

# **AN EXEGETICAL STUDY OF DANIEL 7-9**

by

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submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of

**MASTER OF THEOLOGY**

in the subject

**OLD TESTAMENT**

at the

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

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**NOVEMBER 1999**

## **CONTENTS**

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>I INTRODUCTION</b>                                    | <b>4</b>  |
| <hr/>  |           |
| <b>II GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS</b>                         | <b>7</b>  |
| <hr/>  |           |
| II.1 THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL       | 7         |
| II.1.A PARADIGM SHIFTS IN THEOLOGICAL STUDIES            | 9         |
| II.1.B REGARDING THE INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES       | 12        |
| II.1.C THE CASE OF DANIEL                                | 13        |
| II.2 HISTORICAL SETTING OF DANIEL, ACCORDING TO ITSELF   | 43        |
| II.3 THE AUTHOR'S INTENT AND THE FIRST READERS           | 47        |
| II.4 THE GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK                   | 48        |
| <hr/>  |           |
| <b>III AN EXEGESIS OF DANIEL 7</b>                       | <b>52</b> |
| <hr/>  |           |
| III.1 THE PLACE OF THE FIRST VISION OF DANIEL            | 52        |
| III.1.A THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF DANIEL 7               | 52        |
| III.1.B LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS                              | 53        |
| III.2 DANIEL 7 – HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES | 68        |
| III.2.A THE HISTORICAL-CRITICAL APPROACH                 | 68        |

|  |  |            |
|--|--|------------|
| III.2.B  | INTERPRETING THE VISION OF DANIEL 7                        | 71         |
| III.3  | CONCLUSIONS TO DANIEL 7                                    | 92         |
| <b><u>IV AN EXEGESIS OF DANIEL 8 AND 9</u></b> |  | <b>94</b>  |
| IV.1   | HEBREW TEXT WITH TRANSLATION AND CRITICAL NOTES            | 95         |
| IV.2   | THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF DANIEL 8 AND 9 - OUTLINE         | 102        |
| IV.2.A   | GENERAL OBSERVATIONS                                       | 103        |
| IV.3   | HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES IN DANIEL 8 AND 9  | 103        |
| IV.3.A   | THE VISION OF THE SANCTUARY AND THE 2300 DAYS (CH. 8)      | 103        |
| IV.3.B   | NEW REVELATION — AN ANSWER FOR THE PUZZLED PROPHET (CH. 9) | 136        |
| IV.4   | TIME CONNECTIONS AND THE JUDGMENT DAY                      | 179        |
| <b><u>V SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</u></b>         |  | <b>183</b> |
| <b><u>VI ENDNOTES</u></b>                      |  | <b>185</b> |
| <b><u>VII BIBLIOGRAPHY</u></b>                 |  | <b>283</b> |
| <b><u>VIII KEY OF ABBREVIATIONS</u></b>        |  | <b>292</b> |

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## I INTRODUCTION

The Book of Daniel attracted galaxies of readers from all times, because of its majestic themes and impressive apocalyptic language. Containing simple but great stories for children – and not only for them – with intriguing prophecies for the wise, it is appropriate for all people to study. Its claims are so challenging that both conservative and historical-critical scholars wrestle with them, so that different schools of interpretation developed in time. For Jew and for Christian, its study is a promising task. Philologists and linguists try to better understand its language and literary composition. Historians and even politicians have been equally stirred by its assertions. Thus it is no wonder to have one more dissertation on the prophecies of Daniel.

This study is an exegetical attempt to understand Daniel 7 – 9 and especially to do significant research concerning the intimate relationship between them, that which was claimed by a long series of expositors throughout centuries and a few still claim it today. This study is far from being exhaustive, and might even be seen unsatisfying. I want to say, from the beginning, that my first concern was to do significant investigation in the Aramaic and Hebrew of Daniel, enriching my exegesis with structural, historical and theological concerns, within the limits of the classical Christian paradigm.

Proceeding to such a pretentious study, I had understandably to face the need of a critical introduction to Daniel, where I keep on defending the authenticity of the book, because I am not satisfied with the sceptical or critically negative stance of some schools of theology. This might be seen as insolence, in view of the fact that I do not present a complete image of the new paradigm, which I am fighting with. However, considering the unusual difficulty of this task, the limited scope of the dissertation, and

the philosophical-psychological character of the problem, I decided to postpone a complete approach of the critical presentation, maybe for a higher degree.

If I do not keep myself cold, as a congealed academic mastodon, dealing only with neutral and inoffensive data, this is not for lack of sympathy toward the “atheological” camp. In fact, there are so many things to learn even from the purest atheist scholar.

Beyond the defensive attitude, regarding the historicity of Daniel, my exegesis, linguistic, contextual and historical becomes inevitably offensive. The “cartoonistic” manner of the apocalyptic writer to describe the brightest world powers, as they have been revealed to him, is in itself offensive. I apologise, from the beginning, if an Iranian, a Greek or a citizen of the modern Rome would be so touched by the visionary symbols of Daniel and their necessary interpretation. I simply cannot avoid calling even the Church to the divine Judgement as it results from the Daniel’s prophecy. The true Christian love has its inherent hatred against injustice, cruelty and lie. There are also many positive things to say about all “beasts” and “horns” of Daniel’s circus, but I restricted my exegesis to the negative stance required by the sacred author.

I tried to concentrate my own research, combined with results borrowed from scores of different theologians, as indicated in notes and bibliography. I also inserted many cross-references to help the reader make important connections.

My study starts with an introductory chapter dealing with general data on the book of Daniel: authorship, language, structure etc., in order to establish the approximate frame for theological reflection and a minimum basis to build my own study.

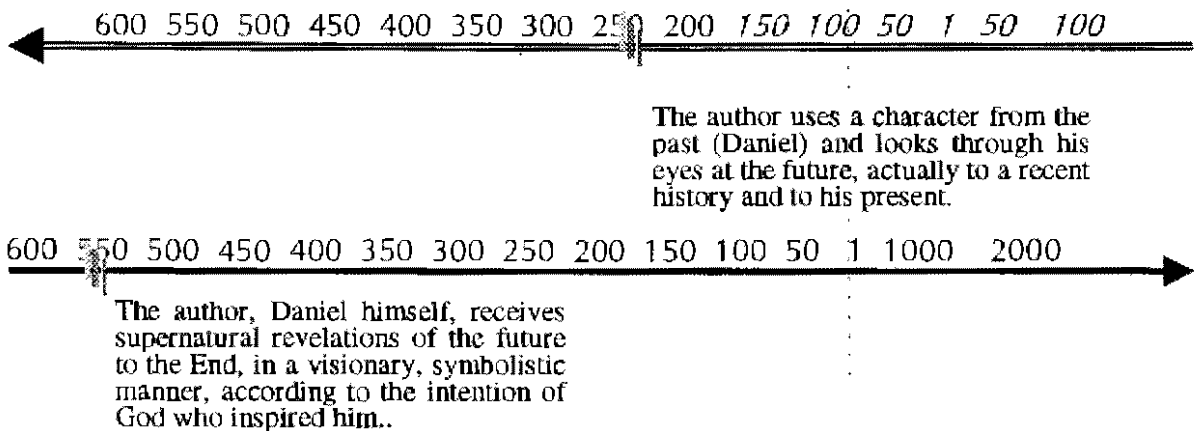
The historical-critical school is presented briefly and occasionally in this study. I did not deal at large with its claims and results, but this was not to disregard the importance of this modern trend. My first care was to exhibit, as critically as I can my personal analysis of some crucial points. While my position is that of a decided believer in the authenticity of Daniel’s life and prophetic authority, as it was always believed, I

sincerely appreciate any critical position, as much as it is constructive within a reasonable approach to this ever challenging literary product.

## II GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

### II.1 *The authorship and date of the Book of Daniel*

For many scholars, the matter is settled. As an apocalyptic book, Daniel is a composite redaction built probably from legends which appeared in the Jewish Diaspora during the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC (chs. 1-6), up to a date, say 164 BC, (just before the death of the Seleucid king Antiochos IV Epiphanes) when some wise Jew(s) in Palestine completed it with the prophetic chapters 7-12. So it has an apocryphal character and its predictive claims cannot be supported. Its predictive language is actually history up to c. 165 BC, then political guess (*vaticinia ex eventu*) up to the Jewish messianic utopia of the end, with God's judgement and final restoration of the Jewish kingdom. The two critical approaches to the Book of Daniel may be outlined as in the following sketch:



The first view is suggested by some selective observations. Nevertheless, the actual basis of this critical position is the philosophical bias, or a kind of intuition stemmed from prejudice, in absolute disagreement with the major historical and theological assertions of the book itself. In any human endeavour, the psychological motivations are strongest. Thus, it is very important to consider also the objections and

studies made by the other side – conservative scholars who supported the authentic and prophetic character of the book. With the risk of being misunderstood as a merely religious, apologetic exposition, my study is a modest but earnest attempt to explore the heart of Daniel and its connections, within the conservative theological frame, showing especially my linguistic and theological operating house.

Both philosophical approaches to the prophecies of Daniel have their clusters of variants. There are basically four hermeneutic systems (preterist, historicist, futurist and idealist)<sup>1</sup> for the Book of Daniel, as well as for the Revelation of John (the NT's apocalypse). While the futurist system is now in vogue among fundamentalist exegetes, who are usually dispensationalists, the historicist (named also 'old Protestant') system dominated the second millennium of the Christian Era down to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, being now represented by a few scholars only. The idealist (or spiritual) system and various "atheological" approaches that have only in common the impotence of accepting the premise of total authenticity, with very low degrees of trust, if any, in the book's claims for divine inspiration.

The first rationalistic theologian *avant la lettre*, who made efforts to interpret Daniel's book as *vaticinia ex eventu*, written by an anonymous Jew after the persecution caused by Antiochus IV, was the anti-Christian philosopher Porphyry of Tyre (c. 233-304), a Neoplatonic sophist. In modern times, the Porphyrian efforts have been resumed by Johann Semler (d. 1791) and Wilhelm Corrodi (d. 1793),<sup>2</sup> this labour being continued up to date by the rationalistic, naturalistic stance of most of the academic works on this topic.

The fundamental problem of any approach to the Bible is a matter of psychology, a matter of choice, so that many brilliant scholars are quite "fundamentalist" to their philosophical premises, as very well summarised Lester Grabbe, speaking about the critical attitude on the Ezra-Nehemiah historical sequence:

Those who support the traditional sequence see the biblical order as **fundamental** and accept it as long as it cannot be clearly contradicted. They argue that because no decisive evidence has been found against that order, it should be accepted. The others **start with a different**



**premise, namely that there is no reason to give credence to the biblical order, because there is too much uncertainty about the growth of the tradition. Therefore, the dating is determined by considering various arguments pro and con. Although it is accepted that some of these may be decisive, there is still the matter of the cumulative effect. Thus one's ultimate position is heavily determined by how much weight it gives to the biblical picture, and evaluation of other arguments will be greatly influenced by this starting point.** (Underlines mine)<sup>3</sup>

The negative criticism is from itself more influential, like any other thing of this kind in the world. Thus, I thought, is wiser for me to be not so eager to embrace a view which, not only has its specific faults, measured by its own standard, but even more, it is explosive for the faith. I don't think I could keep my trust in Bible and God, or in whatever, if I find Biblical prophets as literary farsors. It is a sad thing to loose one's faith. It is a deep human crisis, the tension between totalitarian exigences of the critique and one's need of certainties beyond any fine suspicion. To know well both views and ponder them in equal measure is only a critical exercise, which results in assertions like that of Goldingay:

The other main [or fundamentalist] view is that if we abide by a belief in the inspiration of Scripture, we must see the climax of the visions as referring to the Roman period; they look forward to the first coming of Christ, and beyond that to his second coming.

I find neither of these views entirely satisfactory. First, both general and specific considerations suggests that these visions focus historically on the Maccabean crisis.<sup>4</sup>

### **II.1.a Paradigm shifts in theological studies**

Professor Izak Spangenberg from UNISA (Pretoria) showed in a recent article<sup>5</sup> how Biblical studies have been affected by general philosophical trends in the history of culture. Citing H. Küng, D. Robertson, W. S. Vorster, B. C. Lategan and others, Spangenberg not only reviews previous attempts of periodization in the development of systematic theology, but also offers for consideration a clearer presentation of the paradigm shifts.<sup>6</sup> According to his analysis, there are three successive paradigms, and the movement from one to another, which took place by a revolutionary change each time, is named paradigm shift. The three paradigms are, 1. *The "Word-of-God" Paradigm* (pre-critical), from the Reformation (16<sup>th</sup> century), 2. *The Historical-Critical Paradigm* (critical), after the Cartesian revolution (17<sup>th</sup> century); and 3. *The New*

*Literary Criticism Paradigm* (post-critical), since c. 1970. These paradigm shifts have been marked often by successive crises (e.g. that one caused by the Copernican revolution, that one caused by the Cartesian revolution and that one caused by the modern historiographic approach, which caused together the paradigm shift from the Reformed to the historical critical paradigms). Within the literary criticism paradigm some shifts in focus took place: from *author* to *text* to *reader*.<sup>7</sup>

The old Word-of-God paradigm was not simply replaced, but it lost the general control. The next one, the historical-critical paradigm, also was not replaced; it was eclipsed by the literary criticism paradigm. These paradigm shifts reflect not only the influence of the principal trends in philosophy and culture, so that they are not just a change of fashion, or a snobbish cultural adaptation, but they have deeper psychological and spiritual roots. Concerning the periodization in pre-critical, critical and post-critical, one might understand them as *uncritical (fideistic)*, *over-critical (rationalistic)*, and *a-critical (subjectivistic)*, with each paradigm shift being an exaggerate reaction to the previous paradigm.

The first important paradigm shift in theological studies led an increasing number of Bible scholars to adopt the historical-critical method with its humanist-scientific brightness. Scholars who are still believers, sons of the Word-of-God paradigm, though actually striving to be critical and incorporating as much as acceptable from the historical-critical ways, are not considered scholars anymore, by many of their historical-critical colleagues. Lester Grabbe, for example, shows himself very upset with the conservative or fundamentalist high-educated apologetes and it is unacceptable for him to call them scholars.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, I must recognise that fundamentalist apologetics, even when wrapped in much scholarship has also its sins and it should ... repent. As the righteous sufferer said: "Will you speak falsely in God's benefit...?" (Jb 13:7)

Lester Grabbe even imagines that a fair treatment of all evidence may lead to conservative results. He means that the scholar must not be concerned with results, but with his / her ethics and methodology. This is a fine statement:

There may be, and frequently are, different ways of weighing a set of data. Two careful and sincere scholars can in certain cases come to radically different conclusions, but the ideal is that all follow the evidence wherever it leads. The evidence may lead to conservative results, and it is no denial of the scholarly method to come to conservative conclusions *if* one has fully considered all the data and arguments.<sup>9</sup>

Further Grabbe points out to the fact that “fundamentalists” also exhibit a sceptical frame of mind, though their scepticism is unidirectional, “it is *a/ways* directed against any challenge to the credibility of the biblical text.”<sup>10</sup> While this objection may be accurate in a good measure, I wonder if these highly neutral and objective scholars have a totally different frame of mind. It is known that scores of conservative students and scholars “converted” to unbelieving or half-believing scholarship (as Grabbe himself confessed to be an ex-fundamentalist), while the reverse process is still invisible. These facts indicate that conservative believers are less fundamentalists than most unbelieving critics with their dogmata. While it is true that conservative critique “is always done within agreed limits,” in spite of some disagreements between these people of the old paradigm, it is also visible that the scepticist critique has its limits: it cannot admit God’s supernatural revelation; therefore, any helpful evidence for the faith is shunned and reinterpreted.

There is no such thing as “neutral investigation”. The best scholars make only faint attempts to put on the wrong shoes – of the other side. No sincere believer is willing to leave completely his faith for a while to do a neutral investigation, “whatever” it leads, and no unbelieving scholar is ready to give a better chance to the claims of the text itself, when supernatural features are involved. But things might be more complicated. Some feel that they must guard themselves against the wrong literature. The believer wants to betray not his faith. The unbeliever needs no evidence that leaves some room for the faith (just full demonstrations!). Grabbe wants “that writers should make clear their religious presuppositions instead of hiding them,”<sup>11</sup> as if

the question “who said?” were as important as “what said?”. And, if conservative writers are said to have abused some expressions like: “higher critics,” “liberal scholars” and the like<sup>12</sup>, Grabbe himself abuses the term “fundamentalist” when he thinks that all conservative scholarship, which he directs his sometimes sound criticism, holds a uniform opinion that “there can be no infringement of the inerrancy of the Bible in its original.”<sup>13</sup> For example, the Seventh-day Adventist theologians, the only “fundamentalist” scholars that Grabbe selected to refer by their confessional name,<sup>14</sup> do not hold to the inerrancy of the Bible in any of its stages (from the author’s pen to the last translation).

...[The Biblical] revelations were embodied in human language with all its limitations and imperfections, yet they remained God’s testimony.... The Bible ‘is not God’s mode of thought and expression. Men will often say such an expression is not like God. But God has not put Himself in words, in logic, in rhetoric, on trial in the Bible. The writers of the Bible were God’s penmen, not His pen.’<sup>15</sup>

### **II.1.b Regarding the inspiration of the Scriptures**

Not a complete treatment of the controversial theology of inspiration, this is rather an introductory declaration to help the reader understand my hermeneutic and exegesis.

Fundamentally, I accept the claim of the canonical Scriptures to have been divinely inspired. This inspiration is not understood as a literalist God-breathing of a sacred text by itself. I totally agree with the quotation above, that the authors were inspired not their words. In other words, the divine inspiration consists in their supernatural revelations (through miraculous visions, dreams, auditions, and promptings from the Holy Spirit), conveyed to them, by a condescending God, in humanly intelligible language. The mind of the sacred author is thus filled with the divine message, which he or she would deliver under the same inspiration, in the proper time, and in the proper language. “Proper” is here, according to God’s purpose.

The Scripture was given us for practical purposes only. Therefore, we should not seek in its text what God did not intend to convey. To simplify, the message is inspired,

not the language. The “Word” is from God, not the words. The human author is totally free, under inspiration, to choose his own language. In fact, the sacred author has no other language at the disposal, but his own. The human being participate in the delivery of the message with all that the language involves: personal education, cultural impress and different secondary sources of information, which subordinates to the divine message he / she received.

In this human aspect of the prophet’s activity, there might be plenty of imperfection and possibly errors (in details due to the sources used, to the cultural milieu of his / her time, to his failing memory, etc. We may add to these, an unknown number of examples of deficient transmission of the text (with some proven errors, interpolations, mistaken translations, et al.). All these aspects are a sufficient proof against any idea of inerrancy. This study is a good illustration of the fact.

Reminding that the Bible was given us for practical purposes, we are safe in accepting its divine message, and free to treat the words as they are, giving each of them what it deserves. However, I cannot feel safe and free to treat as error: an uncomfortable message, some still unconfirmed data, or any affirmation which is beyond my present knowledge or reason.

### **II.1.c The case of Daniel**

Exegetical commentaries on Daniel reflect also the general cultural-philosophical developments. The bias to “believe and live” was replaced by the bias to “doubt and flout.” The ancient Porphyrian criticism was revived and it is still in vogue, despite all modern discoveries that seem to render justice to the old reading of Daniel. The already mentioned article of Lester Grabbe mentions some important objections of the rationalistic critique. But there are many others to mention and evaluate.

#### **2.1.3.1 *The challenge of supernaturalism***

Presence of supernatural claims in the stories and in the apocalyptic chapters of the book (miracles and predictions), that are impossible according to the naturalist,

uniformitarian principle, is the main stumbling block for the rationalistic critique of Daniel and of all Biblical revelation. However, the negation of supernatural claims of the book, both miracles' stories and prophecies is neither scientific method by itself, nor a scientific result, but a philosophical position and a psychological matter.

The principal claims of the book are, in short, that in spite of all simulacra<sup>16</sup> shaped by the human mind, there IS a true God, whose Providence is in charge with all nations and ages.<sup>17</sup> He alone knows the future and may disclose its secrets to human beings. He cares about His people; He honours his loyal subjects, and sometimes saves them by miraculous interventions<sup>18</sup>. He also corrects some of the rebels, expecting to make of their story an object lesson for both contemporaries and posterity. His judgements visit His people<sup>19</sup>, and then extend to His prominent adversaries<sup>20</sup>, to correct if possible, or to punish<sup>21</sup>. While His justice and kingdom are partially revealed in history, they will ultimately fall upon history in an all-satisfactory manner.<sup>22</sup> He fixed some limits in time for His people's expectations.<sup>23</sup> His prophetic revelations are true<sup>24</sup>, and they extend to the end of the human history<sup>25</sup>, when His grace and justice will bring the long expected, divine kingdom. The revelation must be sealed and preserved up to the end time, and the true understanding of its longest period determined comes only when history closes to its end, after a thorough investigation of the book.<sup>26</sup> If someone cannot give any chance to this message to be divinely revealed, that is not a scientific problem.

#### 1.1.a.1 ***Daniel, a fictitious hero?***

So far, there is no evidence for the historicity of the supposed hero and author Daniel. This is true, but it is only an argument *e silentio*. The book of Daniel itself gives no less information about Daniel, than of Nebuchadnezzar or of Cyrus the Great. But one should admit that such a fiction must have been written by a person who knew Babylon and its history better than the classic Greek historians. Just review the story:

Daniel was an adolescent hostage taken to Babylon in 605 BC, from the social elite of Jerusalem (ch. 1). After finishing three years of higher education (which some

would call brainwashing!) at the imperial court, the named Belit-shar-utsur was appointed in a special service for the king (c. 603 BC). After becoming famous as prophetic dreams' interpreter, he was advanced as head of all sages of the Babylonian court (2:48-49), at some time about 600-580 BC and he seems to have held this honourable position even in 539 BC, though being totally ignored by the Babylonian king Belshazzar (Dan 5:10-16). After the Medo-Persian conquest of Babylon, Daniel is even advanced as a high vizier of the Iranian Empire, for a short time (6:1). The year c. 535 BC is the last date recorded by him, and he must have been c. 86 years old – if he had been a “child” in 605 (1:4), and fitted however to occupy a public position after only three years. He was given one supernatural dream (c. 600 BC), experienced one face to face encounter with a celestial being (c. 539 BC), and three supernatural visions (c. 553, 550 and 535 BC) which he wrote down as he was instructed.

Even if archaeology is so far silent and classical historiography knows nothing more about Daniel than about Belshazzar, we should not hurry to draw a capital inference e silentio. Moreover, it is not a complete silence, if we are willing to accept other Biblical evidence. Prophet Ezekiel – his contemporary, according to biblical data – refers to Daniel as to an already famous man of God, standing alone against the popular tide of his day (like Noah and Job: Ez 14:20), and as a top model of wisdom (Ez 28:3), whom God ironically compared the prince of Tyre. The spelling דַּנְיָאֵל (instead of דַּנְיָאֵל) found in Ezekiel, is not a real problem, because we encounter variants of spelling in a lot of Hebrew names.<sup>27</sup> The probable dates of these oracles of Ezekiel are, 591 BC (Ez 8:1) and 586 BC (Ez 24:1). That means quite short but sufficient time for Daniel to have become famous among his people in the Babylonian Diaspora.

The link to king Daniel/Danel from *The Tale of Aq'hat* which some scholars suggest is highly artificial and the two Daniels are rather contrasting than similar. For example, the Ugaritic Daniel is a king, while the Jewish Daniel is a prisoner become court official. The Ugaritic Daniel had a wife and a son, while the Jewish Daniel is single and might have been even a eunuch (cf. 2Ki 20:18 and Josephus, Antiquities, X,

x:1). The Ugaritic Daniel is a usual lover of drinks, while the Jewish Daniel is sober and temperate. The Ugaritic Daniel is a warrior, while the Jewish Daniel is a pacifist sage. The Ugaritic Daniel is a worshipper to a lot of gods and goddesses, while the Jewish Daniel knows no other divinity but Yahweh and avoids every share in the idolatrous eating.<sup>28</sup>

The name "Daniel" itself, besides its use for the illustrious sage, might be a traditional name in some collateral Davidic families.<sup>29</sup>

#### 1.1.a.2 **Canonical or socio-literary apocalyptic?**

Since Daniel is an apocalyptic book, therefore it was decreed that it must belong to the late, Jewish apocalyptic literature. However, the apocalyptic literature is a technical phrase, still disputed. The adjective *apocalyptic* comes from the Greek name for *revelation* / Revelation – ἀποκάλυψις – the last book of the New Testament. We need to distinguish between the canonical apocalyptic (i.e. Daniel in TNK– and Revelation, in the NT)<sup>30</sup>, which shares the Biblical theology and ethics, and non-canonical apocalyptic, which is better to be classified as apocryphal apocalyptic.

As to the canonicity of the book, we might add that Daniel is designated as *prophet* by the Qumrân texts (4QFlor), by the NT (Mt 24:15), and by Josephus who says that Daniel "was one of the greatest prophets"... "He did not only prophecy of future events, as did the other prophets, but he also determined the time of their accomplishment" and that...

...by the accomplishment of them, he procured the belief of their truth and the opinion of a sort of divinity for himself, among the multitude.[...] all these things did this man leave in writing, as God has showed them to him, insomuch that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honour wherewith God honoured Daniel; and may thence discover how the Epicureans are in an error, who cast providence out of human life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed and continued in being by that blessed and immortal nature"(Josephus, *Antiquities*, X, xi.7).

Though in the LXX, Theodotion and Syriac, *Daniel* is listed with the great prophets (and this position is generally understood as pre-Christian), in the Hebrew



canon it is placed within *Kethubim*, between the historical post-exilic books of *Esther* and *Ezra*. It was demonstrated that *Daniel* once belonged to *Nebiim* even in the Hebrew canon,<sup>31</sup> and it appears that it was moved to *Kethubim* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. Among the motives for this move are listed, a). the presence of the Aramaic as in *Ezra*, b). the fact that it wasn't written in Palestine, c). the Messianic applications of Daniel's prophecies, made by the Christians, d). a fear concerning the prediction of the successive fall of the world empires, e). it contains much historical material as do the books *Esther*, *Ezra-Nehemiah* and 1-2 *Chronicles*, where it is placed, f). the fact that Daniel is not named a prophet in the OT, but a sage, and his revelations have much in common with the wisdom literature<sup>32</sup>

The study of the apocalyptic as a literary genre is a recent preoccupation. There are some feeble attempts to distinguish between some supposed social-movement named apocalyptic and the literary genre. But nobody seems to be interested in a serious research to answer the question, why Jews preserved only the book of Daniel in their canon, and rejected other apocalypses? The same question should be extended to the comparison of *Daniel* with the whole non-canonical Jewish literature of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.

This is especially a challenge as some now canonical books were once disfavoured by some Jewish rabbis before the Jamnian synod, and some Apocrypha and Deuterocanonic writings got into the Alexandrine canon, even bringing to *Daniel* three pious additions, obviously inferior. All these favour a more conservative approach to the criteria of canonisation. As it is known, the non-canonical apocalypses (*Enoch*, *Baruch*, *Ezra*, e. a.) share pseudonymity and the *vaticinia ex eventu* type of "prophecy". The contemporary Jewish authorities and posterity rejected them as fake. In such conditions, how could slip the Book of Daniel in the canon, if it was a pseudonymous apocalypse written in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC? How its author(s) succeeded to impose his / their work as canonical, while other books, more "Jewish" in their mentality, were rejected? There must have been a strong traditional knowledge of *Daniel's* historicity

and prophetic character to be included, while the books of *Judith*, *Ben Sirach*, *Maccabees*, *Jubilees*, *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*, *e. a.*, failed to get in.

Josephus' statement, fittingly expresses the best conclusion we can draw, if it is understood as representing the Jewish traditional sentiments:

From Artaxerxes (the successor of Xerxes) until our time everything has been recorded, but has not been deemed worthy of like credit with what preceded, because the exact succession of the prophets ceased. But what faith we have placed in our own writings is evident by our conduct; for though so long a time has now passed, no one has dared to add anything to them, or to take anything from them, or to alter anything in them (*Against Apion*, I, 8).

Norman Gottwald says the Book of Daniel is the last written canonical book.<sup>33</sup> According to this hermeneutic, *Daniel* reflects sociological-historical realities as much as other bizarre, apocalyptic literature.<sup>34</sup> Attempting to draw its socio-historical scenario, he links it with the theme of the suffering servant from Isaiah 53, seeing, behind the literary data, a conflict between some Jews supporting the Babylonian hegemony and the pro-Persian Jews who would have been active in favour of Cyrus.<sup>35</sup> Then *Daniel* became a piece of propaganda for Jewish resistance, "veiled as if written by a Jew in Neo-Babylonian captivity", though written much later (according to the historical-critical school), "but may include older traditions of some historical value",<sup>36</sup> for example, "narratives about Jews serving foreign government.... It is even likely that he [*Daniel's* writer] drew upon and elaborated oral sagas about faithful Jews in Babylonian (Persian? Ptolemaic?) Exile in order to counsel patience under persecution in his own Hellenistic Seleucid age" (p. 97).

Gottwald attempted to define the apocalyptic genre as "a type of revelatory literature with a narrative framework in which a revelation about end-time judgement and salvation and / or about the heavenly realms is given to a human being by an otherworldly messenger".<sup>37</sup> He lists a corpus of approximately 14 Jewish "apocalypses" dated between ca. 250 B.C.E. (1 Enoch 72-82) and 150 C.E. (3 Baruch). The authors of such wisdom-prophetic<sup>38</sup> genre are identified as "alienated prophets or as disillusioned wise men". Gottwald questions the alleged influence of Persian Zoroastrian eschatology because the dating of its eschatological texts is more problematic than the dating of the

Jewish texts and because the Zoroastrian ethical dualism seems to have a totally different character.<sup>39</sup>

Gottwald is well aware of the fact that his definition for the apocalyptic literature is debatable. And he is also conscious of the need some feel to distinguish the “‘true’ apocalyptic writings... from those that have merely been affected by the literary mannerism or isolated ideas”.<sup>40</sup> He sees that “the heart of the apocalyptic thought is a radically new *summing and evaluation of history as having run its course*” (ibid.). This is indeed, very striking in many apocalypses (especially in the canonical ones), but this feeling might be so strong because of the “cartoonistic”<sup>41</sup> manner itself, while the same thinking is more diffused in other non-apocalyptic biblical literature (e.g. in some classic Prophets and all through the New Testament writings). In fact, Gottwald refers to some parts from Isaiah, Ezekiel and Zechariah, as “proto-apocalyptic”.<sup>42</sup>

Gottwald sees the roots of the apocalyptic communities of the Hellenistic era, in the cultural, political and religious conflicts and interchange between Jews and Gentiles in the Dispersion and in Palestine. While in the Persian and Hellenistic Dispersion some Jews rose to “power and influence as government officials”,<sup>43</sup> the Jews in their own country were subject to the Hellenistic politics and culture, and Torah was threatened with disappearance. The effects of this socio-cultural struggle perpetuated through the Hashmonean times, as a tension between the Jewish and the Greco-Roman world.

In the apocalyptic movement these conflicts came to expression as a radical option for the Jewish God and his righteous rule in which all the universal and individualistic impulses of the time were ‘stood on their head,’ negated by and transformed into the kingdom of God as the end point of history. (ibid.)

However, Gottwald expresses his doubts concerning to the traditional criticist hypothesis (that the producers of *Daniel* were the Hasidic “party”). He thinks “this is a reasonable hypothesis, but unfortunately we know very little about the origins or membership of the Hasidim” (ibid.). Then Gottwald flirts in a few lines with the suggestion that the producers of *Daniel* “may have included Jews from the Dispersion

who return to Palestine during the Maccabean crisis". (p. 589) Finally he discusses what seems to be his personal option (the theory of the "relative deprivation"), a sociological-anthropological hypothesis inspired from modern studies on cults and millenarian movements, comparing the Danielic group with the apocalypticist members of the Dead Sea sect. He still recognises that even this last approach is not yet fully documented, and Lester Grabbe indicated that the theory of the "relative deprivation" could easily lead to circular reasoning, so it cannot be a safe explanation.<sup>44</sup>

This uncertainty in the attempt to identify the real social group behind *Daniel* is not Gottwald's particularity: that is the feeling one gets from reading or just perusing writings that fall in the same category. One thesis is more elegant than other, but all are still assumptions. And as Philip Davies from the University of Sheffield tells it, "especially at a time when methodological obfuscation often parades as intellectual sophistication, methods are to be judged by their results and not their elegance". Then he offers his own elegant thesis. Including many good literary observations that could well take their proper place in an old-paradigm, integrating view, he tries to substantiate the assumption that the redacting group behind *Daniel* were a "fallen elite" of scribes in search of political power, by holding secrets, mysteries.<sup>45</sup> (Good job! They may have looked like a Masonic lodge!) His last reference to the ambiguous place occupied by the Temple in *Daniel* should have lead to the suspicion that *Daniel's* author lived indeed in a time when the Temple and the City lay in ruins, with their restoration to be expected. The total absence of Jerusalem (except as a ruined city) and of the Temple (except as a robbed and demolished house, further to be restored, polluted, or ruined as the visions show) are rather good indications toward the real author living in the first years of the Persian Empire.

Gottwald isn't sure whether the supposed group behind *Daniel* were "alienated prophets or... disillusioned wise men" or even "priests disaffected from the Jerusalem cult", as the Dead Sea scrolls suggest for some apocalyptic writings, because

apocalyptic literature have been produced both in Palestine and in Dispersion. And because...

...it is questionable whether apocalyptic circles were ever closed homogenous groups of prophets, wise men, or priests...The extreme sociopolitical conditions of the time would have tended to trigger realignments of traditional lines of thought and new coalitions of people working for particular interests.<sup>46</sup>

For John Collins<sup>47</sup>, the Danielic *maskilim* "were another contemporary group, distinct but yet related in some ways" with the group that produced *Jubilees* and *Enoch*, a movement connected with the Qumrân sect. While the revelations in *Daniel* are mainly eschatological, the primary interest of the redacting group was not necessarily eschatological, says Collins<sup>48</sup>. Then he speaks about those "wise men" as expecting a kind of restoration that seems not clear, because in chapter 7 they envisaged a national restoration and in chap. 12 an eschatological individualist one.

As for me, I think that this sharp distinction between national and individualistic, between "deuteronomic" and "apocalyptic" in *Daniel*, is like a controversy between Sadducees and Pharisees that is to be cancelled, allowing communication and continuity when someone is willing to read the lines from the text's own perspective. Then is easy to see that in Daniel 7 we have a lot more than a national restoration, indeed a universal one (see v. 14 and 27) and in the same time it is less than national, because it does not explicitly involve Israel as a nation, but the mysterious "Son of Man" with His "saints of the Most High" (v. 13-14.18), which "the books open in the judgement" (v. 10) identified as such. This picture does not preclude an individual restoration, including immortality through bodily resurrection, as the final chapter says (12:2.13).

Concluding, It is better to view the apocalyptic genre as developed in time, in later centuries, having *Daniel* and other OT scriptures as literary and / or thematic model. Heaton put it right to the point: "Daniel has suffered the misfortune of being classed with his second-rate imitators."<sup>49</sup>

### 1.1.a.3 *Historical Inaccuracies?*

There are some alleged historical inaccuracies in *Daniel*. For example, Lester Grabbe still disputes against the king Belshazzar of Daniel. The sceptic critics, in fact, negated with all their “neutrality” even the historical existence of Belshazzar, until some cuneiform inscriptions came to light in this century. The historicity of Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, according to Daniel 5:30, 7:1, 8:1, is undoubtedly confirmed by modern archaeology.<sup>50</sup>

Today we know that Belshazzar (Bel-shar-utsur) was associated with his father Nabonidus in oaths. According to Dougherty, “From the time of Hammurabi it was the custom of Babylonians to swear by the gods and the reigning king.”<sup>51</sup> From a cuneiform cylinder recording a prayer of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, today we know that Belshazzar was the eldest son of Nabonidus and that the father was concerned about the low piety of his son.<sup>52</sup> We also know from cuneiform sources that the father king Nabonidus was absent long time from Babylon<sup>53</sup> and that before his departure he gave royal authority to his son Belshazzar.

A cuneiform text states that Nabonidus empowered Belshazzar with ‘the kingship’ in the third year of his reign. All accessible cuneiform documents capable of throwing light upon the situation indicate that Belshazzar occupied this high position until the fourteenth year of Nabonidus’ reign and the probability is that he functioned as co-regent until the end of the reign. There is no room for doubt that Belshazzar ruled in the kingdom next to Nabonidus. The writer of the fifth chapter of Daniel comports with cuneiform data in picturing the chief character of his narrative as having enjoyed kingly dignity.<sup>54</sup>

In spite of his epochal discovery, which attested the historical accuracy of at least Daniel 5, the subtle mind of some hypercritics is not satisfied. It is true that Belshazzar was entrusted with the kingship (*sharrutu*), admits Grabbe, and that Nabonidus was away in Tema. “Certainly, it is true that Belshazzar was regent during this time, or at least part of it. But it is also a fact that he is *never* called king in any of the extant texts, and to be regent is not to be king.”<sup>55</sup> But Belshazzar was *practically* the king of Babylon, and Daniel was not concerned to insert subtle and unhelpful information in his obviously moralising account. “Of course, this is possible”, adds the critic, “though it does not say much for the precision of knowledge alleged for Daniel

5, since the Babylonian scribes never made that mistake.”<sup>56</sup> It means that Grabbe and some of his colleagues need to understand that the Bible is precise only for practical purposes and when a fundamentalist expects from the Bible a higher degree of precision than its authors intended, he / she is likely to be disappointed and become an “ex-fundamentalist,” perhaps even an unbeliever. Daniel didn’t intend to be so fine and precise, because he didn’t write a royal chronicle. Neither intended he to be complete on the subject, nor the cuneiform records we possess are complete. For the believing critic, the evidence is satisfactory, while the unbelieving one has always to wait for more precise evidence.

The fact that Belshazzar is called “king” in Daniel should not disturb even the sharpest critics, because it is not the single case of such “imprecision” in ancient records. In the Tell Fakhriyah inscription, the governor Hadyis’i is called *shaknu* (governor) in the Assyrian text, but *mlk* (king) in the Aramaic. This is not casual. Hadyis’i is suspected by Millard to have been of Aramaean royal descent.<sup>57</sup>

There is, nevertheless, a problem about the death of Belshazzar. Lester Grabbe suspects this prince must have died before the year 545 B.C.E., since all archaeological sources, including the *Nabonidus Chronicle*, cease to mention him after this date. He is not mentioned in the events of the seventeenth year,

...and therefore was certainly *not killed* in that year. Remember that no important event is missing from the chronicle; the deaths of the queen mother and some important governors are recorded. It is inconceivable that Belshazzar’s death would have been omitted **except by a grave scribal lapse**. In the present state of our knowledge it is much more credible that Dan 5:30 is wrong.<sup>58</sup> (underlines mine)

Thus the clay tablets are still silent about Belshazzar’s death. However, the presence of Belshazzar in Daniel, in the historical part as in the prophetic one, is in itself a strong argument in favour of the earlier date of the book, because it points out to a date well before an intimate knowledge of the 6<sup>th</sup>-century conditions was lost.

The seeming contradiction in the dates of the first Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem (the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Jehoiakim, according to Daniel 1:1; or the 4<sup>th</sup> year of

Jehoiakim, according to Jr 25:1), was fully explained on the basis of using different calendar and regnal numbering systems – Babylonian and Jewish respectively.<sup>59</sup> This seeming discrepancy should be seen rather as a mark of authenticity. But the problem is more serious than this apparent discrepancy. Grabbe opposes Wiseman's assertion that the historical evidence of Daniel 1:1-2 would be difficult: "There is nothing 'difficult and uncertain' about the passage; it just happens to be wrong. It is 'difficult and uncertain' only if one tries to maintain that it is historical, as is evident from the contorted explanations offered in defence of it."<sup>60</sup> Grabbe further indicates that we have plenty of historical information from that period and that all evidence is against the date recorded in Daniel 1:1-2. Even the Biblical evidences, notes the critic, do not support the affirmation of Daniel 1.<sup>61</sup> He explains the presence of this statement in Daniel as a misreading of 2Ch 36:6-7<sup>62</sup> – by the actual, late author, obviously. Why misreading? There is even more Biblical evidence to be corroborated and this evidence cannot be ignored without a reasonable explanation:

**NRS Daniel 1:1.** In the third year [605 BCE] of the reign of King Jehoiakim of Judah, King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon came to Jerusalem and besieged it. 2 The Lord let King Jehoiakim of Judah fall into his power, as well as some of the vessels of the house of God. These he brought to the land of Shinar, and placed the vessels in the treasury of his gods.

**NRS 2 Chronicles 36:5-7.** Jehoiakim was twenty-five years old when he began to reign; he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem [609-598 BCE]....6. Against him [Jehoiakim] King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon came up, and bound him with fetters to take him to Babylon. 7. Nebuchadnezzar also carried some of the vessels of the house of the LORD to Babylon and put them in his palace in Babylon.

**NRS 2 Kings 24:1.** In his days King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon came up; Jehoiakim became his servant for three years...[c. 605-602?]; then he turned and rebelled against him.

**NRS Jeremiah 25:1** The word that came to Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah, in the fourth year of King Jehoiakim son of Josiah of Judah (that was the first year of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon [605 BCE]), 2 which the prophet Jeremiah spoke to all the people of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem: [...] 8 Therefore thus says the LORD of hosts: Because you have not obeyed my words, 9 I am going to send for all the tribes of the north, says the LORD, even for King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, my servant [...] 11 This whole land shall become a ruin and a waste, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years [605-536 BCE].

This "wrong" date / event (605 B.C.) which Grabbe is so ready to abandon, is confirmed by two Babylonian accounts: 1) a narrative by the historian Berosus (quoted



in Josephus)<sup>63</sup> and 2) a segment of a hitherto unknown Babylonian chronicle<sup>64</sup> which covers the entire reign of Nabopolassar and the first eleven years of his son Nebuchadnezzar.

Berosus says that Nabopolassar ordered his son Nebuchadnezzar to subdue the rebellious zones, Egypt and Palestine. While Nebuchadnezzar was completing his mission and still being in the west, he received notice of his father's death. Leaving the prisoners – including some mentioned Jews (and believers has any right to suspect here the presence of the young heroes of *Daniel* too) – in charge of his generals, he rode back to Babylon as fast as he could, on the shortest way. And the Babylonian chronicle mentions the very day. In his father's 21<sup>st</sup> year (605 B.C.E.), Nebuchadnezzar crushed the Egyptians at Carchemish, subdued Hatti-land (Syria-Palestine); then, receiving word of his father's death on Ab 8 (c. Aug. 15) he rode back to Babylon and ascended the throne on Elul 1 (c. Sept. 7).<sup>65</sup>

Nebuchadnezzar's building achievement (Dan 4:30/27) was long-time thought to be an historical inaccuracy. Though today critics changed their mind about it, it is wise to remind it, because it teaches us to be more careful when we deal with the Biblical record. Many of ancient historians (i.e. Herodotus, Ctesias, Strabo, and Pliny) often refer to Nebuchadnezzar, but they never speak of him as the builder of the new Babylon, so that once it was thought that the Nebuchadnezzar of Daniel is quite legendary.<sup>66</sup> But the modern excavations at Babylon, begun by Robert Koldewey in 1899 with titanic efforts, brought to light a lot of cuneiform inscriptions on clay tablets, bricks et. al., attesting the Danielic record. Thus the former "scientific" objection fell with brio. Nebuchadnezzar indeed was the builder of the new Babylon, because the old Babylon was severely destroyed by the Assyrians in 689 BC.<sup>67</sup> Now scholars – believers or not – can read themselves the biblical boasting of Nebuchadnezzar, in words like those on the Grotfend Cylinder:

Then built I [Nebuchadnezzar] the palace the seat of my royalty, the bond of the race of men, the dwelling of joy and rejoicing.<sup>68</sup>

The fortifications of Esagila [Marduk's temple] and Babylon I strengthened, and established the reign of my name forever.<sup>69</sup>

There are millions of inscribed bricks witnessing for that Nebuchadnezzar whom only the Book of Daniel knew for nearly 2500 years.<sup>70</sup> They cry out that Daniel was right, while some critics were ill advised. Modern research indicates that even the idolatrous worship ordered by Nebuchadnezzar, as it stands recorded in Daniel 3, is not meaningless or legendary, but it was an ancient "loyalty oath". Because of a revolt that occurred in the king's 10<sup>th</sup> year (595/4 BC), such a loyalty oath taken by all governmental representatives of all provinces is understandable. We may relate this event to Zedekiah's visit to Babylon in 594/3 BC (see Jr 51:59-64).<sup>71</sup>

The fabulous story of Nebuchadnezzar's repentance (ch. 4) also cannot be proved so far from historical records. Some maybe need to crop many acres of grass themselves, like the illustrious king, in order to admit, not its very historicity, but at least its *possible* historical character. Lester Grabbe is right in exposing the meagreness of historical evidence brought by conservative scholars like Harrison, Hasel et. al. And it is actually complete silence from a strictly scientific point of view, so that Grabbe is glad to join von Soden in his postulation that the author of Daniel 4 recorded a folk tale inspired from *The Prayer of Nabonidus*, discovered at Qumrân.<sup>72</sup> The story has indeed some parallels with Daniel 4<sup>73</sup> and the scenario proposed by Grabbe does make sense – at first view, at least, if someone has no reason to give priority to the Bible record. But why not suppose, for example, that *The Prayer of Nabonidus* is rather an echo of Nebuchadnezzar's experience, rather than its source of inspiration?

Anyway, when one takes notice of the strong anti-Jewish spirit of not a few officials of the ancient courts, how can we expect fair chronicles, proclaiming for posterity the extraordinary successes of some Jews and unbelievable humiliations of the "kings of kings"? The ancient historical records are not less politically manipulated than were communist handbooks of modern and contemporary history.

The historicity of Darius the Mede still awaits its confirmation. However, there is much more to say, for the time, on behalf of this "Darius" than against him. The

unusual precision of Danielic data regarding Darius the Mede<sup>74</sup>, some possible historical room and even historical records, witness already for his historicity. At least we should learn from the lesson about the historicity of Belshazzar, who *was* a historical figure, throughout the two millennia and a half before its scientific confirmation. So why be so eager to get rid of the old Darius? If only a literary personage, he is practically unnecessary in the book. And all references to him have no smell of literary creation.

The famous Assyriologist Wiseman quite convincingly contended for the identification of "Darius the Mede" with "Cyrus the Persian," because Cyrus was both of Median as of Persian descent, and he ruled the united kingdom of Medes and Persians. The statement in Daniel 6:28 can be read as an apposition.<sup>75</sup> And it is interesting that one of the old translators' attempt to identify Darius (at least at a pragmatic level), in Daniel 11:1 is to substitute his name with Cyrus (in LXX and Θ).

Gerhard Hasel disagreed with Wiseman, following the studies of William H. Shea. After rightly comparing Daniel 10:1 and 11:1, Hasel pointed to another possibility. He showed that Cyrus didn't assume the title "king of Babylon" for nearly a year (actually 9 months) after the capture of the city in 539 B.C., thus being an indication that someone else must have functioned as "king of Babylon" under the vassalage of Cyrus during this time. This vassal king could be Gubaru/Ugbaru, the general who conquered Babylon (not to be confused with the governor Gubaru). Then Hasel showed that the title "king of the Medes" was still in use after Cyrus had conquered Media. This Gubaru/Ugbaru died a year and three weeks after the fall of Babylon. However, both Shea and Hasel recognize that we have no knowledge about the parentage and ethnic origin of this conqueror, neither was he called a "king," or designated as "Darius son of Ahasuerus".<sup>76</sup>

Though Hasel rejects the possibility that Darius the Mede could have been a regnal name for Cyaxares II, the last Median king, uncle and father-in-law of Cyrus as mentioned by Xenophon ("whose historical accuracy has been seriously undermined

on the basis of cuneiform records”), I’m strongly inclined to accept Xenophon’s basic data, even though his *Cyropaedia* looks like a novel. Indeed, the first objective of Xenophon was not the history *per se* but to offer a model of political philosophy. Nevertheless, the skeleton of his work is pure history. He didn’t invent the principal personages of this historical novel or the main facts. And the Median king Cyaxares II, the last Median king and nominal suzerain of Cyrus, is present everywhere in his book. He couldn’t have been invented. According to Xenophon, Cyrus himself invited him to reside in Babylon whenever he wanted, where Cyrus had prepared a palace for him. Then Cyaxares gave him his daughter and all Media as a dowry.<sup>77</sup>

Thus Daryawesh (*Darayavahush*) of *Daniel*, who is not known by this name in history, may be explained as a regnal name or as an Old Iranian title for this *Cyaxares II* (*Khwakhshatra*), as W. F. Albright has shown. His “father’s” name *Ahashwerosh* (*Khshayarshah* – “the mighty man”),<sup>78</sup> might be a surname or a royal title for Cyaxares I, the famous victor of Assyria. D. J. Wiseman takes it as an ancient Achaemenid royal title. Or the names *Darius* (*Darayavahush*) and *Xerxes/Ahasuerus* (*Khshayarshah*), could well be royal titles like *Caesar* and *Augustus*. In the Medieval Persian we found the term *dara* with the meaning “king”.<sup>79</sup> It is known that the Persian kings often took new names at their accession. Anyway, as Kitchen pointed out, in *Daniel* even the spelling for *Darius* – דריווש (specific to the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC), instead of דריוהוש (specific to the late centuries), indicates an early date for the composition of the book.<sup>80</sup>

Some considered the second use of the term “Chaldeans” כשדים, כשרין as a professional Babylonian elite in *Daniel*, an anachronism for the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. But there are also later uses of the term with ethnic connotation, even to Strabo (d. AD 24) who uses both connotations, just like *Daniel*.<sup>81</sup> And the specialised, second use (which some scholars limit to later writings), is already found in Herodotus (d. 425 BC)<sup>82</sup> where it designates the priests of Bel. The term was found even in Assyrian records with ethnic connotation, though the professional connotation was not found so far prior to the Persian era. While the Babylonian records are still silent, *Daniel* uses the term with

both meanings, not just the “late” one. Thus the argument of the hypercritics is again found to be an inference *ex silentio*.<sup>83</sup>

#### 1.1.a.4 ***The Aramaic and the Hebrew of Daniel***

The most striking linguistic peculiarity of the book is its bilingual composition. As it is known, the introductory chapter and the first verses of the second one are written in Hebrew. Then, after the mention that “the Chaldeans answered the king – in Aramaic –” (Daniel 2:4a), not only is their reply rendered as natural in Aramaic, but the text keeps on the Aramaic track down to the end of chapter 7, resuming afterward to Hebrew for the chapters 8-12. Though some possible explanations were given to this strange phenomenon, it is still a defiant reality for both philological sides.<sup>84</sup> However, we have the book of Ezra in the canon, with precisely the same problem. We cannot explain this one without the other one. This apparent complication of the problem may contribute to its solution.<sup>85</sup>

Though the linguistic research on Daniel cannot yet suppress the suspicions of the ant-supernaturalist critique, and for the time we have no striking and indubitable scientific demonstration for an early date of composition, none of the signalled difficulties precludes the acceptance of an earlier date, or force us to accept the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. thesis.

The Aramaic of Daniel proves to be Imperial Aramaic, a stage of linguistic evolution down to 300 BC. Indeed, 90 % of Daniel’s Aramaic vocabulary is attested by Aramaic texts dating from the 5<sup>th</sup> century or even earlier.<sup>86</sup> Says Kitchen:

It is equally obscurantist to exclude dogmatically a sixth-fifth (or fourth) century date on the one hand, or to hold such a date as mechanically proven on the other, as far as the Aramaic is concerned.<sup>87</sup>

Moreover, the comparison with the late Aramaic Genesis Apocryphon and Job Targum, leads us to more certain stands in favour of an earlier date for the Aramaic of Daniel, due to the research of Kutschler and others.<sup>88</sup> A good Romanian academic book, written in the communist-atheistic regime, containing a lot of ancient Near East texts

translated and commented by Constantin Daniel and Ion Acsan, reads (in my translation):<sup>89</sup>

**In the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, the Aramaic language considerably extended its geographical area and began to be spoken not only by the majority of the Mesopotamian peoples, but even in Canaan, in Palestine.[...] Aramaic texts from the 5<sup>th</sup> century came to us, from Elephantine in the Upper Egypt [...] They contain letters, official documents, transactional documents and literary texts [...] In the Bible we encounter also – written in the same epoch, but some even earlier –, excerpts edited in Aramaic (cf. Jr 10:11, Ezra 4:8 etc, 6:8 etc, 7:12 etc., as well as part of the book of Daniel: 2:4 – 7:28). The Aramaic parts of the Book of Ezra contain **official documents of the Persian administration, edited in Aramaic. In the Book of Daniel are rendered events from the imperial courts of Babylon and Persia, the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.** (Underlines mine)**

However, not all scholars are so convinced to express such conclusion. Extremely reserved, Peter Coxon says,

Again, it must be stated that the effort to identify Biblical Aramaic with the Official Aramaic of the papyri has only the slightest bearing on the date [of] *Daniel*. Official Aramaic survived in Jewish scribal tradition long after the demise of the langua[g]e as an international means of communication. The *Job Targum* from Qumrân is a witness to this survival. Elsewhere it is best represented in the Aramaic of the Old Testament.<sup>90</sup>

Nevertheless, the same Coxon adds, "In the lexical field Biblical Aramaic contains unmistakable traits of Official Aramaic. In his attempt to re-affirm the second century of *Daniel* Rowley fails to do them justice."<sup>91</sup>

The Greek loanwords in Aramaic are usually emphasised as a proof for the late origin. There are only three or four – just musical loan words borrowed together with the designated objects: musical instruments and specifications. One wonders why so few Greek words, comparatively, if the book was written in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The terms thought to be of Greek origin are: קִיְתָרוֹס – κιθάρα or κιθάρις after an older Greek form (zither / kind of lyre); סַבְכָא or שַׁבְכָא – σαμβύκη (trigon, triangular lyre with 4 strings) a foreign word (possible Aramaic) in Greek; פְּסַנְתְרִין – ψαλτήριον (kind of triangular harp) and סוּמְפֻנְיָה / סִיפֻנְיָה – συμφωνία (1. harmony / orchestra; 2. in later Greek: bagpipe) or it might be a Doric pronunciation for τύπανον / τύπανον (tambourine), or a noun in apposition to the preceding one. Mitchell and Joyce have shown that the first two terms might be loan words in both languages, borrowed from a

third unidentified language.<sup>92</sup> The famous orientalist W. F. Albright demonstrated that Greek culture penetrated the ancient Near East long before the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>93</sup> Kitchen also pointed to the penetration of Greek culture in the East even since the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.E.<sup>94</sup> The rationalistic evidence is, in this instance, negative evidence – that is no evidence.

The Persian loanwords amount to 19, designating specialised technical terms and titles for administration, law and military, and specific cultural elements (clothes, materials, etc.),<sup>95</sup> or even some ordinary words (such as *zen* – category; *pithgam* – message; *raz* – secret; *dath* – law), all belonging to lexical categories that have in any time the fastest circulation. And not to forget that all these are Old Persian words, most of them occurring in the history of the language not later than 300 BC.<sup>96</sup> The Aramaic, as the old lingua franca of the Middle East, long time before the Chaldean Empire, and in touch with different cultures and languages, could quickly assimilate neologisms, such as these Persian and Greek terms, and naturally preserved some of them for long or short time.<sup>97</sup> Some of the Persian loanwords were so old and outdated at the time of the LXX translation, that they could not be properly understood.<sup>98</sup>

While comparisons with Official Aramaic texts from the Persian period proved to be in favour of an early date for the Aramaic text of Daniel (c. 530 – 330 B.C.E.), the recent studies of Zdravko Stefanovic who compared the Aramaic of Daniel (DA) with Old Aramaic (OA, c. 900-700 B.C.E.) texts are worthy of our highest considerations. To quote one of the last sentences of his conclusion, “The text of DA in its present form (including ch. 7) contains a significant amount of material similar to OA texts.”<sup>99</sup>

The Hebrew of *Daniel* also cannot prove the lateness of the book. W. J. Martin has shown, against S. R. Driver, “There is nothing about the Hebrew of Daniel that could be considered extraordinary for a bilingual or, perhaps in this case, a trilingual speaker of the language in the sixth century BC.”<sup>100</sup> The historical-critical scholars now take a more temperate, mainly defensive stand, as Koch cautiously noted, that in the Hebrew of Daniel, “...nothing speaks against a date in the Maccabean time.”<sup>101</sup> But

Archer has shown that the Hebrew sectarian documents of Qumrân, practically contemporary with the supposed 2<sup>nd</sup> century author(s) of *Daniel*, have not so much in common with the Hebrew of *Daniel*, and therefore, the Hebrew of *Daniel* must be older.<sup>102</sup> Understandably, Aramaic influenced the Hebrew of Daniel and Hebrew influenced his Aramaic.

Modern studies on the Biblical Hebrew are under spectacular development. The diachronic study of BH reached to some good results, but there is the so-called minimalist school that makes scientific opposition. Even representative scholars of the same school do not all agree in important points. The Hebrew of Daniel was not thoroughly studied as Samuel-Kings and Chronicles or Ezekiel. Many opinions concerning this book are based on philosophical or belief / unbelief patterns of thought, than on a satisfactory study. For example, Frederick Cryer (Copenhagen) in an article dealing with the Hebrew of Daniel<sup>103</sup> makes first an observation that the Hebrew of Daniel was not seriously studied, in spite of the intense research made in the last time in the field of Biblical Hebrew in general.<sup>104</sup> He is right in this assertion, but his first interest in that article does not seem to be as much Daniel and his Hebrew. It is rather a scholarly cry against the diachronic studies, and I could not find something concrete in his article about the Hebrew of Daniel, in spite of his promising title. The strange method of study proposed by Crier is to date the language of Daniel according to the date the traditional historical-critical school gave to Daniel... "as Daniel is one of the few books in the Old Testament for which problems of dating are not acute..."<sup>105</sup> To strengthen this belief, he gives two classical arguments: 1) Daniel refers back to the works of Jeremiah (Dan 9:2) "as something that took place in the distant past"; and 2) Daniel's "numerous thinly-veiled allusions" that "lead us without fail towards the middle of the second century B.C.E."<sup>106</sup>

But his arguments are hardly convincing. First, Daniel's reference to Jeremiah has no feeling of distant past. It only indicates that the writer and possible many other Jews in that time, considered Jeremiah a genuine prophet (which, after all, it was easier to



see in the Exile or afterwards, than before. It was no need to pass a lot of generations to give Jeremiah such credit.<sup>107</sup> The second argument, which Cryer maintains, that the author's historical sight led him down to the Antiochus episode then stopped, is to be thoroughly revised. Except of some features in chapter 8 and a good part of chapter 11, no other Danielic account or prophecy suggests an intentional link with that dramatic episode.<sup>108</sup> To date the Hebrew of Daniel according to a merely philosophical dating of its authorship is not a scientific method. It rather should go viceversa, to date the book according to its language in spite of Cryer's allegation:

Of course, no dates are assured: it is always possible that an original older Hebrew-language Daniel has been revived and reworked by, among other things, the addition of the Aramaic sections in the second century. The assumption, however, requires proof, while the **clear signs of second century dating are primary data**; hence the assumption **must be that the text is a second-century text, until decisive evidence to the contrary should arise.**<sup>109</sup>

It is hard to understand, if not for psychological reasons, why Cryer needs decisive evidence only for an earlier date of Daniel, while he takes for granted the late date (2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E.), before any decisive linguistic evidence. His study, with a so promising title is not of much help.

Arguments from linguistic analysis are dilemmatic sometimes. Sáenz-Badillos<sup>110</sup> says, "Aramaisms of themselves cannot be used as proof that a work is post-exilic... Practically every biblical book in its present state has some trace of Aramaic, in vocabulary, morphology, or syntax."<sup>111</sup> Aramaisms abound, says Sáenz-Badillos, especially in Esther, Qoheleth,<sup>112</sup> Song of Songs, Ezra, Job,<sup>113</sup> Daniel, Nehemiah and Chronicles.

Concerning the Hebrew of Daniel, Sáenz-Badillos mentions first an already old opinion<sup>114</sup> that the Hebrew sections of Daniel represent a translation from Aramaic. He express some doubts on it, and adds: "Whatever the case, in their present form, these sections display an attempt to imitate BH."<sup>115</sup> No hope for the possibility that the book is authentic. If signs of earliness occur, they must be interpreted as attempts to imitate Early Biblical Hebrew...

We cannot negate, in principle, late redactions of the book, but there is sufficient evidence that old features (vocabulary, grammar and spelling) still remained in place. The Hebrew of Daniel contains some Persian words (*apadana* – *palace*, *fratama* – *noblemen*, *patibaga* – *a king's portion*, *dat* – *law*), but no Greek term.<sup>116</sup> There are some Aramaic loanwords and syntactical influence, some features specific to Late Biblical Hebrew. But the basic texture of Daniel's language is nothing else than a Standard Hebrew modified, in the exilic context, in conditions of multilingualism (especially under Aramaic stress), with stylistic traits of a single author, having a literary structure that links together not only the Hebrew chapters, but also the Aramaic chapters.

To consider seriously the language of Daniel, we have to pay more attention to the proper names it uses. For example, P. R. Berger interprets Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego from Babylonian onomastics.<sup>117</sup> The same could be said about the Babylonian names of Daniel (*Belteshazzar*), of king Balthasar (*Belshazzar*) and of king Nebuchadnezzar, who are real Babylonian names and could not be found or invented centuries later. The name *Belteshazzar* בֵּלְטֶשַׁצַּר (distinct from בֵּלְשַׁצַּר / בֵּלְשַׁצַּר) is probably from *Bel-balatshu-utsur* ("May Bel protect his life"), while *Belshazzar*, is from *Bel-shar-utsur* ("May Bel protect the king"). The name of Nebuchadnezzar, *Nabukudurri-utsur* ("May Nabu protect the crown"), which is spelled נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר / נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר by Ezekiel, retains both principal spellings (with נ / ר) in Jeremiah: נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר and נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר, while in 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles, and Esther is preferred the form נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר. Ezra spells it נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר or נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר while Nehemiah and Daniel prefer the last spelling: נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר (except Dan 1:1 where it is spelled נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר). These variants of spelling probably have no bearing on the date of Daniel.

אֶשְׁפָּנָא *Ashpenaz* (Dan 1:3) and אַרְיוֹךְ *Aryokh* (Dan 2:14), are not historically identified, but these names are attested, so they prove to be genuine and could not be invented in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, neither were then common. The first one appears in the Aramaic incantation texts from Nippur as *Ashpenaz*, and is probably attested in cuneiform records as *Ashpazanda*.<sup>118</sup> The name Arioch has been found in the

cuneiform texts from Mari on the Euphrates in the form of *Arriwuk*, the fifth son of Zim-Lim, king of Mari in the 18th century B.C.<sup>119</sup>

**1.1.a.5 The alleged disunity of the book**

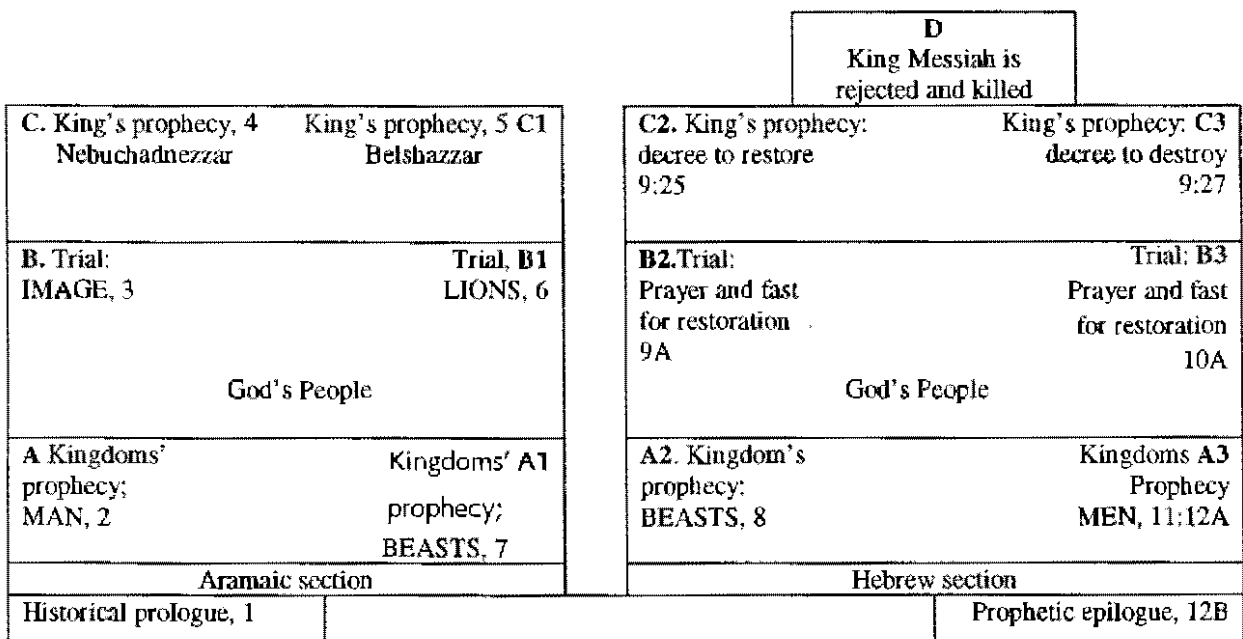
In spite of all attempts to see Daniel as a composite work, denying its unity by indications of multiple authorship and / or a late date of redaction, the book is still able to defend itself, when it is judged from a favourable angle, on *presumptio innocentiae*.

Insightful scholars have pointed to the chiasmic literary structure of the Aramaic part, indicating that at least chapters 2-7 most certainly form a unity. A. Lenglet, Arthur Ferch, and especially William Shea demonstrated chiasmic structures spanning the whole Aramaic section, and some of its chapters taken separately.<sup>120</sup>

**The chiasmic structure of chapters 2-7**

- A. Vision of world history (ch. 2)
- B. *Deliverance* from the fiery furnace (ch. 3)
- C. Judgement upon a Gentile king (ch. 4)
- C1 *Judgement* upon a Gentile king (ch. 5)
- B1. *Deliverance* from the lion's den (ch. 6)
- A1. *Vision* of world history (ch. 7)

The following diagram represents an attempt to draw the literary structure of the whole Book of Daniel, according to William Shea.<sup>121</sup>



The analysis made by William Shea is the most impressive and convincing. Different elements in chs. 2 – 9 require the introductory chapter 1. But the Hebrew part, though not is claimed to display the same chiasmic structure, is naturally connected to the Aramaic part. For example, the vision in chapter 8 is in obvious chronological and thematic relationship to that in chapter 7, which in turn is another view of the same events sketched by the apocalyptic dream in chapter 2. Elements of chapter 9 are strongly related to chs. 1 and 6, and it is also related to chapter 8, as this dissertation attempts to prove. The last prophecy (chs. 10-12) recommends itself as a new vision about the same things portrayed in chapter 8, which is recognised by all scholars, and essential elements in chapter 12 are based on the vision recorded in chapter 7.<sup>122</sup>

There is an apparently chronological, successive order in both historical and prophetic parts that supersedes the division made by the linguistic criterion. Even the theological lesson is gradually developed.<sup>123</sup> Chapters 1-6 are dated from the first year of the Babylonian king to the first year of the Median conqueror. Chapters 2-4 give no other chronological hint, but their logically successive order – the narrative of one chapter presupposing the previous one. Chapters 7-12 are also arranged chronologically, starting with the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Belshazzar and ending with the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Cyrus the Great.

There are some stylistic peculiarities through the book, such as a predisposition to list and repeat: several classes of wise men, royal officers and instruments of the Babylonian orchestra.<sup>124</sup> The characteristic phrase “people, nations, and languages” bridges chapters 3-7.<sup>125</sup>

We might add here the progressive enlargement of the prophecy in the prophetic chapters in the book. The dream in chapter 2 is a sketch, then comes the vision in chapter 7, with some details about the same future kingdoms and about God’s judgement. The vision in chapter 8 is more complex and explained partially in chapter 8 with the time elements disclosed in the next chapter. Finally, the vision in chs.10-12

is the richest, the most full of revelations, with the largest predictive text of the book, with still more clues about prophetic-apocalyptic time.

The juxtaposition of first- and third-person speech in Daniel is not a proof of double authorship. This feature is present in other ancient works, even in such official texts as that on Cyrus' Cylinder.<sup>126</sup> A comparison of Daniel 7:1-2, 8:1 and 10:1-2 suggests that the author of the visions ("I, Daniel") was also the author of the accounts ("he, [Daniel]"). The same manner is observed in the letter of Nebuchadnezzar ("I", in Dan 4:1-18, "HE" in v. 19-33, and again "I", in v. 34-37) and in many other biblical books.<sup>127</sup>

As it was shown above, it is obvious that not all chapters were written in the same time, but I find it logically acceptable that the author linked these somehow independent accounts himself, leaving nothing essential for later redactors to do.<sup>128</sup> As for the prophetic chapters, the words of Sir Isaac Newton fit best: "The Prophecies of *Daniel* are all of them related to one another, as if they were but several parts of one general prophecy."<sup>129</sup>

#### I.1.a.6 ***Why not beyond Antiochus?***

The main injustice that historical critics do to the Book of Daniel is their contention that the author(s) of *Daniel* did not have information at all beyond the year 165 BC. This is an interesting finding drawn from circular reasoning. There are actually two ways to prove from Daniel's predictions that they are neither spurious, nor shortsighted:

First, after a close examination of the prophecies showing most evidence of Antiochus story (chs. 8 and especially 11), there is much to say that the author was not a contemporary of Antiochus.<sup>130</sup> This Luciferic king was grotesquely depicted to become a prophetic type of the late Antichrist (the "little horn" of ch. 7).<sup>131</sup> Important details of prophecy do not suggest at all a *vaticinium post eventum*. The failure of the supposed Pseudo-Daniel to mention Judas Maccabaeus and the name of Rome is

actually strange, if this *vates post eventum* tried to convince his contemporary Jews that then present crisis was divinely predicted and it was leading to Israel's victory.

And why "invent" scenarios as that in Daniel 11:36-45, which must have happened in short time, only to disappoint fellow believers? Why predict the fall of myriads in Israel, while old adversaries like Edom, Moab and Ammon (all but ruins in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E.!) had to escape (11:41)? These words are especially significant when we consider the hatred manifested by Edom and Ammon against the Jews (1Mac 5:1-8), with the total absence of Moab in the time of Antiochus. Why predict the complete conquest of Egypt plus Libya and Ethiopia (42-43), while the Roman control over Egypt was already established (11:29-30)? Why describe Antiochus as an apostate from the gods of his ancestors (11:37)? Why not having elephants for battle in chapter 11, as those times required and 1 Maccabees records, but only horses and ships (11:40)?<sup>132</sup> And finally, why not find a single Greek loanword in these chapters (8 and 11)?

Moreover, the prophetic eye, passing inconsiderately by some details important for the Jewish history and theology of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E., looks far beyond the Hellenistic era, into the messianic eschaton, the "time of the End". Despite the critics' allegation that the end foreseen in Daniel is not the end of this world, the theological position of the book is crystal clear. It is the moment when the celestial kingdom invades our world (ch. 2). It is introduced by God's judgement leading to the enthronement of the veritable Man (ch. 7). It is the time of God's wrath, of vindication of His throne (ch. 8). It is the time of Prince Michael's raise, bringing justice, resurrection and rewards for many – including the old prophet Daniel – followed by eternal splendour of the righteous wise, and eternal shame of the wicked (ch. 12).<sup>133</sup> Does this eschatological scenario

Second, there are three prophecies in the book (chs. 2, 7, and 9), where poor Antiochus has no place at all, if we dare to take them seriously, trying not to force them say exactly the same thing as those in which Antiochus is in view. In Daniel 2 and 7,

the prospective prediction begins with Babylon, and counts three more world empires, the fourth one being more complex in structure and surviving up to the end.<sup>134</sup> If someone is ready to believe in an omniscient God who reveals the future, this last empire is Rome (the “Babylon” of the NT: 1P 5:13, comp. Rv 17:5.18), as the most Jewish and Evangelical scholars easily saw until the last century of this era.<sup>135</sup> This study is an attempt to vindicate the old paradigm exegesis on the fourth Danielic beast-kingdom, to review the evidence that it is the imperial Pagano-Christian Rome with its successional Pagano-Christian states that secured its universality and “eternity.”<sup>136</sup> To avoid this impossible, (read, discomfoting) conclusion, different scholars made heroic efforts to prove the short-sighted, preterist view that must stop within the days of Antiochus. Thus one plays with the first three symbols of world empires, either by cutting asunder the dual Medo-Persian Empire, or by separating the Seleucids’ empire from that of Alexander, to keep the number of the four empires – only to end the whole matter within the days of Antiochus.

But these attempts to rule out the classic view, – which was upheld since the Jewish and Christian antiquity, until it evolved to a standard Protestant position, – left *Daniel* hermeneutically and exegetically in an inconceivable situation. And I am not concerned primarily with the Faith, but even with the spoilt Reason, which is now forced to beat about the bush.<sup>137</sup>

My understanding, which is to be detailed at the proper places, is overtly conservative Christian and may be roughly represented by the following diagram of Joyce G. Baldwin:<sup>138</sup>

| Chapter 2          | Chapter 7           | Chapter 8 | Interpretation     |
|--------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| Gold               | Lion                | —         | Babylon (2:38)     |
| Silver             | Bear                | Ram       | Medo-Persia (8:20) |
| Bronze             | Leopard             | He-goat   | Greece (8:21)      |
| Iron / clay        | Indescribable beast |           | (Rome)             |
| Supernatural stone | Heavenly court      |           | God’s kingdom      |

### 2.1.3.2 ***An important theological objection***

Lester Grabbe raised an objection to the possibility of foreknowledge and prediction, because these entail the idea of complete predestination. He wrote:

The concept of accurate detailed predictions actually brings up a theological problem which I have yet to see discussed in fundamentalist writings: the question of free choice. The idea of complete determinism is repugnant to most of us. Perhaps one can argue for an overall divine control of history and/or the universe while allowing individual freedom, but a detailed prophecy such as Daniel 11 would render free choice impossible. Only if the Ptolemies and Seleucids were mere puppets in the hand of God could such a prophecy be made. The religious views of some might see no problem with this, but most fundamentalists would face a conflict with their own theological presuppositions if they were to think through the implications of their statements about prophecy.<sup>139</sup>

To imagine complete foreknowledge in God's mind, together with complete free choice from the human subjects, is admittedly not an easy task. And Grabbe is right that conservative writings do not deal in a visible manner with this aspect. I have to say something in principle, concerning such kind of problems. They always occur at the limit of our human mind, which cannot grasp, in the same time, God's omnipotence and love, foreknowledge and freedom. If someone chooses to reject actual detailed prophecy, because he cannot harmonise this phenomenon with his idea of personal freedom, he might as well reject God's existence too, because it is covered by the very things that discover it.

The author of Daniel, whoever he was, didn't see any problem in these detailed prophecies. The concepts of God's complete control and foreknowledge, one hand, and humans' complete freedom of choice, on the other hand, are attested practically by all OT writers. They imply, they assert, but never they try to explain. Before expose to Daniel that detailed long prophecy in chapter 11, the heavenly messenger says that all that knowledge is not his own natural or acquired ability, but he just reveals "what is written in the Book of Truth" (Dan 10:21a, 11:2). No creature has such natural ability to know and tell detailed events, long time before they occur, if not by scientific prospect where possible, so that no wonder that angels cannot know more of the future but what was revealed to them.<sup>140</sup> This reality, however, must not be interpreted in terms of determinism.

Angels also determine some top events in this world,<sup>141</sup> but God only knows and reveals the future,<sup>142</sup> even determines its favourable aspects and has an overall control of future as of present. But even when God "hardens" such and such heart, or "incites"



someone to do anything wrong, this is not seen as a personal volitional manipulation, but as an absolute control that, however, respects personal freedom.<sup>143</sup> Otherwise, the whole theology of moral accountability, sacrificial atonement and judgement, that fill the TNK and even the book of Daniel would be worse than nonsensical.

Someone may object to such hard language in the Bible, which may easily lead someone to understand God as a puppets-driver. But this is not a "heavenly", "inspired" language. It is the best cultural means that Hebrew authors could find in their cultural-linguistic endowment, to express the sovereignty and the overall control of God, in order to avoid ditheism. Moreover, they balanced such absolutist expressions with others expressing human freedom and accountability. Their hard language may contain yet deeper thoughts. Nowhere the Bible teaches absolute human freedom. Even the moral freedom is in a special sense limited and determined. (Neither science is more convincing at this point). Outside of moral consciousness and knowledge, there is no moral freedom, and consequently no accountability. With the coming of Law, the sin comes,<sup>144</sup> thus in a special way God makes people sinners by simply revealing His will to them. Bu this equation has two unknown quantities: the same reasoning is true about the right choice and righteousness, as about sinning.

Our moral freedom is real and makes us wholly accountable, but morally we have not more than two choices. To reject the right, that is the will of God (even unwritten, received by tradition or by reason)<sup>145</sup> means to choose wrong and accept (consciously or not) to be under the controlling power of one's own fallen nature (which is responsive to the malefic spiritual agencies). Human freedom means that individuals have to choose between a willing, love "slavery" to God, and a natural slavery to self and sin. The first one means freedom, because one is always able and free to chose "liberation" from God, whereas the second one is only illusion of absolute liberty, since even the moral ability to chose anything but sin is affected. We are only theoretically equal and free, and this is not our worse problem. God evaluates us

through His infinite grace and by our responsiveness when His Word and His Spirit search our conscience.

The human freedom and accountability are in the highest sense revealed in the classic prophecy, which is usually a conditional prophecy.<sup>146</sup> God foretold that Ninneveh will in 40 days be destroyed, but it did not happen then.<sup>147</sup> When God revealed by prophecy a detail, such as the name of the reformer king Josiah, it happened (1K 13:2); but His prophecy about the peaceful end of the same Josiah was deflected by the king's own choice outside God's will, while he may be trusted God's favourable prophecy.<sup>148</sup> There are many conditional aspects of prophecy, which did not happen and their time passed. Especially some favourable, optimistic prophecies concerning Israel and other ancient people didn't happen, while the pessimistic ones usually occurred, though with some delay.<sup>149</sup>

While we have no explicit statement before each prophecy, to know if it is conditional or not, we may interpret them in the light of divine covenant stipulations. Apocalyptic prophecy (I mean, biblical apocalyptic) however, seems to be different. Its intentional covered language (with its discreet, reserved angelic explanations), its universal scope and final reach, suggest and prove foreknowledge. If conditional prophecy challenges the human faith and faithfulness, inciting to action, through the plainest language, apocalyptic challenges especially our trust and patience, and so much study, wisdom and insight. Nevertheless, no one could decide a priori that in an apocalyptic book like Daniel is no conditional prophecy. That of Nebuchadnezzar in chapter 4 is certainly conditional, because he could avoid its fulfilment.<sup>150</sup> The prophecies in chapters 2, 7, 8, 9 have nothing to do with personal predetermination. In some reasonable limits, one may choose to be a "saint of the Most High" or part of a beast.

What about chapter 11, which is selected by Grabbe to indicate complete determinism? It means just the fact that God knew long time before those Seleucids and Ptolemies were born, their future actions, simply because God is not only immanent in

history, leading it toward His purposes, but He is also transcendent, outside the time flow, since He is eternal, seeing the future as precisely as He sees the present in all spatial minuteness. This fact did not affect in some occult way, the attitude of different Hellenistic personages involved in that prophecy. Supposing that they had read the prediction and believed, they could personally choose to avoid a wrong involvement. Anyway, God loves people more than numbers or His own predictions. If a prophecy is not fulfilled, it might be conditional, and not foresightful. And there are so many prophecies that God would like to see them unfulfilled.

The tension between God's foreknowledge and human freedom is paradoxical as there many other Biblical (or even scientific) truth. Biblical revelations feed our faith by a lot of opposite truths. If someone wants to get rid of the Book, he or she must find however a better excuse. Grabbe says, in fact, that detailed and long-time prediction is not possible, but having been indicated Daniel 11, he objects that such a detailed prophecy would infringe human freedom. I wonder how a prophecy must tell and what language and specifications should it use to force a sceptical "theolosaur" to accept it, at least as a working hypothesis.

## **II.2 · *Historical setting of Daniel, according to itself***

Whereas the Porphyrian thesis requires an adequate historical setting, that is the Jewish crisis under Antiochus in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E., the book itself requires a 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. setting. Scholars who support the composite nature of the book, with some old stories collected and embellished, then some false predictions and religio-political perspectives added to answer the acute contemporary crisis, they must answer themselves, in a proper manner, some questions. Why have young Jews tackling with the Babylonian learning, in a time when learning a pagan language as Greek, equated to growing pigs? If Nebuchadnezzar is a literary shadow of the hated Antiochus Epiphanes, how could the contemporary Pseudo-Daniel make him repent, then keep his throne as a converted king? If Pseudo-Daniel was a Hasid, however sage and

moderate, how could he be so indifferent or reserved concerning the extraordinary exploits of Judas Maccabaeus, the most famous Jew among his contemporaries?

N. K. Gottwald<sup>151</sup> observes the tension between the supposed Hasidic identity of the group who produced *Daniel* and the quite pacifist stance taken by the book, “since Judas Maccabee’s contribution is called only ‘a little help’ (11:34) and the great image is brought down [...] ‘with no human hand’ (2:45)”. In *Daniel*, nothing is said about sword, and so much is said about word. Gottwald attempted a timid contention for a more combative stance, pointing to Daniel 11:32 (NRS): “... *but the people who are loyal to their God shall stand firm and take action*”. The literary context, however, does not allow us understand that “action” as a violent, military or even a political one. It must be some action proper to the wise, as is further indicated: “*the wise among the people shall give understanding to many*” – v.33, shall “*lead many to righteousness*” – 12:3. They have to enlighten and guide the people as the celestial bodies do, so as to shine like sun and stars in God’s eternal kingdom.<sup>152</sup>

The 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. historical setting is much better represented in *Daniel*, therefore it must be emphasised, such as do the proper claims of the book. All the stories and visionary experiences of Daniel occur in the Babylonian Exile (Captivity), which – if begun with the first Babylonian blow on Jerusalem (605 B.C.E.), until the decree of repatriation given by Cyrus (between 539-537 B.C.E.) – roughly spans 70 years, according to the prediction of Jeremiah (25:11-12).

The following table sets the stories and prophecies of Daniel in their historical (Biblical and secular) context. While the chronological aspect might have some problems, the table is helpful for practical purpose: to give us a synoptic view of the historical setting of *Daniel*. Understandably, a deeper historical study is necessary to better perceive some historical connections that have their bearing on the book of Daniel. But whatever such study would exhibit, it must show the chronological and prophetic links with the other contemporary – or close to that time – prophets.

