

Chapter 3: Daniel's Use of The Terms “North” and “South”

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Introduction

The apocalyptic setting

Let me point out that apocalyptic prophecy, such as that found in Daniel, can be thought of as a microcosm of Scripture generally. In making this comparison there are both similarities and differences to point out.

Similarities. Apocalyptic deals with many of the same themes that we find in the rest of the Bible, but whereas each book makes its own contribution to an overall view of God's plan for mankind and the perspective is cumulative, in Daniel things are conveyed in highly concentrated form. This is the special genius of apocalyptic.

Like the rest of the Bible as a whole, the prophecies of Daniel deal with the contrast between heaven and earth, good and evil, and great expanses of time. These are similarities – things that Daniel has in common with the overall corpus of Scripture.

Differences. Not everything is the same, however. The Bible deals with both the distant past and the distant future. Daniel only looks to the future – as seen from his own day and time. Just here there is a point to notice. The fact that a set of events was future for Daniel, doesn't mean it is still future for us. Much that Daniel predicted can now be verified as history. We can know what his words mean because we can look back in time and identify the events they describe. Although future for him, in many cases they are already past for us. This is the reason why we understand so much of what he wrote. He could not understand the events because they had not yet occurred when he predicted them. This is one point.

A second point has to do with the terms North and South. There is a curious reversal in the way these concepts are introduced. We return to this matter in a later section.

The immediate context

In Dan 11:4 the Greek empire of Alexander the Great is divided to the four winds of heaven, i.e., to the four points of the compass.¹ In the rest of the chapter we are concerned with only two of these. There the focus is only on north and south.

Having said this, I need to point out that direction terms are not used in every section of Dan 11, but only in vss. 2-15,² 23-28, 29-35, and 40-45. No direction terms

¹ See also Dan 8:8.

² Direction terms are first introduced in Dan 11:5.

occur in the Hebrew text of vss. 16-22 or 36-39. The fact that many translations capitalize the terms "North" and "South" shows that they are viewed as having more than simple geographical significance.

The data sample

Consistent with what was said earlier about the distant past, I limit the data sample for this portion of the study to the period of the monarchy and beyond. Thus, I exclude references to "north" and "south," and to particular northern and southern countries, during the patriarchal period. The exodus from Egypt falls within this category. There are many references to Egypt in Genesis through Deuteronomy, and Egypt was certainly a major southern power at this time, but there was no corresponding northern super-power. The events represent the wrong time period. The books that I exclude are therefore Genesis through 2 Samuel. We begin gathering data with 1 Kings.

It is the date of the events that is important, not the date of the documents describing the events, so I exclude references to the exodus when they occur within other books as well. During the timeframe of the exodus Israel lived in a different political world than it would later during the period of the monarchy. The mid second millennium BC represents a time when the great northern powers did not exist, or at least they do not figure in the narrative, and when Egypt is all important. Later this situation would become reversed, as each of the empires in Daniel's four-part series either contain or conquer Egypt in turn. Remember this sequence of events. We will see it again. Egypt starts strong, but ends weak in Dan 11, and in the history of the Bible generally.

The word "north" appears x times in the Old Testament, x of these in the data sample. The word "south" appears x times in the Old Testament, but not all of these will be of interest. At the same time there are other terms to consider which will be. These include "Babylon," "Chaldea," "Persia," and "Egypt." Malachi was written c. 400 BC, and after this there are four centuries of silence, except for various pseudepigraphical works such as Ecclesiasticus and the books of Maccabees.

Critical scholars would like to place the book of Daniel in this period as well, but such positions do not follow from any claim made in the text of the book itself. My position is that claims which lack textual validity can be set aside. More than this, they must be set aside if we are to be true to the text of Scripture. So that is my starting point. I want to know what is written and how the text of this prophecy relates to the text of other comparable prophecies. Readers desiring a different starting point should read a different book. There are many to choose from. In any case, for whatever reason, references to Greece in the Old Testament are generally prophetic.

The Nature of North and South

Bible as a whole

Early Southern focus. In the world of the Pentateuch Israel's political awareness was limited to nations that were close by. This is a world in which Egypt is the only super power. There was no political structure in Canaan, but only kings of individual cities. If there were powerful nation states in Mesopotamia (Sumer) and Asia Minor (the Hittites,

or even closer (Ebla), Abraham and his immediate descendants were unaware of them. Mesopotamia was a place where certain relatives lived, not where great kingdoms which rivalled, or would soon rival, Egypt were located. It took time for Israel to expand its political horizons to include places so far away as Mesopotamia, and this process could not begin until their period of slavery in Egypt ended. So the time from Joseph to say Joshua really is not germane to our discussion here, even though Egypt itself plays a pivotal role in the later prophecy of Dan 11.

The land of Egypt. The one thing more than any other that makes Egypt what it is is the Nile. One might say that Egypt is the Nile, below about the fourth cataract. One thing that made Egypt great was its economic base,³ which derived from the geography of the land – or perhaps we could say the geography of the river which defined the land. Every year the Nile would overflow, leaving behind a fresh layer of fertile silt. So the land was always new. It was inexhaustible because of the yearly inundation that replenished it. As a result, even during the rule of occasional weak dynasties and during its two intermediate periods, Egypt was always able to produce more food than it needed to sustain itself. This made it possible to perform monumental building projects, whether religious or funerary in nature, and to maintain a standing army.

