led to the transfer of Judea to the control of Syria). Here--during the Roman period--is the reason why Actium (31 B.C.) is given so much attention in the prophecy (because the Roman civil wars ended with Actium and the stability of universal rule under one emperor was introduced). What the prophecy says about Greeks in vss. 2-15 and about Romans in vss. 16-28 leads up to, introduces, and provides a social context for the first coming of Christ and the spread of the gospel.

There is more in Dan 11, however, than a context for Christ's first coming. The gospel faced challenges no sooner than it was introduced and the church He established has had a long and sometimes difficult history. In vs. 28 Rome would fight the church from without; in vss. 29-39 it would fight the church from within. There would a long and sustained period of wrath, a brief period of respite (vs. 40a) during which the prophecies of Daniel would be studied and correctly understood, an unexpected resumption of wrath, (vss. 40b-45), and finally the second coming of Christ (12:1), which makes possible the rewarding of the saints (12:2-3). Christ promised to come again. Dan 11 traces the events leading to this culminating event of history, placing each in perspective. When the promise is finally fulfilled, there is a reason for it to be fulfilled and a reason why the fulfillment must take place when it does. Christ comes in glory to rescue His saints. When He takes this action, they need to be rescued. There is nothing desirable about persecution, but this is the backdrop against which the standing up of Michael takes place and the two events must be understood together. So if Dan 11 provides a historical context for the first coming, it provides a similar context for the second coming as well.

Conclusion

Literary structure is an important part of how the prophecy of Dan 11 conveys what it has to say. The essential elements of this structure must be understood and appreciated if its contents are to be made clear. Three sections have been proposed, each consisting of an approximately equal number of verses: 11:2-15 (fourteen verses), 16-28 (thirteen verses), and 29-45 (seventeen verses), with 12:1-4 as an epilogue. Within this epilogue vss. 1-3 relate especially to the immediately preceding section and vs. 4 relates to the narrative as a whole.

Verses 2-15

By taking vss. 2-15 together, and not as 2-13 plus the first part of a hypothetical section beginning at vs. 14, the sanctuary of Dan 8:14 is brought into the discussion. In this way the role in history of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and of the Maccabees who resisted him are both accounted for. Antiochus is not absent from Dan 11, but he does not occupy the prophet's attention all through the chapter. There is middle ground between these two extremes. Antiochus is an early king of the North who serves as an appropriate model for later ones, but he is not the only king of the North present. Verses 2-15 deal with the Greek period of history.

Verses 16-28

The unity of vss. 16-28 must be emphasized. These verses constitute one section. Verses 16-22 and 23-28 talk about events at the same time in history and thus overlap in the timeframe of their events. Here is the first of three examples of historical overlap in the prophecy. Christ's death on the cross lies at the center of this section. Verses 16-28 all have to do with the period of secular Rome--both as a republic and as an empire.

The significance of taking vss. 16-28 together as a single unit of text has to do with the relationship between Dan 11 and Dan 8-9 on the one hand and the relationship between Daniel and other Old Testament books such as Ezra-Nehemiah on the other. A separate paper supports the proposed relationship between Dan 11 and Dan 8-9.¹⁰⁷

The connection between Dan 11 and the other narratives mentioned above is not discussed here, but can be previewed. Recall that from a chiastic perspective 11:22 is the center of the chapter and receives the greatest attention, while from a linear perspective 11:44-45/12:1-3 is the goal toward which the narrative drives and thus the final verses receive the greatest attention. I have stated earlier that the chiastic and linear aspects of the structure of this intriguing prophecy are not proposed as alternatives to each other. What I have not stated is how the two can be integrated into a cohesive overview of the prophecy's structure. I now propose such an overview in fig. 7.

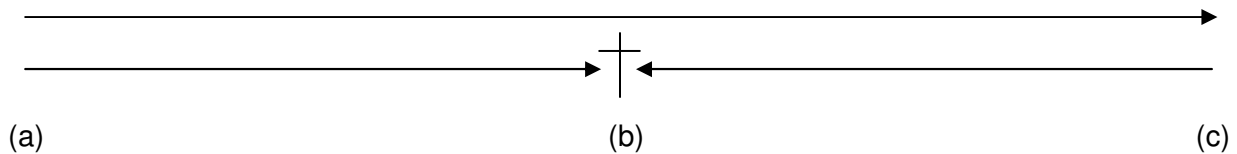


Fig. 7. Summary of dual structure of Dan 11, where (a) is the beginning of the chapter, (b) is 11:22 at the first advent of Christ, and (c) is 11:45/12:1 at the second advent of Christ.

Daniel's last prophecy, in different but complementary ways, calls attention to Christ's two direct invasions of human history – the first (ac) representing the chapter's linear structure, which focuses on the second coming in 12:1; the second (ab) representing the chapter's chiastic structure, which focuses on Christ's first coming in 11:22. Daniel 11 is a prophetic overview of history (building on what was revealed earlier in chaps. 2, 7, and 8-9) that shows us where God's center of attention is in all of this. It is on His Son. His special people in any age of history are those who accept His special Person – His Son. This accounts for the gradual shift from physical to spiritual things as we move through the chapter. Always the focus is on God's Son, as seen first by literal Jews living in literal Israel before the cross, and then by spiritual Jews of every race living every part of the world.