## Tentative chronology of the historical setting of *Daniel*

| BCE  | Events in Judea  | Events in Chaldea   | Relevant events in other places   |
|--|--|---|---|
| 627-609  | In the time of king Josiah. <i>Prophet Habakkuk about Judah and Chaldea. Prophet Zephaniah about Judah, Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Ethiopia, Assyria et. al. The first prophecies of Jeremiah (1-20).</i>   |   | King Nabopolassar of Babylon (625-605) shakes off the Assyrian yoke and in alliance with Media defeats Assyria (612-605). |
| 609  | Jehoiakim is king. <i>Prophecies of Jeremiah against Jehoiakim (27-28)</i>   |   |   |
| 605<br>Dan 1:1<br>Jr 25:1-12   | Jerusalem besieged; <i>Jeremiah's prophecies against Jehoiakim (22, 25, 36)</i> . Defeat of Jehoiakim. Yahweh's treasure objects carried to the temple of Marduk, first wave of prisoners / hostages from aristocracy. Beginning of the 70 years of captivity.   | Jews prisoners selected for the imperial court to be educated. Among them, the teen-agers Daniel, Hannaniah, Mishael and Azariah. The righteous Daniel inspires his friends to be faithful to the Jewish Torah. | Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, defeats at Carchemish the Assyro-Egyptian coalition.                                 |
| c. 602<br>Dan 1:5, 2:1   |  | The young Jews' graduation. Dream about the humanlike image and the stone. Daniel becomes head of the Babylonian sages; and his friends – governors in the district of Babylon.                                 |   |
| 601<br>2 Ki 24:1-7   | Jehoiakim became vassal to Nebuchadnezzar.   |   |   |
| 598-597<br>2 Chr 36:5-10,<br>Jer 27:18-22,<br>Jer 52:28,<br>Jer 34:18-19.                | Because of Jehoiakim's rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar comes again; Jehoiakim captured; new wave of prisoners; part of the Temple's treasure brought to the imperial palace. New Jewish king Jehoiakim is dethroned after three months and taken to Babylon with all his family. Nebuchadnezzar puts Zedekiah in his place – vassal. Loyalty oath of Jewish leadership. <i>Prophecy of Jeremiah about Jews (29-31)</i> . | Among prisoners Jews. Ezekiel the priest, is taken near the channel Naru Kabari, by Nippur.   |   |
| 593<br>Jer 51:59,<br>Dan 3.  |  | Zedekiah goes to Babylon, called to loyalty oath. The golden image test. The three young officials Jews saved from the fiery furnace. <i>Ezekiel prophecies against Jerusalem (chs. 1-7)</i> .                  |   |
| 592-587  | <i>Jeremiah's prophecies about Jerusalem, Egypt and Babylon (27:12-22; 28)</i>   | <i>New prophecies of Ezekiel against Jerusalem (chs. 8-24)</i> . Daniel mentioned among the most righteous men of their time.   |   |
| 588-587<br>2Chr 36:11-21<br>Jer 52:1-4,29,<br>37:11-21, 39:1                             | Zedekiah rebels. Chaldeans come to besiege Jerusalem. New wave of prisoners. Jeremiah imprisoned. <i>Prophecies for Zedekiah et.al. (32-35,37)</i>   | <i>Prophecies of Ezekiel 25-28 and 30:20-26 against Ammon, Tyre, Sidon and Egypt. Mention of Daniel as the most famous sage (28:3)</i>  | Babylonian expeditions toward Egypt. The long siege of Tyre begins.   |
| 586<br>2 Ki 24:20,<br>25:1-21,<br>Jer 39:2-14,<br>52:5-27,<br>2 Ki 25:25-26<br>Jer 40-43 | Siege resumed. Jerusalem conquered, Zedekiah prisoner, his sons killed. Zedekiah blinded then killed, temple and city utterly destroyed. Judea becomes a Babylonian province. <i>Lamentations</i> . Gedaliah appointed governor under Chaldean domination. Gedaliah killed by Jews in short time. The Jews flee to Egypt, taking Jeremiah with them.   | <i>Ezekiel 31 prophecies against Egypt.</i>   |   |
| 585  | <i>Jeremiah's prophecies in Egypt against Pharaoh Hophra (Apries)and Jews (44)</i>   | <i>New prophecy of Ezekiel against Egypt (ch. 32)</i>   |   |

|                                       |   |   |  |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| 582<br>Jer 52:30                      | New convoy of prisoners from Jerusalem.   |   |  |
| 574                                   |   |   | Tyre subjected after 13 years of Chaldean siege.   |
| between 574-564?                      |   | Nebuchadnezzar's madness and recovery. <sup>153</sup> Dan 4   |  |
| 573/2                                 |   | <i>Ezekiel's great prophecies of restoration (chs. 40-48).</i>  |  |
| 571                                   |   | <i>Prophecy of Ezekiel (29:18-21, 30:1-19?) against Egypt.</i>  |  |
| 562-561                               | Judea is largely  | End of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. His son, Awil-Marduk is king. Dominance of Marduk's clergy in politics. <sup>154</sup>   |  |
| 560<br>2 Ki 25:27-30,<br>Jer 52:31-34 | depopulated;  | Jehoiakin liberated from prison and cared by Awil-Marduk.   |  |
| 559                                   |   | King Nergal-shar-utsur.   |  |
| 556 / 555                             |   | King Nabu-nahid. Politico-religious conflicts with the priests of Marduk.   |  |
| c. 553                                | part of the Jews  | King (coregent) Bel-shar-utsur. Vision in Daniel 7 about world powers and divine Judgement.   | Royal residence of Nabu-nahid in Tema.   |
| c. 551                                | deported to Babylon,  | The vision in Daniel 8: attacks against Sanctuary until 2300 evening-mornings end. Daniel perplexed and sick.   |  |
| c. 550                                |   |   | King Cyrus, Persian vassal and related to the Median dynasty takes ascension over Medes. |
| 547                                   | part of them fled in Egypt,   |   | Lydia, defeated by Cyrus, becomes Medo-Persian province. Cyrus is "king of the lands".   |
| 539<br>Dan 5                          | and a disorganised remnant,   | Babylon falls under the Medo-Persians (entered through the Euphrate's bed, partially drained by the allies, while the city was feasting). Bel-shar-utsur killed. <sup>155</sup>   | Nabu-nahid defeated is taken to Carmania.  |
| 539-538                               | unimportant for Babylonians,  | "Darius the Mede" <sup>156</sup> (Cyxares II? Ugbaru?) is made "king of Babylon". Medo-Persian Empire organised. Daniel, supreme vizier. His study and prayer in favour of the divine promised restoration. The great messianic revelation in Daniel 9. |  |
| c. 537<br>2Chr 36:22-23               | End of the 70 years of captivity.   | Cyrus, "king of Babylon, king of the lands". Decree concerning Jewish repatriation and rebuilding the Temple. <i>Prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel etc. reach a modest fulfilment (Is 14:1-23, 44:26 - 48:22; 60; Jer: 50-51, Ez 36-48).</i>      |  |
| c. 536<br>Ezra 1-2<br>Ezra 3:1-7      | The first caravans of repatriated Jews arrive at Jerusalem, under the Jewish prince Sheshbazzar (Zerubbabel?). The altar is restored so that burned offerings could be brought for the feasts of the 7 <sup>th</sup> month. |   |  |
| c. 535<br>Ezra 3:8-13<br>Ezra 4:1-5a  | Prince Zerubabel and High Priest Jeshua lead the Temple's rebuilding. Samaritans' proposal to join is rejected. They retaliate. Intrigues through the   | Daniel on Tigris's banks. Prayer and fast. Vision of chapters 10-12.  |  |

|                        |   |   |  |
|------------------------|---|---|--|
|                        | Persian counsellors to stop the Jews' work.     |   |  |
| 530-529?<br>Ezra 4:5b. | The work of rebuilding laid aside until 519 BC. | Death of Daniel in the land of exile, unknown date. | Death of Cyrus in obscure circumstances. |

Thus, from *Daniel's* data, attested in part by modern archaeological and philological discoveries, not to mention the New Testament, all historical and prophetic chapters of the book stand best in the context of the Babylonian Captivity followed by God's judgement on Babylon, the advent of Cyrus the Great (seen by Isaiah as a messianic type<sup>157</sup>) and the liberation and restoration of God's people.

### II.3 *The author's intent and the first readers*

To be consistent with my premise laid above, Daniel's first addressees were the Jews in Babylonian captivity. Because Ezekiel who lived probably by Nippur refers Daniel twice, and because the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel show that relations between the Jews in Palestine and those in captivity didn't cease, we may safely say that Daniel wrote for the encouragement of all Jews. His message is basically in agreement with those of Jeremiah (whom he cites in ch. 9:1-2) and Ezekiel, who prophesied against Babylon, while condemning the Jewish apostasy / idolatry, then predicting the restoration in 70 years. In the first chapter, all but four captives taken to the palace remain faithful to the laws of the Creator. In chapter 3, all officials present (including Jews, probably Zedekiah and his chamberlain Seraiah, see Jer 51:59) are found with soiled noses. In chapter 4, the arrogant Babylonian king repents after a time of "7 seasons" (years) of divine judgement, then is restored, as an object lesson, not only for his successors like Belshazzar, but also for the Jews, who because of their apostasy had to suffer a divine punishment of 7 decades of captivity, then to be restored, after their repentance. In both cases, idolatry is not seen as the main cause, but the sinning life in general, and particularly the oppressive attitude toward the fellow humans, the repeated rejection of divine warnings, and pride.<sup>158</sup>

Besides encouraging his contemporary Jews to repent, to be faithful to their God, by worshipping Him only, to pray and be ready for the day of their deliverance, *Daniel's* main prophetic thrust makes us understand that the future generations of

Yahweh's people are also in view of the author, with even greater emphasis. The "saints of the Most High" had to experience heavier troubles in the future generations. The spirit of Babylon will not die. In the subsequent empires it even will increase. Therefore, *Daniel* would comfort and encourage them to be faithful, no matter the consequences, because it is God's plan to purify and exalt His people, to make Himself known, to finally bring His righteous judgement and His eternal divine-human kingdom to replace suddenly, and "not by human hand," the beastly-human kingdoms.

If we take Daniel by word, his main interest in writing down the testimony of his experiences and visions, was to have this prophecy preserved, even sealed, up to the latter days. Thus while he couldn't understand the actual lapse until the "time of the end," he was well aware of his mission to write and make circulate his revelations with a special message for "the saints," reaching our times and beyond. Consequently, his book was extensively used as more as the time passed, and now it is among the most used and abused books of the TNK.

#### 11.4 ***The general structure of the book***

Scholars like William Shea, Arthur Ferch, Jacques Doukhan and others studied in depth the literary structure of Daniel, according to form and content.<sup>159</sup> My understanding is basically the same as theirs, so that I prepared a diagram that makes use of their conclusions and partially of their schemata.

Roughly, the book of Daniel is made up by 6 narrative (story) chapters and 6 prophetic (apocalyptic chapters). Most of the narrative chapters a written in Aramaic 2:4b – 7:28, and the rest is Hebrew, like the first chapter. Thus the linguistic division do not exactly corresponds to the content. Nor the classic division in "historical" and "prophetic" is absolute, because the first apocalyptic revelation is found in the section of the stories (ch. 2) and narrative elements form the framework of each prophetic-apocalyptic revelation. Unlike a lot of Biblical books, the chapters of Daniel are not arbitrary divisions, except chs.10-12 that actually form a unit. Thus the book has 10



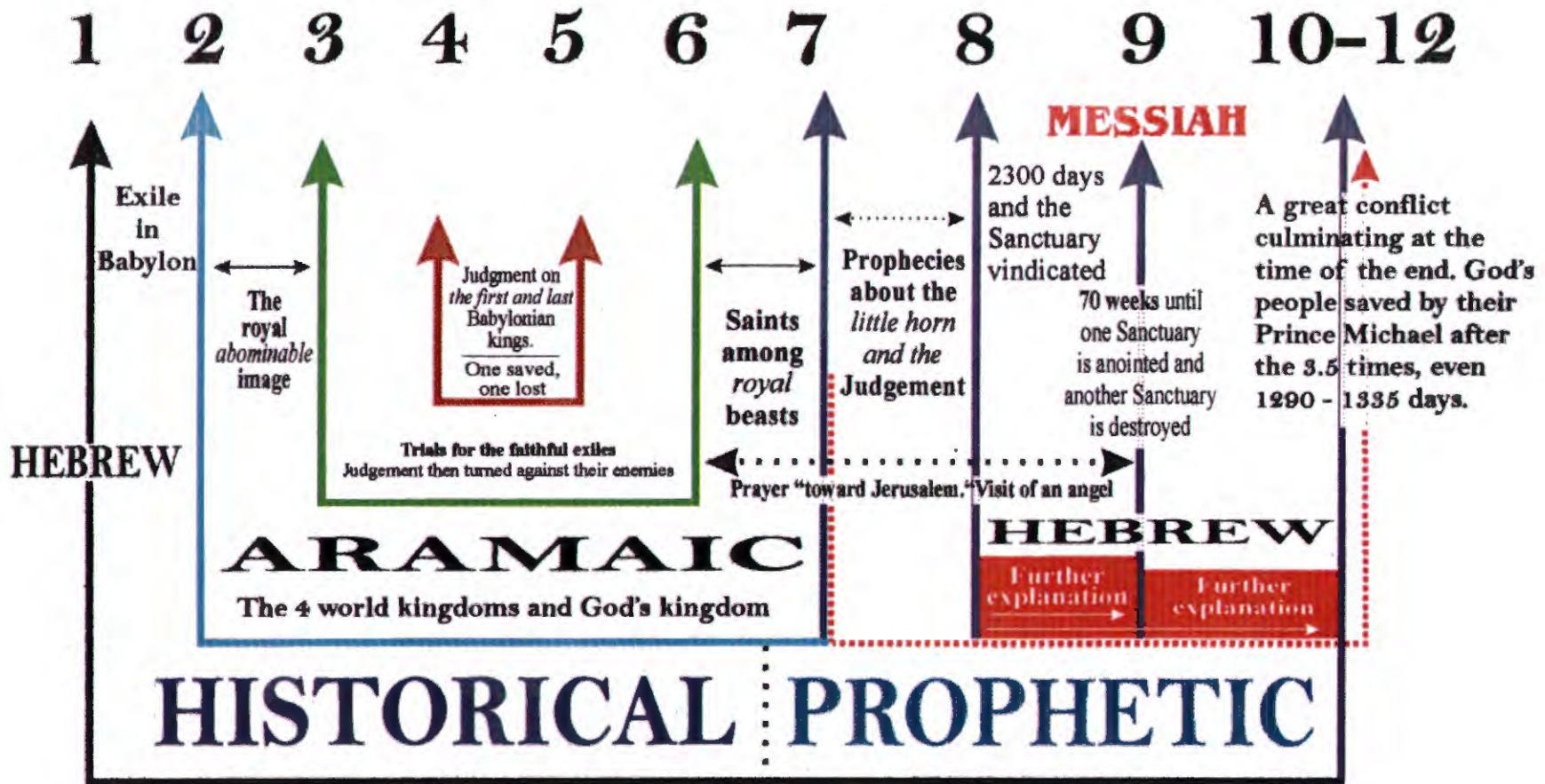
natural chapters, most of them rigorously dated and all arranged in strict chronological order within the narrative and apocalyptic sections respectively:

| ch. HISTORICAL (NARRATIVE) CHAPTERS                                 | ch. PROPHETIC (APOCALYPTIC) CHAPTERS                  |
|---|---|
| 1 3 <sup>rd</sup> of Jehoiakim / Nebuchadnezzar's accession 605 BCE |   |
| 2 2 <sup>nd</sup> year of Nebuchadnezzar c. 603 BCE                 | 7 1 <sup>st</sup> of Belshazzar c. 553 BCE            |
| 3 undated, but obviously subsequent (2:49, 3:12)                    | 8 3 <sup>rd</sup> of Belshazzar c. 551 BCE            |
| 4 undated, but implied as subsequent (4:34-37)                      | 9 1 <sup>st</sup> of Darius the Mede c. 538 BCE       |
| 5 the night of the fall of Babylon 539 BCE                          | 10-12 3 <sup>rd</sup> of Cyrus the Persian c. 535 BCE |
| 6 1 <sup>st</sup> of Darius the Mede c. 538 BCE                     |   |

While the first narrative chapter stands as a prologue for the whole book, chs. 2-7 form a chiasmus embracing the Aramaic section. Chapters 2 and 7 parallel by their basic apocalyptic revelations in the book, both presenting the theme of the four earthly kingdoms followed by God's messianic kingdom. Chapters 3 and 6 parallel by the theme of trial at the Babylon's court (the fiery furnace and the lions den), and chapter 4 and 5 parallel in the chiasmus' centre with their related thematic: a disciplinary, salvational judgement on the first king of Babylon, the enemy of Jews, and a punitive, final judgment on the last king of Babylon. Both are punished for their self-exaltation, the last being considered guiltier because of the knowledge of his predecessor's experience.

Then follow the four Hebrew chapters in a chronological and logic succession. The vision of chapter 8 refers explicitly to the preceding one described in chapter 7 (see Daniel 8:1), moreover it has the same theme and obvious common elements. The prayer and supernatural encounter of chapter 9 is linked chronologically and thematically to the narratives of chapters 1:1-2 and 6:10, and the prophetic revelation of Daniel 9:24-27 is a resuming of Gabriel's visionary explanations of chapter 8. The great vision of chapters 10-12 is another explanation of the apocalypse of Daniel 8 and some elements in chapter 12 refer back to the vision of chapter 7.

The two halves of the book are strongly related, the first one preparing the reader for the second one. Gottwald rightly sees the narrative first six chapters of the Book of Daniel "as necessary forerunners" to the apocalyptic visions of chapters 7-12, and he points out that the apocalyptic scenario is repeated through the book "in differing ways in a... spiral technique called 'recapitulation'".<sup>160</sup>



The Literary Structure of the Book of Daniel

### III AN EXEGESIS OF DANIEL 7

#### III.1 *The place of the first vision of Daniel*

Arthur Ferch recognised the central position of this chapter in the book of Daniel. It interlocks the two blocks of material – Aramaic and Hebrew – through its connection with the historical section by language and symmetry, and with the visions of chs. 8 – 12 by chronological sequence and content, as it is seen in the previous schema.<sup>161</sup>

#### III.1.a The literary structure of Daniel 7

The entire narrative of this chapter is thoroughly structured. And it is still necessary to do more in depth study of its structure, not only to notice the unity of the chapter, but also to understand better its message.

|             |   |          |
|-------------|---|----------|
|             | Prologue <i>Resh millin</i>   | v. 1     |
| Description | A. The first three beasts   | v. 2-6   |
|             | B. The fourth beast   | v. 7     |
|             | C. The little horn  | v. 8     |
|             | D. The Judgment fiery scene   | v. 9-10  |
|             | C <sup>1</sup> . The little horn  | v. 11a   |
|             | B <sup>1</sup> . The fourth beast   | v. 11b   |
|             | A <sup>1</sup> . The first three beasts   | v. 12    |
|             | The representative MAN is led before the Court and receives <b>supreme, universal and eternal kingdom.</b>  | v. 13-14 |
|             | a. Preliminary reaction   | v. 15    |
| Explanation | b. Initial request of explanation   | v. 16    |
|             | c. Initial explanation  | v. 17-18 |
|             | b <sup>1</sup> . Second request of explanation (detailed: 4 <sup>th</sup> beast, 10 horns, little horn, saints, conflict, <b>Judgment, kingdom</b> ). | v. 19-22 |
|             | c <sup>1</sup> . Second explanation (detailed: 4 <sup>th</sup> beast, 10 horns, little horn, saints, conflict, <b>Judgment, kingdom</b> )             | v. 23-27 |
|             | Epilogue: a <sup>1</sup> Final reaction. <i>Sopha' di miltha'</i> .   | v. 28    |

### III.1.b Linguistic analysis

Some Aramaic terms and expressions will now be considered, in order to find the safest fuel for the exegetical démarche.

#### Daniel 7 :1

לבב־שַׁנַּת חֲרָה לְבִלְאִשְׁצֵר מִלְךְ בְּכַל. The same syntactic pattern as in Hebrew chapters: 1:1, 8:1, 9:1, 10:1. ראש מלין אמר Comp. ראש־דְּבָרָךְ אַמַּת (Ps 119:160), contrasting with סוף דְּבָר (Ec 12:13). These idioms, rendered differently by lexicographers and translators, should be further studied. They seemingly mean more than “beginning” and, respectively, “end” of “things”) and, according to LXX, κεφάλαια λόγων (“the capital / fundamental / principal / summary of the words”).<sup>162</sup> However, we should note that Theodotion neglected completely this phrase, followed by modern translations like NRS. Thus, it is possible to understand the expression, as the parallel structure of the verse seems to indicate, like the table below attempts to make evident.

|                |                                 |  |                            |                |
|----------------|---------------------------------|--|----------------------------|----------------|
|                | ראש                             |  | חלם                        |                |
| B              | וְחֹזִי רֵאשָׁה עַל־מִשְׁכְּבָה |  | דְּנִיאל חִלֵּם חֲזָה      | A              |
| B <sup>1</sup> | ראש מלין אמר                    |  | בְּאָזְנוֹן חִלְמָא כְּתַב | A <sup>1</sup> |

If this structure, so specific to the Biblical literature, intends to give the same meaning for ראש in the parallel lines, then we should understand ראש מלין as identical in meaning with חִלְמָא A<sup>1</sup> though taking the form of B-B<sup>1</sup>: *he told things that passed through his head*. This is only a supposition, not yet convincing, considering the usual syntax.

#### Daniel 7:2

עָנָה [דְּנִיאל] וְאָמַר "Daniel spoke and said". A common formula used approximately 100 times in Biblical Hebrew (Gn 18:27, Zec 6:5). This phrase, however, does not appear in the old translations (LXX, Θ, VUL), thus appearing to be a scribal error (עָנָה instead of אָנָה / an addition of וְאָמַר, cf. Θ).

וְאֶרְאֶה וְהִנֵּה... / *was looking...and behold*. (comp. with Heb. וְהִנֵּה in Daniel 8:3, Ez 2:9, Zec 5:1 et al.) The phrase חֲזָה הָיִית is used ten times in Daniel in

the first person (4:7.10, 7:2.4.6.7.9. 11.13.21). and twice in the second person (2:31.34). In v. 8 וְאֵלֹהֵי בְחֻזִי עִם־לַיְלָא in *my vision in the night* (Dan 7:7.13, 2:19, comp. Heb. Jb 4:13, 20:8, 33:15, Is 29:7, Mi 3:6).

אֲרְבַּע רוּחֵי שָׁמַיָא *the four winds of heaven* – see on Daniel 8:8, 11:4. The expression points to a universal hurricane. This metaphor of the wind was already used for the destructive force of the war,<sup>163</sup> a motif further developed in the NT Revelation (7:1-3). מְגִיתָן “*butting*” has the same root as in Daniel 8:4, 11:40. It is an old military image (Dt 33:17, 1Ki 22:11, Ps 44 6). לַיְמָא רַבָּא Comp. Heb. Nu 34:6, Ez 48:28, *the Great Sea = The Mediterranean*. The Targum gives the same phrase as the Aramaic of Daniel.<sup>164</sup>

#### Daniel 7:3

וְאַרְבַּע חַיִּוֵּי כְּבָרָאן *and four great beasts (living creatures)...*— comp. Ez 1:5. While the four living creatures of Ezekiel are connected with the throne of Yahweh, they share with the beasts of Daniel the numeral four, which is a consecrated symbol of the universal. It is a possible correspondence, a mirror image of Ezekiel’s imagistic, as in the NT Revelation are found four living creatures (cherubs), corresponding in some way with the four horses (Rev 4:6-7, 6:1-8). סִלְקֵן מִן־יַמָּא *came out of the sea* – the verb is used in the Aramaic of Daniel (2:29, 7:3.6.20) and of Ezra (4:12).

#### Daniel 7:4

קְדָמִיָּא כְּאַרְיֵה וְנִפְיָן דִּי־נְשָׂר לָהּ *the first one, was like a lion and it had wings of eagle*. The combination lion-eagle, is seen in Ez 1:10, 10:14, and in the prophetic imagery describing the Babylonian invasion (Jer 4:7.13, 48:40, Lam 4:19, Hab 1:8, Ez 17:3.12), as it was also a common Babylonian decorative and mythological element. It stresses both swiftness and strength, like in 2S 1:23. עַד דִּי־מְרִישׁוּ נִפְיָהּ *until its wings have been plucked / until it has lost its wings?* See how the passive (Niph<sup>c</sup>al) stem of this root in Hebrew means *to loose (hair)*: Leviticus 13:40-41. וְנִשְׁלַח מִן־אֲדָמָא *and it was lifted up from the ground*. See the same verb in Daniel 4:31, and in Is 63:9 used

beside *lift*. *כְּאִנֹּשׁ הַקִּימָח וְעַל־הַגְּלִין* *and made to stand on two feet like a human being* – comp. 2Ki 13:21, 1Ch 28:2, 2Ch 3:13, Ez 2:1, 37:10, Zec 14:12.

*וְלִבְ אִנֹּשׁ יְהִיב לָהּ* *and a human heart (mind) was given to it* (comp. Ps 104:15, Is 13:7, 2S 15:6, Gn 8:21), i.e. human intelligence, feeling or state of spirit (1S 17:32). In a context of changing human mind to animal mind and viceversa, see Daniel 4:16.34, Ez 11:19, where the experience of Nebuchadnezzar is related.

#### Daniel 7:5

*תְּנִינָה* *the second one* לְ דְמִיָּהּ *resembling to, like* (cf. Sol 2:9, Gn 1:26 in Hebrew). *רַב* *bear* (like in Hebrew, Pr 17:12, Lam 3:10). *וְלִשְׁטֵרְחָהּ הֶקְמַח* *raised up on one side, that is, half raised, not fully raised*. *עַל־עֵינָיִם* *ribs* Comp. Hebrew *צִלְע* (Gn 2:22 et al.). *וַיִּכְּן אֶמְרֵיהֶן לָהּ* lit. *and so saying they to it (and it was been said like this)*. See Daniel 3:4, 4:28, 11:21, for the use of the plural impersonal or in the third person, to express a passive. *קוּמִי אֲכָלִי בֶּשֶׂר שְׂגִיָּא* *raise and eat much flesh*. Bears are not especially carnivorous. Yet this one is more carnivorous than the lion described above as having been received a human heart.

#### Daniel 7:6

*כְּנִמְרָה* *like a leopard / panther* (Jer 13:23, Hab 1:8), a symbol of agility / swiftness.

*וְלָהּ נִפְתָּיִם אַרְבַּע דְּיַעֲרוֹף עַל־נִבְתָּיהָ* *and it had four wings of bird on its back*. A double number of wings, in comparison with the first beast, to further emphasise swiftness.

*וְאַרְבַּעָה רֵאשִׁיִּים* *and four heads* (See Gn 2:10 and Jg 9:34). In Hebrew, the similar expression *אַרְבַּעָה רֵאשִׁיִּים* means, *four divisions* (a. *branches of a single river*, b. *military companies / divisions, parted from a principal army*), which fits very well this political symbol. The natural meaning of a polycephalous monster is an entity characterised by disunity, having four command centres, instead of one (Pr 28:2). These four heads correspond obviously to the Macedonian four horns of the next vision (Dan

8:4.20-21), and to the four divisions of the Macedonian Empire from the last oracle (Dan 11:3-4). וְשִׁלְטָן יִהְיֶה לָהּ *and dominion was given to it*.

#### Daniel 7:7

וַיִּתְּרָא (= Heb. יתר) *extraordinary* Daniel 2:31, 8:9, Ec 2:15. וַתִּקְיָא (תקף) *strong* Ezra 4:20, Daniel 2:40, 3:33, 4:8. וַאֲיִמְתָּנִי (אִים) *awful* (the same root: Hab 1:7, Sol 6:4). רָחִילָה *terrible, dreadful* Daniel 2:31, 4:2, 5:19, 6:27, 7:19 (= Heb. זחל Job 32:6). וַיִּשְׁנֶן דְּרִיפְרִזָּל לָהּ *and it had iron teeth* (cf. v. 19.23). The same words are employed in chapter 2 (...תִּדְרָק... כָּלָא מְהַרְק... פְּרִזְלָא מְהַרְק...) to refer the fourth world kingdom (Dan 2:40), *the iron-kingdom*. וַשְׂאָרָא בְּרִנְלִיהָ רַפְסָה *and it trampled underfoot the remains, the remnant* (cf. v. 19.23). This verb is present in Hebrew too: רַפַּס = רָמַס Ez 32:2, 34:18.19, a root used in Daniel 8:7.10.13. מְשַׁנֵּה *different*, from a root (שָׁנָה/שִׁנָּה) *change, alter* used extensively in Daniel: (2:9.21, 3:19.28, 4:13, 5:6.9.10, 6:9.16.18, 7:19.23.24.25. 28). וַקְרָנִין עֶשְׂרִי לָהּ *and it had 10 horns*. This (v. 20.24) is the only occurrence in TNK of a ten-horned animal. The meaning of **multiple horns** coming up from one head is suggested by the next vision in chapter 8. The two horns of the ram-kingdom stand for the two allied forces and dynasties of Media and Persia (8:20), while the four horns of the goat-kingdom symbolise four kingdoms inheriting the empire of Alexander (8:22). In all cases, the ten horns, are not described as raising one after another, but they are always described as a group, and therefore, meant to be understood as contemporary.

#### Daniel 7:8

קָרְנִי אֲחֵרִי זְעִירָה *another horn, a little (small, young) one*. This is the single horn described while rising among the other horns: סִלְקָת בִּינְיָהוּן cf. v. 20.24, that is while they continue to exist. כְּעֵינֵי אֲנָשָׂא *like human eyes* – possibly suggesting partial judgment as in Job 10:5, or simply in comparison to the other horns, which appear to be blind, this is the only one seeing and speaking. In spite of its physical smallness, it



has some controlling power over them. **וּפִּי מִמְּלַל בְּבָרְכָן** *and a mouth speaking great words* (Dan 7:11.20) that is *words against the Most High* (v. 25).

#### Daniel 7:9

**כִּרְסָנִין רְמִיין** (cf. LXX and Θ : ἐτέθησαν) *thrones were set (arranged)*, though the usual meaning of the verb **רמא / רמה** is *throw, cast*. **וְעֵתִיק יוֹמִין יָתֵב** *and an Ancient of days sat*. Besides Daniel 7:9.13.22, the Aramaic **עֵתִיק** is found only in the post-exilic Hebrew: 1Ch 4:22. The plural *thrones* implies the expectance of a court, a jury (see v. 11d, cf. Job 1:1, Ps 82:1, Is 24:23, Dan 4:17, Rev 4:4).

**וּשְׂעַר רֵאשִׁיהּ כְּעֵמֶר נָקֵא** *His garments were white as snow*, **לְבוּשָׁה כְּתֵלֵנִי הַזֶּה** *and His hair was clean like wool*. **כִּרְסִינָה שְׂבִיבִין דִּי־נֹר וְגַלְלוּהִי נֹר דְּלֵק** *His throne was fire flames; its wheels were burning fire*. The description of the majestic chariot-throne has some similarities with that of Ez 1:16-28, 10:1.9-22. The noun **נֹר**, is used extensively in 3:6.11.15.17.20-27.

#### Daniel 7:10

**וְנָהַר דִּי־נֹר נָגַד וְנָפַק מִן־קִדְמוּהִי** *a stream of fire flowed out issuing from His presence*. **אֶלְף אֶלְפִים יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָהּ** *a thousand of thousands (one million) beings were serving Him*. **וְרַבּוֹ רַבְּוֹן קִדְמוּהִי יְקוּמוּן** *and a myriad of myriads stood before Him – attending Him (as NRS renders), or waiting for their particular sentence?* The first variant is supported by the parallelism of the lines, and the second is supported by a late use in apocalyptic. See Rev 20:11-20 that seems to be built on Daniel's vision. These later buildings, however, do not necessarily interpret the basic vision; they might often use an old phrasing or imagery to build their own scenes.

**דִּינָא יָתֵב** *the "judgment" sat down* must mean only *the court sat in judgment* (NRS, IEP *il tribunale sedette*, EIN *Das Gericht nahm Platz*). This translation explains also the presence of more than one throne. LXX and Θ confirm this understanding: κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν = *[the] court sat*. The root **דִּין / דון** is present in Hebrew too<sup>165</sup> and even the name of Daniel is based on it.

וְסִפְרֵינָם פְּתוּחִים *and certain books were opened*. Books opened to investigation during the judgement are usual in Biblical apocalyptic (Rev 20:12). Comp. Daniel 12:1, כָּל־הַנִּמְצָא כָתוּב בַּסֵּפֶר *everyone who will be found written in the book*. This is an old prophetic theme (Is 4:3, Ex 32:32, Ps 69:29, 139:16, Jer 17:13), further enriched in the Persian period, on the basis of the cultural experience (Ezra 2:62, Ne 7:64, Est 2:23, 6:2, Mal 3:16-18). The NT further builds on this theme: Phil 4:3, Rev 3:5, 5:1-5, 13:8, 17:8, 20:12.15, 21:27, 22:19. The reference to names that are *found written in "the" book* (Dan 12:1), implies investigation of cases. As a result of this judgment, God's enemies are destroyed and "the people of saints of the Most High," through their Representative, receive the eternal kingdom (because the *judgment was given for them*: Daniel 7:22.26-27).

#### Daniel 7:11

מִן־קוֹל מַלְאֲכָי נְבִרְבָּחָא דִּי קִרְנָא מְמַלְלָה *because of the sound of those great words that the horn was speaking*. The prophet's attention is drawn especially to this arrogant horn, which is the main actor on the one side of the scene. The writer emphasises here that the wicked horn didn't yield up with the beginning of the Judgment, but he kept on calling out its "great words," that is high claims and godlike orders. וְהוּבַר גְּשָׁמָה וַיְהִיבַת לִיקְרַת אֲשָׁא חַזָּה הָיִית עַד דִּי קָטִילַת חַיּוֹחָא *I looked till the beast was killed and its body was destroyed and given to burning of fire*. This could happen only as a result of the Judge's verdict. The interesting fact is that the little horn is not judged alone. The beast is punished for all its horns and sins. Daniel uses here as a hapax, a different word for *fire*, אֲשָׁא, which seems to be an Hebraism.

#### Daniel 7:12

וְשָׂאֵר חַיּוֹחָא הָעֲדִיּוֹ שְׁלִטְנָהוֹן *the remaining beasts were also deprived of their power (dominance, rule)*. The destiny of the first three beasts is different. They are only stripped out of their power, וְאַרְכָּהּ בְּחַיִּין יְהִיבַת לְהוֹן but their life continues under God's providence, עַד־זְמַן וְעַד, for a specific time respectively. In contrast, the fourth

beast, being the last one, is deposed and executed at once. The apparent simultaneous life of the four beasts should be compared to the metal-kingdoms of chapter 2, where the future history is envisioned not only as successive powers, but also as ages of the same entity. Finally, they are all broken together (2:35.45).

#### Daniel 7: 13

וַאֲרוּ עִם-עַנְנֵי שָׁמַיָא *and behold with the clouds of heaven.* The cloud is associated in the Jewish thought with the divine covered Presence: Ex 14:19 (the Angel of Yahweh), the chariot of Yahweh (Ps 104:3, Is 19:1).

כְּבַר אֱנוֹשׁ אֶתְהָהּ הִנֵּה The phrase בֶּר אֱנוֹשׁ – later, בְּרִנְשָׁא / בְּרִנְשָׁא / NT Peshitta כְּבַר אֱנוֹשׁ דְּאִנְשָׁא corresponds to Heb. בֶּן אָדָם = son of Adam / human being, synonym to אִישׁ and אָנוּשׁ (Dan 8:17, Nu 23:19, Dt 32:8, especially in the poetic books and in Ezekiel). It is found also in Old Aramaic texts (The Sefire Inscriptions III 16).<sup>166</sup>

וְעַד-עֲתִיק יוֹמֵיָא מָטָה וּקְרַמּוּהִי הַקְּרִבּוּהִי *and He was brought (lit. they brought Him near) before Him (the Ancient of Days).* Worthy of notice, the Hebrew expression ..[ה]קרב קדם.. *come near to* is used also for a royal audience in a 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. Aramaic papyrus: קדם סנחאריב קרבתיך *presented you before Sennacherib.*<sup>167</sup>

#### Daniel 7:14

וְלֵהּ יְהִיב שְׁלֹטָן וְיָקָר וּמְלָכוּ *and was given Him power, glory and kingdom.* This mysterious Being like a “son of man” must certainly be the expected Messiah, because He receives kingdom from God. וְכָל עַמּוּמָא אַמּוּיָא וְלִשְׁנָיָא *and all peoples, nations and languages* is a specific idiom in the Aramaic of Daniel: 3:4.7.31, 5:19, 6:26. Applied to the cosmic scene of this vision, it certainly means the universal kingdom of Messiah. לֵהּ יִפְלַחוּן *they will worship Him* applies exclusively to Messiah as Divine Person, because this is exactly the term used for *cultus, worship or divine service* in Biblical Aramaic (Ezra 7:19.24, Dan 3:12.14.17.18.28, 6:17.21, 7:14.27).<sup>168</sup>

שְׁלֹטְנָהּ שְׁלֹטָן עָלַם דִּילָא יַעֲדָה *His is an eternal dominion, which shall not pass away.* This doxology emphasises again the messianic and divine nature of this “like a

son of man" who shares God's glory (Dan 3:33, 4:3 et al.). ומְלִכּוּתָהּ דִּי־לָא תַחֲתֵבֵל Daniel 2:24. Thus the kingdom established through this Representative Man, is clearly identified with the kingdom of God.

#### Daniel 7:15

וַתִּפְעַם רוּחִי אֶתְפָּרַיִת רוּחִי *my spirit was grieved (troubled)*. See Daniel 2:1.3 (וַתִּפְעַם רוּחִי) *and my spirit was disturbed*, comp. 8:27. The insistence on אָנָּה רְגִיאוֹל cf. 7:28, is seen also in Daniel 8:1.15, 9:2, 10:2.7, 12:5. בְּנוֹא נְרִנָּה *within the body?* The second term, is considered by some to be a Persian loan word (meaning *sheath*). According to BDBG (1102, § 5086) is an "expression at best strange". It is safe and sound to consider it a corruption from בְּגִין דְּנָה / בְּגוֹן *on account of this*.<sup>169</sup> LXX renders it by ἐν τούτοις *in (during) these [things]*,<sup>170</sup> followed by VUL (in his = *in these*). וַחֲזוֹי רֵאשִׁי יְבִהֵלְנִי *and the visions of my head alarmed me* Daniel 4:2.

#### Daniel 7:16

קָרַבְתָּ עֲלֵיהֶם מִן־קְאֻמֵּיָא *I came near to one of those who were standing*. The only beings described as standing there, are those "myriad of myriads" from v.10, probable understood as angels (cf. Rev 5:11, 7:1). וַיִּצְיָבָא אֲבַעֲא־מְנָה עַל־כָּל־דְּנָה *and I asked him the truth about all these things*. See also v.19. The prophet is also eager to have more insight, and grasp more truth concerning the things shown to him. יִצְיָבָא *truth* (Dan. 2:8.45, 3:24, 6:13), corresponds to אֲמָתָא (Dan 8:12.26, 9:13, 10:1.21, 11:2).

וּפְשָׁר מְלֵיָא יְהוּדְעֵנִי *and the meaning (interpretation) of the things to show me*. Daniel 2:4-7.9.16.24-26.30.36, 4:3.4.6.15.16.21, 5:7.8.12.15-17.26. See Heb. Ec 8:1 יוֹדַע פֶּשֶׁר דְּקָבָר, where פֶּשֶׁר is, probably, an Aramaism. Instead, we find in Biblical Hebrew a term from the same Semitic root, having ת for ש, which is specific to the Aramaic: פִּתְרָא *to interpret (dreams)* Gn 40:8.16.22, 41:8.12.13.15, and פְּתָרוֹן *interpretation* (Gn 40:12.18). The Aramaic term became a technical one in the later apocalyptic. Among the most known writings found at Qumrân, there is a *Pesher Habacqûq*.

### Daniel 7:17

אֲרֵבָּעָה מַלְכֵינָא יִקְיָמוּן מִן־אָרְעָא [mean] *four kings that shall rise on the earth*. Four “kings,” is a half-disclosed *peshet*, since the *angelus interpretes* further indicates, for example, that the fourth beast-king is a “kingdom” (v. 23). The same device is used in the first dream, where the golden head of the image is interpreted as a *king* (Nebuchadnezzar), and then all the successive powers are called *kingdoms* (Dan 2:37.39-41.44).

### Daniel 7:18

וַיִּקְבְּלוּן מַלְכוּתָא קַדִּישֵי עֲלִיּוֹנִין *but the saints of the Most High shall receive the kingdom*. This is also a half explanation. At first view, it seems to identify the celestial human-like Being with “the saints of the Most High”. In reality, this is only a summary explanation, and it reveals that the “Son of Man” is to be understood as a Representative. He is one of the saints, but not just a certain one. He is One who stands for all of them, representing, including, and “recapitulating” them. He receives the kingdom not for Himself only, but for all those He represents (v. 27).<sup>171</sup>

וַיִּחַסְנוּן מַלְכוּתָא עַד־עֲלָמָא וְעַד עָלָם עֲלָמִיָא *and they shall hold the kingdom forever, for everlasting eternities* cf. v. 27a., 12:3.13.

### Daniel 7:19

אֲרֵינָא רְבִיעִיתָא עַל־חֵיטָא לִינְצָבָא *Then I wanted to know the truth about the fourth beast*. דִּיהֵנָה שְׁנֵיהּ מִן־פְּלֵהוֹן דְּחִילָהּ וְתִירָה *that was different from all others, extraordinary terrifying*. שְׁנֵיהּ דִּיהִפְרָזֵל וְטַפְרֵיהּ דִּיהִנְחָשׁ *teeth of iron and claws of bronze*. The last feature is not mentioned in the principal description (v. 7)

### Daniel 7:20

וְחִזְוָהּ רַב מִן־חֲבֵרְתָהּ *and its sight look greater than the other ones*. This is an addition to the first description, where the smallness of this horn was mentioned only. There is no contradiction. This horn is seen in its dynamic development. Before being great, it was, seemingly, a little one, certain time, in comparison with its fellows (as it is

said about the little horn of ch. 8:9). Or, it is possible to understand this horn-“king” as being small in size (temporal power) and great in its different authority, influence and claims, if we consider that it only has eyes and mouth to maintain “universal” control. .

#### Daniel 7:21

עֲבַרָה קָרַב עִם־קַדְיָשִׁין וְנִבְלָה לְהוֹן *made war with the saints and prevailed on them.* cf. the Hebrew phrase עֲשָׂה מִלְחָמָה עִם (Gn 14:2, 20:12,20, 1Ki 12:21, 1Ch 5:10,19, 2Ch 11:1). The Aramaic term קָרַב is also found in Hebrew writings, possibly a loan-word: Job 38:23, Ps 55:19,22, 68:31, 78:9, 144:1, Ec 9:18, Zec 14:3. This theme of a succeeding war against the saints appears also in Daniel 8:24-25, 12:7e, and is present in Rev 11:7, 13:7.

#### Daniel 7:22

וְדִינָא יְהֵב לְקַדְיָשִׁי עַד דְּיִרְאָתָהּ עֲתִיק יוֹמָנָא *until the Ancient of days came, and the verdict was given in favour of the saints of the Most High* (LXX καὶ τῷ θεῷ κρίσις ἔδωκε τοῖς\* and He gave the judgment (justice) to (for) the..., Θ καὶ τὸ κρίμα ἔδωκεν ἄγλοις = and He gave the judgment (verdict, power to judge)<sup>172</sup>, to the saints...<sup>173</sup> BDBG (1088) agrees with the translation: judgment was given in favour of... The plural עֲלִיּוֹנִין is quite unusual in Aramaic. Arthur Ferch says:

Grammatically, this unusual Aramaic name for God has been explained as a double plural or as an imitation of the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים. Examples for a singular associated with the Hebrew plural אֱלֹהִים (“God”) are common and frequently interpreted as pluralis excellentiae or majestatis. According to Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar the Aramaic עֲלִיּוֹנִין belongs to this same class and can therefore be construed with a singular suffix.<sup>174</sup>

Concerning its theological meaning, the Hebrew עֲלִיּוֹן *upper, superior; highness, excellence; hence, The Supreme (God)*, must be studied in the literary contexts. It appears in poetic Hebrew texts only (especially in Psalms), and its first occurrences are related to non-Hebrew, *goy* people.<sup>175</sup> This name appears as the Supreme God, another name for Yahweh, in contexts of polytheism, universal (supreme) kingdom, and nations. Therefore it is also the best choice in Daniel 7.

וְזָמַן מָטָה *and the appointed time came.* BDBG (p.1091) indicates the meaning *appointed time* for this place. In all these visions, references to appointed, measured time occur. וּמַלְכוּתָא הֶחֱסֵנוּ קְדִישִׁין *and the saints took possession of the kingdom,* comp. Daniel 11:21 וְהֶחֱזִיק מַלְכוּת. Since the saints *take possession of the (universal) kingdom,* this must be related to their receiving the judgment (or having right judgment made for them).

#### Daniel 7:23

חִיּוֹתָא רְבִיעִיתָא מַלְכוּ מְלִכּוּ רְבִיעִיא תְּהוּא בְּאַרְעָא *the fourth beast is the fourth kingdom to be on the earth.* דִּי תִּשְׁנָא מִן־כָּל־מַלְכוּתָא *which shall be different from all kingdoms.* וְתֹאכַל כָּל־אַרְעָא וְתִרְוֶשְׁנָה וְתִדְקְנָה *it shall devour all the earth, and shall thresh it and shatter (tear) it.*

#### Daniel 7:24

וְקַרְנַיָּא עֶשְׂרִי מִנָּה מַלְכוּתָהּ עֵשְׂרָה מַלְכִין יִקְמוּן *the 10 horns [mean that] from that kingdom shall arise 10 kings.* These words of themselves permit a successive arising of the ten kings, as does the text in 11:2-3. But the rising of the eleventh horn, and uprooting of three from the previous ten horns, indicates a simultaneous tenfold, divided kingdom. In this entire chapter, the *ten horns / ten kings* are mentioned as a compact group, and there is no indication of their being successive. If the author intended a succession of kings, he could and must have find a clear way of express his thought. Moreover, if we continue to parallel this vision with the royal dream of chapter 2, like most commentators do, we may observe that the iron and iron-clay kingdom (corresponding to the fourth beast of ch. 7), has iron-clay *[ten] toes* (2:41.42), which stand also for *kings* (2:44a).<sup>176</sup> And all these are mentioned in a context of division (internal and external), which is there emphasised.

וְהוּא יִשְׁנָא מִן־קִדְמָיָא וְאַחֲרָן יִקִּים אַחֲרֵיהּוֹן *and another one shall rise after them, and he shall be different from the previous.* Since Daniel, in order to describe the distinction of the little horn, uses the same words used to indicate the distinction of the

fourth beast in comparison to the previous ones, it seems that the little king / kingdom is different in power, fierceness, et al., not necessarily in nature. ותלתה מלכין יהשפל *and three kings shall he put down (overthrow)*. The uprooting from v. 8 and 20 is here interpreted as *bringing low, putting down, humble*. The same verb used in 4:34, 5:19.22.

#### Daniel 7:25

ומלין לצר עליא ימלל *and words comparable to (against?) the Most High will he speak*. These words should not be understood as being overtly against God, since they are called *great (imposing) words* (v. 8.11.20). The expression לצר seems to be softer than the words used about Belshazzar's blasphemy: ועל מראשמיא התרוממת *and against (above) the Lord of Heaven you exalted yourself*. Origen's Hexapla quotes Symmachus' translation: "et sermones quasi Deus loquitur" *and words like God will he speak*.<sup>177</sup> ולקרישי עליונין יבלא *and he shall constantly harass the saints of the Most High*. That which was described as *making war* in v. 21, is here called בלא *harass constantly, wear away, wear out*.<sup>178</sup> Something like long guerrilla warfare or as hunting (chase) until the victim loses all power.

ויסבר *and he will (hope?)*. This is a hapax in Biblical Aramaic. It is used in Hebrew with a different spelling (שבר) to mean *wait, hope*,<sup>179</sup> or *inspect, examine*.<sup>180</sup> LXX has προσδέξεται *he will expect to*, while Θ has υπονοήσει *he will suspect to*. VUL renders it by *putabit quod possit* ("he shall consider / calculate that he is able to.."). Origen's Hexapla gives *confidet* ("he will boldly trust, presume").<sup>181</sup> In the Modern Hebrew, the term is used to mean *to think, have insight, express opinions, aspire, hope, tend*.<sup>182</sup> It is easy to observe that the old translations do not so precisely agree on this point. The pragmatic meaning of the term in this place seems to escape. Anyway, it must have a dynamic within such meanings: *expect – suspect – inspect – prospect, or tend – intend – attend – pretend*. The peculiar king shall *aspire and conspire*; he will devise patiently an ambitious project. The *angelus interpretes* does not stress the king's activity or success in this area, but only his insolent aspiration, his



bold project. This does not exclude his success, but it appears that he is never satisfied with what he won, and he aspires to an absolute result.

לְהַשְׁנִיָּה זְמַנִּין וְדָתָא *to change times and law*. See chapter 2:21, where similar words are employed וְזַמְנִיָּא וְדַתְנִיָּא *He changes the seasons and the times*, referring to God who revealed to Daniel the dream of the king (containing exactly this message: God is Sovereign over all changes in the political and religious world, and finally He shall triumph). In the next line we have the clear meaning of this expression: מְהַעֲדָה מַלְכִין וּמְהַקִּים מַלְכִין *He deposes kings and set up kings*. The expression וְזַמְנִיָּא וְדַתְנִיָּא in the first line may be understood also in comparison with that in Daniel 7:12b: עַד-זְמַן וְעַד-זְמַן *for a season and a time*), that points out to God's supervision over the life and historical place of all nations. The same thought may be implied in 2:9 (עַד דִּי עֲדָנָא יִשְׁתַּנָּא) *till the time will change*). The implication on Daniel 7:25 might be that the peculiar king aspires to have the supreme control in politics, deposing and setting up kings. However, if this expression has not this meaning in itself, but it is derived from its context, then it might have in 2:9 and 7:25 respectively different applications.

\* דָּתָא *law, order, command, rule, custom, regulation* is employed only in Aramaic and as a loan word in the Hebrew of the book of Esther.<sup>183</sup> According to all sources (see BDBG), the term is of Persian origin. Its official nature let it enter easily and early in the Imperial Aramaic. What kind of law did the bold king hope to change? If we preserve a political meaning for the expression *change times*, then the simple addition *and law* would be naturally related to the political understanding of the first term. But if we consider the anarthrous presence of both זְמַנִּין וְדָתָא *times and law*, and the critical seriousness the author puts on this bold aspiration of the king, it is possible to understand this idiom as a hendiadys referring to the Divine Law with its appointed times, as practically all exegetes understood.

זְמַנִּין *times*, is also of Persian origin (*zarvân – time, age*),<sup>184</sup> but imported early through Akkadian agency, and BDBG indicates the meaning “(festival) *seasons*” in this

context, and Holladay (404) has *holy time[s], feast[s]*. This plan of the peculiar king must be understood in the context of his warfare against God's saints, because the phrase *and he will hope to change (holy) times and law* is a parenthesis. After this assertion, the speaker resumes to his prediction about the conflict between the arrogant king and the saints.

**וַיִּתְּנֵהֶבּוֹן בְּיָדָהּ** *and they shall be given into his hand*, underlines God's sovereignty on the destiny of His people. The same idiom is used about the defeat of Jehoiakim in Daniel 1:2. He permits persecutions to purify individuals and groups (see chapters 11:34.35, 12:10), but any time of trouble is measured and limited. God only is in control over times.

**עַד־עֵקֶן וְעַד־נֵיִן וְפָלֵן עֵקֶן** *until 1 "time," 2 "times" and half a "time" (a period of 3.5 appointed times) = לְמוֹעֵד מוֹעֲדִים וְחֻצֵי* (Heb. Dan 12:7). In both places we should read as dual the noun **עֵקֶן / מוֹעֲדִים**.<sup>185</sup> This is obviously an encrypted formula. The term **מוֹעֵד** *appointed time, period, term, sacred season*, must have been used sometimes for *year* (because of the time lapse between seasons?).<sup>186</sup> The same use of the Aramaic term is employed in Daniel 4:13.20.22.29, where LXX has ἑπτὰ ἔτη = *seven years*, for those "7 times" (**שבעה ערנין**).

#### Daniel 7:26

**וְיָרִינָא יְהוּבָה וְשִׁלְטְנָהּ יִהְיֶה** *but the court shall sit and his dominion shall be taken away*. See on v. 10d. 12. Unlike the preceding powers, this king looses, after its Judgment, both power and existence, facing an utterly and complete destruction:

**לְהַשְׁמָדָהּ וְלְהוֹבְדָהּ עַד־סוּפָא** *to be destroyed [his dominion] and finally perish*.

#### Daniel 7:27

**וּמְלֻכּוּתָהּ וְשִׁלְטְנָא וְרִבּוּתָא דִּי מְלֻכּוּת תַּחַת כָּל־שָׁמַיָא** *and the kingdom, dominion and greatness of the kingdoms under the whole sky...* The text is clear in recurring to the theme of the universal kingdom. This is the fundamental Messianic theme. **לְעַם** *to the people...* The whole thing that is given to the representative Man in v.14, is actually

given to the “saints of the Most High”. The Judgment settles forever the matter of the universal empire and of what laws should be considered first and foremost.

מְלֻכּוּתָהּ מְלֻכּוּת עֲלֵם *his kingdom [shall be] an everlasting kingdom*. Opinions vary concerning the referent of the pronominal suffix of the word מְלֻכּוּתָהּ *his kingdom*. Whose kingdom? Of the holy people? Or of the Most High? NRS prefers the people, and this may not be refuted on simple grammatical criteria, because the closest referent appears to be (at least for our European grammar and logic), *the people of the Most High*. However, in view of the religious use of the term יִפְלְחוּן *they shall worship* (see on v.14) – and a parallel doxology in Daniel 6:26 *Whose kingdom shall never be destroyed, and dominion has no end*, – we might remain to the old translations of Θ and VUL.<sup>187</sup> The next phrase confirms that this was the intention of the speaker: וְכָל שְׁלֹטְנֵיָא לֵהּ יִפְלְחוּן וַיִּשְׁתַּמְעוּן *and all dominions (powers) will worship (serve) and obey Him*.

#### Daniel 7:28

עַד־כֹּה סוֹפָא דִּי־מִלְתָּא <sup>188</sup> lit. *hitherto, [where comes] the end of the word (account)*. Or, *It's over – The end of the account*. The setting of this phrase helps us understand its meaning better. The writer passes from the account of his dream, to the effects the experience brought on him. Thus the phrase must mean something like: *This is all that I've seen and heard, so that I stop here my account*. It is possible to better understand ראש מלין אמר from v. 1 e., as announcing the beginning of the account.

שְׂגִיָא רַעִיוֹנִי יִבְהַלֵּנִי *my thoughts troubled me much* . comp. Daniel 4:16, 5:6.10. וַיִּזְוִי יִשְׁתַּנּוֹן עָלַי See Daniel 5:6.9.10. זִיּוּ *complexion, brightness*, is “perhaps loan-word from Assyrian *zīmu*, chiefly of *countenance*.”<sup>189</sup> וּמִלְתָּא בְּלִבִּי נִטְרַתָּ <sup>189</sup> This mention helps us understand the deep theological and psychological connections between the apocalyptic experiences and their accounts in the book. Luke in NT uses the Greek Θ rendition of this phrase about Mary, the Mother of Jesus.<sup>190</sup>

## III.2 *Daniel 7 – Historical and theological perspectives*

### III.2.a The historical-critical approach

Since actual prediction, as a supernatural phenomenon cannot be accepted from a pure rationalist point of view, the vision of Daniel 7 was interpreted by representatives of the modern scepticist school in agreement with their views about the date and authorship of *Daniel*. First they emphasised an exclusive application of chs. 8-12 to the Maccabean crisis, then they let it reflect on the first prophecies (those in chs. 2 and 7). The device is quite simple: the little horn in chapter 8 is seemingly Antiochus, so that the little horn in chapter 7 must be the same king.<sup>191</sup> The rest is understandable. To help the little horn of Daniel 7 mean Antiochus, one must only sacrifice the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the 3<sup>rd</sup> beast-kingdom, that is to divide the Medo-Persian Empire, or the Greek (Macedonian) Empire in two subsequent kingdoms. As Rowley has shown, the following schema is the most agreed on today in the high criticist circles:<sup>192</sup>

- |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| 1. The eagle-winged, humanised lion     | Babylonian Empire         |
| 2. The very carnivorous bear            | Median Empire             |
| 3. The four-winged, four-headed leopard | Persian Empire            |
| 4. The indescribable, different beast   | Greek (Macedonian) Empire |

While the 11<sup>th</sup>, little horn of the fourth beast is established to be Antiochus (since this was postulated), there is no certain list of ten horns as kings who preceded Antiochus. Says Desmond Ford in his commentary:

It is contended that the Syrian Kings are represented by the horns, and the various enumeration's are offered in support. We would not quarrel with the contrasting lists, for the traditional interpretation has these also. The significant point is that none of the lists actually presents us with ten kings but usually offers us aspirants to the throne to make up the number. Ptolemy IV and Demetrius Soter are in this category. The three plucked up are usually submitted as being Heliodorus, Demetrius, and Seleucus Philopator. However, Antiochus certainly did not uproot the first of these.<sup>193</sup>

Concerning the idea of splitting the Medo-Persian Empire in two successive Empires, in order to help the Macedonian Empire advance as the fourth beast, it is as

unhelpful as the scheme of Porphyry who chose to divide the Macedonian Empire for the same purpose.<sup>194</sup> The history has no knowledge of a separate, Median kingdom between the Babylonian and the Persian kingdom. The Iranian universal rule was a dual Empire. The Median phase of it was parallel with the Babylonian Empire. When Cyrus conquered Babylon, there was a Medo-Persian coalition under his orders, or under both the mysterious Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian – to respect the data mentioned by the author of *Daniel*. In short time after the conquest of Babylon, the Achaemenid dynast Cyrus was the only ruler and he is named the Persian. The vision certainly enlists subsequent powers who oppressed in some way God's people and any scheme that would introduce a separate Median kingdom between the Babylonian and the Persian kingdoms is at least strange. Ernest Lucas is conscious of the problem when he says:

The sequence simply reflects the historical reality experienced by a Jew living in Babylonia or Judaea. If what is intended is the sequence: Babylonian, Median, Persian, Macedonian, the inclusion of the Median Empire is odd since the Medes never gained control of Babylonia or Judaea. [...] With regard to this point it must suffice here to say that the imagery of the ram in chapter 8 indicates an accurate knowledge of the relationship of the Median and Persian Empires which should make one cautious about suggesting that in chapter 2 [and 7, addition mine] the author evidences only imperfect knowledge of the Median Empire.<sup>195</sup>

While Lucas further tries to find an original way within the same rationalistic scheme, making distinction between a Median and a Persian empire, as it was experienced by Israelite exiles who lived in Assyria and then came under the Median power,<sup>196</sup> he finally reaches this interesting conclusion:

If Daniel 2 and 7 are 'unmistakably' dependent on Persian sources, which themselves seem dependent on Zurvanite ideas, then these visions cannot be dated earlier than the fourth century BC. If, however, our conclusions are valid, there is no compelling evidence of Persian influence on either the Sibylline Oracles or Daniel. Hence this particular reason for favouring a later date has no basis.<sup>197</sup>

In Sibylline Oracle 4 is found the earliest variant of this modern scheme and the four empires are the Assyrian, Median, Persian and Macedonian. Flusser<sup>198</sup> suggests that this sibylline tradition must have arisen in some Assyrian-Median place where Israelite exiles were living, and that the supposed late author of Daniel replaced Assyria by

Babylon. However, there is a known fact, 4 Esdra 12:12 explicitly interprets the fourth beast of Daniel 7 as the Roman Empire, and Josephus<sup>199</sup> identifies the third one as the Macedonian, with the fourth one as Rome.

To make clear that the Macedonian Empire is not the best candidate to match the features of the fourth beast, and ten Syrian Hellenistic kings cannot be found before Antiochus IV, I will list the whole royal succession after Alexander the Great to Antiochus Epiphanes, in the Seleucid kingdom. Antiochus IV cannot be the 11<sup>th</sup>; no matter how much time we spend in finding a richer ancestral descent.<sup>200</sup>

|   |                               |                    |
|---|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | Seleukos I Nikator            | 312-281 BCE        |
| 2 | Antiochos I Soter             | 281-261 BCE        |
| 3 | Antiochos II Theos            | 261-246 BCE        |
| 4 | Seleukos II Kallinikos        | 246-226 BCE        |
| 5 | Seleukos III Soter            | 226-223 BCE        |
| 6 | Antiochos III Megas           | 223-187 BCE        |
| 7 | Seleukos IV Philopator        | 187-175 BCE        |
| 8 | <b>Antiochos IV Epiphanes</b> | <b>175-164 BCE</b> |

With some excess of benevolence, one might add before Seleukos I (the founder of the dynasty), Alexander the Great (333-323 B.C.E.), but the 11<sup>th</sup> place is still not available for Epiphanes. If we further add the imperial regents who succeeded between Alexander and Seleukos I, then we have Perdikkas (323-321 B.C.E.), Antipatros (321-316 B.C.E.), Polyperchon (316 B.C.E.), Antigonos (315-312 B.C.E.), and so there are too many horns. But even if we find the ideal number, we must have three horns-kings plucked off by or before Antiochus. And as Desmond Ford is quoted above, these three are only two, for the time. But there is more to say about these horn-kings. The visionary picture offers no suggestion that these were successive kings. The ten horns form the distinctive crown of the monster until an eleventh one comes up and establishes a new order among them. It is helpful to observe all details that the author gives. The beast itself is described as the most powerful and cruel, which is not true about any phase of the Seleucid Empire before Antiochus. The Seleucids were not worse than Ptolemies or Antigonids. And if the vision is written in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E.,

why have two Iranian empires (the Median and the Persian), and say nothing about the Ptolemaic Empire?

Whoever maintains the classic critical interpretation must give a fair account, not only for some details with the fourth beast, but for all details the author mentioned about the second and third beasts. How the Mede bear was seen to have three ribs in its mouth? What three important “ribs” of the ancient world did it keep in its mouth? And what about the four leopard heads / divisions of the third beast, if one identifies it with the Persian Empire? I must recognise that the scepticist scheme exposed above, is not too “rationalistic;” it is only antisupernaturalist and its only strength consists in obstinately avoiding Rome in Daniel, since prophecy with such long perspective is generally believed as not possible.

### **III.2.b Interpreting the vision of Daniel 7**

#### **I.1.a.7 *Historical survey***

The interpretation proposed in the following pages is an old paradigm approach, in the line of the old Jewish and Christian historicist exegeses, especially as they became standard in the Protestant and old Evangelical tradition. The basic understanding of the identity of the four beasts, with the fourth being identified with Rome, is classical from the first centuries of Christianity. The apostle Paul in 2 Thesalonians 2:5-8 referred in a covered manner to the imperial Rome as the providential obstacle still in the way of Antichrist (the little horn). The Revelation of John reflects the same understanding and builds further on it (Rv 17:12.16-17). This remained the understanding of the Old Church, as it is seen in the writings of Pseudo-Barnabas (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.), Justin Martyr (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.), Irenaeus (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.), Tertullianus (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.), Hippolytus (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.), Eusebius (4<sup>th</sup> cent.), Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), Jerome (d. 420), Chrysostom (d. 407), Theodoret (d. 457). Jerome even identified in his time the ten horns, the Barbarian powers invading and beginning to settle within the empire.

The only commentator that took the fourth beast as Hellenistic Syria and the little horn as Antiochus Epiphanes was, as expected, the pagan philosopher Porphyry.<sup>201</sup>

Jewish scholars had, basically, the same understanding. L. E. Froom cites 30 Rabbis and Jewish scholars, from Josephus (1<sup>st</sup> cent.) to Manasseh ben Israel (Holland, d. 1657) who were concerned with the interpretation of Daniel, using the year-day time scale. Many of them identified the fourth kingdom with Rome, some of them including the Christian phase. Don Isaac Abrabanel (1437-1508), a high official at the court of kings Ferdinand and Isabel of Spain wrote about his conviction that the little horn of Daniel 7 is the rule of the Pope.<sup>202</sup>

Throughout centuries in the Middle Ages, the equation Rome = the fourth beast, and the 10 horns = the divisions of the empire, was maintained by commentators like "Sargis d'Aberga" (7<sup>th</sup> century), Beatus de Liebana (8<sup>th</sup> cent.), Beda the Venerable (8<sup>th</sup> cent.), Berengaud (9<sup>th</sup> cent.), Petrus Comestor (12<sup>th</sup> cent.) et al. The first one who used the time scale *1 day = 1 year* for the 3 ½ times (1260 days) was Joachim of Floris (d.1202.) followed by Arnold of Villanova (d. c. 1313), Pierre Jean d'Olivi (d. 1298)<sup>203</sup> and their interpretation further became standard within the dissenting movements (i.e. Wyclifites – Lollards, Hussites – Waldenses et. al.)<sup>204</sup>. The first one who is documentary attested to have identified the little horn with the pontifical institution was Archbishop Eberhard II of Salzburg, in an address to the Council of Regensburg (1240).<sup>205</sup> In time, this became also the position of the Reformation and of all Protestant bodies. The first one who identified the exact time of the 1260 days / years of the little horn's domination of terror, more than a century before its sudden lowering, was the English theologian Drew Cressener (1689).<sup>206</sup>

### 3.2.2.1 ***Paralleling the prophecies of Daniel 7 and 8***

The writer of Daniel was very precise as one may see in the following comparative table, despite the blurred vision of Porphyry and of his spiritual posterity.<sup>207</sup> An analytical comparison of the two visions is beneficent for both.



| <i>Wild beasts, chapter 7</i>  | <i>Domestic animals, chapter 8</i>   | <i>Historical identity</i>  |
|--|--|---|
| 1. eagle-winged LION,<br>receives human heart and<br>human stand   | —————  | <b>Babylonian Empire</b> of<br>Nebuchadnezzar (605-539 BCE)   |
| 2. carnivorous BEAR<br><br>before rising to attack<br>it stood on one side (inactive)<br><br>with 3 ribs in its mouth  | two-horned powerful ram<br><br>its second horn grew higher<br>than the first one<br><br>butting in 3 directions  | <b>Median &amp; Persian Empire</b> of Cyrus,<br>550-330 BCE. (Dan 8:20)<br><br>Especially addict to wars with the<br>predominance of the Persian dynasty<br>(after 550 BCE).<br>Conquers 3 great kingdoms: Lydia<br>(547), Babylon (539), and Egypt (525).  |
| 3. flying LEOPARD<br><br><br><br><br>with 4 heads  | swift and powerful he-goat,<br><br><br><br>whose single horn broken<br>gives way to 4 horns  | <b>Hellenistic Empire</b> of Alexander<br>(336-168/30 BCE) inaugurated by the<br>most rapid conquests known in the<br>ancient world (336-330).<br><br>After a meteoric rule of Alexander, 4<br>generals fought against a succession of<br>regents (323-306 BCE), entitled kings<br>(306 BCE) and fighting one another till<br>280 BCE. The 4 kingdoms they founded<br>(in Egypt, Syria-Babylonia, Thrace-<br>Pergam and Macedonia) also fought<br>one another till their end.   |
| 4. completely different<br>MONSTER<br><br>having a crown of 10 horns<br><br>after 3 horns was removed<br>a little horn issued<br>among the 10 horns,<br>arrogant,<br>blaspheming,<br>claiming universal subjection,<br>influential,<br>controlling politics and<br>religion,<br>persecuting, | little horn, growing exceedingly,<br>issued from one of the 4 horns:<br><br>sharp, callous and insolent,<br>great exploits toward S and E,<br>exalting over God's people,<br>throws down temple and truth,<br>tramples on saints and temple, destroys<br>peaceful people,<br>exalts himself to God's Priest, replaces<br>tamid by abomination, broken after 2300<br>days only,<br>in the time of the end | <b>Antiochus Epiphanes</b> , Syrian<br>Hellenistic king, typical persecutor.<br><br>Neither 2300 days (c. 6 years and 4<br>months) nor 1150 days (c. 3 years and 2<br>months) fit the time of persecution<br>under Antiochus.<br><br>This cannot be more than a historical<br>foreshadow.<br><br><b>Roman Empire</b> of Caesars and<br>Pontiffs (64 BCE – 476 / 1453 CE), the<br>most powerful, lasting, fierce,<br>persecuting and composite.<br>Inherited by a crown of 10 states that<br>formed Europe (418-490 CE) and<br>Christendom.<br>With the Empire's division in 10 states,<br>and removal of 3 heretical states that<br>troubled the political interests of<br>Papacy: Odoacer's (492), Vandalic<br>(535) and Ostrogothic (536-539) a little<br>Church State appeared in Rome (538),<br>rising in time to the highest influence<br>and power (1073-1303), and enforcing<br>its ideology by the fiercest persecutions<br>in all history, throughout 1260 years of<br>holy terror that ended in 1798. |
| After the 3 ½ years<br>(1260/1290 days) comes the<br>JUDGMENT<br>The Representative MAN<br>receives universal Kingdom  | ↓  | Time of the end<br><br>Sanctuary cleansed/vindicated  |

?

This parallel does make sense indeed. The symbols are often different for the same historical reality, because the complexity of a certain historical reality cannot be expressed by just one symbol in a simple way, and because the Divine Wisdom may have wanted to emphasise certain aspects here and certain there, for didactical purposes.

The eagle-lion beast is recognised practically by all, believing or unbelieving critics, to be the Babylonian Empire of Nebuchadnezzar. After a period of swift and powerful conquests that cover the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (605-562 B.C.E.), Babylon lost its wings forever. Between 562-539 it experienced only weakness, political unrest and great influence of the priesthood. The symbol of changing the heart has a common language with the unusual experience of Nebuchadnezzar of chs. 4 and 5:18-22. While a "heart" of beast (even a heart of lion) signifies animal instinct, insensitivity, the human "heart," (which in Hebrew, Aramaic and other Semitic languages stands for mind), means sensitivity, intelligence, opposed to animal instinct (see Jb 34:10.34, Dan 4:13 ). Here the kingdom is identified with its king. For the historical accuracy of this unexpected experience of Nebuchadnezzar, see chapter I.1.a.3, p.22. These details prove a real sympathy of the author for the Babylonian kingdom, as Jeremiah did (51:9a): "We tried to heal Babylon, but she could not be healed."

If the intelligent lion is unquestionably identified with Babylon, the stupid and unnatural bloodthirsty bear needs additional support to defend its historical identity. And it is not a so difficult job, when we compare it with the Medo-Persian ram of chapter 8. It appears immediately to be more relevant than any suggested rationalist scheme. Similarly, the four-headed leopard become immediately relevant when compared with the four-horned goat. In both chapters, the number 4 stands not only for universality (allusion to the four directions of the compass), but actually four political divisions.

Comparing the bear with the leopard in chapter 7, we may see that the two political powers mentioned are quite different: the bear is powerful indeed, and this

one is even unusually carnivorous, but it is also heavier, when compared with the other one. The leopard is more agile and courageous; especially this one with wings on its back. The same may be said about the ram and the male-goat of chapter 8. Both are powerful in their time, but the goat is unusually rapid and bold. If these distinctions have no relevance, then all apocalyptic has no relevance and should be left for linguists only. But if someone meant to express by these symbols historical realities, then the schema presented above is more relevant and convincing than any scepticist *pesher* devised to stop Daniel say something beyond the Antiochus moment.

The same sequence of four empires is emphasised by comparing the vision of chapter 7 with the royal dream of chapter 2. It is a parallel generally accepted, no matter the philosophical or theological orientation of the critic.

| <i>The metallic human idol and the stone, chapter 2</i> |                       |                    |   | <i>The wild beasts and the Man, chapter 7</i> | <i>History</i>   |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------|---|---|--|
| head  | (wisdom)              | gold               | 1 | eagle-winged humanised lion                   | Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar, world-wide dominion, like Adam (Dan 2:37-38 cf. Gn 1:26-27)   |
| thorax & arms   | (courage & action)    | silver             | 2 | carnivorous bear                              | Media & Persia of Cyrus, an inferior phase of the universal empire   |
| abdomen & thighs  | (sensuality)          | bronze             | 3 | four-headed leopard                           | Hellenistic Empire of Alexander, explicitly universal (Dan 2:39)   |
| legs  | (movement, expansion) | iron               | 4 | completely different monster                  | Roman Empire, superior to all in power: breaks all unto pieces, long iron teeth, tramples all underfoot. (Dan 2:40, 7:7.19.23)   |
| feet  | (stability)           | iron + burned clay |   |   | State + Church combination under the Roman Caesar-Pontiffs Constantine and Theodosius (313-395 CE). <sup>208</sup>   |
| [10] toes   |                       | iron + burned clay |   | 10 horns                                      | Empire divided, Europe inherits its "iron-clay" politics with its inherent divisive power. Divided in the internal political structure of each one, the successional states are themselves an external division. Christendom remains divided, in spite of all attempts to restore its old, theoretical unity |
|   | strength, eternity    | 5 mountain stone   |   | God's judgment and the true HUMAN Kingdom     | ?  |

One may immediately observe that while the parallel between the apocalyptic dreams of chapter 2 and 7 is obvious at first glance, they say not the same things about the kingdoms they want to describe. In chapter 2 the stress falls on the divisive and strange “alloy” of iron and fired clay, whereas in chapter 7 the arrogance, insolence and persecutory power of the little horn are emphasised. In chapter 2, the Empire’s external division is twice mentioned, which cannot be incidental (רַגְלֵיָא וְאַצְבָּעָתָא *the feet and the toes*, Dan 2:41, וְאַצְבָּעַת רַגְלֵיָא *and the toes of the feet*, Dan 2:42). Note that 2 whole verses (2:42-43) refer to the toes. And again, this mention cannot be casual, because the toes must be naturally 10 (ten), – just like the horns of the fourth beast of chapter 7 – though the number is not mentioned, an understandable omission, since their number is not emphasised here (as well as arms, thighs, legs and feet received not the numeral 2). That means that their precise numerical identification is not intended here.<sup>209</sup> But their significance is certainly intended, since not only the [10] toes are specifically mentioned, even twice, and is said of them to share in the fateful iron-clay “unity” of the feet, but they are referred as “kings” (2:44a) just as the 10 horns in chapter 7 are interpreted. This fact means that there is an unmistakable, intended correspondence, between the iron-kingdom of chapter 2 and the monster with iron long teeth of chapter 7. One has ten toes; the other has ten horns. And the Aramaic text uses for both not only the term פְּרִזְלָא (iron, 2:33.41.42, 7:7.19), but the adjective חֲקִיפָא *strong* (2:40.42, 7:7), the verb רַקַּק, רַקַּק (to break into pieces, 2:40, 7:7.19.23) and the repeated use of כָּל- or כָּלָא *all* (2:40, 7:7.23). These last two terms are used also for God’s everlasting kingdom (Dan 2:35.44.45) and so this fourth kingdom seems to be more than the previous ones opposed to God’s purposes. It is *civitas aeterna*. It is different from the previous beasts, as the author emphasises, and its horn is also different. The kingdom of Antiochus is a poor shadow when compared with these powerful symbols.

To review some details of these parallel visions, one must not pass by the strong similarity between the bear with 3 ribs in its mouth and the ram of chapter 8:4 pushing

in three directions: west, north and south. Whereas the imagery of chapter 8 describes the actions against three main geographical areas, that of chapter 7 (*i. e.* the 3 ribs in the bear's mouth) depicts those regions as already conquered and eaten up to the bones. The correspondence between the leopard of chapter 7 and the goat of chapter 8 is even more evident. The image of the four heads is in itself suggestive of division/divisions within the same kingdom, and the number four, of which apocalyptic meaning is borrowed from the image of "the four winds" (four directions of the compass – *i. e.* universal, world-wide scene) indicates an immense scale of this division. Moreover, the expression itself, אַרְבַּעָה רִאשִׁין whose Hebrew equivalent אַרְבַּעָה רִאשִׁים is found in Genesis 2:10 and Judges 9:34 with the meaning of *four divisions* (a. *branches of a single river*; b. *military companies / divisions*, parted from a principal army), fits very well this political symbol. The natural meaning of a polycephalous monster is an entity characterised by disunity, having four command centres, instead of one (Pr 28:2). These four heads correspond obviously to the Macedonian four horns of the next vision (Dan 8:4.20-21), and to the four divisions of the Macedonian Empire from the last oracle (Dan 11:3-4). However, there are different aspects emphasised respectively. In chapter 8, the four horns are seen dynamically in rapid succession between the fall of the first conspicuous horn and the rise of the last horn (the "little" one), since the Wisdom standing behind the author wanted basically to show the extraordinary exploits of the last horn. But in chapter 7, this symbol of the Hellenistic Empire is more static. It is emblematic for the kingdom through most of its time. Alexander's or Antiochus' individual rules are not represented, though they identify with the beast in a special sense. But the imagery of the 4 heads describes more fitting the conflict between the Hellenistic kingdoms while each of them longed for restoring the empire's unity under the "right" (*i. e.* its own) rule.

#### 1.1.a.8 ***The ten horns (kings)***

Regarding the fourth beast, it was shown above that not much of its details fit the Antiochus story. Neither symbols as 10 horns, 3 horns, one little horn "among"

them, nor the prophetic time as the 3 ½ “times,” and its existence and rule up to the time of the end. Admittedly, a Maccabean Jewish writer of chapter 7 may have naturally thought of his time as the about the time of the end, but for this purpose it would have been advisable for him to simply “move” the little horn onto one of the four heads of the leopard-like and get rid of those unhelpful ten or seven horns, be not so precise (though cryptical) about its time of harassing the saints, and finally abandon the hyperbolic and grotesque image of the fourth beast which could say nothing credible in addition.

But the fourth beast is present there, obviously after the Hellenistic four-headed leopard, and it is described as having 10 horns, which *angelus interpretes* indicates they mean “10 kings.” At first he summarily had interpreted the 4 beasts as 4 kings, and only when asked for more precise and rich information, disclosed his half-covered explanation: “the fourth beast is a fourth kingdom” (Dan 7:23). Hence the preceding beast-kings are also “kingdoms,” which all types of exegetes recognise. But what about the 10 horns disclosed to be kings (v. 24)? Are they individuals? In the next chapter horns stand for dynasties / kingdoms (8:20.22) and also for individual kings. However, these angelic explanations deserve a closer look. In 8:21, the goat is said to be “the king of Yawan (Greek-Macedonians)” and the conspicuous horn – “the first king [of Yawan].” Thus a beast (here, the goat) means a “king,” but it is not an individual king, because it is source and support for subsequent kings/kingdoms. Actually, the conspicuous horn represent one king (Alexander the Great), but this is rather an historical incidental reality, because the dynasty / kingdom founded and represented by Alexander was broken with himself. The angel interprets the little horn of chapter 8 also as a king. But it said about this Hellenistic king that he would last long time, up to the time of the end (8:17.19.26). So that again is not meant here just an individual.

From all these considerations, the probability that the 10 horns are intended to mean kingdoms, political powers (dynasties, states, national bodies) and not individual kings, is the highest. The main difference between the symbol *beast* and the symbol

*horn* is, a horn represents a successive, derived kingdom or a division (subsequent or constituent part) of a principal kingdom. And kingdoms are commonly represented by their individual kings.

In an attempt to apply this symbolism to the fourth beast, we may consider the unity of the Roman Empire throughout centuries, up to the years 400 C.E. approximately. The vision, however, is not so much concerned about the unitary phase of this Empire. As with the Hellenistic leopard kingdom, which is seen with its 4 heads / divisions, without any intermediate phase, the all-crushing monster kingdom appears all at once with its 10 horns / kingdoms. At that time it was already a century aged "Christianised" beast, though its beastly heart was not changed as with the first Babylonian beast. While continuing to dream of and partially to hold to the idea of imperial unity, especially through the Roman Catholic (Universal) Church, the worldly Christian Empire remained actually divided, from the 5<sup>th</sup> century on. If one tries to count the Christian successional states, at least in Europe if not world-wide, the arithmetic insufficiency of number 10 becomes obvious.

This number is often used figuratively or symbolically, meaning "much," or "many," not very much, but a sufficient, convincing quantity (Dan 1:12.20).<sup>210</sup> It also evokes the apostate Israel (the 10 tribes), separated from the Davidic kingdom. This typology is especially significant when we compare some prominent kings of this Israelite, Northern Kingdom with the arrogant king (little horn) issued among them. Jeroboam made bold changes in the divine cultus, priesthood and feasts, and enjoined the worship to his golden calves, fashioned after the old model of Aaron (1K 12:26-33). Later, King Ahab replaced completely Yahweh worship with Baal worship, and at the suggestion of the "great and bloody prostitute queen" Jezebel,<sup>211</sup> he launched a crusade that lasted 3 ½ years,<sup>212</sup> when faithful believers were hunted and killed and prophets like Elijah and other Creator worshippers survived by God's special care, hidden in wild places or in pagan countries.<sup>213</sup>

The number 10 should be taken arithmetically by counting the 10 “Roman” succeeding kingdoms, because it is intended to say that until the political manoeuvres of the little horn to receive sufficient political power to be seen as a little kingdom, and overthrowing (at least in complicity) 3 of the first 10 kingdoms, history must prove the existence of already 10 new states within the imperial *limites*<sup>214</sup>. The following table is relevant:<sup>215</sup>

| <i>Barbarian<br/>Roman<br/>Christian<br/>Kingdoms</i> | <i>Entering the Empire<br/>and<br/>recognition</i> | <i>Converted to<br/>Arianism<br/>Catholicism<br/>K (Celtic)</i> | <i>Historical destiny</i>  |
|---|--|---|--|
| 1. VISIGOTHIC   | 395<br>416   | 380 A<br>600 C  | First Christian state in SPAIN, ancestor of all Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking countries                                 |
| 2. SUEVI  | 406<br>418   | c. 450<br>C   | in NV SPAIN, since 6 <sup>th</sup> century vassal to Visigoths.  |
| 3. BURGUNDI   | 406<br>418   | 417 A<br>517 C  | in E GAUL, since 613 vassal to Franks, then a French duchy.  |
| 4. VANDALS  | 406<br>442   | A   | in N AFRICA and ISLANDS, suppressed 534  |
| 5. FRANKS   | 418<br>451   | 494 C   | First Catholic state in FRANCE, that converted the Germanic peoples by sword, ancestor of all French and German speaking countries |
| 6. ALAMANNI   | 406<br>455   | 612 K   | in RHAETIA, since 8 <sup>th</sup> century vassal to Franks, ancestor of Alsace, West Switzerland and Swabia.                       |
| 7. ODOVACCAR  | 454<br>476   | A   | in ITALY, suppressed 493   |
| 8. OSTROGOTHS   | 454<br>484   | A   | in PANNONIA and ITALY, suppressed between 535-554, Rome being conquered in 538.  |
| 9. ANGLO-SAXONS                                       | 445<br>490   | 597C<br>632K<br>664C  | in BRITAIN, one of the most powerful kingdoms, ancestor of all English speaking countries.   |
| 10. LOMBARDI  | 488<br>545   | 500 A<br>600 C  | in N ITALY (LOMBARDY), conquered by Charlemagne (774) then an Italian duchy (Benevento).   |

Roughly speaking, throughout the 5<sup>th</sup> century (c 395-490) a flood of Barbarian tribes devastated the Empire, fighting sometimes one another, and establishing independent states whom the imperial authorities, or the Romance population explicitly or (in a few cases) implicitly recognised. This process continued in the East and in West, in a slower pass. But our count stops to number 10, with the year c. 490, because immediately after the constitution of the first 10 kingdoms, three of them – notably those that interfered with the Church’s political and ideological interests in Italy, and



were Arian (heretic) instead of Orthodox (Catholic) – were utterly destroyed in the following order:

|   |   |           |   |
|---|---|-----------|---|
| 1 | <b>ODOVACCAR's Kingdom</b> in Italy and Sicily      | 493       | by the Ostrogoths, sent by imperial (Byzantine) authorities |
| 2 | <b>VANDALIC Kingdom</b> in N.Africa, Sicily et. al. | 454       | by imperial (Byzantine) forces under the General Belisarius |
| 3 | <b>OSTROGOTHIC Kingdom</b> in Italy and Pannonia    | 538 - 554 | by imperial (Byzantine) forces under the General Narses     |

### 1.1.a.9 *The overseeing, superb horn*

In parallel with this 3 destructive blows given to the troubling, heretic horns that troubled Italy of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, a different political power arose in the years 492-538. It was a small state, yet one destined to have the greatest influence in the medieval Europe and world-wide since that time, having unique claims, universal overseeing and explicit authority, outwardly expressing its magisterial power to interpret and even change divine laws (as Daniel 7:25d expresses it).<sup>216</sup>

The first important ecclesiastical and diplomatic success of this power was evident under Leo I the Great (440-461), who established the dogma of the Petrine primacy, triumphed through his orthodoxy over the Calcedonian Synod and averted Attila from sacking Rome. But with Gelasius I (492-496), the obstinate bishopric entered firmly in the political imperial and international affairs, boldly asserting for the first time the famous medieval theory of the two swords (the pontifical authority equals the imperial one). He was also the first known to have been called VICAR OF CHRIST.<sup>217</sup> Then Symmachus (498-514) was the first one to affirm the immunity and jurisdiction of the pontiff over any human court (502-507),<sup>218</sup> the first one who witnessed (not inactively) the rise of Catholic French kingdom (508) the cornerstone of the future Holy Roman Empire, the main support of the medieval Papacy. His political attitude and his diplomatic-ecclesiastical agencies in West and East undermined the Ostrogothic king Theodoric the Great, the Visigoth Allaric II and the Emperor Anastasius I.<sup>219</sup> In his time was founded the Vatican Palace (c.500), and the first history of the popes (c. 495-515) was compiled.

Although the Roman Church owned, since the 4<sup>th</sup> century, large estates ("Patrimonium Sancti Petri"), a great financial power and an increasing ecclesiastical and diplomatic power, its pontifical government was still dependent politically on the humiliating sceptre of the Arian kings. Besides the Arian persecutions against the Orthodox population (especially in the Vandalic Africa), beside the continual menace for the Church estates, Odovaccar's kingdom, then Theodoric's overshadowed the political ambitions of this raising power. There are many reasons to choose 538 as the birth year of the power envisioned in Daniel 7:

1. A pontifical state was not possible until 538, with the complete liberation of Sicily, Southern Italy and Rome from the Ostrogothic power, during the war between the imperial forces and Ostrogoths. While the war continued till 554 in Northern Italy, the year 538 with the establishment of a papal duchy under Byzantine protectorate, with the enthronement of the new bishop Vigilius, should be considered the earliest State of the Church in Italy. This new political relationship was confirmed in 554 by emperor Justinian in his *Pragmatic Sanction*. The famous Pepinian Donation from 756, only enhanced the papal estates (since the southern possessions utterly diminished under the Arabs' expansion), and put the State of the Church on a new legal basis.<sup>220</sup> In 756, the Papal State was quite large, since it had risen earlier, as a little power. It is well atested the fact that the temporal power of the medieval pontiffs preceded the historical act of the Pepinian Donation and that it was first exercised in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>221</sup>
2. In the same time with this new and modest political creation in 538, emperor Justinian, the restorer of the Empire and protector of the Rome's ecclesiastical primacy, published his *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the juridical basis of Europe for c. 1260 years, up to the French Revolution and Napoleon (1793<1804).<sup>222</sup>
3. In the same year (538) the Synod of Orleans (France) regulated *inter alia* strict Sunday observance,<sup>223</sup> a continual concern of the Roman Church.

Whether this power – small and great, base and lofty, in the same time – ever fulfilled the details required by Daniel’s prophecy about the different horn of chapter 7 is not difficult to see. Since the post-Roman world was strongly influenced by the Church, the ecclesiastical top was naturally the main intrigue weaver of the political affairs in the Middle Ages. Had it “human eyes and an arrogant mouth” apparently so humane? Had it a special oversight among the other kingdoms? Did it develop unusual claims and imposed its magisterium by terror? Did it arise after the Barbarian states, from their midst, from the Roman Empire and still lasts in spite of all vicissitudes of history? Did it persecute, did it “harass the saints of the Most High”? <sup>224</sup>

#### 1.1.a.10 ***The 3 ½ times and the apocalyptic time scale***

The special time of domination of the strange horn-king, when “the saints will be delivered in his hands”, (7:25) is the acid test for its / his complete identification. We may observe immediately that it is a hidden phrase, whose meaning was already shown to be 3 ½ years =1260 days (See p. 64). Obviously, the author meant a quite precise time, not a general idea, even though some figurative meaning is suggested: 3 ½ is a halved seven.

Two main schools developed in the history of exegesis of Daniel. Conservative scholars, that are usually futurist, take this time period as meaning literally three and a half years of a future Antichrist (which cannot be checked out), while rationalists and some conservative scholars apply it to the persecution of Antiochus (which does not fit at all).<sup>225</sup> On the other hand, historicist scholars interpret the period as 1260 apocalyptic days, that is 1260 historical years.

Virtually all exegetes between the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Jewish and Christian, used as a hermeneutic tool, *the year-day correspondence*, called also *the year-for-a-day equation*, or *the year-day principle*. Finally, it became part of the standard Protestant (historicist) hermeneutic.<sup>226</sup>

In our century, this hermeneutic key is totally abandoned by both fundamentalists and historical critics. Yet the real matter is not how many believe it

or how old it is, but what sound exegetical basis is provided to adopt such a hermeneutic supposition. The principal reasons are listed below, following in part the studies of William Shea and Desmond Ford.<sup>227</sup> We should understand these reasons, not as separate proofs, but as parts and phases of a single proof:

1. It was an old, implicit correspondence established in the Law, between the festivities or periods of days and the festivities or periods of years:

40 days || 40 years<sup>228</sup>

6+1 days || 6+1 years<sup>229</sup>

7 weeks (49 days) and the 50<sup>th</sup> day || 7 weeks of years (49 years) and the 50<sup>th</sup> year.<sup>230</sup> This correspondence is implicit in the poetic language, where *days* and *years* are usually paralleled to express time.<sup>231</sup>

2. The Law employs explicitly this time scale, when Yahweh applies it in a judgment context: 1 *day* of probation failed || 1 *year* of disciplinary wandering (40 *years for 40 days*, Nu 14:34).