The geography composition of the land made Egypt not only wealthy, but difficult to attack. To the east and west lay formidable deserts. To the west there was also the Red Sea. Historically Egypt was never attacked from either of these two directions.

Late in its history Egypt fell to a Lybian dynasty (X), but there was no Lybian invasion. Those who established themselves in power were already present in Egypt as foreign mercenaries.

The next dynasty was Nubian (X). In this case there was conquest – from the south. For centuries Egypt had sparred back and forth with Nubia, in a process that generally led to Egyptian victories. In the X dynasty, however, Nubia was finally able to assert itself over Egypt.

For centuries Egypt was strong enough to defend and assert itself at both its northern and southern borders, but as decline set in its most vulnerable frontier proved to be the northern one. Attacks from the north did not occur at all for centuries, but then came by both sea (sea peoples, Hyksos) and land (Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome).

Assyria penetrated Egypt as far as Thebes (now Luxor). Babylon apparently confined itself to Egypt's borders. Persia ruled Egypt remotely, as it were, through satraps. Greece ruled Egypt natively, as it were, through the Ptolemies heirs of Alexander. Their home base was the city of Alexandria, built on the coast to allow free and open contact with the Mediterranean world. They lived in the land, but spoke Greek and remained separate from the native Egyptian population. Under Rome Egypt was incorporated into the empire and it eventually became a personal real estate holding of Caesar. The Egypt of earlier centuries had ceased to be.

The story of Egypt is a story of decline. Its history begins with incredible greatness leading at last to nonexistence. The pyramid builders were all from the first

³ See X.

dynasty. Architecturally this was Egypt's finest hour. Then for centuries there was a succession of dynasties, some of which were strong, some weak. There were two intermediate periods during which Egypt was very weak, but both times it came back. Then, as northern powers increased in power and Egypt became weaker, the balance was tipped and a succession of northern powers invaded, ruled, and finally engulfed this once great land.

Earlier Southern focus. The patriarchs lived in small world. It was small enough that Egypt was the only superpower they knew. Mesopotamia was a place where family lived. It was a good place to find a wife. But Genesis says nothing about great rulers in Mesopotamia. This does not mean Mesopotamia was weak, or that there were no great rulers, but the patriarchs say nothing about them.

In this earlier age Mesopotamian nations had not yet extended their influence to a point where biblical patriarchs living in Canaan needed to take notice of them.

Later, an Egyptian army might have prevented Assyria from falling to the Babylonians, but is prevented from reaching them in time. Egypt was a relatively minor player during the period leading up to the exile

Later Northern focus. x

Later there is only North
In Daniel the focus is all on Babylon

Babylon of course is the first of Daniel's four great world empires. This does not mean it was greater than Assyria, but Babylon is where Daniel's series of empires begins. Biblical attitudes toward the powers that would follow Babylon in Daniel's four-fold sequence of empires are of great interest. I submit that each of these powers in turn occupies a similar role toward God's people, i.e., that, apart from Babylon, each in turn starts by benefitting them but ends by oppressing them in some way. Even Persia, which freed the exiles and helped them rebuild the temple, were eventually involved in an attempt to bring about their complete destruction of the Jews (in the book of Esther). This is something even Babylon never tried to do. So Babylon is seen negatively throughout much of Scripture but Persia, in its own way, was potentially just as destructive.

Greece receives little comment in the Old Testament outside Dan 11 and even there the Greeks who ruled Syria and the Greeks who ruled Egypt were primarily engaged in fighting each other (see vss. 5-15). The big exception to this rule has to do with Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who tried to wipe out not the Jewish race, as Persia contemplated doing, but the Jewish religion.

In later sections the kings of the North and South are not Greek, but Roman (see vss. 16-45).

Daniel 11

Here we start with a world where there are only Northern powers. This point of view represents a later age in history than the time of the patriarchs when Egypt was one of the only great powers on earth.

Over time all of Daniel's four empires occupy the role of king of the North. Each one in turn is the great northern conqueror, to which the counterpart is Egypt. Note that these empires come from widely different places – not all of them north of Judea. But there is a reason why we can legitimately think of them as northern conquerors. The point to notice is that the Northern idea is present in Daniel from the start, from the days of Nebuchadnezzar onward.