Terms such as "holy covenant" (vs. 30, 30); "sanctuary," "daily [sacrifice]," "abomination," and "covenant" (vs. 31) do not appear in the first two-thirds of the chapter. There is no mention of God, or a god, but just some terms with obvious religious connotations. Then in the next section we start seeing "every god," "the God of gods" (vs. 36); "the gods of his fathers," "and god" (vs. 37); "a god of forces," "a god unknown to his fathers" (vs. 38); "a strange god" (vs. 39). Such terms are introduced gradually and increase in intensity. This is a change, and I would say it is a gradual change. The chapter becomes increasingly spiritual over time.

When the seventy weeks of Dan 9 are compared with the 2300 days of Dan 8 we see a whole-part set of relationships similar to that between the first coming/second coming dual focus of Dan 11. Dan 9 draws attention to events just after Christ's first coming, when He begins ministering in heaven the benefits of His blood, shed on earth, and Dan 8 draws attention to events just before He returns at the close of that same period of ministry. Thus, the points to be drawn from emphasizing the unity of Dan 11:16-28 show the close interrelationship of Daniel's prophecies and share the same focus on Christ that we find elsewhere in the Old Testament. An interest in Christ is not what distinguishes apocalyptic from other forms of prophecy.

Verses 29-45

I have pointed out above that vss. 29-45 deal with a second phase of Rome's power. The distinction between vss. 16-28 and 29-45 corresponds to the distinction between iron and iron mixed with clay in Dan 2. As in the case of vss. 16-28, there are clearly defined subsections within vss. 29-45. The clearest subdivision of text is between vss. 29-39 and 40-45, with the one past and the other non-past, i.e., present or future. This is an important distinction, but Dan 11:29-45, in connection with 12:1-3, all has to do with Rome phase two.

The significance of this fact lies in its connection with Rev 17 and the comparison between Daniel's four-part empire motif and Revelation's seven-part motif. The fourth of Daniel's empires is Rome. Rome has two phases of power. The second phase, however, is interrupted briefly. Thus, secular Rome, in terms of Rev 17:10 and 12, is number 4. Religious Rome before the interruption (Dan 11:29-39) is number 5, religious Rome during the interruption of its power, i.e., during a time when it is significantly weakened (Dan 11:40a), is number 6, and religious Rome after the interruption (Dan 11:40b:45) is number 7. If this model is correct, it follows that there is only one series of world empires in Scripture and Daniel is shown to be in even closer harmony with Revelation than we had realized.

In more practical terms, if the oppressive power of church-state persecution is recognized during the Middle Ages and is now seen to be interrupted, it may be expected to resume at some future point even if it is only to last a short time. If this part of the model is also correct, the instruction of the prophecy for our day--not just when the 2300 days were coming to an end--is very practical indeed. A separate paper supports this part of the model as well.¹⁰⁸

It is a recognition and acknowledgement of Christ's place in the prophecy that makes the present analysis possible. When the modern exegete gives this matter as much emphasis now as the narrating angel did anciently, the seemingly obscure aspects of what the angel was saying will become clear. It is important that we catch this perspective, because what the prophecy tells us is not all in the past. Some of it (especially vss. 40-45) concerns our own day and time. By understanding Christ's place in history and in this prophecy about what we now know as history, God enables us to understand our own relationship to events that must soon take place.

Note: All Scripture quotations in this paper, except when noted otherwise, are from the Holy Bible, New International Version. Copyright (c) 1973, 1978, 1984 International Bible Society. For additional comment on the present topic see, Frank W. Hardy, "An Historicist Perspective on Daniel 11" (M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1983), pp. 129-87, 243-55.

¹Hardy, "Notes on the Chiastic Structure of Dan 10-12," *Historicism* No. 6/Apr 86, pp. 12-31.

²Here I assume that the narrative of Dan 11 consists of Dan 11:2-12:4. This is a hybrid division of the text chosen for convenience. "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" (Hardy, "Historicist Perspective," p. 154).

³See Hardy, "The Preterist Model for Interpreting Daniel," *Historicism* No. 2/Apr 85, pp. 3-5; "The Futurist Model for Interpreting Daniel," *ibid.*, pp. 39-45.

⁴See Hardy, "The Historicist Model for Interpreting Daniel," *Historicism* No. 3/Jul 85, p. 11; "Futurist Model," pp. 41-46.

⁵There are two main groups within the historicist school of thought. Simplified chapter outlines characteristic of the two groups are 11:2-15, 16-22, 23-45 (group 1) and 11:2-13, 14-20, 21-45 (group 2). For further discussion see Hardy, "Historicist Model," pp. 5-10.