3. In a dramatic-prophetic representation, Yahweh explicitly employs the year-day scale in His visionary instructions to Ezekiel (Ez 4:4-6). The context is again judgement and trial in the reasonable limits of human power:

*1 prophetic day || 1 historical year.*

*390 days (of Ezekiel's laying on one side)<sup>232</sup> for 390 years (of Israel's apostasy),*

*40 days (of laying on the other side) for 40 years (of Judah's apostasy).<sup>233</sup>*

This time device has a savour of wisdom literature. Though not apocalyptic in its scope and purpose, the wisdom and dramatic language of Ezekiel is close to apocalyptic.<sup>234</sup> And we should remember that, according to the Biblical data, Ezekiel is contemporary with Daniel.<sup>235</sup> The time scale used in Ezekiel, itself of so old tradition, deserves a higher interest from the part of exegetes.

4. Gabriel employs implicitly the year-day scale in his great messianic revelation of Daniel 9:24-27. His prediction about 70 weeks (490 days) from the restoration of

Jerusalem until Messiah, is only relevant if one takes these weeks as week of years, implying the year-day symbolic scale. Regarding the meaning of the plural שבועים in Daniel and a critical evaluation of the criticist position, see note 308.

#### 5. The pragmatic test.

While it is true that historicist exegetes have often abused apocalyptic figures, so that their traditional hermeneutic key fell in disgrace, there are at least two apocalyptic periods where the year-day key, face brilliantly the pragmatic test. One of them is the complex period of  $7+62+1 = 70$  "weeks" (490 years) that was successfully applied by many scholars, in the last two centuries, to the first Advent of Christ. Beginning with the decree of Artaxerxes from 457 B.C.E., then leaving off the first jubilee of the Restoration (7 "weeks"), the period ends with the last "week" (7 years), which is marked by three great Messianic-Christological events: the Advent of Jesus as Messiah at His Baptism (A.D. 27), the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ (A.D. 31), the definitive rupture between Synagogue and Church (A.D. 34).<sup>236</sup>

The historical identification of the apocalyptic period of Daniel 7 ( $3 \frac{1}{2}$  years = 1260 days // 1260 years) is even more spectacular. Its importance is emphasised by the fact that it is employed seven times in the Biblical Apocalyptic (Daniel and Revelation).<sup>237</sup> The time of the specific activity of Antichrist corresponds, in a parodistic way, to the time of Christ's specific activity ( $3 \frac{1}{2}$  years). And this correspondence is at the same scale: one day // one year.

If the period of 1260 years begins in the year 538, with the birth of the earliest State of the Church in Italy, a date which also could mark the beginning of the Middle Ages, then it must end in the year 1798. And it is an incontrovertible historical truth that in that year, the same French sword that once helped enhance the Papacy, then abolished its age-old temporal power. Its repeated attempts to rise again between 1799-1870 were met each time with as many blows from its former friends, until it was again restored in 1929, to the least territory ever possessed, by the fascist government of Mussolini. It gradually rose again to the prestigious political and financial force it owns

today, with a new face (hopefully more human), with new, modern and unexpected orientations.<sup>238</sup>

This historical application was not invented after the events, though Froom shows that after 1798 it was customary to refer that event as the end of Papacy. The spectacular aspect of this exegesis is that it was well made with more than a century before 1798. Years before the French Revolution, many Protestant commentators expected the end of Papacy or at least a powerful stroke inflicted by one of its loyal supporters, France being explicitly referred.<sup>239</sup> George Bell asserted in 1795 that the 1260 years should be reckoned as 537-1797.<sup>240</sup> Before him, Thomas Newton in 1754 considered the beginning of the period in 533 or 606 (both dates representing imperial recognition of Papal primacy).<sup>241</sup> And even as early as 1701, Robert Fleming Jr. dated the period quite exactly, with the year 534-1794.<sup>242</sup> It is true that many commentators living in 1798 and thereafter, having recognised the end of the period,<sup>243</sup> counted back and reached year 538 as the starting point.<sup>244</sup>

Bishop John Jewel of Salisbury, a great intellectual of his time, remarked in his *Apology* (1562) and *Defense* (1567) that the beginning of Papacy must be counted “from the time of Justinian’s labour to advance its honour and authority” (i.e. 533-554), although he was not explicitly involved in the historical application of the 1260 days / years.<sup>245</sup> If Jewel had stooped a little closer to the requirements of the Biblical text, he would have been able to predict the precise end of the period, 236 years before the event.

In 1689, more than a century before 1798, (that is exactly 100 years before the French Revolution broke), Dr. Drue Cressener (1638-1718)<sup>246</sup> asserted that the first appearance of the *little horn* power (which he equated with the first beast of Rv 13), “was at *Justinian’s* recovery of the *Western* Empire, from which time to about the year 1800 will be about 1260 years.”<sup>247</sup> He emphasised the fact that a beginning of this period should not be sought for the days before the break-up of Rome, but the most probable is the time when Justinian freed Italy from Ostrogoths. It “was at *Justinian’s*

recovery of the City of *Rome*, then must not it end till a little before the year 1800."<sup>248</sup>  
And it really happened in 1798, "a little before the year 1800."<sup>249</sup>

#### 1.1.a.11 ***The Judgment and the Veritable Man***

Obviously, the scene of the Judgment, with the saints vindicated over the beast, and with a celestial "Son of man" coming to receive His universal and everlasting kingdom (Dan 7:9-14, 18, 22, 26-27) has no historical relevance for the days of Antiochus IV. The Maccabean revolt with its "saints" prevailing over the Syrian beasts was not more than the temporary victories achieved in the obscure days of the Judges, or like the Jehu episode of 2 K 9 – 10. There was no record to be examined, no complete triumph over the Syrian beast. Moreover, Judas the Maccabee with the whole support of his saints could not be expected to be the Messiah. At least there is no evidence that he was looked upon as the late Bar Kochba. Moreover, while the *hassidim* of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. resorted to their weapons, the saints of Daniel are vindicated by God through a majestic investigative and executorial Judgment. So that let us examine the text as it is, until better days for the rationalistic critique.

Doukhan points to an alternation of prose and poetry in Daniel 7, showing that verses dealing with the beasts are written in prose, and verses dealing with the divine court and the Son of Man, are written in poetry.<sup>250</sup> The prose passages deal with the earthly location of the beastly circus (cf. *sea, earth* in v. 2.4), whereas the poetic passages suggest a heavenly location of scenes for the divine glory and kingdom (v. 9-10, 13-14). Actually Daniel does not reveal the location of divine court and of the Son of Man's enthronement. He indicates no locational shift from the earthly scene of the beasts to the judgment scene, in his vision. The expression "clouds of heaven" related to the coming of Like-a-son-of-man (7:13), points obviously to heaven, but it is difficult, at the first look, to say whether the coming of the Humanlike Being is from heaven, to heaven, or in heaven.

The NT attests at least the first two types of comings *with clouds (to heaven: AA 1:9-11, from heaven, but in the sky, in the atmosphere: Rv 1:7, 14:14, 16, 1Th 4:17).*

The text of Daniel says this coming is to the Ancient of Days. Therefore, if the divine court is viewed on earth, with its billions of heavenly beings assisting, as Daniel describes it, a coming of one like a man from heaven is quite strange. In this case, he would be the only heavenly being left in heaven, descending after all others (including God) came to a Judgment on earth, to receive the kingdom. Instead of having celestial court on earth and the “human” being coming from heaven, it is more logical to think the opposite: the Judgment is in heaven, and the messianic figure may come there through an ascension *on the clouds*, or through an horizontal movement imagined in heaven. In his unique thesis on this topic, Gerhard Pfandl says:

Since neither ascent to heaven nor descent to earth by the Danielic figure can be deduced from the Danielic text both notions should be set aside. Instead, the presence of the Ancient of Days, the throne which He occupies, and the myriads of attendants suggest a heavenly location for this scene and the coming of the manlike being to the Ancient of Days delineates movement in the heavenly spheres.<sup>251</sup>

The expression בֶּן אָדָם – later, בְּרִנְשָׁא / בְּרִנְשָׂא / corresponds to Heb. בֶּן אָדָם = son of Adam / human being, a synonym to אִישׁ and אָנוּשׁ, and beside Daniel 8:17, Nu 23:19, Dt 32:8, it is largely used in the poetic books and in Ezekiel. It is found also in Old Aramaic texts (The Sefire Inscriptions III 16).<sup>252</sup> This expression should not be automatically interpreted by the known designation of Jesus in the Gospels. Rather Jesus of the Gospels chose this modest title (“Like-any-human”) to emphasise his variant of messiahship in opposition with the theology of His day, and defines Himself as the Representative of any and all human beings.<sup>253</sup> To view Him, as representative is not just a Christian pious thought, it is in fact the only solution to harmonise the affirmation that the kingdom is given to Him (v. 14), with the affirmations that the same kingdom is given to the saints (v. 22.27a). This understanding helps solve the apparent grammatical disagreement in v. 27: Whose kingdom is referred: of the Most High, or of the saints?.

If this Representative Man is described “like” a human being, this language suggests that He is not simply a human being. He is comparable to Michael, who is also “in the likeness of man,” wearing priestly (that is, human) garments.<sup>254</sup> He is apparently both human and divine. The scene of His being brought (lit. *they brought*



*Him near*) before the Ancient of Days, seems again to emphasise His human nature. Related to this seems to be a revelation of Jeremiah (30:21): "*Their prince shall be one of their own, their ruler shall come from their midst; I will bring him near, and he shall approach me, for who would otherwise dare to approach me, says Yahweh.*"<sup>255</sup> The fact that this Son of Man is chosen as representative for all the saints of the Most High, implies that He is the Saint par excellence, and He shares the kingdom with them because He shared their sufferings. Otherwise He could not represent them in the heavenly court and receive kingdom in their name, in their behalf.

This mysterious humanlike being must certainly be the expected Messiah, because He is described as receiving universal kingdom from God (v.14). Moreover, the phrase *לֵיהּ יִפְלְחוּן* *they will worship Him* applies exclusively to a Divine Person, because this is exactly the term used for *cultus, worship or divine service* in Biblical Aramaic (Ezra 7:19.24, Dan 3:12.14.17.18.28, 6:17.21, 7:14.27).<sup>256</sup> Messiah is, therefore, not just a human being; He is God's and man's Representative in the same time. Therefore, *His kingdom will not pass away / will not be destroyed* (v.14b.24), a doxologic expression used about God Himself (e.g. Daniel 3:33, 4:3), confirms this understanding. The kingdom established through this humanlike Representative of the saints is clearly identified with the kingdom of God.

The vision of Daniel provides us a political analysis to help trace a philosophy and a sense of history. Heaven and earth, human and beasts, an Ancient of Days and an ephemeral little horn, lasting a little more than its measured 3 ½ times, stand in high contrast. There are four beast-kingdoms and eventually one human (that is, best) kingdom. The motif of this contrast develops with the four kingdoms too. The first kingdom receives a human heart, and standing, while it still remains a beast. The fourth kingdom has, among others, a little horn, with human eyes and mouth, but revealing the monstrous heart of the beast. The fierceness gradually increases when passing from one kingdom to another. After a tamed lion, comes a voracious, carnivorous bear, then a leopard, which is known as the cruellest animal. And notice also its four mouths.

Whereas the bear had three ribs in its mouth, the leopard devoured all. Finally, the fourth kingdom is considered so different (in cruelty), that it cannot be likened to any beast known beast. It tears up all to pieces, but not only for food, as beasts usually do, but for play or to satisfy its evil tempers: it tramples underfoot the remnants of its victims and makes war with God's people, under the leadership of its least horn. After this beastly imperial circus, a humanlike king comes, receiving universal kingdom from God and His court, on behalf of His human saints. The Messianic kingdom to come is described in terms of absolute and universal loyalty and subjection to God. The saints inherit the kingdom in and with their Representative Head, in perfect and joyous service to God and His Messiah.

It is not the object of this dissertation to attempt a close harmonising with the eschatological details content in the New Testament. But it is important to notice the relative time of the Judgement. There are three series in chapter 7, which may be paralleled to find the right answer:

| <i>HISTORICAL TIME</i>                                     |   | <i>BEYOND HISTORY</i>                       |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|--|---|---|
| LH's special time  |   | <b>THE GREAT AND RIGHT JUDGMENT OF GOD</b>  |  |   |   |
| 538  | 1798  | BOOKS examination, witnesses                |  | VERDICTS AND REWARDS  |   |
|  |   |   |  | conviction  | vindication   |
| the little horn's first description (8)                    | Ancient of Days sits, Court sits, books opened (v. 9-10)<br>(examination implied) | <b>LH keeps on speaking (11a)</b>           |  | beast deposed and killed (11b)                                  | kingdom given to the Representative Man (13-14)   |
| war with the saints (21)                                   | Ancient of Days comes (22a)   | <i>(implied: saints are examined too)</i>   |  |   | God pronounces judgment in favour of the saints (22b), saints receive the kingdom (22c) |
| harass the saints, who are given to him 3 ½ y/1260 d. (25) | then comes the Judgment (26a)   | <i>(implied: the evil king is examined)</i> |  | the evil king dethroned and his kingdom destroyed forever (26b) | universal kingdom given to the people of the saints (27)                                |

As we can observe in the table above, the Judgment comes after the little horn's special time of activity, that is after the 3 ½ years (1260 apocalyptic days), already shown in the preceding pages to mean 1260 years between 538 and 1798. Thus the

Judgment had to begin only after the significant year 1798. This idea is emphasised also in Daniel 12:7 where the heavenly Priest says that it must pass first the “3 ½ times”, only then may come the end, – not immediately, but in an eschatological moment: “when the shattering of the power of the holy people comes to an end,”<sup>257</sup> then all these [evils] will come to an end.” The speaker meant that the end of the 3-½ seasons is not the eschaton itself. When a last, crushing blow on God’s people comes (as he previously had shown in Daniel 11:41.45), then will come “the End”. Then all sufferings of God’s people will come to an end (through the divine intervention of Michael, see 12:1).

While we have no prophetic date here for the Judgement’s beginning, we have an orientative eschatological time wherein this Judgment may break in. The *terminus a quo* is 1798 and the *terminus a quem* is the undisclosed date of the end, with its executorial phase of the Judgment. Moreover, a noticeable time lapse is implied between the beginning of the Judgment and its executorial phase. The key points of this understanding are, a) the insolent horn keeps on proclaiming its high pretensions after the court was set, in a so bold manner that the prophet’s attention is drawn from the majestic scene of the heavenly court, to the amazing claims of the loquacious horn; b) the Judgment of Daniel 7 is not just an executorial act rooted in God’s inherent rightness, as most fundamentalists take for granted, but it is first a court trial, since a court was set, billions of attendees stood before the fiery throne, books were opened, and – to complete the scene, – books were checked to see who is “written in the book.” (Dan 12.1) These processes imply some time lapse, which indicates a beginning of the trial before the eschaton, within the historical time.

This concept of an examinational / investigatory / court trial phase of the divine Judgment, before the end breaks, within history, is objected upon theological prejudices. Why God is described as needing information and court examinations before reaching right decisions? It should not be forgotten that other OT writings point to such investigations before executing justice.<sup>258</sup> It does not mean that the Hebrew

writers had a low idea of the knowledge of their God, but they understood as necessary for reasons of universal recognition, that God must make public, full investigations before reaching final decisions about persons. Or else, why summon the billions of heavenly beings to attend this eschatological Judgment? Anyway, the book of Daniel reveals this *democratic* aspect of the Hebrew God, who share His juridical authority with other heavenly beings (see Dan 4:17). This is an act of divine condescension, as it is the dramatic language of the Judgment scene. God reveals Himself *in this case* as a very old man, in white hair, not to inform us about His actual appearance, but to use suggestive visionary imagery to emphasise His eternity, wisdom and majesty.

### III.3 **Conclusions to Daniel 7**

The author describes what he states to have been his own visionary, supernatural experience, dated in the first year of Belshazzar. The imagery of the vision is highly applicable within the old conservative and historicist approach. It has been shown how the second and the third beasts are intended to represent the Medo-Persian and the Hellenistic empires respectively, not two successive Iranian kingdoms (Media and Persia), which leads us to the conclusion that the fourth monster should be a corresponding superpower coming after the Hellenistic Empire with its divisions. It was shown that Antiochus Epiphanes is not the best candidate to be understood as the little horn of the fourth beast.

The Roman identity of the fourth beast was proved also by a thorough checking of the number and the historical moments of its horns, and especially by the historical identification of its little/great horn. It was analysed and applied the historicist time scale for the “3 ½ times” of its domination, emphasising the old, biblical and historical roots of the method, proposing it as the most reasonable hermeneutic tool for this case.

The analysis of the Judgement scenes reveals a chronological order, a sense of justice and the messianic theme of universal restoration. The main emphasis of the vision is on the judgment-vindication scenes. In the literary<sup>259</sup> and theological centre of the chapter stands the mysterious figure of “One like any human,” as opposed to the

beast-kings, a celestial Representative of the humane saints, who receives in their name / behalf, the universal kingdom. This was identified with Messiah and with the eschatological Christ of the New Testament.

The author shows himself very affected by the vision (7:15.28). These reactions should be properly evaluated in terms of psychology.

## IV AN EXEGESIS OF DANIEL 8 AND 9

As it was been said earlier, the book of Daniel is naturally divided in two parts, the first one (chs. 1-6) containing historical chapters, accounts with religious moral intent to prefigure the trials and final salvation through Judgement depicted in the next (prophetic, apocalyptic) chapters (7-12). While the visionary prophecy in Daniel 7 is closer to that revealed through dreams in chapter 2 (envisioning 4 kingdoms followed by God's judgement and kingdom), the remaining three prophecies (Dan 8, Dan 9, Dan 10-12) are closely connected to one another in the following manner. The vision and prophecy in Daniel 8 is further explained by the prophecy of Daniel 9 and by the vision and prophecy of Daniel 10-12. The final part of the final prophecy (ch. 12) connects it with that of Daniel 7, as much as some aspects of the vision-prophecy in Daniel 8 certainly connect it with that in chapter 7.

Any attempt to understand the prophetic part of the book should in my opinion begin with the very beginning, the prophecy in chapter 2. This is the actual ABC of the whole biblical apocalyptic. It is very important to study and understand them progressively, as they were revealed to the prophet. Chapter 7 as shown above is critical for the exegesis of the following chapters and for the philological and theological evaluation of the entire book. However, chapter 8 has its own individuality and as chapter 7 is parallel with chapter 2, so chapter 8 is parallel with chs. 10-12.

The exegetic approach of Daniel 8-9 is based on sound linguistic research and by the intrinsic logic of the narrative-visionary text. It is also an attempt to rehabilitate an old Protestant approach (largely abandoned today by the fundamentalist groups) that saw the prophecy in chapter 9 as a continuance of the explanation given by the same *angelus interpretes* to the vision of chapter 8.

## IV.1 Hebrew text with translation and critical notes

Because the Hebrew of Daniel 8 and 9 poses some special questions, I will propose first my solutions to some linguistic problems, which usually have bearing on the interpretation. In fact, in these chapters, scholars often let their hermeneutic and intuitive solutions to explain the linguistic problems. In order to give a synoptic view of text and translation, I will put them together in parallel columns, while accounts for some crucial translations or possible emendations of the text (as the critical apparatus in BHS or other studies suggest it) are given in endnotes.

| English translation   | BHS text   |
|---|--|
| <i>The vision</i>   |  |
| 8:1 In the third year of the reign of King <i>Belshar-utsur</i> <sup>260</sup> , a vision appeared to me Daniel – after that which previously <sup>261</sup> was shown to me.   | 8:1 בְּשָׁנָה שְׁלוֹשׁ לְמַלְכוּת בִּלְאֲשַׁצַּר הַמֶּלֶךְ<br>חֲזוֹן נִרְאָה אֵלַי אֲנִי הַנִּיֵּאֵל<br>אַחֲרֵי הַנִּרְאָה אֵלַי בַּתְּחִלָּה<br>וַנִּרְאָהּ בְּחֲזוֹן וַיְהִי בִּרְאֵיתִי   |
| 2 I was looking in the vision, and in my vision I saw myself <sup>262</sup> in Susa, the walled city, which is in the province of Elam, and in the vision <sup>263</sup> I found myself at the canal Eulaeus <sup>264</sup> .         | וְאֲנִי בְּשׁוֹשַׁן הַבִּירָה אֲשֶׁר בְּעִלָּם הַמְּדִינָה<br>וַנִּרְאָהּ בְּחֲזוֹן וַאֲנִי הָיִיתִי עַל-אוּבַל אוּלַי<br>3 וַאֲשָׂא עֵינַי וַנִּרְאָהּ וַהֲנָה אֵיל אַחַד עֹמֵד<br>לְפָנַי הָאֵבֶל וְלוֹ קַרְנָיִם וְתַקְרָנָיִם גְּבוּהוֹת<br>וְהָאֶחָת גְּבוּהָ מִן-תְּשֻׁנִית<br>וְהַגְּבוּהָ עָלָה בְּאַחֲרָנָה |
| 3 I raised my eyes and saw, and behold one ram standing in front of the canal. It had two horns; both horns were high, but one was higher than the other, and the higher one came up last.  | 4 רָאִיתִי אֶת-הָאֵיל מִנְּגַח יָמָה וְצִפּוֹנָה וְגִבְבָּהּ<br>וְכָל-חַיּוֹת לֹא-יָעֲמְדוּ לְפָנָיו<br>וְאֵין מִצִּיל מִיָּדוֹ וְעָשָׂה כְרִצְנוֹ וְהִגְדִּיל<br>5 וַאֲנִי הָיִיתִי מִבֵּין וַהֲנָה צְפִיר-הָעֹזִים<br>בָּא מִן-הַמַּעֲרָב עַל-פָּנָי כָּל-הָאָרֶץ<br>וְאֵין נוֹגַע בָּאָרֶץ                        |
| 4 I saw the ram butting west, north, and south. No beast could stand before it and none could rescue from its power <sup>265</sup> . It did as it pleased, and showed itself great.   | וְהַצְפִּיר קָרַן חֲזוֹת בֵּין עֵינָיו<br>6 וַיָּבֵא עַד-הָאֵיל בְּעַל הַקְרָנָיִם<br>אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי עֹמֵד לְפָנַי הָאֵבֶל  |
| 5 As I was trying to understand, behold, a “buck of goats” <sup>266</sup> came from the west across the face of the whole earth, without touching the ground: and the he-goat had a conspicuous <sup>267</sup> horn between its eyes. |  |
| 6 It came to the two-horned ram that I had seen standing beside the canal, and rushed at it in its mighty wrath.  |  |
| 7 I watched it come close to the ram, and it was  |  |

furious against it. It smashed into the ram, it broke its two horns, and the ram had no strength to withstand. It knocked it down, and trod it underfoot, and there was none to rescue the ram from its power.

8 The he-goat grew exceedingly great; but when it was overwhelming, its great horn was snapped; and four conspicuous *horns*<sup>268</sup> came up in its place, toward the four winds of heaven.

9 And out of one of them<sup>269</sup> came forth a little<sup>270</sup> horn that grew excessively great<sup>271</sup> to the South and to the East and to the Beautiful Land<sup>272</sup>. 10 It grew great *even* to the heavenly host, so that it threw down to the earth some of the host – namely, of the stars<sup>273</sup>–, and trod them underfoot. 11 It exalted itself<sup>274</sup> up to the Commander of the host, even to lift<sup>275</sup> from Him the continual offering<sup>276</sup>. It overthrew<sup>277</sup> the dwelling of His Sanctuary, 12 and it set hosts over the continual offering<sup>278</sup>, in *its* rebellion. It cast the truth down to the ground; yet it went on working and succeeding.

*Auditory revelation*

13 Then I heard a holy one<sup>279</sup> speak, and another holy one asked the certain one who was speaking, “Till when *the case* seen in<sup>280</sup> the vision of the continual offering<sup>281</sup>, and of the desolating rebellion set<sup>282</sup>, and of both Sanctuary and host trodden underfoot?” 14 And he answered, “Till evening *and morning roll on* 2300 *times*,<sup>283</sup> then the Sanctuary<sup>284</sup> will be vindicated / cleansed.”<sup>285</sup>

*Gabriel is commanded to instruct the prophet*

15 When I, Daniel, was seeing this vision, and sought to understand it, behold, there stood before me one of man-like appearance. 16 And I heard a human voice over the Eulaeus, calling

וַיִּקְרַן אֵלָיו בְּחֵמַת כַּחַס  
7 וּרְאִיתִיו מְגִיעַ אֶצֶל הָאֵיל  
וַיִּתְמַרְמַר אֵלָיו וַיַּךְ אֶת־הָאֵיל  
וַיִּשְׁבֵּר אֶת־שָׁתֵי קַרְנָיו

וַיִּרְמָסֵהוּ וְלֹא־הָיָה כַחַס בְּאֵיל לְעֹמֵד לְפָנָיו  
וַיִּשְׁלִיכֵהוּ אֶרְצָה

וְלֹא־הָיָה מְצִיל לְאֵיל מִיָּדוֹ  
8 וַצִּפִּיר הָעֲשׂוּיִם הַגְּדִיל עַד־מְאֹד

וּכְעֲצָמוֹ נִשְׁבְּרָה הַקָּרֶן הַגְּדוֹלָה  
וַתַּעֲלֶינָה חֲזוֹת אַרְבַּע תַּחֲתֶיהָ  
לְאַרְבַּע רְחוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם

וּמִן־הָאֲחַת מֵהֶן יֵצְאָה<sup>336</sup> קַרְנ־אֲחַת מְצַעֲרָה  
9 וַתַּגְּדִיל־יִתֵּר אֶל־הַגִּבּוֹב וְאֶל־הַמְזוֹרַח

וְאֶל־הַצִּבִּי

10 וַתַּגְּדֵל עַד־צִבְאָה הַשָּׁמַיִם

וַתַּפֵּל אֶרְצָה מִן־הַצִּבְאָה וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים

וַתִּרְמָסֵם

11 וְעַד שְׁרֵי־הַצִּבְאָה הַגְּדִיל<sup>337</sup>

וּמִמֶּנּוּ הָרַם<sup>338</sup> הַתָּמִיד

וַתִּשְׁלַךְ<sup>339</sup> מִכּוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ

12 וַיֵּצֵא תַחֲתָן<sup>340</sup>

וַצִּבְאָת נִתְּנָה<sup>342</sup> עַל־הַתָּמִיד בְּפִשְׁעֵי<sup>341</sup>

וַתִּשְׁלַךְ אֲמַת אֶרְצָה וְעִשְׂתָּהּ וְהִצְלִיחָה

13 וַאֲשַׁמְעָה אֶחָד־קְרוֹשׁ מְדַבֵּר

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶחָד קְרוֹשׁ לְפִלְמוֹנִי<sup>343</sup> הַמְדַבֵּר

עַד־מְתֵי הַחֲזוֹן<sup>344</sup> הַתָּמִיד

וְהַפִּשְׁעֵי<sup>345</sup> שָׁמַם תַּחַת

וְקָרַשׁ וַצִּבְאָה<sup>347</sup> מִדְּמָסִים<sup>346</sup>

14 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו<sup>348</sup>

עַד עָרַב בִּקְרַת אֱלֹפִים וּשְׁלַשׁ מֵאוֹת



out,

"Gabriel, help this yonder understand the vision!"

17 So he came near where I stood; and when he came, I became frightened and fell upon my face. But he said to me,

"Understand, son of Adam<sup>286</sup>, that the vision points to the time of the end."<sup>287</sup>

18 As he was speaking to me, I fainted, face to the ground; then he touched me and set me on my feet. 19 He said,

"Behold, I'm making you know what shall happen later in the days of wrath; for *this prophecy* extends to the very appointed time of the end<sup>288</sup>. 20 The ram that you saw with the two horns, these are the kings of Media and Persia. 21 The he-goat, the satyr,<sup>289</sup> is the king of Greece<sup>290</sup>, while the great horn between its eyes is the very first king. 22 As for the horn that was broken, in place of which four others came up, four kingdoms shall stem from his nation, but not with his power. 23 In the latter stage<sup>291</sup> of their reign, when the rebellious sins have reached their top, there will stand a ruthless, bold-faced king, skilled in any sharp speaking. 24 He shall grow strong in power, shall make extraordinary plans<sup>292</sup>, and shall succeed in all his deed. He shall destroy powerful people<sup>293</sup> and his mind will be against the people of the saints. 25 By his cunning he shall make deceit prosper under his hand, and he shall be great in his heart. He shall unawares destroy many and shall even rise up against the Commander-in-chief<sup>294</sup>; yet by no human hand he shall be broken.

26 And the revelation<sup>295</sup> about those 'evenings and mornings' is truth. As for you, seal up this

וּנְצַדְקָה קְרֹשׁ

15 וַיְהִי בְדַאֲחֵי אֲנִי רְגִיֵאל אֶתְהַחֲזוּן

וַאֲבַקְשָׁה בֵּינָהּ

וַיִּקְרָא וַיֹּאמֶר וְהִנֵּה עֹמֵר לְגַנְדִי כְּמַרְאֵה־נֶבֶר

16 וְאֲשַׁמַּע קוֹל־אֲדָם בֵּין אוֹלָי

גְּבַר־יֵאל הֵבֵן לְהִלֹּץ אֶתְהַמְרָאֵה

17 וַיָּבֵא אֶצֶל עֹמְרִי וּבְבֹאוֹ גִבַּעְתִּי

וְאִפְלָה עַל־פָּנַי וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי

הֵבֵן בֵּין־אֲדָם כִּי לְעַחֲרָקֵץ הַחֲזוּן

18 וּבְרַבְרוֹ עָמִי גְרַמְתִּי עַל־פָּנַי אֲרֻצָּה

וַיַּגְעִבֵי וַיַּעֲמִידֵנִי עַל־עֹמְרִי

19 וַיֹּאמֶר הֲנִי מוֹרִיעֶךָ

אֶח אֲשֶׁר־יִהְיֶה בְּאַחֲרֵית הַזְּעַם

כִּי לְמוֹעֵד קֵץ

20 הָאֵיל אֲשֶׁר־רָאִיתָ בְּעַל הַקְּרָנִים

מַלְכֵי מְדֵי וּפְרָס

21 וְהַצִּפִּיר הַשְּׁעִיר מֶלֶךְ יַוָּן

וְהַקְּרָן הַגְּדוֹלָה אֲשֶׁר בֵּין־עֵינָיו

הוּא הַמֶּלֶךְ הָרֵאשׁוֹן

22 וְהַנְּשֻׁבֶרֶת וְהַעֲמֻדָּה אַרְבַּע תַּחְתֶּיהָ

אַרְבַּע מַלְכוּתוֹת מְגוּזוֹת<sup>290</sup> וַעֲמֻדָּהּ וְלֹא בְּכַחוֹ

23 וּבְאַחֲרֵית מַלְכוּתָם כְּהֵתִם הַפְּשָׁעִים<sup>350</sup>

יַעֲמֵד מֶלֶךְ עוֹרְפָּנִים וּמִבֵּין חִירוֹת

24 וְעֵצִים כַּחוֹ וְלֹא בְּכַחוֹ<sup>351</sup> וְנִפְלְאוֹת יִשְׁחִית־יִחַשֵׁב

וְהַצְּלִיחַ וְעָשָׂה

וְהַשְּׁחִית עֲצוּמוֹת וְעַם קְרָשִׁים<sup>352</sup> וְעַל־קְרָשִׁים שִׁכְלוֹ

25 וְעַל־שִׁכְלוֹ וְהַצְּלִיחַ מִדָּמָה בְּיָדוֹ

וּבִלְבָבוֹ יַגְדִּיל וּבִשְׁלֹנָה יִשְׁחִית רַבִּים

וְעַל־שְׂרִשְׁרֵי־שָׂדִים יַעֲמֵד וּבְאַפְסוֹ יָד יִשְׁבֵּר

prophecy,<sup>296</sup> for it refers to many days hence."

27 So I, Daniel, was afflicted<sup>297</sup> and laid sick **אָמַת הוּא** for some days; then I got up and went back to my business in the king's service. I was so dismayed by this prophecy, and could not understand it.<sup>298</sup>

*New revelation as an answer for the puzzled prophet*

a. Study of Scriptures about restoration

9:1 In the first year of Darayavaush son of Khshayarshah<sup>299</sup>, of Median race, who was made<sup>300</sup> king over the realm of the Chaldeans, 2 yea, in the first year of his reign, I, Daniel, understood from the *Sacred Books* the number of years that, according to the word of Yahweh to the prophet Jeremiah, must be fulfilled for the ruins of Jerusalem, namely, 70 years.

b. Prayer and fast in view of Restoration

3 Then I turned my face to the Lord God, seeking Him by prayer and pleas, fasting, wearing sackcloth and sitting on ashes. 4 I prayed to Yahweh my God and made confession, saying,

"O Lord, the great and awesome God, keeping covenant and constant grace with those who love Him and keep His commandments, 5 we have sinned, we have done wrong, we acted wickedly and rebelled, turning aside from your commandments and ordinances. 6 We have not listened to Your servants the prophets, who spoke in Your name to our kings, our princes, and our parents, and to all the people of the land.

7 "Righteousness is on your side, O Lord, but shame now as ever, is on us, the people of Judah, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and all Israel, those who are near and those who are far

26 וּמְרָאָה הָעָרֵב וְהַבְּקָר אֲשֶׁר נֹאמַר

וְאַתָּה סָתַם הַחֲזוֹן כִּי לַיָּמִים רַבִּים  
27 וְאֲנִי רָגִיל נְהִייתִי וְנִחַלִּיתִי יָמִים  
וְאָקוּם וְאֶעֱשֶׂה אֶת־מְלַאכַת הַמֶּלֶךְ  
וְאֶשְׁתּוּמַם עַל־הַמְרָאָה וְאִין מִבֵּין  
9:1 בְּשַׁנַּת אַחַח

לְהַרְנוּשׁ בֶּן־אַחַשְׁוֶרֶשׁ מִזְרַע מְדִי  
אֲשֶׁר הִמְלִיךְ עַל מַלְכוּת פְּשָׁדִים  
2 בְּשַׁנַּת אַחַח לְמַלְכוּ

אֲנִי הַגִּילָל בִּינְתִי בַּסְּפָרִים מִסְפַּר הַשָּׁנִים  
אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־יִרְמְיָה הַנָּבִיא  
לְמַלְאוּת לְחַרְבוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם שֶׁבַע־יָמִים שָׁנָה  
3 וְאַתָּה אֶת־פְּנֵי אֱלֹהֵי אֲדָנִי הָאֱלֹהִים

וְאָמַרְתָּ לְבַקֵּשׁ תְּפִלָּה וְתַחֲנוּנִים בְּצוּם וְשֶׁק וְאָפַר  
4 וְאַתְּפַלְלָה לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי וְאַתְּוַדָּה

וְהַחֲסֵר אָנָּה אֲדָנִי הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא  
שֶׁמֶר הַבְּרִית לְאַהֲבָיו וְלִשְׁמֵרֵי מִצְוֹתָיו  
5 חָטְאוּנוּ וְעִוְינוּ וְהִרְשַׁעְנוּ וּמְרַדְּנוּ

וְסוּר מִמִּצְוֹתֶיךָ וּמִמִּשְׁפָּטֶיךָ

6 וְלֹא שָׁמַעְנוּ אֶל־עֲבָדֶיךָ הַנְּבִיאִים

אֲשֶׁר דִּבְּרוּ בְּשֵׁם־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ שְׁרִינוּ וְאַבְתִּינוּ  
וְאֵל כָּל־עַם הָאָרֶץ

7 לָךְ אֲדָנִי הִצְדָּקָה וְלָנוּ בִשְׁתַּחֲוִיִּים

כִּי־זֶה הָיָה לְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה וְלִיּוֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם  
וְלְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַקְּרֹבִים וְהַרְחֵקִים  
בְּכָל־הָאָרְצוֹת אֲשֶׁר הִרְחַתְתָּם שָׁם

בְּמַעַלְמֵם אֲשֶׁר מְעַלְוֶרְבָךְ

8 יְהוָה לָנוּ בִשְׁתַּחֲוִיִּים

לְמַלְכוּתֵנוּ לְשִׁרְיָנוּ וְלְאַבְתִּינוּ

away, in all the lands to which You have driven them, because of the treason they have committed against You. 8 Shame on us, O Yahweh, on our kings, our princes and our parents, who have sinned, all of us against You. 9 Now the Lord our God has mercy and forgiveness, though we have rebelled against Him, 10 and have not obeyed the voice of Yahweh our God to follow His instructions, which He set before us by His servants the prophets.

11 "All Israel has transgressed Your Law and turned aside, not to obey Your voice. Thus was vented on us the curse and the oath written in the Law of Moses, the servant of God, because we have sinned against You. 12 He has fulfilled His words, which He spoke against us and against our rulers, who judged us, by bringing upon us a calamity so great that under the whole heaven there has never been done what has been done against Jerusalem. 13 Just as it is written in the Law of Moses, this entire calamity has come upon us, yet we did not appease the face of Yahweh our God, turning from our wrongdoing and being quick to understand Your truth. 14 So Yahweh kept watch over this calamity until he brought it upon us; for Yahweh, our God is right in all that He has done; while we have disobeyed His voice.

15 "And now, O Lord our God, who brought your people out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand and won for Yourself a Name living on to this day – we, indeed, have sinned, we have done wickedly. 16 But, O Lord, in view of all Your righteous acts, let Your anger and wrath, we pray, turn away from Your city Jerusalem, Your sacred mountain, although Jerusalem and Your people have become a

אֲשֶׁר חָטְאוּ לָךְ

9 לְאָרְצֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַרְחֵמִים וְהַסְלֵחוֹת

כִּי מָדַדְנוּ בּוֹ

10 וְלֹא שָׁמַעְנוּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

לְלַכֵּת בְּתוֹרֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לְפָנֵינוּ

בְּיַד עֲבָדָיו הַנְּבִיאִים

11 וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עָבְרוּ אֶת־תּוֹרֹתֶיךָ

וְסוּר לְבַלְתִּי שְׁמוֹעַ בְּקֹלְךָ

וַתִּתֵּן עָלֵינוּ הָאֵלֶּה וְהַשְׁבָּעָה

אֲשֶׁר כְּתוּבָה בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה עֲבַרְתָּ אֱלֹהִים

כִּי חָטְאוּ לּוֹ

12 וַיִּקַּם אֶת־<sup>353</sup>דְּבָרָיו אֲשֶׁר־דָּבַר עָלֵינוּ

וְעַל שְׁפָטֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר שָׁפְטוּנוּ

לְהָבִיא עָלֵינוּ רָעָה גְדוֹלָה

בִּירוּשָׁלַם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נַעֲשִׂתָה תַחַת כָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם

כַּאֲשֶׁר נַעֲשִׂתָה

13 כַּאֲשֶׁר כְּתוּב בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה

אֵת כָּל־הַרְעָה הַזֹּאת בָּאָה עָלֵינוּ

וְלֹא־חָלִינוּ אֶת־פָּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

לְשׁוּב מֵעֲוֹנוֹנוּ וּלְהַשְׁכִּיל בְּאִמְתְּךָ

14 וַיִּשְׁקַד יְהוָה עַל־הַרְעָה וַיְבִיאָהּ עָלֵינוּ

כִּי־צָרִיךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

עַל־כָּל־מַעֲשָׂיו אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה

וְלֹא שָׁמַעְנוּ בְּקוֹלוֹ

15 וְעַתָּה אֲרֹנִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ

אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ אֶת־עַמְּךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם

בְּיַד חֲזָקָה

וַתַּעֲשִׂלֵךְ שֵׁם כְּבוֹד הַזֶּה

חָטְאוּ וְרָשְׁעוּ

16 אֲרֹנִי כְּכָל־צָרְךָ וְשָׁבֵנָא אִפְּךָ וְהִמָּתֵךְ

objects of scorn among all our neighbours, because of our sins and the wrong deeds of our parents. 17 Now therefore, O our God, listen to the prayer of Your servant and to his plea, and for Your own sake, Lord, let your face shine upon Your desolated Sanctuary. 18 Incline your ear, O my God, and hear. Open your eyes and look at our desolation and at that city called by Your name; for we plea, fallen prostrates before You, not on the ground of our righteousness, but on the ground of your rich mercy. 19 O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, listen and act and do not delay! For your own sake, O my God, because Your city and Your people are called by Your name!"

*c. The visit of Gabriel*

20 I was still speaking, praying and confessing my sin and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my plea before Yahweh my God on behalf of the sacred mountain of my God; 21 and as I was still speaking in prayer, Gabriel that man whom I had seen in the vision previously, approached<sup>301</sup> me as sent in swift flight (or, wearied by the flight),<sup>302</sup> at about the time of the evening offering.

*d. The great revelation about Restoration as an answer to Daniel's time dilemma.*

22 He made me understand, he spoke to me and said,

"Daniel, I have come out just now<sup>303</sup> to give you insight and understanding. 23 After you started pleading, a message<sup>304</sup> was delivered to me, and I have come myself to announce you, for you are precious to Heaven<sup>305</sup>. So perceive this message and understand the revelation<sup>306</sup>."

24 "A period of<sup>307</sup> 70 weeks<sup>308</sup> is cut off thence<sup>309</sup> for your people and your holy city,

מְעִירָה יְרוּשָׁלַם הַר־קִדְשֶׁךָ  
 כִּי בַחֲטָאֵינוּ וּבַעֲוֹנוֹת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ  
 יְרוּשָׁלַם וְעַמֶּךָ לְחַרְפָּה לְכָל־סְבִיבֵתֵינוּ  
 17 וְעַתָּה שְׁמַע אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 אֶל־תְּפִלַּת עַבְדְּךָ וְאֶל־תְּחִנּוֹתַי  
 וְהָאֵר פָּנֶיךָ עַל־מִקְדָּשְׁךָ הַשָּׁמַם לְמַעַן אֲדַנִּי  
 18 הִשָּׁה אֱלֹהֵי אֲזִנְךָ וּשְׁמַע  
 פְּקֻחָה<sup>354</sup> עֵינֶיךָ וּרְאֵה שְׁמִמֵּתֵינוּ  
 וְהַעִיר אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שְׁמֶךָ עָלֶיךָ  
 כִּי לֹא עַל־צַדִּיקֵינוּ  
 אֲנַחְנוּ מִפִּילִים תְּחִנּוֹתֵינוּ לְפָנֶיךָ  
 כִּי עַל־רַחֲמֶיךָ הַרְבִּים  
 19 אֲדַנִּי שְׁמָעָה אֲדַנִּי סִלְחָה  
 אֲדַנִּי הַקְּשִׁיבָה וְעֲשֵׂה  
 אֶל־תִּאֲחֹר לְמַעַן אֱלֹהֵי  
 כִּי־שְׁמֶךָ נִקְרָא עַל־עִירְךָ וְעַל־עַמֶּךָ  
 20 וְעוֹד אָנִי מְדַבֵּר וּמִתְחַלֵּל  
 וּמִתְוַדֶּה חַטָּאתִי וְחַטָּאת עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 וּמִפִּיל תְּחַנְתִּי לְפָנֶי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי  
 עַל הַר־קִדְשֶׁךָ אֱלֹהֵי  
 21 וְעוֹד אָנִי מְדַבֵּר בַּתְּחִלָּה  
 וְהָאִישׁ נְבִיאֵל אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי בְּחֹזֶן בַּתְּחִלָּה  
 מֵעַף בִּיעָף גִּנַּע אֵלַי כְּעַח מְנַחֲת־עָרֵב  
 22 וַיָּבֵן וַיְדַבֵּר עִמִּי וַיֹּאמֶר  
 הַנִּיֵּאל עַתָּה יֵצְאֵתִי לְהַשְׁפִּילְךָ בִּינָה  
 23 בַּתְּחִלַּת תְּחִנּוֹתֶיךָ יֵצֵא דָבָר  
 וְאָנִי בָּאתִי לְהַגִּיד כִּי תִמּוּדוֹת אָתָּה  
 וּבֵין בְּדָבָר וְהָבֵן בַּמְרָאָה  
 24 שְׁבַעִים שָׁבָעִים נַחֲתָךְ עַל־עַמֶּךָ  
 וְעַל־עִיר קִדְשֶׁךָ

until<sup>310</sup> the confining<sup>311</sup> of the rebellion, until the sealing of all sins, until the expiation<sup>312</sup> of any iniquity, until the bringing in the eternal rightness, until the sealing of both prophecies and prophets<sup>313</sup>, until the anointing of the most holy sacrificial system<sup>314</sup>

25 "Know *this* and understand *it*: from the issuing of a decree<sup>315</sup> to restore<sup>316</sup> and rebuild Jerusalem until Messiah<sup>317</sup> the Ruler<sup>318</sup>, *there will be 7 weeks plus*<sup>319</sup> 62 weeks. Meanwhile both square and decision-making<sup>320</sup> will be restored and rebuilt<sup>321</sup>, even in troubled times.<sup>322</sup>

26 "Yet after the 62 weeks, Messiah will be cut out<sup>323</sup> and neither the City nor the Sanctuary shall be for Him.<sup>324</sup> The people of the Ruler Who is to come will become corrupt<sup>325</sup> and find its end in an overflowing invasion.<sup>326</sup> Even to the end<sup>327</sup> it was determined war *and* desolations.<sup>328</sup>

27 "He shall prove strong<sup>329</sup> *His* covenant for many, through<sup>330</sup> one week, and in the middle<sup>331</sup> of that week, He will put an end<sup>332</sup> to any sacrifice<sup>333</sup> and offering. Then in His stead *will stand* the desolating abomination<sup>334</sup> until the complete ruin, the determined punishment is poured out upon the desolating one.<sup>335</sup>"

לְכֹלֵא<sup>356</sup> הַפְּשָׁע<sup>355</sup>

וְלַחְתֵּם<sup>357</sup> חַטָּאוֹת

וְלִכְפֹּר עוֹן

וְלַהֲבִיא צֶדֶק עַל־מִים

וְלַחְתֵּם חֶזוֹן וְנָבִיא

וְלַמְשַׁח קִרְשׁ קִרְשִׁים

25 וְחָרַע וְחִשְׁכַּל

מִן־מִצָּא דָבָר לְהָשִׁיב וְלִבְנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם

עַד־מְשִׁיחַ נְגִיד

שִׁבְעִים שָׁבָעָה וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁשִׁים וְשָׁנִים

תָּשׁוּב וְנִבְנְתָה רְחוֹב וְחָרוֹץ וּבְצוֹק הָעֵתִים

26 וְאַחֲרֵי הַשִּׁבְעִים שָׁשִׁים וְשָׁנִים

יִכְרַת מְשִׁיחַ

וְאֵין לוֹ וְהָעִיר וְהַקִּרְשׁ

יִשְׁחִית עִם נְגִיד הַבָּא וְקָצוּ בַשָּׁמַיִם

וְעַד קֵץ מַלְחָמָה נִחְרָצָת שְׁמֹמֹת

27 וְהַגְּבִיר בְּרִית לְרַבִּים שָׁבוּעַ אַחֵר

וְחָצִי הַשָּׁבוּעַ יִשְׁבִּית זִבַח וּמִנְחָה

וְעַל קִיָּוִי כְּנֹוִי<sup>359</sup> שְׁקוּצָה־ס־מְשֻׁמֵם<sup>358</sup>

וְעַד־כְּלָה וְנִחְרָצָה חֲתָךְ עַל־שָׁמַם

## IV.2 The literary structure of Daniel 8 and 9 - outline

The next outline is an attempt to find the most natural literary subdivisions within chapters 8 and 9 of the Book of Daniel.

### The vision of Sanctuary and the 2300 days (chap. 8)

A. Date (chronological setting) 8:1

B. Vision (8:2-27)

1. Dramatic symbols of earthly powers (8:2-12)

- a. The Susian ram 8:3-4
- b. The Mediterranean he-goat, 8:5-7
- c. The desolating horn and the trampling of the Sanctuary, 8:8-12

CENTER. 2. Audition: heavenly decree about the vindication of the Sanctuary: **time revelation** (8:13-14)

3. Angelus interpres and his partial explanation (8:15-26)

- a. First appearance of Gabriel. Daniel's reaction. Initial explanation (8:15-18)
- b. Interpretation: enlarged yet **incomplete explanation** of the vision (8:19-25)
- c. Gabriel's final instruction: the **time revelation remains sealed** (8: 26)

C. Reaction: The prophet's perplexity: **no understanding** (8: 27)

### Divine answer to Daniel's perplexities and prayers. A new visit of Gabriel (ch. 9)

A. Chronological and theological context. Jeremiah's **time prophecy** (9:1-2)

B. Liturgical context: a prayer for restoration (9:3-19)

1. Daniel's reaction to Jeremiah's time prophecy: prayer and fast (9:3-4a)

2. Content of Daniel's mediatorial prayer (9:4b-19)

- a. Confession of the people's sin versus God's justice (4b-14)
- b. Fervent entreating in view of a **Restoration without delay** (15-19)

B<sup>1</sup>. Reappearance of Gabriel with divine answer during Daniel's prayer (20-22a)

A<sup>1</sup> Gabriel resumes his explanations regarding the **time revelation of the previous prophecy** (22b-27)

a. Calling Daniel's attention to a new time revelation – in order to **understand** (9:22b-23)

b. The secrets of the prophetic time (**The Great Jubilee of Salvation**): atonement for sin and a new sanctuary dedication. The City restored, **Messiah** comes. Messiah cut off, the City destroyed (9:24-27)

## **IV.2.a General observations**

Unlike the previous vision, dated three years before, in the reign of the same Belshazzar, this new vision has some distinctive features. In contrast with the wild and political imagery of the former, this one is build from domestic and Sanctuary animals, and its focus is not political *per se*, but moral and religious.

Whereas in the first vision four beasts were exhibited on the apocalyptic-historical arena, here the prophet is shown only two animals, corresponding to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> beasts of the first vision. A little horn was described as rising out the fourth beast's head, from among ten horns, and received special attention in chapter 7.

A similar "little horn" appears in the vision of chapter 8 from one of four horns of the second animal, but it has some important differences from that of chapter 7, so that the same identity cannot be postulated for both. The horn of chapter 8 is improperly named "little," since it is seen to grow excessively great, and its earthly and "heavenly" exploits cover well the character and facts of the fourth beast with its horn(s) of chapter 7, though having early, modest origins in the time of the third, leopard-like beast.

## **IV.3 Historical and theological perspectives in Daniel 8 and 9**

### **IV.3.a The vision of the Sanctuary and the 2300 days (ch. 8)**

#### **I.1.a.12 Date – chronological setting (8:1)**

**Daniel 8:1 – In the third year of the reign of King *Bel-shar-utsur*, a vision appeared to me – Daniel**

The third year of Belshazzar was c. 548/547 B.C.E. If the vision to be narrated is fictitious, I wonder why the author appealed to such an obscure and totally forgotten „king“, only to make believe his story. From the believer's viewpoint, the date itself is relevant when connected to the vision itself. This was precisely the time after the rise of Cyrus the Great who by then was engaged in his famous war against Lydia, which he conquered in 547 B.C.E.

**after that which previously was shown to me**

The reference is to the first vision of Daniel described in chapter 7 (cf. Dan 7:1). I preferred to translate **בְּתוֹכָהּ** as *previously*, instead of *in the beginning*, as it is usually employed, for reasons I have shown at the endnote 261.

I.1.a.13 ***The vision (8:2-27)***

I.1.a.14 ***Dramatic symbols of earthly powers (8:2-12)***

IV.3.a.1.a.1. The Susian ram (2-4)

**Daniel 8:2 – in my vision I saw myself<sup>360</sup> in Susa, the walled city, which is in the province of Elam**

The personal presence of Daniel at Susa, as some translations suggest, is unlikely, because Elam was, since 550 B.C.E. (short time before the date of Daniel's vision, Dan 8:1) a Persian province already. (See note 262).

**and in the vision I found myself at the canal Eulaeus.**

Though Josephus (*Ant.* 10.11.7) says that Daniel was actually in Susa, the Syriac stresses the fact that the prophet was there in vision.<sup>361</sup> The theatre of this vision is set in Elam, suggesting undoubtedly the geographic origin of the kingdom that is to be described by the image of the ram. Cyrus, "the king of Anshan," rose from Elam, as Isaiah said (Is 21:2, 44:28). The location beside of a watercourse prepares the reader to make a parallel with the last vision (ch. 10-12) that has a similar natural frame (10:4, 12:5.7).

**Daniel 8:3 – I saw... one ram**

The symbol is later explained in the vision to mean the Median-Persian Empire. Unlike the previous prophecy that began its visionary series with the Babylonian Empire, this one begins explicitly with the next power. Meantime Cyrus had risen over Media (550 B.C.E.) and was in the way to conquer Lydia (547 B.C.E.).



### **It had two horns ...and the higher one came up last**

This underlining of the dual nature of the old Iranian Empire is emphasised by the detailed specifications about its 2 horns, and by the angelic explanation (v. 20). This fact, added to the phrase “Medes and Persians” / “Persians and Medes,” commonly used in the exilic and post-exilic books, testifies against an arbitrary split of this Empire in chapter 7, in a Median beast-kingdom followed by a Persian beast-kingdom, to fit high critical concerns.

### **Daniel 8:4– I saw the ram butting west, north, and south**

The three directions indicated here correspond to the three great campaigns of this power against the triple alliance of Lydia, Babylon and Egypt. West is mentioned first, probably because this was the main direction. This imagery strikingly corresponds to the three ribs, which the Medo-Persian bear had in its mouth.

#### **IV.3.a.1.a.2. The Mediterranean he-goat (8:5-7)**

### **Daniel 8: 5–7. As I was trying to understand**

In these visions, there is a living emotional participation of the seer. He is never passive in receiving these visions. He always wants to understand and usually is not satisfied with short answers. The motif of understanding is very prominent in the last Hebrew section (ch. 8-12), and especially in chs. 8-9.

### **a “buck of goats” came from the west**

The description of this military expedition as a reaction from the Mediterranean “country of the goats” is very accurate: it went *across the face of the whole earth, without touching the ground*. This is a striking parallel with the symbol of the leopard in the preceding chapter.

### **a conspicuous horn between its eyes**

Lit. קַרְנֵי חַזוֹת *horn of sight*.<sup>362</sup> What this horn has to do with “sight” is its notable length (visibility), notable position (on the goat’s forehead, between its eyes). Its

position between the goat's eyes suggests that the "first king" (v. 21), which it represents, dominates the view of the goat-kingdom. Vs. 6-7 describe the terrible psychological and physical rush of the Greek-Macedonian goat against the Persian kingdom. The author is very impressed and, if not expresses his own satisfaction, at least he confirm the justice of this measure, repeating what he had said about the ram: *and there was none to rescue (the ram) from its power* (comp. v. 4). This is obviously a commentary about the divine justice.<sup>363</sup>

### **Daniel 8: 8--The he-goat grew exceedingly great**

There is no doubt concerning the comparative expansion and power of the empire founded by Alexander. As it is said about the bronze-kingdom in chapter 2: 39b, it had to "rule the whole earth," a telling hyperbole.

### **but when it was overwhelming, its great horn was snapped**

The author wanted again to moralise, and he will repeat this thought in chapter 11:3-4. That certain climaxes are only omens of impending collapse, are not only a Hebrew wisdom thought (Pr 16:18), but a main theme of the book (Dan 4:37, 5:23).

### **four conspicuous horns**

Since these four prominent horns "came up in its place," it means their position was also on the goat's forehead, between its eyes. The phrase *toward the four winds of heaven* recalls the universal and stormy battlefield of chapter 7:2 and anticipates the revelation of chapter 11:4b (*his kingdom will be divided toward the four winds of heaven*). The four horns of the he-goat correspond therefore to the four heads of the leopard beast. There are not exactly four kingdoms. It is one kingdom divided and led antagonistically by four kings.

### 1.1.a.15 ***The desolating horn and the trampling of the Sanctuary (8:8-12)***

#### **Daniel 8:9 – Out of one of them came forth a little horn**

Regarding the Hebrew characteristics of this phrase see endnotes 269 and 270. It is interesting that in the explanation of Gabriel, the origin of this horn is not mentioned (v.23), in a similar way as the origin of the “mighty king” (Alexander) is not mentioned in chapter 11:3. The great revelation of Daniel 11 explains this modest origin as of a **נְבִיא** *contemptible person* (v. 21), who had no right to rule. There is a linguistic similarity between this Hellenistic horn of chapter 8 and the Roman horn of chapter 7, and it is not the only similarity. However, while similarities indicate spiritual connections, they must not automatically be taken to mean historical identity. It will be shown later, why this horn represents Antiochus IV as a foreshadow of other ones, more prominent candidates to this spiritual succession, such as Rome and its ecclesiastic head.

This strange individual is also a king standing for a kingdom, not only in terms of typological foreshadow of Rome and / or Antichrist, but even as the first typically „Roman” ruler over God’s people. Citing Goldstein and others, L. Grabbe says about this king:

In contrast, there is evidence that Antiochus was a very able ruler on the whole, and that a number of his actions are explained by his long sojourn in Rome. Some of his actions which would have seemed strange to the Syrians were normal among the Romans.<sup>364</sup>

#### **Grew excessively great to the South and to the East and to the Beautiful Land**

See also the linguistic analysis at endnotes 271-272. If the author intended to compare the greatness of this horn with the preceding powers, the identification of the “little” horn with Antiochus Epiphanes is at least strange, since the narrative describes the series of powers in a crescendo: the Medo-Persian ram became “great” (v. 4), the Hellenistic goat became “exceedingly / very great,”<sup>365</sup> and finally, this initially small horn became “great beyond measure/excessively”. Its feats depicted further truly exceed those of its forerunners. So it seems that the author put them in a crescendo.

Does the verb גדל refer to political achievements, or rather to the increasing attitude of arrogance, which is the topmost sin in *Daniel*? The use of this verb in the literary context in Daniel 8 does not allow us to avoid the idea of political / military greatness. This is the basic meaning, though condemnation of hubristic exploits fits as well the context. No matter who is this horn, the author depicts him at least as great as the goat kingdom itself. This language maybe legitimately taken as hyperbolic. However, when the precise depiction of the preceding symbols is considered, we may understand that this cartoon drawing is too exaggerate, much beyond the historical reality, so that it cannot represent accurately the despised "Epimanes." And why exaggerate the political achievements of this typical enemy? This language sounds sometimes like a panegyric.

Regarding the three directions where this horn became excessively great, Gabriel does not comment in his lapidary *peshet* (v. 23-25); he only refers to the extraordinary destructive intelligence, character and power of this horn / king. The actual achievements of Antiochus IV in Egypt were quite modest. "To the East" they hardly deserve any mention. Only his trampling on Judea fits satisfactorily this imagery.

#### **Daniel 8:10 – It grew great even to the heavenly host**

After ending his political and military job, this insolent horn is now described in terms of the Isaianic king of Babylon (Lucifer) who exalted himself up to the heavenly stars and beyond, to the throne of God (see Is 14:4.12-14). This is an interesting shift from earthly, horizontal, political achievements, to heavenly, vertical exalting toward a completely forbidden realm.

In view of the observations at endnote 272, the proximity and the paronymous sound of צבא *host* and צבאי *glory, beauty / gazelle* suggests that it is not accidental, and it was perhaps intended a pun.<sup>366</sup> In fact, both terms apply to the people of God and both are rich in meanings to play with: צבא means *host, army*, (cf. LXX δύναμις, *force*), whence is derived the meaning *battle, war* (Dan 10:1) and *military service* (Nu 1:2) and, as an army suggests *order, regular service, hierarchical structure*, this term is applied to all celestial and terrestrial bodies / beings (Gn 2:1); and the same root, to the

*Sanctuary service / attending* (Nu 4:3, 23, 8:25, 1 S 2:22) which fits our context. The term is here used in a metaphorical sense (*stars / angels* 2 K 17:16, Is 24:21), later explained to symbolise the “people of the saints” (v. 24, cf. Ex 12:41). The sacred name of God Himself in the OT, יהוה צְבָאוֹת (Yahweh [the God] of the hosts / the Warrior, the Powerful) is connected to this term.<sup>367</sup> The host of heaven is used figuratively, when it refers to natural order, the heavenly bodies. In other contexts, it refers to the heavenly beings (angels). Here it is applied to God’s people (the faithful, the wise), seen as His light-bearers and time-guides to the nations (comp. Dan 12:3, 8:24).

### **It threw down to the earth some of the host – of the stars –and trod them underfoot**

The imagery is further interpreted by Gabriel to mean the grave actions of this Hellenistic king toward the saints (24-25). Gabriel will add a lot of details to this sad and bitter chapter of the Jewish history, in chapter 11 (v. 28-35).<sup>368</sup>

### **Daniel 8:11 – It exalted itself up to the Commander of the host**

This Commander of the host is interpreted by the angel to mean the Commander of Commanders / the Prince of Princes in v. 25, a title evoking the high priestly office (Nu 3:32). Indeed, the apocalyptic personage has high priestly functions: he is head of the heavenly host (suggesting sanctuary service, see comments above) and the daily offering is removed from him. This Godlike personage is probably identical with Prince / Commander Michael (מִיכָאֵל *Who is like God?*) of Daniel 10:13,21, 12:1, who was later conveyed to the NT apocalyptic.<sup>369</sup> The priestly apparel of this heavenly Being in chs. 10 and 12 (a Man clothed in linen as the High Priest during the Yom Kippur service)<sup>370</sup> indicates a human nature.

However, His unique title and more than priestly function point to a heavenly nature, as with the divine Captain (Prince) of the host of Yahweh (Jos 5:13-14), usually called The Messenger of Yahweh (Ex 3:2, Zc 3:1). It is interesting to note that this “Angel” (Messenger) shares the attributes of God and even demands worship to Him, while even the highest angel refuses to be worshipped.<sup>371</sup> The synonymic title *The*

*Messenger of Yahweh*, is alternatively referred to as *God, Yahweh (the Lord)* in different OT epiphanies.<sup>372</sup> No wonder that the NT identifies Him with the pre-existent and exalted Son of God, Christ.<sup>373</sup> Thus it is quite significant that each apocalypse of Daniel has a strong messianic thrust and their central or climactic images respectively contribute to draw the NT portrait of Christ: the Stone king / kingdom of chapter 2 34-35.44-45, the Humanlike heavenly representative of the saints in chapter 7:13-14, the Captain of the heavenly and priestly host in chapter 8:11.25, Messiah the Ruler in chapter 9:25-27 and Michael the supreme heavenly prince, clothed as a priest in chapter 10:5-6, 12:1.6-7.

Antiochus encroached this heavenly realm and rose against Michael, the protector of Israel (12:1), when he attacked the Jews, exalted over their God, killed the high priest Honia (Dan 11:22b, 2Mac 4:34-36), attempted to change the Law. But this Luciferic pattern was even more exactly and dramatically filled by the next world power described in chapter 7, i.e. Rome and its majestic spiritual offspring. Pagan Rome killed Jesus and launched a bloody series and persecutions to exterminate the Jewish sect of His disciples. Christian Rome did it to the uttermost, exalting itself as the legitimate and absolute personal earthly representative of the Heavenly King-Priest, and launching against His free followers the matchless horrors of the Middle Ages.

#### **even to lift from Him the continual offering**

The Hebrew expression **הַתָּמִיד** "*the continual,*" *the daily burnt offering* is an elliptical phrase (See endnotes 268 and 276). Basically, **תָּמִיד** is a noun, meaning *extent, continuity*, but it is used mostly as adverb: *continually, continuously*. According to the Torah, there were a lot of holy things or rites to be performed in a *regular* way, i.e. *continually*: the sacred bread (Ex 25:30, Lv 24:8, 2 Ch 2:4), the candlestick's light (Ex 27:20, Lv 24:2-4), bearing the breastplate of judgement by the high priest (Ex 28:29-30), the holy diadem on the high priest's forehead (Ex 28:38), the daily sacrifice (Ex 29:38.42, Nu 28:3, 2 Ch 24:14, Ps 50:8, Ez 46:15), the daily bringing of the frankincense (Ex 30:8), continual fire on the altar (Lv 6:6), the daily flour offering (Lv

6:13), the daily blowing of the sacred trumpets (1 Ch 16:6), the regular sacred music of the Sanctuary (1 Ch 16:37), the regular daily service at the Temple (1 Ch 23:31). As a noun, in full construct phrases, it is used mostly of the *daily (continual) burned sacrifice*,<sup>374</sup> and in few instances, of the *continual bread of the Presence* (Nu 4:7), or the *regular grain offering* (Nu 4:16, Ne 10:34).

The chapter *Tamid* of *Mishnah* describes only the daily (i.e. morning and evening) offering as it took place at the Temple, consisting in the daily whole sacrifice of the lamb and the related daily ritual (rekindling the candlestick's lights, the incense offering etc).<sup>375</sup> Since this phrase is mostly used in the OT for the daily offering and its related ritual, and we find the same use in *Mishnah*, even in its elliptic form, we may conclude that in Daniel, the term refers to the same daily ritual that took place in each morning and evening: the wholly burned sacrifice of the lamb to which the offering of grain and wine was added, together with the trimming of the candles and bringing the incense offering within the temple. These rituals were regarded as one service and they are typologically related to various aspects of the same antitypic Reality.

This prophecy is repeated also in chapters 11:31 and 12:11 and it corresponds to the Antiochus' profanation of the Jerusalem Temple when he removed the cult of Yahweh to set his own cult of Zeus Epiphanes (1Mac 1:57) and of other Greek gods. However, if the parallel with chapter 11 is justified (and it is!), this contemptible "Epimanes," king of the North, (of the new Babylon!), is described in a manner, which convincingly diverts our attention away and beyond this early shadow of Antichrist. Antiochus did not abandon his traditional cult as it is said about this king in chapter 11:37-38, he even magnified it by his enforced measures in his kingdom and especially in Judea. Neither was this young and adventurous man, indifferent or uninterested in the "desire of women" (11:37b).<sup>376</sup>

The Vice-Christ described in Daniel 7 fits better these features, since that spiritual dynasty actually abandoned the God of the Apostles in favour of a cult of personality and power, despite all claims of apostolic faith and succession.

## and it overthrew the dwelling of His Sanctuary<sup>377</sup>

The Hebrew term, הִשְׁלִיךְ *throw down*, means *abandon*, when coupled with abstract objects, or *ruin, demolish*, when related to buildings. See endnote 277.

*The dwelling of His Sanctuary* (מִכּוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ) is a Hebrew phrase that deserves more attention. מִכּוֹן *settlement, position, fixed place*, is sometimes used as a synonym for מְכוּנָה or מְכוּנָה *base, pedestal, foundation, esplanade*, usually related to the Sanctuary, altar, God's throne (Ps 89:15. 97:2), the building place (the esplanade) of the Temple in Jerusalem (Ezra 2:68), the holy site on the Mt Zion (Is 4:5) even the earth as built by God (Ps 104:5). The term is used elsewhere meaning *dwelling place [of God]* (Is 18:4), that is the earthly Sanctuary<sup>378</sup> or the heavenly one.<sup>379</sup> מִקְדָּשׁ basically means *consecrated portion: a part*,<sup>380</sup> or a place – *sanctuary* – even for pagan deities.<sup>381</sup> The term is used for the Tabernacle,<sup>382</sup> the Temple,<sup>383</sup> or any of its holy places,<sup>384</sup> e. g. for The Most Holy place.<sup>385</sup> Yahweh Himself is metaphorically seen as a sanctuary.<sup>386</sup>

When מִכּוֹן is associated with מִקְדָּשׁ, like in *Daniel*, it refers usually to the heavenly abode of God, His celestial Sanctuary (Ex 15:17). Sometimes, this use seems to be hyperbolic of the sanctuary in Jerusalem (Ps 78:69). However it is well attested<sup>387</sup> an OT theology of the actual sanctuary of Yahweh in heaven, having the sanctuary in Jerusalem as only its terrestrial projection/reflection, a symbolic place / palace of God's Name.<sup>388</sup> Important NT scriptures elaborate on the metaphor of the Sanctuary<sup>389</sup> or on its typical rite,<sup>390</sup> and particularly *Hebrews* and *Revelation* theologise on its messianic-Christological typology.<sup>391</sup>

The related phrase, מְקוֹם מִקְדָּשׁ is used about the Jewish temple (Is 60:13) and about Yahweh Himself as Sanctuary (Jer 17:13, Ez 11:16). The Temple (הַיְקָל), God's palace, is also used in a profound messianic passage (Zec 6:12-13.15, cf. 1 Ch 17:9-14) where it seems to refer to the future messianic Qahal of Israel, including Gentiles. A similar form, מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ is also used sometimes for the Sanctuary (Ecc 8:10).

The phrase in *Daniel* finds also a synonym in מְעוֹן קָדֵשׁ *holy habitation, refuge* used rarely for the earthly Sanctuary (Ps 68:6), and usually for the heavenly one.<sup>392</sup>



Anyway, in Daniel's vision, the Sanctuary is seen in the realm of stars. But the interpretation may go to both the heavenly Sanctuary and its terrestrial shadow. The common Hebrew concept of the real heavenly Sanctuary of Yahweh is materialised in verses like the following, using expressions similar to Daniel's:

|           |   |   |
|-----------|---|---|
| 2Ch 30:27 | לְמַעַן קָדְשׁוֹ לְשָׁמַיִם               | <i>to His holy abode, in Heaven</i>                     |
| Dt 26:15  | מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם מִמַּעַן קָדְשֶׁךָ        | <i>from Heaven,...from your holy abode</i>              |
| Ps 102:20 | מִמְרוֹם קָדְשׁוֹ מִשָּׁמַיִם             | <i>from His high Sanctuary,...from heaven</i>           |
| Jer 25:30 | מִמְרוֹם וּמִמַּעַן קָדְשׁוֹ              | <i>from high,... from His Holy abode...</i>             |
| Ps 11:4   | בְּהֵיכַל קָדְשׁוֹ בַּשָּׁמַיִם כִּסֵּאוֹ | <i>in His holy palace,...in Heaven is His throne</i>    |
| Is 63:15  | מִשָּׁמַיִם מִזְבַּל קָדְשֶׁךָ            | <i>from Heaven,... from your holy exalted residence</i> |

A reference to a treading down of the Sanctuary, in the context of Is 63: 15 (see v. 18) is very interesting *לְמַצְעֵר יְרָשׁוּ עִם־קָדְשֶׁךָ צְרִיגֵנוּ בּוֹסְסוּ מִקָּדְשֶׁךָ* *For a little while did Your holy people possessed their heritage, Our adversaries have trodden down Your Sanctuary.*

Sometimes it is not so clear that the author speaks about the heavenly Sanctuary or about its earthly projection. But, at least, the lines are heavy with typologic-eschatological thought:

|                 |   |  |
|-----------------|---|--|
| Ezra 9.8        | לְתַת־לָנוּ יְתֵד בַּמְקוֹם קָדְשׁוֹ                                  | <i>...to give us a tent peg in His holy place</i>                                  |
| Ps 24:3         | מִי־יַעֲלֶה בְּהַר־יְהוָה וּמִי־יָקוּם בַּמְקוֹם קָדְשׁוֹ             | <i>Who shall ascend the mount of YHWH? And who shall stand in His holy place?</i>  |
| Mi 1:2          | אֲדֹנָי מִהֵיכַל קָדְשׁוֹ   | <i>...the Lord, from His holy palace / temple</i>                                  |
| Hab 2:20        | וַיְהוֶה בְּהֵיכַל קָדְשׁוֹ הִסּוּ מִפְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ               | <i>YHWH is in His holy palace. Hush!</i>   |
| Zec 2:17        | הִסּוּ מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה כִּי נִעֹר מִמַּעַן קָדְשׁוֹ                   | <i>Hush... before YHWH, for He woke up from His Holy abode</i>                     |
| Ex 15:13        | עִם־זוֹ נִהְלַתְּ בְּעֲזָדְךָ אֱלֹהֵי־נֹהַ קָדְשֶׁךָ                  | <i>...this people...You have lead by Your power to Your holy home / settlement</i> |
| Ps 68:6.        | אֱלֹהִים בַּמַּעַן קָדְשׁוֹ   | <i>...God in His Holy abode</i>  |
| (see vs. 19.25) | וַעֲלִיתָ לְמְרוֹם מַלְכֵי בַקְדָּשׁ                                  | <i>(...You ascended on high...my King, in the Sanctuary)</i>                       |
| Ps 46 5         | נֹהַר פְּלִגְיוֹ יִשְׁמְחוּ עִיר־אֱלֹהִים קָדְשׁ מִשְׁבְּנֵי עֲלִיוֹן | <i>...the city of God, the holy habitation of the Most High.</i>                   |

Collins is ready to recognize that *מִכּוֹן* is used in OT for both the heavenly and the earthly dwelling of God. Unfortunately, he chose an application that does not satisfy the use of this phrase. Simply, "because the temple was not torn down by

Antiochus Epiphanes, the reference may be – says Collins – to the desecration of the altar.”<sup>393</sup> In the light of the analysis above, his solution is not convincing.

Antiochus, as it is known, did not destroy the temple of Yahweh. It is possible, however, that the Hebrew term was not intended to mean *destroy*, but *throw down to the earth*, since the scene occurs in heaven (at least in the vision). A late *midrash* of Jesus Christ in the Gospels applies this prophecy to the then future Roman destruction in the year 70 C.E.<sup>394</sup> And Apostle Paul applies much of this imagery to a yet future “man of lawlessness,” which remained known in the Christian theology, since the days of Apostle John as the Antichrist.<sup>395</sup> While both Christian applications seem to have some conditional aspects, it is obvious that the early Christendom applied the prophecy to Rome and to the post-Roman Antichrist. This is not to negate its first application to Antiochus, but as we have seen, there are important details not covered by the historical exploits of Antiochus IV.

#### **Daniel 8:12– and it set hosts over the continual offering in *its* rebellion.**

Regarding the technical problems of this translation, and why I chose this solution, see endnotes 278, 341 and 342. While the Captain of the heavenly Sanctuary has His own host, the wicked horn has also hosts. To better understand this drama, let us divide it in five acts.

In the background, the sanctuary and its entire heavenly host are safe under the supreme authority of their Captain (as a Celestial Prince and High Priest), who owns the full right and ministry of the continual offering. Then...

1. In the first act of the drama, the wicked horn exalts itself up to the heavenly (ministering) host, which is metaphorically called “stars” (see Dan 12:3) and throws down part of them to the earth to tread them underfoot.
2. In the second act, the wicked horn magnifies itself even to the Captain-Priest of the ministering host, takes out of Him the continual offering to set its own cult. This is sin of rebellion at the highest degree.

3. But a third act follows: the wicked horn overthrows (or brings low) to the earth the Sanctuary of the Divine Captain. Thus the celestial Sanctuary is brought down to earth.
4. In the fourth act, the wicked horn appoints over the continual offering (now set in the earthly order and cultus, in "its" honour, like the sanctuary brought down), its own ministering hosts. This is *the rebellion* – the horrifying sin that boldly replaced the heavenly cultus by an earthly order.
5. Now, to ensure its victory over the heavenly Sanctuary through its earthly lies (v. 25a), in the fifth act, the wicked horn throws down the Truth itself (here the Law, God's revelation, v. 12b, comp. ch. 7:25). It keeps on working like this and it succeeds and prevails long time, ...until one day....

This in no case can be a dogmatic position, since **צבאות** *hosts*, might very naturally be military forces, armed people that the wicked horn *set over* (or, *against*) the continual offering. In Ez 4:2, the prophet is called to play his oracle, to lay camped armies for siege around (נתן על) Jerusalem. Speaking about the continual offering and not about Jerusalem or Temple, such a meaning is not quite convincing *prima facie*. But it should be kept in view, because this classic "desolating abomination" is usually associated with armed forces.<sup>396</sup>

This imagery fits in a limited measure the persecutions of Antiochus against Jews. He desecrated the Temple of Jerusalem and established there and in many other places, pagan services to his pagan gods. He even ordered to destroy the sacred Scriptures, and forbade the Sabbath worship and all distinctive features of the Jewish law, under the death penalty.<sup>397</sup> However, his successes were quite limited and temporary, neither his cursed affair lasted so much. His spiritual successor, Rome, especially in its Christian supremacy, was more daring and more succeeding in imposing its cult and sacrifices instead of the unique, heavenly, non-transmissible ministry of Christ and His non-repeatable sacrifice.<sup>398</sup>

I.1.a.16 **Audition: heavenly decree about the vindication of the Sanctuary:  
time revelation (8:13-14)**

**Daniel 8:13 – Then I heard a holy one speak**

See endnote 279 for the technical meaning of “holy one” / “saint” in this place. The two holy beings of this visionary audition are further identified to be Gabriel (v.16) and his supreme Commander Michael (ch. 10).

**Till when *the case* seen in...?**

See notes 280-282 for the reasons of this translation. It is very important to understand first the question asked, in order to understand the actual bearing of the answer. The usual English translation of עַד־מָתַי is “how long...?” or “for how long...?” in most versions, which is inexact, or at least ambiguous, because it refers rather to a period from its beginning to its end, a meaning diverging with the Hebrew phrase. Theodotion found the best Greek equivalent in ἕως πότε (*till when?*), followed by Jerome (*usquequo...?, till when?*) as do some modern translations.<sup>399</sup> Gerhard Pfandl also emphasised in his dissertation the correct understanding required by the Hebrew phrase.<sup>400</sup>

To speak of a period with reference to both its beginning and end, Hebrew would use the phrase כַּמָּה יָמִים *how many days...?, how much time...?*<sup>401</sup> or even מִהַ מְסַפֵּר הַיָּמִים / הַשָּׁנִים.<sup>402</sup> On the other hand, the question עַד־מָתַי is commonly used with no regard to a starting point, but just pointing anxiously to an end, a longed *terminus ad quem*: “until when?/ till when?”. This is consistently true concerning each of OT references.<sup>403</sup> Daniel uses elsewhere the phrase with precisely the same meaning as in all these references (Dan 12:6). None of these biblical references point to a period of time implying its starting point.<sup>404</sup>

A careful translation of this inquiry is essential here, because the reader must not confuse the long time given in v. 14 (2300 days) with the special time allotted to the little horn’s “war against the saints” (which is referred to in Daniel 7:25, 12:7 as *three*

*times and a half*). From the setting of that “abomination” until the fixed time of the end must pass “1290... up to 1335 days”. Because the Hebrew usage of the phrase “until 2300 evening-mornings” does not allow any expedient artifice to halve this strange period (see note 283), we cannot consider it as an approximation to the other apocalyptic periods in the book. To emphasise the actual use of עֶרְב־קָמַי in Daniel, one should carefully read Daniel 12:6-12, where the equivalent of is מָה אַחֲרַיִת אֱלֹהֵי (what will be the end of these things?) and that the periods further referred extend קֵץ עֶרְבֵת to the time of the end, that is to “attain the 1335 days”.

Thus the question is not “how long” is this evil to last, that is the horn’s period of persecution, but “till when” this situation shall last. Thus the *terminus a quo* of this duration is not implied to be in the days of the little horn, it might even be in the time of the present audition. However, the question and its answer must have had a lot of hidden message, if Daniel remained perplexed because this time revelation. Being the last and the greatest trouble of God’s people in this prophecy, the question “till when?” has strong eschatological reverberations. In fact, this question is a known refrain throughout the Bible and it calls out for God’s Judgment (e.g. Ps 94:3, Hab 2:6, Rev 6:10-11).

#### **Daniel 8: 14 – “Till evening and morning roll on 2300 times”**

For a discussion at large about the Hebrew morphology and syntax of this phrase, see endnote 283. The phrase indicates undoubtedly “2300 days,” no matter the hermeneutic understanding of these days. The answer, in complete harmony with the question, points only to the *terminus ad quem*, with no regard for a *terminus a quo* that might well be the moment of that speaking, or with the first kingdom envisioned by this prophecy, or rather let the *angelus interpretes* explain it, as usually. 2300 days are not a symbolic number, this is the only place where it is given, and is obviously meant as exact, historical (though cryptic) duration. Neither 2300 natural days (6 years and c. 4 months), nor 1150 natural days (3 years and c. 2 months) fit the historical facts about

Antiochus' persecutions, as they are reported in the principal source, 1 Maccabees. The following table is a sufficient demonstration.

|           |                  |                              |  |
|-----------|------------------|------------------------------|--|
| 1Mac 1:22 | 143 SE           | 169 BCE <sup>405</sup>       | First sack of the Temple and attack on the Jews  |
| 1Mac 1:30 | 145 SE           | 167 BCE                      | The tax-collector sent in Judea                  |
| 1Mac 1:57 | 145 SE Kislew 15 | 167 BCE Dec.15.              | Temple profaned by pagan cult                    |
| 1Mac 4:52 | 148 SE Kislew 25 | 164 BCE Dec.25               | Temple cleansed and rededicated (after 3 years). |
| 1Mac 6:16 | 149 SE           | nov / dec 164 <sup>406</sup> | Antiochus dies.                                  |

Thus we have exactly 3 years (c.1090 days) for the temple's profanation, and less than 6 years, if we count from the first attack of Antiochus upon the Jews, and none of the exact periods given in *Daniel* (1260 days, 1290 days, 1335 days, 2300 days) is satisfied. This is why the rationalist critique concluded that Daniel was written after the persecution of Epiphanes began, but before the rededication of the Temple.<sup>407</sup>

It should be emphasised that the "2300 evening-mornings" must not begin with the profanation of the Temple, because the same book claims that from that time until the expected end must be 1290 – 1335 days (ch. 12:11-12).

There is however, a different manner of considering these apocalyptic "days" as it was shown about the 3 ½ times=1260 days of Daniel 7:25, according to the classical apocalyptic time scale, where an apocalyptic day is symbol of a natural year. (See chapter I.1.a.10 at p. 83 for the theological justification of this hermeneutic tool). This allows us take this time as 2300 years, which is justified not only by the soundness of the year-day principle, but also by the close interrelation and harmony of all apocalyptic times of Daniel, as it is shown in ch. IV.4 p. 179.

### **Then the Sanctuary will be vindicated / cleansed**

For linguistic treatment see endnotes 284-285. The Sanctuary – earthly and heavenly is – the theological centre of this chapter. And not incidentally, this verse is the literary and even the physical centre of the chapter. Both chapters 7 and 8, of the same length, have their respective centre in vs. 13-14. First is about the Humanlike Representative entering the Heavenly Court to receive the Kingdom for his saints, the

second is about the vindication of God's Sanctuary, within the same theme of judgement. The cultic imagery of chapter 8: sacrificial animals (ram, goat), Sanctuary, host (priestly service), Captain of the host (high priest), continual offering, evening and morning, suggests a *day* of "cleansing"/ "restoration"/ "vindication" as the Yom Kippur has typified.<sup>408</sup> I do not mean that Daniel 8:14 refers directly to Leviticus 16. However, I cannot help but see that both Biblical passages, one ritual-typologic and one apocalyptic, point out to the same eschatological reality, which was outlined in chapter 7: the Judgment Day.<sup>409</sup> Therefore, to connect them is a wise contextual exegesis, if the canonical and cultural-historical contexts have any relevance.

**I.1.a.17 *Angelus interpres partially illuminates the prophet (8:15-26)***

**IV.3.a.1.a.3. First appearance of Gabriel and his initial explanation (8:15-18)**

**Daniel 8:15-16 – I saw...one of man-like appearance.... And I heard a human voice**

There are certainly two heavenly beings in this visionary scene. First, both are named "holy beings" (v.13) and there is a clear distinction between them: one speaks, and answers questions, then give orders. The second listens to, asks and executes orders. Daniel didn't see the First Saint, only heard His human voice. This One commands to Gabriel, but He is not yet named in this vision. A careful comparison with the vision in chapter 10 shows that this supreme Archangel, the only One who can help Gabriel, is Michael,<sup>410</sup> the supreme Commander of the heavenly hosts, which include God's people.<sup>411</sup> His "human" voice is significant as He speaks to be understood by a human being.

**"Gabriel, help this yonder understand the vision!"**

This is for the first time one meets in the OT a heavenly being called by name. There is an obvious relationship between the hearing of his name **גַּבְרִיאֵל** (*man of God*) and his man-like **בְּמִרְאָה אֲנוֹשִׁית** appearance as Daniel saw him. His name and appearance are a message for / through the prophet. One cannot infer that angels are

sexual beings who bear Hebrew names! It is to be observed in the Bible, that these heavenly messengers, and especially this “man” Gabriel, perform the mission of a prophet, conveying God’s messages to people.<sup>412</sup> Names of Michael and Gabriel in *Daniel* are intentionally modelled by the heavenly speakers on the pattern of Daniel’s name and pointing to their mission or identity. Thus Heaven likes to fraternise with those humans whose hearts are in heavenly service to their fellows.<sup>413</sup>

#### **Daniel 8:17– I became frightened and fell upon my face.**

It is interesting and not sufficiently studied this reaction of the prophet in vision. Sceptics might say that it is just a literary motif. But why Gabriel is not at all frightful when he visits Daniel in reality, and not in an ecstatic experience? (See ch. 9:21-22).

#### **Understand, son of Adam**

The prophet is not addressed as a son of his people, or as a son of his father, but as a son of Adam (see note 286), as any human being. This really noble title is common in the book of Ezekiel.

#### **the vision points to the time of the end**

See note 287 for linguistic analysis. If we pay attention to the context and to the Hebrew usage of the preposition [ לְ ] it is quite clear that the author would say that the dramatic events foreseen in the vision – including especially the statement about the 2300 evening-mornings – extend to the time of the end. However, one’s understanding depends also on his / her theological background. If someone would say that Daniel thought of an “end” of his age and of a soon advent of the messianic age, then the time of the end would include the two subsequent empires (symbolised by the ram and the he-goat) with all their outgrowths. Consequently, those who believe that the vision is completely fulfilled in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, would conclude that the time of the end here mentioned, extends from Cyrus and the fall of Babylon, to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Those who believe that the vision has a main or a secondary application to Antichrist (a post-Roman or a final dynast in the Christian era), would infer that all this



time, from the advent of Cyrus to the second advent of Christ, is the time of the end. This concept would obviously make not much sense, except that someone takes this "time of the end" as a conditional time, which conflicts with v. 19 which speaks without doubt of "the appointed time of the end". (If we think to a Pseudo-Daniel in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, his mention of the time of the end would point to the overthrow of Antiochus and could not conceivably include all Persian and Hellenistic eras).