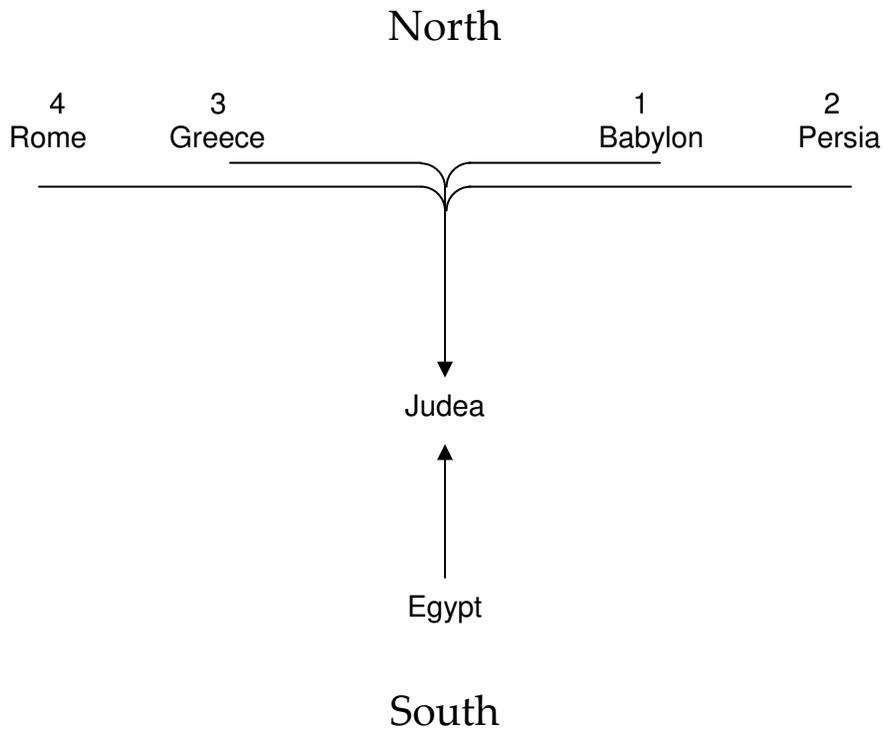


Fig. x. First representation of Northern and Southern powers in abstract geographical relationship to Judea.

Actually fig. x is a bit too abstract, because it shows North and South with an equivalent relationship to Judea. But this is not entirely accurate. Egypt did not occupy an aggressive stance toward Judea. Instead it served – so long as it was able – as a counterweight to whatever power was attacking Judea at the time. Instead of North and South both being hostile to Judea, North was hostile to both Judea and South. The primary opposition throughout the chapter is North v. South, with Judea caught in the middle. See fig. 2.

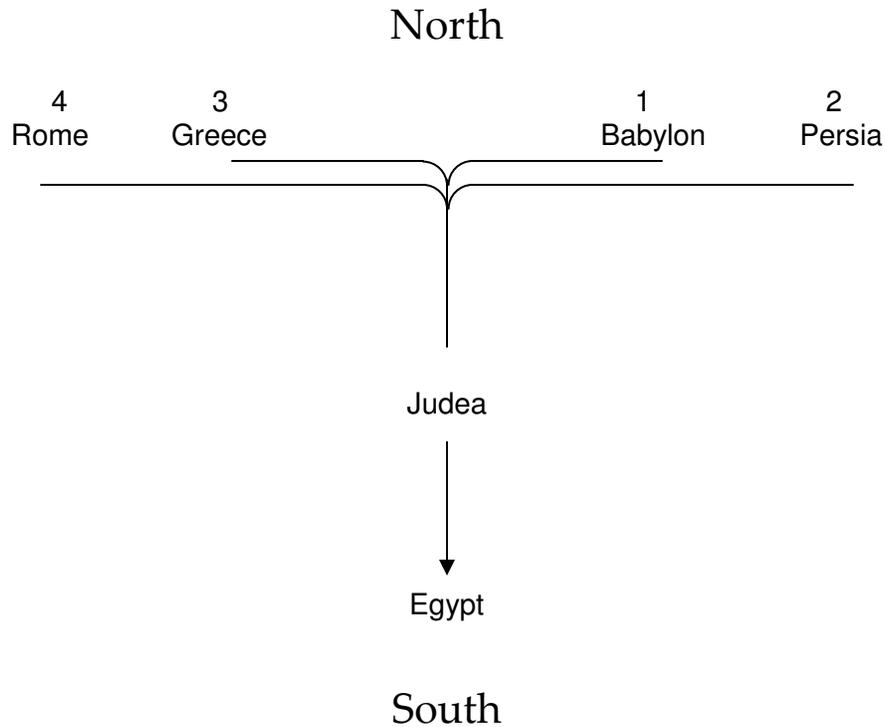


Fig. x. Second representation of Northern and Southern powers in abstract geographical relationship to Judea.

It is tempting to think that in Dan 11 the angel introduces the ideas of North and South with the break up of Alexander's empire. I would argue that the contrast between north and south is introduced at this point, but that this follows from the introduction, not of North and South, but rather of South alone. The great Northern conqueror motif has been present from the beginning. What is added in Dan 11 is South (in vs. 5), and this is what creates the contrast which otherwise characterizes the chapter.

If someone wishes to challenge this concept, that is certainly possible. If one states that the terms "North" and "South" occur for the first time in chap. 11 within Daniel, and not both, that is true. I don't challenge this. What I'm saying is not the terms occur earlier, but the Northern idea occurs earlier – all the way back in chap. 1.

North and South Occupy Different Roles in the Prophecy

There is much to say about the direction terms used in Dan 11. More is involved than a compass would be able to tell us. There is a more than geographical component of these terms which is not always uniformly present, but emerges gradually over the course of the narrative.