⁶G. H. Lang represents a lone dissenting voice within the futurist camp on this point (Hardy, "What and Where Is the Futurist Gap in Dan 11?" *Historicism* No. 2/Apr 85, p. 51). In his book *The Histories and Prophecies of Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1940), p. 157, Lang suggests placing the gap in Dan 11 at vs. 5, making virtually the whole chapter still future now in the twentieth century.

⁷Hardy, "Historicist Model," pp. 4-10.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹Notice, the same period is discussed twice, not the same events. Each event has its own reason for being included and is mentioned only once. Indeed a major characteristic of Dan 11 is its economy of means.

¹⁰One could argue also that vs. 35 should be included as an example of prolepsis. For comment see under vs. 35, below. Prolepsis is an important literary device, because one would normally assume that the event narrated last within a given section is placed there in order to receive special emphasis. The mere passing of time, however, does not make one event more important than another and for this reason a writer must have the flexibility to treat importance and sequence independently of each other. Prolepsis is one literary tool that makes this possible. By means of prolepsis the last event can be mentioned early on and the most important event can end the section. In Dan 11 the way sections begin and end is part of the angel's commentary just as much his choice of which events to include.

¹¹Dan 12:4 is included below, but corresponds as much to Dan 10:20-11:1 as to what immediately precedes it at the end of chap. 11. This follows from the chiasmic structure of the narrative.

¹²As in chap. 8, there is no mention of Babylon in chap. 11. Notice also that Rome--the fourth and last of Daniel's four world empires--is dealt with in two distinct parts or phases. See Hardy, "Daniel 8:9-12," *Historicism* Supplement/Jul 85, pp. 4-11; "A Structural Parallel between Dan 11 and Dan 8-9," in this issue of *Historicism*.

¹³Notice that when Rome is divided in this way the phases are not the Republic as opposed to the Empire, but a secular republic and empire on the one hand as opposed to a politico-religious papal power on the other. Similarly, there is no clear distinction in this section between God's people as Jews during one era and God's people as Christians in a later one. This is not to say that such distinctions as republic and empire, or Jew and Christian, are not unimportant--only that concentrating on them is not what the prophet had in view.

¹⁴For references and discussion see 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.

¹⁵It is true of all prophecy, but especially of the final section of Dan 11 (vss. 29-45), that comparative exegesis is the only safe starting point and must precede any attempt to make historical applications. When this is done and the full force of the parallels within the fourfold prophecy of the book of Daniel is taken into account, the final section of the chapter must be seen as referring to Rome, just as in Dan 2, 7, and 8. What Uriah Smith wrote about Turkey in vss. 40-45 reflects the popular interpretation of his day. For other Protestants the current of opinion soon turned elsewhere and, after more than a century, identifying the last king of the North with Turkey is a position no longer held by most Seventh-day Adventists. In vss. 40-45 speaking about Turkey, and in vss. 36-39 speaking about France, Smith's views were unfortunate and have not stood the test of time. A manuscript source that discusses this topic is Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Pioneers on Daniel Eleven and Armageddon," 6 November 1949, Biblical Research Institute, Daniel 11 File, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C. (see *ibid.*, p. 13).

¹⁶For Xerxes I (486-465)--the king called Ahashuerus in the book of Esther--as the wealthy fourth Persian king after Cyrus see Maxwell, *God Cares*, 2 vols. (Mountain View, CA/Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1981-85), vol. 2: *The Message of Revelation for You and Your Family*, p. 274. The text says, "Three more kings," i.e., three kings not counting the one in power. Thus, Cyrus (559-530) is not counted because the vision was received in the third year of his reign (Dan 10:1), but the usurper Smerdis (522) is counted even though his attempted reign lasted less than a single year. The Greek campaign of Xerxes ended disastrously for the Persians (Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* [New York: Mentor Books, 1963], p. 149).

¹⁷Polybius suggests that some of the plans for this campaign had been made by Alexander's father Philip before his death. See W. R. Paton, trans., *Polybius: The Histories*, 6 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 2:3.6. I use the terms "Macedonian" and "Greek" more or less interchangeably. By blood Alexander was a Macedonian and not a Greek, but he was a committed Hellenist. "The Phrygian shore of the Hellespont was far more Hellenized than his own homeland, but when Alexander finally crossed over there in the spring of B.C. 334 he saw himself coming as a Greek to an alien Asia, prepared to repay to the full Xerxes' earlier descent on his own spiritual homeland" (F. E. Peters, *The Harvest of Hellenism: A History of the Near East from Alexander the Great to the Triumph of Christianity*, Touchstone Books [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970], p. 38).

