

**Daniel's Four World Empires**  
**Apart from History**  
Frank W. Hardy, PhD

**Introduction**

In this paper I examine Daniel without reference to history, except as specific applications are set forth in the text.<sup>1</sup> Those supplied by commentators are excluded.<sup>2</sup> My reason for doing this

---

<sup>1</sup> “You [Nebuchadnezzar] are the head of gold” (2:38); “As for the ram that you saw with the two horns, these are the kings of Media and Persia” (8:20); “And the goat is the king of Greece” (8:21). Here we understand that “Nebuchadnezzar” implies Babylon as ruled by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 27:7b), that the “kings of Media and Persia” means Medo-Persia, and that the “king of Greece” is a reference to Greece as ruled by that king. Individuals are mentioned with respect to the roles they occupy. What we have is an empire motif, not an emperor motif. See also Daniel’s references to “Persia” (10:1, 13, 13, 20; 11:2b) and to “Greece” (10:20; 11:2b).

<sup>2</sup> Commentaries cited are as follows: Robert A. Anderson, *International Theological Commentary: Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984); Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1978); John J. Collins, *Hermeneia: Daniel* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993); René Péter Contesse and John Ellington, *A Handbook on The Book of Daniel*, UBS Handbook Series (New York: United Bible Societies, 1993); Iain M. Duguid, *Daniel*, Reformed Expository Commentary (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R, 2008); Jim Edlin, *Daniel: A Commentary in the Wesleyan Tradition*, New Beacon Bible Commentary (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 2009); Kenneth O. Gangel, *Holman Old Testament Commentary: Daniel* (Nashville, TN: Oldman Reference, 2001); John E. Goldingay, *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 30: *Daniel* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989); Hersh Goldwurm, *Daniel: A New Translation with a Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources* (Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah, 1980); Donald E. Gowan, *Daniel: Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2001); Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *Anchor Bible*, vol 23: *The Book of Daniel* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977); Andrew E. Hill, *Expositor’s Bible Commentary: Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2008); James B. Jordan, *The Handwriting on the Wall: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Powder Springs, GA: American Vision, 2007); H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1969); Tremper Longman III, *NIV Application Commentary: Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1999); Earnest Lucas, *Apollos Old Testament Commentary*, vol. 20: *Daniel* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002); Stephen R. Miller, *New American Commentary*, vol. 18: *Daniel* ([Nashville, TN]: Broadman & Holman, 1994, 2001); James A. Montgomery, *International Critical Commentary: Daniel* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1926); Carol A. Newsom with Brennan W. Breed, *The Old Testament Library: Daniel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2014); Sharon Pace, *Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary: Daniel* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2008); Norman W. Porteous, *Old Testament Library: Daniel* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1965); Paul L. Redditt, *Daniel*, New Century Bible Commentary (Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, *Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature, Daniel, The Twelve Prophets: Daniel*, New Interpreter’s Bible (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1996); C. L. Seow, *Westminster Bible Companion: Daniel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003); Andrew E. Steinmann, *Concordia Commentary: Daniel* (St Louis, MO: Concordia, 2008); W. Sibley Towner, *Interpretation: Daniel* (Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1984); Samuel Wells and George Sumner, *Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible: Esther & Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos, 2013). Below I include dates only for writers represented in multiple works.

## Daniel's Empires Apart from History

is to examine features of the text that would be obscured in a framework dominated by Antiochus.

As we proceed – on the basis of textual rather than historical markers – it will become clear that

the Book of Daniel progresses climactically, . . . [A]s the story unfolds events become increasingly more crucial and this is seen in the amount of space which the author devotes to certain events. This ought to indicate where his emphases lie.<sup>3</sup>

In a later section I argue that the structure of Dan 11 is a natural extension of the book's structure overall, containing the same elements that are found in earlier apocalyptic prophecies and preserving the same relative proportions of emphasis.

### Preliminary Considerations

We begin by asking what prophetic narratives to include. Chapter 4 is prophetic, but not apocalyptic.<sup>4</sup> Fulfillment follows prediction within a single year. In chap. 5 fulfillment follows immediately ("That very night" [5:30]). In this paper we focus on the apocalyptic prophecies of Daniel, with special reference to the world empire motif. But even after qualifying our search in this way, there is still a question which narratives to include.