On one level, it is true that the terms "North" and "South" simply mean north from Judea and south from Judea respectively. But we cannot let the matter rest here. It is not as simple as Hal Lindsey would like to believe in the following paragraph:

[Hal Lindsey]

If Judea is our point of reference, even from a simple geographical point of view there is a question what "north" means. When Assyrians or Babylonians came to Judea, they followed the great rivers up out of Mesopotamia and then marched southward along the Mediterranean coast, so when they arrived in Judea they were coming from the north. Actually Babylon is mostly east from Judea on a globe, but the final approach of a Babylonian army was always from the north. The deserts in between were too formidable a barrier to consider crossing them directly. When Persians came to Judea, their starting point was farther east than any city of Mesopotamia, but the last part of their march was from the north, down along the Mediterranean coast, just like the Babylonians.

Greece and Rome are as far west of Judea as Babylon and Persia are east, but when Greeks or Romans came to Judea, if they came by land, they followed the same route as the others – down the coast from the north – and the last part of their march was from the north. So to Jews living in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Judea, all of these powers, without distinction, were considered to be northern powers because they all came by the same route. For these geographical reasons, many powerful nations which oppressed God's people at one time or another were thought of in the same way and all considered to be northern in origin, even though in fact they came from different places.

By contrast, there was no question what "south" meant. To the south there were few nations of any kind, and, with the possible exception of Sheba, only one great one, i.e., Egypt. Again for geographical reasons, whenever a hostile northern power committed acts of aggression against Judea, they were weakening a buffer area which Egypt considered important for the maintenance of its own borders. Egypt could not be expected to welcome such activity. Thus, while northern powers were seen as being hostile to Jewish interests, the only major southern power could consistently be counted on oppose them. A modern saying from the middle east is that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. And Egypt, because it opposes the encroachment of any northern power against its near neighbors, occupies the role of an enemy of such northern powers and therefore a friend to the Jewish people living in Judea.

In Scripture these geographical facts become transformed into broad prophetic themes (see Isa 14:31; Ezek 27-28). And in Dan 11 they are taken up and repeated with a progressive sense of spiritual goal direction as the chapter unfolds, until Michael finally stands up (Dan 12:1a) to rescue His oppressed people (Dan 12:1b; Rev 11:11-21) and raise the righteousness dead at the end of the age (Dan 12:2; Rev 20:4-6). That's the end of the narrative – not at 11:45, but at 12:4.

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| Early on, Egypt considered Judea and Syria fair game for attack Later (when there were other powers to consider), Egypt feared losing its hegemony, so protected Judea against Northern encroachments |
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Things that don't change

One thing that was built into the geography is Egypt's wealth

Things that do change

Progression. The terms North and South take on spiritual meaning gradually over time. Vs. 29 is a point of transition.

Reversal. South starts strong, but ends weak. In the patriarchal period there is only Egypt.

Egypt controls the Levant early in its history

North starts weak, but ends strong

During the patriarchal period North is a complete nonentity

Later, however, North rises to greater power than Egypt

Every empire in the series dominates Egypt

Over time, Judea changes hands, from Southern control to Northern control

An important pattern repeated in Dan 11:2-15, 23-28, 28-35, and 40-45 – four times over – is that South starts strong and ends weak. In each of these four sections, and cumulatively over the course of the entire narrative, the motif being illustrated is that North begins in a position of relative weakness and ends in a position of relative strength. So even if the South could have held out a genuine promise of help for God's people at an earlier time, the pattern for Egypt is one of gradual decline. By trusting Egypt for help God's people were distrusting the Lord and betting on a loser.

Attitudes Toward North and South

Jewish attitudes

Toward the North. As the narrative of Dan 11 begins,⁴ the major power north of Judea is Syria. At this time in history both Syria and Egypt are ruled by Greeks who had been Alexander's generals during his conquest of Persia or were successors of those generals. In this section Syria is North and Egypt is South. All of this is purely geographical and literal. As time goes by, however, the northness of the Northern power and the southness of the Southern power take on spiritual meaning. To understand what that meaning is, we must go beyond Dan 11 and allow these Scriptures to be interpreted by others.

It will be useful to see what emotional baggage comes along in other passages when Jewish writers refer to northern and southern powers. Without knowing such things it will be impossible to get inside Daniel's mind or to understand the angel's intent in Dan 11. What I have called "emotional baggage" will not be very important in the first part of the chapter, but toward the end it will have immense significance.

⁴ I do not mean the time when the chapter was written, but the time when the events portrayed in it occur. Dan 11 is a prophecy.

What parts of Scripture can we turn to for insight into the meaning of the terms "North" and "South" in Dan 11? Since the geopolitical situation does not remain constant, we will have to focus on passages that represent approximately the period of the monarchy and beyond. My data sample therefore begins with 1 Kings. This fact has some far-reaching implications. By excluding the first few books of the Old Testament, for purposes of this sample, we exclude Israel's earliest experience with Egypt.