¹⁸Demetrius of Phalerum once wrote: "I ask you, do you think that fifty years ago (*sic*) either the Persians and the Persian king or the Macedonians and their king, if some god had foretold the future to them, would ever have believed that at the time when we live (*circa* 160 B.C.), the very name of the Persians would have perished utterly--those who were masters of almost the whole world--and that the Macedonians, whose name was formerly almost unknown, would now be lords of all" (quoted from Polybius [29.21] in Frye, *Heritage of Persia*, p. 177). In Polybius the quotation continues with striking foresight: "But nevertheless this Fortune, who never compacts with life, who always defeats our reckoning by some novel stroke; she who ever demonstrates her power by foiling our expectations, now also, as it seems to me, makes it clear to all men, by endowing the Macedonians with the whole wealth of Persia, that she has but lent them these blessings until she decides to deal differently with them" (W. R. Paton, trans., *Polybius: The Histories*, 29.21, pp. 78-79). The first part of this quotation is illustrated in vs. 3, the second part in vs. 16.

¹⁹See R. M. Errington, "From Babylon to Triparadeisos: 323-320 B.C." *Journal of Historical Studies* 90 (1970):49-77.

²⁰For a table of both Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings see C. Bradford Welles, *Alexander and the Hellenistic World* (Toronto: A. M. Hakkert, 1970), pp. 256-59. Welles also traces the successors of Epirus, Attalus, Lysimachus, Antigonos, Mithridates, and Antipater, all of whom had served under Alexander during his successful Persian campaign (pp. 255, 260-61).

²¹The word *w^hayyôl^ldāh* in Dan 11:6, with its currently massoretic vocalization, means "and the one she bore," not "the one who bore her." Thus, the reference is to Berenice's child by Antiochus and not to her father as in NIV. One could of course challenge the vocalization, but in fact there is no reason to do so. In fragment number 13 of a small scroll fragment from Qumran cave 6 (6QDan, see M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan*, 5 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962], vol. 3: *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran*, pp.116) the word appears with a plene spelling that--if the fragment does in fact represent Dan 11:6--can only be vocalized *w^hayyôl^ldāh* ("and the one she bore"). I have discussed this fragment in a paper entitled, "Textual Provenience of a Qumran Cave 6 Fragment: Dan 6:13-14 or Dan 11:6?" read at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Chesapeake Bay Region of the Society of Biblical Literature (Howard University: Washington, D.C., April 24, 1983), arguing that the text in question represents Dan 11:6 rather than Dan 6:13-14.

²²*Harvest of Hellenism*, p. 165.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 176.

²⁴A similar situation obtains in vs. 45. Secular people can be quite permissive in their attitudes toward religion, while religious people have a tendency to feel strongly that others should believe as they do. Thus, the Christian church today has seemed to thrive under the benign neglect of a secular age, but the church's secular surroundings are not its protector. For Israel's inclination to seek help from Egypt see Jer 42.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁶For the exegetical importance of where the present section break is placed see Hardy, "Historicist Model," pp. 5-6.

²⁷"Without in any way intending or being conscious of it, he [Antiochus Epiphanes] became responsible for the setting up of the first independent Jewish state in over four hundred years, an event with major consequences in world history. It was the unique intellectual climate which followed in Judaea which gave rise to the Christian religion, and it was the inspiration of the Maccabees which supported modern Zionism and the creation of the state of Israel" (Welles, *Hellenistic World*, p. 124).

²⁸See Hardy, "Daniel 8:9-12," pp. 20-26.

²⁹As regards whether the Maccabees had a prophecy of Daniel in view, "Then said Judas and his brothers, 'Behold, our enemies are crushed; let us go up to cleanse the sanctuary and dedicate it'" (1 Macc 4:36) (Bruce M. Metzger, ed. *The Apocrypha of the Old Testament: Revised Standard Version*, The Oxford Annotated Apocrypha [New York: Oxford University Press, 1977], p. 230). What Judas Maccabeus said on this occasion is a transparent reference to Dan 8:14.

³⁰See Heb 8:1 and other related passages. The sanctuary that is to be cleansed, restored to its rightful place, or set right in Dan 8:14 is the one in heaven on which the wilderness sanctuary and the Jerusalem temple were modeled.

³¹See Ezek 18:10-13 for a close parallel. The word *pārîš* (*bēn-pārîš*, "a violent son") is used in vs. 10.

³²Moses said almost nothing at all about kingship. But in Gen 49:10 Jacob prophesies that, "The scepter will not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until he comes to whom it belongs and the obedience of the nations is his." See also 1 Sam 13:8-14; Heb 7:12-14.

³³Under other circumstances Egypt could likely count on Rome's help against Antiochus, but by B.C. 170, when the hostilities began, Rome had already embarked upon her final confrontation with Macedon" (Peters, *Harvest of Hellenism*, p. 179).

³⁴Welles, *Hellenistic World*, p. 123.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶W. Stewart McCullough interprets the event differently: "His great military review and festival at Daphne in 166 BC was a prelude to his eastern campaign, which he launched in the spring of 165 BC" (*The History and Literature of the Palestinian Jews from Cyrus to Herod: 550 BC to 4 BC* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975], p. 107).

³⁷For a convenient survey of selected issues, see Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Book of Daniel: Evidences Relating to Persons and Chronology," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 19 (1981):37-49 and "The Book of Daniel and Matters of Language: Evidences Relating to Names, Words, and the Aramaic Language," *AUSS* 19 (1981):211-225.