The classic prophets do not treat "The End" in chronological terms, and it seems to be a conditional event (as regarding the time). But in Daniel's apocalyptic visions we are told of world kingdoms succession, of times and days counted, and of a majestic depiction of the final, universal End.

According to the evidence presented in note 288, Daniel was shown that the true and final End, ushering in the glorious, eternal kingdom of God and His Messiah, is not yet to be expected immediately after the fall of Babylon and the repatriation of the Jews, as some classic prophets suggest. After the end of Babylonian Empire, believers had to be patient, knowing that in their generations a series of at least three subsequent world powers would pass before the final end comes. It is very interesting that in the first two visionary prophecies of Daniel (ch. 2 and 7), where it was shown that the succession of world powers, from Babylon to God's eternal kingdom, is counted by four plus some divisive prolongation of the fourth kingdom, no identification is tried by the author; while in the prophecy of chapter 8, we have only two different kingdoms, both are clearly identified, but nothing is said about the precise identity of the last extension, the wicked horn. As for the time to lapse, answering the refrain "until when?," the prophet receives only cryptic and veiled answers and it is clearly said that this time revelation is not for him, but for those only who investigate the prophecy in "the time of the end" (8:26, 12:4-13). Thus the author himself, if we choose to believe him, knows a bit more than nothing about the real time lapse to the end. He just conveys the cryptic message to accompany the patient and hopeful journey of God's people throughout history, toward the fullest understanding with the passing of time to the end.

However, if the prophet doesn't understand the "when" of that end, he certainly has in mind a clear philosophy about its "why" and "how". And the best way to understand Daniel's philosophy of history and the sense of its revelations about the end is to read his book. In his first dream (2:19.30-45), the end is not explicitly mentioned, but it is implicit there: what else is the catastrophic impact of that Stone, when it smashes the idol of this world powers in its lowest stage, to usher God's eternal kingdom? The Aramaic vision in chapter 7 makes also no explicit mention of the end, however the time of the end is clearly described in a third of the total verses in the chapter. He was shown this time more details about that time: it is the time of Judgement (v.9-10), after the 1260 days/years, the time of the last Antichrist's defy, followed by his final punishment (v.11), the time of Messiah's receiving the world's universal kingdom with His saints (v.13-14.18.22.27).

In chapter 8-12 we have repeated and explicit references to the end. It is said of an "appointed time of the end," the time of *Dies Irae* (v.19), which is after the "2300 evening-mornings," bringing the vindication of God's holy throne (v.14.26). In chapter 9, the true time of the end is not the end of the 70 years of Captivity (v.2), because after the restoration of the City in the Persian era, there must still be 70 weeks until the coming and strange death of Messiah (v.24-26) followed by a second and final destruction of the Temple (v. 26bc); and neither is this the real end, because another end is announced there, when the power who desolated the second Temple shall be destroyed (v. 26d.27d).

In chapter 11 it is said that the diplomacy of the last king of the North (Syria-Babylon) to take hold of the South (Egypt) will not succeed, because there is not yet the appointed time of the end (v. 28). The atrocities committed by Antiochus and by Antiochus-type desolating powers do not mean the end; rather persecutions are for the purification of God's wise people and they will repeat as this purification will be necessary up to the end itself (v. 35). "In the time of the end" must happen the last battle between the two great belligerent kings (v.40), with the complete victory of the

Northern King over Egypt and over its neighbouring countries, including the land of Israel, but (strangely!) excluding the worst neighbours of Israel (v.41-43). The end of the desolating power comes just when he launches his last bloody crusade against God's people, and in a final siege of Jerusalem, attempts to set his throne on Yahweh's "glorious and sacred mountain" (v.44-45). This is the final attack of the desolating power, because Michael, The Commander in Chief of all God's hosts, rises against that desolating one and brings a time of extreme distress upon all nations (v.45b, 12:1). That is the time of salvation for God's people, marked by the end of that judicial examination of heavenly books (12:1d, cf. 7:10.22) and resulting in resurrection of both good and evil (12:2) and eternal bliss of the holy and wise (v. 3).

The last dialogue in chapter 12 gives us some new time details relating to the end. The time prophecy itself had to be preserved and sealed (covered) until the time of the end (v.4). As in chapter 8, a heavenly being asks about the exact time of the end ("until when?" – v. 6, cf. 8:13), while Michael answers with the most solemn oath that the end won't be before those "three times and a half" announced in chapter 7:25 as the veiled time of the Post-Roman Antichrist's special rule, and that all these strange conflicts will definitely cease (at Michael's intervention) in a moment when God's people will hopelessly lack any power to withstand (v.7, cf. 11:45). When Daniel took over the angel's question ("until when"?) and repeated it because he was still perplexed (v. 8), Michael first answered that this knowledge is not for Daniel and that nobody would understand it before the "time of the end," and even then, the wise only, those purified by trials, will understand, not the evildoers (v. 9). However, Daniel was given an additional and last information concerning the time question, probably not for him too: there must elapse 1290 days since the setting of desolating abomination, and these will be extended to 1335 days (v. 11-12). These two final periods must have something in common with the end of the "three times and a half" and the end of "2300 evening-mornings". (For the possibility of a Pseudo-Daniel in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to "predict" such Nostradamian lines, notice the very known fact that none of these cryptic periods fits the

time of Antiochus' persecution. If this sublime liar, who was supposedly the real author, designed these times of the end before the death of the tyrant Antiochus, why didn't he changed the wrong figures a couple of years later, when the Antiochus adventure was over? As a climactic point of his literary pious farce, he gives his hero a happy resurrection in his homeland, "in the end" thus "predicted" for his own generation! v. 13. How could swallow it his supposed contemporaries in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, or how could the book enter the sacred canon?).

Summarising his research on the time of the end in *Daniel*, Pfandl concludes that "the expression *εἰς αἰῶνα* in Daniel 8:17, seems to belong to apocalyptic eschatology and refers to the time prior to the absolute End," and that "for contextual reasons, therefore, the expression *εἰς αἰῶνα* in the book of Daniel seems to be a *terminus technicus* of the final period of human history leading up to the final eschaton when the old aeon gives way to the new one when God's Kingdom will be established 'without human hands'"<sup>414</sup>

#### IV.3.a.1.a.4. Enlarged yet incomplete explanation of the vision (8:19-25)

##### Daniel 8:19 – I'm making you know what shall happen later in the days of wrath

The phrase **בְּאַחֲרֵית הַזְעַם** has also eschatological echoes. LXX translated the phrase as: ἐπ' ἑσχάτου τῆς ὀργῆς τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ λαοῦ σου – *[what shall happen] at the end of the wrath* – adding, probably from 10:14 and 12:1 – *to the sons of your people*. This reflects a parallel connection they made between Daniel 8:19 and 10:14, which is a valuable observation:

הֲנִנִּי מִדִּיעָךְ אֵת אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה בְּאַחֲרֵית הַזְעַם כִּי לְמוֹעֵד קָץ 8:19

וּבֹאֲחֵי לְהַבִּינֶךָ אֵת אֲשֶׁר יִקְרֶה לְעַמֶּךָ בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים כִּי־עוֹד קוֹזֵן לַיָּמִים 10:14

The verbal root **זעם** (be bitter, menace, threat, angry, sad, furious, indignant, express wrath in condemnation and curse; detest, abhor, hate) is practical synonym with **הָפַח** (be angry, storming, raging, in trouble, sad). But, while **הָפַח** is seldom used in connection to God, **זעם** is commonly used of God's wrath in an explicit way<sup>415</sup> or in

an implicate way.<sup>416</sup> There are, however, a few occurrences of this root having *people* as subject.<sup>417</sup> The Vulgate has: *in novissimo maledictionis* (in the last curse).

In Daniel, the root is used once about Antiouchus' rage (11:30), but in those places where this *indignation* has no explicate subject, we should take it as God's final wrath, because: 1) the term is applied to God in all passages where the immediate context only helps us understand its logical subject; 2) most of explicit occurrences apply to God, and all occurrences where the term has a human subject makes it explicit; 3) the immediate and larger context in Daniel points clearly to God's Judgement time:

In Daniel 11:36d, the phrase *עַד-כָּלָה זַעַם כִּי נִחְרָצָה נִעְשָׂתָה* (*till [God's] wrath shall have been completely manifested, for what is determined will certainly happen*) is apparently built from the same eschatological bricks as verses Is 10:23 and 28:22 (*עַל-כֵּן יִנְחָרְצָה וְנִחְרָצָה... עַל-כֵּן יִנְחָרְצָה וְנִחְרָצָה* *for total destruction and determined punishment ...over all the earth (land)*),<sup>418</sup> and Daniel 9:27, which applies this consummation of God's wrath on the desolating power: *וְעַד-כָּלָה וְנִחְרָצָה חֲסַף עַל-שָׁמַיִם* *until complete destruction, a determined punishment will be poured out on the desolating one*. The immediate context of Daniel 11:36d speaks about the appointed time of the end (v. 35b) when the desolating power will launch his last attack (v. 40a) and finally will be broken (45b).

In Daniel 8:19, the immediate context points to *the appointed time of the end* (19b) and it is obviously related to the "2300 evening-mornings" (v. 14.26a).

The term *אַחֲרִית* refers usually to time (except in Ps 139:9 *extremity*). Its basic meaning is *what comes later, the last part, in contrast with the first, the end in contrast with the beginning*,<sup>419</sup> *as outcome or result*,<sup>420</sup> *final*,<sup>421</sup> *finality*,<sup>422</sup> *destiny*,<sup>423</sup> *future*,<sup>423</sup> *good destiny*,<sup>424</sup> *posterity*,<sup>425</sup> *the last, remnant, survivors* (Ez 23:25, Am 9:1), *the last in rank* (Jer 50:12). The term is used largely as *prophetic future*, "*eschaton*," *the last time* (Is 46:10), which is especially true with the consecrated phrase *בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים* *in the latter days, in the future distant time* (occurring 14 times in the OT<sup>426</sup> (including Daniel 2:28-

29, 10:14), and once is found as *מִיָּמִים רַבִּים... בְּאַחֲרֵית הַשָּׁנִים* *after many days....in the latter years* (Ez 38:8).

Since the verb (and the corresponding noun) *כָּלָה* *to complete, come to an end; completion, termination, full end* has so much in common with the noun *אַחֲרֵית*, it seems that the phrase *בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּעַם* is a contracted combination of the two usual eschatological formulas: *כָּלָה יָעַם* (Is 10:25, Dan 11:36) + *בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים*. Thus the meaning of this phrase in Daniel 8:19 should be *in the final manifestation of [God's] wrath, or, in the following manifestations of [God's] wrath*. Most translations indicate here an end, a term, the latter/last time.<sup>427</sup> Some translations use ambiguous words, and some of them emphasise the idea of future / later time (NIV, NRS). The contextual logic of v. 19-20 seems to emphasise not the end itself but the snowball development leading to it.

The desolating horn seems to be an instrument of God's indignation (v. 23-25), and little is said about God's wrath on the desolator (v. 25d). A "talionistic" principle is seen in what happened to the ram and to the he-goat (v. 5c.7c), then to the conspicuous horn (v. 8a) and to the desolating horn (v. 25d). In all these things one sees God's judgement (indignation). Yet, since most of the depicted calamities come upon God's people, it is altogether possible that God's wrath foreseen in this vision be directed especially toward them, which Daniel 11:14.30bc.31c.34b and Daniel 12:7d.10b seem to justify (because of high treason – breaking of the covenant and joining the desolator's politics – see also 1 Th 2:15-16).

If not, a last possibility remains: that the wrath mentioned here is rather the Gentiles' wrath toward God's people (cf. 11:30c) and it is possible to rethink this problem, despite the fact that the bulk of evidence cited above favours a reference to God's wrath. In view of this latter possibility, we have in both testaments of the Bible, prophetic references to the Gentiles' wrath toward one another and toward God's people, until His full wrath is poured on these instruments of God's wrath.<sup>428</sup> There is an interesting philosophy of passing God's judgement from one another until final

destruction is poured out upon the last and greatest enemy.<sup>429</sup> This concept should not be avoided by any approach to the Biblical philosophy of history.

**This prophecy extends to the very appointed time of the end**

For the linguistic analysis of the clause **כי למועד קץ** see also endnote 288. To make some parallel to this phrase and in the same time to consider the elusive force of the difficult syntax involved is given the following table:

| Translation  | Hebrew phrase  | Reference |
|--|--|-----------|
| For, to the time of the end is the vision  | כי לעת קץ הקזון  | Dan 8:17  |
| For, to the appointed time of the end [is the vision]<br><i>or: for the appointed time has an end.</i><br><i>or: for at an appointed time the end will be.</i> | כי למועד קץ  | Dan 8:19  |
| for there is still a vision concerning those days  | כי עוד קזון לזמים  | Dan 10:14 |
| for there is still / not yet [to] the end of appointed time<br><i>for the appointed time has still an end</i>  | כי עוד קצע קץ למועד                                      | Dan 11:27 |
| ... until the time of the end, for there is yet to await for the appointed time  | עד-עת קץ כי-עוד למועד                                    | Dan 11:35 |
| the revelation about those evening-mornings is true,<br>but you have to conceal the prophecy, because it is for many days hence.                               | ומראה הערב והבקר אמת הוא<br>ואתה סתם הקזון כי לזמים רבים | Dan 8:26  |
| For there is still a vision for the appointed time;<br>it hastens toward the end, and does not lie. <sup>430</sup>   | כי עוד קזון למועד<br>ויפת לקץ ולא יכזב                   | Hab 2:3   |

These difficult paralleled Danielic phrases reflect in different degrees the last one quoted from Hab 2:3 as one can observe in the table above. Habakkuk received from God basically two messages. The first one (Hab 1) deals with the right judgement of God against the Jews, using Babylonians as executive agents. The second one (Hab 2) deals with the right judgement of God against Babylonians to reward their true motivation and their over-zeal in doing the job (Hab 1:11, cf. Is 47:5-6). Since this is essentially the message of Jeremiah too (Hab 1:6-11, cf. Jer 5:6.16, 25:11-12) I infer that in Hab 2:3, the prophet speaks about the appointed time of the 70 years that were to pass to the fall of Babylon and the liberation of God's people.

If *angelus interpres* borrowed this language from Habakkuk, it might be for an intended typological parallel between the end of the 70 years ushering in the time of

Israel's restoration through the quasi-messianic advent of Cyrus, and the end of the 2300 days, in "the time of the end," with the vindication of God's Sanctuary, His final Judgment leading to the enthronement of the Great Messiah.<sup>431</sup>

#### **Daniel 8:20 – The ram that you saw with the two horns...**

The Hebrew phrase **הַקַּרְנִים בְּעַל הָאֵיל** *the ram, which had two horns*, is very interesting when connected with the following nickname of the he-goat (**הַשָּׂעִיר** *the satyr*). Compare with **עֲשָׂתֶרֶת־קַרְנַיִם** "the two horned Ashtarte" of Gn 14:5. for a possible pun in **הַקַּרְנִים בְּעַל** lit. "the two-horned Baal" (in fact, *possessing two horns*). Note also the phonetic and graphic similarity between **אֵיל** *ram* and **אֵל** *god*. Both words (**בְּעַל** and **הַקַּרְנִים**) are very frequent in the oldest Hebrew texts, but this construction is exclusive to this verse.

The angel interprets the two horns as *the kings of Media and Persia*. This is not only an identification of the ram symbol. It is also a clue to the understanding of this historical entity from the perspective of the book of Daniel. Therefore, to image a Median Empire, followed by a Persian one in chapter 7, is completely unwarranted.

#### **Daniel 8:21– The he-goat, the satyr, is the king of Greece**

See also notes 289-290. When someone reflects on the demonic role of the he-goat (especially through its wicked horn) and on the Sanctuary-sacrifice theme of the vision, this goat reminds us Yahweh's adversary, Azza'zel, represented by a he-goat in opposition with the other he-goat chosen for Yahweh in the feast of Yom Kippur.<sup>432</sup> And, the term **שָׂעִיר** is used sometimes to refer mythological goat-gods identified by the Jews with demons.<sup>433</sup> In the Greek-Roman culture, this kind of mythological creature was called satyr, Pan, or Faunus.

The Bible mentions the Greek people as among the traders with Phoenicians (Ez 27:13.19) and one of those peoples whom God have to punish (Joel 4:6, Zec 9:13) and also to enlighten in the "latter days" (Is 66:19). In *Daniel*, the name applies to the Greek-Macedonian forces under Alexander, who founded the first "Greek" Empire.



The equation beast = king // kingdom is again to be seen in this angelic explanation. It teaches us that in other passages where we find the symbol of a king, a kingdom might well be intended.

### **The great horn between its eyes is the very first king**

This explanation adds to the preceding one and explains it. The goat must be a kingdom, not an individual king, if it is said about its horn that it symbolises its first king. Alexander the Great was indeed, the first king of the Greeks and of the Hellenistic Empire. See on v. 5c. Comp. Daniel 11:3. As v. 8 and 22 indicate, in parallel with chapter 11:4, this powerful horn had to be broken in the height of its glory (323 B.C.E.), as a very young man, after only 13 years of the most adventurous conquests. Alexander became the model of many other conquerors since.

### **Daniel 8:22—Four kingdoms shall stem from his nation, but not with his power**

These kingdoms, represented here by four horns and in chapter 7 by four heads of one leopard, are the kingdoms founded by 4 Diadochi (generals, successors of Alexander) that confederated against a series of regents. In 319 B.C.E., the four powerful opponents of the regency were Kassandros, Antigonos, Ptolemaios and Lysimachos.<sup>434</sup> When Antigonos proclaimed himself regent of the empire in 315 B.C.E., a new “quartet” confederated against him: Ptolemaios, Lysimachos, Seleukos, and Kassandros. In 311 B.C.E., the four belligerent Macedonians divide the Empire among themselves: Seleukos took Babylon with the most of Asiatic provinces, Ptolemaios took Egypt with its subjected territories (including Judea, Cyprus, Lybia et al.), Kassandros took Greece and Macedonia, and Lysimachos took Thrice and part of Asia Minor (which had to develop later in the powerful kingdom of Pergamum). In c. 303 B.C.E. they proclaimed themselves kings, to oppose the example of the regent Antigonos, then they crushed Antigonos and his son in 301 B.C.E., remaining sovereign kings of a divided empire, only to have continual wars between them.

## Daniel 8: 23 – In the latter stage of their reign

For the more probable meaning of אַחֲרֵיָת as *late, future*, in most occurrences, see note 291. The reign of the Hellenistic kings may be divided in two: an epoch of “giants” (323-168/146 B.C.E.) followed by an epoch of weakness, decay, disintegration and gradual fall in the grips of Rome (168/146-31 BCE).

## When the rebellious sins have reached their top

It is not clear whose sins are considered in this clause: of the Hellenistic kingdoms? Or, of the Jews? Anyway, it is recognised the wickedness of the Hellenistic rulers. If they are in view, then the demonic king that appears is viewed as a culmination of their wickedness. If the Jews are in view, then the rise of Antiochus is seen as a punishment for their sins. See also note 350.

There are theological and exegetical reasons to understand the speaker's intention to imply God's people (comp. 1Mac 1:12-17). This was always a key prophetic statement in strong relation to the covenant conditions<sup>435</sup> and to God's historical dealings with all nations (Gn 15:16b, Jer 46:21, 47:4).<sup>436</sup>

## There will stand a ruthless, bold-faced king, skilled in any sharp speaking.

The phrase עִז־פָּנִים means literally, “hard-faced,” that is *callous*, and is used about the foreign invasion predicted in Deuteronomy, *a people with fierce (bold) countenance*, knowing no fear, reverence, respect, shyness, or shame (Dt 28:50), and about *impudent, shameless, cheeky, insolent* people (Pr 7:13, Ec 8:1). The second phrase related, is מְבִין חִירוֹת – lit. *Understanding / skilled in sharp things*. Etymologically, חִירָה (like the Aram. אַחֲרֵה) is *something “sharp,” “acute,”* and its pragmatic, common meaning is: *riddle, enigma, dark saying, problem, charade, difficult question, acute saying, figure of speech, taunting proverb*.<sup>437</sup> It was an antique custom of displaying wisdom, by playing with difficult questions that were usually uttered in a poetic form, like proverbs. Kings and famous sages used to compete on this kind of “acute sayings”. Being able to make or understand חִירוֹת, means to be sharp,

keen, shrewd, astute, clever (a quality, which in many languages reflects not only a high IQ, but also arrogance, malice and perfidy). Compare with the demonic intelligence of the Lord of Tyre, Daniel's adversary (Ez 28:3 and the whole literary context). This demonic callousness and intelligence applies to Antiochus in some degree, yet some caesars and pontiffs later made a greater display of them.

#### **Daniel 8:24 – He shall grow strong in power, shall make extraordinary plans**

See note 292 for textual problems and translation. If Antiochus is still in view, this is a hyperbole, or a panegyric, if not an irony. But the author is serious, so that his continual stress on the power of that miserable Antiochus (who was forced to abandon his "conquests" ...) seems to point again beyond Epiphanes. Extraordinary plans he did, but did not succeed in all he did, as the prophecy (v. 24 b) requires. This should be very clear. His greatest success was posthumous: his ghost is now met by most theologians at every corner of the book of Daniel.

#### **He shall destroy powerful people**

See endnote 293. "Powerful people" seems to be in apposition with "the people of saints," and it is not easy to decide if Israel was meant or other people / peoples.

#### **His mind will be against the people of the saints**

This obstinate folly of determining all peoples to have the same cult, the right one, namely of the dictating power, is well illustrated in 1 Mac 1:43-44 about Antiochus IV, but Rome and its successional Antichrist represent the best historical candidates. Daniel 11:28.30 emphasises this hatred against the "holy covenant" displayed by Antiochus. The prophecy however did not stop there. It indicated that these repeated trials would continue up to the time of the end (11:35). And there is no hint in the text (either in ch. 8, or in chs. 11-12) that the writer meant an imminent end. Even the opposite is true: anyone reading this prophecy about Antiochus in chapter 8 or 11-12, gets the strong feeling of a continual delay of the end.

### **Daniel 8:25 – By his cunning he shall make deceit prosper under his hand**

The deceit here referred is probably the idolatrous worship Antiochus installed in Judea. This idea emphasises the other side of his character. He was not only cruel; he was also cunning, sharp. Many Jews converted to his pagan cult not by force (11:30b,31b, 1Mac 1:12-17). The same strategy was followed by Rome, and this is in fact, according to the NT (Jn 8:44), the complete character of the devil: liar and killer.

### **and he shall be great in his heart**

This is again a luciferic feature, the root of all the evil. It is worthy of note that this hubris is the dominant note of the pagan, persecuting kings in Daniel. Nebuchadnezzar is humbled and cured by God (ch. 4), Belshazzar is not cured in time and he dies (ch. 5). The Roman little horn of chapter 7 is so arrogant that continues his claims even after the divine court was set. The “exceedingly great” horn of chapter 8 is depicted to rise up to heaven and beyond, to God and His Anointed Priest, and its “greatness” is repeatedly mentioned. In chapter 11:36-39, this monstrous pride is described in incredible colours. Is this, only a cartoon drawing of Antiochus?

### **he shall unawares destroy many**

The greatest bravery of this king is to attack weak and peaceful people, to rush on them suddenly, and kill as many as possible (see also ch. 11:24). Just because of their different religion. This reminds us the Sabbath days when Antiochus fell upon the faithful Jews in the wilderness of their refuge (1Mac 2:31-32). Consistent with the double application of this prophecy, the revelation about his unusual bloodthirst was still more exactly fulfilled in the Middle Ages, when strong armies were sent against dissenting localities and countries to wipe them from the face of the earth. Only the *Night of St. Bartholomew* of Paris, August 24, 1572 (in fact, extended to a whole month or more in provinces) is sufficient to identify the professional Antichrist. Antiochus was a modest anticipation. He was only the first representative, whom the spirit of Rome sent to God's people.

### **he shall even rise up against the Commander-in-chief**

See note 294 and the comments on v. 11. The expression "and he shall be great in his heart... , ...against the Commander-in-chief, yet by no human hand he shall be broken", as an interpretation of the above mentioned verse "It exalted itself up to the Commander of the host, even to lift from Him the continual offering...". The visionary scene seems to evoke the classic episode of the self-exaltation of King Uzziah: "But when he became strong his heart was lifted up, to his destruction, for he acted treacherously against Yahweh his God by entering the temple of Yahweh to burn incense...." (2Ch 26:16).<sup>438</sup>

### **yet by no human hand he shall be broken**

It appears that Antiochus IV died in Babylon, fallen ill after receiving word about the revolt of the Jews and the restoration of their cult, according to 1Mac 6:5-16. But this phrase "by no human hand" refers to the final triumph of the Stone kingdom over the tenfold divided kingdom of iron and clay of the last age of this world (2:34.45). Thus the fate of Antiochus is only a type of the post-Roman world's sudden collapse at the End.

The author of Daniel is not favourable to any political and religious justice made by sword. This is a feature of this book the critics have yet to give account. And this is exactly the opposite of the character of the too long-lived horn.

### **IV.3.a.1.a.5. Gabriel's final instruction: the time revelation is sealed (8: 26)**

#### **Daniel 8:26 – and the revelation<sup>439</sup>.... is truth**

See note 295. The revelation, which Gabriel speaks about, is clearly that one about the time lapse until the end-time, until the vindication of the Sanctuary with its host, its daily service, its truth and its Captain Priest. It is clearly called the revelation about those "evenings and mornings," i.e. the 2300 days / years (see comments on v.14). Before leaving, the angel is ready to add about this puzzling time prophecy, in the style of a good *peshet*-maker as Daniel was (see 2:45e), that it is truth.

### as for you, seal up this prophecy

See note 296. The sealing may be understood as *keeping safe, preserving for long time* (cf. Jr 32: 11-15) or as keeping secret. Both meanings fit the context here, since it is spoken about “many days hence,” and “the time of the end,” and it is not revealed the whole truth to the Daniel. This partial revelation is rather a sign of authenticity, than a complete, detailed and exact revelation would be.

This prophecy to be sealed must be basically the same as that of chapter 11-12 that is similarly refereed: סתם הדברים נחתם הספר *hide and seal up the book*.

עֲדֵי־עַתָּה קֵץ *until the time of the end*. (as in 8:17c.19). The logical context of this expression defines without any doubt the kind of *end*, which the speaker meant. This is the period ushering in the last, eschatological battle – described in chap. 11:40-45 and terminated in chap. 12:1 by Michael’s raise to defend His people. And this is the same time of the end, after the 1260 days of 7:25 and 12.7, the time of judgment, resurrection and final reward.

That which in chapter 8:26 is only implied, in chapter 12:4 is explicit: the book shall be unsealed / opened by thorough examination in the time of the end, and the prophetic knowledge shall increase.<sup>440</sup> In Daniel 12:9-10, the injunction is repeated by Michael Himself, adding the continual need to cleanse God’s people by trials, especially in the time of the end.<sup>441</sup> Then He gives two more apocalyptic periods: 1290 “days” (from the time of the replacement of the *tamid* to install the *abomination*), to the time of the end (implied, spoken of in 12:7), and to wait still 45 days more (in total, 1335 “days”) until a happy end, whose nature remained also undisclosed to Daniel.<sup>442</sup>

### for it refers to many days hence

This verse refers to the time period of “[2300] evening-mornings” as ending “many days hence.” The phrase *many days*, on one hand equates the *evening-mornings* to *days*, as it was demonstrated, and on the other hand is a common expression meaning *for long time*. As the angel in v. 17 and 19 repeatedly showed it, this apocalyptic period must end in the “time of the end.”<sup>443</sup>

I.1.a.18 **Reaction: The prophet's perplexity – “no understanding” (8: 27)**

**Daniel 8:27 – So I, Daniel, was afflicted and laid sick for some days**

On the translation *afflicted* see note 297. The reaction of Daniel to the vision is not due to some physical weakness, as it seems at the first look. Comparing this experience and reaction to others, we may understand him better. The vision in chapter 7 caused excessive distress to Daniel (v. 15.28), while the prophecy in chapter 9 stirs no explicit reaction. It is not binding to have such reaction to a prophetic experience. When Jeremiah received a beautiful revelation about the restoration of his people, woke up happy and optimistic (Jer. 31:23-26). When Habakkuk received the revelation about the punishment of the Jews by the Chaldeans, he was frightened and mournful and began to pray for his people (Hab 1:6, 3:1-2.16).

The secret was too heavy for Daniel to keep it and too frightening to be shared. How to tell any Jewish friend that the expected empire of Cyrus will not bring the true restoration? That the world, including Judea, would be trampled by the Greeks, and that times even worse than the Babylonian exile would come? Yet until when? “Until evening and morning come 2300 times!” – a sealed prophecy, that is a *non-revealed revelation*, a paradoxical blow for reason and heart, only good to make one sick. To be so afflicted to lay sick a couple of days because of understanding what you would not happen, and because of not understanding what is the most important thing (*until when?*), is hardly a scenario invented by an obscure apocryphal writer in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. Why this insistence on the prophet’s reaction?

**then I got up and went back to my business in the king’s service.**

The book is consistent throughout its chapters, presenting a Daniel who was always in the kings’ service, in different offices. Daniel is received in the king’s service in Daniel 1:19, is exalted to a higher office in Daniel 2:48-49, which he declines in favour of his friends. Then he is still a head of the sages under Nebuchadnezzar (4:9) and Belshazzar (5:11). He is exalted as grand vizier under the now disputed king Darius

the Mede in Babylon (6:2-3), to the great displeasure of his colleagues. At the time of receiving this vision of chapter 8, he is probably the head of all Babylonian sages (8:1, 5:11). In the climax of his career of sage, the top model of all sages, Daniel is depicted as broken down certain days by his revelations and by his inability to completely understand them. Then he gets up to resume his daily duties. And the author did not feel any need to mention the precise nature of Daniel's office! All these sentences look like very serious notes in a personal journal. Or else, who wanted this story?

**I was so dismayed by this prophecy, and could not understand it.**

The preceding reference to Daniel's job is completely unhelpful, within a 2<sup>nd</sup> century apocryphal authorship, because the writer does not take any literary advantage from it. He just mentions it in this context of his deep affliction, to show that even when he was forced by his duties to get up, he was still affected, dismayed and suffered because he could not understand the prophecy.<sup>444</sup> What could not understand such a man who is depicted as solver of all enigmata? Could he not understand what means Media and Persia or Yawan (Greeks)? Did he not perceive what a horn is, or what means East and West? The only thing that gave him headaches was that strange figure of 2300 days, which he has to keep it safe and sealed until the time of the end.

#### **IV.3.b New revelation — an answer for the puzzled prophet (ch. 9)**

##### **I.1.a.19 *Chronological and theological context. The Medo-Persian rule and Jeremiah's time prophecy (9:1-2)***

#### **Daniel 9:1 – In the first year of Daryawesh son of Ahashwerosh**

For a discussion on the identity of this personage see chapter I.1.a.3, pp.22-29. In spite of all difficulties about this disputed ruler, the author of Daniel presents him in a most natural manner. He did not need to invent this mysterious king, just for dating his story. He could date it, for example, in the first year of Cyrus, which is mentioned as



a chronological landmark of his court life (Dan 1:21, 6:28), in connection with the seemingly short rule of this “Darius”.

The author of Daniel gives a few distinctive features of this ruler, that he was “of Median race,” that he was 62 years old (ch. 5:31), and that he was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans (9:1), possibly meaning that he was given authority by another (See note 300). This repetition “yea, in the first year of his reign” (v.2) is peculiar to Daniel’s style and it has the natural candour of authenticity.

### **Daniel 9:2– 1, Daniel, understood from the Sacred Books**

Lit. “from the books”. The addition “sacred” I think is necessary to help the reader understand the reference to the Hebrew Holy Scriptures, as we find in the context (re “the prophet Jeremiah”). Usually, סֵפֶר is used in the OT with the meaning of *letter, official letter, document*, and sometimes as *divine book / record*,<sup>445</sup> scroll (Is 34:4) or a certain *writing or literature* (Dan 1:4). The OT uses the term for “The Book of the Covenant,”<sup>446</sup> “The Book of the Law,”<sup>447</sup> different non-canonical books,<sup>448</sup> or any lay book,<sup>449</sup> a heavenly memorial book (Mal 3:16), the scroll of a Holy Scripture,<sup>450</sup> a special document / message written by a prophet,<sup>451</sup> and Holy Scriptures – the Book of Yahweh (Is 34:16).

This is, however, the first occurrence of unqualified סֵפֶר־יְהוָה To mean Holy Scriptures, like the Greek *Biblia* (“Books”). For a Hebrew writer, this is a natural use of the term, so that we could not suspect a technical use. The NT has also a single occurrence of the equivalent τὰ βιβλία in 2 Tim 4:13 with the meaning *The Holy Books / Biblical writings*.

From the first chapter of his journal of captivity, Daniel is described as a man of the books. No wonder that he used to study not only Babylonian letters, but the sacred writings of his own people. Though many other Scriptures refer to the Babylonian exile, Jeremiah only predicted explicitly the divine allotted time for the Captivity, *the number of years that, according to the word of Yahweh to the prophet Jeremiah, must be fulfilled for the ruins of Jerusalem, namely, 70 years* (9:2, Jr 25:1,11,12, 29:10).

Jeremiah prophesied this period exactly in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (605 B.C.E.), when Daniel says his exile began (Dan 1:1). The chronological connection between the dating of this chapter and this prophetic period cannot be incidental. When Daniel says he learned for sure this prophecy by reading the scroll of Jeremiah, it was the first year of "Darius the Mede" (v.1), that is the first year after the Medo-Persian conquest of Babylon (5:31 / 6:1), that is between the fall of 539 B.C.E. and the fall of 538 B.C.E., thus only 2 or 3 years remained until the fulfilling of the 70 years.

To better understand the emotional state of Daniel, we should remind that the old classical prophecies foretold extraordinary pictures of restoration<sup>452</sup> and he could read in Jeremiah 18 about the conditional way God fulfils His prophetic revelations.<sup>453</sup> Since no visible sign of deliverance appeared, the prophet found no reason to jubilate in reading the prophecy of Jeremiah. And even if his last perplexing vision had occurred years before, it certainly still troubled him. Daniel had all reasons to fear that the optimistic visions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, about the great post exilic, final restoration based on a new covenant might fail,<sup>454</sup> and his frightening visions about a long interim occupied by new and new kings / kingdoms, might prove to be true, as the angel said (8:26).

This is the logic of Daniel's turning immediately to prayer, and this is also the reason why he attached this narrative between the visionary experience of chapter 8 and the prayer with angelic/prophetic answer in chapter 9. These considerations are crucial for understanding the relationship between his non-understanding of the previous revelation ("until 2300", "...many days hence," 8:14.26), his prayer's profound request ("do not delay..." 9:19) and the new revelation of Gabriel ("Now I came to help you understand!" 9:22, "know this and understand!" v. 25a).

**Daniel 9:3 – Then I turned my face to the Lord God**

Daniel relates his experience of seeking God, as a special time dedicated to “prayer and pleas, fasting, *wearing* sackcloth and *sitting on* ashes.” Since probably in the same year<sup>455</sup> Daniel is reported to have been thrown in the lion’s den for not willing to interrupt his prayer custom for 30 days, it is possible to make a reasonable connection between this prayer and the general theme of his prayers, at least during that year. We must not forget the relevant mention of his windows opened toward Jerusalem (6:10).

**Daniel 9: 4 – I prayed to Yahweh my God**

All believing and unbelieving scholars must certainly reread this prayer of Daniel. It has not at all the air of a redaction affair. Just open your mind’s windows and kneel to read it, imaging yourself a penitent on the Yom Kippur, ashes on your head etc. Such an experience that cannot cost one much time, is highly instructive regarding the authenticity of this prayer. It is surely written before its original flame quenched. My decided conclusion about its literary influences and its place in the Hebrew Bible and OT theology, is summarised as follows:

1. All terms and much of the phraseology of this prayer are found in the early OT books.

But the praying Daniel was strongly influenced by the books of Deuteronomy,<sup>456</sup> and Jeremiah,<sup>457</sup> by Psalms,<sup>458</sup> and by the related prayer of Solomon (1K 8:20.23.43.47).<sup>459</sup>

There are also common language with Isaiah<sup>460</sup> and other books.

1. The language and the spirit of the prayer of Daniel greatly influenced the prayer of Nehemiah.<sup>461</sup>

2. The liturgical structure of the prayer has deep theological lessons. It relies completely on God’s mercy and blends in powerful emotional language confession of sins, acknowledgement of God’s justice and covenant faithfulness, and mediatorial pleas for Israel. Like a priest bearing on him the people’s sins, Daniel identifies himself with all

Israel that became guilty. In an authentic prophetic manner, each social rank, from top to bottom is repeatedly recognised as guilty. The whole prayer breathes the deep contrast between the absolute justice and faithfulness of Yahweh and the shameful ingratitude and continual rebellion of the chosen people. The actual request (for restoration) comes late in the prayer and is completely based on God's mercy displayed in the past, when He delivered His people from Egypt on the same basis: just grace and mercy.

3. The emotional temperature of this prayer is in a sensible crescendo until the old praying prophet expresses his deep concern and long prepared request in the cry, "... and do not delay!"

#### 4.3.2.1 **Reappearance of Gabriel during Daniel's prayer (20-22a)**

##### **Daniel 9:20 – I was still... praying**

This is not an incidental mention. It is repeated by the angel in chapter 10:12, and obviously would emphasise the ideal covenant relationship with God (Is 65:24). Prayers of His friends are answered before they are finished, or even before they are expressed.

##### **Gabriel that man**

Daniel calls him a "man," not to ascribe him human nature. This is because Daniel saw him in the previous vision having a human appearance (Dan 8:15-16). In fact, in most instances, heavenly visitors in the OT have human appearance. This is an interesting aspect of the OT concept about the heavenly intelligences.<sup>462</sup> The only exception is the visionary description of the כְּרוּבִים "Cherubs" (a kind of sphinxes, of spirit guardians) as composite "living creatures,"<sup>463</sup> as bearers of the divine *merkabah* (2Sam 22:11).

### **Daniel 9:21 – whom I had seen in the vision previously**

See note 261 for the same translation in Daniel 8:1. “The vision” **הַחֲזוֹן** refers obviously to the vision in the previous chapter (8), as indicated by: 1). the use of the definite article (**בְּחֲזוֹן** instead of **חֲזוֹן**), 2). the reference to Gabriel, the manlike being who appeared as *angelus interpres* in the previous vision, 3). the use of **בְּחֲזוֹן** *previously*,<sup>464</sup> and 4). the absence of any vision in chapter 9. Even the appearance of Gabriel is not a visionary apparition here, because the prophet is neither in ecstasy, nor in a dream. The narrator refers to Gabriel’s advent as to a normal visit, however abnormal it must be. Compare with the visit of the three heavenly beings – disguised as three men – to Abraham in Gn 18. Interestingly, while the prophet in vision was always terrified of seeing angels,<sup>465</sup> he has not the same reaction with this visit.

The reference to the angel by name (Gabriel), and to the vision of chapter 8, where he appears for the first time under this name as a heavenly interpreter, is a clear indication that the author intended to present the visit of Gabriel with a new message, as directly related to the message of that vision. Thus the message Gabriel has to deliver is not only a general answer to his prayer, but is specifically related to “the vision,” as Daniel’s prayer itself is connected, not only to Jeremiah’s prophecy of 70 years, but also to the previous revelation of long time till the happy end of God’s people.

### **approached me as sent in swift flight (or, wearied by the flight)<sup>466</sup>**

Whatever translation is preferred here, whether Gabriel was sent in swift flight, or he came wearied by the flight, the author wants to emphasise again the prompt answer of Heaven to his prayer. The angel visits him in a friendly, humane appearance; therefore it is not impossible to imagine the heavenly messenger as a common marathon courier sent to Daniel with the most urgent message, in a most tiring swiftness. This language has not much to do about the angels’ nature; it is instructive to underline the importance of the message to be delivered.

**at about the time of the evening offering**

Daniel’s usual course of prayer was three times a day (6:10), and this prayer occurred at the time when the *evening offering* had been made in the Temple. In Levitical law this is the technical term for “grain offerings,” for the grain offering accompanying the evening and morning burnt offering (Nu 28:3-8), and even for the whole burned offering, including the lamb sacrifice. It may be some connection between the *Sanctuary time (evening offering)* of his prayer for Israel’s forgiveness and restoration, and his vision about the *Sanctuary* with those 2300 *evening-morning... many days*, on one hand, and the message to be delivered (where Gabriel speaks about Messiah’s sacrificial killing to cancel all ritual offerings, on the other hand).<sup>467</sup>

**I.1.a.21 Gabriel resumes his explanation in order to answer Daniel’s dilemma (9:22-27)**

**IV.3.b.1.a.1. Calling Daniel’s attention to a new time revelation – “to understand” (9:22b-23)**

**Daniel 9:22 – He made me understand, he spoke to me and said**

The logic of the text resides in the same underlying thought about not understanding the previous revelation (8:27). This idea is stressed by the repetition of this motif (*understand – did not understand*) that connects Gabriel’s appearance in chapter 8 with his reappearance in chapter 9, and the two messages respectively. It is edifying to schematically display the occurrence of this motif, in order to understand better its exegetical force:

|   |   |                                 |
|---|---|---------------------------------|
| Revelation of the 2300 days<br>(8:14.26)                    | <b>Gabriel’s first explanation</b><br>– did not understand (8:27) | strong negative reaction (8:27) |
| Revelation of the 70 years                                  | – did understand (9:1)  | strong positive reaction (9:3)  |
| <i>Implied: the previous revelation, i.e. the 2300 days</i> | <b>Gabriel comes again to resume, to make understand (9:22)</b>   | reaction not mentioned          |
| <i>Implied: the 70 weeks</i>                                | – understand ! (9:23)   | reaction not mentioned          |
| 7+62+1 weeks  | – understand ! (9:25)   | reaction not mentioned          |

### **Daniel, I have come out just now to give you insight and understanding**

See note 303 regarding the translation. The angel does not refer here to general understanding or wisdom, or to the understanding of the revelation he has to deliver. He refers directly to the previous revelation (about the cryptic period of 2300 days) that Daniel did not understand and perplexed him so that he lay sick. It was shown above that this perplexity underlies his prayer up to his final request, "...do not delay, o Lord!"

### **Daniel 9:23 – After you started pleading, a message<sup>468</sup> was delivered to me**

Again the idea of God's quick response is stressed (see v. 20a.21a). Gabriel seems to say that he chose to come himself to Daniel to announce him, "*for you are precious to Heaven*"<sup>469</sup>

### **So perceive this message and understand the revelation**

The term **רְאִיָּה** meaning usually *vision, appearance* refers here to *the revelation / prophecy* yet to be delivered by Gabriel in the following verses,<sup>470</sup> and not to the previous vision (Dan 8:26a-27) or to the prophecy of Jeremiah alluded to in v.1-2, in spite of the appearance caused by all present translations. In this verse, *the revelation* stands in apposition with the *message* to be delivered. It means, *understand the following revelation*. This observation, however, does not invalidate other obvious links of this new oracle to the previous vision. In fact, the urging to understand the revelation just to be delivered is made for the very reason of helping him understand the former revelation, which Gabriel promised to do in v. 22.

IV.3.b.1.a.2. The great Jubilee revelation about Messiah, a key of the previous time prophecy (9:24-27).

### **Daniel 9:24 – A period of 70 weeks**

Consistent with the claim that the 70 weeks is *vaticinium ex eventu*, the historical-critical scholars generally agree that they extend to the time of Antiochus. Consequently they attempt to make reasonable application of textual data to show them relevant within their theory. The following schemes and comments represent the

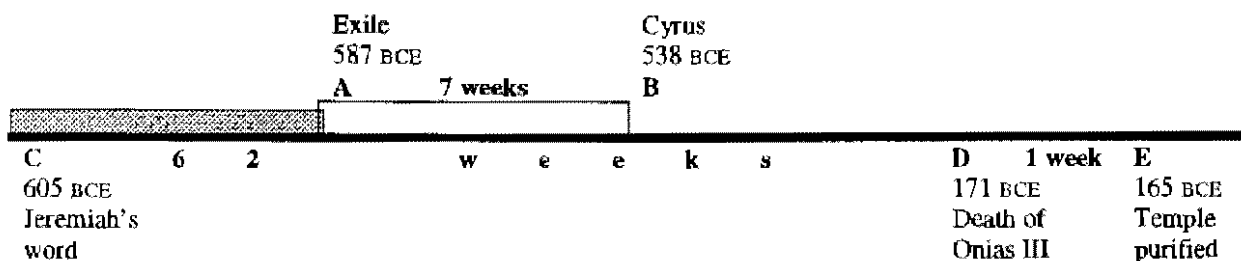
principal historical-critical attempts to solve the chronological application of the Danielic data. The solution of J. A. Montgomery,<sup>471</sup> which is representative for a large group of scholars may be outlined as follows:

7 0 W E E K S = 4 9 0 Y E A R S

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| A 7 weeks=49years   | B 62 weeks = 434 years                                 | C 1 wk =7 yrs D   |
|   |  | ?   |
| A <sup>1</sup> 48 years<br>586 B.C.E.<br>Jeremiah's word? | B <sup>1</sup> 368 years<br>538 B.C.E.<br>Cyrus' edict | C <sup>1</sup> 6 years<br>171 B.C.E.<br>(Honia) Onias III<br>murdered |
|   |  | D <sup>1</sup> 165 B.C.E.<br>Temple<br>rededicated                    |

Montgomery takes Jeremiah's word of Jer 25:1-2 to be the *terminus a quo* of these 7+62+1 weeks of years. But he disregards the date offered by Jeremiah (the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Nebuchadnezzar = 605 B.C.E.) and posits instead the later date 586 B.C.E., when Jerusalem met its final disaster in the time of Zedekiah. It seems to me an inconsistent and arbitrary choice. Thus the 7 weeks (roughly 49 years) are made to reach the decree of Cyrus, and the last week would be approx. 7 years (in fact, 6 years or even less) for events under Antiochus, from the murder of high priest Onias III, to the Hanukkah. The interval of 62 weeks (434 years between) is incredibly reduced to 368 years. Conscious of these inexact correspondences between the author's data and his findings, Montgomery surmised "a chronological miscalculation on the part of the writer," which is theoretically possible from an over-critical perspective, but not at all proved<sup>472</sup>

Another type of computations postulates parallel coverings of the specified periods of the 70 weeks. Maybe the most representative for this kind is that of A. Lacocques, which is represented below.<sup>473</sup>





However smart it is, since it seems to satisfy both the 7 weeks (49 years) and the 62 weeks (434 years), which the text required, this solution could not find a reasonable answer for a different beginning of the two periods. Thus the 70 weeks (490 years), which must be, according to the text,  $7+62+1=70$ , do not amount to more than 440 years. No magic can transform the 440 years (that happen to contain at least one period of 49 years!) in a total of 490 years. This is an academic hocus-pocus.

Some historical-critical scholars renounced any arithmetical approach to these weeks of Daniel, or take the position of Collins who says, "Daniel's 70 weeks of years is not so much a calculation of actual time as a conventional schema for a set period."<sup>474</sup> He sees in the 70 weeks a re-interpretation of Jeremiah's 70 years, but starts these weeks with Daniel's prayer, apparently contradicting his position.

A similar non-arithmetic position is that of Goldingay, although different from Collins. The only period he tries to identify is the last week (from the alleged death of Onias III in 171 B.C.E. to Hanukkah 164 B.C.E.).<sup>475</sup>

However, if some recent revisions of the Maccabean dates are considered<sup>476</sup> (in favour of the dates 168-165 B.C.E.), the last week of years would have last only 5 years! While there are still some objections to add, the statement of A. Bevan fits very well these approaches to the "unknown periods" of Daniel 9:

In reality, this theory is more obviously at variance with text than any other that has been proposed. Verses 22, 23, and 25, certainly imply that the duration of the weeks was definitely known; indeed, save upon this assumption, the speech of the angel would be, from beginning to end, a piece of elaborate mockery.<sup>477</sup>

In view of Bevan, the revelation was intended to give Daniel understanding. Therefore he added, "We are therefore bound to suppose that the author of the chapter knew what was meant by a week, and knew from what point the 70 weeks were to be reckoned."<sup>478</sup>

Concluding, the historical-critical schemata of the 70 weeks are just feeble attempts, though ingenious sometimes, to reset the Danielic data and force them fit the Maccabean thesis. Compared with the sorry, Christ-avoiding schemes above, the old

historical (Protestant) diagram is bright and faith strengthening. It was proposed by scholars and commentators like Johann Funck (d. 1566),<sup>479</sup> Georg Nigrinus (d. 1602),<sup>480</sup> Heinrich Bullinger (d. 1575),<sup>481</sup> Jacques Cappel (d. 1624),<sup>482</sup> Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727),<sup>483</sup> Johann Albrecht Bengel (d. 1752),<sup>484</sup> Samuel Osgood (d. 1813),<sup>485</sup> Archibald Mason (d. 1831),<sup>486</sup> John Brown (1820),<sup>487</sup> John N. Andrews (d.1883),<sup>488</sup> and is now supported by conservative exegetes like Jacques Doukhan, William Shea,<sup>489</sup> and a few other evangelical commentators as Henry Halley, the author of a practical handbook of the Bible.<sup>490</sup>

For linguistic treatment and translation of these Danielic *weeks* see notes 307 and 308. Now, if the solutions adopted by the historical-critical scholars are not acceptable to me, let us examine the Danielic passage in the conservative historical framework.

As we have seen up to this place, it is a continual concern of the author to link this new revelation of chapter 9 to the vision of chapter 8. Consistent with this concern, the author makes Gabriel deliver his message *ex abrupto*, with no other introduction but the attention called in verses 22-23, to resume his explanation left incomplete in chapter 8:26, and to answer directly Daniel's deep concern about *time*, i.e. the dilemma of those *not understood, sickening* 2300 days, and of those *understood, preferred* 70 years.

To grasp the deep logical continuity that was built systematically in the author's narrative from chapter 8:26 all through 9:24, a careful reading of Gabriel's explanation is first necessary, letting aside, for the time, the story about Scriptures and prayer, though important it is. as in the following table:

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| Gabriel's explanation <b>begins</b><br>— re <b>time</b> —  |  | 8:17 "Understand, son of Adam, that the vision points to the <b>time of the end.</b> "   |
| Gabriel's explanation <b>stops</b> incomplete<br>— re <b>time</b> —                              |  | 8:26 "...And the revelation about those [2300]' <b>evenings and mornings</b> ' is truth. (As for you, seal up this prophecy, for it refers to <b>many days hence</b> )." |
| Gabriel's explanation <b>resumed</b> with an<br>abrupt introduction           — re <b>time</b> — |  | 9:24 "A <b>period of 70 weeks is cut off thence</b> for your people and your holy city, until..... "   |

S. Talmon suggests that this period of 490 years is modelled after the time of the Egyptian enslavement and of Ezekiel's dramatic prophecy representing a total of 430 years of Israel and Judah.<sup>491</sup> But Talmon's idea falls quite short by 50 years when compared with the Danielic schema, so it is not convincing. The 70 weeks are certainly patterned after the law of jubilee in Leviticus 25:8 and the Jeremiah's prophecy. It is a symbolic and eloquent multiplication of both, by 10 and respectively by 7, as in Lamech's saying ("Kain...avenged 7 times, and Lamech, 70 times 7," Gn 4:24), which Jesus of the Gospels applied to the opposite idea of forgiving: "I do not say to forgive 7 times, but 70 times 7" (Mt 18:22). Both types, the legal (jubilee) and the historical (the new exodus from Babylon), mean liberation and restoration after slavery, captivity and exile.

If one would search for an exact historical pattern for the 490 years, then the time from the call of Moses to the Solomon's Temple is the most significant. According to 1K 6:1 (NRS), from Exodus to the foundation of the first temple have elapsed 480 years. And the whole duration of the works lasted 7 years (1K 7:1, 6:37-38, 9:10). If we assume a short period (2/3 years) from the call of Moses recorded in Exodus 3, to Israel's exodus out of Egypt, as a necessary time for the events described in Ex 3-12,<sup>492</sup> then 483 years lasted from the call of Moses to the foundation of Solomon's temple, to which we add the 7 years of the building works and so the total is 490 years to the finishing of The First Temple.

This historical pattern, which I did not find discussed in any commentary, fits better the prophecy of Daniel in most details and I am inclined to see it as a historical type with strong Messianic overtones. Compare the striking parallel of the two periods:

7 0 W E E K S = 4 9 0 Y E A R S

7 WEEKS=49 YEARS

62 WEEKS=434 YEARS

1 WEEK = 7 YEARS

|                                   |  |  |                            |                                      |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| word to<br>restore and<br>rebuild | the first<br>jubilee (of<br>restoration)<br>celebrated |  | Prince<br>Messiah<br>comes | Messiah<br>rejected<br>and<br>killed | End of<br>the allotted<br>time for<br>Israel |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|

49 YEARS

434 YEARS FROM THE  
CONQUEST TO TEMPLE

7 YEARS OF BUILDING THE TEMPLE

|   |  |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1448 BCE  | 1439 BCE   |  | 965 BCE  | 958 BCE  |
| word of God<br>to Moses,<br>to restore<br>Israel to the<br>promised<br>land | Rest.<br>The conquest<br>of Canaan<br>is practically<br>finished under<br>Joshua |  | The son of<br>David lays the<br>foundations of<br>the Temple | A stone<br>first<br>rejected<br>then made<br>cornerstone |
|   |  |  |  | End of the<br>temple's<br>building.                      |

The scheme above is based on an early date of the Exodus (1445 B.C.E.) under the Pharaoh Amenhotep II, the only date that matches the record of 1K 6:1. While dates are approximate, they are nonetheless telling. Three years before Exodus are supposed to be the approximate necessary time from the majestic theophany and the call of Moses. The time elapsed to the relative end of the conquest under Joshua is calculated as 3+40+6, where the 40 years represent the time of Israel's nomadism in Sinai (Nu 14:34) and the 6 years is the period of the conquest under Joshua and Caleb.<sup>493</sup> The reference to the rejected stone that later became a stone of destiny, the cornerstone, seems to be an incident occurred during the building of the Temple, which is not recorded, but only referred as a Messianic type (Ps 118:24, Is 8:13-15, 28:16) and it is applied in the NT to Jesus' rejection by His people (AA 4:11, 1Pt 2:6, Eph 1:22, Phip 2:6-11).<sup>494</sup> This is the great scandal announced in *Daniel* (9:26) and so accurately foreseen by Isaiah (52:13—53:12), which was fulfilled in a unique way in Jesus of Nazareth. The time lapse from Exodus to the climax of Israel's history, the reign of Solomon, is thus compared with another time lapse, from the new Exodus (of Babylon) to the true Son of David, which is seen as Servant and King, Sacrifice and High Priest, Builder, Temple and Cornerstone (Is 8:14, Zec 3:8-9, 6:11-15, Jn 2:19-22). As it was shown above, there are strong ties between the dedication prayer of Solomon and the prayer of Daniel for restoration. And

the last week of the new covenant, the years of the Church's formation in Judea have strong reference to the significance and typology of the Temple.

### is cut off thence<sup>495</sup>

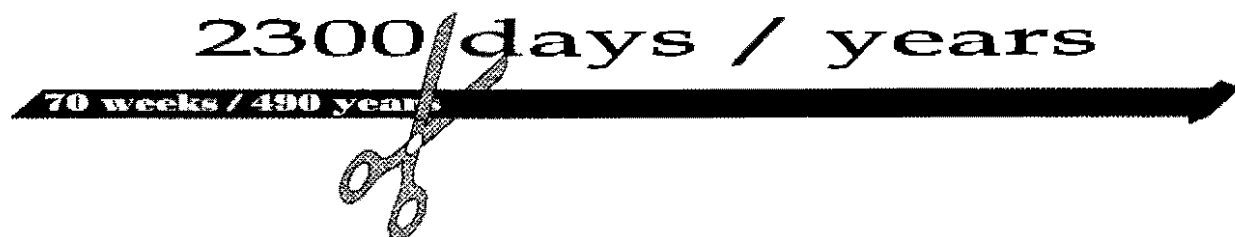
The passive  $\text{קָטְוּ}$  is a hapax, a Niph<sup>c</sup>al form of the verb  $\text{קָטַף}$ , possibly an Aramaic loanword. Its basic meaning is fully attested in different sources, as well as in related words of Semito-Hamitic origin. While LXX render it as  $\text{ἐκρίθησαν}$  ("are determined"), from  $\text{κρίνω}$  ("to separate / sever," "decide," "judge," "punish," et. al.), and Theodoret comments,  $\text{συνετμήθησαν, ἀντι τοῦ, ἐδοκιμάσθησαν, καὶ ἐκρίθησαν. οὕτω γὰρ τίνες τῶν Ἑρμηνευτῶν ἐκδεδώκασιν}$  (*were cut off, standing for were approved and determined; for some of the interpreters rendered in this manner*).<sup>496</sup> Theodotion, usually more scrupulous, translates it as  $\text{συνετμήθησαν}$  ("are cut short [from]"), followed by Jerome (*abbreviatae sunt* – "are cut off [from]").

The root  $\text{קָטַף}$  is found also in Akkadian (*hatakum* – "entscheiden"= cut off, sever).<sup>497</sup> In Arabic, *hataka* ("zerreißen"= cut up, dismember) keeps the same basic idea.<sup>498</sup> In Egyptian are found two similar roots (*hsq* – to cut off, sever, separate, set apart; and *hsk* – to cut, sever, dismember).<sup>499</sup> It is interesting to observe the pervasive character of this primitive root in other related African languages.<sup>500</sup> Whereas this occurrence of  $\text{קָטַף}$  in Daniel is unique in the OT, the root is well attested in the later Hebrew and Judeo-Aramaic writings. Köhler-Baumgartner Lexikon gives for it the meanings *cut off* and *decide*.<sup>501</sup> The two meanings are close related. And this phenomenon of deriving an abstract meaning out of a concrete image is well attested with other roots and terms.<sup>502</sup> And note the survival of this basic meaning through the medieval Jewish Hebrew and Aramaic, up to this time.

Thus,  $\text{קָטְוּ}$  is rendered as *to be cut off*, or *be decided*, the latter meaning being preferred by the lexicographer for this singular Biblical occurrence. Now, what are the criteria that any exegete should consider, to decide between the basic, concrete meaning of the term, and the derived, abstract meaning? Especially those holding to a 6<sup>th</sup> century BC origin of the book should be more careful to express the oldest, basic

meaning. This concrete meaning is so powerful, that after centuries, in the Talmudic Hebrew or Aramaic, and even in the Modern Hebrew, is preserved. Theodotion and Jerome chose the same concrete meaning, *to sever, to cut off, to deduct*. While this root expresses sometimes, in later Hebrew only, the meanings *to utter, decide, determine*, the author Daniel (or Gabriel himself, why not?) uses rather the verb חָרַץ in the given context (v. 25.26.27, cf. Dan 11:36), to express the idea of decision, and elsewhere he uses the verb מָנָה (in Hebrew as in Aramaic, chapters 1:10, 5:25-26), when he wants to express the idea of *assign, apportion, determine, count*, which would fit very well here, if he intended to say that. He could also use גָּזַר, which is a synonym, used in both his languages, and had got already the abstract meaning of *decide* (see Est 2:1 מְגַזְרֵי עֲלֵיהֶּ, and Dan 2:27.34, 4:4.14.21). But, if the speaker wanted really to give further explanation to Daniel on that mysterious revelation of a longer period in the preceding vision, he chose a special term to mean that the “70 weeks” are severed from the “2300 evening-mornings”. This is confirmed by the use of the verb in singular, to stress the unitary nature of the “70 weeks,” and by the *ex abrupto* approach of the angel to the subject itself, resuming actually, in this verse, his explanation after the interruption made in chapter 8:26.<sup>503</sup>

Thus, this time connection implies that the 70 weeks are *deducted, severed, cut off from* the longer period of 2300 days, as a tailor would cut out a piece of material from a longer fabric roll. In other words, the angel gives here a clue to understand the real beginning of the long period (2300 days); i.e. both periods have the same starting point.



See the comments on chapter 8:13 (pp. 116-117) about the lacking *terminus a quo* of the 2300 days and the only stress on the *terminus ad quem* (“Until when?”).

The German Reformed pastor Johann P. Petri (1718–1792), who was ministering near Frankfurt am Main, was the first to begin the 70 weeks of years and the 2300 years synchronously. Before him, John Tillinghast (1654) had advocated in England that the 70 weeks were a lesser period within the greater one of 2300 days, but curiously he had not begun them synchronously.<sup>504</sup> Petri published his finding in 1768 but it was not immediately followed. Though the historical dates he used were not so exact as we may find today, and the expected event occurring at the final term (the Second Advent of Jesus) was wrong, his observation nevertheless opened a way of destiny for the exegesis of this apocalyptic time. To him, and to a host of evangelical exegetes who followed him, (especially in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), the 70 weeks were the key that unlocked the timing of the 2300 years.<sup>505</sup>

The following table indicates the logical connections that Daniel and *angelus interpres* made between the vision of the 2300 days and the revelation of the 70 weeks, using suggestive key terms.

| Vision of Daniel 8<br>הָבֵן לְהִלֹּץ אֶת־הַמְּרֹאֶה (v.16)<br>וְאֵין מִבִּין (v. 27)   | Prophecy of Daniel 9<br>וַיְבִן וַיְדַבֵּר עִמִּי (v. 22)<br>עָתָה יֵצְאָתִי לְהַשְׁפִּילָךְ בִּינְהָ  |
|--|--|
| A. <i>Vision of the ram and the he-goat</i> (v. 2-12).   | D'. 2 <sup>nd</sup> REACTION. Daniel understands from the Books a shorter time for the final restoration (v. 1-2).   |
| B. Revelation of the "2300 בָּקָר וְהָעֵרֶב" evenings and mornings (v. 13-14)  | PRAYER: "Do not delay!" (v. 3-20)  |
| C. First apparition of Gabriel, "one like a man". (v. 15-18)   | C'. "Gabriel, that man [Daniel] saw in the preceding vision," comes again (v. 21).   |
| A'. <i>Explanation of the vision A</i> (v. 19-25)  |  |
| B'. מְרֹאֶה הָעֵרֶב וְהַבָּקָר (the revelation of the 2300 days) remains unexplained ("sealed"). It is nevertheless TRUE, extending for long time יָמִים רַבִּים (v. 26) | B''. Gabriel was sent to explain the "vision," and he emphatically cautions Daniel to understand (what remained unexplained, i.e. the 2300 days) v. 21-23.                                       |
| D. 1 <sup>st</sup> REACTION: Daniel puzzled. וְאֵין מִבִּין "There was none to make me understand" [the "vision" of the 2300 days] (v. 27).                              | B'''. A period of 70 weeks is DEDUCTED נִחְתָּךְ thereof, till the messianic events. This time is divided into 7+62+1 weeks, starting from a "word to restore and rebuild Jerusalem" (v. 24-27). |

The number 70 weeks, i.e. 70 x 7 days / years, is in itself symbolic and meaningful. First, it is linked in the context of this chapter, to the 70 years of captivity. As if say, the true captivity will end when Messiah comes. But the number has still more to speak. It is really a great period of jubilee to the restoration Messiah had to do, and Jesus proclaimed He did.<sup>506</sup>

**for your people and your holy city**

Gabriel is saying that the period of 70 weeks (490 days / years) was cut out from the 2300 days / years as a new, special allotted time for the Jews, until the fulfilment of their highest expectations. This is a direct response to both Daniel’s prayer (v. 16-19) and his perplexities. From his perspective, the prophecy could not become much clearer, but the details he wrote down and “sealed” prove helpful for those living in the time of the end.

**until the confining of the rebellion, until the sealing of all sins**

For the reason of this translation see notes 310-311.

לְכַלּוֹת הַפְּשָׁע      = *until the confinement of the rebellion,*  
וְלִסְגוֹר חַטָּאוֹת      = *until the sealing of sins,*

*To confine or close up the rebellion and / or seal the sins* is a less known, biblical metaphor. Here are a few examples for comparison:

|           |  |   |
|-----------|--|---|
| Zec 5:8   | וַיֹּאמֶר זֹאת הַרְשָׁעָה<br>וַיִּשְׁלֶךְ אֹתָהּ אֶל-חֹזֶף הָאִיפָה<br>וַיִּשְׁלֶךְ אֶת-אֲבֵן הָעֶפְרָת אֶל-פִּיהָ | <i>And he said, "This is Wickedness,"<br/>So he thrust her back into the basket,<br/>and pressed the leaden weight down on its mouth.<br/>(i.e. confined)</i>                     |
| Job 14:17 | חַטֹּתַי בְּצִרוֹר פִּשְׁעֵי<br>וְתִטְפַּל עָלַי - עֹנֵי   | <i>my rebellious sin is sealed in a bag,<br/>and You have sewn my wrongdoing.</i>   |
| Dt 32:34  | הֲלֹא-הוּא כָּמֵס עִמָּדֵי<br>חַטֹּתַי בְּאוֹצְרוֹתַי<br>(כָּפַר v. 43)  | <i>Is not this* laid up in store with Me,<br/>sealed up in my treasuries?<br/>[He shall make atonement / expiate, v.43]<br/>*(i.e. Israel's sin, see the context, Dt 32:1-43)</i> |

This is a forcefully expressive metaphor of God’s dealing with Israel’s sin, and it is more comprehensive, going beyond the meaning of the usual translation *to reach the*



*full measure / ending of the sin.* The sin is here seen like Rebellion (personified) to be confined in view of the Judgment day, or like a legal deed (bound and sealed) for the same purpose, if we take both phrases as synonym. But we may take them as complementary, and thus we could imagine Israel's transgression like in Zechariah's vision (ch. 5:8) – first confined, then sealed up – or like any other important thing / person closed and sealed.<sup>507</sup> The theological meaning of this image has not received the whole attention deserved; though when understood in the context of the following lines, it must have messianic application.

### **until the expiation<sup>508</sup> of any iniquity**

The sacrificial system of the Mosaic Law had to be fulfilled in the great expiatory sacrifice of the Servant of Yahweh (Is 53:4-12).

The three terms in this verse are the most common names for the sin. If they are all used, a complete and diverse manifestation of the sin is meant.<sup>509</sup> Each of their basic (etymological) sense suggests a fine distinction of meaning. For example, פָּשַׁע is the sin as rebellion against God's suzerainty, act of independence, violation or breaking of God's covenant (cf. 1K 12:19). חַטָּאת is the sin as wrong use of our free will, abuse of moral freedom, erroneous choice, missing the right or omitting it (Job 5:24, Pr 19:2 NRS). עָוֹן is the sin as moral perversion, opposing justice / righteousness / law / right (Pr 12:8). Consequently, פָּשַׁע is sin against a personal and sovereign God, חַטָּאת is sin against our own reason and conscience (as God given, spiritual image), and עָוֹן is sin against the universal right – the revealed law of God.

### **until the bringing in the eternal righteousness**

OT prophecies agree on the fact that the kingdom of justice / righteousness is the Kingdom of Messiah, the Kingdom of God.<sup>510</sup> An everlasting righteousness might be also a deed or an attitude that is considered righteous by God and worthy of mention forever, throughout generations.<sup>511</sup> Christianity is founded on this concept of

redemption, i.e. sacrificial, vicarious atonement for unrighteousness in order to bring instead everlasting righteousness.<sup>512</sup>

**until the sealing of both prophecies and prophets<sup>513</sup>**

NRS is right in translating the phrase “to seal both vision and prophet” (my underlining). This may be understood as an attestation or authentication of all prophetic revelation. Especially when the period of 70 weeks leading to the great Messianic jubilee of forgiving and restoration is viewed as being part of the long period, as it was shown above, the historical fulfilment of these events is for the believer a guarantee of fulfilment of all that remained to happen after the end of 2300 days, when the cleansing / vindication of the Sanctuary is scheduled.

The chiasmic structure of these six lines deserves all our attention. They are helpful for translation and for understanding the theological meaning of the prophecy. William Shea has already observed this poetic structure of v. 24.<sup>514</sup> He emphasises the thematic relevance of the chiasmic centre (C – C<sup>1</sup>), where the removal of iniquity by atonement brings in eternal righteousness (note that עֲוֹן and צְדָקָה are the best antonyms for one another) then he shows the verbal link between the lines B – B<sup>1</sup> (both lines have the same verb וְלִחְתָּם). Lines A and A<sup>1</sup> share the contrast between the first three lines (bicola) and the next three lines (tricola), the first one being the initiation of the subject, and the last one being the conclusion of the subject.

|                              |                | Number of<br>Hebrew<br>words |   |
|------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|---|
| לְכַלּוֹת הַפֶּשַׁע          | A              | 2                            | <i>until the confinement of the rebellious sin,</i> |
| וְלִחְתָּם חַטָּאוֹת         | B              | 2                            | <i>until the sealing of all misdeeds,</i>           |
| וְלִכְפֹּר עוֹן              | C              | 2                            | <i>until the expiation of any iniquity,</i>         |
| וְלִהְבִּיא צְדָקָה עֲלָמוּם | C <sup>1</sup> | 3                            | <i>until the bringing in eternal righteousness,</i> |
| וְלִחְתָּם חֶזוֹן וְנְבִיא   | B <sup>1</sup> | 3                            | <i>until the sealing of any vision and prophet,</i> |
| וְלִמְשַׁח קֹדֶשׁ קְדָשִׁים  | A <sup>1</sup> | 3                            | <i>until the anointing of a Sanctuary.</i>          |

The 70 weeks for the Jews, according to the lines above, should lead to the highest spiritual expectations and surprises, regarding both the culmination of God's grace for Israel and the culmination of Israel's disgrace for the way God displayed His true, everlasting righteousness. For the casual reader or the punctilious scholar, it is obvious the intent of the speaker in these lines. The sense of final solution for the problem of universal sin, pointing to God's true Sanctuary has Isaianic and Messianic overtones and appears as a fulfilment of the typological, ritual system of the earthly Sanctuary.

**until the anointing of the most holy sacrificial system**

The prophetic expression of Daniel 9:24, *וְלַמְשַׁח קֹדֶשׁ קְדוֹשִׁים* means literally, *and [up] to the anointing of a most holy thing*. The phrase *קֹדֶשׁ קְדוֹשִׁים* is a periphrastic superlative from *קֹדֶשׁ* holiness, sacredness, holy / hollowed / sacred / consecrated thing and from its plural *קְדוֹשִׁים*. The following table will be helpful to understand the pragmatic use of these terms related to the Sanctuary service and finally to have the best idea for the Danielic expression.

| קֹדֶשׁ קְדוֹשִׁים<br><i>a most holy thing, act, place</i>  | קֹדֶשׁ הַקְדָּוָשִׁים<br><i>the most holy thing (s)</i>   | (הַקְדָּוָשׁ) קֹדֶשׁ<br><i>(the) holy thing</i>  |
|--|---|--|
| <p><b>1Ch 23:13, any thing consecrated by priestly ministry:</b></p> <p>Ex 29:37, Ex 30: 28 (the altar of sacrifices and all its utensils).<br/>Lev 6:18-22/25-29, 7:1-6, 10:12.17, 14:13 (any sin / guilt / cleansing offering sacrificed in the place for the continual holocaust).<br/>Ex 30:8.10 (the golden altar for incense),<br/>Ex 30: 35-37 (the incense).<br/>Lev 6:10/17 (the unleavened bread for the priest), Lev 2:3.10, Num 18:9 (what was left from the offerings for priests to eat), Lev 24:9, (the bread of the presence).</p> | <p><b>Num 4:4.19, the most holy thing(s) / place (s) of the Sanctuary:</b></p> <p>Num 18:9-10 (parts of the sacrifices that were not burnt offerings, eaten by the priests (males) only. Ezra 2:63, Neh 7:65 (the grain / sin / or guilt offering, belonging to the priests), Ez 42:13 (pl: <i>קְדוֹשֵׁי הַקְדָּוָשִׁים</i>).</p> | <p><b>Lev 12:4 any sacred thing / time / place / person :</b></p> <p>Num 6:20 (the Nazirite's offering).</p> <p>Ex 30:35-37 (the incense)<br/>Lev 22:10.14 (the sacred food that the priest only and his household could eat), Ex 29:33-36 (the meat and bread left from the priestly consecration offering), Lev 23:20 (the first fruits and the 2 lambs of Pentecost), Lev 27:30.32 (any tithe).</p> |

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Ez 45:1-5, 48 10-12 (area of the land consecrated to the Temple / priests / Lord). Ez 43:12 (whole area of the new temple on the mountain)</p> <p>Lev 27:28 any <i>herem</i> – vow (in fields, animals, persons)</p> <p>Ex 30:25, 29-32 (the sacred ointment).</p> | <p>The second (inner) apartment of the Sanctuary, <b>The Most Holy Place</b> (Ex 26:33-34, Num 4:4.19, 7:50, 8:6, 1Ki 8:6, 1Ch 6:34, 2Ch 3:8-10, 4:22, 5:7, Ez 41:4).</p> | <p>Ez 45:1-5 (area of the land consecrated to the Temple / priests / Lord), Ex 40: 9 (God's earthly dwelling, <b>the Sanctuary</b>).</p> <p>Ex 26:33 (the first apartment of the Sanctuary, <b>The Holy Place</b>; sometimes is difficult to distinguish between reference to Sanctuary, in general, and reference to the Holy Place). 1Ki 8:8 (the place in front of the <b>הַבַּיִת</b>, <i>the Inner Sanctuary</i>).</p> <p>Ex 29:30, Lev 16:2.17.20.23, cf. Heb 8:2, 9:2-3.8.12.25, 10:19, Num 4:16 (the second apartment of the Sanctuary, <b>The Most Holy Place</b> – when it stands in conjunction with <b>מִשְׁכַּן אֹהֶל</b> <i>tabernacle</i>, as <b>The Holy Place</b>, especially in the Yom Kippur terminology)</p> <p>= <b>מִקְדָּשׁ הַקֹּדֶשׁ</b> Lev 16:33</p> <p>Any thing vowed or consecrated. Lev 19:24 (the fruits from the 4<sup>th</sup> year left on the trees), Lev 27:21 (the field during the jubilee), Lev 27:23 (the price of certain things whom the priest reckoned as against the jubilee), Lev 27:9-10.33 (things or animals that could not be substituted), Lev 27:14 (a house consecrated to God and assessed by the priest).</p> <p>Ex 31:14.15, 35:2 (the Sabbath day)<br/> Lev 25:12 (the 50<sup>th</sup> year, jubilee)<br/> Ex 30:31, Ex 37:29 (the sacred oil)</p> <p>Lev 21:6 (the priest who shares in the altar's sacrifices), Ex 28:36-68 (the high priest as sin-bearer).</p> |
|---|---|--|

We may see from this table that the phrase **קֹדֶשׁ [הַ]קֹּדְשִׁים** was used in reference to anything God said it is *most holy*, such as were the sacred objects, places and rites of the Sanctuary: altars, utensils, sacrifices, bread, vows, the second apartment of the Sanctuary (the Most Holy Place), and the whole site of the eschatological Temple. Much of the same objects, rites, places, are also named, simply, **קֹדֶשׁ [הַ]קֹּדֶשׁ** *holy, sacred thing*, but the latter is also used for holy days, times, seasons, persons (priests). Nowhere is the phrase **קֹדֶשׁ [הַ]קֹּדְשִׁים** applied to persons, therefore Jerome's translation (*et unguatur sanctus sanctorum*), possibly following the LXX, whose

ambiguity allowed such understanding, followed by some old translations, KJV, DRB, LSG et. al. *to anoint the Most Holy [One]*, is not reliable in this instance. The author should have written קָדוֹשׁ (הַ)קְדוּשִׁים if he intended to refer to a person.

The best understanding of this phrase in Daniel 9:24 is grasped when one considers the whole expression (including the preceding verb): לְמַשַּׁח קֹדֶשׁ קְדוּשִׁים *to anoint a most holy thing, or, to anoint some thing to become most holy*. And this expression has a unique usage in the Bible, in those places only where it deals with the first consecration of the Sanctuary ceremonial system. Never was anointed another Sanctuary or Temple in Israel:

|                       |  |   |
|-----------------------|--|---|
| Ex 40: 9<br>cf. 30:26 | וְלָקַחְתָּ אֶת־שֶׁמֶן הַמִּשְׁחָה וּמַשַּׁחְתָּ אֶת הַמִּשְׁכָּן<br>וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֵׁר־בּוֹ וְקִדַּשְׁתָּ אֹתוֹ וְאֶת־כָּל־כֵּלָיו<br>וְהָיָה קֹדֶשׁ | <i>Then you shall take the anointing oil,<br/>and anoint the tabernacle and all that<br/>is in it, and consecrate it and all its<br/>furniture, so that it shall become holy.</i> |
|-----------------------|--|---|

The anointing of the priests was included in the same rite of Sanctuary dedication.<sup>515</sup> The anointed high priest only could make atonement on Yom Kippur (Lv 16:32). The high priest was in charge with the holy oil (Nu 4:16). The anointed high priest owned so sacred position that he could not go out of his Sanctuary task, not even to attend his parents' funeral (Lv 21:12).

|          |   |   |
|----------|---|---|
| Lev 8:10 | וַיִּקַּח מֹשֶׁה אֶת־שֶׁמֶן הַמִּשְׁחָה וַיִּמָּשַׁח<br>אֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֵׁר־בּוֹ וַיִּקְדַּשׁ אֹתָם  | <i>Moses...anointed the tabernacle, and all<br/>that is in it, and sanctified them</i>  |
| Num 7:1  | וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם כִּלּוֹת מֹשֶׁה לְהַקִּים אֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן<br>וַיִּמָּשַׁח אֹתוֹ וַיִּקְדַּשׁ אֹתוֹ וְאֶת־כָּל־כֵּלָיו<br>וְאֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְאֶת־כָּל־כֵּלָיו וַיִּמָּשַׁחֵם וַיִּקְדַּשׁ אֹתָם | <i>When Moses finished to set up the<br/>tabernacle, he anointed it, and sanctified<br/>it, including all its utensils, the altar, and<br/>all its utensils, he anointed them, and<br/>sanctified them. (also Ex 40:9.11, Lev 8:10,</i> |
| Ex 29:36 | וּפָר חַטָּאת תַּעֲשֶׂה לַיּוֹם עַל־הַכִּפָּרִים וְחַטָּאת<br>עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בְּכַפָּרָה עָלָיו וּמַשַּׁחְתָּ אֹתוֹ לְקַדְּשׁוֹ   | <i>Every day you shall offer a bull as a sin<br/>offering for atonement. You shall offer a<br/>sin offering for the altar, when you make<br/>atonement for it, and shall anoint it, to<br/>consecrate it.</i>                           |
| Ex 40:10 | וּמַשַּׁחְתָּ אֶת־מִזְבֵּחַ הָעֹלָה וְאֶת־כָּל־כֵּלָיו<br>אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְהָיָה הַמִּזְבֵּחַ קֹדֶשׁ קְדוּשִׁים<br>וְקִדַּשְׁתָּ  | <i>You shall also anoint the altar of burnt<br/>offering and all its utensils, and<br/>consecrate the altar, so that the altar shall<br/>be most holy.</i>  |

Concluding, we may see in the phrase לְמַשַּׁח קֹדֶשׁ קְדוּשִׁים a Sanctuary system dedication, with all its furniture and utensils, because the Sanctuary and a lot of things related to it are called *most holy*. We may include a priesthood dedication (anointing),

for though priests are never called *most holy*, their anointing occurred with the Sanctuary's first dedication. Moreover, we have the Messiah (The Anoint and the Holy One *par excellence*) in this context, Whose anointing is attested by the NT.<sup>516</sup>

The most direct and precise application of the phrase above is in Ex 40 10, where the altar of sacrifices, anointed in the same time with the Sanctuary, is expressly called *most holy*. The altar was the centre of all ceremonial system. Gabriel's words do not specify which is to be anointed and made most holy, but these OT use of this expression was sufficient for a Jew to understand all its Sanctuary force, as a promise of a new altar and sanctuary dedication, related to Messiah, the Sacrifice and Priest. It is worthy of notice that the first Sanctuary (the tabernacle) only, was dedicated by anointing. The Temple was not dedicated by holy ointment, but through blood only. This would mean that the first and second temples were considered as pragmatic forms of perpetuation of the tabernacle's Sanctuary system. Presence of the *atonement for iniquity* in the preceding phrases, and of Messiah being "cut off" in v.26 are strong evidence toward this conclusion. The NT builds on this language, especially in Hebrew and Revelation, where the image of a better, true, heavenly Sanctuary of Jesus Christ is reflected as a new covenant concept of atonement and judgment.<sup>517</sup>

This understanding is closely related to the cryptic formula of Daniel 8:14 where the Sanctuary is said to be cleansed / vindicated at the end of 2300 days. And we need to remember that in Daniel 8:11c, the Hebrew phrase used for the Sanctuary applies both to the celestial abode of God and to its earthly reflection (see comments on p. 112), like the prophecy about the pretty too long horn applies to both Antiochus and his spiritual posterity (especially Rome of the Caesars and of the pontiffs). The anointing of a different Sanctuary system announced in this prophecy is paralleled to Messiah's death and covenant for many (see comments on v. 26.27) and to the alienation and destruction of the Jewish Sanctuary and City. All these must be related somehow to the end of the 70 weeks allotted to the Jews.

## **Daniel 9:25 – Know *this* and understand *it***

Daniel and Gabriel use obsessively the root פִּב or equivalents in chapters 8–9, especially when they mean time mysteries. See comments on 8:27c, 9:22.23.

### **from the issuing of a decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem**

Concerning reasons for this translation, see notes 315-316. Re the *word / decree* here in view, some scholars, especially those who cannot accept the 70 weeks span beyond Antiochus' epoch, prefer a translation based on the *word of YHWH to Jeremiah* spoken of in v. 2, a clear reference to Jer 25:1.11. Smart proposal is it, but God's resolution in Jeremiah 25 is not first a promise of restoration, but a doom of desolation and captivity. A restoration is certainly implied there, as Daniel perceived, but it is not the main thrust of that *word*. Since the actual dating and pace of that restoration suggested by the time-limited doom message of Jeremiah was a conditional prophecy (cf. Jer 18:6-11) as Daniel did not fail to understand – the content of his prayer and his knowledge of Jeremiah's oracles are best witnesses –, the prophesied end of captivity could not mean but the royal decree of restoration, which was expected from Cyrus (cf. Is 44:28, 45:13-14). If Cyrus completely fulfilled this prophecy, as expected, is another interesting question and it is a real challenge for the scholars who hold to a late (Persian) date of ["Deutero-"] Isaiah's prophecy. It is also a challenge for fundamentalist scholars who do not accept any conditional prophecy that might have not been fulfilled.

The term *restore* is acceptable here in the sense indicated at point 5 of the entry *restore* in Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary: "5. to give back; make return or restitution of (anything taken away or lost)."

This decree of restoration and rebuilding the postexilic Jerusalem cannot be the decree of Cyrus (Ezra 1, c. 538-536 B.C.E.) or that of Darius the Persian (Ezra 4:1-5.24, ch. 5-6, c. 519 B.C.E.), since they deal only with limited rights related to the Temple's rebuilding after the first caravan of repatriate Jews returned in Judea to settle there. The only imperial words that remain are those of Artaxerxes I in his 7<sup>th</sup> (457 B.C.E.) and 20<sup>th</sup>

years (444 B.C.E.), to which the journal of Ezra and Nehemiah testifies (Ezra 7:8-26, Ne 2:1-9).<sup>518</sup> Many fundamentalist-futurist commentaries today prefer the 20<sup>th</sup> year of Artaxerxes, because the letter handed to Nehemiah deals explicitly with the walls of Jerusalem. The usual futurist schema looks like the following:<sup>519</sup>

| 7 0 W E E K S                                   |  | =  | 4 9 0 Y E A R S   |                  |
|---|--|--|---|------------------|
| <u>69 weeks = 476 years</u>                     |  |  | <b>A LONG GAP</b><br>PARENTHESIS  |                  |
|   |  |  | future, apocalyptic time,<br>beginning with an<br>invisible Advent of<br>Christ and rapture of the<br>Church<br>the 70 <sup>th</sup> week |                  |
| A1  |  | B1   | ? 7 years ?   |                  |
| 445/4 BC<br>20 <sup>th</sup> year of Artaxerxes |  | AD 32/33<br>Triumphal entry<br>of Jesus in Jerusalem | Antichrist<br>Covenant  | Second<br>Advent |

But this is a superficial choice, because there is important evidence that Jews had began the work of rebuilding the city walls before Nehemiah. Nehemiah was concerned with recent destruction of the wall, not with the first destruction under Nebuchadnezzar, more than 130 years before (Ne 1:1-4). And the journal of Ezra actually mentions the beginning of rebuilding of the city early in the reign of Artaxerxes (Ezra 4:9-23, see especially vs.12.21-23). It is most likely that the beginning of this work was done on the basis of the first decree of Artaxerxes in his 7<sup>th</sup> year (457 B.C.E.), and then cancelled after a subsequent order of the versatile King Artaxerxes, because of the governors' intrigue and probably because of the political context. A number of elements help us evaluate the evidence:

1. Ezra included in his book a copy of the decree of the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Artaxerxes (457 B.C.E.), which is the largest in size, content and spirit, compared with the previous decrees of Cyrus the Great and Darius Hystaspes (Ezra 1:2-4, 6:3-12, 7:12-26). This decree deals also with the service and renovations of the temple, but it gives the Jews actually a higher political status, restoring to them juridical (religious and civil) autonomy under the Persian suzerainty (v.24-26). Ezra was authorised to appoint magistrates and teachers of the Law, and establish the Jewish City courts with full autonomy to punish the lawbreakers. This was more than just rebuilding a city wall.



Ezra was explicitly given freedom to do anything he thought right within the limits and in the spirit of this decree (v.18).

2. While the rebuilding of cities is not specifically mentioned in Artaxerxes' decree, nevertheless, Ezra relates about a first rebuilding of the city under Artaxerxes (Ezra 4:7-12).<sup>520</sup> This must be Artaxerxes I, because it is mentioned immediately after Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes (4:3-6). Since this rebuilding was countermanded by the king and stopped violently by the governors of the province (who likely destroyed the work), it is reasonable that it happened before the first term of governorship of Nehemiah, because Nehemiah received word of a relatively recent devastation of Jerusalem's gates and walls, and because the authorisation of Nehemiah fills the implicate provision of Artaxerxes to give a later, special authorisation for rebuilding (Ezra 4:21).

3. That the rebuilding of the city in Ezra 4 could not be that undertaken by Nehemiah, is clear from v. 12, where the complaining governors refer in their letter, only to the Jews who came under Artaxerxes (see Ezra 7:7, 8:1-36), whereas Nehemiah was not accompanied by a group of repatriates.