It was always tempting to fear the North and to rely on Egypt as a source of help
 This set of attitudes
 Is built into the geography of the region
 But is time dependent, nonetheless It only applies during a time in history when there was a North to fear

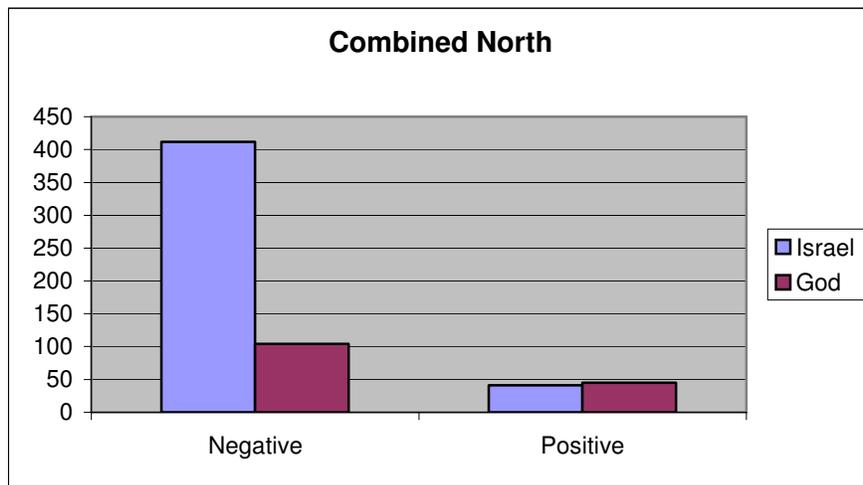


Fig. 1. Attitudes of Israel and of God toward a sample of northern powers.

When I say "Combined North" in fig. 1 the terms being combined are "Assyria," "Babylon," "Chaldea," "Ninevah," "Persia," and "north" (see table 1).

Table 1
 Numbers Summarized in Fig. 1

| Party | Attitude | "Assyria" | "Babylon" | "Chaldea" | "North" | NORTH |
|--------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|
| Israel | Neg | 92 | 209 | 68 | 43 | 412 |
| | Pos | 20 | 17 | 2 | 2 | 41 |
| God | Neg | 45 | 45 | 12 | 2 | 104 |
| | Pos | 8 | 32 | 2 | 3 | 45 |
| Totals | | 165 | 303 | 84 | 50 | 602 |

Actually, there are more than 303 examples of the word "Babylon" in the data sample. Here we count only those examples where either God or Israel exhibits either a positive or a negative attitude toward Babylon or the Babylonians. There are 27 other

references where the attitudes expressed are either not readily identifiable or neutral. So the total number of references to Babylon in the Hebrew (or Aramaic) text of the sample is 330. Similarly the total number of references to Assyria in the sample is 174, Ninevah X, to Chaldea 86, Persia X, and to north as a direction 148.

There are two other northern powers that provide an exception to the rule I'm describing here. Tyre and Sidon are located directly north of Israel but are never mentioned in a hostile context. Israel traditionally had an excellent relationship with these near neighbors. On the other hand Edom, Moab, and Ammon, while mostly east from Israel, could marginally be considered southern neighbors, and Israel had a uniformly bad relationship with each of them. This inner tier of neighboring states (Tyre and Sidon to the north, Edom, Moab, and Ammon more or less to the south) constitute Israel's "near abroad" during the period of the monarchy and reverse the normal set of expectations for north/south relationships involving Israel.

After the sixth century BC Edom, Moab, and Ammon disappear from history, while Tyre and Sidon live on as Phoenicia, and later Lebanon. In this also these near neighbors reverse an expected trend by which the South declines and the North advances. Other nations are mentioned in the Bible, but the ones listed are the ones we focus on here.

Let me draw attention to two other points. First, when I say that there are *n* references to Israel's attitudes and *m* references to God's attitudes, these numbers are not cumulative. Within one verse any combination of attitudes may occur (positive:negative, positive:neutral, neutral:negative, . . .). So we are not counting verses here, but instances of an attitude. The same verse can exhibit a positive or negative attitude of Israel and/or a positive or negative attitude of God. That's one point. The other is that, while translations vary, the numbers reported above are not dependent on them. My word searches were conducted in the original languages. The English glosses used for column headings in table 1 and elsewhere are merely for the reader's convenience.

Toward the South. It has always been tempting for God's people to rely on Egypt for help. At the end of the chapter, where North represents a consortium of religious powers and South represents a consortium of secular ones, it is still tempting for God's people to derive a sense of security from the prevailing secularity of society, which insulates them from religiously motivated attacks. In doing this they are once more betting on a loser – for two reasons.

The first reason is that, right at the end, North and South become allies. So any support the remnant might derive from the Southern presence close by vanishes. The second reason is that God removes both of these powers at the second coming. We need to derive our security and support from One who can supply these things, instead of a splintered reed that cannot (see 2 Kgs 18:21; Isa 36:6).

In Genesis Egypt is the most powerful country on earth and is seen as a source of enslavement or oppression. Mesopotamia, on the other hand, is a place where family members live and, as such, it is portrayed as a more or less friendly place. Little is said about the political organization of any nations that would eventually arise there. It is merely a good place to find a wife. So in terms of attitudes, Egypt is seen negatively, Mesopotamia is seen positively. Egypt is supremely powerful, Mesopotamia politically

inconsequential. Over time these roles would be reversed. This process of reversal is picked up and repeated four times in Dan 11.