³⁸Verse 17 is translated more accurately in the American Standard Version of 1901: "And he shall set his face to come with the strength of his whole kingdom, and with him equitable conditions; and he shall perform them: and he shall give him the daughter of women, to corrupt her; but she shall not stand, neither be for him."

³⁹Hardy, "Two Words for 'Prince' in Dan 10-12," *Historicism* No. 6/Apr 86, p. 6, and tables 1 and 2 on p. 7.

⁴⁰"The last Ptolemaic stand, which took place in B.C. 200 at Panium by the sources of the Jordan, was unsuccessful. Antiochus [III the Great] did not invade Egypt but attacked instead the last Ptolemaic footholds in southern Anatolia. By B.C. 195 Ptolemy V Epiphanes had little choice but to sue for peace. After Panium and before moving his army to Cilicia, Antiochus devoted some months to mopping-up operations in Coele-Syria. There were still pockets of resistance in the cities, including, as it turned out, in Jerusalem in the temple state of Judaea. Here a Ptolemaic faction continued to cling to the inner city even after the surrender of their Greek mercenary general, Scopas, on the battlefield. Antiochus eventually dislodged them, perhaps as late as B.C. 198, with the help of his own Jewish supporters within the city" (Peters, *Harvest of Hellenism*, p. 247). This bad relationship between the Jews and Syria at the outset of their relationship may have influenced the thinking of Antiochus IV at a later time.

⁴¹Note the precedent for such terminology in vs. 10. See also vs. 37.

⁴²Peters, *Harvest of Hellenism*, p. 337. The following remark made in passing by the same writer gives another illustration of the same point: ". . . an eastern governor had only to resist invasion (the Parthians), quell anarchy and insurrection (the Jews), and show a profit, at whatever cost to the province, to be acclaimed a success" (*ibid.* p. 340).

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 297. See also pp. 531-32.

⁴⁵The significance of these terms is discussed in a forthcoming paper.

⁴⁶See *ibid.*, pp. 333-37; E. Bammel, "The Organization of Palestine by Gabinius," *The Journal of Jewish Studies* 12 (1961):159-62. This was not the final stage of Roman involvement in Palestine.

⁴⁷As regards the reasons for placing a minor break at vs. 20 see Hardy, "Chiastic Structure," pp. 22-27.

⁴⁸"Caesar" was the family name of Gaius Julius Caesar. His niece Atia married into the Octavius family and had a son named Gaius Octavius, commonly called Octavian. Julius Caesar adopted his grand nephew, thus giving him also the family Caesar. "Augustus" was a title bestowed on Octavian in 27 B.C. by the Roman senate (*ibid.*, p. 387), acknowledging the facts of power as they had existed ever since the battle of Actium in 31 B.C.

⁴⁹Summarizing Tacitus' work, one editor of the historian's well known *Annals* writes as follows: "Above the rest, 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, *The Annals of Tacitus*, New American Library [New York: Mentor Books, 1966], p. xiii). Here is part of the background for John 19:1-16. Historically the terror under Tiberius reached its height after Christ was crucified rather than before.

⁵⁰Mentioned in Tacitus, *Annals*, 15.44.

⁵¹See Hardy, "Two Words for 'Prince'," pp. 3-4.

⁵²The New English Bible gives a better rendering of the transition between vss. 23 and 24. It does this by making *b^šāl^wâ* the last word of vs. 23 instead of the first word of vs. 24: "He will enter into fraudulent alliances and, although the people behind him are but few, he will rise to power and establish himself in time of peace [*b^šāl^wâ*]. He will overrun the richest districts of the province and succeed in doing what his fathers and forefathers failed to do, . . ." (Dan 11:23-24, NEB). For discussion see Hardy, "The Verse Division at Dan 11:23-24," *Historicism* No. 6/Apr 86, pp. 32-38.

⁵³The words "'try to'" ("Those who eat from the king's provisions will try to destroy him; . . .") are not in the Hebrew. The Hebrew says only *w^šōklê pat-bāgô yišb^râhû*, i.e., "Those who eat the king's provisions will destroy him."

⁵⁴Notice that the first contact between Jews and Romans was not initiated by Rome. One of the first acts of state performed by the Jewish Maccabees once they came to power was to invite a treaty of friendship with Rome and one was in fact duly ratified by the Roman senate. At this point such a treaty seemed harmless enough and in fact it was renewed on a number of occasions by the Hasmonean successors of the Maccabees. For discussion 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. 2, 6-11.