---

<sup>3</sup> C. C. Caragounis, "History and Supra-History: Daniel and the Four Empires," in van der Woude 1993:388. See also Ferdinand Regalado, "Progressions in the Book of Daniel," *JATS* 20 (2009) 55-66. Montgomery 469 takes the opposite position, that instead of allowing the prophecies to build from earlier to later we should start with Dan 10-12 and work our way back, so as to understand earlier prophecies in the light of later ones.

<sup>4</sup> Mathias Henze, "The Narrative Frame of Daniel: A Literary Assessment," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 32/1 (2001) 5-24, argues that the paired doxologies of Dan 4:1-3 and 34-37, which frame the story of the chapter between them, establish a context for the apocalyptic material in the second half of the book. Granting this point, however, does not make chap. 4 itself an apocalyptic prophecy.

## Establishing a universe of data

Dan 2 is often considered not to be a prophecy of Daniel because the dream it contains was given to Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>5</sup> But the point of the story is that God revealed the same things to Daniel (2:19, 23a, 23b, 30). When Daniel relates the dream to Nebuchadnezzar and interprets it (2:31-35, 36-45), he is not strictly speaking describing what the king saw; he is describing what he himself saw (“Then the mystery was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night” [Dan 2:1 ESV]). It’s just that the two men saw the same things. Dan 2 is of special interest here because it uses the world empire motif.

The next narrative of Daniel that is apocalyptic and incorporates the world empire motif is chap. 7; the next after that is chap. 8. What about chap. 9? Some see little connection between chaps. 8 and 9,<sup>6</sup> but I take them together as different aspects of one prophecy. The link involves their comparable references to time. The last apocalyptic narrative is Dan 10-12. Thus the data we study below is drawn from Dan 2, 7, 8-9, and 10-12. See table 1, to which Dan 10-12 will be added later in the paper. Throughout the paper empires are numbered rather than named.

---

<sup>5</sup> See Montgomery 89. It is true that the author switches to first person in 7:2, that chaps. 7-12 are mostly visions, and that chaps. 1-6 are mostly stories (Ferdinand Dexinger, *Das Buch Daniel und seine Probleme*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 36 [Stuttgart: Hans Burkardt, 1969]11-12). Les P. Bruce (“Discourse Theme and the Narratives of Daniel,” *BS* 160 [April-June 2003] 178) and E. C. Lucas (“Daniel: Resolving the Enigma,” *VT* 50/1 [2000] 68) emphasize the distinction between 1-6 and 7-12, and to a degree this is useful. But Dan 2:31-45 is an apocalyptic prophetic narrative, no less than chaps. 7, 8, 9, and 10-12, and it introduces the world empire motif in the book. So it would be reasonable in a paper that emphasizes this motif to include chap. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Michael B. Shepherd, *Daniel in the Context of the Hebrew Bible*, Studies in Biblical Literature 123 (New York: Peter Lang, 2009) 95 suggests that chap. 9 is “unique.” J. Paul Tanner, “The Literary Structure of the Book of Daniel” (*BS* 160 [July-September 2003] 274) not only makes 8 and 9 distinct from each other, but places them in separate divisions of his outline. “The implication might be that Dan 9 was intended to clarify issues raised in chap. 8; it takes up the question of the fate of the temple and seeks light from Scripture on what dream and vision left opaque. In general, however, chap. 9 is not closely linked to chap. 8, as chap. 8 was to chap. 7” (Goldingay 238).

# Daniel's Empires Apart from History

Table 1

Summary of Empires

Empire	Dan 2	Dan 7	Dan 8	Dan 9
I	Gold	Lion	-	-
II	Silver	Bear <sup>7</sup>	Ram	-
III	Brass	Leopard	Goat	-
IV	Iron (and clay)	Beast/horn	Horn	Prince

## Quantifying the data

Data are here quantified by counting verses. I realize that historically verse numbers are an arbitrary addition to the text, but they offer a serviceable starting point and will suffice.<sup>8</sup>

First, chaps. 2, 7, 8-9 are considered separately, then chaps. 10-12 separately, and finally the two data sets are combined. Establishing two data sets initially is important to the argument. A major point I want to make is that chaps. 10-12 exhibit the same elements and the same proportions of emphasis that we encounter in earlier chapters. The prophecy of Dan 10-12 has distinguishing features, but is not unique among other comparable chapters of the same book. If it is true that

---

<sup>7</sup> See A. E. Gardner, "Decoding Daniel: The Case of Dan 7,5" (*Biblica* 88/2 [2007] 222-33).