In the sixth century, Egypt, although still formidable (Jer 37:X), was dominated by Babylon, and subsequently conquered by Persia, Greece, and Rome in turn. Under Rome Egypt was not owned by the state, but was Caesar's own – a personal possession. During its period of decline Egypt is seen positively for the most part, its Northern counterparts negatively. It ends in complete political obscurity, while the great Northern conqueror in vss. 40-45 takes over the whole world and is followed in this role by Christ as the ultimate and rightful King of the North in 12:1-3. North and South have a see-saw relationship in terms of power and the attitudes that God's people would have toward them. This see-saw reversal occupies centuries of time and is exhibited in Dan 11 as a whole and, on a smaller scale, it is repeated in four different sections of the chapter. This resemblance between the whole and its parts (Daniel within Scripture; chap. 11 within Daniel; and vss. 2-15, 16-22, 29-35, 40-45 within chap. 11), in other disciplines would be called self similarity.

“South”

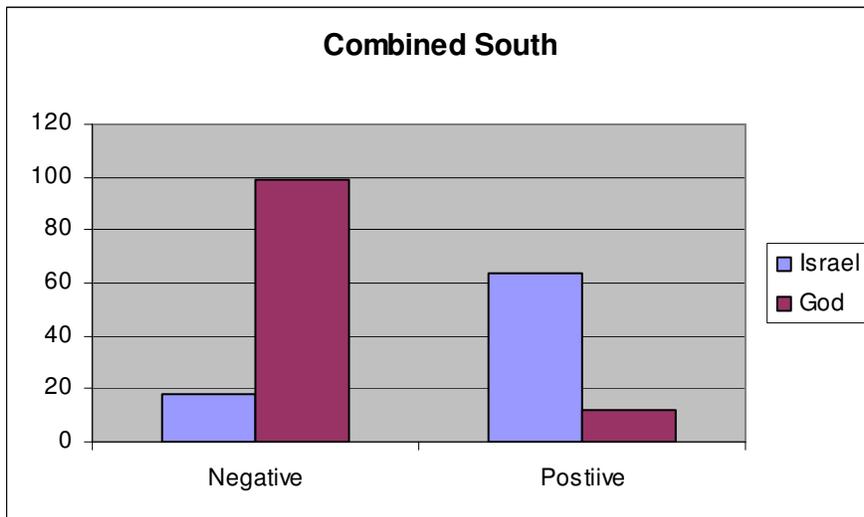


Fig. 2. Attitudes of Israel and of God toward Egypt.

When I say "Combined South," the terms being combined are "Egypt," "Sheba," and "south." Thus, while five (?) terms are included as examples of Northness, only three are included as examples of Southness. Sheba does not figure in the narrative of Dan 11, but it was a southern power.

Table 2
Numbers Summarized in Fig. 2

| Party | Attitude | "Egypt" | "South" | SOUTH |
|--------|----------|---------|---------|-------|
| Israel | Neg | 15 | 3 | 18 |
| | Pos | 64 | 0 | 64 |
| God | Neg | 96 | 3 | 99 |
| | Pos | 12 | 0 | 12 |
| Totals | | 187 | 6 | 193 |

Apart from the exodus and the patriarchal period which led up to it, there are 187 references to "Egypt" in the Hebrew text of the data sample. The total number considered was 221, but only 187 of these clearly express either a positive or a negative attitude toward Egypt or Egyptians. The total number of references to the south is 99, but only three of these convey a clearly recognizable attitude.

Divine attitudes

As we examine our comparative materials it becomes clear that Jewish attitudes toward nations to the north and south of Israel are not the only ones being expressed. Some of the attitudes that come through in the text pertain, not to Israel, but to God. Sometimes these are manifested as a promise of vengeance, sometimes as a willingness to save.⁵ Once we realize there are two sets of attitudes to track, it is important to notice that they are different from each other – and sometimes widely different. Israel was not always in perfect agreement with God. This is one factor that contributed to its exile in Babylon. In any event, Israel saw northern powers as being almost uniformly hostile, whereas God in many cases saw them as carrying out His will (see Jer X). By contrast, with the exodus receding into history, Israel often saw Egypt as a source of refuge or help rather than oppression, whereas God saw Egypt as enticing His people's attention away from the help that only He could legitimately provide.

Toward the North.

Toward the South.

There are more attitudes being conveyed than just those of Israel God's attitudes also come through

The two sets of attitudes are not only distinguishable, but sometimes widely different

⁵ There is some North/South imagery in Luke 11:29-32. Ninevah came under Jonah's influence and the Queen of the South came under Solomon's influence. The intent in both cases was to bless and benefit.

Discussion

Some numbers

God and Israel have similar attitudes toward the North, differing only by how strongly their attitudes are held. God is two times more negative than positive toward the North, while Israel is ten times more negative. The one represents a ratio of 2:1, the other 10:1, so in relationship to each other Israel is five times more negative toward the North than God is, and yet, despite this difference, both are considerably more negative than positive.

In their attitudes toward the South, however, the two parties take opposite positions. They do not merely differ in degree. Their attitudes go in fundamentally different directions. God is more negative than positive toward the South (with a ratio of 6:1, negative to positive), while Israel is more positive than negative (ratio 1:3, negative to positive).

Israel is negative toward the North, positive toward the South, but God sees both sets of powers negatively. Why is this? Why do God and Israel see the North and the South so very differently?