4. It is highly improbable that the Jews would have begun to rebuild the city without imperial permission. Postexilic authors Haggai, Ezra and Nehemiah describe them quite fearful and not ready to achieve the prophetic tasks of a complete restoration. It is hard to believe that such people would have run the immense political risk of building without authorisation, in times when this could mean death penalty.

5. Artaxerxes' order to cancel the work of rebuilding reveals his complicity with the Jews, because he did not punish them at all, and even left open the possibility to reconsider this measure in the future (Ezra 4:21-22), whereas the local governors employed the Artaxerxes' counter-order to use violence against the builders.

Owusu-Antwi makes a strong case for the Artaxerxes' decree of 457 B.C.E. and against the late authorisation given to Nehemiah (444 B.C.E.) to go and rebuild the City.<sup>521</sup> His is probably the most convincing work on the chronology of Daniel 9:24-27.

## to MESSIAH the RULER

BDBG (603) gives as special meaning of מָשִׁיחַ in Daniel 9:25-26: *Messianic Prince*, according to Briggs (*Messianic Prophecy*), then refers to others who shuffled in v. 25 Cyrus the Great or the high priest Joshua, and in v.26, the Syrian king Seleucus IV or the high priest Onias III. This is a serious challenge for any Christian scholar, because it is the only place in the OT to refer directly to the Eschatological Saviour. To meet it, I propose a number of reasons, which can substantiate the traditional Christian exegesis. For a large linguistic analysis of this title, see notes 317-318. The weight of evidence points to the Great Messiah expected by Jews, and not to a commonly anointed priest or king, in spite of so much ink wasted to prove the opposite.<sup>522</sup>

**there will be 7 weeks plus<sup>523</sup> 62 weeks.**

The pragmatic test of this revelation of Gabriel is to reckon  $7 + 62 = 69$  weeks (483 years) from the first decree of Artaxerxes I (457 B.C.E.) to Messiah the Ruler. The period points not to His birth, but to His official anointing as the Divine King-Priest. According to the Jewish Law and custom, the age of 30 was considered the full maturity to occupy a public office (Nu 4:3.23.30.35.39.43.47, 1Ch 23:3). Biblical writers specifically indicated that Joseph entered his high office when was 30 years old (Gn 41:46), and the same minimum, ideal age is given for Saul (1S 13:1) and David (2S 5:4). NT specifies the age of accession to office for Jesus only, Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, *Jesus was about thirty years old when he began his work*. (Lk 3:23 NRS, underlines mine). This mention of Luke who claims to have done detailed search in view of writing his Gospel (Lk 1:3-4), is made in the context of Jesus' Baptism, described as accompanied by majestic signs, proclaimed Messiah by God Himself and by John the Baptist (Lk 3:1-2, Jn 1:29-36). NT emphasises this thought that Jesus at His Baptism (signifying His undertaking the vicarious death and resurrection as Representative of all humans, Rm 6:3-10) was anointed with the Holy Spirit (Lk 4:18, AA 10:37-38). Moreover, Luke indicates as precisely as he could, for all practical purposes, the date of these events, to be the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Tiberius Caesar (Lk 3:1).

|  |   |
|--|---|
| 15 <sup>th</sup> year of Tiberius  | 29 (Roman reckoning) or 27–28 fall to fall, according to the oriental reckoning, by non-accession year method. <sup>524</sup> |
| Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea  | 26–36 CE  |
| Herod (Antipas), tetrarch of Galilee,<br>(Herod) Philip tetrarch in Iturea and Trachonitis | 4 BCE–39 CE<br>4 BCE–33/34 CE   |
| Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene<br>joint with the high priest Annan                          | ? unknown by historians<br>6–14 alone, but having controlling authority beyond this time                                      |
| Priesthood of (Joseph) Caiapha   | 18-36 Caiapha's son-in-law  |

Other two important chronological dates about Jesus' age at His baptism is His birth under the Herod the Great, who is certainly known to have died in March/April 750 AUC (4 B.C.E.), while Jesus was born shortly, probably a few months before that time (Mt 2:1-3.13.19-22),<sup>525</sup> between the fall of year 5 B.C.E. and the winter of 5 to 4 B.C.E.. 30 years from that time means a period between the fall of 26 C.E. and the spring of 27 C.E.. Since the 15<sup>th</sup> years of Tiberius, according to the oriental (inclusive, non-accession year, fall to fall calendar) reckoning probably used by Luke, requires the Jewish year Oct. 27 C.E. — Oct. 28 C.E., the only solution that fits most criteria is a short period after Oct. 27 C.E. as time of His Baptism. Jesus must have been by then nearly 31 years old, and note that Luke does not say 30 years, but about or approximately 30 years, i. e. fit for a public ministry.

A corroborating date is given by John (Jn 2:20) who records that, according to the Jews' reply, 46 years elapsed since Herod the Great began the renovation of the Temple until the first Passover that Jesus attended in Jerusalem a few months after His baptism. Since the Temple began to be renewed in 735 AUC (19 B.C.E. ), 46 years lead us to the year 28 C.E. for the first Passover attended by Jesus in Jerusalem after the beginning of His public ministry.<sup>526</sup>

This date, the fall of year 27, fits perfectly the requirements of the prophecy and proclaims Jesus of Nazareth the True Messiah, with John the Baptist. Not the kind of Messiah expected by the Jewish theologians of the time and by an oppressed people, but the kind of humiliated and oppressed Messiah, as indicated by His descending in the baptismal water, and by the proclamation of John the Baptist: "Here is the Lamb of

God, who takes away the sin of the world!" This very aspect is emphasised in Daniel 9:24-27.

Concerning the need of describing this prophetic time as 7+62 years, and not directly 69 years, it should be said, that the speaker wanted to emphasise the *sabbatical, jubilee* significance of this period. There is no historical event in the usual sense for the end of the first 49 years of this prophecy. Some said it was the end of the restoration. We might admit that the year 408 B.C.E. was about the closing time of the restoration, including religious civil and reforms under the last prophets and high priests of Israel that were mentioned in the Old Testament. However, the mention of the 7 weeks of years is a direct reference to the first jubilee (the 49<sup>th</sup>/50<sup>th</sup> year) after the restoration, which must have been in itself a historical event.<sup>527</sup> One could not experience more than two such events in his or her life. According to the Law that was supposed to be taught and respected after Artaxerxes' decree, the jubilee meant the restoration of full ownership over lands, houses and other alienated goods, after the seventh year that brought freedom from slavery.

To fully test the historical relevance of this true prophecy, one might search through the postexilic Jewish history up to the last destruction of Jerusalem (70 C.E.), in order to find sabbatical years or jubilees recorded, to check their possible time connection to this prophecy. If this might be proven, then the old evangelical identification of the 70 weeks is not just the best or the only acceptable interpretation of Daniel 9, but even a scientific demonstration.<sup>528</sup>

### **Meanwhile both square and decision-making will be restored and rebuilt**

For the specific problems and the strong linguistic support in favour of this translation see notes 320-321. What this line requires is exactly what the decree of Artaxerxes of Ezra 7 did (Ezra 7:25-26) a full civil restoration that transformed the crowds in a people, in a nation, even in difficult conditions, as the angel says, *even in troubled times*.<sup>529</sup>

### **Daniel 9:26 – yet after the 62 weeks, Messiah will be cut out**

As it was shown above, the 62 weeks added to the first 7 weeks, reach the autumn of the year 27 C.E.. After the 62 weeks does not necessary mean exactly at the end of that period, because Gabriel spoke in v. 25 that this period leads to Messiah the Ruler. His death could not have occurred in the same time with His public appearance to begin His ministry. While the traditional date 33 C.E. should be rejected,<sup>530</sup> the only scholarly dates held today for the great events of Crucifixion / Resurrection / Ascension are years 30 or 31. Both data come short after the 62 weeks, as the prophecy requires. Then Messiah had to be –and was – *yikareth*, i.e. *cut off, meet death punishment, slain as a covenant sacrifice*.<sup>531</sup> This excruciating event, seemingly has no other explicit match in the TNK but the extraordinary prophecy of Isaiah (ch. 53). The historical reality that the highest authorities of God's people agreed to condemn Jesus of Nazareth had sound like a popular legend, if the other "peoples of God" would have not murdered many of their saints and reformers.

### **and neither the City nor the Sanctuary shall be for Him**

For this translation see note 324. City and Sanctuary, Kingdom and Priesthood are the very definition of the messiahship. This may be understood in the sense that Jesus died without any recognition from the part of His people. Old conditional prophecies foresaw the glory of Jerusalem and the Sanctuary in connection with the presence of Messiah (Is 9:6-7, 11:1-10). Jesus strove sincerely to avoid this catastrophe and, paradoxically, though knowing that He goes the way of Cross, He longed and worked toward Jerusalem's immediate glory (Lk 19:41-44, cf. Lk 7:30). The clause may mean also that neither the city (the lay people), nor the Sanctuary (the priests) was to be pro Jesus. In other words, from that time on, the people remains with their city and sanctuary, with their politic and theology, separated from that one that only could give meaning to all these.

### **The people of the Ruler who is to come will become corrupt (or, be destroyed?)**

Concerning this translation and the possible meaning *be destroyed* for this verb, see note 325. The Coming Ruler from this verse cannot be another but the same who is called *Messiah the Ruler* in v. 25, then *Messiah* in v. 26b, and now *the Ruler who is to come*. Concerning the corruption envisioned: this was a snowball effect of rejecting the true Messiah. False leaders and even false messiahs had to appear and lead the people to a complete ruin.

### **and find its end in an overflowing invasion**

Moral, political and religious corruption invited repeated disaster in the Biblical history of Israel. The Roman legions overflowed<sup>532</sup> and overwhelmed the people in the years 70 and 135. The Jewish people has not been exterminated, neither this prophecy required this. Most of the Jews by then lived outside Judea. But the Palestinian Jews and especially Jerusalem, i.e. those who witnessed the works and heard the teachings of Jesus the Messiah and did not repent within their time of probation, met their terrible end with the stones of the Temple. Jesus predicted this end of Jerusalem 40 years before it happened.<sup>533</sup>

### **Even to the end it was determined war *and* desolations**

It is the end of this aeon in view of Gabriel here, the End, and not a historical end of a political entity, like the end of the people from the preceding line. Up to the End, the people and its historical home faced war and desolations. Concerning linguistic analysis see notes 327-328.

### **27 He shall prove strong *His* covenant for many, through one week**

For basic linguistic analysis see notes 329-330. Since Messiah dominates the previous two verses / stanzas, being the logical subject, it is normal to understand the pronoun *He* as referring to Him. When the literary structure is analysed, this intent of the prophecy becomes more obvious. As shown by Owusu-Antwi's<sup>534</sup> schemes of

parallel and chiasmic structure of these lines, the safest conclusion is that the author had the Great Messiah in his in mind:

|     |    |                                |   |
|-----|----|--------------------------------|---|
| 25a | A  | city restored, Messiah comes   | from [...] restore [...] <b>Jerusalem until MESSIAH the Ruler,</b>            |
| 25b | B  | time                           | <i>there will be 7 weeks plus 62 weeks.</i> [...]                             |
| 26a | B' | time                           | <b>and after the 62 weeks,</b>  |
| 26b | A' | Messiah killed, city estranged | <b>MESSIAH will be cut off , City and Sanctuary shall not be for HIM</b>      |
|     |    |                                |   |
| 27a | A  | a covenant confirmed           | <b>HE shall prove strong <i>His covenant</i> for many people,</b>             |
| 27b | B  | time                           | through <b>one week,</b>  |
| 27c | B' | time                           | and in the middle of <b>that week</b>   |
| 27d | A' | [a covenant] cancelled         | <b>HE will cause all <i>ritual sacrifice and offering</i> to cease.</b> [...] |

This is strengthened by the fact that the direct object *בְּרִית* *covenant*, is used 7 times (9:4.27, 11:22.28.30.32) in *Daniel*, each time referring to God's covenant. Therefore, He who causes this covenant to triumph (to prevail) must be the One in close connection with God, which is Messiah.

Many translators forced the Hebrew verb to mean "make" a covenant, whereas it means rather to prove strong, to strengthen, to prevail. As Kline says, "the force of this verb *higbîr* excludes the notion that the covenant referred to in Daniel 9:27a is some arrangement imposed by a future antichrist,"<sup>535</sup> and one might add by the same logic, that neither Antiochus could be the referent of this prevailing covenant.

Concerning the use of *בְּרִית* in Daniel 9:27, the classic BDBG Lexicon confirms the Messianic application.<sup>536</sup> Goldingay also says, "the covenant....could refer to the covenant between God and Israel referred to in 9:4, 11:22.28. 30.32."<sup>537</sup> The "cutting off" of Messiah in vs. 26, and the prophecy about His cancelling all sacrifices system in the middle of the last "week," points to the powerful NT assertions that interpret Christ's unjust condemnation as a gracious expiatory sacrifice – a new covenant sacrifice that cancelled, by its absolute force, all symbolic sacrifices of the old covenant.

Unfortunately, scholars who understand the subject of this sentence to be an enemy of the Jews (Antiochus or a future Antichrist) do not see the powerful Messianic import of the phrase *בְּרִית לְרַבִּים* *a covenant for many people*, and of other thematic words that Daniel 9:24-27 shares with some prominent OT and NT Christological scriptures.<sup>538</sup>

|             |                                       |  |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Mat 26:28   | τοῦτο γάρ ἐστίν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς       | This is My blood – <b>of the covenant</b> – shed for |
| Mk 14:24    | διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν               | <b>many people</b> , to the forgiving of their sins. |
|             | ἐκχυννόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν      |  |
| Is 53:11.12 | יְצַדִּיק צְדִיק עַבְדִּי לְרַבִּים   | <b>My Righteous Servant</b> shall make <b>many</b>   |
| see also Is | וְעֹנֹתָם הוּא יִסְבֵּל               | <b>people</b> righteous, because He Himself bore the |
| 52:14, 15   | וְהוּא חָטְאֵי רַבִּים נָשָׂא         | burden of their unrighteousness.                     |
|             |                                       | ... He took the sin of <b>many people</b>            |
|             | וְאֶתְּנָה בְרִיתִי בֵּינִי וּבֵינְךָ | I establish My <b>covenant</b> between Me and you,   |
| Gn 17:2.4.  | וְאֶרְבָּה אוֹתְךָ בְּמֵאֵד מְאֹד     | and I shall multiply you exceedingly.                |

Thus the "covenant for many" of Daniel 9:27 is the messianic covenant made for Israel first, then for all peoples. Christ's statement in Mk 14:24 is clearly an application of the Danielic prophecy. That "one week" spoken of in this verse is the seventieth week, which had remained to be mention after the 7+62 were mentioned. Historically, the last week (7 years), divided in two periods of 3 ½ natural years, is the special Messianic week, when Christ worked for His people, healed, taught, suffered, died, resurrected, ascended, and continued to work for people through His Vicar the Holy Spirit, through apostles and other disciples (Jn 14:15-17).

The first half of this week is described in the four Gospels, and the second is found as a continuation of the account of Luke, in the first 7 chapters of Acts of Apostles. These last seven years to confirm the covenant for many, were designed to be for the Jewish people. As Jesus worked for Jews only in His time, so the apostles were commanded to begin their work in Jerusalem and Judea, healing and proclaiming the forgiving grace of God through Jesus for all His enemies. The new covenant proved itself stronger than Death and Hades. And the Apostles actually continued the work of Jesus exclusively in Judea for some years after the Crucifixion. Only when the Jews definitely rejected the Gospel preached under the power of signs of the Holy Spirit, only then the main force of the Gospel was directed toward pagans (Gentiles).

The crucial historical moment of this change in the history of Christianity is the Sanhedrin's launch of the first "crusade" against Christianity, starting with the martyrdom of Stephen (AA 6:7—8:3), and the beginning of the mission among pagans (AA 8:4-40 Samaritans, an Ethiopian et al.). This universal trend in Christianity rose quickly to unexpected dimensions with the conversion of the very Jewish Inquisitor



Saul, who became the Apostle Paul (AA 9). Indeed, from that point on, the *Acts of the Apostles* occupies predominantly with the mission for Gentiles, especially through Paul and his associates. The moment of this shift, unobserved by the common historiography, is not explicitly stated in the Book, but there are some important chronological hints in the narrative about Paul. Taking as pivotal date the short administration of Gallio in Corinth mentioned in AA 18:12, scholars have counted back, deducting the elapsed years as they are mentioned in Gal 1:18, 2:1, in parallel with some elements of chronological value in AA 9–18. Considering these data analysed by different scholars, the conversion of Paul may be dated between the years 33-36. Shea, Owusu-Antwi and others place it in 34/35 and allow the martyrdom of Stephen (which have marked the beginning of Jewish persecution and the point of Christian dispersion, to have been probably in the year 34.<sup>539</sup>

Interesting to note, the apologetic discourse of Stephen before the High Court of the Sanhedrin, and especially his final words pointed to the heavenly Sanctuary above the earthly one (AA 7:42-50), then to the Jewish opposition to Holy Spirit, to Jesus Christ and God's Law (v. 51-54), and finally in a sudden ecstatic vision seeing Jesus as King-Priest in the celestial Sanctuary (v.55-56).

That discourse was like an explanation of the significance of the date 34 that marks the end of the 70 weeks that were subtracted, as shown in the preceding pages, from the 2300 days / years. Is it not significant that the end of the 2300 years had to extend up to the time of the Sanctuary vindication / cleansing, which is another name for the Judgment described in Daniel 7? And this deadly tension between the earthly, Jewish temple, and the true Sanctuary (God's dwelling) above is certainly instructive for the theme of the Sanctuary in chapter 8. The 70 weeks end with the brutal stoning of the Jewish Deacon and Preacher Stephen while he stares to heaven, kneeling, and repeating the mediatorial forgiving prayer of Jesus (v.59-60).

**and in the middle of that week, He will put an end to any sacrifice and offering**

For linguistic analysis and translation see notes 331 332. Taken separately, זָבַח means *animal slaughter, sacrifice*, and מִנְחָה means *gift, tribute, offering, present, oblation*, and it could refer either to the grain offering added to the daily burnt sacrifice, or to any gift to God or to other people, including meat offerings.

The latter term is used also in the expressions like מִנְחַת־עֶרֶב *evening [grain] offering*,<sup>540</sup> מִנְחַת־הַבֶּקֶר (morning [grain] offering,<sup>541</sup> or even מִנְחַת־הַתָּמִיד (continual / daily [grain] offering.<sup>542</sup> The two terms are used in the same context in Lv 7:37, Jer 17:26, 33:18, among other types of ritual offerings.

When used alone the phrase is inclusive for all sanctuary sacrifices and offerings.<sup>543</sup> It is especially interesting to note Ps 40:7 (quoted also in Heb 10:5.8), a Messianic-Christological verse showing that the principle of the acceptable worship with God consists in giving self (body and soul) as a living sacrifice, not just "sacrifice and offering" (Cf. Eph 5:2, Rom 12:1). Prophets were conscious about God's requirements when said, *For genuine love I desire, not sacrifice, and knowledge of God rather than burnt offerings* (Hos 6:6-7, quoted also in Mt 9:13, 12:7). Even within the old covenant, "sacrifices and offerings" were received only as expression of knowing God as gracious (Is 19:21). It is interesting that this idiom or similar expressions are often used about a degenerated worship through ritual offerings as opposed to the basic requirements of God.<sup>544</sup> In Hos 6:6-7 the sacrificial worship is contrasted with God's covenant as in Daniel 9:27.

The concept of the didactic and temporary use of the ceremonial system of the Sanctuary, and its insufficiency to justify the sinner, as taught in the NT (Heb 8 – 10, Rom 3:21-30) is not a sectarian or Christian innovation, but it is an underlying principle of the OT scriptures. No wonder that the NT writers used to quote the OT to prove their Gospel message. Jeremiah who, according to traditions hid the ark of the covenant in a safe and unknown place (2Mac 2:4-7), prophesied that one day even the ark will not be necessary longer in the time of the great and universal restoration (Jer 3:16.14-18 *in those days, says Yahweh, they shall no longer say, 'The ark of the covenant of Yahweh.' It shall not come to mind, or be remembered, or missed; nor shall another one be made*), certainly because God's Ten Commandments of the covenant had to be engraved on human hearts, not on stone (Jer 31:31-34).

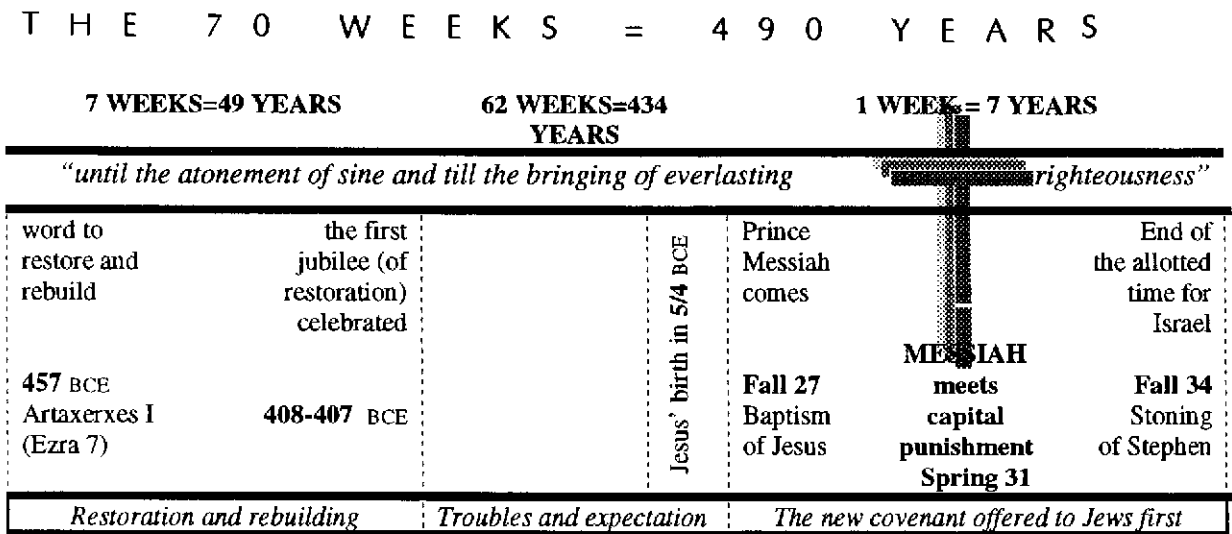
The mention of a covenant, of a half-week, and of putting an end to sacrifices and offerings in Daniel 9:27 proved so tempting for a lot of exegetes to see in these the historical actions of Antiochus or the prophetic actions of Antichrist. However, as it was

shown, both the terminology and the message are different. The similarities observed may be due to an intention of the speaking angel to contrast Christ with Antichrist.

Since the logical subject of all this revelation is Messiah, the time and manner in which He cancels the ritual system must be discussed. The middle of the week means exactly 3 ½ years from His Baptism (in fall 27), i. e. spring 31. It should be remembered that in the preceding verse, Messiah was seen to be cut off after the 69 weeks.

Now the prophecy brings more precision. The 3 ½ years of Christ’s ministry may be reckoned best according to the Gospel of John, which mentions four Passover seasons that Jesus attended after His Baptism.<sup>545</sup>

The following diagram summarises the main apocalyptic and historical data of the 70 weeks. The great amazement is that the historical-critical models attempting to demonstrate that this is a *vaticinium post eventum*, fall far short in fitting the schema, while the prophetic, Christian model, which the higher critic hardly considers worthy of mention answers harmoniously and with sound historical data all criteria.



**Then in His stead *will stand* the desolating abomination**

The construction וְעַל כַּנְף שְׂקוּצִים מְשֻׁמִּים, which is literally, *and on the wing of the abominations, a desolation*, has some textual and syntactical difficulties. So it is necessary to analyse it through a synoptic view of some old translations:

|       |  |   |  |
|-------|--|---|--|
| MT    | ועל כנף שקוצים משמים   | ועל כנף שקוצים משמים                      | <i>and on (by) the wing of abominations, a desolation / desolator?</i><br><br>(see NKJ, NAB, NAS, RSVet.al.)   |
| LXX   | Καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων ἔσται ... καὶ (ἕως) πτηρυγίου ἀπο ἀφανίσμου. In Lucian's recension         | ועל קדש שקין המשמים ועד כנף..... משמים    | <i>And on the Sanctuary, will stand an abomination of the desolations... and until wing... from desolation</i>   |
| Θ     | καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων ....   | ועל קדש שקין המשמים                       | <i>and on the Sanctuary, an abomination of the desolations</i>   |
| 'A, Σ | καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν βδέλυγμάτων ἐρημωθήσεται   | ועל-כנף-שקוצים משמים                      | <i>and on the top of the abominations he will be desolated</i>   |
| LHex  | et super fastigio (templi) erunt abominaciones vastatoris var. et super alam (militum) abominacionum erit vastator | ועל-כנף שקוצי- משמים ועל-כנף-שקוצים משמים | <i>and on the (temple's) pinnacle will be the abominations of the desolator var. and on the flank (of the army) of the abominations shall be a desolator</i> |
| VUL   | et in templo erit abominatio desolationis ....   | ועל קדש שקין המשמים                       | <i>and in (the) Temple shall be (the) abomination of (the) desolations</i>   |

It is easy to observe that the Masoretic text of this verse, as it stands, is not reflected in any ancient translation. Even if it seems to be some uncertainty in the reading or translation of כנף ועל, the reading of "שקוצים משמים" as "שקין המשמים" is in unanimity attested. However, it is possible to understand שקוצים משמים as a "construct + genitival" idiom, if we read it שקוצים-משמים with *enclitic Mem* (cf. Gn 14:6, Dt 33:11, Ps 59:6, 89:51 et.al.) This is an archaic particle that is found also in the old cognate languages. Citing Horace Hummel, D. N. Freedman, M. Dahood, et.al., Waltke and O'Connor say that "it has sometimes an emphatic force, while at other times it serves as a morpheme for indetermination... Most common are its uses in the middle of the construct chain."<sup>546</sup>

I cannot find a better solution, taking into consideration both the Masoretic consonant characters and the considerable majority of the old translations. The following table adds further information on the topic, comparing this verse with other parallel verses in *Daniel* or in other books (Apocrypha and NT):

| Ref.                          | Greek and Latin text  | MT or retranslating  |
|-------------------------------|---|--|
| Dan<br>8:12.<br>13            | LXX ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι(TH) ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἁμαρτία<br>... over the sacrifice, the sins (sin)<br>[...]καὶ ἡ θυσία ἡ ἀρθεῖσα καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐρημώσεως ἡ<br>δοθεῖσα<br>... and the sacrifice removed, and the sin of the desolation given<br>VUL ...contra iuge sacrificium propter peccata [...] et iuge sacrificium<br>et peccatum desolationis quae facta est | וַיִּבְרָא נֶתַן<br>עַל־הַתְּמִיד הַפֶּשַׁע<br>עַד־מִתֵּי הַתְּמִיד<br>הַפֶּשַׁע שָׁמַם תַּחַת<br>See also notes 340 C, 345. |
| Dan.<br>11:31                 | LXX καὶ δώσουσι βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως (Θ ἠφάνισμένον)<br>...give an abomination of desolation (a destroyed abomination)<br>VUL ... abominationem in desolationem<br>give an abomination in desolation  | וַיִּתְּנוּ יְרֵקֶיךָ מְשֻׁמֵּם  |
| Dan.<br>12:11                 | LXX δοθῆναι τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (Θ βδέλυγμα<br>ἐρημώσεως)<br>give the abomination of the desolation (an abomination of desolation)<br>VUL et posita ...abominatio in desolatione<br>...will be set the abomination in desolation  | וְלִקְחֶיךָ יְרֵקֶיךָ שָׁמַם   |
| 1Mac<br>1:54<br>vs. 57<br>VUL | ᾠκοδόμησεν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον<br>he built an abomination of desolation on the altar<br>aedificavit ... abominandum idolum desolationis super altare Dei<br>[King Antiochus] built an abhorring idol of desolation on God's altar  | שָׁמַם יְרֵקֶשׁ.....   |
| Mt<br>24:15                   | Ὅταν οὖν ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως τὸ ρηθὲν διὰ<br>Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου ἑστὸς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ, ὃ ἀναγινώσκων<br>νοεῖτω,<br>When you see the abomination of the desolation, as was spoken of by<br>the prophet Daniel (let the reader understand), standing in holy place  | עַל שָׂרֵקֶשׁ... שָׁמַם הַשָּׁמַשׁ   |
| Mk<br>13:14                   | Ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἑστηκότα ὅπου<br>οὐ δεῖ,<br>When you see the abomination of the desolation set up where it ought<br>not   | עַל שָׁמַשׁ יְרֵקֶשׁ ?...?   |
| Lk<br>21:20                   | Ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων<br>Ἱερουσαλήμ, τότε γινώτε ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς.<br>When you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then you may know that<br>its desolation has come near   | שָׁמַשׁ.....   |

The phrase **עַל־לְיָנֵךְ** is reflected in LXX, Θ, and VUL as **עַל־רֵקֶשׁ**, except Lucian's recension of LXX (see BHS and Rahlfs' LXX, critical apparatus of Dan 9:27), which reflects MT. In Hexapla (927), the Latin translation reads, *et super fastigio (templi)*, "and on the pinnacle (of the temple)" / *et super alam (militum)* "and on the wing (flank of the army)". The other comparable sources show also some uncertainty in the rendition of this phrase: "on the altar", "on the temple", "on (the) holy place", "where it ought not stand", as it may be seen in the previous table. It is possible that all these translations developed from the Masoretic reading **עַל־לְיָנֵךְ** *on the wing of...*, because this notion is associated with the Temple (Sanctuary, **רֵקֶשׁ** – which may be understood

also as any holy place, that is "where (an abomination) ought not stand". It is less probable to have been there older manuscripts with קִדְּשׁ instead of כְּנָף, because קִדְּשׁ can be explained as an interpretation of כְּנָף and as an influence of Daniel 8:13 and 11:31. Moreover, the more difficult reading כְּנָף should be considered as earlier than the reading קִדְּשׁ. Since כְּנָף means *wing, extremity, edge, pinnacle, outermost edge*, Owusu-Antwi pleads in behalf of its genuineness, and attempts to translate the whole phrase וְעַל כְּנָף שְׂקוּצִים מְשֻׁמָּם, *with the end of abominations will be a place of desolations*, thus indicating an extremity (limit, summit) of the abomination.<sup>547</sup> This translation is worthy of further examination, since 'A and Σ rendered, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν βδελυγμάτων ἐρημώθησεται ("and on the top of the abominations he will be desolated"). However, such reading is quite unusual and not able to be connected with the construct + genitive understanding of the phrase שְׂקוּצִים־מְשֻׁמָּם attested by all ancient translations, as it was shown above.

The phrase itself is often found in the plural: עַל־כְּנָפֵי [נְשָׂרִים] *on [eagles'] wings* (Ex 19:4 i.e. indicating support, protection and training: Dt 32:11), עַל־כְּנָפֵי [בְּגָדֵיהֶם] *on the "wings" (corners) [of their garments]* (Nu 15:38 make fringes), עַל־כְּנָפֵי־[רוּחַ] *on the wings [of the wind]* (God flying, riding the Cherub, 2 S 22:11, Ps 18:1, 104:3), [הָאָרְצַי] עַל־כְּנָפוֹת *to the extremities [of the earth]* (Job 37:3 God's lightning). It may be admitted that this single occurrence in Daniel 9:27 could have the same meaning, despite its use of the singular. In this case, the whole expression would be spelled and read ׀־מְשֻׁמָּם עַל־כְּנָף־שְׂקוּצִי *and on the wing[s] of the abominations of the desolation*. This is not bad (especially when compared with Lv 11:13: *the eagle* is the first "abomination" mentioned among unclean fowl. It is also the Torahic metaphor of the prophesied doom: the Babylonian, then the Roman, (i.e. new Babylonian) invasions (Dt 28:49-50 comp. גּוֹי עֵז פְּנִים in Dan 8:23). So it could be seen as a prophecy of the Jerusalem's final doom under the Roman power whose actual *signum* (idol banner, actually) was the *eagle* – Jove's bird. However, if we read the phrase as a four words construct, we are left with no predicate, nor it is implied in the context.

Probably we should find a better understanding for ועל־כנף for example, among the proposed emendations. The critical apparatus of BHS suggests the reading הַכַּנֶּף הַבְּעַל the winged being (cf. Pr 1:17 Ec 10:20 – an allusion to the Syrian god בעל שמים Lord of heaven, by word-play called שְׂקוּץ־שָׁמַיִם) instead of ועל־כנף. The solution is ingenious indeed, yet it cannot be harmonised with our conclusions about the actual construct שְׂקוּצֵי־שָׁמַיִם mentioned above, and it lacks the necessary predicate. BHS and BDBG (489) cite A. Kuenen for a more credible suggestion of emendation, reading ועל־כנו *and in its / his stead (position, station, place)*, which is more natural and well attested in Daniel (Dan 11:20.21.38, Gn 40:13, 41:13). This reading is followed by A. Bevan, Montgomery, Hartman & Di Lella<sup>548</sup> and NRS (“*and in their place*”).<sup>549</sup>

If this emendation represents the original form intended by the author, some new questions must be answered. For instance, What is the referent of the pronominal suffix of כְּנוּ ? Is it the double object of the previous clause, זֶבַח וּמִנְחָה sacrifice and offering? Or is it Messiah – the great subject of this whole prophecy? The expression על־כנו, specific to Daniel, always refers to a person, indicating a substitution (legal or illegal) in the same office, place, stand, position, stead. Thus, I took it as referring rather to Messiah, the main subject and referent of the whole oracle. It predicts an illegal substitution of Messiah, the Covenant Leader, by “the abomination of the desolation”.

Exegetes who see Antiochus or a future Antichrist the subject of verse 27, might stress the similarity of this substitution with that of Dan 8:12-13, 11:31, 12:11, where the “continual (daily) sacrifice” is replaced by the “rebellion / abomination of the desolation”. However, as it was shown in the previous notes, Messiah is certainly the subject of all this prophecy. If Messiah and Antichrist are found doing some comparable things, this is only to emphasise the contrast between Christ and Antichrist, as it is also with their corresponding periods of activity, since the period of Antichrist parodies the period of Christ (3 ½ times – 1260 years and, respectively, 1260 days), pointing out to the apocalyptic time scale, one day // one year.

Following are the possible meanings of the phrase ועל־כנף [כנו] שְׂקוּצֵי־שָׁמַיִם :

1. and on the wing of abominating [foul] idols, a desolator [will be, *or* come]
2. and by the wing of abominations [he] is making desolate (cf. YLT)
3. and on the [Temple's] wing [will be, *or* stand] the abomination of the desolation
4. and in His stead [will be, *or* stand] the abomination of the desolation
5. and in their place [will be, *or* stand] the abomination of the desolation

It is a hard trial to definitely choose among these options. I favour solution nr. 4, without being dogmatic. The last two options seem to be related by the fact that putting Messiah to death meant putting and end to all sacrificial system because of Messiah's covenantal sacrifice. The abomination that had to stand in His (or their) place is an idolatrous worship of the vilest kind, worshipping a man (the "man of sin" ) as God.<sup>550</sup>

Apart from the question whether the phrase שְׁקוּצִיִּים־מִשְׁמֵם represents two unrelated absolute nouns or a genitival construction with *mem* enclitic, there is another difficulty about the precise meaning of the noun מִשְׁמֵם (and its synonym שְׁמֵם).<sup>551</sup> The old translations render it invariably as *desolation* in all its occurrences (LXX, Θ or NT). Owusu-Antwi (329) stresses the stative meaning of the term everywhere, citing Bevan (161) and Michael Herbert Farris,<sup>552</sup> pointing also to the Syriac חבלא — *desolation*) and to the most probable significance of the term in Daniel 8:13, 9:18.26.27a.

Thus an important case might be made in favour of this stative meaning (*desolation or desolated place*). However, some of the best translations rendered this noun as if it be active (*desolating, that desolates, makes desolate, desolator*).<sup>553</sup> In Hexapla (927), this participle is rendered fientive-active, according to a Latin translation (*vastator, vastatoris* — desolator, desolator's). And there are two ways at least to contend for an active meaning:

The regular active forms of this root are scarcely found in the OT, only in Hiph<sup>ci</sup>l (see BDBG 1031). But even in Hiph<sup>ci</sup>l, the participle – מְשַׁמֵּם – shows itself stative (Ez 3:15, cf. Jer 49:20 comp. Ez 32:10 et. al.). This may indicate a need to express an active meaning through common stative stems. Since the same verbal stem can be both fientive and stative in some cases,<sup>554</sup> it is not impossible that שוֹמֵם / מְשׁוֹמֵם have a



fientive, active meaning in this construction. Anyway, according to BDBG (1031), in all cases where the phrase *שְׁקִיצַת־מְשֻׁמִּים* and the parallel forms are found, this participle is seen as transitive, meaning *appalling, causing horror*, thus an adjectival use of the participle. If this Qal / Po<sup>l</sup>el participle is taken as a substantive, as LXX and other old translations did (= *desolation*), the practical meaning of the phrase would reveal a quasi active sense, in the construct relationship. Thus *the abomination of the desolation* means really, *the desolating abomination* (YLT Dan 11:31), *the appalling abomination*, *the astonishing foulness* et. al.

The basic meaning of the noun *שְׁקִיץ* is *filth, dirt, dung, abomination, detestable thing*.<sup>555</sup> The term appears often in parallel with *תועבה* *disgusting thing (fact), abomination*<sup>556</sup> and *גִּלְגָּלִים* "*faeces,*" *foul idols*,<sup>557</sup> possibly derived from *גָּלַל* *excrements, dung*.<sup>558</sup> While *שְׁקִיץ* is used for various pagan facts or things (physical, ritual and moral), *שְׁקִיץ* is reserved for deities represented by their images (idols). Some OT verses displaying the theme in similar words are displayed below:

|                       |   |  |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| Dt<br>29:16           | כִּסֵּף וְזָהָב אֲשֶׁר וַתִּרְאוּ אֶת־שְׁקִיצֵיהֶם<br>וְאֵת גִּלְגָּלֵיהֶם עֵץ וְאֶבֶן עִמָּהֶם:  | <i>You have seen their detestable things, the filthy idols of wood and stone, of silver and gold, that were among them.</i>  |
| 2 K<br>23:13          | הַר־הַמְּשַׁחֵת אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה שְׁלֹמֹה [...] לְעִשְׂתָּרֶת שְׁקִיץ צִידֹנִים וְלִכְמוֹשׁ שְׁקִיץ מוֹאָב וְלִמְלֶכֶם תוֹעֵבַת בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן טָמֵא הַמֶּלֶךְ אַחֲרַי עִשְׂתָּרֶת אֱלֹהֵי צִידֹנִים וְאַחֲרַי מְלֶכֶם שְׁקִיץ עַמּוֹנִים: (1Ki 11:5.7)                              | <i>...the corrupting / destroying mountain where Solomon... built to Ashoreth, the abomination of the Sidonians, and to Kamosh, the abomination of Moab, and to Mikom, the disgusting thing of the Amonites; the king made himself unclean... (...after Ashtoreth, the Sidonians' divinity, and after Milkom, the abomination of the Amonites.[...] and to Molech, the abomination of the sons of Amon).</i> |
| Jer<br>7:30,<br>32:34 | שָׂמוּ שְׁקִיצֵיהֶם בְּבַיִת אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עָלָיו לְטָמְאוֹ:  | <i>---they have put their abominations in the House that is called by My name, to make it unclean.</i>   |
| Jer<br>51:25-<br>26   | הִנְנִי אֵלֶיךָ הַר הַמְּשַׁחֵת נְאֻם־יְהוָה הַמְּשַׁחֵת אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ [...] [...] כִּי־שָׂמֹת עוֹלָם תִּהְיֶה נְאֻם־יְהוָה: אִישׁ אֶת־שְׁקִיצֵי עֵינֵיהֶם לֹא הִשְׁלִיכוּ וְאֶת־גִּלְגָּלֵי מִצְרַיִם לֹא עָזְבוּ וְאָמַר לְשַׁפָּךְ חַמְתִּי עֲלֵיהֶם לְכַלּוֹת אִפִּי בָהֶם | <i>I am against you, O destroying (corrupting) mountain, says the LORD, that destroys (corrupts) the whole earth; [...] you shall be a perpetual desolation, says the LORD. ...not one of them cast away the detestable things their eyes feasted on, nor did they forsake the foul idols of Egypt. Then I thought I would pour out my wrath upon them and spend my anger against ...</i>                    |
| Ez<br>20:8            | וַתַּחֲתִי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ שְׂמָמָה וַתִּשְׁמָה וַתִּשְׁבֵּת  | <i>I will make the land a desolation and a waste, and its proud might shall come to an end; the</i>  |

29 גֵּאוֹן עֲזָה תִשְׁמֹמוּ הַרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֵין עֹבֵר:  
 See Ez וַיֵּדְעוּ כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה בַּתְּתִי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ  
 7:20, שְׁמֹמָה וּמִשְׁמָה עַל כָּל־הוֹעֲבֹתָם אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ  
 11:21

*mountains of Israel shall be so desolate that no one will pass through. Then they shall know that I am Yahweh, when I have made the land a desolation and a waste because of all their abominations that they have committed.*

Ez וְלֹא יִשְׁמְאוּ עוֹד בְּגִלּוּלֵיהֶם  
 37:23 וּבִשְׁקֻצֵיהֶם וּבְכָל פְּשָׁעֵיהֶם תִּתֵּן

*They shall never again defile themselves with their foul idols and their detestable things, or with any of their rebellious sins.*

The examples above show that the phrase שְׁקֻצֵ־מִשְׁוֹמִים points to an idol whose presence indicates desolation, devastation, horror. This formulation reminds us the prophecy of chapter 8. And no wonder, since the whole chapter 9, as it was shown up to this point, stands exegetically on the revelations and questions of chapter 8. When Jesus Christ, the true Messiah, the Shechinah Glory of Yahweh, came out of Israel's Sanctuary, or even was chased away thence, the room created had to be filled with shame. The Romans came later in the years 70 and 135 to decorate the scene of the destruction with their *signa* (worshipped golden eagles as insignia of their power) and with their gods. Become Christian, Rome (the desolating power) did not change its heart. It baptised part of its pagan philosophy and worship, and replaced the pagan divinities with sanctified mortals, dead or living, with its vigilant Vice-Christ ahead of all. The "man of sin" with his Roman ensign placed himself in God's Sanctuary (2 Th 2:3-4), above any god (Dan 11:38), the most complete embodiment of idolatry (abomination) and terror (desolation).

**until the complete ruin, the determined punishment is poured out upon the desolating one**<sup>559</sup>

Usually, the term שְׁמֹם means *desolated, desolated place or desolation*.<sup>560</sup> The uncertainty of the translation of this strange participle is attested also in the Latin variants in Hexapla (p. 927), *super vastatorem, s. vastatum* (on the *desolator / desolate one*). However, since all Danielic prophecies end with a final judgment on God's (and Israel's) enemies – see note 133 –, one might expect to find the same finals in this verse too, despite of the usual meaning of the noun שְׁמֹם.<sup>561</sup>

The verse structure of this oracle deserves further study, and it might help decide on some obscure or ambiguous phrases, as well as on the precise meaning of the last word.

|       |   |    |   |
|-------|---|----|---|
| Dan   |   |    |   |
| 9:26a | וְאַחֲרֵי הַשְּׁבַעִים שָׁשִׁים וּשְׁנָיִם          | A  | Time  |
| 26b   | וַיִּכְרַת מְשִׁיחַ וְאֵין לוֹ וְהָעִיר וְהַקִּדְשׁ | B  | Messiah cut off – new covenant sacrifice    |
| 26c   | וַיִּשְׁחִית עִם נְגִיד הַבָּא וְקָצוּ בְשַׁטְףָּה  | C  | Apostasy and destruction                    |
| 26d   | וְעַד קֵץ מַלְחָמָה נִחְרָצָה שְׁמֹמֹת              | D  | Desolation determined until the End         |
| 27a   | וְהַנְּבִיד בְּרִית לְרַבִּים שְׁבוּעַ אֶחָד        | A' | Time  |
| 27b   | וְחֻצֵי הַשְּׁבוּעַ יִשְׁבִּית זִבְחַ וּמִנְחָה     | B' | Messiah's sacrifice supersedes the old Cov. |
| 27c   | וְעַל קִנְיָ [כְּנֹן] שְׁקֻצִים-מְשֻׁמִּים          | C' | Abomination and desolation                  |
| 27d   | וְעַד-כָּלָה וְנִחְרָצָה תִּתֵּן עַל-שָׁמַם         | D' | The End of the desolator, determined        |

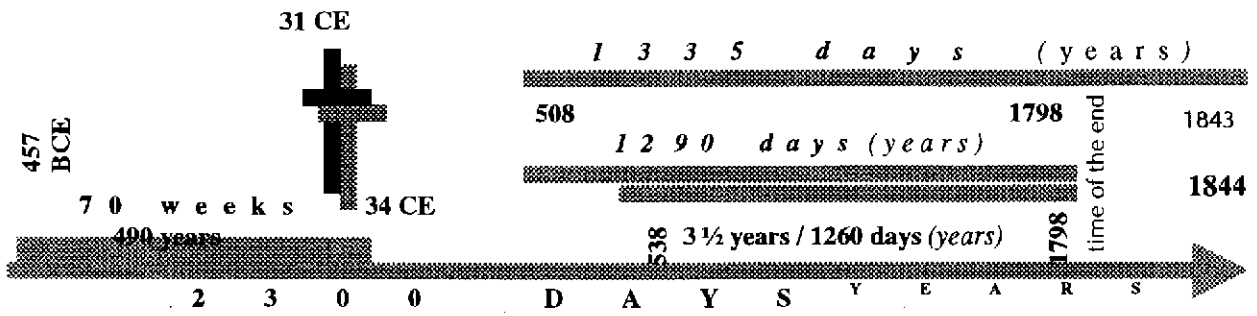
The full weight of the final line is obviously parallel to other climactic, final points in the prophecies of Daniel (Dan 2:44, 7:26, 8:25d, 11:45b). All these point out to the Judgment, in the time of the end, as the longest period of 2300 days indicates by that *vindication* of the Sanctuary.<sup>562</sup>

#### IV.4 *Time connections and the Judgment Day*

When all apocalyptic periods of Daniel are put together in the same scheme, despite the fact that some historical dates proposed deserve more study before being definitely fixed, they display unrivalled harmony: I wonder if ever the historical critical school would find a more harmonious understanding of the 70 weeks, and more fitting historical dates for the other apocalyptic periods in Daniel. The linguistic and contextual analysis in chapters 7, 8, 9, showed that this old path deserves more attention and helps the reader to be more careful about the prophetic phenomenon in general and about the authenticity of *Daniel* as a prophetic book in particular.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> For the historical significance of the years 508 and 1843 see note 442. For the years 538 and 1798 see the subchapters *l.1.a.9*, and *l.1.a.10*.



If this historicist approach to the apocalyptic periods of Daniel 7, 8, 9 and 12 is only an interesting case in favour of Daniel or even the best harmonising of prophecy with history, it is still a barren soil until the researcher faces the most important question raised by this book: What is the theological and live significance of the year 1844, which is, according to this study, the end of the 2300 days / years?

Unlike all other dates in the prophetic diagram, the last one deals not with human historiography. Actually the prophecy does not claim a “historical” fulfilment. And it was shown, it points to the vindication of God’s celestial Sanctuary (Dan 8:14), when the Luciferic horn of chapter 8 is finally broken, “not by human hand” (Dan 8:25), in “the appointed time of the end” (Dan 8:19). It is therefore the time of the Judgment, with “the books ... opened” in heaven; while on earth the not so little horn continues unconsciously its hubristic speeches accompanied by implicit universal amens (Dan 7:10c-11). It is the last time of probation for this world. Whereas the Judgment must have God’s enemies its object, as the immediate contexts in chapters 7 and 8 clearly show, the Biblical view about Judgment is always double-sided. God’s judgment is His eschatological, holy intervention in the great cosmic spiritual-moral controversy, to separate forever the repenting from the unrepenting by the Cross of Christ – which is the absolute and concomitant expression of God’s Law and Grace. The Judgment is the supreme evidence of God’s righteousness in dealing with each soul, an evidence of the free will given to the intelligent creatures. It uses the unique key of Calvary to open the portals of Paradise to the repenting believer and the gates of “hellfire” to him or her who refused the Reconciliation. It is real good news and

actually gives Gospel finality and climax, as it is expressed in the NT Apocalypse (Rev 14:6-7).

This Judgment announced in Daniel is neither an individual “neardeath” or “afterdeath” trial, nor a final exclusive punishment of the evil. Distinct from the popular views, it includes an examination of the saints, to prove who is really that saint,<sup>563</sup> and it runs while history still lives its final days.<sup>564</sup>

Indifferently how one translates קִיּוּן of Daniel 8:14, *cleansed, vindicated* or whatever is to be finally dealt with the Sanctuary, yes, indifferently whether the contextual terminology of chapter 8 is intended to indicate or not an eschatological, antitypic Yom Kippur,<sup>565</sup> the two OT passages parallel each other by their ultimate significance. In common with other scholars like Gerhard Hasel,<sup>566</sup> Angel Rodriguez,<sup>567</sup> Alberto Treyer,<sup>568</sup> Jacques Doukhan<sup>569</sup> et al., Desmond Ford emphasised this legitimate connection between the day of ritual cleansing of the Sanctuary and its eschatological, antitypic application to Daniel 8:14.<sup>570</sup>

It is not strange, therefore, that some Jewish and Christian scholars have paraphrased 8:14 as “Then shall the sanctuary have atonement made for it.” Calvin says, “Some translate it—*Then the sanctuary shall be expiated.*”<sup>571</sup> “Concerning the day of expiation, Lev 16 is indeed the final clue for the exposition of 8:14. Pointing forward to the great atonement made on Calvary for us by Christ, the antitypical Lord’s goat, it also prefigures the last work for us by Christ, our High Priest... It pictures the placing of the responsibility for evil upon its true instigator, the true little horn – Satan himself... Thus God’s character, so long trampled in the dust by the scandal of sin, will be vindicated.

In the light of these reflections, it becomes apparent that the apocalyptic portrayal of 8:10-14 symbolizes the great controversy between good and evil and its climax. The vindication of the sanctuary, which represents the divine kingdom, points not only to the vindication of the saints in the judgment, but also to the vindication of God and His Truth. It must include, therefore, a work on earth that “cleanses” the church, God’s sanctuary on earth, from the traditions of men and the shame of sin... The Law, which is so often in Scripture called “the truth” and which has been cast to the ground, must be uplifted. The true “daily”— the everlasting gospel of the righteousness by faith, which has been “taken away” by all counterfeit religious systems – must be proclaimed again... It would take another whole book to elaborate the truths implicit in the sanctuary and its cleansing...

From the original and quite limited understanding of this eschatological Yom Kippur, as it was shaped by O. R. L. Crosier,<sup>572</sup> John N. Andrews,<sup>573</sup> James and Ellen White,<sup>574</sup> and finally by Uriah Smith,<sup>575</sup> the Biblical research today must make further

steps – at least in Adventism – in investigating this offending<sup>576</sup> theology of the “Investigative Judgment” and of the antitypical Day of Atonement in “the heavenly sanctuary.” Roy Adams wisely recognised in his doctoral dissertation on this topic, that “there are outstanding problems which call for serious theological and biblical study in the light of contemporary questions and issues.”<sup>577</sup>

My concern was partly to face this challenge in the larger context of even more threatening issues on the authenticity and inspiration of the Book of Daniel. And my conclusion is, the Book of Daniel is not only a genuine prophetic revelation, but also its theological core – the expiatory death of Messiah at the appointed time, and the heavenly judgment beginning in “the appointed time of the end” – are crucial for our modern spiritual experience.

## **V SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

According to the preliminary conservative assertions in the introduction of this study, the historical character of the Book of Daniel is still defensible on linguistic, philological, historical and theological grounds. Such an approach encourages faith, without abandon the need of critical research.

The linguistic concerns should materialise in further research in many decisive places of the text, considering the some difficulties of language in the prophetic sections of chapters 8 and 9. Consequently, the reader needs a more elaborate and critical translation of the book.

The linguistic and historical exegesis of the Book shed more favourable light on the position above, building a more attractive and useful model of faithful hermeneutic. A synoptic approach to these Danielic apocalypses helps the student understand in depth the relationship between the literary sections of the scroll, and to appreciate the high sense of literary unity, in spite of the use of two languages and narrative parts besides apocalyptic parts.

In parallel with the royal dream of Daniel 2, the spectacular vision of chapter 7 depicts, in different symbols, the same powers, Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greek (Macedonian), and Roman. The predictions do not restrict to the classic Rome; they run through the worldly medieval and modern Christianity, pointing finally to God's inevitable and righteous Judgement. The representative Man, who receive the universal and everlasting kingdom from the hands of Most High, in favour of His saints, is the true Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, the fulfilment of all hopes of Israel and world.

The vision in chapter eight is best understood looking concomitantly to the visions of chapters 7 and 11, then following the step-by-step leading of the narrative into the heart of chapter 9, where it is found the key for the mysterious time of the

vindication of God's Sanctuary. There, in chapter 9 lies the prophetic basis of Christianity, the prediction of the precise time of Christ's first Advent, who is atonement and everlasting righteousness for His believers, but simply justice for those who reject His covenantal Messiahship. With such a theology, the Book of Daniel may be called the Good News of the Judgement.

The classical apocalyptic time scale, used extensively by most exegetes to the 19<sup>th</sup> century is not only defended, but it is strengthened by the pragmatic test of the history. Thus, it is possible and reasonable to check the messianic time prophecy or the peculiar period of the temporal power succeeding the Roman Empire.

The Book of Daniel is far from being sufficiently studied, from all points of view. The best conclusion, for the believing student, is first to integrate its teachings in his or her life. Then, enlarging, deepening and raising up his critical and emotional faculties, the scholar-to-be must rush again to a more thorough and enriching study.



## VI ENDNOTES

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<sup>1</sup> The preterist perspective is a somewhat short-sighted hermeneutics, which makes the climax of the prophecy, appear to be fulfilled not far from the days of the visionary. The futurist perspective is just the opposite: a presbyopic apprehension of the prophecy. The major troubles predicted are seen to be fulfilled in the end-time. The historicist (or, old Protestant) system traces the successive line of events from ancient time to the end-time. The idealist system prefers an atemporal approach: symbols are interpreted as general, spiritual, figurative, with no reference to historical entities.

<sup>2</sup> L E Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. I, Review and Herald Publishing Association, Washington DC, 1950, p. 55. The 4 volumes of Froom are the most comprehensive work on the history of interpretation of the Biblical apocalyptic (Daniel and Revelation) to this time.

<sup>3</sup> Lester Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, vol. I, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1991, p. 92. The two volumes of Grabbe are very impressive for their scholarship and for their balanced piles of sources. The author is, however, an extreme sceptic. He overtly confesses his uncertainty about the historical character of Ezra and Jesus Christ. Considering his former Christian education, it is a sad story, to say the least.

<sup>4</sup> Cf 'The book of Daniel: three issues', *Themelios*, 2 [1976/7], 45. Underlines mine.

<sup>5</sup> I.J.J. Spangenberg, "A Century of Wrestling with Qoheleth," in *Qoheleth in the Context of Wisdom*, edited by A. Schoors, Leuven University Press, 1998. An excellent study about Qoheleth.

<sup>6</sup> Spangenberg, op. cit. 62-67.

<sup>7</sup> Id. p. 63. These shifts in focus should not be confused with the three paradigms.

<sup>8</sup> Lester L. Grabbe, "Fundamentalism and Scholarship: The Case for Daniel," in *Scripture: Meaning and Method. Essays presented to Anthony Tyrell Hanson*. Edited by Barry P. Thompson, Hull University Press, p. 146.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Id. 149.

<sup>12</sup> Id. 145.

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<sup>13</sup> Id. 146.

<sup>14</sup> Grabbe mentions them twice. This is neither casual, nor because of some special disgrace, but because he found their writings most representative to illustrate the scholarly apologetics of the “fundamentalists,” basically on the book of Daniel. Id. 135. 149.

<sup>15</sup> *Seventh-day Adventists Believe*, Edited by the Ministerial Association, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington DC, 1988, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Dan 3:1, 5:4, 11:8.31.38.

<sup>17</sup> Dan 2:20-23.28, 10:14.

<sup>18</sup> Daniel 1 (the trial and advancement of the faithful young Jews), Daniel 2 (Daniel receives the prophetic charisma and wisdom, then social advancement), Daniel 3 (the three faithful young Jews are saved by God from the fiery furnace, by miracle, then exalted by the king), Daniel 6 (Daniel is exalted by the king and saved from the lion’s den by miracle).

<sup>19</sup> Dan 1:2, 9:5-14.26bc,11:14.35.41a, 12:10.

<sup>20</sup> Dan 4:24-27.

<sup>21</sup> Dan 5:22.30, 6:24, 7:25-26, 8:25, 9:27c, 11:45b.

<sup>22</sup> Dan 1:19-20, 2:34-35, 3:22-23, 4:34-35, 5:25, 7:9-10. 26-27, 12:1-3.

<sup>23</sup> Dan 7:25, 8:14, 9:2.24, 11:27b.35.40a, 12:6:12.

<sup>24</sup> Dan 2:45bc, 7:19a,8:26, 10:1b.21a, 11:2a.

<sup>25</sup> Dan 8:17b.19, 12:1-4.6-9.13.

<sup>26</sup> Dan 8:14.26, 12:4.9.

<sup>27</sup> The BHS and WTT editions of the Hebrew Bible render both spellings.

<sup>28</sup> James Pritchard, editor, *The Ancient Near East*, vol. I, Princeton University Press, 1958, pp. 118-132; Constantin Daniel și Athanase Negoită, *Gîndirea feniciană în texte*, Editura științifică și enciclopedică, București, 1979, pp. 140-163.

<sup>29</sup> The name “Daniel” appears in Biblical genealogies-lists only for the son of David from Abigail (1 Ch 3:1), and a post-exilic priest (Ezra 8:2, Ne 10:6-8). Some names are traditional in genealogical lines, and Daniel at least is said to have been of the royal family (Dan 1:3) – note that the royal house is mentioned first here, as Daniel is mentioned before his fellows (Dan 1:6). Says Josephus: “Now, among these there were four of the family of [king] Zedekiah, of most excellent dispositions; the one

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of whom was called Daniel..." (*Ant.* X, x:1). When we come to the names of his fellows (Hannaniah, Mishael and Azariah), we see that their names, where we can identify their ancestry, occur prominently in Judahite / Davidic or in Levitic/priestly lineage, just as the name "Daniel". The name "Azariah" first occurs in the genealogies of Judah's posterity (1 Chr 2:8.38), then as different priests (Ezra 7:1.3, 1 Chr 6:10.13.66), one of King Jehoshaphat's sons (2 Ch 21:2), and the king Uzziah-Azaria (2 K 14:21). In post-exilic times it is still a prominent name (Ne 7:7, 8:7). Mishael is found only two times: a prominent Levite, Aaron's cousin (Ex 6:22) and a post-exilic leader, maybe a scribe, a Levite (Ne 8:4). Hannaniah is the most common of these names, from which derived other forms (Hannani, Iohanan, et.al.). Besides many occurrences where it is hard to identify the genealogical line, the name is found as a Benjaminite (Ne 12:41), a Levite (1 Ch 25:4), a priest (Ne 12:41), a Davidic descendant (1 Ch 3:19). These interesting preference of these names for Levitical-priestly or Judahite-kingly descent may suggest some matrimonial relations between the Davidic house and the priestly order (as in Lk 1:5.27.36). Yet I must recognise that all these are merely conjectures and even Josephus's statement seems to be not more than a believing insight in the Danielic text.

<sup>30</sup> To which we might add other biblical OT and NT portions (from Prophets, Gospels, and Pauline letters), to further complicate the possible definition.

<sup>31</sup> R. D. Wilson, "The Aramaic of Daniel," *Biblical and Theological Studies*, Princeton, NJ, 1912, pp. 9-64.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Ez 28:3, Dan 1:17, 2:13.48, 4:18, 5:11-12, 11:33.35, 12:3.10. See Gerhard Hasel, *op. cit.* pp. 149-151.

<sup>33</sup> Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible...*, pp. 16.97.108.453.590.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 27.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 500.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 412.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 584.

<sup>38</sup> The reference to the wisdom literature is not casual. Gottwald rightly sees the connection between the two genres, at least in form (p. 587). A good exhibition of this thesis one may find in R. Dean Davis, *Evidence for Placing Daniel in the Writings Section of the Hebrew Canon* - paper presented at The First International Jerusalem Bible Conference (June 9, 1998); accessible on the Internet through <http://www.sdanet.org>. Davis points out how the wisdom theme is put in front from Dan 1 (v. 4.20) all through, to Dan 12 (v.3.10).

<sup>39</sup> Gottwald, *op. cit.*, p. 586-588.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 585.

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<sup>41</sup> David Russel, in the article *Apocalyptic Imagery as Political Cartoon?* Published in *After the Exile- Essays in Honour of Rex Mason* (ed. by J. Barton & D. J. Reimer, Mercer University Press, 1996, pp. 191-200) traces interesting comparisons between the apocalyptic imagery and the way the cartoonist expresses his / her social-politic satire. Both picture their message in an exaggerated, disproportional form. Both “make ample use of traditional and stereotyped imagery in which animals play a prominent part”. The language of both is intentionally obscure (including pseudonymous authorship in apocalypses and flourished signatures in cartoons) but “the key to their presentation is to be found in their contemporary situation”. However, there are some important differences, Russell aptly observes. “Unlike the modern cartoon they (i.e. the apocalyptic writers) make no use of humour, though irony and satire are used to good effect.... They are serious-minded men who portray life and death situations which call for somber thought”. And there is a final difference Russell emphasises: no cartoonist, however ambitious, would likely claim for him or herself “the apocalypticist’s conviction that, by divine inspiration, he was equipped by God to be a herald of the Most High, whose message uncovered for the very first time the meaning and history and the mysteries of the universe and declared without preadventure the speedy coming of God’s Kingdom when judgement would be pronounced and all things made new.”

<sup>42</sup> Gottwald, op. cit. p. 587.

<sup>43</sup> Op. cit. p. 588.

<sup>44</sup> See Lester L. Grabbe, *The Social Setting of Early Jewish Apocalypticism*, in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, 4: 31 (1989), referring to B.R. Wilson, *Religion in Sociological Perspective* (Oxford/New York: OUP, 1982), pp. 115-18; R. Wallis, *Salvation and Protest* (London: Frances Pinter, 1979), pp. 3-6.

<sup>45</sup> P. R. Davies, *Reading Daniel Sociologically*, in *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*, CVI, *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, A.S. van der Woude (Editor), Leuven University Press, 1993, p. 352-357.

<sup>46</sup> Gottwald, op. cit. p. 588.

<sup>47</sup> *Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?* In Lawrence Schiffman (Editor), *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, Supplement Series 8, JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2. p. 35.

<sup>48</sup> Op. cit. p. 29.

<sup>49</sup> Eric William Heaton, *The Book of Daniel*, Torch Bible Commentaries, Eds. John Marsh, Alan Richardson, R. Gregor Smith, London: SCM Press Ltd., 1956, pp. 35-37. Welch is of the same opinion: “It may be wiser ...to interpret Daniel from his predecessors than from his successors.” (A. C. Welch, *Visions of the End*, London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1958, p.129).

<sup>50</sup> “Of all Neo-Babylonian records dealing with the situation at the close of the Neo-Babylonian empire, the fifth chapter of Daniel ranks next to cuneiform literature in accuracy, so far as outstanding events are concerned. The scriptural account may be interpreted as excelling because it employs the name Belshazzar, because it attributes royal power to Belshazzar, and because it recognises that a dual rulership existed in the kingdom.” Raymond Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1929), pp. 199-200. The text’s insistence on the relationship *father-son*

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between Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar (Dan 5:11.13.18.22) is obviously the general Semitic use of referring to *predecessor-successor* on the same throne, who may or may not be of the same dynasty.

<sup>51</sup> Raymond Philip Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (Yale Oriental Series. Researches, Vol. 15 New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), pp. 96, 97.

<sup>52</sup> “Four cylinders found in the ziggurat of Ur contain the following prayer of Nabonidus [...] ‘As for me, Nabonidus, the king of Babylon, save me from sinning against thy great divinity and grant life unto distant days as a gift. Furthermore, as for Belshazzar, the first son proceeding from my loins, place in his heart fear of thy great divinity and let him not turn to sinning; let him be satisfied with fullness of life.’ A variant of the above text occurs twice in a large cylinder of Nabonidus found at Ur, as the following passage indicates [...]: ... ‘[As for me], Nabonidus, the king of Babylon, [the venerator of] thy great divinity, may I be satisfied with fullness of life, [and as for] Belshazzar, the first son proceeding from my loins, lengthen his days; let him not turn to sinning.’ Nabonidus, in supplicating the moon god of the temple at Ur in the earnest petitions given above, places Belshazzar in close association with himself. Such association of a royal father and his son in religious entreaty is rare in cuneiform literature. One other instance can be mentioned. This is the association of Cambyses with Cyrus, his father, in the inscription of the latter known as the *Cyrus Cylinder*...A similar association of Belshazzar with Nabonidus suggests that an analogous political elevation had come to the former and that Belshazzar had some share in ruling the Babylonian empire.” Id. pp. 93-95.

<sup>53</sup> “Of supreme importance is the fact that the *Nabonidus Chronicle* records that Nabonidus was in a city called Tēmâ in the seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh years of his reign. The exact statements are as follows [omitted...] The passages of the *Nabonidus Chronicle* quoted above indicate that Nabonidus was in city of Tēmâ during the years mentioned and that the son of the king, *i.e.* Belshazzar, was with the princes and troops in the land of Akkad...” Id. pp. 111-113.

<sup>54</sup> Id. p. 193.

<sup>55</sup> Op. cit. p. 140.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 140.

<sup>57</sup> Zdravko Stefanovic, *The Aramaic of Daniel in the light of Old Aramaic*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 129, Sheffield 1992, p. 32.33.

<sup>58</sup> Grabbe, op. cit. p. 141.

<sup>59</sup> Assuming that the author of Dan 1:1 thought in terms of the accession year principle and began regnal years in the autumn, that is according to the Babylonian use (while Jeremiah follows the usual Palestinian antedating that ignores accession-years), then the alleged contradiction disappears. “The

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extant historical data does not allow any dogmatic assertion against the historical accuracy of this verse [Dan 1:1]". D J Wiseman, *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, The Tyndale Press, London, 1965, pp. 16-17. Moreover, the dates are so close that the common sense is never disturbed by such discrepancy. It is rather a mark of authenticity, because the Danielic author could easily borrow the "true" date from Jeremiah, rather than inventing a different but so close date for the same event. Furthermore, the objection against the specific Babylonian siege is an *argumentum ex silentio*. Why can't we treat biblical data as historical, *as they claim*, in their dignified simplicity, like ancient records as they are, at least until better discoveries will be made?

<sup>60</sup> Grabbe, *op. cit.* p. 138.

<sup>61</sup> *Id.* p. 139.

<sup>62</sup> *Id.* p. 151, endnote 17.

<sup>63</sup> Josephus, *Against Apion* (1.19).

<sup>64</sup> D. J. Wiseman, editor, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, 1956.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Gerhard Hasel, *op. cit.* pp. 101-102

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> The Grotfend Cylinder, KB iii, 2, p. 39, in J. A. Montgomery, "The Book of Daniel," ICC [23], 1997, p. 243.

<sup>69</sup> G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, Philadelphia, 1916, p. 479.

<sup>70</sup> C. W. Ceram, *Zei, morminte, cărturari – Romanul arheologiei*, Editura Științifică, București, 1968, p. 227. I had the favour to touch such a sealed, half-broken Babylonian brick, during a visit paid to a friend, professor of archaeology. It is indeed a heart moving feeling, to traverse millennia in a single moment, by touching traces still living from Biblical times.

<sup>71</sup> According to William H. Shea, "Daniel 3: Extra-biblical Texts and the Convocation on the Plain of Dura," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 30. Cf. Gerhard Hasel, *op. cit.* pp. 107-108. Also the literary and chronological position of Daniel 3, describing this religious test of political loyalty, by required worship to a human image wholly golden, after the prophetic image in chapter 2, that had only the head (the Babylon Empire) of gold, is very significant. This made the problem so much the more critical for the three young Jews. The absence of Daniel in this chapter may be due to his different office: he was the head of all wise men of the court (Dan 4:48, 4:9), while his friends held high administrative offices (Dan 2:49, 3:2.12.20). His absence in this chapter only (though the chapter is in

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many ways related to the previous one) is rather a sign of authenticity. No reasonable motive for the supposed late author(s) to leave him off this high scenes.

<sup>72</sup> 4QPrNab. See Grabbe, pp. 142-145.

<sup>73</sup> Gerhard Hasel, after showing the important differences between the two stories, points to some studies of the Assyriologist Grayson that may confirm Nebuchadnezzar's mental disorder, with his son Awil-Marduk made to take the lead. Gerhard F. Hasel, "Quelques éléments d'ordre historique dans le livre de Daniel", in Pierre Winandy (editor), *Daniel – Questions débattues*, Séminaire Adventiste Collonges-sous-Salève, France, 1980, p.28-30; A. K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto/Buffalo, University of Toronto Press, 1975, p. 87-92.

<sup>74</sup> See Dan 5:31 (was 62 years when he acceded to the throne), 6:1-2 (organised the empire into 120 satrapies, cf. Est 1:1), 9:1 (was made king over the Chaldeans), 9:2, 11:1 (his first year only is mentioned in Daniel), 9:1 (was the son of a Median Ahasuerus). He is always called "the Mede," while Cyrus is called "the Persian". The other kings known under the same name in biblical chronicles are named Persian (Darius II, Hystaspes: Ezra 4:5.24, and Darius III Nothos: Ne 12:22. This fact agrees with the biblical use of naming the Iranian Empire as "Medes and Persians" in Daniel (5:28, 6:9.13.16, 8:20), as Isaiah predicted that Media and Elam will conquer Babylon (Is 11:1, 13:17, 21:2, 22:6), while the postexilic writings speak about "Persia and Media" (Est 1:3.14.18.19, 1Mac 6:56, 14:2, 1 Esd 3:14, except Est 10:2 – citing old chronicles! – and 1 Esd 3:1 – fiction influenced by Danielic reading?).

<sup>75</sup> Like in 1 Ch 5:26 (where Tiglath-Pileser and Pul are actually the same person). Wiseman, op. cit., pp. 12-16.

<sup>76</sup> Gerhard Hasel, *Establishing a Date for the Book of Daniel*, in Frank Holbrook, editor, *Symposium on Daniel*, vol. 2, Biblical Research Institute, GC of SDA, Washington DC, 1986, pp. 111-117.

<sup>77</sup> Xenofon, *Viața lui Cyrus cel bătrân întemeietorul statului persan*, III. 3.25, VIII. 5, 17-20, Editura Științifică, București, 1967, pp.448-449. One of the best articles written on this topic is that of S. Douglas Waterhouse, *Why Was Darius the Mede Expunged from History?* – In *To Understand the Scriptures (Essays in Honor of William H. Shea)*, edited by David Merling, Institute of Archaeology, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI, 1997, pp. 173-190. This view is supported by old Jewish writings, by Josephus (*Antiquities* X. xi.4) and was still held by prominent scholars like Lowth, Hengstenberg, Rosenmüller, Hävernick, Kranichfeld, Kliefoth, Keil, Zöckler, Knabenbauer, and others (See Holbrook, op. cit. p. 113), and by Jerome (see Collins' *Daniel*, 330).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. BDBG, entry 325.

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- <sup>79</sup> F. W. König, *Relief und Inschrift des Königs Dareios I*, Leiden 1938, p. 1.
- <sup>80</sup> K. A. Kitchen, *The Aramaic of Daniel*, in D. J. Wiseman etc., *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, The Tyndale Press: London, 1965, pp. 15.59-60; W. F. Albright, "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler," *JBL*, 40, 1921, p. 112n; J. C. Whitcomb, *Darius the Mede*, p. 27; R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 1962, pp. 95.97.
- <sup>81</sup> Strabon, *Geografia*, vol. III, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, 1983, p. 716. For ethnic connotation see book XVI, 1:6.8, 3:1.3, 4:1. For the professional use see book XVI, 1:6, 2:39, and book XVII, 1:29.
- <sup>82</sup> Herodotus, *Histories* 1:181-83.
- <sup>83</sup> Hasel, *op. cit.* 124-126. It is interesting the observation of the French large dictionary of J. Planche & A. Pilon, *Dictionnaire Grec-Français*, Librairie Hachette et C<sup>ix</sup>, Paris, 1872, p. 1470: "**CHALDÉEN, nom de peuple; et par ext. astrologue, tireur d'horoscope, de même que chez nous bohème, bohémien, -enne.**" (my underline)
- <sup>84</sup> J. A. Soggin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. (Philadelphia, 1980), p. 410. A theological/literary content explanation (Aramaic for stories in pagan setting, Hebrew for revelations about Israel) is not convincing, because of some chapters' dissent. Zimmerman's opinion (now developed by many other theologians), about an original Aramaic book being later translated partially in Hebrew, seems not acceptable to me. We have no "complete" Aramaic text discovered, and the Danielic manuscript fragments of Qumrân (1QDan<sup>a</sup> and 1QDan<sup>b</sup>) indicate the shift from Aramaic to Hebrew and back at exactly the same places as in the Masoretic text. Cf. Gerhard Hasel, *op. cit.* pp. 141-143.
- <sup>85</sup> Whatever the justification found, we must have **the same** explanation for the same problem in Ezra. The bilingual composition of Ezra (Hebrew 1:1 – 4:6; Aramaic 4:7 – 6:18; Hebrew 6:19 – 7:11; Aramaic 7:12 – 26; Hebrew 7:27 – 10:44) cannot be explained only on the basis of the presence of some official Aramaic letters, because the Aramaic text often extends beyond those letters intended to be rendered in their original language, just as in the book of Daniel. And the first official letter (the famous decree of Cyrus) is rendered in Hebrew. Moreover, the first change from Hebrew to Aramaic occurs in precisely the same literary manner (Ezra 4:6-7 cf. Dan 2:4), which is a proof that the term אֲרָמָיִת in Dan 2:4 cannot be considered a later insert to indicate a late redaction, say, after the "lost" of the original language text. It is rather a mark of authenticity.

Both authors lived in a strong bilingual milieu. It was so natural for them to switch from their native tongue to that acquired in the Exile (that in short time became the second, or even the first mother



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tongue of the Jew), that it could have happened to change from one to another for the most banal motives. We see this natural phenomenon in our day, in similar circumstances; why not think so about the exilic and postexilic Jews? The Aramaic was the sacred language of their ancestors (Dt 26:5 Ne 9:7) and now it was spoken by all Jews. Only late mystical-nationalistic considerations could lead to the idea of the unique sacredness of the Ivriith. Therefore we may logically assume (if we only admit the actual Danielic authorship!) that Daniel, like Ezra, naturally switched to Aramaic when he had to quote an originally Aramaic speaking, then naturally alike, he kept on writing in Aramaic as long as he remained to write at that time – or in the same emotional state for a couple of days. The *terminus a quo* of his writings / final redaction seems to be c. 536 BC for the Aramaic part (as suggested in Dan 6:28) and c.534 BC for the Hebrew part (as suggested in Dan 10:1). We cannot negate, in principle, late redactions of the book, but there is sufficient evidence that old terms, no more understood in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, remained in place.

<sup>86</sup> K A Kitchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 32.79.

<sup>87</sup> K A Kitchen, *op. cit.* p. 79.

<sup>88</sup> G. Hasel, *op. cit.* pp. 132-136. Hasel cites Kutscher, Coxon and others.

<sup>89</sup> C. Daniel, Ioan Acsan. *Tăblițele de argilă – scrieri din Orientul antic*, Editura Minerva, București, [România], 1981, pp. 254-55.

<sup>90</sup> Peter W. Coxon, "Distribution of Synonyms in Biblical Aramaic," in *Revue de Qumrân* 36, Décembre 1978, Tome 9, Gabalda, Paris, p. 510.

<sup>91</sup> Id. p. 512.

<sup>92</sup> T C Mitchell and R Joyce, *The musical Instruments in Nebuchadnezzar's Orchestra*, published in D J Wiseman etc. *op. cit.* pp. 19-27.

<sup>93</sup> W F Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York, 1957) p. 337.

<sup>94</sup> K A Kitchen *The Aramaic of Daniel*, published in D J Wiseman etc., *op. cit.* pp. 44-50

<sup>95</sup> K A Kitchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-44.

<sup>96</sup> G. Hasel, *op. cit.*, p.127.

<sup>97</sup> We should compare the actual speed of this socio-linguistic phenomenon to what we know from the history of other, better known languages. The Rumanian language, for example, which is basically Romance with some Dacian and Slavic vocabulary, was highly influenced by French neologisms in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially through literature, and most of these terms are common today, replacing many of the Slavic terms that became in time archaisms. Moreover, if we count the

English terms imported by Romanian since 1990, together with the PC techniques and even in the language of politics, we may understand how a language can import loan words in the shortest time. The syntactic structure is, however, more conservative. Still another aspect deserves mention: the Romanian language incorporates in a natural way terms from French (as a Romance sister language), while English terms, though some of them largely used, are felt like a foreign body and rejected by conservative people. Some loan words may have a short life, but the necessary time of the import may be extremely short in conditions of wars, revolutions, changes in cultural relations, et al.

<sup>98</sup> In Dan 3:2, אֲרָרְיָא (counselors) is rendered *ὐπάτους* (grandees), נְרָרְיָא (treasurers) is rendered *διοικητάς* (governors), and אֲרָרְיָא and אֲפִרְיָא (magistrates and judges) are rendered by a general phrase *καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν* (and those in authority). The Hebrew of Daniel contains some Persian words too (apadana – palace, fratama – noblemen, patibaga – a king's portion), but no Greek term! According to Gleason Archer, Jr., *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction*, The Moody Bible Institute of Chicago, 1985, pp. 396-397.

<sup>99</sup> Zdravko Stefanovic, *The Aramaic of Daniel in the light of Old Aramaic*. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Sries 129, Sheffield 1992, p. 108.

<sup>100</sup> W. J. Martin, *The Hebrew of Daniel*, in D J Wiseman etc. *op. cit.* pp. 28-30. Martin disassembles successively all the arguments raised by Driver. For example, the term מַלְכוּת, interpreted as specific to the Late Hebrew, is found by Martin in earlier texts too (Nu 24:7, 1 S 20 31 et al.). The expression אֶסֶר לְ, used where “older Hebrew would prefer the *direct* narration” is also found by Martin in the oldest known Hebrew (Dt 9:5, Jos 22:33 1Sa 30:6 et al.). The definite elliptic expression הַתְּמִיר (for עוֹלָת הַתְּמִיר) though exclusively present in *Daniel* and late Hebrew writings, is also shown by Martin to be part of a normal linguistic process found already in the oldest Hebrew books as in practically all languages.

<sup>101</sup> Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, *Unter Mitarbeit von Till Niewisch und Jürgen Tubach*, *Erträge der Forschung*, Bd. 144; Darmstadt, 1980, p. 48.

<sup>102</sup> Gleason Archer, “The Hebrew of Daniel Compared with the Qurʾān Sectarian Documents,” *The Law and the Prophets*, ed. J. Skilton (Nutley, NJ, 1974), pp. 470-486. The use of an old Hebrew name for Babylonia, שַׁנְהָר (similar to Egypt. *Sangar* and Ugar. *Shanhar*, accord to BDB), found seven times in the OT, is difficult to explain in terms of a late date. The only post-exilic occurrence of the term is in Zec 5:11, still in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<sup>103</sup> Frederick H. Cryer. “The Problem of Dating Biblical Hebrew and the Hebrew of Daniel,” in K. Jeppesen et al. (eds.), *In the Last Days – On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period*. Aarhus, 1994. p. 185-198.

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<sup>104</sup> Cryer, p. 185.

<sup>105</sup> Cryer, p. 193. Underlines mine.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Compare similar statements about contemporary Christian authors in NT (2Pt 3:16 Peter about Paul's writings). In fact, if we think to those c. 70 years of Daniel's exile, and to the accelerating effect of the new circumstances, we may agree that 70 years back is a "far distant past."

<sup>108</sup> Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar or Darius Mede of the first chapters has no other similarity with Antiochus but what is common to all dictators. In addition, the book's heroes who learned Babylonian culture do not resemble any *Hassid* of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The first apocalyptic prophecies (chap. 2 and 7) go certainly far beyond the Hellenistic era, through the Pagan-Christian Roman Empire down to God's glorious kingdom. None of the exegeses devised by the historical-critical scholarship to avoid the supernaturalist claim of the book is so forcefully and historically applicable as the old Rabbinical-Patristic-Protestant view, that Rome is the main hostile force in Daniel, and Antiochus is but its modest foreshadow. The prophecy of the 490 years of chap. 9 is much better applicable to Jesus of Nazareth, the Messiah, both chronologically and theologically, while the historical-critical applications are but painful guesswork. The only prophecies reflecting something about Antiochus (chap. 8 and 11) have a lot of elements that don't fit that framework and, most of all, they lack visible and unmistakable cultural-historical traces from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE: Where are the elephants in the detailed description of those battles? Moreover, why Kittim instead of Romans? Why Moab, Edom and Amon were so important in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE? Finally, why no apocalyptic period fits the actual history, if they were devised *post eventum*? Such questions may be multiplied.

<sup>109</sup> Cryer, p. 193. (Underlines mine). Thus the inner claims of the book itself, and many other "clear signs," including language features, lead us to just an assumption that Daniel is older than we believed, but when we come to certainty, the 2<sup>nd</sup> century escape is "primary data." This might be that faith which overthrows the mountains! To abandon it, one really needs much "decisive evidence to the contrary."

<sup>110</sup> Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

<sup>111</sup> Sáenz-Badillos, p. 114-115. Sáenz-Badillos says further that a similar position took E. Kautzsch (1902), an even a better analysis is that of Hurvitz (1968) who "establishes the rule that an Aramaism may be used as evidence that a work is late only if it occurs with some regularity in late Hebrew," and not isolated, but in context of other Aramaisms, with no other explanation possible for its presence within a text. "For example, the Aramaisms of Job and Proverbs may derive from Old Aramaic, and

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are, therefore, very different from post-exilic Aramaisms, whereas the language of the Song of Songs may appear to have Aramaic features because of its origins in the Northern Kingdom.” (ibid. footnote 6). Moreover, why not possible for Israelites to inherit some old Aramaisms from their Aramaean ancestry (Dt 26:5)? That they took some loanwords from their northern neighbours, as other Canaan peoples did, even before the Babylonian exile, is not magic.

<sup>112</sup> The conservative believer may be soothed, however, by assertions like this: “We should bear in mind, though, that some books written after the exile, like Ruth and Lamentations [sic] contain hardly any Aramaisms, and that a number of Psalms, as well as some post-exilic sapiential and prophetic works, are not especially affected by them.” (id. 115)

<sup>113</sup> Concerning Job, Sáenz-Badillos takes a prudent stand to say it “is peculiar in that archaic elements appear alongside features that are late and perhaps dialectal, and so it is advisable at present to set this book apart from other works that are clearly post-exilic.” (ibid)

<sup>114</sup> Rowley (1932), Zimmermann (1938) and Ginsberg (1948) are cited for this opinion. Sáenz-Badillos, p. 122.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Gleason Archer, Jr., *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction*, The Moody Bible Institute of Chicago, 1985, pp. 396-397.

<sup>117</sup> Shadrach is from Akkadian *shaduraku* (“ich bin sehr in Furcht versetzt”), a shortened form in which the name of the deity is omitted. Meshach is from the Akkadian *Meshaku* (“ich bin gering geachtet”), also omitting the theophoric component. (It has a striking similarity with the known Akkadian term *mushkennu*, “ordinary people,” and with the French *mesquin* – ital. *meschino* – rom. *meschin*, “base,” “mean”; – my observation). Abednego is from the Akkadian *Abad-Nagu* (“the servant of the shining one”). P.-R. Berger, *Der Kyros-Zylinder mit dem Zusatzfragment, BIN 2 Nr. 32 und die akkadischen Personennamen im Danielbuch*, ZA 64 (1975): 224-226, quoted by Hasel, *op. cit.* p. 126. Abed-Nego (that was considered once to be a late corruption from Abed-Nebo) was discovered in the Elephantine papyri dating from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. (E. Yamauchi, “Slaves of God” in *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society*, Winter 1966, p.33).

<sup>118</sup> Entry **Ashpenaz**. *The SDA Bible Dictionary*, Available on CD. Logos Bible Software, v2.0b, Logos Research Systems, 1996.

<sup>119</sup> 119. See also Gn 14:1.9. SDA Bible Dictionary, **Arioch**.

<sup>120</sup> Ad. Lenglet, “La structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7,” in *Biblica* 53, (1972): 169-190, shows that chapters 2-7 form a chiasmus. See also Arthur Ferch “Single or Multiple Authorship?” in *Symposium*

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on *Daniel*, edited by Frank Holbrook, Biblical Research Institute, General Conference of SDA, Washington DC, 1986, pp. 22-50.

<sup>121</sup> William H. Shea, "Unity of Daniel" in F. Holbrook, op. cit. pp. 165-249..

<sup>122</sup> Shea, *id.*. See also Jacques Doukhan, *Le soupir de la terre*, Vie et Santé: Dammarie les Lys Cedex, France, 1993, pp. 15. 33. 60. 80. 103. 121. 140. 171. 191. 221. 233. 256. 271.

<sup>123</sup> There is indeed depicted a progressive enlightenment of Nebuchadnezzar. First, he saw the success and progress of those Jews remained faithful to Yahweh's laws (ch. 1). Second, he experienced a special divine revelation explained later by Daniel (ch. 2). Third, he saw the great miracle of Yahweh saving His faithful from the fiery furnace (ch. 3). Fourth, he was given a last dream, a divine severe warning (ch. 4). We can see that the chronological sequence is also a gradual revelation of God's will to him. But there is also a gradual accumulation of guilt from the king's part: after the experience of chapter 1, the king who humbled and plundered Jerusalem gives his best students *magna cum laudae*, but nothing is said about following their example; in chapter 2, Nebuchadnezzar recognises the supreme reign of Yahweh and Daniel's wisdom, even to worship him, but later he changes his mind and enforces worship to a wholly golden image as a loyalty oath, under the most ferocious threat, defying any God (ch. 3); after he publicly recognised the superiority of Yahweh over all gods (including himself) and even uttered an edict against any detractor of God, he continued his cruel (kingly!) behaviour toward captives/slaves, Jews or else, and instead of worshipping God, magnified himself after he built the great Babylon with his pagan temples. His gradual sinfulness toward God reaches its climax when he, one year after being warned of his foolish conduct, pronounces those famous words of boast (4:30-31). Those who think that this versatile conduct is not verisimilar are reminded that the same attitude is seen in many other biblical cases and not less in our times. This is the very nature of the sin and the human nature too, to prove that the lack of supernatural, striking evidence, is not the principal motive of unbelief, but one's self-pride and the ill advised reason snobbishly yielding to majority, common, respected traditions.