<sup>8</sup> If we were to confine ourselves to instances of the word "kingdom" (1:20; 2:37, 39-42, 44; 4:3, 17, 25, 26, 31, 32, 34, 36; 5:11, 16, 21, 26, 28, 29, 31; 6:1, 3, 4, 7, 26; 7:14, 18, 22-24, 27; 8:23; 10:13; 11:2, 4, 17, 20, 21), that approach would yield few interesting results. It's not what empires are called, but what they do that needs documenting. For this it works better to count the verses which record their actions.

## Daniel's Empires Apart from History

Daniel builds to a climax,<sup>9</sup> it is also true that in doing this it exhibits a great deal of internal consistency.<sup>10</sup>

I omit from the tallies any data from introductory statements (2:31, 36; 7:2-3; 8:1), general references to the kingdom of God (7:18; 8:13-14), and concluding or summary statements (2:35, 46b; 8:26). When more than one empire is referred to in a given verse I divide up the references to them as fractions and express those fractions as decimals. For example, Dan 2:32 mentions three different empires (I, II, and III = 0.333, 0.333, 0.333); 2:39 mentions two (II and III = 0.5, 0.5); and 7:12 and 17 both mention four (I, II, III, and IV = 0.25, 0.25, 0.25, 0.25).

In Dan 2, 7, and 8-9 the world empire motif is represented in 46 relevant verses. When the references are grouped chapter by chapter we have Dan 2 (21.7%), 7 (34.8%), 8 (37.0%), 9 (6.5%). In this sequence there is an ascending pattern, in which the last number seems out of place. By bringing Dan 8 and 9 together, however, we have Dan 2 (21.7%), 7 (34.8%), 8-9 (43.5%). See table 2 and chart 1. In table 2 chaps. 8 and 9 are treated separately for clarity, whereas in chart 1 they are combined. The trend line in chart 1 is exponential.

---

<sup>9</sup> Caragounis 1993.

<sup>10</sup> In "Symbolic and Non-Symbolic Visions of the Book of Daniel in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls" (Nóra David, et al., *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 239, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Reprecht, 2012), Bennie H. Reynolds III shows that symbolic language "cannot have been intended to hide anything – quite the opposite." 233-34. Non-symbolic language, on the other hand, can convey "messages hidden in plain sight" 232. The lack of symbols in 10-12 does not separate that prophecy from 2, 7, 8-9.

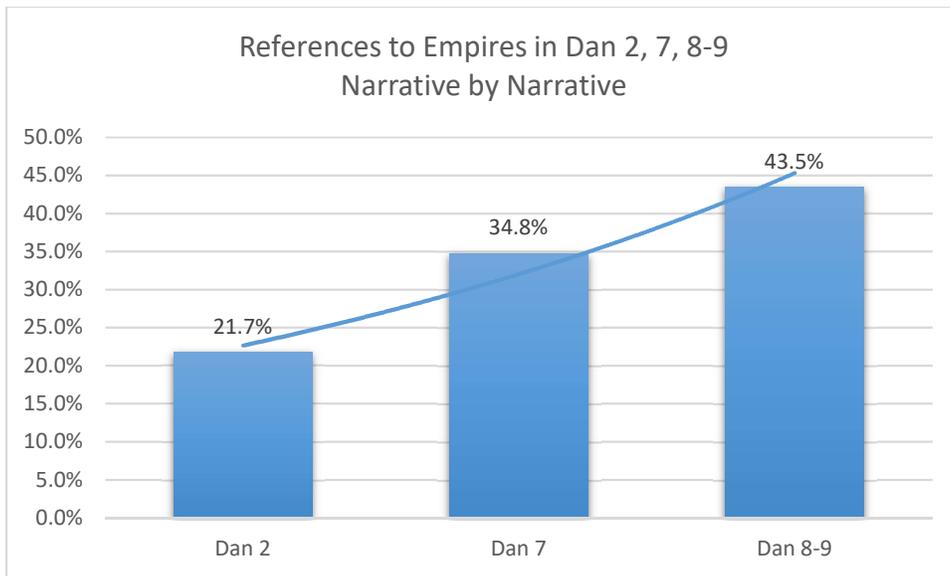
# Daniel's Empires Apart from History

Table 2

Verse Listing for Empires in Dan 2, 7, 8, 9

	I	II	III	IV	Count	Percent
Dan 2	32, 37-38	32, 39	32, 39	33-34, 40-43	10	21.7%
Dan 7	4, 12, 17	5 12, 17	6 12, 17	7-8, 11, 12, 17, 19-26	16	34.8%
Dan 8		2-4, 20	5-8, 21	9-12, 22-25	17	37.0%
Dan 9			25	26-27	3	6.5%
Totals	3.833	6.333	8.333	27.5	46	
Percent	8.3%	13.8%	18.1%	59.7%		