⁵⁵Welles (*Hellenistic World*, p. 146) states that Pompey besieged Jerusalem for three months before finally gaining entrance to the city. In the process he must have done serious damage to the walls because Antipater had to rebuild them at a later time (Ralph Marcus, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities*, 9 vols. [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966], vol. 9: Books XII-XIV, 14.156 [14.9.1], pp. 530-31). For the background of Pompey's confrontation with the Jews see Peters, *Harvest of Hellenism*, p. 322. Notice, however, that the military context for Pompey's entry of the temple is not mentioned in vs. 24. Instead it is dealt with in vs. 17. It was pointed out in an earlier paper (Hardy, "Chiastic Structure," pp. 22, 27) that the only violence in vss. 20-24 is that done to Christ in vs. 22 and to those Romans who died with Him during the reign of terror under Tiberius. In my view, preserving this contrast is one factor that determined how the events of vss. 16-28 should be presented to Daniel by the angel. There is nothing random or haphazard here.

⁵⁶For Julius Caesar's largess to the Jewish people after they had supported him against Pompey, see Josephus, *Antiquities*, 14.185-267 (14.10.1-26), pp. 546-93.

⁵⁷See below.

⁵⁸Josephus, *Antiquities*, 14.185-267 (14.10.1-26).

⁵⁹Lewis and Reinhold, *Sourcebook*, 1:293. The quotation is taken by the editors from Suetonius' *Life of Caesar*.

⁶⁰According to E. Badian, *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968), pp. 14-15, "From the very start of Roman history, powerful men had had free 'clients' attached to their persons and families. These men, though legally free, were by custom--and by the facts of power--obliged to obey and serve their patron in return for his protection. In a wider sense of the word, every *beneficium* created a relation of clientship, obliging the recipient to be prepared to render *officia*. . . . It was a natural consequence that

Roman aristocrats, accustomed to seeing personal relationships, both within the community and outside, in these terms of moral relationships and duties based (ultimately) on the facts of power, should transfer this attitude to their political thinking: that Rome, in fact, should appear as the patron city, claiming the *officia* both of actual allies and subjects and of 'free' kings and cities with which she had come into contact. These attitudes were woven into the Roman noble's life. Of course, it was the oligarchy, acting through the Senate, that represented Rome--the patronal power--in its relations with those clients, thus reinforcing the bonds of individual clientship that personally united many of them to great Roman houses. It was clear that the whole world owed *officia* to the great power acting through the men who governed it. As Roman power increased, it became impossible, for those brought up under this system, to see any relationship between Romans and foreigners, between Rome and foreign states, in other terms than these; and this explains what often--by our standards--seems arrogance and even naïveté in Roman behaviour. The obedience of the weak to the strong was, to the Roman aristocrat, nothing less than an eternal moral law." Thus, in the current example, by lavishly honoring the Jewish nation after the defeat of Pompey Caesar was performing a *beneficium*, to which the only reasonable response for the Jews would be to render *officia* in return.

⁶¹In theory the second triumvirate was composed of Octavian, Mark Antony, and Lepidus. In practice Lepidus was impotent alongside Octavian and Antony and Antony in turn was finally unable to maintain himself alongside Octavian.

⁶²Political unity was a contribution that the Greeks were never able to make. The significance of this fact is pointed out in a later part of the paper.

⁶³The first persecution of the church came not from Romans but from Jews (see Acts 8:1-3). Indeed, Samuele Bacchiocchi ("Rome and Christianity Until A.D. 62," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 21 [1983]:3-25) points out that Roman officials frequently found themselves in the position of defending Christians against Jews and that the turning point in Rome's relationship with the church did not come until the reign of Nero--a position put forward in antiquity by Melito of Sardis.

⁶⁴One enthusiastic contemporary, Velleius Paterculus, writes: "There is nothing that man can desire from the gods, nothing that the gods can grant to a man, nothing that wish can conceive or good fortune bring to pass, which Augustus on his return to the city did not bestow upon the state, the Roman people, and the world" (Lewis and Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, 1:306-7).

⁶⁵Tiberius never came to Palestine.

⁶⁶No 360 day calendar stands behind this symbolism in history. The 360 day symbolic year in prophecy is derived only and exclusively by a comparison of different prophecies. There is a prophetic period of 1260 days (Rev 11:3; 12:6), one of 42 months (Rev 11:2; 13:5), and one of three and one half "times" (or years) (Dan 12:7). The only assumption necessary to allow all three descriptions to reference one historical period is that a prophetic month should be consistent in having thirty days. Under this reasonable assumption 1260 days = 42 months = three and a half years. The result of such comparisons is elegant in the sense of buying a good deal of insight while decreasing the amount of complexity required to purchase them. The concept of a 360 day prophetic year is soundly biblical, even if the source of the symbolism has no historical precedent.

⁶⁷Before, in vss. 25-28 North, faced South as a powerful military opponent. Afterward, in the rest of vss. 29-35 and in 36-39, North was completely unassailable. Although more is involved, this is the immediate context of the verse.

⁶⁸As regards the obscure origins of secular Rome, they provided the main motivation for Polybius to write his well known history. There had been other great states in history, but Rome rose from such an insignificant past as a mere city state to a full-fledged Mediterranean superpower in so short a time that he considered the feat remarkable and wanted to document the process. "For who is so worthless or indolent as not to wish to know by what means and

under what system of polity the Romans in less than fifty-three years have succeeded in subjecting nearly the whole inhabited world to their sole government--a thing unique in history? Or who again is there so passionately devoted to other spectacles or studies as to regard anything as of greater moment than the acquisition of this knowledge?" (Paton, *Polybius*, 1.1).