<sup>124</sup> See Dan 2:2.10.27, 4:7, 5:7.11, 3:2-3, 6:7, 3:5.7.10.15.

<sup>125</sup> A good, though short study of the book's unity is that of Arthur J. Ferch, *Daniel on Solid Ground*, Review and Herald: Washington, DC, 1988, pp. 17-26.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Doukhan, *Le soupir....*, p.279, quoting from *ANET*, pp. 315-316..

<sup>127</sup> See Is 7:3.13, 8:1.5.7-8, 20:2, Jr 14:1.11.13.14, 18:1.5, 27:1-2, 30:1, 31:26, 32:1-2. 9-16. 26, 35:1.5, Ez 1:3-4, 24:22.24, Hos 1:1-4, 3:1-3, Am 1:1-2, 7:1, 8:1-2, 9:1, Mi 1:1, 3:1, Hab 1:1, 2:1-2, 3:1, Zc 1:1.7-9, 7:1.4.8, 8:18, Rv 1:1-2.9.17, 22:8. The Revelator's phrases "I, John" and "I, Jesus"(Rev 22:16) seem to be reminiscent of Daniel's "I, Daniel" (Dan 7:15, 8:1.15.27, 9:2, 10:2.7, 12:5) and "I,

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Nebuchadnezzar” (Dan 4:4,18,34,37). Or it might be a usual, ancient expression to emphasise the speaker/writer’s identity (“I, Paul” in 2 Cor 10:1, Gal 5:2, Eph 3:1, Col 1:23, 1 Thes 2:18, Phm 19; “I, Tertius” in Rom 16:22,), “I, Darius”(Ezra 6:2) “I, the king Artaxerxes” (Ezra 7:21). God Himself expresses a like (“I, Yahweh”) in Torah (Ex 4:11, 6:8, 8:22, 12:12, 20:5, Dt 5:9) and in the Prophets (Is 27:3, 41:4, 42:6, 44:24, 45:7-8,19,21,48:17, 60:22, 61:8, Jer 17:10, Ez 5:13,15,17, 12:25, 14:4,7,9, 17:24, 20:48, 21:5,17,32, 22:14, 24:14, 26:14, 30:12, 34:24,30, 35:12, 36:36, 37:14). The switch between the first and third person in a literary work is a powerful modality to break the monotony of an account and to make it living – sometimes as a distant reportage, sometimes as a close, colloquial narrative. Nobody would challenge the authenticity of Jeremiah or Amos, on the basis of the two persons through which the authors addresses himself to the reader.

<sup>128</sup> Ferch, *op. cit.* pp. 26-31.

<sup>129</sup> See Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. II, Review and Herald, Washington DC, 1948, p. 660.

<sup>130</sup> The problem is complicated by the scarcity of contemporary sources about the acts of Antiochus (just 1 and 2 Maccabees and Polybius). Scholars have several disagreements about some details and the sequential order of events, whether Antiochus conducted one or two campaigns against Jerusalem et.al. Given the divergences raised by the presently available primary sources, scholars sometimes round out their historical reconstruction using the book of Daniel (!). None of the periods predicted in Daniel (it does not matter the method of counting!) matches the exactly three years of persecution under Antiochus, though the author’s intention is obvious and precise. Arthur Ferch, *op. cit.* pp. 56-61.

<sup>131</sup> That Antiochus was intended to be a type of another, more important persecutor is obvious from the following: a). he is described in chapter 8 in terms of that “little horn” grown of the fourth beast’s head (Dan 7:8,11,20-22,25,26) which is Rome, see the following endnotes); b). his amazing exploits depicted in chapter 11 are said to be limited to the “three and a half times” (12:6-7, extended to 1290 and 1335 days in v. 11-12), that is the time ascribed to the war against the saints made by the Roman horn in chapter 7:25. This cryptic period is clearly applied in the Revelation of John to a fierce persecution ahead of the Church – God’s Israel (Rev 11:2-3, 12:6,14, 13:5). Daniel’s prophecy was applied by Jesus of the synoptic Gospels to a future, Roman invasion (Mat 24:15,21, Mk 13:14,19, Lk 21:21). Paul sees in the same prophecy of Daniel, the future raise and fall of “the man of lawlessness,” the “mystery of iniquity,” a strange development that had to occur after the imperial Rome’s removal and after the spiritual deterioration of the Church (2 Thes 2:3-12).

We may understand Dan 11:35 and 12:9-10 as a prophetic device to hide the length of actual time from the reader’s eye, that the repeating nature of this prediction might be seen later, so that

believers may apply it to subsequent crises: the pagan-roman, the Christian-roman and the final, universal one. Can you imagine the text's length of chapter 11, if the prophetic revelation had to disclose all subsequent events to the end of history, in the same detailed manner and rhythm as Dan 11:21-34? Moreover, it is perfectly possible that the seemingly short-sighted perspective of the vision (the little horn of chapter 8 succeeds up to the End; the contemptible king of the north in chapter 11 experiences defeat in the End) to be a conditional aspect, so common in the classical prophecy. This conditional aspect should be noted also respecting Jesus' apocalypse (Mat 24:14,34-36, *one generation*), and in Paul's *midrash* (2 Thes 2:8 *a man, not a dynasty*).

<sup>132</sup> Interestingly enough, Daniel 11:40 is referred in 1 Maccabees 1:17, if one compares the two passages in the Greek text:

LXX1Mac 1:17b ... ἐν ἄρμασιν καὶ ἐλέφασιν καὶ ἐν ἵππεσιν καὶ ἐν στόλῳ μεγάλῳ  
 Θ Dan 11:40b ...ἐν ἄρμασιν καὶ [.....?.....] ἐν ἵππεσιν καὶ ἐν ναυσὶν πολλαῖς  
 ...ἐν ἄρμασι καὶ [.....?.....] ἐν ἵπποις πολλοῖς καὶ ἐν πλοίοις  
 LXX Dan 11:40b πολλοῖς

In both places we have “chariots” (ἄρμασιν), “horse” / “horsemen” (ἵπποις/ ἵππεσιν), “ships” / “fleets”, (πλοίοις / ναυσὶν / στόλῳ) and the adjectives “many” / “great” (πολλαῖς / πολλοῖς / μεγάλῳ). But only in the Maccabean text appear the “elephants” ἐλέφασιν. (And there are many other Maccabean verses mentioning the elephants. See 1 Mac 11:56, 6:35,46, 2 Mac 11:4, 13:2,15, 14:12, 15:20,21, 3 Mac. 5:1,2,4,10,20,38,45,48). The Maccabean author used obviously the Book of Daniel as an old prediction that was fulfilling in his time. That means, the Book of Daniel must have been old enough to win such authority and credibility.

<sup>133</sup> High theological writings about this topic are: the dissertation of Gerhard Pfandl (*The Time of the End in the Book of Daniel*, ATS Publications, Berrien Springs, MI, 1992) and the book of Jon Paulien (*What the Bible Says About the End-Time*, RHPA, Hagerstown, MD, 1994).

<sup>134</sup> Many scholars have drawn the close parallel between the two prophecies. In chapter 2 the human kingdom is opposed to the Divine kingdom, both depicted as physical elements: the first being symbolised by an idolatrous human image made by a succession of metals and ceramic, the second by an unexpected mountain stone hitting the image to shatter it. In chapter 7, the same two kingdoms are represented by living creatures: the human kingdom, by a succession of strange, composite wild beasts, in which the human image is nearly lost (the first beast have a human posture and heart, for a short time, and the last one has just a horn with human eyes and mouth only), and the Divine kingdom, embodied by a “son of man” (a human), the representative head of all saints of God. In chapter 2, the world's kingdoms are represented numerically by four metallic parts, the fourth being more complex,

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mixed and having toes (obviously, ten) from the same mixed material. Correspondingly, in chapter 7 we have also four beasts (kingdoms), the fourth having ten horns.

Further, in chapter 2, we note a decreasing value of the metals and a lowering from head to feet, in parallel with an obvious increasing in strength, hardness and industrial usefulness. Correspondingly, in chapter 7 we see a decreasing in harmlessness and increasing ferocity from the first to the last beast (lion with human heart, a carnivorous voracious bear, a four-winged four-headed leopard and an incomparable monster that crushes, tears and destroys everything). William Shea points to the use of similar Aramaic terms, comparing the corresponding symbols for the fourth kingdom in both chapters: חֲזָקִים strong (2:40, 7:7), לְבַרְזֵלִים iron (2:40, 7:7.19) and קַרְקַרֵּי breaks (2:40, 7:19.23). Shea, *op. cit.* p. 171.

In both chapters we may see some reticence toward using in a distinctive way the word “kingdom”. “King” is preferred, as if the heavenly inspiration wished to hide the historical long time that had to pass. However, in both prophecies we was given some hints and clues of the extensive meaning of “king,” to understand “kingdom”. In chapter 2, the first symbol is applied to Nebuchadnezzar himself, but the subsequent phases are clearly named kingdoms, quite different from one another, the last two ruling and breaking “all [the earth]” (2:39-40) which could not be said of the Chaldean successors of Nebuchadnezzar. In chapter 7, the four beasts are interpreted as “kings” in a first stage (7:17), but later the fourth is called a “kingdom” (7:23), which is a clue to understand that actually all four beasts are kingdoms, and hereby a suggestion to properly understand the 10-11 horns.

<sup>135</sup> Froom cites scores of Jewish and Christian exegetes who understood the fourth beast to be Rome. The earliest of them are: Iohanan ben Zakai, Rabbi Akiba (the idea will be preserved in Talmud, Targums and Midrash), Josephus (an eloquent, cautious avoiding of this application), Rabbi Eliezer, Saadia Gaon, Jepheth ibn Ali, Rashi, Abraham ibn Ezra, Maimonides, Gersonides, Abrabanel, Joseph ben David, Manasseh ben Israel, Pseudo-Barnabas, the author of II Esdras, Irenaeus, Tertullianus, Hippolytus, Victorinus, Lactantius, Eusebius Panphylis, Athanasius, Cyril, Aphraates, Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusium, Sulpicius Severus, Jerome, Theodoret. (L.R. Froom, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 199-204.456 and vol. II, pp. ch. 8-10). In support of this classic view, Young says:

It is probably correct to say that the traditional view is that this fourth empire is Rome. This was expressed as early as the time of Josephus, and it has been held very widely. We may mention Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Luther, and Calvin as expounders, or at least adherents, of this position. In later times such great believing scholars as E. W. Hengstenberg, H. Ch. Hävernick, Carl Paul Caspari, Karl Friedrich Keil, Edward Pusey and Robert Dick Wilson. (E. J. Young, *The Messianic Prophecies of Daniel*, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954, p. 17).



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<sup>136</sup> See comments on the fourth beast of Dan 7 and its horns p. 77-92.

<sup>137</sup> See historical-critical theories in the exegesis of Daniel 7, p. 68.

<sup>138</sup> Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel*, Intervarsity Press, 1978, p.161.

<sup>139</sup> Grabbe, op. cit. p. 137.

<sup>140</sup> Mc 13:32, 1P 1:12.

<sup>141</sup> Dan 4:17, 10:12-14,20, 11:1.

<sup>142</sup> Dan 2:28, Is 44:6-7, Ps 139:16.

<sup>143</sup> Ex 4:21, 7:2-4,13-14,22, 8,19, 9:7,12, 10:1,20,27, 11:10, 14:4,8,17, Dt 2:30, Mt 13:14-15, Jn 12:39-40, 2S 24:1, 1Ch 21:1, 27:24, 1K 22:19-23, Lam 13:37-38; Ex 8:15,32, 9:34-35, IS 6:6, Ps 95:8, Is 46 12, Ez 2:4-5, Dan 5:20, Mc 6 51-52, 8:17-18. See also Dt 30:19.

<sup>144</sup> Rm 5:13,20, 3:20, 7:7-11.

<sup>145</sup> Rm 2:14-16.

<sup>146</sup> .See Jr, ch 18. It is a pity that most conservative people, including theologians, pay not real attention to the hermeneutic implications of the great Jeremianic passage. When God reveals that this is His way and purpose in revealing the future, one cannot disregard and call him- / herself believer. Perhaps we have to expect more from liberals than from fundamentalists respecting this problem.

<sup>147</sup> Jon 3:2,4, 3:10, 4:1-4,11.

<sup>148</sup> 2K 22:20, 23:29.

<sup>149</sup> See Is 19:19-25, Jer 31:38-40, Ez 37:22-25, chapters 40-48.

<sup>150</sup> Dan 4:27.

<sup>151</sup> N. K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible – a Socio-literary Introduction*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1985, p. 595.

<sup>152</sup> P. R. Davies, however, referring to such understanding in Collins's assertion (that the wise of *Daniel* are uninterested in political ambitions, seeking instead "purity and communion with angels") finds it "a little as perverse". Philip R. Davies, *Reading Daniel Sociologically*, in *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium*, CVI, *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, A.S. van der Woude (Editor), Leuven University Press, 1993, p. 355; John J. Collins, *Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?* In Lawrence Schiffman (Editor), *Archaeology and History in the*

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*Dead Sea Scrolls, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha, Supplement Series 8, JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2, pp. 25-51.*

<sup>153</sup> This is obviously a conjectural chronology, because the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter of Daniel is not dated. I only suppose that such event must have occurred in the last years of his reign, when the new Babylon was rebuilt, and after most of his expeditions being achieved (which is suggested also by the prophetic “cartoon” in Dan 7:4: the kingdom’s “wings” plucked, its “heart” changed into a human heart, the standing, humanlike position, build on Nebuchadnezzar’s experience, for the king is the kingdom’s heart).

<sup>154</sup> *Istoria lumii în date*, Editura Enciclopedică Română, București, p.14.

<sup>155</sup> The Danielic story is attested by Xenophon who says that “while the men of Cyrus were doing these works [trenches to derive the Euphrates’ waters] the enemies ascended on [Babylon’s] fortifications mocked them, because they had provisions for more than twenty years.” [...] “The trenches were now dug, when Cyrus heard reports that the city was feasting and all dwellers of Babylon did nothing else but drinking and carousing.”[...] “Hurrying, they came in front of the royal palace”...“Thus they came to the king, whom they found standing ready, with a dagger out of the sheath. Men of Gadatas and Gobryas (Gubaru) killed him too...” (Xenophon, *op. cit.* VII, 5:13-30, pp. 312-315).

<sup>156</sup> Waterhouse, *op. cit.* 184. This is among the best studies on the topic.

<sup>157</sup> This is obvious from Isaiah’s prophecies (Is. 44:28-45:6) where Yahweh calls Cyrus “My shepherd,” “My anointed one,” and from the Revelator’s visions of the end (cf. Rev 16:12, 19:11-16), where the mystical end-time Babylon is taken by surprise, after a “draining” of its “waters” (Rev 17:1.15).

<sup>158</sup> Dan 4:27, Jer 34:14-22. We may see how the divine warnings for the Jews were gradually intensified, by prophetic short-time fulfilled messages and by successive punishment blows. In the same manner, Nebuchadnezzar was gradually enlightened and warned, and gradually accumulated guilt. See note 123.

<sup>159</sup> See in *Symposium on Daniel*, pp. 22-50, 171.187. 248. Jacques. Doukhan, *Le soupir de la terre*, Vie et Santé, Dammarie-les-Lys, France, 1993, p. 15.

<sup>160</sup> Norman Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible*, p. 584. ✓

<sup>161</sup> Ferch, p. 41, in *Symposium on Daniel*, p. 41.

<sup>162</sup> See F. Field, *Origenis Hexapla*, II, Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim 1964, p. 921.

<sup>163</sup> See Jer 4:11-12, 49:36, 51:1-2.

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<sup>164</sup> מִקְרָאֵי קוּדֵשׁ – יהושוע etc., Propheten, Tom 1. Druck und Verlag von Pessel Balaban, Lemberg, 1867; and יְהִיקָאֵל, Propheten, Tom 9. Druck und Verlag von Pessel Balaban, Lemberg, 1878.

<sup>165</sup> The root קָדַשׁ as noun or verb appears in such places: Gn 6:3, 34:1, 49:16, Dt 17:8, 32:36, 1S 2:10, 24:16, 2S 19:10, Job 35:14, 36:31, Ps 7:9, 9:9, 72:2, 96:10, 110:6, 135:14, Pr 22:10, 29:7, 31:8, 50:4, Ec 6:10, Is 3:13, Jer 5:28, 21:12, 30:13, Zec 3:7. According to BDBG 192, it is found in Assyrian too, thus it is an old Semitic root, not an Aramaism.

<sup>166</sup> Stefanovic, op. cit. p. 110.

<sup>167</sup> Eduard Sachau. *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*. Leipzig. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911. p. 50.

<sup>168</sup> See also Arthur J. Ferch. *The Son of Man in Daniel 7* (doctoral dissertation, vol. 6). Andrews University Press, Berrien Springs, MI 1983, p. 167. Ferch's thesis is an exhaustive and very balanced analysis on this subject.

<sup>169</sup> See BDBG, 1102. Cf. the Targum of Jonathan and the G. Dalman's *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Aramäischen* (2nd ed., 1905); see also BDBG 1086, § 5085, which cites Dalman for the occurrence of the prep. כְּנִי in the Galilean Aramaic. So Holladay 413, who adds the variant reading כְּנִי יְהוָה.

<sup>170</sup> Θ reads ἐν τῆ ἔξει μου *in my body*, which shows dependence on the corrupted spelling.

<sup>171</sup> It is not only a literary-contextual interpretation within Dan 7, but the NT understanding of this messianic-apocalyptic feature: 2Tim 2:12, Rev 2:26-27, 3:21, 20:6, 22:5d.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Rev 20:4.

<sup>173</sup> The Aramaic uses the expression מִתְּעַבְדָּר מִנְהָ judgment be executed upon him (Ezra 7:26) when it deals with condemnation. Though it is a different verb used, it is interesting to observe that it is followed by the prep. כְּנִי which is usually in contrast with לְ.

<sup>174</sup> Arthur Ferch, op. cit. p. 170.

<sup>175</sup> Gn 14:18-20 (the Canaanite king Malki-tzedeq), Nu 24:16 (the Aramean prophet Balaam), Dt 32:8 (Moses, speaking about the world's nations), 2S 22:14, Ps 7:18, 9:3, 18:14, 21:8, 46:5, 47:3, 50:14, 57:3, 73:11, 77:11, 78:17.35.56, 82:6, 83:19, 87:5, 89:28, 91:1.9, 92:2, 97:9, 107:11 (poetic synonym for Yahweh, the Suprem King, God of David, doing justice against his enemies), Is 14:14 (the king of Babylon speaks), Lam 3:35.38.

<sup>176</sup> The Revelation, in the first century of this era, portrays the ten horns of the beast as *kings who did not yet receive the kingdom* (Rev 17:12).

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<sup>177</sup> See Field, op. cit. 922.

<sup>178</sup> See BDBG 1084 for the Aramaic term and p. 115 for the same root in Hebrew. The basic meaning is *wear out, use up to destruction* (Job 13:28, Ps 32:3).

<sup>179</sup> See Rt 1:13, Est 9:1, Ps 104:27, 119:116.166, 145:15, 146:5, Is 38:18.

<sup>180</sup> See Ne 2:13.15.

<sup>181</sup> Field, op. cit. 923.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Menahem P. Mandel , *Millon Ivri-Romani* (Hebrew-Romanian Dictionary). Histaderuth Hannashim Ha'ivriyoth be-Romania. (No year of publication). p. 254. The root סבר is marked with asterisk (\*) to indicate its Aramaic origin.

<sup>183</sup> Dan 2:9.13.15, Ezra 7:26, 8:36, Est 2:8, 3:8.14.15, 4:3.8, 8:13.14.17, 9:1.13.14 (royal verdict, edict, order), Ezra 7:12.14. 21.25.26 (of your God), Dan 6:6 (of his God), Dan 6:9.13.16, Est 1:13.15.19, 4:11.16 (of Medes and Persians), Est 1:8, 2:12, (the custom, the regulation).

<sup>184</sup> BDBG 1091, § 2166.

<sup>185</sup> For עֲדַנִּין, according to the suggestion of BDBG, p. 1105, § 5732, which follows Bevan and Gunkel. For מְזַעְרֵי, BDBG 417, § 4150, is cited Briggs implying the same reading in the equation of the whole formula to *three years and a half*. Origen's Hexapla gives the same suggestion: *tempora (duo annos)*. See Field, op. cit. 933. Note the next apocalyptic period from v. 11, the "1290 days" (= 3 years+7 months) which is roughly three years and a half.. The NT Apocalypse agrees on this equation ("42 months": Rev 11:2, "1260 days": 11:3, "1260 days": 12:6, "one time, times and half of a time":12:14, "42 months": 13:5).

<sup>186</sup> This is not unusual, because terms like שַׁבָּת *Sabbath / week*, and שִׁרְדָּן *month, new moon day*, had the same double function. BDBG (1105) § 5732.2 renders it as definite time = *year* (as modern Greek χρόνος).

<sup>187</sup> Θ has: ....were given to the saints of the Most High; and his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom... VUL.: *detur populo sanctorum Altissimi cuius regnum regnum sempiternum est ..* were given to the people of the saints of the Most High whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom...

<sup>188</sup> Because מְאִוָּה means also *end, consummation*, LXX "translated": ἕως καταστροφῆς τοῦ λόγου... *until the catastrophe of the word...* (sic), which is hardly believable.

<sup>189</sup> BDBG, p. 1091.

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<sup>190</sup> This may be an influence of the book of Daniel, in a literary context where Luke mentions Gabriel, Messiah the Lord, etc., or it may be a usual Hebrew expression.

Θ Dan 7:28 καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου συνετήρησα  
Lk 2.19 ... συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα...ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς  
Lk 2.51 ...διετήρει ...τὰ ῥήματα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς

<sup>191</sup> Scores of old Protestant and conservative Evangelical commentators used the same logic of comparison, though reading Daniel according to its natural order: first chapters 2 and 7, then interpreting chapter 8 (and the subsequent) according to chapter 7.

<sup>192</sup> H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1935.

<sup>193</sup> Desmond Ford, *Daniel*, Southern Publishing Association, Nashville, TN, 1978, p. 40.

<sup>194</sup> See in Charles H. Wright, *Daniel and His Prophecies*, London: William and Norgate, 1906, p. 154.

<sup>195</sup> Ernest Lucas, "The Origin of Daniel's Four Empires Scheme Re-examined," in *Tyndale Bulletin*, Tyndale House, Cambridge, 40 (1989) p. 192. The same logic is apparent with Montgomery and Heaton. E. W. Heaton, *Daniel* (London 1972), p. 192. Concerning the Median Empire see J. M. Diakonoff, "The Median Empire" in I. Gershevitch (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Iran II* (Cambridge 1981), pp. 110-148. Lucas compared the apocalyptic schemes of Dan 2 and 7 with the Sibylline oracles and the Zoroastrian sources and concluded that the Danielic sequence of empires "is probably not an adaptation of that found in Sibylline Oracle 4, but reflects the historical experience of the Jewish and Israelite exiles in the Eastern Dispersion." Id. p. 201.

<sup>196</sup> Id. 193-194.

<sup>197</sup> Id. p. 202.

<sup>198</sup> D. Flusser, "The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibil and in the Book of Daniel," in *JOS* 2, 1972, p.148-175.

<sup>199</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, X, 209f, 276f.

<sup>200</sup> The table is copied from Marcel Popa & Horia Matei, *Mică enciclopedie de istorie universală*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București 1983, p. 676-677.

<sup>201</sup> For all this information I am indebted first to the monumental work of Leroy E. Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vol. I, Review and Herald, Washington DC, 1978, pp. 227-453.

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<sup>202</sup> Don Isaac Abrabanel, *Wells of Salvation*, well 8, palm-tree 5. All these Jewish commentators are discussed by Froom op. cit. vol. II, 1948, pp. 184-202, with a complete table at p. 194.

<sup>203</sup> Froom op. cit. vol. I, pp. 573-580, 609-615, 653, 685-764.

<sup>204</sup> Froom op. cit. vol. II, pp. 17-101.

<sup>205</sup> Froom op. cit. vol. I, pp. 796-806.

<sup>206</sup> Froom op. cit. vol. II, pp. 588-596.

<sup>207</sup> The historical data are from *Istoria lumii în date*, p. 14-17, 29-34.

<sup>208</sup> This meaning of iron + clay, though not explained in the text, has its inherent logic. Desmond Ford (op. cit. 99) made the same application. Jacques Doukhan (op. cit. 49-51) understands the expression “potter’s clay” as a reference to human beings in relationship with their Creator. Concerning the expression “they will mingle through human seed (זרע אנוש Dan 2:43) it should be understood as opposed to זרע אלהים “divine seed” (=“sons of God,” see Mal 2:15). This is the same opposition apparent in Gn 6, when the mingling between the “sons of God” (godly men / sons of Seth) and “daughters of Adam” (carnal descendants of Adam, ungodly, fallen / sons of Cain).

<sup>209</sup> As, for instance, is not intended to see the two arms of the statue representing respectively Medes and Persians (to say nothing about their fingers), or the thighs representing, say, Seleucids and Ptolemies, or the feet representing the Eastern and Western Roman Empire. There is no historical-geographical continuity between the two greater divisions of the Hellenistic Empire and the two divisions of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, the two legs represent the unitary phase of the Empire. Some conservative people play with such symbols beyond the apparent intention of the author.

<sup>210</sup> Nu 14:22, 1S 1:8, 2K 20:9, 2Ch 4:6-8 (instead of the original unique pieces), Jb 19:3, Q 7:19, Is 5:10, Am 10:9, Zec 8:23, (Mt 25:1.28, Lk 15:8, 19:30, Rv 2:10).

<sup>211</sup> Which type again is developed in Revelation (2:20-22, 17:1-18).

<sup>212</sup> “3 ½ times / years” (Dan 7:25, 12:7). The NT only renders explicitly this time as 3 ½ years (Lk 4:25, Jm 5:17), which roughly agrees with the OT record (“in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year” – from Elijah’s prediction – 1 K 18:1), if we properly assume that Elijah made his prediction after the passing of the natural Palestinian six months of dry season.

<sup>213</sup> 1K 16:30-33, 17:1 etc., 18:1-4.10.13 etc., 1K 21:25-26. 2K 9:7-10.

<sup>214</sup> There are important criteria to narrow the search. One should not count all Barbarian tribes that overrode the imperial boundaries, but only the state formations they finally constituted, since they joined upon other reasons but tribal kinship to form new states. We also should not count parts of the

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Empire still administered by Roman forces, such as the Eastern (Byzantine) Empire, some very ephemeral powers like the “kingdom” of Syagrius (in fact a Roman general who tried for a time to keep the Roman administration in Gallia), or kingdoms like that of Huns, Gepides, Avars et al., which moved not their principal residence within the Empire’s limits, and could not be foundational for the Christian Europe. All horn-kingdoms we count, must be “Christian,” in order to be a good candidate for a place in the royal decade.

<sup>215</sup> All data in this table come from different sources combined and compared, such as: Marcel Popa & Horia Matei, *Mică enciclopedie de istorie universală*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București 1983; *Istoria lumii în date*, Editura Enciclopedică Română; *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia 99*, F. J. Foakes-Jackson, “The New West and Gregory the Great,” in *An Outline of Christianity* (New York: Bethlehem Publishers, 1926), Vol. 2, pp. 149–152.215; Ernest Barker, “Italy and the West, 410–476,” chap. 14 in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), pp. 430, 431. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. by J. B. Bury, chap. 39, Vol. 4 (London: Methuen & Co., 1898). Ammianus Marcellinus, *Istorie romană*, translated and annotated by Prof. David Popescu, Editura științifică și enciclopedică, București, 1982.

<sup>216</sup> The application of the phrase in Daniel 7:25, “to change times (feasts) and Law”, to Rome’s genius of controlling any calendar and tradition in the Christian world, is self-evident to the careful readers of Church history. Especially in older publications, even in its catechisms, the Roman Church made clear that its supreme control over the feasts (including the Biblical day of worship) is a mark of its God given authority:

**Q.** But has the Church a power to make any alterations in the commandments of God?

**A.** The commandments of God, as far as they contain his eternal law, are unalterable and indispensable; but as to whatever was only ceremonial, they cease to oblige, since the Mosaic law was abrogated by Christ’s death. Hence, as far as the commandment obliges us to set aside some part of our time for the worship and service of our Creator, it is an unalterable and unchangeable precept of the eternal law, in which the Church cannot dispense: but forasmuch as it prescribes the seventh day in particular for this purpose, it is no more than a ceremonial precept of the old law, which obligeth not Christians. And therefore, instead of the seventh day, and other festivals appointed by the old law, the Church has prescribed the Sundays and holydays to be set apart for God’s worship; and these we are now obliged to keep in consequence of God’s commandment, instead of the ancient Sabbath.

Cf. Richard Challoner, *The Catholic Christian Instructed*, New York: E. Dunigan and Brother, 1853), p. 211.

<sup>217</sup> “In a letter to Anastasius on the relationship between church and state, Gelasius formulated his influential “two swords” theory—the doctrine that the pope and the emperor enjoy equal authority in their respective spheres of competence. This doctrine was frequently cited in the conflicts between the

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church and the Holy Roman Empire during the Middle Ages (5th century to 15th century).” Encarta 99, *Gelasius I, Saint*. According to Encyclopedia Encarta, the early medieval Papacy begins with Gelasius.

<sup>218</sup> Euseviu Popovici, *Istoria Bisericească Universală*, vol II, traducere Atanasie Mrionescu, Cernica, 1926, p. 73. The famous Dictates of Gregory VII, refer to Symmachus as the first precedent.

<sup>219</sup> In short after some pastoral letters sent in a Balcanic area, a great rebellion arose there led by general Vitalian who marched toward Constantinople, forced Anastasius to abdicate and established Justin and Justinian, two philo-papal emperors who, practically, governed together. Popovici, op. cit. 85-86.142. Encarta 99, Anastasius, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Symmachus.

<sup>220</sup> Paul Hutchinson and Winfred E. Garrison, *20 Centuries of Christianity: A Concise History* (1st ed.), by Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York. 1959 pp. 119, 120.

<sup>221</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica says on this subject:

The moral authority of the papacy, then [i.e. under Vigilius, 537-555] had suffered a considerable setback, and Justinian’s “pragmatic sanction” of 554 may have been intended as a measure of compensation for it. By this act the emperor **acknowledged, confirmed and increased the temporal power of the pope**, who was henceforth to have a voice in the nomination of the governors of the Italian provinces of the empire and to participate in the control of their finances. The pope became the official protector of the civil population against the depredations of the military, against extortion by the tax collectors and against abuse of power by the administration. The successor of Vigilius was Pelagius I, who made resolute use of the pope’s new rights organizing the temporal government of the territory over which **he was actually sovereign** and setting the papacy on the road to real political power. This power was to grow so rapidly that Gregory the Great could write, a few years later: “I should like to know whether the pope, in this world, is a **spiritual leader or a temporal king**.” (Underlines mine) *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 17 (1970), Papacy (p. 244).

To be observed, the “pragmatic sanction” does not creates this power, it only confirms, recognises and increases it. About the Papal States, the same work agrees:

From the 4<sup>th</sup> century onward the Roman Church was the recognized proprietor of extensive estates throughout and even beyond Italy, but it held these *patrimonia* in the manner of a landowning corporation. By the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, however the Lombards had overrun most of Italy. The **Duchy of Rome was then still theoretically dependent** on the Byzantine or East Roman Empire, but the Byzantines could not protect the duchy, within which **the bishops of Rome, supported by their clergy, exercised an authority** counterbalancing that of the local barons and their army. (Underlines mine) *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 17, Papal States, (1970), p. 276.

<sup>222</sup> Popovici, op. cit. p. 58; Encarta 99, Code Napoléon.



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<sup>223</sup> “The Council of Orleans (538), while protesting against an excessive Sabbatarianism, forbade all field work under pain of censure; and the Council of Macon (585) laid down that the Lord’s Day ‘is the day of perpetual rest, which is suggested to us by the type of the seventh day in the law and the prophets,’ and ordered a complete cessation of all kinds of business. How far the movement had gone by the end of the 6th cent. is shown by a letter of Gregory the Great (pope 590–604) protesting against the prohibition of baths on Sunday.” According to M. G. Glazebrook, “Sunday,” in James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1928), Vol. 12, pp. 105, 106.

<sup>224</sup> Through its traditional teaching, that claim the monopoly of religious truth, Papal Rome manipulated all medieval thought and politics, so that it is accountable in a large measure for all evil the other horns did under its influence and supervision. Thus, this “Christian” empire so divided and Barbarian followed the spiritual tradition of Nero, Domitian, Diocletian and Justinian with fervour surpassing all pagan kingdoms. Conversions by sword, political and spiritual blackmail, crusades against the “pagans,” crusades against “heretics,” then those diabolic inquisitions that lasted and increased throughout many centuries, wars against nations that wanted to escape its rule, and this is not all. Because the old time persecutions had many, “disciplinary” and oppressive means to convince the conscience. Other Christian countries, Orthodox or Protestant have also persecuted and killed for “the truth.” They are certainly horns of the same beast and have their own responsibility. But while a Hitler went and gone, while Protestants sometimes punished and killed heretics, as they kept yet other traditional elements from Rome, no political power was so insistent in crushing all ideological and political opposition. What is Antiochus IV, exegetically and historically, when compared with this seraphic and monstrous “Holy See”?

This is not an anti-Catholic pamphlet, nor an exercise of hatred toward any individual that happens to fill the so-called apostolic chair. Unfortunately, this is just *Christian* history. It is the saddest chapter of the universal history, which tends unjustly to be overlooked, paving the way for new surprises. Papacy has certainly its good features, as all beastly kingdoms mentioned in chapter 7 had in their time (for example, some kings were favourable to God’s people or even were themselves believers). However, if it is true, that Satan moved successively his throne (and chair) from Babylon through Persia and the Hellenistic Empire, he then certainly made Rome his permanent, though not single residence. Moreover, good or bad, all terrestrial order is given by God to maintain justice among people. Therefore, the political as the religious office deserve the believers’ respect. Dt 23:7, Jr 29:7, Rm 13:1-11, 1P 2:13. Rome, pagan or Christian, and its successional states did also good service to humanity. Moreover, the Pope as individual or as a ruler should be looked upon through Daniel’s eyes at Nebuchadnezzar. On the other hand, we should not forget that sinning against the principle of

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Christian love and tolerance means rebellion against God, no matter how orthodox and venerable are one's tenets and church membership.

<sup>225</sup> 1Mac 1:22 (143 SE *Antiochus sacked the Temple and attacked the Jews*), 30 (145 SE the tax-collector sent in Judea), 57 (Kislew 15, 145 SE *Temple profaned by pagan cult*), 4:52 (Kislew 25, 148 SE, Temple cleansed and rededicated), 6:16 (149 SE, *Antiochus dies*). Thus, we have exactly 3 years (c.1090 days) for the temple's profanation, but 5 years at least, if we begin to count from the first attack of Antiochus upon the Jews.

<sup>226</sup> The most comprising work that deal at large with each apocalyptic exegete to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, are the four volumes of L. E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, Review and Herald, Washington DC, 1950/1798.(vol. I), 1948 (vol. II), 1946 (vol. III), 1982 (vol. IV). Among the personalities cited to have used this hermeneutic key are: Nahawendi (9<sup>th</sup> cent.), Saadia ben Joseph (d. 942), Joachim de Floris (d. 1202), Pierre Jean d'Olivi (d. 1288), Rashi, Nahmanides (13<sup>th</sup> cent.), Arnold de Villanova (sec. 13), Nicolaus de Lyra (d. 1340), Jan Milicz (d. 1374), John Wyclif (d. 1384), Walter Brute (14<sup>th</sup> cent.), Nicolaus Cusanus, Rashbaz (sec 15), Don Isaac Abravanel. In the Protestant era there was a host of personalities that continued this theological heredity: Luther, Melancton, Th. Cranmer, John Napier, Drue Cressener (17<sup>th</sup> cent.), Johann Petri (18<sup>th</sup> cent.) and many others. This hermeneutic tool became in time a standard Protestant method and, contrary to popular opinion, it was used nearly unanimously among evangelicals in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was known also in the Eastern-Orthodox Church in the time of the fall of Constantinople. For example, Sphrantzes relates how Byzantine scholars in the year 1453 and on, used to apply even a time prophecy, like the additional year given to Kedar (Arabic people) from Is 21:16, to the Ottoman domination over the Greeks, that would last about 365 years. (Cf. Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, Editura Științifică, București).

In the great American millennialist agitation between 1840-1844, William Miller, one of the fathers of modern Adventism used to say: "in accordance with the opinions of all the standard Protestant commentators." And he referred particularly to Joseph Mede, Sir Isaac Newton and Thomas Newton. Therefore, when Dr. Bush publicly rejected Miller's conclusions, he did not reject his method:

In taking a *day* as the prophetic term for a *year*, I believe you are sustained by the soundest exegesis, as well as fortified by the high names Mede, Sir. I. Newton, Bishop Newton, Kirby, Scott, Keith and a host of others.

Quoted in Kai Arasola, *The End of Historicism* (doctoral thesis), University of Uppsala, 1990, p. 88.

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<sup>227</sup> W. Shea, *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation*, edited by Frank Holbrook, Biblical Research Institute, 1992, pp. 66-93, D. Ford, *Daniel*, pp. 300-305. These are probably the most important on this topic.

<sup>228</sup> Gn 7:4, 8:6, 50:3, Jon 3:4, Ex 24:18, 1K 19:8, Jd 3:11, 5:31, 8:21, 13:1.

<sup>229</sup> Gn 1-2, Ex 20:9-10, Lv 25:4..

<sup>230</sup> Lv 23:15-16, 25:8-10..

<sup>231</sup> Dt 32:7, Jb 10:5, 15:20, 32:7, 36:11, Ps 77:5, 90:9-10.

<sup>232</sup> It must not be inferred that the prophet had to lay down unmoved all this time. That was an object lesson for the Jews who visited him. The implication is that they must find him in that specific position whenever they visited him.

<sup>233</sup> It is beyond the scope and purpose of this paper to propose an historical identification of these periods. It is a particularly difficult task. However, the time scale used here, does not depend on a complete understanding of the historical application.

<sup>234</sup> In fact the book of Revelation borrowed much from Ezekiel's imagery, even Daniel with Ezekiel are similar in their thematic, in some important motifs: Judgement on Jerusalem and on nations, God's overwhelming glory, an enemy from the north, a new temple, restoration, etc.

<sup>235</sup> Ezekiel refers to Daniel as to an already famous man of God, standing alone against the popular tide of his day (like Noah and Job: Ez 14:20), and as a top model of wisdom (Ez 28:3), whom God ironically compared the prince of Tyre. The probable dates of these oracles of Ezekiel are: 591 BC (Ez 8:1) and 586 BC (Ez 24:1). That means quite short but sufficient time for Daniel to have become famous among his people in the Babylonian Diaspora.

<sup>236</sup> See the exegesis of Daniel 9:25-27 at pp. 159-179 and the bibliography attached there.

<sup>237</sup> Dan 7:25, 12:7, Rv 11:2.3, 12:6.14, 13:5.

<sup>238</sup> The only problem is that it still adheres to the same basic tenets, that once made its fateful-hateful majesty. In the sight of Dumnezeu, repentance is more than a new strategy.

<sup>239</sup> Froom, op. cit. vol. II, pp. 723-730.

<sup>240</sup> Froom, vol. II, p. 741.

<sup>241</sup> Froom, vol. II, p. 684.

<sup>242</sup> Froom, vol. II, p. 645. Fleming referred to the wars of Justinian in Italy to make room for the pope's exaltation. But his date was only approximate.

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<sup>243</sup> Froom, op. cit. vol. II, pp. 765-782.

<sup>244</sup> Because of this amateur approach to this matter, the real significance of the date 538 in the history of Europe and Papacy, was hardly detected. To this day, even the few remaining historicists interpret the date in ecclesiastical rather than political terms. Papacy began to develop long time before 538 and it had not a prominent nose before 600 or even before the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, in 538 it has its first beginnings as a temporal power. This is what the symbol *horn* requires.

<sup>245</sup> Froom, vol. II, p. 412. We only assume that Jewel, as an ardent Protestant, agreed with the standard year/day position of his time.

<sup>246</sup> Junior Proctor of the University of Cambridge, published *The Judgments of God upon the Roman Catholick Church* (London). Froom, vol. II, pp. 588-596.

<sup>247</sup> Froom, vol. II, p. 596. Underlines mine.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Cressener's reckoning confirmed, 109 years before the event, the year-day scale and the historical identification of the little horn, rendering justice in the same time, to the authentic and inspired prophecy of Daniel. Compared to such hermeneutics, biblically and historically supported, both rationalist-preteristic suppositions and the fundamentalist-futuristic fantasies have no persuading breath. Thus Cressener was not only a good exegete of this time prophecy; he was practically a prophet, relying on the Biblical apocalyptic, a prophet of Reason. And like most prophets, his findings did not meet a large acceptance before they have been fulfilled. Today, it is the saddest time for this fulfilled prophecy. Worse than rejected, it is simply ignored or even forgotten.

<sup>250</sup> J. Doukhan, *Le soupir...*, p. 170.

<sup>251</sup> Pfandl, op. cit. p. 166. For this solution, Pfandl refers also Fiebig, Paul W. J. *Der Menschensohn. Jesu Selbstbezeichnung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des aramäischen Sprachgebrauches für "Mensch"*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (P. Siebeck), 1901, p.77; Feuillet, André. "Fils de l'homme". *Catholicisme*, 4 (1956): 1295-1302. p. 195 n.1; et al.

<sup>252</sup> Stefanovic, op. cit. p. 110.

<sup>253</sup> This fundamental Christian truth based on Dan 7, defines Christianity as an apocalyptic movement as some observed.

<sup>254</sup> See on Dan 10:5-6.21 comp. Rev 1:12-18.

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<sup>255</sup> The expression ...[ה]קרב קדם... *come near to* is used also for a royal audience in a 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE Aramaic papyrus: קדם סנחאריב קרבתיך *I presented you before Sennacherib*. Eduard Sachau. *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*. Leipzig. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911. p. 50.

<sup>256</sup> See also Arthur J. Ferch. *The Son of Man in Daniel 7* (doctoral dissertation, vol. 6). Andrews University Press, Berrien Springs, MI 1983, p. 167. Ferch's thesis is an exhaustive and very balanced analysis on this subject.

<sup>257</sup> וּבְכֹלֹת 2Ch 7:1, 2Ch 29:29, Ezra 9:1, Dt 31:24, Jos 8:24. נִפְיָן Ps 2:9, 137:9, 1K 5:23, Jr 13:14, 48:12, Is 27:9, Jr 51:20-23, Jg 7:19. יָדָּ – here, figuratively, *power* (cf. Holladay, 128. *strength*, Dt 32:26, Jos 8:20; *power*, Pr 18:21, 2K 13:5). The same meaning is intended in Dan 8:4,7, 11:41. The expression is synonymous to שָׁבַר זְרוּעָה *break the arm of...* (Ps 10:15, Jr 48:25, Dan 11:22 et al.). See also Jr 8:21, 14:17, La 3:48, where the metaphor of *crush / break* is applied to God's people, meaning either destruction, or affliction.

<sup>258</sup> W. Shea has a detailed study on this topic in *Selected Studies...*, pp. 1-29. Some simple OT passages are immediately relevant concerning seemingly useless divine proceedings: Gn 11:5 (Yahweh investigates personally the Babel affairs, before pronouncing His decision), Gn 18:20-21 (Yahweh checks out personally the accusations against Sodom, and even tests it, before punishing), Jos 7 (the divine trial of Achan before his punishment).

<sup>259</sup> It is significant to observe that in both chs. 7 and 8, the literary centre coinciding approximately with the half number of verses is in v. 13-14. This testifies for literary unity, and intentional messianic accent.

<sup>260</sup> To emphasise the historicity of this king, I preferred to transliterate his Babylonian name, as it is known from cuneiform, not its Hebrew (Belshazzar) or Greek form (Baltazar).

<sup>261</sup> As in Gn 41:21, 43:18,20, Is 1:26. Though the adverbial phrase בְּתֵּהִלָּה means usually: *at the beginning, at first, at the commencement*, and the ancient translations remained faithful to that meaning, I think that in this instance we must translate it as *previously, earlier, before, priorly*. This is suggested by the literary context, because the usual meaning doesn't make sense in this instance (What beginning does the author refer? The beginning of Belshazzar's reign, as it is said in Dan 7:1? Or, the beginning of Daniel's visions? Yet, the same phrase links this second vision of chapter 8 with the visit of Gabriel in chapter 9:21. There are some scholars who think that in 9:21 Daniel refers to his first vision in chapter 7, where it is said in v. 16 that an *angelus interpretes* gave him explanations. However, in chapter 7, the name of this angel is not disclosed, and the totally different reaction of Daniel in chapter 8, does not suggest that we deal with the same personage. I cannot reject decidedly this possibility, but if Daniel in chapter 9:21 refers to the vision in chapter 8, as it appears, that vision was

not his first one, but a previous one. Thus, if one translates the phrase with *previously* in chapter 9:21, then he / she should give it the same meaning in chapter 8:1. There are some precedents of using בְּתַהֲלָה with a meaning closely related to this: Jg 1:1, 20:18. (That which is the first, as the front of an army, stands *before*).

In spite of the classic solution rendered by the majority of Bible translations, there are some translations that render the phrase in the adapted form, in both verses, such as: *NIV, NASV, NAB, Louis Segond (French), Nouvelle Édition Genève (French), Dumitru Cornilescu (Romanian), N. Nitzluescu (Romanian)*. Some translators give this meaning in Dan 9:21 only, while in 8:1 they keep the usual meaning (e.g. *Martin Luther, NRSV*). In Dan 9:23, however, the meaning of the phrase seems to be closer to the usual. Anyway, if the author wanted to say “before,” he had not a better option than to use בְּתַהֲלָה. There are indeed other phrases used in Hebrew and translated into English, in different versions, as: *previously, before, already etc.*, but they are either of the same basic meaning as בְּתַהֲלָה (e.g. בְּרֵאשִׁיטָה 2S 7:10, 1 Ch 17:9, lit. *in the beginning*; כְּרֵאשִׁיטָה Dt 9:18, Dan 11:29, lit. *like the first [time]*; לְרֵאשִׁיטָה Gn 28:19, Jg 18:29, lit. *at the beginning*; הָרֵאשִׁיטִים Nu 6:12, Ps 79:8, lit. *the first things*) or a meaning of precedence that does not match the idea the author had to convey in Dan 8:1 and 9:21 (e.g. תְּמוֹל שְׁלֹשִׁים Gn 31:2, 2 K 13:5 – combined from תְּמוֹל lit. *yesterday*; and שְׁלֹשִׁים lit. *three days ago*; commonly used as meaning *heretofore, beforetime, formerly*, and referring to repeated actions or continual state up to the moment of speaking; לְפָנַי Dt 2:10, Ps 102:26, lit. *in face, forward, before*, referring to long time ago, and in *status constructus* usually with spatial meaning; כְּבָר Ecc 2:12.16, 9:6.7 lit. *already, being here since long time*).

<sup>262</sup> The repetition – וַאֲנִי הָיִיתִי עַל – וַאֲרָאָה בְּחֻזֵּן נִהְיִי בְּרֵאשִׁיטָה וַאֲנִי בְּ – suggests that the author was not actually visiting that place, but in the vision. Otherwise, he should have mentioned first the setting as in chapter 10:4. Most of translators understood this meaning (e.g. *NRSV, Louis Segond, Nouvelle Édition Genève, et.al.*), but some of them left the phrase at least ambiguous, as it seems to be in Hebrew (e.g. *KJV, ASV, D. Cornilescu Revised Edition – Romanian, et.al.*). Anyway, the personal presence at Susa, while not impossible, is unlikely, because Elam was, since 550 BC (short time before the date of Daniel’s vision, Dan 8:1) already a Persian province. (Horia C. Matei, *Mic dicționar al lumii antice*, Editura Albatros, București, 1986, p.99).

<sup>263</sup> It is possible to consider with John Collins (*Daniel*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1993: 329) the repetition of the phrase וַאֲרָאָה בְּחֻזֵּן as a dittography. However, it is likely that the speaker would stress his visionary, not actual presence at Susa. Tautology is known to be a usual Hebrew figure of speech. Though Josephus (*Ant.* 10.11.7) says that Daniel was actually in Susa, the Syriac stresses the fact that the prophet was there in vision (Montgomery, 325).

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<sup>264</sup> I prefer to render it as it is known from historical writers (Strabon, *Geografia*, III, xv, 3:4.22, Cluj, R.S.Romania, 1983).

<sup>265</sup> Although the phrase “rescue from one’s hand” is quite common and understandable, it is strange to speak about the “hand” of the ram. Therefore I chose “power,” which is exactly the meaning intended (cf. Dan 12:7).

<sup>266</sup> The Hebrew phrase has the definite article, but the author did not yet introduce this personage, so that it is strange to make such a definite reference, for the first time, as if it were much known.

<sup>267</sup> Lit. “horn of sight”. The term *קַרְנֵי הַזִּוּת* is used elsewhere with the meaning of *prophetic vision* (Is 21:2, 29:11, 2 Ch 9:29), and only in the Aramaic with the meaning of *sight, seeing, view* (Dan 4:8.17). In Is 28:18 is usually translated as *provision, pact, agreement* (according to the Vulgate), but Theodotion renders it as *ἐλπίς hope/trust*, so that this use in Is 28:18 is unique and quite obscure. The use in Dan 8 is seemingly under Aramaic influence and the noun is used adjectivally to emphasise the prominence, conspicuousness of the horn. What this horn has to do with “sight” is its notable length (visibility), notable position (on the goat’s forehead, between its eyes). Maybe the writer wanted to emphasise its position between the goat’s eyes, in order to suggest that the “first king” it represented dominates the view of the goat-kingdom.

<sup>268</sup> Here *קַרְנֵי הַזִּוּת* is used elliptically, instead of *קַרְנֵי הַזִּוּת הַחַי*. The use of such ellipses occurs in Dan 8:11 etc. *עוֹלַת הַתְּמִיד* instead of *עוֹלַת הַתְּמִיד הַחַי* (Nu 28-29, Ne 10:34) and in Dan 9:23, *חַמְדוֹת* instead of *חַמְדוֹת הַחַי* (Dan 10:3.11.19), *הַצְּבִי* instead of *אֲרִי הַצְּבִי* (cf. Dan 11:16.45) and they might be marks of authenticity, of using a living Hebrew.

<sup>269</sup> The Hebrew text has a disagreement of gender, between the pronominal suffix (of the preposition) *מֵהֶם* and the preceding adjective/numeral *אַרְבַּת*. The logical subject seems to be *קַרְנֵי* although Professor William Shea is nearly convincing when attempts to explain the disagreement as a parallel agreement (*A רְיָחוֹת B הַשָּׁמַיִם A' הָאֲחֵת B מֵהֶם*), thus indicating that the author meant the new horn’s origin was from one of the four winds spoken of in the previous clause. While this possibility should not be ruled out without a closer study, I think it’s too heavy theological cargo laid on a poor “mem,” which could easier be changed into a “nun,” to indicate the feminine, as suggested by some manuscripts (see BHS critical apparatus). It is better to see here an old scribal error, a *kethib* preserved by the Masorettes, especially because this kind of errors is so common in the OT and in Daniel we meet other grammatical disagreements too. See, for example, the use of the following term, the verb *יָצָא* (masc.), instead of *יָצְאָה* (fem), or the use of both genders in v. 11-12 to agree with *קַרְנֵי*. Furthermore, the coming forth of this horn from air, from a point of compass that is not even indicated, is quite strange. It is true, in Zec 1:18-21 we have 4 horns appearing simply in the air.

However, Zechariah has no horned beast in his vision, while in this vision each horn is rooted in an animal head. Finally, if the seer meant “winds” and not “horns,” he must have avoided any ambiguity. To any reader, the logical precedent of the ambiguous Hebrew pronoun is “conspicuous [horns]” from the previous verse. The adverbial phrase, “toward the four winds of heaven” cannot make us get rid of the feeling that the logical subject is still those wretched horns.

<sup>270</sup> Maybe the best understanding of the phrase מְצַעֲרָהּ is “from smallness / littleness / youth / insignificance”. This noun occurs once elsewhere (Gn 43:33), to mean *youth*, and as adjective: *young / small / little / insignificant* is represented in Gn 19:31-38, 29:26, Mi 5:1. The attempt of some scholars to make this phrase mean “from the small one [horn]” (as it would stand in apposition with the preceding: הַאֶחָד הַקָּטָן) is unwarranted, because this noun has no definite article and it does not stand next to the first phrase, as it would, if it had stood in apposition. Moreover, up to this point, the narrator didn’t speak about any difference in age or rank among the four horns of the goat, (as he did about the two horns of the ram) so that he may legitimately refer to the youngest / smallest / most insignificant of them.

Some suggest (see BHS, the critical apparatus) it is a scribal error and cut out the preposition [וְ] to read it as it would be an adjective (*little / small / insignificant*) and to make it sound similar to the phrase אֶחָד מִן הַקָּטָן from the Aramaic of Dan 7:8. But we don’t need to resort to emendations, if the text as we have it, does make sense. We do not need exactly the same wording in both visions, in order to recognise the similarity, even the identity of the two little horns. However, it is OK to translate the phrase as “a little horn,” because if we punctiliously want to translate “one horn [come out] from littleness,” it does not mean something else but “a little horn,” further described as growing exceedingly great. The Greek versions have a “strong (ἰσχυρὸν) horn,” showing that they had somehow interpreted this phrase, or used another basic manuscript. The Vulgate gives in the simplest way: *cornu unum modicum* (“one little horn”)

<sup>271</sup> The study of this term is important in the later identification of the little horn. The noun יָתֵר (from a verbal root, *to remain over / above*), is used in the OT with the following derived connotations: 1). remaining, remainder, remnant, residue, rest, other part, leftover, leave (most of occurrences), 2). excess, surplus, abundance, 3). preeminence, superiority, excellency. Hence the term is used adjectivally (*superior, abundant, excessive*) and theoretically it might be used with adverbial meaning (*exceedingly, excellently, plentifully, abundantly, superiorly, excessively, more, beyond measure*). Its only adverbial occurrence, beside this one in Daniel, is found in Is 56:12, and next to the root גָּדַל ( גָּדַל יִתֵּר מֵאָדָּר tomorow will be like today, even much greater).

<sup>272</sup> If צָכַי is related to the Aramaic root צָבַח (to wish, to desire), then it meant first *desire, longing*, which is a fitting word used by the Exiles. This phrase is elliptical (see note 268) and surely refers to



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the “Promised Land”. The term is used in *Isaiah* with the meaning of *glory / beauty / splendour* (23:9 of any power, 4:2 of Israel, 24:16 of Yahweh, 13:19 of Babylon, as the city desired by all kingdoms) and in the exilic Scriptures with the same meaning applied mostly to Judea (Jer 3:19, Ez 20:6.15 the glorious heritage, the most beautiful country, Ez 25:9 of the choicest places in Moab).

The term denotes also a *gazelle / roebuck*, used as a chosen symbol of beauty and gracefulness and it is entirely possible that the author thought of this *wild beauty* in some contrast with the more domestic, but strangely monstrous ram and he-goat. This might be further stressed by the etymological meaning of **אַיִל** *ram* (*powerful, leader, noble*), and **צִפִּיר** *he-goat* (from a probable root meaning *to be sharp?*, cf. **צַפִּירָן** *nail, diamond point*; or possibly because it sounds close to **צַפִּירָה** probably meaning: *end, doom, turn* in Ez 7:6.10). For *he-goat* the author uses its “family” name attached (**צֵי** *goat*, from **עָז** *to be strong, to defy*; whence the demonic name **עֲזָאֵל** *Aza’zel, “the departing goat”*). The usual Hebrew name of the he-goat, **שָׁעִיר** as it stands in v. 21, means *hairy, shaggy*, and it is used to denote some mythological deity/demon: *satyr, demon*. The customary word-playing in the Hebrew literature should make us more perceptive to this philological aspect, though recognisably, a risky business.

<sup>273</sup> The prepositive **waw** is here not conjunctive, but is obviously indicating an apposition and stands for a comma or for “*even,*” though most translators render it as a copulative “*and*”. For me at least, the apposition is evident, and I am not alone. At least, *SVV, NIV and RSV* agree on the apposition.

<sup>274</sup> For the use of the Hiph<sup>o</sup>ל **הִגְדִּיל** as *to show oneself great, to be arrogant*, or to put a special emphasis on the preceding verb, see Zep 2:8.10 and 1 S 20:41.

<sup>275</sup> This use of the Hebrew verb is illustrated in Is 57:14, Ez 21:31/26 et.al., or even in a Sanctuary service context: Lv 2:9, 4:8.19, 6:8, Nu 31:28 (to lift something for ritual purposes, for example: a part of the sacrifice for the priest). This ritual usage is worthy of some further research.

<sup>276</sup> **הַתָּמִיד** “*the continual,*” *the daily burnt offering*. This is an elliptical phrase (Cf. note 268). Basically, **תָּמִיד** is a noun, meaning *extent, continuity*, but it is used mostly as adverb: *continually, continuously*. As a noun, in full construct phrases, it is used mostly of the *daily (continual) burned sacrifice* (Nu 28:10.15.23-24.31, 29:6.11.16.19.22.25.28.31.34.38, Ne 10:34), and in few instances, of the *continual bread of the Presence* (Nu 4:7), or the *regular grain offering* (Nu 4:16, Ne 10:34). The chapter *Tamid* from *Mishnah* describes only the daily (i.e. morning and evening) offering as it took place at the Temple, consisting in the daily whole sacrifice of the lamb and the related daily ritual (rekindling the candlestick’s lights, the incense offering etc.). See Jacob Neusner, *The Mishnah, A New Translation*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1988, pp. 862-873. Since this phrase is mostly used in the OT for the daily offering and its related ritual, and we find the same use in *Mishnah*, even in its elliptic form, we may conclude that in Daniel, the term refers to the same daily ritual that took

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place in each morning and evening: the wholly burned sacrifice of the lamb to which the offering of grain and wine was added, together with the trimming of the candles and bringing the incense offering within the temple. These rituals were regarded as one and they are typologically related to various aspects of the same antitypic Reality.

<sup>277</sup> The usual meaning of **הִשְׁלִיךְ** is *cast (off, down), throw (away), hurl, fling, shed, drop* (2 K 2:16), or in a figurative sense: *abandon, reject, cast* (Ne 9:26, 1 K 14:9, Gn 21:15, 2 K 13:21,23, Jer 26:23, Lam 2:1). Since here is related to a building, the verb seems to mean *overthrow, pull down, cause to fall in ruins, destroy*, as in Jer 9:18 (**הִשְׁלִיכוּ מִשְׁכְּנוֹתֵינוּ**). However, if we consider the action taking place imaginarily “in heaven,” as shown in the vision, the meaning of throwing down (from heaven to earth, of the sanctuary, to symbolise rejection – as with the *truth* in v.12) seems to fit as well, as NIV reads: “and the place of his sanctuary was brought low”.

<sup>278</sup> See note 341-342. It is largely recognised the difficulty of this passage. It must be partially due to some corruption of the text. The context dealt so far with the heavenly host (of the stars); some of it was cast down and trodden. Yet, here we have a new **צְבָא** lacking the definite article and in plural that stresses the difference. These hosts might be understood as forces sent or appointed by the wicked horn over/against the daily Sanctuary service (cf. 11:31). As the term means usually “armies,” we may translate the phrase as “he set armies around the continual etc” (as to lay siege works; cf. Ez 26:8). But the phrase **עַל נִתָּן** means usually *put over, set over, set on, appoint over*, and this suggests a careful translation to speak not of a violent action against the continual offering. From a strictly linguistic perspective, rather we may see here hosts (divisions) appointed (to minister) over the continual offering, such as the Sanctuary language requires (Nu 4:3, 23, 8:25, 1 S 2:22).

<sup>279</sup> The OT substantival usage of the term **קָדוֹשׁ** is holy or sacred person, chosen of God, such as the priest in Israel, or as the Israelite among the pagan people (N 16:5,7, Ps 106:16), people consecrated to God, saints (Ps 16:3, Dan 8:24, cf. 7:18,22,25,27); God – the Holy Being (Is 1:4, 10:17, 49:7, Ez 39:7), any heavenly being, such as “watchers” (Job 15:15, Ps 89:6,8, Zec 14:5, cf. Dan 4:10,14,20). The use of the corresponding Aramaic term in Dan 7 and the context indicates heavenly beings, later identified in chapters 8-10 as Gabriel, Michael and possible others (12:5).

<sup>280</sup> Though the Hebrew text speaks of the “vision,” there is no doubt, and practically all commentators would agree, that it refers not to how long the vision itself, as phenomenon, will last (for Daniel), but to the things envisioned. The whole clause is telegraphic; nevertheless, it puts no insurmountable problem.

<sup>281</sup> Both LXX and Theodotion add: ἡ ἀρθείου (*that was removed*), corresponding to **מִן הַמִּזְבֵּחַ** but it is not clear that they found it in the Hebrew manuscripts they used, or they added it to help the reader.

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<sup>282</sup> The infinitive construct of **יָתַן** should be linked with **הַפְּשֵׁעַ שְׂמָמָה** not with **יְהוֹרֵתוֹ**, cf. 8:12, 11:31, and especially 12:11, however strange might appear this syntactical use.

<sup>283</sup> One could legitimately render the clause as “till the passing of 2300 days...,” as some of the traditional versions have it (KJV, WEB, NKJ), following the LXX and Theodotion (ἕως ἑσπέρας καὶ πρωὶ ἡμέραι δισχίλιαι τριακόσιαι *until evening and morning are days 2300*). However, the author deliberately chose cryptic language, so that we should not try to make it all clear by a more telling translation.

The answer stresses the same *terminus ad quem*, borrowing the preposition **עַד** *until*, from the question. The Hebrew religious concept about the succession of days and nights is established in the OT, where we found that the natural days were thought to begin in the evening (Lv 23:32, Ex 16:8.13, Ps 55:18.), according to the established pattern in Genesis account, where each **evening and morning succession equals a day** (Gn 1:5.8.13.19.23.31). This counting of the day, as beginning in the evening was common in ancient Mesopotamia (see E. J. Bickermann, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, London, 1968, pp.13-14). When it comes to the workday, morning is always mentioned first (Ec 11:6, Dt 28:67, 1 K 17:6) except when it is spoken of activities specific for the night: Ex 27:21, Est 2:14, Zep 3:3. The same is said about the Sanctuary daily service, particularly when it deals with the *tamid*. Its cycle is **always** spoken about as **morning and evening** (2K 16:15, 1 Ch 16:40, 23:30, 2 Ch 2:3, 13:11, 31:3, Ezra 3:3). When in texts like N 28:3-6 we read about the daily sacrificial service, it is stated that this service was understood as a unit, “two lambs... day by day, as a continual offering”. On the other hand, the use of the two nouns in Daniel in the singular (evening and morning), emphasises the natural reference to the succession of days.

Schwantes argues against A. Bentzen, J. Montgomery, N.W. Porteous, O. Plöger, M. Delcor, A. Lacocque et.al., that there is no way to make the phrase *ereb-boqer* to refer to a number of sacrifices, two per day (see Siegfried J. Schwantes, *‘Ereb Boqer of Daniel 8:14 Reexamined*, in Frank Holbrook, ed. *op. cit.* pp. 465-474). This linguistic evidence rules out any possibility to consider the phrase “evening morning 2300” as being “2300 individual sacrifices of evening and morning” thus amounting to exactly 1150 full days – which is a good example of ‘eisegesis’, followed not only by a series of modern commentators, but even carried into translations like TEV, to help it fit the Maccabean thesis. However, these terms for evening and morning are nowhere used elliptically for the corresponding turn of sacrifices. Even in Daniel (where occurs the elliptical form **יָמֵי**), yet the evening offering is not elliptically written (Dan 9:21). The Hebrew usage would require a formula similar to “40 days and 40 nights,” “3 days and 3 nights” et.al.. As Keil fittingly remarked, “A Hebrew reader could not possibly understand the period of time [of] 2300 evening-mornings ...[to be] 2300 half days or 1150 whole days, because evening and morning at the creation constituted not the half but

the whole day... We must therefore take the words as they are, i.e., understand them of 2300 whole days." (C.F. Keil, *Biblical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Grand Rapids, 1949, p. 303.).

Hebrew syntax allows the numeral to stand before as well as behind its noun. In the Hebrew OT both situations are richly illustrated (Gesenius 432). There are very few instances where the noun preceding the numeral is singular and indefinite, like in Dan 8:14 (e.g. 1Ch 5:21, 2Ch 29:23, 35:8-9). Nowhere the preceding nouns are found like here, indefinite, singular and juxtaposed without conjunction. The only possible explanation is that this unusual phrase reflects the formula coined in Gn 1:5.8.13.19.23.31, which shows that each Creation weekday was considered to begin its cycle with an evening. This is the classic Hebrew delimitation of the natural day (Lv 23:32, Ps 55:18). Paralleling the expression of Dan 8 with that from Gn 8, one may see its true origin and meaning:

|          |        |          |               |               |
|----------|--------|----------|---------------|---------------|
| Gn 1:5   | אָחַר  | יּוֹם    | וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב | וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר |
| Dan 8:14 | מֵאוֹת | אֶלְפִים | וְשָׁלֹשׁ     | בִּקְרָא      |
| Dan 8:26 | רְבִים | לְיָמִים | וְהָעֶרֶב     | וְהַבֹּקֶר    |

The specific expression in Daniel is terse, yet remindful and telling. It suggests an emphasising of the evening-morning daily cycle on a long period. To say "2300 days" is a very unusual manner of speaking in Hebrew, like in every language. A period expressed in days cannot be longer than 150 days. To keep the author's intention and, if possible, his style, we should translate like these: *until evening morning roll on 2300 times, till shall be evening and morning 2300 times, until the 2300<sup>th</sup> coming of an evening and morning, till even and morning come 2300 times.*

<sup>284</sup> Though normally the noun קֹדֶשׁ in such instances should be translated as *something holy (sacred, consecrated)*, and is not usual to have this term indefinite when the Sanctuary is spoken of, there are rare occurrence of it with no article, in Biblical poetry: Ps 134 :2 – שְׁאֲוִירְכֶם קֹדֶשׁ, *raise your hand to the Sanctuary*; Ps 20:3 – יִשְׁלַח־עֲזָרָה מִקְדָּשׁ, *May He send you help from the Sanctuary*. The most convincing argument is its contextual use in verse 13, as a synonym for מִכּוֹן מִקְדָּשׁ of verse 11.

<sup>285</sup> While the root צָדַק conveys the general meaning of *right, righteous, just*, appears in OT as verb, adjective and noun more than 700 times (counted in the PC program Bible Works), this Niph<sup>al</sup> use in Dan 8:14 is a hapax. LXX and Theodotion translate it as καθαρισθήσεται *shall be cleansed / purified*. Jerome understood it the same way (mundabitur – *shall be cleansed*), possibly following the LXX, Especially older translations (KJV 1611, Webster's Bible 1833, French Version Darby 1885, NKJV 1982, ASV 1901, French Louis Segond 1910, Neo-Greek Translation ed. Athens 1919, Rumanian Version Cornilescu, Nouvelle Edition Genève 1979) reflect this understanding.

The use of καθαρίζω in LXX might be due to a Maccabean orientation of the translators (cf. 1Mac 4:36.41 where we find the same term), but it is interesting that LXX translated the root צרף as καθαρίζω in Job 4:17 too. This might reflect a Judeo-Aramaic understanding attested in Targums, where half of the total 405 cases, צרף was translated by the Aramaic זכה *be clean, pure* (Niels-Erik Andreasen, "Translation of Nisdaq / Katharisthesetai in Daniel 8 14," in Holbrook, *op. cit.* pp. 486-491). A similar wording in Heb 9:23-24, where we have the "true," that is "heavenly" Sanctuary to be "cleansed," deserves our attention.

Other Bible translations render this verb according to some critical approach to the Hebrew root, and translate it as *declared right* (YLT), *gerechivaardigt* (SVV), ...*wieder zu sein recht kommen* (Menge), *restored to its rightful state* (RSV, NRS), *reconsecrated* (NIV), *certainly ...brought into its right condition* (NWB), *be restored* (TEV), *be properly restored* (NAS, NAB), *<wieder> gerechtfertigt* (ELB), *have again its condition -tr.-* (Romanian BOR 1994), *have its rights restored* (JB), *emerged victorious* (NEB), et.al. Among the old translations, we have Peshitta using *nzk'* "justified," "freed from guilt," from the common Hebrew-Aramaic root that means *to be clean[ed]*.

Niels-Erik Andreasen notes some extended meanings of the verbal root: *be innocent / guiltless* (Gn 20:4, 2 K 10:9, Job 9:15), *fair, accurate* (Lv 19:36, 2S 8:15, Ez 45:10), *justice done, deliverance* (Is 51:5, 32:17, 46:13). He further displays a wide range of parallel associated terms to help find the burden of the extending meaning, and among these parallel terms associated he finds also זכה *be pure, purify* and טהר *be clean, cleanse* (Job 4:17, 15:14, 17:9, 25:4, Ps 51:4). Among other notions commonly associated with the root צרף, the closest is שפט *to judge* (Ps 97:2, 106:3, Is 59:14, Am 6:12). Moreover, צרף itself has legal connotations in many passages (Ps 82:3, Is 43:9, 45:24, 50:8, 59:14, 63:1).

N.-E. Andreasen also attempted to determine the use of צרף in the apocalyptic literature, and citing 2 Esd 5:2.11, 7:114, Dan 9:24, Mal 4:2, 1 En 10:16-17, 38:3-4 and IQM 17, he says that צרף "is used to refer to the conditions brought about by God's redemption in the eschaton" (in Frank Holbrook ed., *op. cit.* p. 492). This idea is confirmed also by apocalyptic passages in NT (2 Pt 3:13). The classical Jewish work *Miqrae qodesh* (Druck und Verlag von Pessel Balaban, Lemberg 1860+?), containing the parallel MT and Targum with Rashi and *Metsudath Tsion, Metsudath Dawid*, and yidish commentaries, gives for this צרף in Dan 8:14 the interesting interpretation נקם (being made atonement/expiation for it), which suggests some eschatological-typological connections between Yom Kippur (Lv 16) and the Judgement- or justice-oriented "that day" (Is 34:2.8, 59:20, 61:2, 63:4.6, Jer 33:15-16, 50:28.29-32.34, **51:6.10-11.51-53.56**, Ez 40:1 etc., 43:1-8, Ob 1:15.16, Hab 2:13-14.20, Hag 2:9, Mal 3:1-6, Ps 9:6-7.11.14-19, 46:7-11, 50:2-7, 96:13, 98:9, 110).

That ceremonially final disposal of sin, the peak of all mosaic ritual, pointed to the Day of Judgement – a judgement vicariously assumed by the Messiah in favour of the repentant (Is 53, Jn 12:31-33, Heb 9:23-24.) and eventually involving the universal summoning before the “great white throne” of the same Messiah, to account for everyone’s attitude toward God and fellow humans (Rev 20:11-15, Rm 2:16, 14:10-12, Ecc 3:17, 12:13-14, Rev 14:6-7, Is 53:12, Heb 9:27-28). This understanding can be compared with the parallel vision in Dan 7, where the Judgement scene (9-14.23.26-27) corresponds certainly to Dan 8:14.25d.

Whatever the reverberations of this hapax נִצְדָק, the first duty of an exegete is to find the first and safest connotation of the term, without paying too much concern for its theological or historical application. Nevertheless, the governing principle over this linguistic situation is the logic of the immediate literary context. This principle is more important than the clearest lexical meaning of a term, because in context a certain term might be used with a different or even unique connotation. In the context of Daniel 8, this passive term refers to a restorative situation after all the injuries made to the Sanctuary (and to its people, its service, etc.) by the desolating horn. If one chooses the meaning “cleanse,” it answers only to the pollution brought by the presence of the “rebellious sin / abomination of the desolator” instead of the daily offering service in the Sanctuary. But the trampling of the Sanctuary and of its host, the enormous offence toward its Commander and the desolating activities by the same horn will not be answered by the translation “cleanse,” although there is a lot of evidence in its favour.

The root צדק is a static verb in Qal, and most static verbs lack the Niph<sup>al</sup> form. Where the Niph<sup>al</sup> is present (e.g. שָׁמַם, שָׁבַע, קָדַשׁ, פָּתַח, כָּבַד, חָרַב, בָּעַל אֹר), it has generally a passive meaning. And because Niph<sup>al</sup> functions usually as a passive form for either Qal, or Pi<sup>el</sup> or Hiph<sup>il</sup>, we should consider the corresponding static / active forms of צדק attested in OT. According to BDB, we have in Qal the meaning *be just, be righteous, be right, be in the right, have a just cause, be justified*; in Pi<sup>el</sup> it means *justify, make appear righteous*; and in Hiph<sup>il</sup> *do justice, justify, declare righteous, vindicate the cause of, save, cause to become righteous, turn to righteousness*. Therefore, as the root of the verb itself would require, we should have the translation *be given justice, be restored through judgement, be vindicated* (cf. 2S 15:4, 1K 8:32, 2Ch 6:23, Job 34:5, Ps 7:9, 94:15, 103:6, Jer 23:5, Mi 7:9).

Finally, it is possible to find that this נִצְדָק is not a real hapax. According to the LXX rendition of Ps. 51:6, לְמַעַן תִּצְדַּק בְּדִבְרֶיךָ תִּזְכָּה בְּשִׁפְטֶיךָ (so quoted also in Rm 3:4 Ὅπως ἐν δικαιοθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικῆσῆς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε – *that You may be declared righteous / justified in Your words, and may overcome when You are judged*), this root, together with all verbs in

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the stich is read as passive – and confirmed by Jerome also (*ut justificeris in sermonibus tuis et vincas cum judicaris*).

Bible translations follow the Masoretic reading, but many of them render **תִּצְדַּק** as a passive (You are justified / declared righteous). In the same line of Ps 51 we find the two verbs **צַדֵּק** *be/make right* and **זָכַה** *be/make pure*, understood as synonyms and connected to the idea of judgement. So that even though LXX translators in Dan 8:14 understood **נִצְדַּק** as **זָכַה** (cf. Jb 15:14, 25:4, Dan 6:23, Mi 6:11), the two seem to be somehow related and if someone options for “cleansed,” he / she must not forget the forensic/eschatological understanding of this cleansing in the light of the Yom Kippur typology, which is a high symbol for expiation / vindication.

<sup>286</sup> The Hebrew phrase as an appellation in the singular is found only in the exilic books of *Ezekiel* (93 times) and *Daniel* (once). It is found elsewhere, once in N: 23:19, 2 times in *Psalms*, 2 times in *Isaiah*, 3 times in *Job*, and 4 times in *Jeremiah*, meaning *human being*. The common translations give *son of man* and some of them have *mortal man*. **אָדָם** is both the human species and a proper name in the Hebrew Bible, and **בֶּן־** (son of, young...) is one specimen of any species (similar to **בְּנֵי־חַת**, **אֲשֵׁנֶר** **בְּנֵי** **בְּנֵי־הַגּוֹלָה**, **בְּנֵי־הַיַּעֲנָה** et.al.). Because “son of man” does not sound very good, and “mortal man” is an emphasis not really present in the phrase, the best rendition would be *human being[s]*, and is obviously intended to underline the nature of this being as opposed to the celestial one speaking. The poetic equivalent, closer to Hebrew, is *son of Adam*. The prophet is not addressed as a son of his people, or as a son of his father, but as a son of Adam, as any human being.

<sup>287</sup> The Hebrew phrase **לְעֵת־קֵץ** is understood differently. Some Bible translations rendered it as if the vision (i.e. the events series foreseen in the vision) has no connection with the time of the prophet, or has nothing to say for his generation and for the subsequent generations, but it is to be fulfilled altogether in “the time of the end,” beginning with the ram-kingdom and ending with the wicked horn’s defeat:

“ἔτι γὰρ εἰς ὥραν καιροῦ τοῦτο τὸ ὄραμα – *for yet this vision is for “an hour of time”* LXX

ἔτι γὰρ εἰς καιροῦ πέρασ ἡ ὄρασις – *for yet the vision is for a time of the end* (Theodotion)

“Denn dies Gesicht geht auf die Zeit des Endes.” (Luther)

“Denn das Gesicht <gilt> für die Zeit des Endes.” (Elberfelder)

“want dit gezicht zal zijn tot den tijd van het einde” (SVV)

“car la vision est pour le temps de la fin.” (French Darby)

“for at the time of the end *shall be* the vision.” (KJV, Webster)

“for at the time of the end {is} the vision.” (Young’s LT)

“for the vision belongeth to the time of the end.” (ASV)

“that the vision pertains to the time of the end.” (NAS, NAB)

“that the vision is for the time of the end.” (RSV, NRSV)

On the other hand there are some translations suggesting that the vision concerns the time of the end or shows the time of the end, which fits better the logical context:

“quoniam in tempore finis complebitur visio” – (Vulgate)

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“that the vision *refers* to the time of the end.” (NKJV)

“car la vision concerne un temps qui sera la fin.” (Louis Segond, N.E. Genève)

“for the vision is given to indicate the end of ages” (Romanian BOR 1994 – translation)

“that the vision concerns the time of the end” (NIV, Romanian Cornilescu – translation)

When the term קץ is used in the Qumran manuscripts, even in the famous *Pesher of Habakkuk*, it means often *time, while, period* (see J. Collins 337). Here we see again a mark of earliness of the Hebrew of *Daniel*, because everywhere in the OT this term has a terminative meaning: such as *end, limit, and boundary*.

For the preposition לְ, we have good examples of using it with the meaning *until, or to* (Dan 12:13, 9:24, Dt 16:4, cf. עַד) that is fitting in this case: *[the events shown in ] the vision have to go on to the time of the end, or the things envisioned extend to the time of the end, or the vision foresees events until the time of the end, or the vision expires in the time of the end*. Probably the best parallel of this phrase is in Ez 12:27, in a context dealing with the prophecy of the end of Jerusalem, of which Ezekiel’s contemporaries said: הַחֲזוֹן אֲשֶׁר-הוּא הִזָּה לְיָמִים רַבִּים וּלְעֵתִים רַחֲקוֹת הוּא נִבָּא *the vision that he sees points to (extends to) many days hence, and of times far off he prophesied*.

<sup>288</sup> The clause קֵץ בִּי לְמוֹעֵד is probably elliptic: *for [the vision / what shall happen] extends to the appointed time of the end*. For the meaning of preposition לְ in this phrase, see note 287. It is similar to that in v. 17, but here we have מוֹעֵד *appointed time* instead of עֵת *time*. If the phrase is not seen as elliptic, then one could translate it: *for the appointed time has an end*. This noun comes from the root יָעַד *to appoint, designate, decide*, and is always used as **appointed** [time / place / meeting / sign et.al.].

<sup>289</sup> The two nouns standing in apposition הַשְּׂעִיר הַצִּפִּיר may simply represent a stylistic emphasis. We should not take הַשְּׂעִיר as adjective to have: *and the shaggy he-goat...(!)*, which adds to nothing.

<sup>290</sup> יָוֶן is the Hebrew term for Greeks (cf. Assyro-Babylonian *lawana* or *lamana*). According to the oldest Biblical records (Gn 10:2.4-5). The Bible mentions the Greek people as among the traders with Phoenicians (Ez 27:13.19) and one of those peoples whom God have to punish (Joel 4:6, Zec 9:13) and also to enlighten in the “latter days” (Is 66:19). In *Daniel*, the name applies to the Greek-Macedonian forces united under Alexander, who founded the first “Greek” Empire.

<sup>291</sup> For the more probable meaning of אַחֲרֵית as *late, future*, in most occurrences, see the comments on Dan 8:19 in this dissertation.

<sup>292</sup> Heb. נִפְלְאוֹת יִשְׁחִית. Though נִפְלְאוֹת means usually *wonders, miracles*, here is used adverbially: *wondrously, marvellously, in an extraordinary manner*, like the synonym פְּלִאִים in Lam 1:9. In Dan 11:36, the same participle means *incredible / amazing / stupendous / awesome things*. However,



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Collins (340) cites Charles who emends יִשְׁחַיִּית to יִחְשַׁב, to have a more natural expression: *he will make extraordinary plans*. A similar corruption is attested for 2S 20:15). Cf. Dan 11:24-25, Ps 40:6.

<sup>293</sup> The pass. part. pl. עֲצוּמִים is linked usually to multitudes (of people and flocks) and leaders, meaning *powerful in number and / or strength, numerous, populous, mighty* (Gn 18:18, Ex 1:9, Nu 14:12, 22:6, 32:1, Dt 7:1, 9:14, 26:5, Jos 23:9, Ps 10:10, 35:18, 135:10, Pr 18:18, 30:26, Is 8:7, 53:12, 60:22, Dan 11:25, Joel 1:6, 2:2.5.11, Mic. 4:7, Zec 8:22). Here the term seems to be in apposition with “the people of saints,” and is not easy to decide if it was meant to refer to Israel or to other people / peoples.

<sup>294</sup> Lit. *the commander of commanders* or, *the prince of princes*. It means *the supreme commander of an army*, the person next to the king, acting in the name of the king, or the king himself in front of his generals of army. See chapter 8:11, Gn 21:22, Jos 5:14-15.

<sup>295</sup> From the Hiph<sup>il</sup> הִרְאָה = show, make known. The noun מְרֵאָה has usually the meaning *appearance, sight, vision, spectacle, phenomenon*. However, in this and in another two instances in Daniel (9:23, 10:1, cf. Ex 25: 9.40, Ez 40:4, Nu 8:4), the most probable meaning, as the literary contextual logic implies, is that of *revelation* (something shown or revealed in a vision). Hence the its adverbial use in Nu 12:8.: [to speak] *apparently*, as opposed to the speaking in riddles. Unfortunately, lexicons did not mention this different meaning. (Cf. René Péter-Contesse & John Ellington, *A Handbook on The Book of Daniel*, UBS, New York, 1993, p. 251). This semantic evolution of מְרֵאָה from *sight / vision*, to *revelation / prophecy*, might be understood by comparing this term with the synonym חִזוֹן *vision*, which is often used to mean *oracle, revelation* (see Pr 29:18, Is 1:1, Dan 10:14, 11:14, Ob 1:1 et.al.). It seems that the phrase אֲשֶׁר נִאֲמַר מְרֵאָה that has been spoken about, refers to this מְרֵאָה, and this would be another argument that we should translate here מְרֵאָה as [*spoken*] *revelation* or *prophecy*, not *vision*.

<sup>296</sup> חִזוֹן may be here a synonym for the previous word מְרֵאָה, referring to the heavenly audition, that angelic prophecy / revelation about “2300 evening-mornings”. Thus, it could be translated *prophecy* or *revelation*. See the preceding endnote.

<sup>297</sup> Heb. נִהְיִיתִי a Niph<sup>al</sup> from הִיָּה, according to BDB, meaning *to occur, come to pass, be done, brought about, be done, be finished, be gone, wear out* (Dan 2:1, 12:1). From the same root came הִוָּה אִיָּה *affliction, calamity, disaster, accident* (Is 47:11, Ez 7:26). נִהְיִיתִי may be connected to the following Niph<sup>al</sup> form (נִהְיִיתִי לְיָדָי) to mean *I became sick*. In fact, LXX translates both verbs like a hendiadys, by ἀσθενήσας – *was sick*, and YLT says, *I... have been, yea, I became sick*. But the literalist Theodotion has ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ἐμαλακίσθην – *I... fell asleep and was sick*. Jerome translates it like *langui et aegrotavi* (“I... fainted and was sick”). Other translations rendered the first verb as *I fainted* (KJV,

NKJ, ASV, WEB), *I...lost consciousness* (NJB), *I... became weak* (NAB), *my strength failed* (REB), *je fus languissant* (NEG, LSG), *je défaillis* (DRB), *I... was exhausted* (NAB, NIV, NAS), *Ich...war erschöpft* (LUT, ELB), *I was overcome* (RSV, NRS), *I was depressed* (TEV). While the simplest way is to consider the phrase “I... became and I was sick,” to mean “I became sick,” the logic of the sentence provides an explanation of this sickness: Daniel was very afflicted because of the prophecy, not only because of what it understood as bad news, but also because of what he couldn’t understand.

<sup>298</sup> A lot of translations render **וְאֵין מִבִּין** as an impersonal clause (see LXX, LXT, YLT, NKJ, DRB, ELB, ASV, WEB), as if Daniel would have been so much affected by other people’s failure to understand. The use of the negation **וְאֵין** is not so common with personal subjects. The author must have said **וְאֵינִי מִבִּין** (cf. Ex 5:10) or **וְלֹא אֲבִין** (see Dan 12:8).

a). It is obvious, from the logic of the clause, that Daniel was affected by his own failure to understand (*I...could not understand it*), not by an impersonal problem. Most English translations follow this thought.

b). TOB renders a different idea: *no one could understand [why I was so upset]*.

c). A third possibility reflected in NJV, REB, NIV is *no one could explain it (the vision)*.

Péter-Contesse and Ellington assert, “The first of these three possibilities is the most commonly accepted and the most likely to be the correct understanding of the text. It is unlikely that the text would focus on the inability of others to understand the vision or why it was to be kept secret, since at this point no one else knew about it” (op. cit. p. 228). This is true, in principle, but one may imagine a forth possibility, which is a logical combination of a). and c). I feel that it matches better, both the regular Hebrew grammar (or, at least, Daniel’s) and the logic of the clause: *and there was none to make [me] understand*, like BDB-Gesenius prefers for this instance (and for Dan 9:22, where the causal participle also lacks the pronominal direct object, comp. with Dan 10:14, 11:33). This is possible because the participle **מִבִּין** may have a simple, direct sense, *understanding*, or a causal one, *making understand*. Vulgate understood like this: *et non erat qui interpretaretur* (“and there was non to interpret [for me],” comp. with Gn 41:8 VUL). For practical purposes, we may translate *I...couldn’t understand* or *I... didn’t understand*, because Daniel is concerned on his own failure to understand, and even if he refers to somebody (impersonal) who would give understanding, it is an indirect way to refer to the same problem. The impersonal clause echoes desperation, because, after the angel’s sudden close of explanation and Daniel’s waking from the vision, it is normal to ask, *Whoever else is to explain me this life and death prophecy, if God and His angels left me cope in the dark with such unexpected bad news about my people’s future? Who will make me understand the mysterious*

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revelation of “2300 evening-mornings,” and what is the real time to elapse until all captivity and ceaseless conflicts are gone?