Chart 1



**Earlier Narratives: Dan 2, 7, 8-9**

The special status of chap. 2 was discussed above. From the perspective of this paper nothing is controversial in chap. 7. The third narrative and the fourth empire, however, both require comment.

**Third narrative: Two parts, one prophecy**

The idea that Dan 8 should be studied together with Dan 9 rather than separately from it is supported by two factors. First, an animacy hierarchy spans all four apocalyptic narratives, prominently including chap. 9, and second, chaps. 8 and 9 symbolize time in closely similar ways.

*Animacy hierarchy.* In Daniel there is a natural progression from inanimate metals (chap. 2), to beasts that are animate but not domesticated (chap. 7), to beasts that are domesticated but not human (chap. 8), and finally to human beings (chaps. 9, 10-12). See table 2.

Table 2

Animacy Hierarchy Spanning Dan 2, 7, 8 and 9-12

Dan 2	Dan 7	Dan 8	Dan 9, 10-12
[-animate]	[+animate]		
	[-domesticated]	[+domesticated]	
		[-human]	[+human]

This hierarchy influences the way the materials are presented and accounts for the fact that Dan 8 uses symbols whereas Dan 9 does not. This contrast does not separate chaps. 8 and 9 from each other, but shows that both are part of a larger structure.

**Time symbolism.** In Dan 8 there is a period of “2300 evening-mornings [*ereb bōqer* *ʔalpayim ūš<sup>e</sup>lōš mē<sup>ʔ</sup>ōt*]” (8:14, lit. gloss); in Dan 9, a period of “seventy weeks [*šābū<sup>c</sup>im šib<sup>c</sup>im*]” (9:24). The way time is symbolized in chap. 8 divides days into their parts (“evenings,” “mornings”); in chap. 9 days are gathered into their groups (“weeks”). The unifying factor here – not made explicit – is the concept of a “day.” This link, in the broader context of Jeremiah's “seventy years,” provides the clarification Daniel needed in order to understand the period of 2300 “evening-mornings” in the earlier prophecy. The one period explains the other.

There is broad consensus that *šābū<sup>c</sup>im* in Dan 9:24 means “sevens,” rather than “weeks.”<sup>11</sup> On what basis then does ESV translate “weeks” in 9:24, 24, 25, 25, 26 and “week” in 9:27, 27?<sup>12</sup> It is a matter of attention to detail. Vocalized *šib<sup>c</sup>im* the meaning of the letters *šb<sup>c</sup>ym* is “seventy”; vocalized *šābū<sup>c</sup>im* it is “weeks [pl]”; vocalized *š<sup>e</sup>bū<sup>c</sup>ayim* it is “weeks [dl].” These are the only

---

<sup>11</sup> See Goldingay 257-58, Miller 257, Longman 226-27, Montgomery 373, Seow 146. Even specialized studies take this position, e.g., Hansjörg Rigger, *Siebzig Siebener: Die »Jahrwochenprophetie« in Dan 9*, Trierer theologische Studien 57 (Trier: Paulinus, 1997), see 185-86. But at some point all must come to grips with the fact that the vocalization required to support such a gloss does not exist – nor could it. The plural of basic numeral terms in Hebrew gives a multiple of ten, not a simple plural.

<sup>12</sup> David J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-2011), vol. 8 (2011) correctly glosses *šābū<sup>ac</sup>* as “week,” pointing out that in Dan 9 the various forms of this word refer to periods of seven years (s.v. *šābū<sup>ac</sup>*). Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, transl. M. E. J. Richardson (Leiden: Brill, 1994-2000), vol. 4 (1999) treats *šābū<sup>ac</sup>* two ways. In 3. it is related to its context (“a week of years, a period of seven years”), as Clines does, but in the main article it is related etymologically to another entry (*šeba<sup>c</sup>*) (“on the pl. masc. [only in Daniel] and fem. cf. Michel *Grundl.* 1:37, 40f: a group of seven, a seven part unit [*heptas*]”). What *šābū<sup>c</sup>im* comes from is *šābū<sup>ac</sup>* (26, 26); what *šābū<sup>ac</sup>* comes from is *šeba<sup>c</sup>*. In KB the one etymology (A<B) is mistaken for the other (A<C).

three vocalizations attested in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>13</sup> This much has to do with the plural and its vowels.