One part of the answer lies embedded in the question and has to do, not only with Israel's relationship toward its neighbors, but with Israel's relationship toward God. Because Israel has separated itself from God, (a) God punishes Israel and does this through a Northern power; (b) Israel does not want God's discipline and resents the Northern power that God uses for this purpose; and (c) Israel turns to Egypt for help, which pits Egypt against God in view of what God is trying to accomplish.

Symbolism

I used to say there is no symbolism in Dan 11, only typology, but no longer believe that that is true. I now think it would be more accurate to say the terms "North" and "South" are in fact symbolic. That is, they gradually become symbolic as the narrative progresses, such that by the end of the chapter they are profoundly symbolic. At first, of course, they are quite literal. The symbolism develops gradually as section follows section within the chapter. Dan 11, after all, occupies quite a span of time – roughly the same time as that covered in chaps. 2, 7, and 8-9. Thus we are talking about a period of some 2500 years – in this case from the Persian period in 11:1 to the second coming of Christ in 12:1. The time in between these two points is included in the narrative of Dan 11:2-45.

In vs. 5 there is a reference to the kings of the South and the North. In vs. 6 there is another reference to the kings of the South and the North. (South was dominant at this time in history so I mention it first.) But the individual kings representing these powers in the two verses are different. Thus, while South in vs. 5 is the same as South in vs. 6 and North in vs. 5 is the same as North in vs. 6, Ptolemy I (king of the South in vs. 5) is not the same as Ptolemy II (king of the South in vs. 6), nor is Seleucus I (king of the North in vs. 5) the same as Antiochus II (king of the North in vs. 6). They were different kings whose reigns were all distinct from each other. This is an important fact about the

chapter. The roles of North and South remain constant throughout the chapter (with the exception of vss. 16-22 and 36-39, where such terms are not mentioned), but the individuals who represent and personify the two powers are constantly changing.⁶ See table 3.

Table 3
 Represents of South and North
 in Dan 11:5-6

| Direction | Representative | Dates |
|----------------|-------------------------|---------|
| Verse 5 | | |
| South | Ptolemy I Soter | 323-283 |
| North | Seleucus I Nicator | 312-281 |
| Verse 6 | | |
| South | Ptolemy II Philadelphus | 285-246 |
| North | Antiochus II Theos | 261-247 |

The context of Dan 8

Rome is introduced in vs. 16 and this is the point at which "North" and "South" begin their gradual shift away from strict directionality. Rome, as a source of Northern kings in Dan 11, is certainly north from Israel, but not only north. It is north and west. There is still a literal component, carried over from vss. 2-15, but there is something more. What makes Rome different? Rome was the power that crucified Christ. This is both a historical and a spiritual truth. If the facts surrounding Jesus' life and death are not spiritual, then what events of history could ever be considered spiritual? Spiritual does not mean unreal. If it does, what is our concept of heaven? Or of God Himself? Rome's interaction with Jesus introduces a spiritual component to its role within the chapter which was not present before. Or perhaps we should say that Christ by His presence introduces a spiritual component in history and Rome was in power He lived.⁷

In Dan 8, when the little horn goes forth (*yāṣā'*) "to the south and to the east and toward the Beautiful Land" (8:9), the reference is to Rome superseding Greece. It does this by projecting power to all the same places, or in all the same directions, where Greeks had formerly projected power, i.e., the territory below Judea (south), above Judea (east), and within Judea (the Beautiful Land). When the little horn goes south it reaches Egypt (ruled by Ptolemaic Greeks) and when it goes east it reaches Syria (ruled by Seleucid Greeks).

We can be sure which power is represented here by reversing the directions mentioned in Dan 8:9 and following the lines to their source. In doing this we will have to let the lines converge, because there are not two little horns in chap. 8. It comes from one place, but is politically or militarily active in three places. If the little horn goes "to the south and to the east," then it comes from the north and from the west. When we start in Judea and seek a power that was rising at the same Greece was falling, somewhere

⁶ More specifically, no one individual is active from vs. 21 all the way through to the end of the chapter. Dan 11 covers quite an expanse of time.

⁷ It does not initially enter the chapter in vs. 14, or 21, or 36, or 40. It enters in vs. 16.

north and west from Judea, we do not come to some obscure and unknowable place. We come to Rome. [Figures] It is vitally important that Rome be included in the prophecy, because if there is no room for Rome in our interpretation there is no room for Christ. Pontius Pilate was not a procurator for Greece. Crucifixion was not a Greek form of execution.⁸

The idea of using abstract labels (North, South) is a brilliantly successful narrative device in Dan 11. Such terms are immediately meaningful,⁹ even if we search to gain deeper insights into their use. They show that two forces with inimical interests are being portrayed and they allow history to develop over time without losing the essential continuity which spans the series of world empires introduced in earlier chapters. I hasten to add that not all parts of the series are represented in Dan 11, but that in itself is a relatively unimportant fact. In Dan 11 we are seeing a significant time slice from the series introduced and explained in chaps. 2, 7, and 8-9. All in turn oppose Egypt and therefore all in turn occupy a similar role within the chapter. The terminology used in the chapter captures this idea nicely.

[fig.]

[fig.]

Greece is also north and west from Judea, just as Rome is, but it would make no sense to say that Greece supersedes Greece, or that one man supercedes the empire which gives his reign the only importance it has. By rising to power one man can represent an empire. We have illustrations of this throughout the chapter. The little horn was not Greece, nor was it Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The power that follows Greece in the prophecy is Rome.