Collins (342) is ready to see that the versions’ rendition, *there was no one who understood*, has no reason, because nobody else was expected to understand.

<sup>299</sup> Because of specific problems of identification mentioned at note note 74, I prefer to translate the Hebrew terms as they must have been, namely Median-Persian names / titles, to help the reader not to confuse them with other, historically attested, Darius and Xerxes.

<sup>300</sup> The Hoph<sup>al</sup> הָמַלְךָ as preserved by the Masoretes, could not mean anything else but “he was made king”. This translation is reflected in KJV, YLT, WEB, NAB, NJV, REB, ASV, NAS, DRB, NIV. Other numerous translations prefer the reading of LXX, LXT and Vulgate, which, using manuscripts without vowel signs, could not see but the general idea of “reigning”. It was especially difficult, because this is the only Hoph<sup>al</sup> form of the verb in the OT. Thus modern translators “felt that the text must be corrected” to express an active form (Péter-Contess and Ellington, op. cit., ).p. 230). Gesenius accepts it as a hapax in the OT. Holladay recognises it as a Hoph<sup>al</sup>, but suggests that it should be rendered as *became king*, because “no indication of subordinate position” is given in the text. Davidson reads this hapax Hoph<sup>al</sup> as *to be made king*, without adding any commentary. Though the scientific identification of this *Darayawaush* still waits for better times, I think that to let this Hoph<sup>al</sup> be reflected in translation is a wise solution, if one does not resort to it as to crucial evidence.

<sup>301</sup> Cf. Jer 51:9, Is 16:8. The verb נָנַע means usually “touch” (e.g. Dan 8:18, 10:16) even when followed, like here, by the preposition אֶל (e.g. Gn 20:6, Job 2:5, 1 K 6:27, Hag 2:12) and ⊕ rendered it accordingly. However, here is preceded by the image of flight, which force us to translate it as “reach,” “approach,” without being dogmatic on this point.

<sup>302</sup> The two terms, as they are spelled by the Masoretes, allow some confusion. מְעֵף (or מוֹעֵף according to some variant manuscripts) is, literally, “wearied,” “tired,” from the root עָפָה, *to grow weary, to be fatigued*, and בִּיעָף, *in weariness*, from the same root. Thus the phrase (*weary with weariness*), typically Hebrew in its tautological form, should be translated, according to BDBG, as *utterly weary*. But the old translations reflect another reading: τάχει φερόμενος – *quickly brought along* (LXX), πετόμενος – *flying* (LXT), *cito volans* – “swift flying” (VUL), from the root עָף *to fly*. To express the idea, the spelling should be corrected to מוֹעֵף בְּעוֹף (or מְעוֹפֵף?) *caused to fly in flight* (“being sent in swift flight”). The Hoph<sup>al</sup> verbs: a). middle geminate, b). פִּי ↔ פּוֹ, and c). עוּ, have the same form. However, the text might reflect Daniel’s own dialect and spelling. As we have in Hebrew parallel verbs like יָנַר ↔ יָנֵר *to be afraid*, יָאָב ↔ יָאָבָה *to want / desire*, יָבּוּל ↔ יְבוּל *produce*, יָדִיד ↔ יָדִידָה *beloved, darling*, יָטַב ↔ יָטֵב *to be good*, et.al., it is not unexpected to have a

double form  $\text{יָעִיף} \leftrightarrow \text{עָיַף}$ , even if the variant  $\text{יָעִיף}$  with the meaning *to fly*, is not attested elsewhere. (With the meaning *grow weary* is not so frequent either – just in Jg 8:15, 2Sam 16:2, Is 40:29, 50:4. The root commonly used for the idea of weariness is  $\text{יָגַע}$ ). To ascribe wings and flight to heavenly beings is a common idea in the OT (2 S 22:11, Is 6:2.6, Ex 37:9, Rut 2:12, Ps 91:4, 1 Chr 28:18, Ez 1:6-9, 10:19, 11:22-23, 28:14, Mal 4:2). This is because in the Biblical context, like in Polynesia and other areas, birds and wings symbolise spirits (Gn 1:2, Mk 1:10, Rev 18:2). Daniel, however, does not say that Gabriel had wings, in fact he stresses his humanlike appearance.

The translation *being utterly weary*, though more natural, is objected especially because one cannot see how angels could be so weary. However, we must not assume such exact attributes for beings that the Bible says so little about. The completely human appearance of the angel is, actually, an adaptation to the prophet's condition, a sign of condescension. To think seriously, a number of majestic wings for an angel, are not more than dramatic language and pure condescension. So why could not Daniel describe this "man," entering his prayer room as a wearied messenger / courier who had run, in a short break within his "Star Wars" missions (cf. Dan 10), to deliver in time the divine message to the prophet. Because both translations are relevant and fit the literary context, we should preserve both for the time.

<sup>303</sup>  $\text{עָתָה יֵצְאָתִי}$  – While the verb has the force of *go out of one place and entering another*, the adverb  $\text{עָתָה}$  is an actual emphasis (compared with similar phrases: Nu 22:38,  $\text{הִנֵּה־בָאֲתִי אֵלֶיךָ עָתָה}$ ; Jos 5:14,  $\text{אֲנִי שֶׁר־צִבְא־יְהוָה עָתָה בָּאֲתִי}$ ; Dan 10:20,  $\text{בָּאֲתִי אֵלֶיךָ וְעָתָה אָשׁוּב}$ ; Jg 11:7,  $\text{עָתָה יֵצְאָתִי}$ ; 2 K 5:22,  $\text{זֶה בָּאֲתִי אֵלַי שְׁנֵי־נְעָרִים}$ ;  $\text{בָּאֲתֶם אֵלַי עָתָה}$ ). The author stresses both God's promptitude to answer his prayer from its start, and the promptitude of the heavenly messenger to fulfill God's command and the need of the praying. Therefore, this understanding seems more appropriate than supposing the meaning "this time" as opposed to the previous visit.

<sup>304</sup> Lit. „a word". According to BDB,  $\text{דְּבָר}$  may be understood, in different logical contexts, as *utterance, order, matter, fact*, et.al. Here is clearly a message, a prophetic message. See 1 S 3:15.17.

<sup>305</sup>  $\text{כִּי הֵמָּנָה אַתָּה}$  – lit: *because you are 'treasures'*. The phrase, usually  $\text{אִישׁ הֵמָּנָה}$  is defective in this verse (comp. with Dan 10:3.11.19, 11:43) but it obviously has the same meaning. Since the angel wants to say that Daniel is highly esteemed and greatly beloved by the Heaven, I add "to Heaven," so that the reader may have a correct understanding. Though Daniel was sometimes highly esteemed on the earth, there is nothing in the text to make us believe that the angel refers to the human consideration.

<sup>306</sup> See note 105.  $\text{מִרְאָה} / \text{מִרְאָה}$  is given here as a synonym for  $\text{דְּבָר}$  *word, message*, which is, obviously, the *message* spoken about in the previous clause. The clause  $\text{בְּמִרְאָה וְהָבִין}$  stands in apposition or in a synonymic parallelism with  $\text{וַיְבִין בְּדְבָר}$ . Compare the similar clause in Dan 10:1:

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|           |        |              |          |                |
|-----------|--------|--------------|----------|----------------|
| Dan 9: 23 | וּבִין | בְּדָבָר     | וְהָבֵן  | בְּמַרְאֵה     |
| Dan 10:1  | וּבִין | אֶת־הַדָּבָר | וּבִינָה | לוֹ בְּמַרְאֵה |

The main difference is in mood and person:

[Now] perceive the message, and understand this revelation!  
 [Now] he perceived the message, and he has[received] understanding in that revelation.

Because this parallel use of the phrase was not observed, some translations are different in Dan 10:1, e.g., *the understanding of the message, came to him in a vision* (NIV), or *it was explained to him in a vision* (TEV), possibly according to LXX, *[and great power] and understanding in the vision was given to him*. Collins (352) keenly observed that “word” and “vision (revelation)” in v. 23 are equivalent. Baldwin (168) says: “In the light of what follows, *vision* may seem a strange word to use, for in the context the Hebrew *mar’eh* like *hazôn* in verse 21, refers to what is heard rather than what is seen: it has acquired the general meaning ‘revelation’ (Ob. 1:1; Na. 1:1).”

Hence the term refers to *the revelation / prophecy* yet to be delivered by Gabriel in the following verses, and not to the previous vision (Dan 8:26a-27) or to the prophecy of Jeremiah alluded to in v.1-2, in spite of the appearances in all present translations. This observation, however, does not invalidate other obvious links of this new oracle to the previous vision (e.g. v. 21 → ch. 8:15-16; v. 22 → ch. 8:27; v. 24 → ch. 8:14, v. 27 → ch.8:24-25).

<sup>307</sup> See also note 309. The verb of this sentence is in singular, while the subject is in plural. This is a known syntactic device to mean the subject’s plurality as a unity, a multitude taken as a whole. Otherwise, “cutting” the 70 weeks, would possibly mean to cut them up, cut them into pieces. As Charles explained: “The singular verb after the plural subject is to be explained on the ground that the seventy weeks are regarded as a unit of time.” (R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, p. 240). Among the authors agreeing on this point are, C. F. Keil, *Biblical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament, Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1950, p. 339; Moses Stuart, *Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy*. Andover, MA: Allen, Morrill and Wardwell, 1842, p.268; James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. The International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1927, p. 376).

<sup>308</sup> The Hebrew שָׁבֹעַ is a noun developed from a passive participle (“besee-ened”) and its pragmatic meaning is always *week, a cycle of seven days*. There is a tendency to translate שָׁבֹעַ as a “seven,” a *period of seven*, suggesting that the term itself was used in a more general meaning, for any cycle of seven: *heptad, seven periods*. This special meaning is given as basis in Holladay’s *Lexicon*. The only evidence provided is Ez 21:23/28, with the phrase שָׁבְעֵי שָׁבְעוֹת, which is rendered by all translators

as *oaths*, (except Jerome, who reads *sabbatorum* – “of the Sabbaths”). It is possible, that Holladay borrowed the idea from the Targum: **וְאֵינָם יָדְעוּן דְּאַרְבַּעִין וְחַשְׁעִין זְמַנֵּין הוּוּהּ** = “and they didn’t know that there were 49 times...” (see *Miqraé Qodesh, Propheten, Tom 8, Lemberg, Druck und Verlag von Pessel Balaban, p. עז* verso). Thus Rashi refers to a *period of 49*, and this interpretation is repeated in the Yiddish commentary, while *Metsudath Dawid* refers to *oaths*. Anyway, we cannot take a rabbinical exegesis as the actual, linguistic meaning. BDB Gesenius and Thayer’s Lexicon relate this phrase to the radical **שָׁבַע** *to take an oath*.

Davidson and BDB Gesenius also attach to the term **שָׁבוּעַ** the meaning of *week of years* and *period of seven (days, years)*, that is *heptad, week*. No indisputable evidence is given for this general meaning, except Dan 9:23 (which is not conclusive in itself, since it must have, in all probability, the usual meaning of week, as it is in Gn 29:27 too. Translators should not make the mistake of interpreting the apocalyptic, hidden language, for the reader. The task of disclosing figurative or symbolic meaning should be left rather to exegetes.

The Greek equivalent in LXX, borrowed by Vulgate, is **ἑβδομάς**, rendered in some lexicons as a period of seven (days, years, etc), and in Planche’s Lexicon (p. 374) as *number seven, week, seventh day (Sabbath)*. It is obvious that in Hebrew, as in Greek, the name of the week is etymologically related to the number seven (**שָׁבוּעַ** ↔ **שֶׁבַע**; **ἑβδομάς** ↔ **ἑπτά**, **ἑβδομος**), as it is in Latin or the Romance languages (e.g. Romanian: *săptămână* – “week,” lat. *septimana* ↔ *septem, septima* – “the seventh”). However, in Hebrew, at least, as in Romanian, the term is always used only as a determined period of seven, *the week*, not in a general sense. It is an avoidable fallacy to confuse the etymologically meaning with the pragmatic sense of a term.

There is another aspect of the term in this verse. While the usual form of plural for **שָׁבוּעַ** is **שָׁבוּעוֹת**, in this instance we find a masculine form in the plural: **שָׁבוּעִים**. Some exegetes (e.g. E. J. Young, Leupold, Moses Stuart, Broadman Bible Commentary, Desmond Ford, et.al.) find relevant the fact that the masculine plural appears in *Daniel* only and they reason: because this noun in Dan 10:2 is qualified by **יָמִים** (days), this is to specify that the author means a *heptad of days*, not a general heptad that might have been formed of months or years. After a thorough analysis yet, this is not that great argument, because of two certain facts, at least: a) In *Daniel*, the use of plural or gender for some other nouns is also unusual, b). the addition **יָמִים** (days) in 10:2, to qualify the “heptads,” never means in Hebrew the time units, but it always means that the writer emphasise a full period, numbered in days, not an approximate one, as Holladay’s and Davidson’s Lexicon recognise. The New BDB-Gesenius Lexicon also gives Dan 10:2-3 to illustrate the general meaning of time, not to specify days as contrasting with years et.al. This scientifically proven meaning of **שָׁבוּעִים יָמִים** in Dan 10:2-3 as *weeks* or *full weeks*, is reflected in most translations (LXX, KJV and NKJ, ASV and NAS, NAB,

WEB, LUT, ELB, LSG, DRB, NEG, RSV and NRS, NIV, Menge, Cornilescu). Few translations insert “of days”: Theodotion, followed by Vulgate, SVV, some Romanian Orthodox translations, et.al. However, this is not a proof that they meant to stress any distinction as some modern scholars do. For example, phrases expressing units of time with the addition “of days” are usual in the Romanian common language, with the same meaning as in Biblical Hebrew, just stressing the length of that time, never to distinguish periods of days from periods of years or months.

To exemplify the qualificative use of יָמִים in Dan 10:2, the following comparisons are very helpful: Gn 29:14, Nu 11:20.21 (“month of days”—to distinguish it from a “month of years?”), Gn 41:1, 2Sam 13:23, 14:28, Jr 28:3, 28:11, (“years of days”— did Hebrews have “years of years,” too?). See also Lv 25:8, where we have “Sabbaths (weeks) of years”. It was not sufficient for the author to say only *Sabbaths / weeks* (שַׁבְּתוֹת); he even added that they mean “seven times seven years”.

Moses Stuart and Tregelles suggest that the author may have been influenced by the attached numeral שִׁבְעִים in his use of this uncommon masculine plural of the term. Moses Stuart even launches a very acceptable idea: the term may have been the author’s dialectal variant. Concerning its meaning he gives (like Tregelles) a more attractive argument, linking these “70 weeks” with the “70 years” of v. 2. Thus, after his logic, the meaning runs like this: not 70 years, as in Jeremiah’s prophecy, but 70 weeks of years. Smart, but not convincing. He also refers to Gn 29:18.20.27 arguing that, in the phrase “fulfil her week,” we have a week of years, heptad. But this is not so obvious in the text, although the marriage deal between Laban and Jacob involved two periods of seven years. (It is known that wedding feasts customarily lasted one week – see Jg 14:12 – , and Jacob was to have Rachel also at the close of Leah’s marital festivities – see Gn 29:28-30. It is plain that Jacob did not serve another seven years before Rachel became his wife. This occurred at the close of Leah’s festal week).

Walvoord takes for granted the meaning of *heptad*, advancing the argument of a Latin use: Marcus Varro, in Aul. Gellius, *N.A.* III., 10: *undecimam annorum hebdomadem... diem septuaginta hebdomadas* (cited in Ford, Desmond, *DAIJ* p. 206). I simply cannot understand how could a Latin use prove an occult meaning of a Hebrew term.

Actually, all this frantic search for a new linguistic sense of שָׁבִיעַ was determined by a strong reaction of the exegetes against a traditional Protestant hermeneutic tool, which was called “the year-day principle” (See p. 83). Tregelles, for example, makes war against those who take this term as meaning a *week*, which then they understand as a *heptad* (*seven years*) on the year-day principle only, and not on a linguistic basis. He compared שָׁבִיעַ *week / period of seven*, with עָשׂוֹר (*decade* – see Gn 24:55). The phrase עָשׂוֹר לְחֹדֶשׁ *the decade of a month, the tenth day*, occurs at least 11 times in the OT, nowhere may we find an עָשׂוֹר of years.. Then he cites Gesenius saying that שָׁבִיעַ is applicable

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sometimes to days and sometimes to years, as if we have a comparable number of occurrences for both meanings, while the actual score is 8 / 0 in *Daniel* only, and 26 / 0 in all OT, for the usual meaning of *week*. The only place where the meaning *week of years* would fit the context is Dan 9:24-27, but not on strict linguistic basis. Therefore, I think we would better translate the term with its usual meaning of *week*, as most Bible versions do, then let exegetes do their best with it.

Since many exegetes find the masculine plural ending of שְׁבַעִים to be relevant for the meaning *unit of seven* in Dan 9:24-25 and 10:3, it is helpful to refer to the most comprehensive study made on double-gender Hebrew nouns by D. Michel. He discovered a very instructive rule: whereas plural in תִּלְּ- indicates an entity or grouping which is made up of individual parts, the plural in םִ' - is to be understood as a plural of quantity or a plural of groups. Compare for instance, the noun שָׁנָה year, which has both forms of plural: Ps 90:4,9, and Ps 90:10,15, Job 10:5, 16:22).

Hasel verified and applied Michel's results to שְׁבַעִים in Dan 9:24-25, showing that this masculine plural form is intentional, placing emphasis on the sum total of the 70 weeks as a whole time unit. See Diethelm Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebraischen Syntax* 34-39,49, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977; and Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Hebrew Masculine Plural for Weeks in the Expression 'Seventy Weeks' in Daniel 9:24." in *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, 31 (1993) 107-120. To confirm this idea, we may add the significance of the singular ending of the verb שָׁנָה (instead of the plural שָׁנָה for a normal agreement) as it is shown at pp.149-152.

<sup>309</sup> See pp. 149-152.

<sup>310</sup> The common meaning ascribed to the preposition "לְ" in most places is *to, for, at, or of the* (thus indicating direction, purpose, result, place and belonging) and LXX use of infinitive (or infinitive preceded by article in genitive in LXT), followed by VUL (*ut consumettur et.al.*), indicate *purpose*. Many translations reflect this meaning (WEB, ASV, NAS, RSV, NRS, KJV, NKJ, NAB, NEG, LSG, ELB, NIV, Menge, New Greek 1919 et.al.). However, the preposition "לְ" in plenty of occurrence, denotes time lapse (Ex 34:25, cf. 23:18, Dt 16:4, 1 S 13:8, Am 4:7) to mean *until, or up to*. The author makes a similar use in Dan 8:17d.(v.19b?). The logical context of the clause in Hebrew makes obvious this meaning of the preposition. Among the few ones to confirm this meaning are TEV and some Romanian versions (Cornilescu, ROV). While both translations (*to / until*) are eventually convergent, I feel that the second is more precise and matches better the syntax.

<sup>311</sup> כָּלַח – The basic meaning of the root is *to shut up, stop, restrain, withhold, hinder, arrest, make cease, close, confine, imprison*. (See Gn 8:2, Nu 11:28, Ps 40:10,12, 88:9, 119:101, Jer 32:3, 37:15, Hag 1:10). It is never used in Pi'el form, as indicated here by the Masoretes. Their indication seems to be a *Qerî* for כָּלַח to *complete, bring to and end, finish, make an end with*, since a number of



manuscript read clearly כִּלְה. Now, if we consider the variant manuscripts, we may read the following phrases as synonym:

|           |             |   |
|-----------|-------------|---|
| הַפְּשָׁע | לְכִלְהָ    | = until the completion of the rebellion |
| חַטָּאוֹת | וְלִקְהֵתָם | = until the full measure of sins        |

This reading is cogent, because phrases expressing such or similar thought and words are common in the Bible: הָתָם הַפְּשָׁעִים *reach the full measure of rebellious sins* (Dan 8:23), שְׁלֹם עֲוֹן *the wrongdoing / guilt... is ... complete* (Gn 15:16), בָּעֵת עֲוֹן קֵץ *when the wrongdoing comes to an end* (Ez 35:5), אֶתְּמַאֲתָךְ וְהִתְמַחִי טְמֵאָתְךָ *I will consume / remove your impurity* (Ez 22:15), תִּמְעַנְּךָ *your iniquity is finished / your punishment is complete* (Lam 4:2), πληρώσατε τὸ μέτρον... *you fill the measure [of sins]* (Mat 23:32), ἀναπληρώσαι... τὰς ἁμαρτίας *fill up ... the misdeeds* (1Th 2:16).

<sup>312</sup> עֲוֹן כִּפַּר *to atone for iniquity* – a usual phrase in OT (1Sam 3:14, Ps 78:38, Pr 16:6, Is 22:14, 27:9, Jer 18:23). כִּפַּר means “cover,” *pay ransom for, propitiate for, atone for, expiate*, or even, *blot out, purify, absolve, forgive*. The frequency of the root in the OT raises to about 180. Much ink has run to explain the origin of this Hebrew term, but its pragmatic sense is clear from the respective contexts and from the old translations. In LXX / LXT is usually rendered by *ἐλάσκειν* / *ἐξιλάσκειν*, “atone”; in VUL *expio, propitio* “expiate” / “atone”. While some scholars are very uncomfortable with this idea, out of philosophical concern, translation is simple yet, and the pragmatic use of the term, in different contexts, indicate removing of sin through a ritual-symbolic payment (sacrifice) to satisfy justice and be reconciled to God. עֲוֹן means, literally, *crookedness, wryness, thence moral distortion, perversion: unrighteousness, injustice, iniquity, wrongdoing, sin; guilt*.

<sup>313</sup> וְלִקְהֵתָם חֶזוֹן וְנָבִיא – LXX has *καὶ συντελεσθῆναι τὸ ὄραμα*, “and to be finished the vision,” while Theodotion has *καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὄρασιν καὶ προφήτην*, “and to seal up vision and prophet”. VUL renders it as *et impleatur visio et prophetae*, “and to be fulfilled the vision and the prophet.” Many English translations have the definite article here (“the vision and...”), or have rendered *prophecy* instead of *prophet*. However, the Hebrew text is quite clear and we do not need to do any emendation.

<sup>314</sup> See pp. 155-159 for linguistic analysis of this expression.

<sup>315</sup> וְלִקְהֵתָם חֶזוֹן וְנָבִיא לְדָבָר מִן־מִצָּא דָבָר לְ... lit. *from the issue of a word to...* The phrase מִצָּא דָבָר is, practically, identical with יָצָא דָבָר a word went out, from v. 23. Since the word דָבָר *word*, has different connotations, and contextual use is the best indication of its pragmatic meaning, I prefer to translate it *message* in v. 23, because the angel (messenger) who was speaking about it, said that it went out from a higher authority before he came to make it known to Daniel. This is, clearly, a message, so I translated accordingly the verb יָצָא “came out” as *was delivered [to me]*. The phrase may have

different contextual meanings, as the word דְּבַר is meant as *utterance, saying, answer, matter, thing, deed, promise, sentence, resolution, decree, order*, et.al. These are a few examples of different use: Gn 25:50 יָצָא הַדְּבַר מִיְהוָה *from YHWH came this matter / sentence*; Nu 30:3 דְּבַר הַיְצִיאָהּ *the promise / vow that he made* (Is 51:3, 55:11, Jer 44:17); Est 1:17 יֵצֵא דְבַר־יְיָ *the news ... will go forth or the deed will be made know*; Ez 33:30 יְהוָה מֵאֵת יְהוָה הֵי יֵצֵא דְבַר הַדְּבַר *the message / resolution come out from YHWH*; Ecc 5:1-6 דְּבַר לְהוֹצִיא דְבַר *do not haste to utter a word / vow*; Ne 6:19 לֹא הָיוּ מוֹצִיאִים וְדְבָרָיו הָיוּ מוֹצִיאִים *and they were making my words come out to him* (i.e. carried out / reported my words to him).

The meaning of *royal order / decree* is well-attested in places like Est 1:19, 2Sam 24:4, 1Ch 21:4, Est 3:15, 8:14 et.al. And this is the best translation in Dan 9:25. The “word” “coming out” in this instance is not hearsay, not even a message only, but an authoritative word (a royal order / decree), because it deals with the political authorisation of whole civil restoration of Jerusalem. In fact, many older or contemporary translations render this meaning of *order, commandment, decree*.

LXX reads: καὶ εὕρησιν προστάγματα *and you will find orders*. This seems to be a confusion of מוֹצֵא (Kethib for מוֹצֵא *issue*) with מְצֵא *to find*, which was corrected by Theodotion into ἀπὸ ἐξόδου λόγου *from issue of word*. However, LXX is, practically, right when understands דְּבַר as “orders”. And even its reading of מוֹצֵא is rooted in the OT Hebrew. First, the spelling מוֹצֵא instead of מוֹצֵא is not common; from over thirty occurrences in the OT, this defective spelling is attested in Job 38:27 and Daniel 9:25 only. Second, the verb מְצֵא *find, receive, discover, secure, acquire, get, meet, encounter, learn, devise, find out, detect, guess, come upon, befall* is well attested in combinations with דְּבַר (Dt 4:30 וּמְצֵאוּךָ הַדְּבָרִים *these words will found / reach you*; 2Ch 19:3 וְנִמְצְאוּ דְבָרִים טוֹבִים *[good] things / words were found*; Est 2:23 וַיִּמְצֵא דְבַר הַדְּבַר; ... *the word / matter [was searched] and it was found*; Job 19:28 וַיִּמְצֵא דְבַר ... *word / matter is found*.; Ecl 12:10 ... לְמַצֵּא דְבָרִים *...to find / discover words of...*; Jer 15:16 וַיִּמְצְאוּ דְבָרַיְכִי *Your words were found*; Ne 5:8 וְלֹא מָצְאוּ דְבַר *they didn't find any word [to answer]*). The syntagm מְצֵא דְבַר (actually, מְצֵא דְבַר to adapt it to the sentence's syntax), would mean *to find* (or, finding of) *a word*, i.e. *learning, receiving, getting of a word*. This would allow the period to be reckoned by the arrival of that word, not by its inception. However, since Theodotion, Jerome and, practically, all Bible translators up to this day followed the reading attested later by the Masoretes (מוֹצֵא דְבַר) it is wisest to give it the first consideration. It sounds more natural, anyway, and is attested in the Danielic context.

According to BDB, the meanings of מוֹצֵא / מוֹצֵא is *act / place of going out / forth, issue, export, source, spring (of water), rising (sun), east (of sun), way out, that which goes forth, utterance, place of departure, mine (of silver)*. Since it derives from the verb יָצָא to go (come) out, we may add from the latter, other usual nuances: *outgoing, outcome, forthcoming, appearance, departure, going*

forth (to a place / with purpose / for result), going forward, proceeding to (or toward something), lead-off, introduction, bringing out (of), leading out, deliverance. Holladay understands it as outlet, exit, act of going out and even **import** (2 K 10:28). For the latter example (2 K 10:28), Davidson has **origin** (or **race**) while BDB has **export**. The apparent contradiction between the three translations (origin, export, import) calls our attention to an interesting but natural phenomenon with the verbal root נצ' which expresses not only the act of going out, as start of a movement, but often it means the whole way to a certain place or end. This is similar to some English verbs like go or come, whose precise meaning is indicated by prepositions (out, on, in, at, et.al.). נצ' is often used with prepositions. Therefore, contrasting notions as export–import, outcome–income, departure–arrival, exit–entrance, spring–inflow are normally expressed by this verb, to illustrate its broad and elastic pragmatic meaning. These are many instances where נצ' could be as well translated by its opposite – arriving, (or at least coming, going) instead of leaving, like in the following places: Ez 47:8 [waters] are caused to go out (= enter) into the sea; 1Sam 17:55 going out (= coming forth) to the ...encounter...; 1Sam 26:20 went out (=came forth / in) to search for...; Is 51::5 [My salvation] went out (= is on the way, is near)...; Gn 24:59 [the matter] went out (and came) from Yahweh...; Ex 2:11 he went out (=came) to his brethren...; Ex 15:22 [after their departure from the Red Sea] they went out (=reached) the wilderness...; Nu 11:26 they didn't went out (come) to the tabernacle...; Nu 22:32 I went out (=came to you) as an adversary...; Is 37:36 [an angel] went out (=came, appeared) and struck...; Jer 9:2 they went out (= proceed, go, reached) from evil to evil...; Jer 25:32 [an evil] is going out (=is going on) from nation to nation...; Zec 5:5 [the angel] went out (=came) and said to me. In Daniel, this use is also instructive: 9:22 I now went out (=and came) to give you understanding...; 9:23 a word went out (=a message was sent to me) and I came to deliver it to you. From this point of view, מוֹצֵא דְבָרָא the coming out of a word (i.e. the issue of a decree), does not necessarily mean the departure of the “word” only, because the verb may legitimately indicate the whole process of its deliverance (sending out, putting forth, issuing, publishing, delivering, officially announcing), carrying and turning it over, as a letter.

This may appear as a pedantic pleading for naught, but if one thinks to the time of Daniel, he / she may understand the need for this precision. An ancient decree was actually an imperial letter that had to travel long time, usually a couple of months, before reaching its destination place. And yet, one could not say that the “word” was published until a first convocation was possible, to officially announce the Assembly. For the scholar who will apply historically this prophetic period, this linguistic specification embodied in the translation would be of some help.

"From the issuing of a decree" fits best the logic of the sentence and is worth to be followed, as a number of translations did to this time (e.g. NAB, NAS, NIV).

<sup>316</sup> לְהָשִׁיב lit., *to make come back, in view of bringing back* (from לָּ to + הָשִׁיב Hiph<sup>o</sup>l of שָׁב *come back*). The direct object of this verb is Jerusalem: *to bring back (=restore the property of) Jerusalem*. BDBG Lexicon 998-999 gives the following meanings of this Hiph<sup>o</sup>l: *bring back, answer, turn, return, recover, put back, give back, pay back, turn back, repulse, reverse, revoke, restore*, and for its meaning in Dan 9:25 it recommends *restore*, in opposition to Driver (138) and Collins (355) who would apply the verb to the return of the exiles. We should not forget that the direct object of this verb is explicitly Jerusalem, in the text.

LXX and Θ have rendered it as ἀποκριθῆναι *to answer* (cf. 2 S 3:11, 1 K 12:6), which is a legitimate meaning of the verb, but it does not fit here. Jerome didn't consider it separately, but read it, probably, like שָׁב (that sometimes means again, see Holladay 362), linked it to the following verb לְבָנוֹת *to build, construct, edify*, and translated *ut iterum aedificetur Hierusalem* ("to be built again Jerusalem"). But this is not. However, most translations give the best understanding of *restore* (KJV, NKJ, NAB, WEB, ASV, NIV, NAS, RSV, ELB, DRB, NRS), while some of them follow the Vulgate (LUT, TEV, some French and Romanian translations). JB and NJB have *to return*. Origenis Hexapla (F. Field, 926) also quotes the Latin version reading, *restituere et aedificare*, "to restore (restitute) and build".

Brempong Owusu-Antwi, *The Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27*, ATS Publications, Berrien Springs, MI, 1995, p. 131-144, shows that this two verbs in v. 25 לְהָשִׁיב...וְלְבָנוֹת *to restore and build* have distinct meanings. They are not a hendiadys, are not epexegetic, since their respective meanings are completely different. Moreover, their distinct meanings reveal the logical order: *first restore (political), then build (physical)*. The 44 occurrences of infinitives construct as well as the seven infinitives absolute of הָשִׁיב never apply to the physical reconstruction of a city. This is confirmed by S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922, p.138, and William L. Holladay, *The Root shubh in the Old Testament*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958. p. 87-105.

It were expectable for the infinitive לְהָשִׁיב to speak about the exiles' returning, as some Biblical occurrences and the historical context suggest (1 K 8:34, Jer12:15, 16:15, 23:3, 24:6.14, 30:3, 32:37, Zec 10:10, 2Ch 6:25. Cf. Holladay, op. cit. 88). However, this is a different case, because the direct object of this verb and of the joint verb וְלְבָנוֹת...is clearly *Jerusalem*. Thus Jerusalem only is here considered to be "brought" / "given" / "put" back. The Hiph<sup>o</sup>l stem of שָׁב, when used in connection with things like *land, kingdom, cities*, means always restoration of the ownership and governance or control to the indirect object (the right owner) as one may check out the following references: *land* (Jg 11:13, 2Sam 9:7), *cities* (1 K 20:34, 2 K 13:25, 14:22.25, 16:6, 25, 28, 2 Ch 26:2), *kingdom* (2Sam 16:3, 1 K 12:21, 2Ch 11:1, 2 S 8:3).

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The translation *recover* or *make restitution of* is sometimes more appropriate. The term *restore* is acceptable, as the point 5 of the entry **restore** in Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary defines it: 1. to bring back into existence, use, or the like; re-establish: to restore order. 2. to bring back to a former, more desirable condition: to restore a painting. 3. to bring back to a state of health, soundness, or vigour. 4. to put back; return, as to a former place, position, or rank: to restore books to a shelf; to restore a monarch to a throne. 5. **to give back; make return or restitution of (anything taken away or lost)**. 6. to reproduce or reconstruct (an ancient building, extinct animal, etc.) in the original state.

However, because some of the possible connotations of *restore*, even in relation to a city, could suggest *reconstruct*, *repair*, *renew*, rather than *restoring ownership*, I opt for *to restore the control over*, *to recede*, or **to politically restore**.

<sup>317</sup> There is no doubt about the basic meaning of the noun. מָשִׁיחַ, *anoint one*. According to Owusu-Antwi, op. cit. 162, it is used 38 times in the OT for different persons who became, by the sacred rite of anointing, *the anointed [of the Lord]*. The term is applied 30 times to kings (Saul, David, Cyrus and others), 6 times to different high priests, and twice to the patriarchs. One prophet is reported to have been anointed (1 K 19:16) and twice, this divine *anointing* is attributed to non-Israelite kings (Cyrus Is 45:1, and 1 K 19:15). Because the noun has no article in Dan 9:25, and nowhere in the OT was discovered an eschatological Saviour called, simply, מָשִׁיחַ (like a name, with no article), – or, maybe more accurately, because of the rationalistic theology with its deep antichristian thrust –, the Christian Saviour was nearly left out of this prophecy by lexicographers and liberal exegetes. Holladay (219), for instance, after a total silence about the Dan 9:25, assigns the meaning *high priest* for the occurrence in Dan 9:26, then closes his מָשִׁיחַ entry with the remark: “N.B. ‘Messiah’ as eschatological savior-figure not in O.T.”

BDBG (603) gives as special meaning of the term in Dan 9:25-26, *Messianic Prince*, according to Briggs (*Messianic Prophecy*), then refers to others who shuffled in v. 25 Cyrus the Great or the high priest Joshua, and in v.26, the Syrian king Seleucus IV or the high priest Onias III. This is a serious challenge for any Christian scholar, because it is the only place in the OT to refer directly to the Eschatological Saviour. To meet it, I propose a number of reasons, which can substantiate the traditional Christian exegesis.

1) Some common nouns (like titles and appellations) become, in time, proper names or, at least, function as proper names. They are often used in parallel as definite and indefinite nouns. For instance, nouns like מְרַתָּן, רַב־סָרִיס, רַב־שָׁקֶה, רַב־מַג, רַב־מַבְחִים, are best translated in NRS and many other modern translations, **the Tartan**, **the Rabsaris**, **the Rabshakeh**, **the Rabmag**, **the captain of**

the guard 2 K 18 – 19, Is 20:1, Is 36 – 37) . A similar origin has the term פַּרְעֹה (lit. “great house,” the common title of the king of Egypt BDB) that sounded like a proper name for the Jews, and is invariably transliterated as such (Pharaoh). If the title מְשִׁיחַ has any definite application to the eschatological Saviour in OT, then this unique indefinite occurrence, should be understood as a title-name, definite by itself – *Messiah*.

2) While Canaanite male local divinities are always referred by the definite noun הַבַּעַל *the Baal*, (i.e. *the Possessor / Owner / Lord / Master* Jg 6, 1 K 18, 2 K 10 et.al.), it is universally translated as a name, in striking contrast with Yahweh, a veritable name who needs no article definite. However, the common name of the Divinity (God) is found in both indefinite and definite forms (אֱלֹהִים Gn 1-3, אֱלֹהִים Gn 5 – 6) and is always translated as a proper name, definite by itself – *God*. The common name אֱלֹהִים / אֱלֹהֵהּ (*a god* – Ps 18:32, 114:7, Is 44:8, Ne 9:17, 2Ch 32:15, Dan 11:37-39) the true singular form of אֱלֹהִים has an indefinite form when used like a proper name – *God* – with most occurrences in the book of Job (40 times, against 5 times in other books: Dt 32:15, Ps. 50:22, Ps. 139:19, Prov. 30:5, Hab. 3:3). Occurrences with definite article are found in Aramaic only (Ezra 4 – 7, Dan 2.3.5.6). The noun אֵל “power,” *chief, a god*, is found also with the definite article (הָאֵל *the [true] god, God*, e.g. Dt 10:17, Dan 9:4). But it often has an indefinite form, yet with definite meaning (אֵל *God*, e.g. Job 20:29, Ps 104:21, Mal 1:9) The divine titles, שַׁרְיָ *Almighty* (52 occurrences, most of them in *Job* and *Genesis*) and עֲלִיּוֹן *Most High* (34 occurrences, most of them in *Psalms* and *Pentateuch*) are **always** used as proper names. The latter is used 14 times adjectivally, sometimes with the definite article, with the common, basic meaning: *upper, higher*. Even God’s cosmic adversary, Satan, usually appears with definite article (*the Satan = the Adversary, the Enemy*, all 11 occurrences in Job, and Zec 3:1-2). When is indefinite, it has a general meaning, referring to human beings (שׂוֹנֵא *an adversary, enemy*, 1Sam 29:4, 2Sam 19:23, 1 K 5:18, 11:14.23.25, Ps 71:13, 109:6.20, or it can be a divine being, as in Nu 22:22.32). In one place only, in the post-exilic Biblical Hebrew (1Ch 21:1) the appellation שׂוֹנֵא has no article and proved to be used as a proper name too, which is attested by all Biblical translations. Although it is the only occurrence, it is clear enough to consider it. This is a good linguistic lesson to learn to deal properly with the title-appellation מְשִׁיחַ. The LXX’s strange reading of the phrase עַד מְשִׁיחַ נָגִיד as πόλιν κυρίῳ *a city for the Lord*, seems to indicate such an identification, which is not so difficult to make on OT basis only, since the King Messiah is a divine being too, not only the last and supreme Davidic Ruler (Cf. Is 9:6-7, 10:21, Ps 45: 6-8, Ps 110). The preposition עַד *until*, was obviously misread as עִיר *city*, so that κυρίῳ *to The Lord*, seems to be a Targum-like translation of נָגִיד מְשִׁיחַ as “The Lord / YHWH” (Cf. LXX in Gn 12:7, 13:18, Ex 8:4, Bel 1:25 et.al.). If the eschatological Messiah is spoken of in OT as sharing the true divinity, or at least as a supernatural being, it would be no wonder to find this title in indefinite form, as a proper name –

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*Messiah*. (In favour of the LXX' translation, compare with Χριστός, Κύριος, from Lk 2:11, which an angel also – Gabriel? – announces, v. 1:19.26, 2:9).

- 3) In a like manner, an epithet applied to the Messiah, **צֶמַח** *a branch, scion, shoot* (Jer 23:5, 33:15, and Is 4:2?), which synonyms had been applied by Isaiah to the messianic King (**שֹׁרֵט** *root, growth* Is 11:10, 53:2, **חֹטֵר** *branch, twig* Is 11:1, **נֶצֶר** *sprout, branch* Is 11:1) is used **later, in postexilic times** as a name (Zec 3:8, 6:12). No wonder that **מָשִׁיחַ**, which became more frequently used, could dispense with the article and yet name a definite person, “the Messiah”.
- 4) NT applies the Greek equivalent term Χριστός as a title-appellation of the eschatological Davidic king, “The Anoint One,” to Jesus of Nazareth, the true Christ (“The Christ,” or “Christ”). The Greek equivalent was used in LXX for the Davidic Ruler (Ps 2:2, Ps 132/131:17 etc, Lam 4:20, 2Ch 6:42, PS 17:32 et.al.). Indeed, patriarchs and prophets predicted the advent of a unique Ruler over Israel and Nations, from David’s dynasty (Gn 49:10, 2Sam 7:12-16, 23:3-5, Mi 5:5, Is 4:2, 7:14, 9:6-7, 11:1-10, Jer 23:5-6, 33:14-16, Zec 3:8-9, 6:12-13 et.al.). If we accept that the Greek of NT (as with LXX) reflects a lot the Jewish thought-language patterns, then we should consider that from the approx. 530 occurrences of the Greek equivalent of Messiah, approx. 60% are without article (e.g. Lk 2:11, Heb 3:6 1Pt 3:18), though definitely used as mission name, often beside the personal name Jesus. The rest have definite article and are used as a title: ὁ Χριστός *the Christ, the Messiah* (e.g. Mt 2:4, 16:16.20, 24:5). Thus usage of the indefinite form **מָשִׁיחַ** is attested first in Daniel 9:25-26, and afterward reflected in NT.
- 5) This is not only a good probability, but the Hebrew-Yiddish editions of the TNK confirm it: *bis auf Maschiach, den Fursten*. Also *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (vol. 8, KTAV Publishing House, Inc., New York, 1901, p. 505) does state: “Messiah [...]: The name or title of the ideal king of the Messianic age; **used also without the article as a proper name—‘Mashiah’ (in the Babylonian Talmud and in the midrash literature)**...” .My underlining.
- 6) It is known that often in Hebrew poetry, nouns usually receiving the definite article stand without article, and yet they should be understood as definite (e.g. **אֶרֶץ** *[the] earth*, **שָׁמַיִם** *[the] sky*, Jg 5:4.20, **אֹיֵב** *[the] enemy* Pl 2:17). According to Gesenius (402-403), there are a number of nouns that stand always without article, such as the archaic / poetic terms **אָנוּשׁ** *man*, **צֶלְמָוֶת** *the deep darkness*, **רִצֵּן** *the prince*, **שְׂאוֹל** *the Hades*, **שָׂדֵי** *the field*, **תְּהוֹם** *the ocean, the abyss*, **תְּרוּמָה** *the effectual working*, **תְּבִילָה** *the world*. Since the prophetic part of this chapter is written in poetry like most of the prophetic oracles in OT, no wonder to meet a word like **מָשִׁיחַ** without article. Rather one wonders if the presence of the article would put messianic emphasis on this prophecy so rich in soteriologic-eschatological terminology.

7) The indefinite form of the noun מְשִׁיחַ in v. 25 is not the only case in this prophecy. In v. 24, in similar situations are חַטָּאוֹת *the sins*, עֲוֹן *the iniquity*, הַזֵּוֹן *the prophecy*, נְבִיא *the prophet*, קִדְשֵׁימֶ, קִדְשֵׁי *the most holy Sanctuary*. In v. 25 we find רְחוֹב *the square*, הַרְרִץ *the decision*. In v. 27, the last word would normally had article: שָׂמָם *the devastation*. In the previous prophecy, chapter 8, we meet other nouns skipping the rule: אֱמֶת *the Truth* (v.12), צָבָא *the host* (v.13), קִדְשֵׁי *the Sanctuary* (v. 13.14). But the most striking comparison in the literary context is a second occurrence of this “indefinite” noun מְשִׁיחַ in Dan 9:26. If the first occurrence had been intended to mean *a certain anointed*, then the recurrence of the noun should have had the definite article, according to the syntactical usage. But since both occurrences are morphologically indefinite, yet contextually connected, there results that in both cases the word מְשִׁיחַ has a use similar with a personal name. In v. 26 מְשִׁיחַ was translated as *Messiah* (YLT, KJV, NKJ, NEG, NAB, WEB, DRB), *the anointed one* (ASV, NIV). TEV has in both verses *God’s chosen leader*. Other translations (e.g. LUT, ELB, RSV, NRS, LSG) rendered *an anoint one*. Jerome’s Vulgate has *Christus* (Christ) in both cases. The messianic identity of the “anointed” in v. 25 is still emphasised by the juxtaposed term מְשִׁיחַ as it is shown in the next note.

<sup>318</sup> The meaning of מְשִׁיחַ in v.25 is actually to be understood on the basis of its juxtaposition with the noun מְשִׁיחַ ruler, leader, which is roughly a synonym. Since מְשִׁיחַ is also an adjective, some scholars preferred to translate the phrase *an anointed prince* (NRS). Plöger, for instance, says, *bis zu einen Gesalbten (als) Oberhaupt.* (e.g. Otto Plöger, “Siebzig Jahre.” *In Festschrift Friedrich Baumgärtel*, ed. J. Herrmann, Erlangen: Universitätsbund, 1959. 132). This translation, however, lacks the usual syntactical concern. Hebrew does not put the attributive adjective before its noun. The only exceptions do some attributive adjectives with probable affinity with numerals. And scholars give no other example of this kind, but the adjective בר: when it means *many* (See Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, Subsidia Biblica. Vol. 14. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991.2:521). Neither can be this expression a hendiadys, which would require a *waw* between the two nouns (See Gerhard F. Hasel, “*nagîd.*” *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by G. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1986. 5:218). The best choice is to take both nouns as titles with the same referent (*ibid.*), as they are both used in an absolute sense (Marinus de Jonge . “*Messiah.*” *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 4:779). That means to render the phrase as (*until*) *Messiah the Ruler*.

The noun מְשִׁיחַ derives from the root מָשַׁח *to be conspicuous, be in front of* and consequently means *one in front: leader, ruler, prince* (BDBG), *an exalted one* (Hasel, *ibid.*), *chief, leader, sovereign, prince* (Holladay), superior, president, head. The term is applied largely to all kind of



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leaders and representatives (1Ch 13:1, 2 Ch 32:21, Job 29:10), such as were heads over the tribes or clans, over the cities, over the royal palace, over the temple, over the army et.al. The high priest also is called נָגִיד as one in charge with all Temple's affairs and with all religious life in Israel (2Ch 31:10.13, Dan 11:22?). He was also anointed.

The term seems to have helped make some distinction between priest and king (1Ch 29:22, 2Ch 19:11, 2Ch 31:10.13), though the two offices were complementary, the high priest was also a spiritual (messianic-typological) king. Anyway, the king as political power was the supreme leader, in charge with all Israel's affairs. Therefore the Israelite king, beginning with Saul and going on through both Israelite kingdoms, was naturally named נָגִיד (as the king of Tyre is also called in Ez 28:2). And still, God's Anointed one, the providential-typological-prophetic ruler, was David and his dynasty down to universal King Messiah (1Ch 5:2, 28:4, 2Ch 6:5-6, Is 55:4). The only scriptures where the root מָשַׁח to anoint and נָגִיד applies to the same person, refer to Israelite kings (*Saul* 1Sam 9:16, 10:1, *Solomon* 1Ch 29:22 et.al.).

There is however, a last example, a strange but instructive one, by contrast. The Tyrian נָגִיד from Ez 28:2 has some striking characteristics related to the book of Daniel, especially through the theme Christ-Antichrist (he exalts himself as God v. 2.6.9, feels wiser than Daniel v.3, "because" he was a perfect wise and beautiful cherub, dwelling by God v. 12-14, was long time a perfect righteous being v.15, anointed מְשַׁח as a special guardian of God's throne v.14, adorned with the high-priestly precious stones on God's mountain v. 13-14, profaned his sanctuaries by iniquities v. 18, and by no human hand will be destroyed v. 18b-19). Without entering the exegetic kitchen of these two oracles in Ez 28:1-10.11-19, it is interesting to observe that there are similarities and dissimilarities between them.

The Christian tradition and some modern studies indicate that v. 11-20 deal with that spirit who was a splendid, loyal and exalted being before he became, by sin, the hidden force of such kingdoms like Tyre (the wicked metropolis of the seas) and Babylon (the wicked metropolis of the lands, Is 14:4.12-22) et.al. Thus the difference between the Tyrian נָגִיד of v. 2 and the Tyrian מְלִיךָ of v. 12, would be a close relationship of vassalage man / leader – cherub / king. Anyway, the two meet different dooms; one is killed by foreigners in v. 9-10, the other is destroyed by a fire from himself in v. 18b. (Cf. Richard M. Davidson, "Satan's celestial slander," *Perspective Digest*, ATS, Hagerstown, MD, 1/1996, 31-34). This is an illustration of possible nuances of meaning when we meet נָגִיד instead of מְלִיךָ.

But there are other noticeable opinions, like that of Tomoo Ishida. As general meaning, נָגִיד is "the appointee as the head of a certain group or organization". While used as a royal title, a synonym of מְלִיךָ, for all practical purposes, it has nevertheless a distinctive meaning. "one who is

designated as ruler of the people,” emphasising the “legitimization of the kingship”. (Tomoo Ishida. “גִּידָר : A Term for the Legitimization of the Kingship,” *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute*, vol. III, Tokyo, editors: Masao Sekine & Akira Satake. Yamamoto Shoten, 1977, p. 35-47).

From a strict linguistic perspective, the best understanding is that the two terms joint in apposition mean “King Messiah,” that is, the expected King-Priest, who is certainly the legitimate, God-appointed King.

Collins (355) compares this syntactic construction with that of Jer 20:1 (פִּקִּיר גִּידָר *chief officer*). If this parallel is taken seriously, again we cannot have a certain anointed, but only the Anointed One, *par excellence*.

<sup>319</sup> A number of translation, such as LUT, RSV, NRS, LSG, ELB, TEV, Cornilescu, insert a period or a semicolon after the “seven weeks,” while other translations (e.g. KJV, NKJ, YLT, NEG, NAB, WEB, ASV, NAS, DRB, NIV, Menge, Cornilescu-GBV) insert a comma or nothing, before the conjunction *waw* “and” (which obviously joints the two numerals). Obviously, this difference in punctuation has a major exegetical role in the chronology of this prophecy. Those who insert a semicolon or a full stop, interpret the Masoretic *athnach* ( א ) under שִׁבְעָה *seven*, as a full disjunctive. Though grammarians usually give the *athnach* this significance (see Gesenius 59.61, “the principal divider within the verse”), there is important evidence that it was not always used as a full disjunctive. For instance, in Gn 3:3, and even in Dan 9:24, so close to our example, it cannot have at all a disjunctive function:

|          |   |   |
|----------|---|---|
| Gn 3:3   | וּמִפְרֵי הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ-הַגָּן אָמַר אֱלֹהִים<br>לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ וְלֹא תִגְעוּ בּוֹ פֶּן-תָּמוּתוּן<br>לְכָל־אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשׂוּן<br>וְלִכְפֹּר עֲוֹן וְלִבְרֹא צְדָק עוֹלָמִים<br>וְלִחַתֵּם חֲזוֹן וְנָבִיא וְלִמְשַׁח קֹדֶשׁ קְדָשִׁים | <i>But from the fruit of the tree which is in the middle of the garden, God said, 'You shall not eat it, nor shall you touch it [;?] lest you die'.</i><br><i>...to confine the rebellion, to seal the sins, to atone for iniquity, to bring in eternal rightness [;?] to seal both vision and prophet and to anoint the most holy thing.</i> |
| Dan 9:24 |   |   |

In the light of such evidence it is amazing that, eminent scholars, like Collins (355), assert with so certainty: “There can be no doubt that the MT punctuation is correct”. The same critics are ready to delete or emend a whole phrase, if necessary, and here they are found kneeling to the sacred *athnach*. Owusu-Antwi’s full treatment of this challenging *athnach* (op. cit. 186-196) displays a lot of other good examples, scholarly analysed (e.g. Gn 1:1.21, 22:10, 1 K 8:42, Dan 9:2). In some places, the *athnach* has the same position as in Dan 9:25, in the middle of an enumeration: *70 talents [athnach] and 2400 shekels* (Ex 38:29), *...the sons of Benjamin: .....Rosh [athnach] and Muppim...* (Gn 46:21), *and they were a total number of 603,000 [athnach] and 550* (Nu 1:46).

I think, the best approach to this *athnach* and to all those strange and often unhelpful Masoretic punctuation is to rely not so much on it. It may give us sometimes a good understanding of the Jewish medieval interpretation of the text, but it has not the value of the inherited consonantal text. Translators have to make sure for themselves the actual punctuation and even the vowel signs, from the syntax and logic of the clause and its sentences. We should observe, for example, that Messiah is placed “after the 62 weeks” in Dan 9:26, therefore we should translate in. v. 25, *until Messiah, the Ruler, there will be 7 plus 62 weeks*. The whole period of 70 weeks is obviously divided in 7+62+1 weeks. The first period of 7 weeks is cut off first, without assigning a special event to its end, because such a period had a classic, legal end in the 50<sup>th</sup> year, the jubilee (Lv 25:8-55), in close thematic relationship to our text. Moreover, it seems to be in parallel with the previous assertion, to make the first 7 weeks apply to the political and physical restoration of Jerusalem:

*A to restore and rebuild Jerusalem B until Messiah, the Ruler*

*( there will be)*

*A<sup>1</sup> seven weeks*

*B<sup>1</sup> and sixty-two weeks*

Origen’s Hexapla (Field 926) quotes Aquilas (ʿA) and Symmachus (Σ) reading in Dan 9:26a, καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδας (or, τὰς ἑβδομάδας τὰς ἑπτὰ) καὶ ἑξήκοντα δύο, *and after the 7 and 62 weeks...* This is a witness of an old reading, before the Masoretic punctuation. Even in LXX, the corrupted text reminds us the reading of ʿA and Σ (καὶ μετὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑξήκοντα δύο).

<sup>320</sup> חֶרֶב וְחֶרֶב [both] *city square and decision-making*. The first term, חֶרֶב *city-square* (etymologically, *wideness, broadness*) is understood as a *broad open space in a town or village*, translated as street, square or plaza. Owusu-Antwi (149-150) insists on its precise meaning of *square* or *plaza* (see Dt 13:17/16, 2Ch 29:4, 32:6, Ne 8:1), not street, and quotes Montgomery (380) who says: “By... ‘broadway, plaza,’ are meant the broad spaces, generally just inside the city gates, the center of the city life, and by synecdoche standing for the city.” Therefore, it should be understood as the Hebrew equivalent for the *forum (agora), the marketplace* or *public square* of the city, the center of judicial and business affairs and place of assembly.

The second term, חֶרֶב derives from the root חָרַב to cut, to sharpen, to decide, and it is used in the OT with various meanings, according to BDBG: *cut (mutilated, Lv 22:22 pass. part.), sharp (Is 28:27), diligent, determined* (‘sharp’ Pr 13:4); *strict decision* (Jl 4:14); *gold* (Ps 68:14). Like other lexicons and commentators, BDBG gives a special meaning of the term for Dan 9:25: trench, moat, a possible Aramaic loan-word (חֶרֶב ↔ Assyr. *haritsu, hiritsu*). Davidson has *ditch, trench* for Dan 9:25.

Theodotion translated it as *τείχος* wall, followed by VUL (*platea et muri, plaza and walls*) and by many translations. But, despite Theodotion's translation, it is no linguistic basis for such a meaning. Never in OT, the term is translated as wall. Others see it as rampart (JB, NJB), or conduit (NEB, REB). The latter seems more acceptable, though it might not be the best solution. Collins (356) contends for the meaning *moat* and cites in support the Aramaic Zakir inscription from Hamath (8<sup>th</sup> century) and from the Qumrān *Copper Scroll*. But whatever good is brought to the Hebrew knowledge by those inscriptions, it is important to note that the pair *square and moat* is not at all satisfactory. Why associate the city plaza with a moat? If the author had intended to refer to the city's defence, he surely would have chosen the wall. And to my knowledge, Jerusalem was not famous because of its moats.

Owusu-Antwi (149-150) observed the close connection between the two nouns of this pair and the idea of restoration and argues for the meaning *decision-making* as it relates to the broad site (*square, plaza*) inside the city gate. The *square* was the place of meeting for the city's officials, 'the elders' (or old men', and that was the place of decision-making about all things concerning the community: justice, economy, politics etc (Is 59:14, Dt 16:18, 17:8, 2Sam 15:2, Jer 26:10, Am 5:15, Zec 8:16). Thus, the phrase *square and decision-making* is a powerful symbol of a full civil restoration that conditioned the application of all civil laws of the Torah (comp. Ne 8:1-4). The presence of the root *חָרַץ* with the meaning *decide, determine*, in other places of this prophecy (v.26, Dan 11:36) tends to confirm this translation. Anyway, it is more natural for the Biblical Hebrew, since the root *חָרַץ* is frequently used with the meaning *to decide, to determine* (Is 10:22,23, 28:22, 1 K 20:40, Job 14:15). The example in Joel 3/4:14, places Yahweh's court in a large *valley of decision[s]* *חַרְצֵי* analogue with a city square, with all nations around. That prophetic valley is also called the *valley of Jehoshaphat* ("Yahweh judged").

<sup>321</sup> The Hebrew phrase *וְלִבְנוֹת וְלִהְשִׁיב וְנִבְנְתָה* obviously parallels the previous one *וְלִבְנוֹת וְלִהְשִׁיב* to (politically) restore and rebuild (see note 316).

|             |                |             |                |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| וְלִבְנוֹת  | B              | וְלִהְשִׁיב | A              |
| וְנִבְנְתָה | B <sup>2</sup> | וְהָשִׁיב   | A <sup>1</sup> |

This observation requires a similar translation in both cases. *וְהָשִׁיב* is a Qal imp. fem. form of *הָשִׁיב*, and it is noteworthy one of the meanings indicated for it in BDBG (998, 7b): =*be brought back, be restored, revert in ownership, be receded* (Ez 46:17, 1 K 12:26, 1Sam 7:14, Ez 35:9, Lv 27:24, Dt 28:31). We may add 1 K 13:6 (*be restored, recover*). The use of *וְהָשִׁיב* in this place was commonly understood adverbially (cf. Gesenius, §120c), to express a repetitive action of the second verb, and is rendered accordingly in most translations. Thus, the whole phrase is

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translated to *build again*. While this reading may be correct in itself, the parallel displayed above is eloquent in favour of the translation here emphasised.

The second verb, **וַיִּבְנֶתָהּ** from **בָּנָה** to *build*, involved in the first phrase also, to indicate the physical restoration of the city, applies to the *square*, while *restoration* seems to be applicable to the *decision-making*. Beside the common meaning of *to build*, BDBG (124.i. 2, 125. 2.a.) assigns to the verb **בָּנָה** the meanings: *rebuild* (Is 58:12), *repair and enlarge*, (Jos 19:50, 1 K 9:24); **fig. restore, re-establish** (Am 9:11, Ps 89:5), *cause (a household) to flourish* (Pr 14:1 opp. 27:18), *re-establish, make prosper* (Jer 12:16, Mal 3:15, Job 22:23), *establish, make permanent* (Ps 89:3, Pr 24:3). These underlined meanings are especially fitting to illustrate the probable enlarged use of **בָּנָה** in Dan 9:25. It is not only physical rebuilding, which applies to the *square*, but also in a figurative sense, a re-establishing (restoration, making permanent and prosper, causing to flourish) of the decision-making at the city square.

<sup>322</sup> **צוֹק** ↔ **צוֹק** to *constrain, bring into straits, press upon* (BDBG). Though this noun is a hapax, different related forms are found, with the same meaning:

**מְצוֹק** *straitness, stress, distress* (Dt 28:53,55,57, 1 S 22:2, Ps 119:143, Jer 19:9),

**מוֹצֵק** *constraint, distress* (Job 33:16, Is 8:23),

**מְצוֹקָה** *straitness, distress, stress* (Job 15:24, Ps 25:17, 107:6,28, Zep 1:15),

**צוֹקָה** *constraint, distress, anguish, pressure* (Pr 1:27, Is 8:22, 30:6).

Thus **צוֹק** would be the masculine pair of **צוֹקָה** with a similar meaning that fits very well this context. This family of nouns deriving from the verb **צוֹק** is often used close to, or in parallel with the root **צוּר** to *be narrow, distressing, adverse*, like a an actual synonym. The phrase **וּבְצוֹק הָעֵתִים** in *the distress of the times* is best to be understood as *in the distressing times, in times of distress*.

LXX is corrupt in this verse, but the corresponding words are found in v. 27 (κατὰ συντέλειαν καιρῶν ... to the end of times), with Theodotion having a similar phrase: καὶ ἐκκευωθήσονται οἱ καιροί and the times shall be exhausted.. According to the critical apparatus of BHS, this is followed by the Syriac (תּאִלְשׁוּלִם זְבִנָּא the fulfillment of time), which gives a good support for an old Hebrew text, having a different reading from the MT: **וּבְקֵץ הָעֵתִים** and in the end of time. Obviously, **וּבְקֵץ** and **וּבְצוֹק** / **וּבְצֵק** are very liable to confusion.

BDBG cites A. A. Bevan and K. Marti, proposing an emendation of the Hebrew text in harmony with these ancient translations, and the phrase **וּבְקֵץ הָעֵתִים** be considered to begin the next verse (where the *waw* from **וַאֲחֵרֵי** is to be deleted). This proposal is still worth of further study. However, it is more likely for copyists to read in a phrase more familiar as **וּבְקֵץ הָעֵתִים**. (cf. Dan

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11:13 (וְלִקְיָן הָעֵתִים) than changing a so natural phrase in another less usual. Special studies of verse structure are necessary to definitely solve the dilemma. For the time, to keep the Hebrew reading seems to me the wisest option. It is written there, and it perfectly fits the logical context.

<sup>323</sup> From כָּרַח (BDBG: *to cut, cut off, cut down, cut off a body part, cut out, eliminate, kill, cut a covenant*). Here is used as a passive (Niph<sup>al</sup> imperfect) that supports the basic meaning: *to be cut off, cut down*, and naturally the passive of other meanings of Qal, unattested yet in the Niph<sup>al</sup> form: e.g. *cut as covenant sacrifice* (cf. Jer 34:18 and Gn 15 10, Ps 50:5 et.al.). The primary meaning intended is, most probably, *to be given to death penalty* (e.g. Gn 17:14, Ex 12:15, Lv 7:20-27 et.al.), and a special case might be made for the meaning *to be cut as a covenant sacrifice*.

The meaning *cut off*, or *cut down* finds a synonym in the use of נָגַח in Is 53:8, where the major theme of the Messiah's (Servant of Yahweh's) sacrificial death was already developed. We should also consider not only the thematic, but (see Owusu-Antwi 166) even some terminological connections: פָּשַׁע (Is 53:5.8.12, Dan 9:24), עָוֹן (Is 53:5-6, Dan 9:24), הַטָּאָה (Is 53:12, Dan 9:5.8.11.15.20.24), עָם (Is 53:8, Dan 9:6.24.26), צָרָק (Is 53:11, Dan 9:7.14.18.24). We might consider also נִשְׁאָה and סָבַל (Is 53:4.12), as synonymous with כָּפַר (Dan 9:24). We also find in the messianic oracles of Isaiah the term בְּרִית (Is 42:6, 49:8. See the literary context: Is 42:1 etc, 49: 5 etc. and comp. Is 49:7 and 53:3) like in Dan 9:27, and joint to it, in Dan 9:27, we have רַב־יָמִים, just as in Is 52:14-15, 53:11-12 and in some fundamental Christological verses of NT (Mt 20:28, 26:28, Heb 9:28 et.al.).

<sup>324</sup> This translation is encouraged by a different syntactic approach to the Hebrew text, by dividing the text and reading it without any consideration for the *athnach* under לוֹ וְהָעִיר וְהַקְּדֹשׁ) לֹא וְאֵין see also note 319, for other cases of difficult placement of *athnach*). This solution is found also in YLT and is argued for by C. G. Ozanne (*op. cit.* pp. 446-447) who cites R.H. Charles commenting that "...M.T. is defective, it reads לוֹ וְאֵין. This is sometimes rendered 'and shall have nothing'. But this is the questionable rendition of an uncertain text." Then Ozanne comments, "The expression as it stands is not absolutely impossible, since it occurs in Exod. xxii. 2 with the meaning 'and (if) he has nothing.' Nevertheless, it is normal for these words to be followed by an indication of what the subject is lacking. Again, the singular suffix וְקָצַו is problematic. If it refers to the city and the sanctuary as the context would suggest (so A. V., R. V. mg.), the plural would be expected. If, on the other hand, it refers to the prince that is to come (so R. V., R. S. V., and most moderns), we are introduced prematurely to an event which does not take place until the end of verse 27...[...] If the two words וְהָעִיר וְהַקְּדֹשׁ are linked to the preceding clause, this may now be rendered as follows: 'And after 62 weeks an Anointed will be cut off, having neither the city nor the sanctuary.'" A similar reading ("when the city is no longer his"), after deleting the *waw* prefixing the עִיר city, is supported by

Hartman and DiLella (*The Book of Daniel*. Anchor Bible. Vol 23. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978, p. 240), and by Martin McNamara ("Daniel," in *The New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*. Ed. Reginald C. Fuller; London: Nelson, 1969, p. 669).

The Hebrew syntax uses sometimes expressions of the type ..] ..] (either...or, both...and) like in Dan 1:3, 8:13. "The Anointed, it seems, is viewed as the natural possessor of the city and the sanctuary, and it is stated that he would die in possession of neither. Whether this is more applicable to the Messiah or to Onias III the reader may judge."(Ozanne. *ibid.*) Applying it to Messiah, to be consistent, we may recognise that, since Messiah was expected as legitimate Ruler of both the City and the Sanctuary, a King-Priest, even a divine figure (e.g. Ps 110, Is 9:6), it is understandable that by applying to Him death penalty, He was denied any messianic claims: *and shall not be for Him* (or, *shall not belong to Him*, or, *He shall not have*) *both the City and the Sanctuary*.

In order to compare the different readings of v. 26ab in some old translations (LXX, Theodotion and The Vulgate), we might align them as it follows. Aquilas and Symmachus are quoted according to Hexapla 926.

LXX καὶ μετὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα δύο ἀποσταθήσεται χρίσμα  
and after seven and seventy (שבעים) and sixty two, will be removed<sup>th</sup> ointment = חַשְׁמַל / חַשְׁמַל

Θ καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑβδομάδας τὰς ἐξήκοντα δύο ἐξολεθρευθήσεται χρίσμα  
and after the weeks the sixty two, will be destroyed<sup>th</sup> ointment (Anointed?)

Ἀ καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδας καὶ ἐξήκοντα δύο ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἡλειμμένος  
and after the seven weeks and sixty-two [weeks], will be destroyed an Anoint one

Σ καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑβδομάδας τὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα δύο, ἐκκοπήσεται χριστός  
and after the weeks the seven and sixty-two, will be cut off an Anoint (or, Christ)

VUL Et post ebdomades sexaginta duas occidetur Christus  
and after weeks sixty two will be murdered Christ

LXX Καὶ οὐκ ἔσται

And it will not be [anymore] = לֹא יִהְיֶה

Θ Καὶ κρίμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ  
and condemnation is not in it (Him?) = לֹא יִהְיֶה בְּיָדוֹ

Ἀ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ = לֹא יִהְיֶה  
and it will not be for Him

Σ καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρξει αὐτῷ = לֹא יִהְיֶה  
and it will not belong to Him

VUL et non erit eius = לֹא יִהְיֶה  
and [it?] will not be His (for Him)

The Hebrew terms above show how different readings became possible through different vocalisation, or even through text corruption, as is also indicated in BHS (critical apparatus).

The MT defective reading לו וְאֵין לֹא could be defended on the OT use in Ex 22:2 and thus probably implying a participle similar to עוֹזֵר (like in Ps 22:12, 72:12, Dan 11:45, Lam 1:7, Ps 142:5, Is 63:5). However, since this is unusual and because the reading proposed by Ozanne satisfies very well 1) the necessity of a direct object for the verbal expression לו וְאֵין לֹא, 2) a better syntax for the next clause, and 3) the messianic application, I am satisfied with Ozanne's reading, that Messiah "will be cut off, having neither the city nor the sanctuary."

<sup>325</sup> To be consistent with the preceding one, (see note 324), the sentence עַם נְגִיד הַבָּא וְקִצְוֹ בַשֹּׁטֶף יִשְׁחָתֵת may be translated *the people of the Coming Ruler will become corrupt, and his end will be in a flood of armies*. To my knowledge, nobody proposed yet such a solution, and this could be its main weakness. Ozanne (op. cit. 447) proposed the following translation of this sentence: *The prince that is to come will destroy [the] people, and its (i.e. the people's) end will be with a flood*. He cites in support Dan 8:24. If someone wants to take עַם as the direct object for יִשְׁחָתֵת thus having הַבָּא נְגִיד the subject of the sentence (i.e. *a [the?] coming Ruler shall destroy [the?] people...*), will find a lot of good examples (Dt 9:26, 2Ch 24:23, Is 14:20, **Dan 8:24-25**, Gn 18:24.31.32, 19:14, 2 K 8:19, 2Ch 21:7, Jer 4:7, **36:29** even with *people* as indefinite noun: Job 12:2, Job 34:20, Is 42:6, 43:8, Joel 2:16; *to corrupt*: Pr 11:9).

However, נְגִיד הַבָּא is best understood as identical with מְשִׁיחַ נְגִיד and he cannot be the destroyer. Note the arrangement of these titles in the text, as Professor Shea has convincingly shown (see William Shea, "The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27," in *70 weeks, Leviticus, Nature of Prophecy*, F. B. Hollbrook editor, Biblical Research Institute, Washington DC, 1986, 93).

|    |         |                 |                     |       |
|----|---------|-----------------|---------------------|-------|
| 1. | vs. 25  | נְגִיד<br>Ruler | מְשִׁיחַ<br>Messiah | A + B |
| 2. | vs. 26a | —               | מְשִׁיחַ<br>Messiah | A —   |
| 3. | vs. 26b | נְגִיד<br>Ruler | —                   | — B   |

The use of the root שָׁחַת with the meaning *to be (become) corrupt, to act perversely*, in the Hiph'il form, as in Pi'el and Niph'al (see Gn 6:12, Dt 4:16, 31:29, Dan 10:8, Jg 2:19, Ps 14:1, 53:2, Ez 16:47, 23:11, Zep 3:7), even with the subject עַם (Ex 32:7.15, Dt 9:12, **2Ch 27:2**, Is 1:4) is worthy of our consideration. It seems to me the best solution to take עַם נְגִיד הַבָּא as subject of the sentence. Thus עַם is properly defined by this construct chain, and consequently יִשְׁחָתֵת is the only possible predicate, an intransitive verb. The resultant logic of the sentence is obvious: God's people, called "your (Daniel's) people" in v. 24, and "the people of the Coming Ruler (= Messiah)," that is "the people awaiting for their Messiah," or "the people whose legitimate Ruler is Messiah."



Preserving the classical reading of this clause, with the phrase **וְהָעִיר וְהַקְּדֹשׁ** taken as the direct object of **תִּשְׁחָד** (*and the people of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary*, see NKJ, ARS, NAB et.al.) scholars like Gerhard Hasel (“Interpretations of the Chronology of the Seventy Weeks.” In *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, Nature of Prophecy*, ed. Frank B. Hollbrook, 25), William Shea (ibid. 92-94), and Owusu-Antwi (op. cit. 167-170) understand that people as the people of Messiah, which, by their rebellious attitude toward God and Rome, became responsible for the disaster come upon the city and the temple (see 2Sam 20:5, 24:16, for instances where people is the subject of this predicate). Owusu-Antwi even relates the participle **אֲבָרָה** with the messianic verse of Ps 118:26. Anyway, it should be understood as in Mal 3:19 (**אֲבָרָה יוֹמֵי**) or as the eschatological idiom **אֲבָרָה מְהֵרָה** of the late Hebrew.

The old translations, however, differ in some respects with the future Masoretic reading, possibly reflecting some efforts to shape the prophecy and adapt it to the Antiochus thesis (reading **עִם** *with [the coming Ruler]* instead of **עַם** *people*, or: **וְאֵת אֲבָרָה** *and its end shall come*, for **אֲבָרָה וְאֵת אֲבָרָה** *...who is to come, and its end...*).

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LXX <καὶ βασιλεία ἐθνῶν> φθереὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον μετὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ ἥξει  
*and a kingdom of Gentiles will destroy the City and the Sanctuary with the Anointed one. And will come*  
**עַם מְנַגֵּד מְשִׁיחַ אֲבָרָה**

Θ καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον διαφθερεὶ σὺν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τῷ ἐρχομένῳ  
*and the City and the Sanctuary will he destroy with the Leader who is to come = אֲבָרָה וְאֵת אֲבָרָה*

VUL et civitatem et sanctuarium dissipabit populus cum duce venturo  
*[both] City and Sanctuary will destroy a people with a leader to come*

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LXX ἡ συντέλεια αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀργῆς  
*his end = וְאֵת אֲבָרָה in a downpour of anger*

Θ καὶ ἐκκοπήσονται ἐν κατακλυσμῷ  
*and they will be cut off = וְאֵת אֲבָרָה by flood*

VUL et finis eius vastitas  
*and its end devastation*

---

Origen's Hexapla translates this sentence, *et urbem et sanctuarium perdet populus principis qui venturus est* (“and the people of the coming prince shall destroy the city and the sanctuary”), which agrees word by word with Aquilas (καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον διαφθερεὶ λαός ἡγουμένου ἐρχομένου). See Hexapla 926-927.

The solution that I have chosen for this verse cannot be dogmatic, but it has the advantage of satisfying more than one syntactic and logical requirements, and even allows the predicate **תִּשְׁחָד** to be read as Niph<sup>c</sup>al **תִּשְׁחָד** *shall be corrupted*, or: *shall be destroyed* (the latter meaning is attested by The Syriac). The two meanings are connected, overlapped or even confused in some instances (Pr

6:32, Jer 51:25 and 2 K 23:13). Choosing the meaning *shall become corrupt, shall act perversely* has the advantage of explaining both the putting to death of the Messiah and the unfortunate destiny of His people. If the Niph<sup>al</sup> form is to be preferred, it may have been intended to be parallel with *תִּפְּרֹת* in the previous sentence and, in the same time, to constitute in itself a wordplay on the theological concept that Israel's corruption equals its destruction.

<sup>326</sup> *שָׁטַף* is used elsewhere for all kind of overflowing: usually, of rivers, water or even blood, and figuratively as *military invasions* (Is 8:8, 28:2.15.18, 30:28, Jer 8:6, 47:2, Dan 11:10.22.26.40), or *anger* (Pr 27:4). The same image is used about the end of Nineveh in Nah 1:8, which has also the term *כָּלָה* in common with Dan 9:26. Taken as it was intended, as a divine judgement, the use of this root here might be understood as a wordplay on *שָׁפַט* to judge, since the inversion of root consonants is known even in synonym roots (*נָשַׁף – נָשַׁט*; *חָלַק – חָקַל* et.al.). The “end” foreseen in this verse is defined as “its end,” a historical end (cf. Dan 11:45) not the eschaton.

The passage in Is 10:22-25 is worthy of examination in connection with Dan 9:24-27 et.al., because of its striking verbal and thematic similarities, as it follows:

“For though your people [*עַמֶּיךָ* comp. Dan 9:24.26] Israel were like the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will return. Destruction is decreed [*כָּלְיוֹן חָרַדְתִּין* comp. Dan 9:25-27], overflowing with righteousness [*שׁוֹטֵף צְדָקָה* comp. Dan 9:26]. For Yahweh, God of the hosts will make a full end, as decreed [*כָּלָה וְנִחְרְצָה*] comp. Dan 9:27, Dan 11:36, cf. Is 28:22], in all the land / earth... For yet [*כִּי־עוֹד*] comp. Dan 11:27.35] a very little while, and my wrath will come to an end [*וְכָלָה זַעַם*] comp. Dan 8:19, 11:36], and my anger will be directed to their destruction.” (underlines mine).

No wonder that this prophetic passage is quoted by Paul with reference to God's judgement with Israel (Rom 9:27-28). Another Pauline passage related to God's judgement with Israel and to Daniel is 1Th 2:16 (cf. Dan 8:19.23, 9:24, 11:36).

<sup>327</sup> This time, it seems to be the final end (cf. Dan 11:35, 12:4.9, Hab 2:3, cf. 1Cor 1:8, 15:24, 1Pt 4:7), because the speaker “cut off” the period of “70 weeks” from the whole duration predicted in the previous prophecy (the 2300 days), which is in Daniel's and Gabriel's mind, concerning the “determined time of the end” (see notes 287, 288 and 309).

In Jesus's Olivet prophecy, which is roughly a *midrash* on Daniel 9:24-27, the end of Jerusalem is practically concurrent with the end of this aeon (cf. Mt 24:6.14, Lk 21:9). However, we should distinguish such conditional prophecies (concerning the time, as understood by Jesus and His apostles: Mt 24:14.34.36, 2Pt 3:4.12, Rev 14:15.18, 22:12.20 et.al.) from other prophecies foreseeing an end *after* the end of Jerusalem. The LXX translations reflect an absolute reading of *כָּלָה* in the Hebrew text (followed by YLT, NAB, ASV, NAS, RSV, NRS, LUT, ELB, Menge, DRB, NIV et.al.),

while Theodotion and Jerome took it as a construct with מִלְחָמָה, a solution followed by KJV, NKJ, NEG, LSG, WEB et.al.

LXX καὶ ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας ἀπὸ πολέμου πολεμηθήσεται  
*and till the time of the end they will face war after war*

Θ καὶ ἕως τέλους πολέμου συντετημένου τάξει ἀφανισμοῖς  
*and until the end, war had been cut (determined), in a succession of desolations.*

VUL et post finem belli statuta desolatio  
*and after (to?) the end of war was determined desolation.*

The syntax of this clause is best satisfied if we consider the natural agreement in number of the subject noun מִלְחָמָה and the verb predicate נִצְרָה. Actually, the subject may be seen as multiple, מִלְחָמָה and שִׁמּוֹת.

<sup>328</sup> שִׁמּוֹת *desolation* is applied to places devastated by war (Is 49:8, 51:4, Ez 36:4), and to women deserted, destitute, afflicted and isolated, or metaphorically to women-cities (2Sam 13:20 *Tamar*, Is 54:1, Lam 1:13). The term may also be understood as *horrifying, astonishing fact / thing*. Since the plural of participles may have sometimes an adjectival or even adverbial sense (e.g. תְּמִימֵיךָ *precious* in Dan 9:23, 10:11, 19, and נִפְלְאוֹת *extraordinarily* in Dan 8:24), we might very well translate, *and to the end was determined a desolating war*.

<sup>329</sup> וְהִגְבִּיר — הִגְבִּיר = to prevail, be strong (Ps 12:4). LXX δυναστεύσει *it (the covenant) will be master (to many)*, and κατασχῶσαι *prevail, be dominant, be victorious, win, conquer, triumph over*; Θ, Ἄ, Σ, δυνατώσει *he will strengthen, make strong*, VUL confirmabit...pactum *[he] will confirm / strengthen a / the covenant*. This is not the usual verb used to express the making of a covenant. In Hebrew, a covenant is always “cut” כָּרַח (Is 34:18, Gn 15:10, Ps 50:5, Ezra 10:3 et.al.). According to BDBG, other verbs used with בְּרִית *covenant*, are: maintain (הִקִּים Lv 26:9), give (נָתַן Gn 17:2), set (שָׁבַע 2Sam 23:5), order (צוּה Ps 111:9), take (נָשָׂא Ps 50:16), enter (בָּא Jer 34:10), keep (שָׁמַר Dan 9:4, נָצַר Dt 33:9), hold (הִחֲזִיק Is 56:4.6), remember (זָכַר Ps 111:5). The best way to understand this verb here is to let its basic meaning appear, as oldest translations do. It may be understood as a confirmation for an older covenant, or its prevailing over an opposite one, prove strong, show powerful.

<sup>330</sup> The syntactic use of שָׁבַע gives no support to the translation “[make a...covenant] for one week” (as if the covenant is made to last one week or is valid for one week). It should be understood, “through one week / during one week / in a single week.” It deals about the time of making the Covenant prevail / prove strong, not about a time for the covenant validity. Cf. Ex 29:35 תְּמִלָּא יָדָם *through seven days you shall ordain them*, not “for seven days...”. 1 K 6:38 שָׁבַע שָׁנִים *he was seven years in building it, it took to him seven years to build it*, Ex 29:37, Lv 8:33, 2Ch 7:8, Ez 43:26 et.al.).

<sup>331</sup> *הַצֵּי הַשְּׁבִיעִי* is rendered by *Θ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τῆς ἑβδομάδος* in the middle of the week. (though *ἡμίσει* means usually *half*, the used preposition suggests rather the meaning *middle* like in Jg 16:12). The noun *הַצֵּי* has both meanings, *half* and *middle* (*midst, halfway, midpoint*), even in Daniel (Dan 9:27, 12:7). In most of occurrences has the meaning *half*. However, according to BDBG (p. 345) it means *middle* in the following references: Ex 12:29, Jg 16:3, Rut 3:8, 2Sam 10:4, 1Ch 19:4, Zec 14:4, Ps 102:25, Jer 17:11. In poetic passages it might be used without preposition (cf. Job 34 20 where *הַצֵּי* is a synonym, fem. pl. from the same root). This translation is attested in YLT, LXE, LUT, KJV, NKJ, WEB, NEG, DRB, NAB, ASV, NAS, NIV. The author obviously used *הַצֵּי* because of its temporal common usage and because its implied idea of *midpoint*. Other terms meaning *middle* (*תָּוֶי* *midst, בְּרֵיב* *midst, inward part*) have no temporal meaning, or they lack the necessary precision to stress the middle of the span.

<sup>332</sup> The Hiph'il form of *תָּבַשׁ* has the meaning *to make cease, stop, put an end, let cease*. From this root comes the noun *תָּבַשׁ* *Sabbath*, which means (etymologically) *repose, ceasing activity, stopping work*. The action of stopping or silencing is stressed, without respect to the manner of stopping. The following examples are speaking: Lv 2:13 *let cease* the salt of the covenant, Pr 18:18 *put an end, cause to cease* the strife, Dt 32:26 *blot out, make cease* the memory of someone, Rut 4:14 *leave without next-of-kin redeemer*, 2 K 23:5 *depose, remove* idolatrous priests, Ps 8:3 *still, silence* the enemy through babes' "speech", Jer 36:29 *cause to cease* people and animals by killing; Lv 26:6, Dan 11:18 *put an end* to insolence, Is 30:11 *cause to cease* God from before...; Is 13:11, Ez 7:24 *make cease* the arrogance of the proud; Is 16:10, Jer 7:34, 48:33, Ez 26:13 *cause to cease* the joyful voices through war; Jer 48:35, Ez 30:13 *make cease* pagan rites by war, Ez 23:27.48 *put an end* to lewdness and whoring, Ez 30:10 *put an end* to people by war, Hos 1:4 *put an end* to the kingdom of Israel, Hos 2:13 *put an end* to degenerated feasts of Israel, Ez 34:10 *put a stop* to the false shepherds' activity, Is 21:2 *make cease* sighing, Ez 12:23 *put an end* to a proverb, Ez 16:41 *stop* her from playing the whore, Ne 4:5, Ex 5:5 *cause someone cease the activity*.

Though the use of this verb involves sometimes a violent manner of acting, this meaning springs not from the verb itself, but from the context. And it is worthy of noting that when the book of Daniel deals with the wicked king and his removal of the daily / continual service, it uses *הִסִּיר* *remove, put aside, put away* (Dan 8:11), or *הִרִיב* *take away, lift up, remove* (Dan 11:31, 12:11). In similar places of the Bible, where the Jewish ceremonies are said to be stopped, the form *הִסִּיר* like in Daniel is used: 2 K 18:22, 2Ch 30:14, 32:12, Is 36:7.

For the use of *הִשְׁבִּיעַ* in Dan 9:27 it is interesting to note a comparable situation in Ez 34:25:

|            |   |   |
|------------|---|---|
| Dan 9:26b  | [...] יִכְרַת מְשִׁיחַ [...] וְהִגְבִּיר בְּרִית לְרַבִּים שָׁבוּעַ אֶחָד | Messiah will be <b>cut off</b> ...<br>He will confirm His <b>covenant</b> for many, through one week,                 |
| Dan 9:27ab | וְחָצִי הַשָּׁבוּעַ יַשְׁבִּית זָבַח וּמִנְחָה                            | and in the middle of that week He will <b>make cease</b> to sacrifices and offerings ...                              |
| Ez 34:25ab | וְכָרַתִּי לָהֶם בְּרִית שְׁלוֹם וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי חַיְהֵרָעָה מִן הָאָרֶץ   | I will " <b>cut</b> " for them a <b>covenant of peace</b> , and I will <b>make cease</b> wild beasts from the land... |

Although it is not the same situation, both references deal with the Messianic / new covenant, which has the force of causing to cease certain things. Those things that are caused to cease, deserve to disappear in both cases.

<sup>333</sup> זָבַח וּמִנְחָה lit. "sacrifice and offering". זָבַח by itself means *animal slaughter, sacrifice, and offering*, and מִנְחָה means *gift, tribute, offering, present, oblation*, and it could refer either to the grain offering added to the daily burnt sacrifice, or to any gift to God or to other people, including meat offerings. The latter term is used also in the expressions like מִנְחַת עֶרֶב (*evening [grain] offering* Dan 9:21, 2 K 16:15, Ezra 9:4-5, Ps 141:2), מִנְחַת הַבֶּקֶר (*morning [grain] offering* Ex 29:41, Nu 28:8), or even מִנְחַח הַתָּמִיד (*continual / daily [grain] offering* Ne 10:34, Lv 6:13, Nu 4:16).

The two terms are used in the same context in Lv 7:37, Jer 17:26, 33:18, among other types of ritual offerings. When the phrase is used alone, it is inclusive for all sanctuary sacrifices and offerings (1Sam 2:29, 3:14, Is 19:21, Am 5:25. In LXX: 1 Esdra 5:51, Od 7:38, Dan 3:38, 4:37. In NT: Eph 5:2.). It is especially interesting to note Ps 40:7 (quoted also in Heb 10:5.8), a Messianic-Christological verse showing that the principle of the acceptable worship with God consists in giving self (body and soul) as a living sacrifice, not just "sacrifice and offering" (Cf. Eph 5:2, Rom 12:1).