The corresponding singular occurs twice in vs. 27. Spelled *šbw<sup>c</sup>* (with *w*) and vocalized *šābū<sup>ac</sup>*, it is completely unambiguous in both consonant letters and vocalization. Singular *šbw<sup>c</sup>* can only mean “week.” It is not possible spell “seven” in Hebrew with *w*. If the singular means “week,” that is strong evidence that the plural must be “weeks,” and not \*“sevens.” Thus the correct translation in 9:24 is not "seventy sevens," or "seventy sets of seven," or "seventy sets of seven time periods,"<sup>14</sup> or any other variation on this theme, but "seventy weeks."<sup>15</sup> This rendering provides a link back to the “evening-mornings” of chap. 8. It is true that the symbolic term "weeks" ultimately refers to periods of seven literal years, but exegetically it is important how we arrive at this understanding.

***Role of Jeremiah.*** Some suggest that Jeremiah's "seventy years" (Jer 25:11-12; 29:10) offer the primary context for Gabriel's reference to “seventy weeks” in Dan 9 (see vs. 2).<sup>16</sup> This seems reasonable, but Gabriel came to explain a "vision" (“Therefore consider the word and understand the vision” [9:23]). What Jeremiah wrote "concerning all the people of Judah" (25:1), however, was not a vision, nor was "the letter that Jeremiah the prophet sent from Jerusalem to the surviving

---

<sup>13</sup> The letters *šb<sup>c</sup>ym* are vocalized to mean “seventy” 91 times, “weeks” (pl) six times (all in Daniel), “weeks” (dl) one time (Lev 12:5). The same letters occur in forms such as *nišbā<sup>c</sup>im* “those who swear” five times, but that is not the intended sense.

<sup>14</sup> Respectively *The Message* (2003), *New Living Translation* (2004), *God's Word to the Nations* (1995).

<sup>15</sup> *American Standard Version* (1901), *Revised Standard Version* (1952 ["seventy weeks of years"]), *New Revised Standard Version* (1989), *Jerusalem Bible* (1968), *New Jerusalem Bible* (1985), *JPS Tanakh* (1985), *New English Bible* (1970), *New American Standard Bible* (1977), *New American Bible* (1987), *English Standard Version* (2007).

<sup>16</sup> Anderson 1984: 111-13; Duguid 2008: 166; Goldengay 1989: 259; Hartman and Di Lella 1977: 249-50; Newsom 2014: 299.

## Daniel's Empires Apart from History

elders of the exiles" (29:1). If the documents these lines introduce are not vision reports, they are not what Gabriel came to explain to Daniel.

Gabriel's object is made clear in 8:26. "The vision [*mar'eh*] of the evenings and the mornings that has been told is true, but seal up the vision [*hāzôn*], for it refers to many days from now." What was sealed (26b) had to do specifically with the time period (26a). Being sealed, Daniel did not understand it ("I was appalled by the vision and did not understand it" [vs. 27]). Dan 9 provides a further explanation and clarification of Dan 8 and does so by introducing another time period that complements the first. In this sense the two chapters are not two prophecies. They are one prophecy with two explanations (8:15-26; 9:20-27).

### **Fourth empire: Two phases of power**

Two of Daniel's empires exhibit some form of gemination. The "Medes and Persians" (5:28; 6:8, 12, 15) are a geminated power in the sense that both elements are present at the same time. Daniel sees "a ram standing on the bank of the canal. It had two horns, and both horns were high, but one was higher than the other, and the higher one came up last" (8:3). The two horns are not identical, but there is only one ram. "As for the ram that you saw with the two horns, these are the kings of Media and Persia" (8:20). This fact precludes any suggestion that the Medes and the

## Daniel's Empires Apart from History

Persians are separate empires in Daniel's schema. Both together represent empire II.<sup>17</sup> Their gemination is synchronic.