⁶⁹"All agree that the term Kittim can refer to either Greeks or Romans--cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.6.1 who says the name was applied to all islands and most maritime countries. It is difficult to assess how far the War Scroll had specific enemies in mind. In view of the lack of specificity it is most probable that the scroll simply accepted the traditional idea that Israel's enemies would be destroyed in the eschatological battle. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Israel's outstanding enemies could be appropriately summed up as Kittim" (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]:609, n. 54).

⁷⁰For discussed see Constantin C. Diculescu, *Die Wandalen und die Goten in Ungarn und Rumänien*, Mannus-Bibliothek, no. 34 (Leipzig: Curt Kabitzsch, 1923), pp. 32-53.

⁷¹The career of Theoderic, the Ostrogothic king of Rome from A.D. 471 to 526, illustrates the point being made: "In the next generation the Byzantine Procopius summarized his reign: 'His manner of ruling over his subjects was worthy of a great Emperor; for he maintained justice, made good laws, protected his country from invasion, and gave proof of extraordinary prudence and valour'" (C. W. Previté-Orton, *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History*, 2 vols. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952], vol. 1: *The Later Roman Empire to the Twelfth Century*, p. 137). "But whereas Clovis the Catholic possessed the loyalty of the Gallo-Romans, Theodoric the Arian was only accepted by the Italians heartily while their rightful sovereign, the Emperor, was unorthodox and unpopular" (ibid., p. 139).

⁷²H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney, eds., *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, 8 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), vol. 1: *The Christian Roman Empire and the Foundation of the Teutonic Kingdoms*, p. 312.

⁷³See Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 55-63.

⁷⁴In A.D. 507 Clovis fought against the Visigoths at Vouglé and forced them from Aquitaine all the way to the Pyrenees. "Beyond question Clovis was the aggressor. 'It grieves me that these Arians should hold a part of Gaul', he told his troops. The Gallo-Romans and their clergy rejoiced: there was no new confiscation, and the Frankish settlement was thin. Those Arians who did not emigrate Spainwards were soon obliged to conform to Catholicism" (Previté-Orton, *Medieval History*, 1:152)

⁷⁵The scientific materialism of our own age contains the seeds of an attack on the deity, not of Christ only, but of God. At issue is the viability of the whole concept of the existence of God. For further discussion see my comments on vs. 40a, below. The king of the South in vss. 30 and 40 have much in common.

⁷⁶The reference to a "daily sacrifice" in vs. 31 is a reference to the sanctuary which must be taken together with vs. 14, where historically the Maccabees tried to cleanse the sanctuary with Dan 8:14 in mind. The one passage occurs late within vss. 2-15, the other occurs early within vss. 29-45. In both cases a sanctuary is in view, although my model it is not the same sanctuary. This follows in part from the fact that vs. 14 refers to cleansing, while vs. 31 speaks of defilement. The order of events would be reversed if they were more directly related.

⁷⁷See vss. 24a/24b, 30b/30c, 31/32, 39a/39b, 42/43.

⁷⁸The situation is similar to that in vs. 14. Two different eras of history are involved, but there are similarities between them. In vs. 32 we are no longer dealing with Maccabean freedom fighters, but with their mediaeval counterparts, the Reformers. Recall that the chapter is chiasmic in form.

⁷⁹For the martyrdom of Huss see C. W. Previté-Orton, *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2:962-66. For the martyrdom of

Tyndale see F. F. Bruce, *The English Bible: A History of Translations from the earliest English Versions to the New English Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 50-52.

⁸⁰Powicke, *The Reformation in England*, Oxford Paperbacks (London: Oxford University Press), p. 1.

⁸¹The statement under consideration is proleptic in the sense that a unit of narrative intervenes between it and the corresponding statement in vs. 40, not a unit of history. This represents an unusual use of the term and so I do not include vs. 35 as a sixth example of prolepsis in the prophecy. We could refer to the relationship between vs. 35 and vss. 36-39 as "pseudo-prolepsis," if a term for it is required.

⁸²There are a number of correlates for this fact. In regard to time units, for example, in vss. 13 and 20 the word "years" is used in an obviously literal sense. By vs. 24, however, we find "a time" (*ēt*) instead of "a year" and in vs. 33 the word used is *yāmîm* (lit. "days," NIV "for a time").

⁸³A woman commonly represents a body of people, as in the Old Testament expression "daughter of Jerusalem" and the New Testament references to women in the book of Revelation. The "one desired by women" is Christ. A precedent for this kind of imagery is found in Isa 4:1, "In that day seven women will take hold of one man and say, 'We will eat our own food and provide our own clothes; only let us be called by your name. Take away our disgrace!'" Notice that here we have a second example of language use in Dan 11 that is clearly figurative.