Prophets were conscious about God's requirements when said, *For genuine love I desire, not sacrifice, and knowledge of God rather than burnt offerings* (Hos 6:6-7, quoted also in Mt 9:13, 12:7). Even within the old covenant, "sacrifices and offerings" were received only as expression of knowing God as gracious (Is 19:21). It is interesting that this idiom or similar expressions are often used about a degenerated worship through ritual offerings as opposed to the basic requirements of God (Am 5:21-25, Is 1:10-15, Mi 6:6-8 et.al.). In Hos 6:6-7 the sacrificial worship is contrasted with God's covenant as in Dan 9:27.

The concept of the didactic and temporary use of the ceremonial system of the Sanctuary, and its insufficiency to justify the sinner, as taught in the NT (Heb 8 – 10, Rom 3:21-30) is not a sectarian or Christian innovation, but it is an underlying principle of the OT scriptures. No wonder that the NT writers used to quote the OT to prove their Gospel message. Jeremiah who, according to traditions hid the ark of the covenant in a safe and unknown place (2Mac 2:4-7), prophesied that one day even the ark will not be necessary longer in the time of the great and universal restoration (Jer 3:16.14-18 in

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those days, says Yahweh, they shall no longer say, 'The ark of the covenant of Yahweh.' It shall not come to mind, or be remembered, or missed; nor shall another one be made"), certainly because God's "ten commandments" of the covenant had to be engraved on heart, not on stone (Jer 31:31-34).

The mention of a covenant, of a half-week, and of putting an end to sacrifices and offerings in Dan 9:27 proved so tempting for a lot of exegetes to see in these the historical actions of Antiochus or the prophetic actions of Antichrist. However, as it was shown, both the terminology and the message are different. The slight similarities that are observed, may be due to an intention of contrasting Christ with Antichrist.

<sup>334</sup> See at p. 171 for a detailed analysis of this expression..

<sup>335</sup> See commentary and notes to Dan 9:27.

<sup>336</sup> Instead of נִצַּף. See note 269. Though the MT, as it is spelled in BHS renders this verb as masculine, we must emend it to agree with the feminine subject. According to the critical apparatus in BHS, there are some manuscripts reflecting this solution.

<sup>337</sup> The problem of this passage is that, while the feminine subject קֶרֶן keeps on acting, the verbs' series show masculine *Kethib* forms and some of them were bungled by the Masoretes to a passive *Qere*. The minor emendation proposed here is to read the first two verbs in v. 11 as infinitive (absolute / construct) standing for finite verbs (cf. some uses in Ps 75:7, Jer 22:19, 36:23, Dan 9:5.11). The infinitive absolute may have been intended to emphasise the sinful and grotesque exploits of the horn.

Another possibility is to see this spelling (and other mistaken masculine verbs in the passage: נִצַּף, הַנְּדִיל, הַרִים, נָתַן, as mistaken *Qeri* forms for הַנְּדִילָה, הַרִימָה, הַרִימָה, נָתַתָּה) surviving forms of an orthographic system in which a final vowel was written defectively. Still visible in the MT, this is exemplified by Dt 22:23.28 (נִעַרְתָּהּ), and by many spelling variants like: נָתַתָּה / נָתַתָּ (Gn 3:12, 2Ch 6:25, Ne 9:37, Ps 60:6, comp. Jg 15:18, Ps 61:6, Ne 9:36, Dan 10:12), יִצְאָה / יִצְאָה (Jer 48:45 comp. Nu 21:28), וַתֹּאמְרָה / וַתֹּאמְרָה (Ex 1:19, 2:19, 1S 18:7; comp. Gn 31:14, Rt 1:10, Est 1:18), אָנָּה / אָנָּה (Dan 2:29..., 3:10, 4:19, 5:13, 6:21). Cf. Gesenius (p. 66). Waltke and O'Connor stress the scribes' tendency to preserved the text as it was (p. 18), despite the well intended attempts to update the spelling, or even the language in many places. Concerning the vowel letters, the so named *matres lectionis*, they observe that "these letters were added sporadically and inconsistently," so that MT looks today like a palimpsest (p. 24) and that vocalic phonemes are most liable to change (25). The translation, however, is not essentially different, whatever of the two solutions we choose.

<sup>338</sup> Instead of הַרִים, that is, preserving its *Kethib* form. It might be, either an infinitive, or a perfect Hiph'il that requires a final ה to be in grammatical agreement as feminine. See also note 337.

<sup>339</sup> Instead of אֲלֹהֵי, to make consecution of "tense," and gender agreement with the feminine subject. See also note 277 and 337.

<sup>340</sup> The text surely requires emendation. The Masoretes gave אֲלֹהֵי אֲבֹתַי, which creates further problems: no agreement between subject and verb, and a seemingly unjustified presence of the passive (Niph'al) form of the verb. The suggestion of Ozanne (see note 342), as attractive it may be, lacks the full support of the literary context. The Old Greek translation, on the other hand, seems to reflect manuscripts more corrupt than the MT in this passage. However, they are helpful, because of their earliness. The Vulgate, on the other hand, is obviously close to the MT, so that it shows some dependency. (Emphasised in bold is what is common in both Greek versions).

A. LXX 11 ἕως ὃ ἀρχιστράτηγος ρύσεται τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ δι' αὐτὸν τὰ ὄρη τὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἐρράχθη καὶ ἐξήρθη ὁ τόπος αὐτῶν καὶ θυσία καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὴν ἕως χαμαὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ εὐωδώθη καὶ ἐγενήθη καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐρημωθήσεται 12 καὶ ἐγενήθησαν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι καὶ ἐρρίφη χαμαὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ εὐωδώθη

11 until the chief captain shall have delivered the captives; and by reason of him the eternal mountains were disturbed and their place was removed, and a sacrifice, and he put it down on the ground, and he was well and prospered; and the Sanctuary shall be made desolate. 12 And on the sacrifice came to be the transgressions, and righteousness was cast down to the ground; and it practised, and prospered.

Θ 11 καὶ ἕως οὗ ὃ ἀρχιστράτηγος ρύσεται τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν (var. καὶ ἕως ἄρχοντος τῆς δυνάμεως ἠδρύνθη) καὶ δι' αὐτὸν θυσία ἐρράχθη καὶ ἐγενήθη καὶ κατευωδώθη αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐρημωθήσεται 12 καὶ ἐδόθη ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἁμαρτία καὶ ἐρρίφη χαμαὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐποίησεν καὶ εὐωδώθη

11 until the chief captain shall have delivered the captives; and by reason of him a sacrifice was disturbed (or, until the captain of the force grew up), and he prospered and was well; and the Sanctuary shall be made desolate. 12 And a transgression was given over the sacrifice, and righteousness was cast down to the ground; and it practiced, and prospered.

VUL 11...et usque ad principem fortitudinis magnificatus est et ab eo tulit iuge sacrificium et deiecit locum sanctificationis eius 12 robor autem datum est contra iuge sacrificium propter peccata et prosternetur veritas in terra et faciet et prosperabitur.

11 And unto the prince of the force/host it magnified itself, and from him it took away the regular sacrifice, and threw down the place of his sanctification. 12 And at/the host was also given against the regular sacrifice, because of the sins and the truth was thrown down to the earth, and it worked, and prospered.

B. I tried to identify the possible Hebrew text of the manuscripts employed by the LXX, Theodotion and Jerome.. So the Greek and Latin text were retranslated in Hebrew and they appear in the following table for comparison, to justify my tentative emendation and translation of the MT.

| Reflected in Jerome's Vulgate                                 | Reflected in LXX and Theodotion  |
|---|--|
| 11 ועד שר־הצבא הגדיל<br>וממנו הרים התמיד                      | 11 ועד שר־הצבא הציל השבי<br>התמיד והרים<br>והרם מקומם והתמידע<br>מכונם |
| מכון<br>והשליך מקום קדשו                                      | ארצה והצליח והקדש<br>וויחננה   |
| 12 וצבא נתן על־התמיד בפשע<br>ותשליך אמת ארצה<br>ועשתה והצליחה | יצדא: 12 ונתן על־התמיד הפשע<br>ותשליך אמת ארצה<br>ועשתה והצליחה:       |

Thus LXX reflects different kinds of scribal errors, such as reading הגדיל for הציל and השבי was possibly read instead of הצבי or הצבא (as ש and צ are apt to be confused in the manuscripts dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC), as words and expressions like והרם, והתמיד, וויחננה, ארצה, are mistakenly repeated. The term הרים is understood “mountains” (which in itself is possible, but with no warrant in context), and instead of והשליך they read והצליח as it appears later in the sentence. Theodotion corrected some of these mistakes, but he has in common with LXX השבי הציל for הגדיל, והצליח for השליך, ויצדא for הצבא.

C. In the same time we have to recognise that the MT is not too much clearer. While the emendation suggested by Ozanne is reasonable and do not operates dramatic changes in the text, we are left with some obscurities. Logical contextual considerations require to have a full justification for the reading נתן על־התמיד בפשע and for the mention of שם in the question asked in v. 13, where we also have the verb נתן connected probably with פשע (as in 11:31 and 12:11, but having שקוץ instead of פשע) and not with צבא. Furthermore, the presence of צבא to begin v. 12 is not only uncertain, but it gives some obscure idea which does not agree with the use of this term in context.

Therefore, to consider וצבא in this case, as a corruption from a possibly original form base on the root צדה / צדא (of Aramaic origin) as we have in LXX, has a higher degree of probability. This latter verb is found elsewhere in the Bible in Zep 3:6 only and referees to **desolated** cities, as a synonym with השם to *desolate* (further employed in *Daniel*), and with הכרת to *destroy* and ההרב to *lay waste* (both used by *Daniel* in 9:2.26). In its context, as a Niph<sup>al</sup> in *Zephaniah* וצרו, it means *to be devastated, laid desolate, laid waste, ravaged, depopulated*. In the same time, the possible use of this term in connection with [מן] קדש seems to be paronomastic with the phrase ונצדק קדש from v. 14. The possibility for this term to have been the original form is yet to be studied on linguistic, syntactical and literary basis. Here we just adopted the proposal made in the critical apparatus of BHS. Thus, if this would proof itself a weak solution, there remains the above mentioned proposal of Ozanne (see note 342).



It might be explored also the semantic use of **נתן** **וצבאת** as in Is 34:2, Jg 4:7 (*host given to death*) and also the possible Aramaic use of the root **צבא** as in Dan 4:14,22,29 (**וְצָבֵא** **וְתַנְנֵהּ** *to give whom someone pleases*), and a proposal of emendation inserted in the critical apparatus of BHS (**וְצָבֵאָהּ** **וְתַנְנֵהּ**).

<sup>341</sup> Concerning the form **וְתַנְנֵהּ** reflected in Greek, and other considerations see note 340.

<sup>342</sup> This cannot be a Niph<sup>al</sup>, as the Masoretic punctuation indicates, but rather an archaic Qal spelling for **תַּנְנֵהּ**. It is recognised the influence of the Aramaic on *Daniel's* Hebrew, and therefore, we must note the Aramaic spelling of **נתן** that preserves the initial **נ** in the imperfect of Qal. See Ezra 7:20, cf. 4:13, and Dan 2:16 except 4:14,22,29). This solution is only valid if we add a consecutive *Waw* **וְתַנְנֵהּ** that forces the preceding word **וצבא** to connect with the previous sentence: **עַל הַתְּמִיד הַפְּשָׁע** **וְצָבֵא** **וְתַנְנֵהּ** 12 : **וְתַנְנֵהּ** **וְצָבֵא** .....11. Collins (334) is, however, against such an emendation, in spite of its agreement with the Greek versions, because he sees in this verse, like in vs. 10, poetical tricola that should not be disrupted.

The reading **וְצָבֵאָהּ** **וְתַנְנֵהּ** proposed by C. G. Ozanne (in "Three textual problems in Daniel," *Journal of Theological Studies*, Ed. Chadwick, Sparks; Oxford, Clarendon Press. 16, 1965, pp. 445-446) is a solution closer to the MT. But it fails to make agreement between the masculine predicate **נתן** *he gave / set* and the implied feminine subject **קַרְן** *horn*. See notes 336-337 for an attempt to make agreement. Another emendation proposed in the critical apparatus of BHS (**וְצָבֵאָהּ** **וְתַנְנֵהּ**) *and its host was given / set*, is in perfect agreement, but it breaks the chain of active verb clauses, which is quite unnatural. It is preferable to maintain the logical subject of the compound sentence.

Since the term **צָבֵא** *host, regular service* (e.g. *at the Temple*: Ex 38:8, Nu 4:3,23,30,35,39,43, 8:24, 1S 2:22) appears in the context of the Sanctuary service in Dan 8 (connected to **תְּמִיד** *continual offering* and to **קֹדֶשׁ** *sanctuary*), why not translate the clause accordingly? The phrase **עַל נָתַן** means *to appoint over*, if it refers to persons (Dan 11:21, 1S 12:13, Gn 41:41, 1 K 1:48; Dt 28:1). And BDBG 681 gives for **עַל נָתַן** in Dan 8:12 the meaning *was appointed*. For reasons shown above, I prefer the active sense: *it appointed over*. For the expression **וְפָשַׁע** we examples like Pr 28:2, Pr 12:13, Pr 20:6, were **פָּשַׁע** is taken simply as sin (by speaking) or as rebellion. In Mi 1:5, the rebellious sin (of Israel) is personified and called Samaria and Jerusalem. The term **פָּשַׁע** must be idolatrous worship, because in the parallel line it corresponds to **בְּמִוֹת** *high place (of pagan cult)*.

In 2Ch 2:10b we have a sentence containing the verb **נתן** followed by the same prepositions as in Dan 8:12: **עַל** and **בְּ** ("Yahweh appointed you...over Israel, because of / in His love..."). All these convincingly unite to help us translate: *it* (i.e. the wicked horn) *appointed hosts* (i.e. of regular

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ministers) *over the continual offering, in (because of) [its] rebellion*. If this is correct, it shows in what consists the rebellious sin "set over the continual".

<sup>343</sup> According to BDB, this term is a contraction or conflation of פִּלְנִי + אֱלֹמְנִי, meaning *a certain [unnamed] one, such a one, such and such* (Rt 4:1, 1S 21:3, 2 K 6:8). The Greek translators curiously rendered it as a transliteration, by a meaningless word *φελμοννι*. These not rare blunders of the those "phelmones" who translated the Prophets and the Scriptures into the Greek, speak a lot about their job. Centuries later, Jerome found yet, presumably among the Jews, the correct meaning: *alteri nescio cui*.

<sup>344</sup> The definite article for both nouns bound in construct chain is unusual. However, there is no better solution (for example, to treat תְּמִיר as an adjective, or to imply the interrogation before each definite noun in the clause, as some suggest). See also the following note.

<sup>345</sup> This unusual location of the article in *status constructus* is extremely rare in Hebrew, but it is found in old Phoenician: e.g. הַבְּרִיךְ בְּעַל. <sup>345</sup> The text of the famous inscription of Karatepe, begins with the following words: Col. I. 'nk 'ztwd hbrk b'l 'bd b'l... = "I am Azitawadda, the blessed of Ba'al, servant of Ba'al." See Johs. Pedersen, "The Phoenician Inscription of Karatepe," in *Acta Orientalia*, vol. XXI, pars. 2., apud Ejnar Munksgaard, Havniae, 1951, p. 38-39.

The same structure is found in 11:31, so it should not be thought of as an error, but rather as a mark of authenticity and of earliness of *Daniel's* Hebrew. Since the "desolator" is in the focus of these prophecies, and similar phrases point to him (9:24, 11:31, 12:11), it is preferable to retain this unusual form of *constructus*. See also commentaries at p. 171 and the note 340 C.

<sup>346</sup> Normally, this noun (meaning *trampling, treading-place, something trodden*) must have been prefixed by preposition, like in Is 5:5, 7:25, 28:18, Mi 7:10 (לְתִמְרֵימָס). In this case, the preposition is implied.

<sup>347</sup> The LXX has again the reading צַרָּא' ἐρημωθήσεται, instead of צַבָּא' (see note 340, the last paragraphs), while Θ is similar to MT. To confuse צ and כ was possible especially in the writing used before the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (cf. E. Kautzsch, A. E. Cowley ed., *Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988, p. xvii: Lidzbarsky's "Table of Alphabets"). The literary context that already introduced צַבָּא' does not favour the LXX reading.

<sup>348</sup> Instead of אֵלַי *to me*. According to LXX and Syriac (BHS, critical apparatus). This solution fits better the logic of the context.

<sup>349</sup> Emended according to LXX and Theodotion ([ἐκ] τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτοῦ) and Vulgate (*de gente eius*). The reference is to the ethnic roots of the first king.

<sup>350</sup> The Masoretic Text has **הַפְּשָׁעִים** – *the rebellious sinners* (for the meaning, see note 345). However, LXX: (πληρουμένων τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν) and Vulgate (cum creverint iniquitates) support our translation. A similar word association might be seen in Dan 9:24, if we consider the following phrases in apposition and read them in chiasmic order (B' – B):

|    |                     |                  |    |
|----|---------------------|------------------|----|
| B  | <b>הַפְּשָׁעִים</b> | <b>לְכֹלֵא</b>   | A  |
| A' | <b>חַטָּאוֹת</b>    | <b>וְלַחֲתָם</b> | B' |

<sup>351</sup> This phrase is, in all probability, a scribal error, a mistaken copy of the phrase **וְלֹא בִכְחוֹ** from the end of v. 22, as it appeared in a Θ (Θ) manuscript referred to by Origen (F. Field, *Origenis Hexapla*, II, Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim 1964, p. 924, and BHS, critical apparatus to Dan 8:24). It is impossible to have a phrase repeated in a so close literary context with two different meanings. While most translators accept it except NRS, it is highly improbable that the Hebrew author could say “but not with his power,” first intending one meaning (“but not so powerful than he was”), then intending another meaning (“but not by his own power”). Both translations might be correct in themselves, but there are two different syntactical and logical situations.

<sup>352</sup> The text is probably corrupt in this line, and this reconstruction, suggested by the LXX (καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγίους τὸ διανόημα αὐτοῦ *and his mind shall be against the holy ones*, reflects a Hebrew text reading, **וְעַל קְרָשִׁים שִׁכְלוּ**). This emendation fits very well the rhythm of verses and at least is inoffensive, because the basic meaning of the clause is preserved. See Collins (340-341).

<sup>353</sup> Instead of **דִּבְרָו**, as suggested in the critical apparatus of BHS.

<sup>354</sup> Instead of **פְּקָה** as suggested in the critical apparatus of BHS.

<sup>355</sup> See note 345.

<sup>356</sup> See note 311.

<sup>357</sup> See note 311.

<sup>358</sup> See comments at p. 171.

<sup>359</sup> See comments at p. 171.

<sup>360</sup> Horia C. Matei, *Mic dicționar al lumii antice*, Editura Albatros, București, 1986, p.99.

<sup>361</sup> Montgomery, p. 325.

<sup>362</sup> See note 267.

<sup>363</sup> See ob. 1:15.

<sup>364</sup> Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus...*, p. 284.

<sup>365</sup> V. 8, cf. Gn. 27:33-34, Dan 11:25.

<sup>366</sup> צָבִיא is also a rare form for צִבְיָ with the meaning *gazelle*: 1 Ch 12:9, SS 2:7.

<sup>367</sup> Is 47:4, 54:5, Jer 10:16, 51:19.57, Am 4:13.

<sup>368</sup> These persecutions are described in 1 Maccabees, which is the main historical source.

<sup>369</sup> See Jude 9, Rev 12.7.

<sup>370</sup> לְבוּשׁ כְּהֵנִים Ez 9:2.3.11, 10:2.6.7, Dan 12:6.7, Lv 6:3, 16:4.23.32. Specific priestly linen garments, which the high priest put on at Yom Kippur. וּמִתְנַיִי הַחֲגָרִים Ex 12:11, 2S 20:8, 2K 9:1, Pr 31:17, Ez 23:15; Gn 3:7, 37:34.

<sup>371</sup> Comp. Ex. 3:5, Jos 5:14, Rev 19:9-10, 22:8-9.

<sup>372</sup> Gn 16:7-13, Ex 3:2-6.14, 14:19.18.24, Jg 6:11.14.20-25 and many other OT instances.

<sup>373</sup> 1Cor 10:1-4, Jn 12:41, Rev 1:13-18, 10:1-3, 1Thes 4:16.

<sup>374</sup> Nu 28:10.15.23-24.31, 29:6.11.16.19.22.25.28.31.34.38, Ne 10:34.

<sup>375</sup> Jacob Neusner, *The Mishnah, A New Translation*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1988, pp. 862-873.

<sup>376</sup> חֲמֻדַּת נָשִׁים *the desire of (or, longing for) women* = אֲהָבַת נָשִׁים ? (2S 1:26), SS 2:3, Hg 2:7, 1S 9:20, 2Ch 21:20, 32:27, Jr 3:19, Ne 2:10, Zc 7:14; or *the feminine grace?* (cf. בְּחִירַי חֲמֻד Ez 23:12.23, 24:16.18 אֲשֶׁר... מִחֲמַד וְעֵינַיִן), comp. ... לְאִתְחַמְדֵּם אֲשֶׁת... (Ex 20:17, 5:21). This is the reverse of another phrase peculiar to Daniel: אִישׁ־חֲמֻדוֹת *precious man, man greatly beloved* (Dan 9:23, 10:11.19). Another possible meaning would be suggested by a different reading of חֲמֻדַּת, according to the pattern מִצְדָּוִת מִצְדָּוִת from v. 43. Accordingly, חֲמֻדוֹת נָשִׁים would mean *the precious things of women (feminine)*. But this suggestion does not fit the literary context.

<sup>377</sup> The related phrase, מְקוֹם מְקַדָּשׁ is used about the Jewish Temple (Is 60:13) and about Yahweh Himself as Sanctuary (Jer 17:13, Ez 11:16). The Temple (הַיְקָל), God's palace, is also used in a profound messianic passage (Zec 6:12-13.15, cf. 1 Chr 17:9-14) where it seems to refer to the prophetic, messianic Qahal of Israel, including Gentiles. A similar form, מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ is also used sometimes for the Sanctuary (Ecc 8:10).

The phrase in *Daniel* finds also a synonym in מְעוֹן קָדָשׁ *holy habitation, refuge* used rarely for the earthly Sanctuary (Ps 68:6), and usually for the heavenly one (Dt 26:15, 2 Ch 30:27, Jer 25:30,

Zec 2:17). Anyway, in Daniel's vision, the Sanctuary is seen in the realm of stars. But the interpretation may go to both the heavenly Sanctuary and its terrestrial shadow. The common Hebrew concept of the real heavenly Sanctuary of Yahweh is materialised in verses like these, using expressions similar to Daniel's:

|           |   |   |
|-----------|---|---|
| 2Ch 30:27 | לְמַעַן קָדְשׁוֹ לַשָּׁמַיִם              | <i>to His holy abode, in Heaven</i>                     |
| Dt 26:15  | מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם מִמַּעַן קָדְשֶׁךָ        | <i>from Heaven,...from your holy abode</i>              |
| Ps 102:20 | מִמְרוֹם קָדְשׁוֹ מִשָּׁמַיִם             | <i>from His high Sanctuary,...from heaven</i>           |
| Jer 25:30 | מִמְרוֹם וּמִמַּעַן קָדְשׁוֹ              | <i>from high,... from His Holy abode...</i>             |
| Ps 11:4   | בְּהֵיכַל קָדְשׁוֹ בַּשָּׁמַיִם כִּסֵּאוֹ | <i>in His holy palace,...in Heaven is His throne</i>    |
| Is 63:15  | מִשָּׁמַיִם מִזְבַּל קָדְשֶׁךָ            | <i>from Heaven,... from your holy exalted residence</i> |

Concerning the last example, is very interesting a reference to a treading down of the Sanctuary, in the same literary context: v. 18 לְמַצְעֵר יָרְשׁוּ עִם־קָדְשֶׁךָ צְרִינֹו בּוֹסְסוּ מִקָּדְשֶׁךָ; *For a little while did Your holy people possessed their heritage, Our adversaries have trodden down Your Sanctuary.*

Sometimes it is not so clear that the author speaks about the heavenly Sanctuary or about its earthly projection. Or, at least, the lines are heavy with typologic-eschatological thought:

|               |  |  |
|---------------|--|--|
| Ezra 9:8      | לְחַחֲלֵנוּ יַחַד בְּמִקּוֹם קָדְשׁוֹ                      | <i>...to give us a tent peg in His holy place</i>                                  |
| Ps 24:3       | מִי־יַעֲלֶה בְּהַר־יְהוָה וּמִי־יָקוּם בְּמִקּוֹם קָדְשׁוֹ | <i>Who shall ascend the mount of YHWH? And who shall stand in His holy place?</i>  |
| Mi 1:2        | אֲרֹנִי מִהֵיכַל קָדְשׁוֹ                                  | <i>...the Lord, from His holy palace / temple</i>                                  |
| Hab 2:20      | יְהוָה בְּהֵיכַל קָדְשׁוֹ הִס מִפְּנֵי כָּל־הָאָרֶץ        | <i>YHWH is in His holy palace. Hush!</i>   |
| Zec 2:17      | הִס מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה כִּי נִעֹר מִמַּעַן קָדְשׁוֹ           | <i>Hush... before YHWH, for He woke up from His Holy abode</i>                     |
| Ex 15:13      | עַם־זֶה נִהְלַח בְּעֹזָךָ אֱלֹהֵי־נֹוה קָדְשֶׁךָ           | <i>...this people...You have lead by Your power to Your holy home / settlement</i> |
| Ps 68:6.      | אֱלֹהִים בְּמַעַן קָדְשׁוֹ                                 | <i>...God in His Holy abode</i>  |
| (see v. 19.25 | עָלִיתָ לְמְרוֹם מְלָכֵי בַקְרָשׁ                          | <i>(...You ascended on high...my King, in the Sanctuary)</i>                       |
| Ps 46 5       | נָהַר פְּלִינֹו יִשְׁמַחוּ עִיר־אֱלֹהִים                   | <i>...the city of God, the holy habitation of the Most High</i>                    |
|               | קָדְשׁ מִשְׁכְּנֵי עֲלִיֹוֹן                               |  |

Collins (334) is ready to recognise that מְכוֹן is used in OT for both the heavenly and the earthly abode, but unfortunately he chose an application that does not satisfy the use of this phrase. Simply, "because the temple was not torn down by Antiochus Epiphanes, the reference may be –says Collins– to the desecration of the altar."

<sup>378</sup> 1 K 8:13, 2 Ch 6:2, Ps 74:7.

<sup>379</sup> 1 K 8:39.43.49, 2 Ch 6:30.33.39, Ps 33:13-14, 96:6.

<sup>380</sup> Nu 18:29, Ez 45:4.

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- <sup>361</sup> Is 16:12, Ps 73:17, Ez 28:18, Am 7:9.13.
- <sup>382</sup> Lv 19:30, 20:3, 21:12.23, Jos 24:26.
- <sup>383</sup> 2 Ch 36:17, Ez 48:12, Dan 9:17, 11:31.
- <sup>384</sup> Jer 51:51, Ez 21:7.
- <sup>385</sup> Lv 16:33, Ez 45:3.
- <sup>386</sup> Is 8:14, Jer 17:13, Ez 11:16.
- <sup>387</sup> 2 S 22:7-11, Ps 11:4, 15:1, 18:7-10, 29:9-10, 102:20, Mi 1:2-4; cf. Ac 7:49, 17:24.
- <sup>388</sup> 1 K 8:13.28-30, 32a.34a.36a.39a.43a.45a. 49a, 2 Ch 2:6, Is 6:1, 66:1-2, Jer 23:23-24.
- <sup>389</sup> Jn 2:19-22, 1 Cor 3:16-17, 6:15-19, 2Cor 6:16, Eph 2:19-22, Heb 3:6, 1 Pt 2:4-6.
- <sup>390</sup> Mt 27:50-51, Jn 1:29-36, Rom 12:1, Eph 5:2.
- <sup>391</sup> Heb 4:14 – 10:31, 12:22-29, 13:10-14, Rev 3:12, 4:5, 5:6, 6:9, 7:15, 8:3-5, 9:13, 11:1-4.19, 14:15.17, 15:5-8, 16:1.7.17, 21:3.22, 22:3-5.
- <sup>392</sup> Dt 26:15, 2 Ch 30:27, Jr 25:30, Zc 2:17.
- <sup>393</sup> J. Collins, *op. cit.* p. 334.
- <sup>394</sup> Mt 24:15, Mk 13:14, Lk 21:20.
- <sup>395</sup> 2 Th 2:2-5, 1Jn 2:18. The Greek term Ἀντίχριστός formed in the same linguistic pattern as ἀντιβασιλεύς (viceroys), means basically Vice-Christ. The title is in itself a blasphemy, because Christ did not appointed any human vicar of His Person / authority but the Holy Spirit (Jn 14:15-18), and the NT speaks only about the relative and conditional authority of the Church's ministers, having Christ as Head, and nowhere about a visible head on earth to exercise His divine authority.
- <sup>396</sup> Dan 9: 27, 11:31.38, cf. Mk 13:14 comp. Lk 21:20.
- <sup>397</sup> 1Mac. 1:46-67.
- <sup>398</sup> Heb 7:23-28, 9:28a.
- <sup>399</sup> *Bis wann...? (Zürcher Bibel, Elberfelder), jusqu'à quand...? (several French translations; French Louis Segond followed by the Romanian D. Cornilescu put it in parallel with: Pendant combien de temps s'accomplira...?).*
- <sup>400</sup> Pfandl, *op. cit.* pp. 258-259.
- <sup>401</sup> Gn 47:8, 2 S 19:35, Ps 119:84.

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<sup>402</sup> 2 S 2:11, Ez. 4:4-9, Dan 9:2, Lv 25:15,16,50, Nu 14:34.

<sup>403</sup> Ps 6:4, 94:3, Ne 2:6, Ex 10:3,7, N 14:24, 1S 1:14, 16:1, 2S 2:26, 1K 18:21, Ps 80:4, 82:2, Ps 90:13, Pr 1:22, 6:9, Is 6:11, Jer 4:14,21, 12:4, 23:26, 31:22, 47:5, Hos 8:5, Hab 2:6, Zec 1:12.

<sup>404</sup> The phrases עֲרֵךְ מִזְבֵּחַ (Ps 74:9-10, N 24:22, Ps 4:3, 79:5, 89:47) and עֲרֵךְ אֲנִיָּה (Ex 16:28, N 14:11, Jos 18:3, Job 18:2, 19:2, Ps 13:1-2, 16:3, Jer 47:6, Hab 1:2) are used in exactly the same situations.

<sup>405</sup> SE (The Seleucid Era) began in 312 BCE. M. D. Popa, op. cit. p. 676.

<sup>406</sup> According to Bickerman, cited by Grabbe in *Judaism from Cyrus...*p. 265.

<sup>407</sup> This is probably the highest degree of precision to date a biblical book claimed to be prophecy. And nobody seems to wonder about its credibility in that generation. Maybe its writers coalesced to deceive only the future generations over centuries. Poor pseudonymous writer(s) / compiler(s) / redactor(s) ! So much precise work done for the history before Antiochus, and so much trouble with the events under Antiochus !

<sup>408</sup> See Leviticus 16. Besides of being the climax of all rituals, and seen by Jews up to this time as a day of sealing destinies, Yom Kippur ushered in the 50<sup>th</sup> year, the jubilee (Lv 25:9), which finds its final signification in the future messianic restoration. The significance of all rituals and symbols of Yom Kippur are disputed in conservative circles as in the liberal theology. For a large treatment of this subject, though may be not absolute satisfactory against all objections, see the 700 pages book of Alberto Treyer (doctoral studies at Strasbourg), *The Day of Atonement and the Heavenly Judgment – From Pentateuch to Revelation*, Creation Enterprises International, Siloam Springs, Arkansas, 1992.

<sup>409</sup> This view does not contradict the application of the Yom Kippur type to Christ's expiatory sacrifice, as *Daniel* suggests (9:24-27) and *Hebrews* clearly confirms (ch. 9). Types cannot be understood in rigid and exclusive ways. For example, the Passover is applied in the NT not only to the spiritual liberation through Christ (1P 1:18-19, 1Cor 5:7-8), but also to the eschatological, complete liberation "through the blood of the Lamb" (Rev 15:3-6). Why not see Yom Kippur in the same light? It should be observed that while in Heb 9:7-26 the Cross and Christ's ministry are highlighted as a fulfillment of the Yom Kippur type, including the statement about the heavenly sanctuary needing purification by means of His blood (v. 23), the author further points to the Judgment and salvation related to the Second Advent (v.27-28, 10:25-30).

<sup>410</sup> Dan 10:13,21, 12:1,6-7.

<sup>411</sup> Jos 5:13-15, Ex 12:41, cf. Rev 12:7, 1Thes 4:16, Jd 1:9. A Christian exegesis to Ex 3:1-6,13-14 and similar OT passages (Ex 14:19,24, cf. 1 Cor 10:4) identifies Michael (מִיכָאֵל Who is like God?) with the pre-existent Christ in His role of Personal Divine Absolute Representative of God.

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<sup>412</sup> Lk 1:19.26, 24:4, Act 1:10, Rev 1:1, 19:10, 22:6.

<sup>413</sup> In Rev 19:10, 22:8-9, angels and prophets are said to fulfil the same mission as God's messengers.

<sup>414</sup> Pfandl, *op. cit.* p. 272. My underlines.

<sup>415</sup> Ps 7:12, 38:4, 69:25, 78:49, 102:11, Is 30:27, 66:14, Jer 10:10, 50:25, Lam 2:6, Ez 21:36, 22:31, Nah 1:6, Zep 3:8, Zec 1:12, Mal 1:4.

<sup>416</sup> Is 10:25.22-23, 26:20.21-23 LXX: ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου, Jer 15:17?, Ez 22:24.21-22.30-31, Hab 3:12.

<sup>417</sup> N 23:7-8 the prophet Balaam to utter אָוַר in the name of God, Pr 24:24 nations' *indignation* against an unjust leader, Dan 11:30 the great persecutor's *fury* against the true religion, Hos 7:16 political *threat* or *defiance* of Israelite leaders, Pr 25:23 grievous face/looks, cf. Dan 1:10.

<sup>418</sup> See v. 21 too, about God's *strange* work of punishment against His enemies.

<sup>419</sup> Dt 11:12, Job 8:7, 42:12, Pr 5:11, Am 8:10, Jer. 17:11, Ec 7:8, Dan. 8:23.

<sup>420</sup> N 24:20, Ps. 73:17.

<sup>421</sup> Dt 8:16, Pr 5:4, 14:12.13, 16:25, 20:21, 23:18.32, 25:8, Ec 10:13, Is 41:22, Dan 12:8.

<sup>422</sup> Dt 32:20.29, Pr 29:21.

<sup>423</sup> N 23:10, Lam. 1:9, Pr 19:20, Is 47:7, Jer 5:31, 12:4.

<sup>424</sup> Pr 24:14.20, Jer 29:11.

<sup>425</sup> Ps. 37:37.38, 109:13, Jer 31:17, Dan 11:4, Am 4:2.

<sup>426</sup> Gn 49:1, Nu 24:14, Dt 4:30, 31:29, Is 2:2, Jer 23:20, Jer 30:24, 48:47, 49:39, Ez 38:16, Hos 3:5, Mi 4:1.

<sup>427</sup> E.g. KJV, NKJ, NAB, WEB, ASV, NAS, RSV, LUT, ELB, SVV, DRB.

<sup>428</sup> Rev 11:18-19, 12:12.17, 14:8.10.19, 15:1.6-7, 16:1.19, 18:3, 19:15, cf. Is 10:5-7.22, 14:6.

<sup>429</sup> Jer 25:15-26, Ob 1:16, Zep 3:6-8, Zec 1:15, Is 33:1, Dan 9:27d.

<sup>430</sup> Concerning the last example (Hab 2:3) says Collins (p. 337): "A strong case can be made, however, for reading אָוַר as אָוַר ('witness') and taking אָוַר as 'testify' [Note: ..the root appears in Ugaritic in the sense of 'testify'...]. The notion of testimony is compatible with the allusion in Daniel, although the reading אָוַר is confirmed at Dan 11:35."

<sup>431</sup> No wonder, that the author of *Hebrews*, when refers to Christ's second Advent, employs the same language of Habakkuk (Heb 10:37-38, cf. Hab 2:3-4). The parallel between Dan 8:19.26 and Hab 2:3



is further stressed by the emphasis on truth: אָמֶת הוּא (it is truth – Dan 8:26), וְלֹא יִכְזֹב (it does not lie – Hab 2:3).

<sup>432</sup> Lv 16:8-10.20-22.26-26.

<sup>433</sup> Lv 17:7 (notice the closeness to Lv 16!), cf. Dt 32:17, 2Ch 11:15, Is 13:21, 34:14.

<sup>434</sup> Istoria lumii în date, p. 30.

<sup>435</sup> Dt 28:15, Ez 7:6-8, 21:30/25, 35:5, Am 3:2, Mt 23:32, 1Th 2:16.

<sup>436</sup> The following scriptures are also very useful parallels to be studied. If Job 14:17 כְּצָרוֹר פִּשְׁעֵי בְּצָרוֹר חַתָּם is understood like in Dt 32:34 חַתָּם בְּאֻזְרֹתָי הֵלֵא־הוּא it seems to use חַתָּם to stress the idea of a legal dealing with sin (see the context, Dt 32:33.35).

<sup>437</sup> Nu 12:8, Jg 14:12-19, 1 K. 10:1, 2 Ch 9:1, Pr 1:6, Ps. 49:5, 78:2, Ez 17:2, Dan 5:12.16, Hab 2:6.

<sup>438</sup> Compare the two biblical passages.

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 2 Ch 26:16  | וּכְחֻזְקָתוֹ גָּבַה לְבוֹ עַד־לְהַשְׁחִית. וַיִּכְאֵ אֶל־הַיֵּכֶל יְהוָה לְהִקְטִיר |
|             | וְעַד שָׂרְרֵהֲצָבָא הַגִּדְלִיל וּמִמֶּנּוּ הָרִים הַתְּמִיד                        |
| Dan 8:11.25 | וּבְלִבְבוֹ יַגְדִּיל וְעַל־שָׂר־שָׂרִים יַעֲמֵד וּבְאִפְסֵי יָד יִשְׁבֵּר           |

Even if the Hebrew text has not the same wording in both places, the idea is strikingly similar: a king is not satisfied with kingly affairs, but from self-exaltation, he covets the priestly office, to his own ruin – God will punish him.

<sup>439</sup> From the Hiph'il הִרְאָה = show, make known. The noun מְרֵאָה has usually the meaning *appearance, sight, vision, spectacle, phenomenon*. However, in this and in another two instances in Daniel (9:23, 10:1, cf. Ex 25: 9.40, Ez 40:4, Nu 8:4), the most probable meaning, as the literary contextual logic implies, is that of *revelation* (something shown or revealed in a vision). Hence the its adverbial use in Nu 12:8.: [to speak] *apparently*, as opposed to the speaking in riddles. Unfortunately, lexicons did not mention this different meaning. (Cf. René Péter-Contesse & John Ellington, *A Handbook on The Book of Daniel*, UBS, New York, 1993, p. 251).

This semantic evolution of מְרֵאָה from *sight / vision*, to *revelation / prophecy*, might be understood by comparing this term with the synonym רְאוּן *vision*, which is often used to mean *oracle, revelation* (see Pr 29:18, Is 1:1, Dan 10:14, 11:14, Ob 1:1 et.al.). It seems that the phrase אֲשֶׁר נִאֲמַר *which has been spoken about*, refers to this מְרֵאָה, and this would be another argument that we should translate here מְרֵאָה as [*spoken*] *revelation or prophecy*, not *vision*.

<sup>440</sup> יִשְׁטַטֵּן a Po'lel form of שָׂרַט – *to search everywhere, inquiring* (for prophetic messages: Am 8:12), *investigate through* (the city, to find a single righteous man: Jr 5:1), *search thoroughly*,

examine, seeking through (all the earth – God’s eyes: Zc 4:10, 2Ch 16:9). The speaker employs this verb to emphasise the idea of thorough research for understanding the sealed prophecy. This view fits the context when it is related to “the wise ones,” and to the result of the prophesied investigation: **וַתִּרְבֶּה הַדַּעַת** and the knowledge shall increase (multiply). The basic meaning is evident from Qal: *to go (rove, row) about* (in world-wide travels: Jb 1:7, 2:2), *go about, seeking for* (manna: Nu 11:8), *go through and search* (all the tribes, for the military census: 2S 24:2.8). LXX has ἀπομανῶσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πλησθῆ ἡ γῆ ἀδικίας *most will fall away (read וַיִּשָׁן instead of וַיִּשָׁשׁ) and the earth will be filled by iniquity (read וַתִּרְבֶּה, וַתִּרְבֶּה instead of וַתִּרְבֶּה)*. Θ has διδαχθῶσιν πολλοὶ καὶ πληθυνθῆ ἡ γνῶσις *many will be taught and the knowledge will increase*. VUL: pertransibunt plurimi et multiplex erit scientia = *most people would travel extensively and the science will be multiplied*.

<sup>441</sup> The sudden passing from the injunction “seal the book,” to the revelation “many will investigate and the knowledge shall increase,” should be made in translation by a temporal conjunction (“when”). In fact, LXX and Θ connect the two clauses by ἕως [ἄν] = *until*. The same syntactical situation may be seen in the co-ordination of two clauses (very similar) in v. 9 and 10: **עַד־עַתָּה קָטַן... וְתִרְבֶּה הַדַּעַת... וְיִשָּׁשׁוּ הַבָּיִם** *till the time of the end, [when] many will be cleansed... etc*. Or, in both cases, we may consider the temporal adverb **עַד** implied before the second clause.

<sup>442</sup> The following scheme is a tentative to harmonise the Danielic periods referring to the time of the end (except that of 2300 days / years that is to be identified later in this study). For the dates 538 and 1798, see the comments on Dan 7:25. Concerning the year 508, my own study is still incomplete, but the date is known as the establishing (by sword) of the first really Catholic (papal) state in Western Europe, France, through the confederation of Church and State under the Roman supervision. The years 502-507 brought the first victory of the dogma of supreme jurisdiction of the popes. In the same years (though a precise date is not now available), the old Christian liturgy was replaced by the new Roman liturgy in the West, the Episcopal palace of Vatican was built (in its first stage), the first history of the popes was compiled in Rome, and the first grave political intrigues and interference of the Pope in West, in Rome and in East occurred. The year 508 as a *terminus a quo* for the 1290-1335 “days” of Dan 12 is first attested under the unidentified name of “C. C.” (Jewish Expositor, London 1820). Then William Miller, seemingly not depending on the former, published the same result in 1836 (in New York), according to Froom (op. cit., vol IV, 404).

|                      |                          |                  |          |
|----------------------|--------------------------|------------------|----------|
| 1 2 6 0    y e a r s |                          |                  |          |
|                      | 538                      | 1798             |          |
| 508                  | First                    | Pontifical       | 1843     |
| Papal system         | Pontifical State created | State suppressed | Prophecy |
| installed.           |                          |                  | unsealed |
| 1 2 9 0    y e a r s |                          |                  |          |
| 1 3 3 5    y e a r s |                          |                  |          |

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The year 1843 is the time of the most popular and largely presented diagram of the time prophecies of Daniel, discovered in the generation 1798-1844, especially in America (Froom, op. cit. vol. IV, deals only with this topic).

<sup>443</sup> If this period is only a trick imagined by a pious and anonymous writer contemporary to Antiochus, why did he need to emphasise so much that they lived in the time of the end, only to encourage the faith of people in a supernatural intervention, whereas in that period any *Hasid* took his arm? From a simple, psychological point of view, it is hardly understandable such a mentality to write down precise historical moments as *vaticinia post eventum*, then postulate periods to be fulfilled in short time, to convince contemporary people that they live in the time of the end, and finally **no one of those periods matches history.**

<sup>444</sup> Regarding this translation, see note 298.

<sup>445</sup> Dan 7:10, Ex 24:7, 32:33, Dt 24:1, Ps 69:29, Ez 2:9.

<sup>446</sup> Ex 24:7, 2 K 23:2.

<sup>447</sup> Dt 31:26, Jos 1:8, 2 K 22:8.

<sup>448</sup> Jos 10:13, 1 K 11:41, 14:19.29, Nu 21:14.

<sup>449</sup> E.g., annals or chronicles, wisdom and science, poetry, et.al. Est 10:2, Is 29:11.

<sup>450</sup> Ps 40:8, Is 29:18, Jer 30:2, 36:2.4, Ex 17:14.

<sup>451</sup> Is 10:25, Jer 51:60, Nah 1:1, Dan 12:4.

<sup>452</sup> "God's promises are made conditional upon man's co-operation and obedience. ... Repeatedly God warned Israel that blessing goes hand in hand with obedience and that a curse accompanies disobedience (see Dt 4:9; 8:19; 28:1, 2, 13, 14; Jer. 18:6-10; 26:2-6; Zech. 6:15; etc.). Continued obedience was necessary to the continuance of divine favour, whereas persistent disobedience must inevitably culminate in the rejection of the Jewish nation as God's chosen instrument for carrying out the divine plan (Dt 28:15-68).

Owing to the failure of the Jews as God's chosen people, many of the prophecies of the Old Testament, such as those affirming the world-wide mission of Israel and the ingathering of the Gentiles (see Gn. 12:3; Dt 4:6-8; Isa. 2:2-5; 42:6; 49:6; 52:10; 56:6, 7; 60:1-3; 61:9; 62:2; Zech. 2:11; 8:22, 23; etc.), those pointing forward to the eternal rest in Canaan (Isa. 11:6-9; 35; 65:17-25; 66:20-23; Jer. 17:25; Eze. 37; 40-48; Zech. 2:6-12; 14:4-11), and those promising deliverance from her enemies (Isa. 2:10-21; 24-26; Eze. 38; 39; Joel 3; Zeph. 1; 2; Zech. 9:9-17; 10-14; etc.), have never been and can never be fulfilled to them as a nation." Francis D., Nichol, "The Nature and Purpose of

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Conditional Prophecy,” in *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, vol. IV, (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association) 1978.

God’s purposes are immutable (Ps. 33:11; Prov. 19:21; Isa. 46:10; Acts 5:39; Heb. 6:17; etc.), however His plans may suffer delay and change, even to be fulfilled through or for other objects but the first addressees. Thus prophecies are related to the covenant theology.

<sup>453</sup> It is a pity that hosts of fundamentalist theologians do not pay serious attention to this explicit rule in their hermeneutics, so that many conditional prophecies intended to be fulfilled in post-exilic times and not fulfilled or only partially fulfilled, are thought to be fulfilled in the apocalyptic millennium.

<sup>454</sup> See Jer 31, Ez 36–37. 47.

<sup>455</sup> Dan 5:31, 6:1. Daniel does not mention but the first year of this disputed Darius the Mede (9:1), nor the historiography is more generous with this ruler.

<sup>456</sup> Dt 2:30, Dt 2:36, Dt 7:21, Dt 10:17, Dt 17:20, 9:12, Dt 28:45.52, Dt 3:26, Dt 18:19, Dt 33:21, Dt 17:20, Dt 29:27, Dt 13:8, Dt 34:5, Dt 11:7, Dt 5:15, 6:21, 7:8, 9:26, 26:8, Dt 28:10, Dt 7:9.12, Dt 2:25;

<sup>457</sup> Jr 32:18, Jr 14:20. Jr 7:25, 44:4, Jr 3:25, 44:23, Jr 26:16, 44:16, Jr 44:17, Jr 34:19, Jr 29:19, Jr 7:19, Jr 18:19, Jr 11:5, Jr 35:13, 4:3.4, 11:2.9, 17:25, 18:1, 44:27, 44:6.23. Jr 25:26, Jr 8:3, 23:3.8, 29:14.18, 32:37, Jr 17:23, 19:15, 32:40; Jr 42:18, 44:6, Jr 16:10; Jr 5:12, Jr 16:10, 32:42, Jr 26:4, Jr 26:19, Jr 1:12, 31:28, 44:27; Jr 12:1, Jr 28:6, 29:10, 35:14, La 1:18, Jr 32:21; Jr 25:12, 51:26.62, Jr 15:16, 25:29, Jr 36:37, 37:20, 38:26, 42:2.9, Jr 23:5, Jr 24:9, Jr 18:20, 23:20, 30:24; Jr 32:20, Jr 14:7.

<sup>458</sup> Ps 68:36, 89:8, Ps 89:29, Ps 106:5, Ps 44:16, Ps 130:2; Ps 5:3, Ps 17:2, 61:2, Ps 109:21, Ps 40:18, 70:6; Ps 78:38, Ps 2:6, 3:5, 15:1, 43:3, 46:5, Ps 89:42 et al. Ps 31:17, 57:2, 80:4.8.20, 119:135, Ps 25:11, 109:21, 143:11, Ps 106:7, Ps 90:17, Ps 74:7, Ps 119:156, Ps 51:3, 69:17. Ps 11:7, 145:17, Ps 72:6.

<sup>459</sup> 1S 22:13, 1K 3:6, 1K 18:12. 1S 1:23, 1S 8:5.6, 8:20, 1S 6:9, 2S 13:16; 1K 10:31, 1K 13:6, 2K 13:4, 2K 19:16, 2K 18:12, 2S 7:9, 1S 11:8, 2S 20:4, 2K 23:2.

<sup>460</sup> Isaiah Is 37:17, Is 42:21, 49:7, 55:5. Is 33:20. Is 5:3; Is 33:13, Is 24:5, Is 63:12.14, Is 12:1, Is 11:9, 56:7, 60:14, Is 49:8.19, 61:4.

<sup>461</sup> Ne 1:5.11, 4:8, 9:32, Ne 1:5, 9:32, Ne 9:32.34. Ne 9:16, Ne 9:19.27.28.31, Ne 9:10, Ne 8:13. Ne 13:18.27, Ne 9:8; Ne 10:30; Ne 10:30; Ne 8:1, Ne 10:30; Ne 9:37; Ne 6:16, Ne 1:6.

<sup>462</sup> See Gn 18-19, 32:24-30 and 48:16, Nu 22:23, Jg 6:11-23, 13:6.10.15-18, 2S 24:16.

<sup>463</sup> Ez 1:5-10, 10:14-15.

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<sup>464</sup> Usually, this adverbial phrase means “at the commencement,” “at the first,” “in the beginning,” “the first time”. However, its pragmatic use here is “previously” – as in NASV, NAB of Dan 8:1.

<sup>465</sup> Dan 8:17-18, 10:8-11.15-19.

<sup>466</sup> Regarding translation, see notes 301-302.

<sup>467</sup> If this is intended, then is interesting to note that the Gospels agree on the same daytime of Jesus’ death on the cross (Mt 27:45-51, Mk 15:33-38, Lk 23:44-46).

<sup>468</sup> See note 304.

<sup>469</sup> See note 305 for the linguistic analysis.

<sup>470</sup> See note 306 for linguistic and contextual analysis.

<sup>471</sup> James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. The International Critical Commentary, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1927, pp. 373-401.

<sup>472</sup> Id. p. 393.

<sup>473</sup> André Lacocques, *The Book of Daniel*, (transl. by D. Pelauer), Atlanta, John Knox Press, GA, 1979, pp. 178. 191-199.

<sup>474</sup> John Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees, with an Excursus on the Apocalyptic Genre*. Old Testament Message 16. Michael Glazier, Wilmington, DE, 1981, p. 95.

<sup>475</sup> John E. Goldingay, “The book of Daniel: Three issues.” *Themelios* 2 (1977) pp. 45-49.

<sup>476</sup> Owusu-Antwi, op. cit. p. 69 (note 82) cites Lester Grabbe’s study published in *JBL* 110 (1991): pp. 59-74, making a strong case for 168-165 BCE as the period when pagans profaned the Temple.

<sup>477</sup> Bevan, op. cit. p. 142.

<sup>478</sup> Id. 145.

<sup>479</sup> Johann Funck, court chaplain of Nürnberg, wrote the most thorough and complete treatise on the 70 weeks up to his day, and was probably the first in Reformation times to begin the 70 weeks in 457 B.C. and end them in A.D. 34. This was epochal. He regarded them as 490 solar years from the 7th year of Artaxerxes, and this he tabulated as well as expounded. Georg Nigrinus (d. 1602). See Froom, op. cit. vol. II pp. 308-313.

<sup>480</sup> Georg Nigrinus, Evangelical theologian, placed the period from 456 B.C. to A.D. 34, also with the cross at the close. See Froom, op. cit. vol. II pp. 325-329.

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<sup>481</sup> Heinrich Bullinger, of Zurich, likewise dated the 70 weeks from the 7th year Artaxerxes, or about 457 B.C. to about A.D. 33, with the crucifixion at the end. See Froom, op. cit. vol. II pp. 339-345.

<sup>482</sup> Jacques Cappel, French theologian, similarly began the 490 years in 457 B.C., the "seventh year of Artaxerxes." See Froom, op. cit. vol. II p. 630.

<sup>483</sup> Few know that the father of the modern physics was also a strong believer and interested in apocalyptic prophecies. His posthumous book, *Observations Upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John*, J. Darby and T Browne, 1733, was the outcome of 42 years of study. He even had correspondence with John Locke, from 1690 on, over questions of prophetic interpretation. In spite of some exegetical flaws that we might find today in his work, it is nevertheless very instructive to be studied. Concerning Daniel he said: "To reject his [Daniel's] prophecies is to reject the Christian religion." He used his scientific genius in calculating as precisely as possible the beginning of the 70 weeks with the 7<sup>th</sup> years of Artaxerxes I (according to Ezra 7), and successfully established the date 457 BCE. See Froom, op. cit. vol. II pp. 658-665.

<sup>484</sup> Though Bengel later changed his view, and arrived to an extension of the 490 years to 555 years and a fraction, his first approach to the 70 weeks is basically the following: 490 years from the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Artaxerxes, with the crucifixion of Christ in the midst of the seventieth week. Cf. *Das Neue Testament nach dem revidierten Grund text ubersetzt und mit dienlichen Anmerkungen begleitet von Johann Albrecht Bengel*. Stuttgart, Johann Benedict Metzler, 1753. pp. 974-975. See Froom, op. cit. vol. II p. 712.

<sup>485</sup> See Froom, op. cit. vol. III p. 222.

<sup>486</sup> Archibald Mason of Scotland fixed upon 457 B.C. and A.D. 33. See Froom, op. cit. vol. III pp. 396-404.

<sup>487</sup> He took 457 B.C. to A.D. 34. With A. Mason, he understood the 70 weeks to be the first part of the 2300 years, thus ending the longer period in 1843 and 1844 respectively. See Froom, op. cit. vol. III pp. 406-407.

<sup>488</sup> Cf. Froom, vol. IV (1982), p. 1096. Minister, editor, missionary to Europe, one of the founders of Seventh-day Adventism. Andrews University (Berrien Springs, Michigan) bears his name. He began the 70 weeks in 457 BCE to end them in 34 CE., with Christ's crucifixion in the middle of the seventieth week, in 31 CE. This interpretation inherited from the former evangelical scholarship and confirmed by new approaches through generations, remained standard among SDA scholars. The most influent commentary on Daniel among the first generations of SDAs was that of Uriah Smith (d. 1903). Cf. Froom, vol. IV (1982), p. 1109-1127.

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<sup>489</sup> Both from the Andrews University, Michigan.

<sup>490</sup> This brief Bible Commentary, *Manual Biblic*, (edited and translated into Romanian by Doru Motz, Door of Hope, 1983), stands among the few evangelical works today preserving the old interpretation of the 70 weeks (p. 349).

<sup>491</sup> *The Messiah—Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, edited by James Charlesworth (1992), Fortress Press, Minneapolis, p. 100.

<sup>492</sup> These events necessarily would take at least months and at most a couple of years: Moses' leaving Jethro's home, journey to Egypt, his repeated appearance encounters with his people and with Pharaoh, the 10 plagues.

<sup>493</sup> See Jos. 11:18, 14:7, 10, 11, 23:1, 24:29. In chapter 11:18 it is stated that Joshua waged war *a long time*. Now after Jos 14:7,10,11, Caleb was 40 years old when Moses sent him to explore the land of Canaan, and 45 years had passed since that time. The conquest was by this time seen as complete (Jos 11:23, 14:5), though not in an absolute sense (see Ex 23:29,30). If the mission of the spies coincided with the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of the Exodus (Dt 2:14), and the "wandering" lasted 38 years, then the conquest lasted 6-7 years (45-38 = 7). Josephus gives only 5 years and some modern scholars tend to agree.

<sup>494</sup> E. White took the reference in Ps 118 as prophecy based on an actual historical incident that occurred during the building of Solomon's Temple. A stone projected and hewn in the career to be a cornerstone was not recognised useful when it appeared on the construction site, among the common, right cut, building stones. So it was thrown aside until the day the builders observed that it was the only one fitted to serve as cornerstone. (*Desire of Ages*, Pacific Press, Mountain View, CA, 1898, 1960, pp. 597, 598). Isaiah was shown that this stone was a symbol of Messiah (Is 8:13-15, 28:16), which the NT naturally applies to Jesus (AA 4:11, 1Pt 2:6). While Jesus was rejected by this world, including the majority of his own people, He was appointed over all things both in heaven and in earth (Eph 1:22).

<sup>495</sup> See the linguistic analysis at p. 149.

<sup>496</sup> See F. Field (*Origenis Hexapla*, 925).

<sup>497</sup> See Bruno Meissner and Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Band I, A-L, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, Germany, 1965, p. 335.

<sup>498</sup> See Ludwig Köhler and Walter Baumgartner, *Hebraisches und Aramaisches Lexikon zum Alten Testamenten*, Leiden, (Lieferung I, א – תבט), E. J. Brill, 1967, p. 349.

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<sup>499</sup> Cf. E. A. Wallis Budge, *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, vol. 1, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., New York, p. 512. The presence of “s”, instead of “th,” is a common linguistic phenomenon in the history of many languages, and it might be a particularity of Egyptian, since we have also the parallel Eg. *sbn* / Heb. *tbn* (“straw”).

<sup>500</sup> This root seems to have been split early in at least three branches: 1. \*h<sup>1</sup>tshuk, *to cut* (attested in Egypt. *hsk.t*, “knife”; West-Chad, *tshuk* “knife”; Angas and Mupun, *tshuk* ), 2. \*h<sup>1</sup>si<sup>1</sup>k, *to cut, to pierce* (wherfrom the Semitic radical h<sup>1</sup>shik, *to pierce*, cf. Arab *hsq<sup>1</sup>*, East-Chad, and Rift, *sik*, *to cut*; Birgit, *sikki*, Iraqw, *siq*), and 3. \*h<sup>1</sup>tik *to cut, divide, separate* (well attested in Semitic, h<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>k “cut off,” Akk. *Hataku*, Ebr. *htk*, and Chadian languages: *tik*, *tik-t*, *tikk*, *tikkya*, *to divide, half*, et.al.). See Vladimir Orel, Olga Stolhova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary—Materials for a Reconstruction*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands. New York, Köln. 1995, p. 1293, 1391-1392.

<sup>501</sup> The Hebrew-Romanian Dictionary of Menahem P. Mandel gives different derivations from the root חתך, indicating the Middle-Hebrew (\*) or the modern (<sup>0</sup>) use of the term: \*חתך cutting חתוך cutting\*, utterance<sup>0</sup> (in certain phrases), \*חתיכה piece, cut, part; חתיכת little part, bit; [שניים] חתכות incisor [teeth], \*חתך to cut off, sever, cut slice, cut out, whence \*חשפתו to express clear, utter, decide, determine, prescribe, order, \*חתך to cut, to express, \*חתך חתך to be cut / cut. The same meaning is attested for all these late Hebrew words in the dictionary of Gustaf H. Dalman (*Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*, Göttingen, Eduard Pfeiffer, 1938, p. 163-164). Sokoloff gives for the root חתך only the meaning *to cut, sever* (Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990, p. 218). Among the few Bible translations, beside Theodotion’s, Vulgate and some late but more literal ones that maintain the basic meaning of חתך is the Romanian old translation, *Serban’s Bible*: *s-au tăiat preste* — “are cut off upon...”

<sup>502</sup> For instance, נזר (see Is 9:19 על־ימין נזר, Est 2:1, Dan 2:27.34, 4:4.14.21) and חרץ (1 S 17:18, Is 28:22, Dan 9:26-27, 11:36). The same mutation from the concrete meaning (*to cut off, or sever*) to the abstract one (*decide*) occurred in other languages too, e.g. Lat. *Decido* (*cut-decide*), Fr. *Trancher* (*sever-decide*).

<sup>503</sup> The scarcity of this type of translations is explicable from a rather psychological perspective, very well reflected in *A Handbook on the Book of Daniel* authored by Péter-Contesse and Ellington of UBS: “Are decreed: the verb used here does not occur elsewhere in the Old Testament, but it does appear in other Jewish literature, and the meaning is clearly “to decide” or “resolve”(op. cit. p. 252). Practically, most translators see no need of resorting to the contextual evidence, to connect the term with the vision partially explained in chapter 8, and so be prepared to appreciate the unique match of



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the basic meaning of this hapax. While the common translation (“are determined”) is quite fitting, as often do extended and derived meanings, nevertheless it weakens the force of the angel’s time clue and tends to dim the reader’s understanding.

<sup>504</sup> Froom, vol. IV, p. 209.

<sup>505</sup> The reckoning of these two synchronous periods, according to Petri began at 453 BCE. Petri, Johann. *Aufschluss der Zahlen Daniels und der Offenbarung Johannis*. [n.p.:n.n.], Ulrich Weiss, Frankfurt, 1768, pp. 8-10. Cited in Froom, vol. II. pp. 714, 715, 717 and Samuel Nunez, *The Vision of Daniel 8*, (doctoral dissertation), Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, 1987, p. 93. Froom (vol. III, pp. 263-282) shows how the interest of the exegetes in the 2300 days rose especially after the close of the 1260 days / years in 1798, in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>506</sup> Lv 25:8-9, Is 61 1-2a, Lk 3:1.21-23a, 4:16-21.

<sup>507</sup> Documents: Jer 32:10-14, Is 8:16, Dan 8:26, 9:24h, 12:4,9, persons: Dan 6:16-17, Mt 27:66, Rev 20:3. This is an image specific to *Daniel*. It is poetic, appropriate, following the *Kethib*, and followed at least by YLT, NJB, ROV. According to BDBG (367-368), the usual meaning of סָּתַם in OT is *to seal, affix seal (attest, confirm, sign), seal up*, but other shades of meaning or figurative senses are derived: *to fasten up, keep securely, shut up, stop*. In the late Jewish Aramaic (sec. III-VII AD), this verb meant *to seal, sign, engrave, close up, conclude (give a closing talk)*, according to Sokoloff’s Dictionary (218).

<sup>508</sup> See note 312 for linguistic analysis.

<sup>509</sup> See Ex 34:7, Job 13:23, Lv 16:21, Ps 32:5, Is 59:12, Jer 33:8, Ez 21:29.

<sup>510</sup> Is 9:5/7, 51:6.8, Jr 23:6, 33:16, Mi 7:9, Ps 103:17, 111:3, 112:3, 119:142, Dan 9:27, Hos 2:21.

<sup>511</sup> Ps 106:31, 112:6.9, Pr 10:25.30, Dan 12:3, 2Cor 9:9.

<sup>512</sup> Rm 3:25, 5:18.21, Tit 2:14, Rev 5:9-10, 16:7.

<sup>513</sup> See note 313 for translation. YLT, NEG, LSG, ELB, DRB and RSV follow the same idea.

<sup>514</sup> See William H. Shea, *Unity of Daniel*, in Frank B. Holbrook, Editor, *Symposium on Daniel*, p. 241-242.

<sup>515</sup> Ex 28:41, 29:21.29-31, 30:30, 40:13, Lv 8:12.30, Nu 35:25.

<sup>516</sup> AA 3:14, 4:27, 10:38, Heb 3:1-4, 1Jn 2:20, Rev 3:7 et.al.

<sup>517</sup> Heb 6:19-20, 8:1 – 10:22, Rev 1:12-13, 8:2-5, 9:13-14, 11:1-2.19, 14:15.17, 15:5-8, 16:7.17.

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<sup>518</sup> Among historical-critical scholars there is not much certainty regarding the actual chronological order of missions of Ezra and Nehemiah. Lester Grabbe, a prominent critic says:

Many scholars believe that Ezra came... in the seventh year of this Artaxerxes (458 BCE). If so, the mission may well have had the Egyptian revolt as a background. (*Judaism from Cyrus...*, vol. I, p. 131). According to the order of events in the book of Ezra, the priest and scribe Ezra came some years before Nehemiah, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes or 458 BCE. This traditional dating came under attack with the rise of critical scholarship and was once generally rejected by scholars. Now, however, there is an increasing trend to accept the traditional dating, although many who do so make no attempt to argue the question in detail. (Id. p. 89)

This exegetic approach is not intended to solve forever this problem or to argue the question in detail. There are good works that did it successfully: Siegfried H. Horn and Lynn H. Wood, *The Chronology of Ezra 7*, Review and Herald, Washington, D.C., 1953. For Albright, the matter was settled forever:

If we turn to the Book of Ezra, recent discoveries have vindicated the authenticity of its official documents in the most striking way. .... The publication of the fifth-century Elephantine Papyri (1904–1911) .... had already made Torrey's position difficult, but subsequent discoveries by Mittwoch, Eilers, and others have dealt it the *coup de grâce*. For example, Torrey insisted that certain words, among them *pithgama*, "matter, affair," were of Greek origin and could not, therefore, have been taken into biblical Aramaic before 330 B.C. In the last twenty years these very same words have turned up in Egyptian Aramaic and Babylonian cuneiform documents from the late fifth century, that is, from the very time of Ezra! .... The great ancient historian, Eduard Meyer, fifty-five years ago insisted on the substantial authenticity of the Persian decrees and official letters preserved in Ezra; during the past twenty years strong additional evidence for them has been published by H. H. Schaefer and Elias Bickerman. W. F. Albright, "The Bible After Twenty Years of Archaeology," *Religion in Life*, 21 (Autumn, 1952), 546, 547. Copyright 1952 by Pierce and Smith.

The most probable date of the decree of Artaxerxes I, is not 458 BCE, but 457 BCE, as shown by Siegfried Horn and Lynn Wood. Since in the Jewish civil-calendar reckoning the 7<sup>th</sup> year of Artaxerxes was 458/457, *fall to fall*, according to the more exact evidence as we have it now from the Babylonian tablets and the Jewish papyri from Egypt, we may know for certain that Ezra's journey occurred in the summer of 457 BCE and Nehemiah's in the 20th year in 444 BCE.

<sup>519</sup> Drawing after Owusu-Antwi, op. cit. p. 45.

<sup>520</sup> Ezra's account in chapter 4 is intended to deal with the work of rebuilding the Temple, as the literary context appears (see chs. 3 and 5). The chapter begins with the first attempts to reconstruct the Temple up to King Darius (v. 1-5) and the last verse is on the same subject (v.24). This indicates that

vs. 6-23 are a long parenthesis that continues the theme of opposition from the part of pagan local authorities beyond the time of the Temple's reconstruction. Vs. 24 however, as it stands, seems to be consequent to vs. 23, though it is not in full logic sequence with it. The critical apparatus to Ezra 4:24 in BHS propose an emendation of the adverbial **אֵתְּנֵהּ** *then*, into **כְּאֵתְּנֵהּ** or **הַגִּזְזִי** *in the same manner*. This would fit perfect the context and resume the basic subject left in v.5, after the long parenthesis. Thus v. 24 is a conclusion for both passages (v. 1-5 about the rebuilding of the Temple, and v. 6-23 ...of the City). The same account is given in III Esdras 2, where we may found some interesting details. Verse 31 (corresponding to Ezra 4:24) is lacking or, in other versions begins with a simple **καί** corresponding to the Hebrew multifunctional *waw*. V. 14 (comp. Ezra 4:12) contains the clause, **οἰκοδομοῦσιν τὰς τε ἀγορὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τεῖχη** *θεραπεύουσιν καὶ ναὸν ὑποβάλλονται* *they build its market places and repair the walls, and lay foundation of a temple*, with an obvious reference to Dan 9:25, (Cf. Θ : **καὶ οἰκοδομηθήσεται πλατεῖα καὶ τεῖχος** *and the city square and the wall shall be built*).

<sup>521</sup> Op. cit. 290-303.

<sup>522</sup> I opened with a special hope the book *The Messiah—Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, edited by James Charlesworth (1992), Fortress Press, Minneapolis. It contains large articles from different authors who attended The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins. This is certainly an indispensable work, containing immense quantities of scholarship in this field, and helpful even for the most stubborn fundamentalist, to learn more about messiahs, Messiah and Jesus Christ. However, the short references to Dan 9:24-26, are disappointing. J. J. Roberts (pp. 40-41) says,

the expression **עַד־מְשִׁיחַ נָגִיד** “until an anointed one, a prince [comes]” (Dan 9:25), apparently has a historical figure of the distant past in mind, perhaps the high priest Joshua or the governor Zerubbabel mentioned in Hagai and Zechariah.... On the other hand, the expression **יִכְרַת מְשִׁיחַ וְאֵין לוֹ** “an anointed one will be cut off and will have nothing” (Dan 9:26), is normally interpreted to refer to Onias III, the legitimate high priest who was deposed and eventually murdered during the reign of Antiochus IV. At the time of the writer of Daniel, both incidents were past events, so neither figure be regarded as a messianic figure expected by him or readers.

The reasoning is clear. Since it was decided that Daniel is written centuries later than the author's claims, as a *vaticinium post eventum*, then the twice mentioned *messiah*, the *nagîd* of Dan 9:25-27 must be understood as two or even three historical figures, none of them related to the messianic idea at least! Then in an article of S. Talmon, “The Concepts of *Māshîah* and Messianism in Early Judaism,” in *The Messiah*, p. 88 appears this interesting assertion,

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The application of the collocation מִשָּׁח לַנֶּגֶד to Solomon, who built the City of Jerusalem and the Temple, gives rise to the supposition that his image served the author of Daniel as the prototype on which he modelled his portrayal of the מִשָּׁח נֶגֶד who is said to arise after the completion of the divinely determined period of wrath which will last for seven times seventy years. Then the historical triad –Davidic king, prophet and anointed high priest–will be reinstated in the rebuilt holy city.

<sup>523</sup> Concerning the tension between *waw* copulative and a seemingly wrong placed or wrong understood *athnach*, see note 319 for a full treatment.

<sup>524</sup> The historical dates in this table are taken from Owusu-Antwi, pp. 307-310, Euseviu Popovici, *Istoria Bisericească Universală*, vol. I, (University German course from Czernowitz, translated into Romanian by Athanasie Mironescu), Tipografia Cărților Bisericești, București 1925, pp. 91-93. Luke does not say explicitly how long time passed from the beginning of baptismal ministry by John and the Baptism of Jesus. However, Luke describes John as calling multitudes to him in short time and Jesus's Baptism is said to have followed immediately the baptism of those throngs gathered in that occasion (Lk 3:21). The time was providential, because John had the mission to reveal Him before Israel, therefore he must gather multitudes to Jordan in order to proclaim Jesus the Sacrificial Messiah (Jn 1:31-34.). It should be also observed that vs. 18-20 from Lk 3 are only a parenthesis about the latter fate of John the Baptist, then v. 21 is linked directly to the narrative of vs. 1-17.

<sup>525</sup> Popovici, *Ibid.*

<sup>526</sup> The chronological sense of John must be considered when one tries to count the time lapsed with the events recorded in Jn 1:1—2:13. See also Popovici, *Ibid.*

<sup>527</sup> Gane aptly observed this jubilee relevance of the first 7 weeks of Daniel 9. See Erwin Gane, "Apocalypsis not yet", in *Journal of ATS*, Vol. 8, Nrs 1-2, 1997, p. 226.

<sup>528</sup> William Shea in *Selected Studies...*, p. 79 cites the work Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Calendar of Sabbatical cycles During the second Temple and the Early Rabinnic Period," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 44 (1973): 153-196. I am not yet prepared to substantiate in a significant way this suggestion..

<sup>529</sup> For linguistic analysis of this phrase see note 322.

<sup>530</sup> If the year 33 is accepted as the date of Crucifixion, the first major problem that appears, is the birth of Jesus at least two years after the death of Herod the Great.

<sup>531</sup> See note 323 for linguistic and philological comments.

<sup>532</sup> See note 326 for the linguistic comments.

<sup>533</sup> Mk 13:1-2, Lk 21:20-24, Lk 19:43-44.

<sup>534</sup> Op. cit. pp. 173-178.

<sup>535</sup> Kline, Meredith G. "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week." In *The Law and the Prophets: Old Testament Studies Prepared in Honor of Oswald Thompson Allis*, ed. John H. Skillton. Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian Reformed Publishing Co., 1974. p. 465.

<sup>536</sup> BDBG p. 137 : "k. the prophetic covenant, a divine promise through a series of prophets to establish a new constitution, בְּרִית חֻדְשָׁה Jer 31:31, with new institutions and precepts Is 42:6, 49:8, 55:3, 59:21, 61:8, Jer 31:31.33, 32:40, 50:5, Ez 16:60.62, 20:37, 34:25, 37:26, Hos 2:20. In Is<sup>2</sup> the Messianic servant is עַם בְּרִית Is 42:6, 49:8, cf. מַלְאָךְ הַבְּרִית Mal 3:1."

<sup>537</sup> John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*. Word Biblical Commentary. Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989, p. 262.

<sup>538</sup> Other scriptures possibly connected with this phrase are the following:

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|---|---|---|
| <p>Is 55:1-5 see<br/>also 56:6-8, cf.<br/>42: 1.6,<br/>49:5-8, 2:3,<br/>61:1.8 etc,</p> | <p>הוּי כָּל-צָמָא לִכְנֹו לַמַּיִם [...] <br/>וְאֶכְרַתְהָ לָכֶם בְּרִית עוֹלָם <br/>חֲסִדֵי דְדֹר הַנְּאֻמָּנִים <br/>הֵן עַד לְאֻמִּים נִתְּנוּ <br/>בְּיַד וּמְצִיחָה לְאֻמִּים</p> | <p>Ho, <b>everyone</b> who thirsts, come to the waters !<br/>I will make with you an <b>everlasting covenant</b>,<br/>my steadfast, sure love for <b>David</b>. 4 See, I<br/>made him a witness to the <b>peoples</b>, a leader<br/>and commander for the <b>peoples</b>.</p> |
| <p>AA 3:25</p>  | <p>ὁμεῖς ἐστε οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν<br/>καὶ τῆς διαθήκης[...]πᾶσαι αἱ<br/>πατριάι τῆς γῆς</p>  | <p>You are sons of the Prophets and of the<br/>covenant [...]for] all the families of the earth.</p>  |
| <p>Mat 20:28</p>  | <p>ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἦλθεν δούναί<br/>τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ<br/>πολλῶν</p>  | <p>The <b>Son of Man</b> (cf. Dan 7:13) came to give<br/>His life ransom for <b>many people</b>.</p>  |
| <p>Heb 9:15.28</p>  | <p>διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης [...] <br/>θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν<br/>...[...]<br/>ὁ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ προσενεχθεὶς εἰς τὸ<br/>πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας</p>                          | <p>[<i>the Christ</i>] ..mediator of a new<br/><i>covenant</i>, being given to death unto<br/><i>redemption</i>, [...]<br/><i>offered Himself once to bear the sins of<br/>many people.</i></p>   |

<sup>539</sup> While all agree on Paul's journey to Corinth in the year 49, the difference that arises is whether to take the 3 years of Gal 1:18 as part of the 14 years of Gal 2:1, or prior to that period. William Shea argues from the logic of the narrative, that the 3 years should be counted as preceding the 14 and using an inclusive counting, reaching thus to the year 34. See William Shea, *The 70 Weeks...*, pp. 103-104. Owusu-Antwi, pp. 331.370.

<sup>540</sup> Dan 9:21, 2 K 16:15, Ezra 9:4-5, Ps 141:2.

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<sup>541</sup> Ex 29:41, Nu 28:8.

<sup>542</sup> Ne 10:34, Lv 6:13, Nu 4:16.

<sup>543</sup> 1Sam 2:29, 3:14, Is 19:21, Am 5:25. In LXX: 1 Esdra 5:51, Od 7:38, Dan' 3:38, 4:37. In NT: Eph 5:2..

<sup>544</sup> Am 5:21-25, Is 1:10-15, Mi 6:6-8 et.al..

<sup>545</sup> I. Jn 2:13, II. 5:1, III. 6:4, IV. 11:55-56, 19:14. John calls the Passover “the feast of the Jews.” In Jn 5:3, however, the noun is *anarthrous*. But there are some manuscripts containing the definite article. (In this case, it could be easily lost because of the possible elision in pronunciation – ἡ ἑορτὴ *the feast*.)

<sup>546</sup> Bruce K. Waltke & M. O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 1990: pp. 24. 158-160

<sup>547</sup> See Owusu-Antwi 327-330. In favour of this meaning he cites Sirach 38:11 (“Give a meal-offering with a memorial and offer a fat sacrifice to the utmost of thy means”) in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 450.

<sup>548</sup> A. A. Bevan (*A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1892: 160), Montgomery (*The Book of Daniel* 386), Hartman & Di Lella (240).

<sup>549</sup> NRS translated, *in their place*, as a plural, probably to agree with the double object *וְזָבַח וּמִנְחָה* of the previous clause.

<sup>550</sup> Cf. Dan 8:23-25, 11:36-39 (cf. 2Th 2:3-4, Rev 17:5-6).

<sup>551</sup> See Daniel 8:13, 9:27d, 11:31, 12:11.

<sup>552</sup> Michael Herbert Farris, “The Formative Interpretations of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel.” Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, Canada, 1990, pp. 360-361.

<sup>553</sup> NRS, RSV, ASV, KJV, NAB, ELB, YLT, WEB, LSG, DRB. NEG.

<sup>554</sup> E.g. מִלֵּא, חֲכָם, הַבֵּין. Cf. Waltke & O'Connor, p. 365-366.

<sup>555</sup> Nah 3:6, like the variant *וְשִׁקָּץ* (Lv 11:10-42 et.al.).

<sup>556</sup> Dt 7:26, Jer 16:18 et.al.

<sup>557</sup> E.g. Dt 29:16, 2 K 21:11, 23:24, Jer 50:2, Ez 37:23, Ez 30:13.

<sup>558</sup> E.g. Ez 4:12, 15, 8:10, 14:6, 1 K 14:10, see BDBG 165.

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<sup>559</sup> An related phrase of Dan 11:36d, עֲרִיכָּלָה זָעַם כִּי נִחְרָצָה נִעְשָׂתָה (till [God's] wrath shall have been completely manifested, for what is determined will certainly happen) is apparently built from the same eschatological bricks as Is 10:22-23, 28:21-22 (עַל־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ [...] וְנִחְרָצָה), about God's "strange work" of punishment against His enemies among His people, as well as against the adverse nations. In Dan 9:27, this consummation is applied, seemingly, to the desolated Israel: וְעֲרִיכָּלָה וְנִחְרָצָה תִּתֵּן עַל־שָׂמָיִם until complete destruction, a determined punishment will be poured out on the desolated one.

<sup>560</sup> E.g. 2 S 13:20, Lam 1:13, 3:11, Is 49:8, 61:4, Dan 8:26, in Dan 9:17 with different vowels.

<sup>561</sup> It is possible that the term שָׂמָיִם have in *Daniel*, a fientive-active meaning (*desolating* or *desolator*. Comp. Dan 11:40 and Is 33:1). It is quite difficult to decide which is the logical object of the divine punishment here. See also comments at p. 171. While the OT evidence outside the book of Daniel is unanimously for the meaning *desolated*, and the oldest translations of this last word of the prophecy (e.g. LXX, Θ, VUL) render it *desolation*, it is more acceptable to understand שָׂמָיִם here as *desolator* (in agreement with NAB, NAS, RSV, NRS, ELB, LSG, NEG, et.al.), at least because such idea that "the desolation / destruction will be poured out ...upon the destroyed /desolated" does not make much sense. The *desolate[d]* is a result of *desolation*, or an exponent of it. To pour out desolation upon a desolate one, or upon desolation, is too much.

<sup>562</sup> This very practical solution for the 70 weeks is also, in the old historicist thinking, the key of understanding the beginning of the puzzling long period of 2300 days, since the 70 weeks (490 years) that begin in 457 BCE are cut off thence, as the first part of the long period. This reasoning led many theologians, ministers and lay persons in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to expect some final event: the beginning of the millennium, the return of Christ, the end of this world, at the end of the 2300 prophetic days (years), between 1843-1847. The text of Daniel, nevertheless, does not require some measurable, historical fulfilment, bur the vindication or cleansing of the Sanctuary that is fully identified through the messianic prophecy in Daniel 9 to be the same as the celestial court of Daniel 7.

<sup>563</sup> The Judgment is a process including the righteous: Mt 25:31-40, Rom 14:10, 1Cor 4:4-5, 2Cor 5:10, Dt 32:36, 2Ch 6:23, Ps 35:24, 75:7/8, Pr 29:14, 31:9. Christ is God's chosen Judge of all creation: Jn 5:22, AA 17:31, Rev 19:11, Is 11:3-4.

<sup>564</sup> See Dar 7:10-11. The New Testament agrees on the fact that Christ at His Second Advent comes with His rewards: 2Cor 5:10, Rev 22:12, Is 40:10, 62:11. That means an executive Judgment, revealing and applying an already pronounced verdict, thus implying an examinatory judgement, which must have taken place some time before. Therefore it can be named The Pre-Advent Judgement, analogous to a court trial phase. While some phases of the Judgment, according to the

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Revelation, those involving the lost, occur after the Second Advent (a millennial court trial followed by the final, right punishment: Rev 20:4.11-15), the most important phases occur before the Second Advent, involving a celestial “counting” of the saved – dead and living (Rev 6:9-11, 7:3-8, 11:1.19, 14:7.14, Mt 22:11). The first theological insight about such a Pre-Advent judgement is attributed to the American Josiah Litch (1840). See C. Mervin Maxwell, “The Investigative Judgment: Its Early Development”, in *Doctrine of the Sanctuary – A Historical Survey*, Frank B Holbrook, Editor, Biblical Research Institute, Silver Spring, MD, 1989, pp. 155.

<sup>565</sup> See comments on Dan 8:14 in chapter I.1.a.16, p.118.

<sup>566</sup> Gerhard F. Hasel, “Studies in Biblical Atonement—II The Day of Atonement,” in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, edited by F. Holbrook, Biblical Research Institute, Silver Spring, MD, 1989, p.p. 107-121.

<sup>567</sup> Rodriguez, Angel. “Significance of the Cultic Language in Daniel 8:9-14”, in *Symposium on Daniel*, p. 545-549.

<sup>568</sup> A. Treyer, op. cit. p. 332-361.

<sup>569</sup> Doukhan, op. cit. pp. 182-190 quotes Rashi who interpreted Dan 8:14 as a direct reference to Yom Kippur, and shows that Jews today still consider Yom Kippur as a day of Judgment. Doukhan draws also the motif of the new creation (the cleansing of the world) from old rabbinical sources.

<sup>570</sup> Ford, op. cit. p. 175.

<sup>571</sup> John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Book of Prophet Daniel*. vol. II, Trans Th. Myers, Calvin Translation Society, Edinburgh, 1852, p. 110.

<sup>572</sup> See P. Gerard Damsteegt, “Among Sabbatarian Adventists (1845-1850),” in *Doctrine of the Sanctuary – A Historical Survey*, Frank B Holbrook, Editor, Biblical Research Institute, Silver Spring, MD, 1989, pp. 29-41.

<sup>573</sup> P. G. Damsteegt, “Continued Clarification (1850-1863),” in *Doctrine of the Sanctuary*, pp. 60-84.

<sup>574</sup> Ibid. pp. 89-91, 103-110, 152-154.

<sup>575</sup> Roy Adams, *The Sanctuary Doctrine*, Andrews University Press, Berrien Springs, MI, 1981, pp. 15-89.

<sup>576</sup> Perhaps the main Evangelical objection against this distinctive Adventist theology is that a Judgment of the saints imperils their security. But why be more Evangelical than the Bible itself? As Roy Adams says:



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This means that an “easy gospel,” one which chooses to ignore the most austere elements of the biblical revelation, is more likely to produce a shallow, emotional euphoria, rather than a deep-seated confidence and assurance. It is the undisciplined child, the one who has not been impressed with the need for accountability, which shows the greater tendency towards feelings of insecurity. The genius of the Christian gospel is not that it arbitrarily releases one from responsibility but that it removes the insecurity by pointing to Jesus as the universal “city of refuge.” Perhaps this approach would demonstrate that the universal conception of “sanctuary” as a place of refuge and safety is not accidental but represents the other side of this need for Judgment. (op. cit. p. 277)

<sup>577</sup> R. Adams, op. cit. p. 282.

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## KEY OF ABBREVIATIONS

|            |   |       |
|------------|---|-------|
| ASV        | American Standard Version   | 1901  |
| A, Σ, Θ,   | Aquillas, Symmachus, Theodotion – Old Greek Translations            |       |
| BDBG       | Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and Chaldee English Lexicon     |       |
| BHS        | Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia                                      | 1990  |
| Cornilescu | The Romanian Translation of D. Cornilescu, UBS (1990).              |       |
| DRB        | French Version Darby  | 1885. |
| ELB        | Revidierte Elberfelder  | 1993  |
| JB         | Jerusalem Bible   |       |
| KJV        | King James Version  | 1769  |
| LSG        | French Louis Segond   | 1910  |
| LUT        | Lutherbibel   | 1994  |
| LXX        | The Rahlfs Septuagint   |       |
| Menge      | Dr. H. Menge's Translation, Stuttgart                               | 1927  |
| NAB        | New American Standard Bible   | 1995  |
| NAS        | New American Standard Bible   | 1977  |
| NÉC        | French Nouvelle Edition Geneve                                      | 1979  |
| New Greek  | A Modern Greek Translation, Athens                                  | 1919  |
| NIV        | New International Version   | 1984  |
| NJB        | New Jerusalem Bible   |       |
| NJV        | New Jewish Version (Tanakh)   |       |
| NKJ        | New King James Version  | 1982  |
| NRS.       | New Revised Standard Version  | 1989  |
| REB        | Revised English Bible   |       |
| ROV        | Romanian Orthodox Version   | 1994  |
| RSV        | Revised Standard Version  | 1952  |
| SVV        | Dutch Version   |       |
| TEV        | Today's English Version   |       |
| TNK        | <i>Torah, Nebiim uKetubim</i> (The Old Testament, The Hebrew Bible) |       |
| VUL        | Latin Vulgate   |       |
| WEB        | The Webster Bible   | 1833  |
| YLT        | Young's Literal Translation   | 1898  |
| BH         | Biblical Hebrew   |       |
| EBH        | Early Biblical Hebrew   |       |
| LBH        | Late Biblical Hebrew  |       |
| SE         | The Seleucid Era.   |       |