The little horn in Dan 8 is clearly Roman. More than this, the little horn of Dan 7 is also Roman. There is one little horn in the book of Daniel. In chap. 7 the beast under the horn is mentioned in the prophecy, while in chap. 8 it is not, but this is selective emphasis. Babylon is not mentioned in chap. 8, so if the nondescript Roman beast that gives rise to the horn is not mentioned either, there is a precedent for omitting it. The angel places emphasis where he wants it to be. So we are not talking about two little horns – one in Dan 7, the other in Dan 8 – but are seeing one little horn twice. When the parallels that link chap. 7 with 8, 8 with 9, and 9 with 10-12 are taken into account, one might say we are seeing one little horn four times. It is in the nature of parallels for the same material to appear more than once.

If the hostile power in the final third of Dan 11 is the same as the hostile power in Dan 7, 8, and 9, then yet another transition can be anticipated because Daniel's fourth empire is subdivided in each chapter where it appears. In Dan 2 there is iron, and also iron mixed with clay. In Dan 7 there is the terrible fourth beast, and also a little horn. In Dan 8 we see only the little horn (without the beast), and in Dan 9 – if we could speak in

⁸ The practice of crucifixion did not originate with Rome. It came to Rome from the Phoenicians who founded Carthage, and they in turn got it from the Assyrians.

⁹ In this the terms "North" and "South" are similar to the terms "evening-mornings," "weeks," "times," and in Revelation "days." These terms, borrowed abstractly from the calendar, require no knowledge of ancient calendation techniques, which is a good thing, because calculations of time in antiquity are notoriously complex. Instead they come across to the reader intuitively.

this way – only the beast (without the horn).¹⁰ I grant that in Dan 9 there are no symbols, but we know from history that the power which crucified Christ and destroyed Jerusalem in chap. 9 is the same as the power which superseded Alexander's empire in chap. 7.

Thus, in Dan 11 we would also expect to see Rome in two phases – first as a secular power (both Republic and Empire), and then as a religious power. If the parallel were to break down at this point in the series of vision reports, that is the fact that would require explanation – not when the parallel holds, as I assert it does here. The transition from secular Rome to religious Rome occurs at vs. 29 and is uniquely confirmed by the formula "he will do as he pleases" in vs. 36. Throughout the middle third of the chapter (vss. 16-28) Rome is a secular power; throughout the last third of the chapter (vss. 29-45) it is a religious power with varying degrees of state support.

From parallel passages in Rev 13 we know that the second, or religious, phase of Rome's power in history is divided yet again. The church exercises unlimited religious and political authority for 1260 years (538-1798) and then its base of political support suffers a fatal wound. This wound heals only gradually, but my point is that the church behaves one way before the wound, another way while the wound remains in effect, and reverts to its earlier violent ways after the wound is healed. So the second, or religious, phase of Roman power is itself divided into three parts. If there are four phases of world power in the sequence before religious Rome rises (X), and if there are three phases afterward (X), then the series of world empires has a total of seven parts or phases (4 + 3 = 7) and the seven phases of power in Dan 2, 7, 8-9, and 10-12 map directly onto the seven phases of power in Rev 17.¹¹ The two prophetic summaries are entirely equivalent to each other. See tables below.

Table #
Daniel

| Num | Dan 2 | Dan 7 | Dan 8 | Dan 9 | Dan 11 | Application |
|---------|----------------------|---------|-------|--------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | Gold | Lion | | | | Babylon |
| 2. | Silver | Bear | Ram | | Vs. 2 | Medo-Persia |
| 3. | Bronze | Leopard | Goat | | Vss. 3-15 | Greece |
| 4a. | Iron | Beast | | Prince | Vss. 16-28 | Rome as a state |
| 4b.i. | Iron mixed with clay | Horn | Horn | | Vss. 29-39 | Rome as a church-state (before wound) |
| 4b.ii. | | | | | Vs. 40a | Rome as a church-state (during wound) |
| 4b.iii. | | | | | Vss. 40b-45 | Rome as a church-state (after wound) |

Table #
Daniel and Revelation

¹⁰ There are no horns in Dan 9, but the power that is mentioned there is the same historical entity as the dreadful beast of Dan 7, i.e., it is secular Rome. I use a figure of speech here to make a point.

¹¹ The series of seven heads in Rev 17 does not begin with Egypt or Assyria any more than the parallel series of four empires in Daniel begins with these powers. Both series begin with Babylon. Both series end with Rome.

| Daniel | Rev 13 | Rev 17 | Application |
|--------|------------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | | 1 | Babylon |
| 2 | | 2 | Medo-Persia |
| 3 | | 3 | Greece |
| 4a | | 4 | Rome as a state |
| 4b.i | Power, throne, and great authority | 5 | Rome as a church-state (before wound) |
| 4b.ii | Fatal wound | 6 | Rome as a church-state (during wound) |
| 4b.iii | Wound healed | 7 | Rome as a church-state (after wound) |

Thus, it is not only the case that there is one little horn in Daniel. There is one, and only one, series of prophetically significant world empires in Scripture.

Conclusion