⁸⁴A parallel passage is 2 Thes 2:4, "He opposes and exalts himself over everything that is called God or is worshiped, and even sets himself up in God's temple, proclaiming himself to be God." This is not the temple is heaven. It is the church on earth.

⁸⁵I would not make a large distinction between the condition of the western, or Catholic, church and the condition of the eastern, or Orthodox, church during this period. The prophecy focuses its attention on Rome, but this fact represents selective emphasis.

⁸⁶Within this larger section no directional terms appear in vss. 36-39. For comment see the Letters page on the inside back cover of this issue of *Historicism*.

⁸⁷An observant reader will have noticed by now that the church appears in two senses, i.e., in both the figure of the hostile king and the figure of his oppressed subjects. There is exactly the same tension between the symbolism of a pure woman in Rev 12 and that of a fallen woman in Rev 17.

⁸⁸See Hardy, "Historicist Perspective," p. 33.

⁸⁹Verse 28b speaks of Rome persecuting the Christian church.

⁹⁰The benefits of the gospel are freely available to Jews, such as Paul, but Jews who do not respond to Christ in faith are not under any special blessing and cannot be considered God's chosen people at this time. Christ is the "prince of the covenant" (Dan 11:22) and God's chosen people today are those who accept God's chosen Person. Paul must be taken seriously when he says, "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" (Gal 3:28-29).

⁹¹Southern Publishing Association, 1967.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁹³See Hardy, "Historicist Perspective," p. 24.

⁹⁴"The deadly wound and its healing make clear that the system of anti-Christianity represented by the leopard beast 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. As already stated, this period parallels what is called in the Book of Daniel 'the time of the end'" (Price, *Time of the End*, p. 65). I would say, the first part of the "time of the end."

⁹⁵Compare C. Mervyn Maxwell's similar remarks on Revelation: "The dragon and the beast, both having seven heads and ten horns, represent one and the same spirit of church-state persecution. (Church-state persecution is a primary concern of Revelation.) Their seven heads call attention to the same sevenfold sequence of persecuting government. But whereas (a) the dragon calls special attention to *non-Christian persecution*, and (b) the beast calls attention to the old-fashioned *Catholic-style persecution*, (c) the lamb-horned beast calls attention to end-time *Protestantism* as it finally lapses into a dragonlike, beastlike spirit of persecution."

⁹⁶Notice that a river is considered a barrier in vs. 41. If the passage were applied literally in modern times this fact would require explanation.

⁹⁷Notice the parallel passage in Rev 18, where the figure is that of a queen instead of a king: "In her heart she boasts, 'I sit as queen; I am not a widow, and I will never mourn'" (Rev 18:7). These two passages jointly describe only one set of future events.

⁹⁸A popular futurist writer, Hal Lindsey, states: "Finally, the prophets told us that a great northern confederacy will launch an all-out attack on the Middle East and Israel in particular (Ezekiel 38 and Daniel 11:40-45)" (*The 1980s: Countdown to Armageddon* [New York: Bantam Books, 1980], p. 46). Dan 11:40-45 does not describe an all-out attack on the Middle East that would focus on Israel in particular. It describes an attack that would concentrate on Egypt (vss. 42-43). Here, as elsewhere in the chapter, the king of the North is fighting the king of the South. It is imperative to keep the exegetical context in view when interpreting this passage--and while interpreting Ezek 38.

⁹⁹The corresponding term from the first part of the chapter is "'Beautiful Land,'" used both in vs. 16 and in vs. 41.

¹⁰⁰In Dan 11:1 God had assisted the first leaders of the Persian empire, but in vs. 45 no help is either offered or available to the last leader of the fourth world empire. There is a progressive decline in the willingness of the four empires to be taught. This is one meaning of the declining value of metals in the image of Dan 2.

¹⁰¹For Michael as Christ see Hardy, "Michael," *Historicism* No. 6/Apr 86, pp. 39-48.

¹⁰²Shea, "Further Literary Structures in Daniel 2-7: An Analysis of Daniel 5, and the Broader Relationships within Chapters 2-7," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 23 (1985): 294.

¹⁰³The "'time of the end'" is not the same as the end of time. For comment on the Hebrew term *qēṣ* and the development of its meaning over time see A. Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer* (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 46-48.

¹⁰⁴McCullough, *From Cyrus to Herod*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁵Peters, *Harvest of Hellenism*, p. 176.

¹⁰⁶Notice that it was precisely in the context of a world where one language was widely understood that God gave His church the gift of tongues (Acts 2:1-41). The existence of a majority language did not remove from them the obligation of using minority languages. Everyone was to be reached by the gospel. The same principles apply today. We should not assume that because English, or Spanish, or whatever, is widely spoken that our work is done when we speak or publish in these international languages.

¹⁰⁷Hardy, "Some relationships among Dan 8, 9, and 10-12," in this issue of *Historicism*.

¹⁰⁸Hardy, "Comparison of the World Empire Motif in Dan 11 and Rev 17," in a forthcoming issue of *Historicism*.