The unnamed fourth empire also has two phases, since the iron of the image is both mixed and unmixed (2:34). Since no substance can be mixed and unmixed at the same time, the obvious conclusion is that they are mixed at different times. Since the gemination in this case is diachronic, I subdivide IV into IVa and IVb, corresponding to iron and iron mixed with clay. Thus we have empires I (8.3%), II (13.8%), III (18.1%), IVa (21.7%), and IVb (38.0%).

There are other reasons for the above distinction within empire IV. Empire IVa has horizontal interests, while empire IVb has vertical interests. See table 3 and chart 2, which combine two columns as one with respect to chapters (Dan 8-9) and divide one row into two as regards empires (IVa, IVb).

---

<sup>17</sup> In Daniel the word "Persia" occurs both alone (10:1, 13, 20; 11:2) and with "Media" (8:20). The Medes do not enter history before the Persians. "The Mādāia are first mentioned in a text of Shalmaneser III (836 B.C.). The name Parsua also occurs first in this monarch's reign in 844" (Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1990] 47). Nor do they enter the prophecy before the Persians. This would not be possible, because they were united under Cyrus II the Great in 550 B.C., eleven years before the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C. Nor do they exit the prophecy before the Persians. Both groups are mentioned in the context of Greece's final triumph over Persia in the late fourth century. What the goat triumphs over is "the kings of Media and Persia" (8:20). Thus the position taken in this paper is that the Medes and Persians together (5:28; 6:8, 12, 15) represent empire II and that saying "Persia" is equivalent to saying "Medo-Persia." For discussion see Redditt 143.

## Daniel's Empires Apart from History

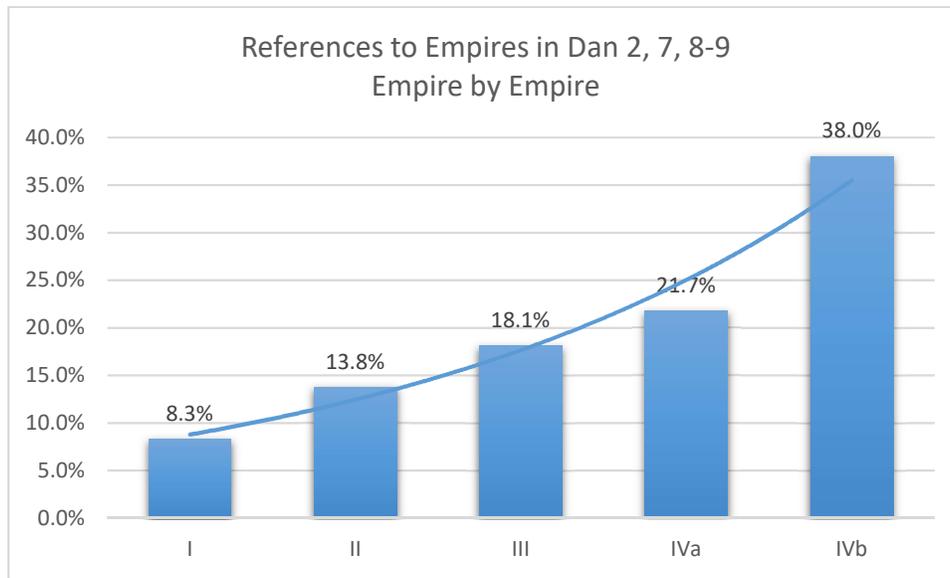
Table 3

Summary with Dan 8 and 9 in One Column and

Empires IVa and IVb in Two Rows

Empire	Dan 2	Dan 7	Dan 8-9
I	Gold	Lion	-
II	Silver	Bear	Ram
III	Brass	Leopard	Goat
IVa	Iron	Beast	Prince
IVb	Iron and clay	Horn <sup>18</sup>	Horn

Chart 2




---

<sup>18</sup> A. E. Gardner, "The 'Little Horn' of Dan 7:8: Malevolent or Benign?" *Bib* 93 (2012) 209-26, argues that the little horn of Dan 7:8 is fundamentally different from that of Dan 8:9-12, such that the one is benign, the other malevolent. I submit they are substantially the same.

## Summary

From chart 2 we see that, in every chapter which speaks of empires, later empires are mentioned more often than earlier empires. Empire I has 1/12 of all such references (8.3%), empire II 1/8 (13.8%), empires III and IVa close to 1/5 (18.1%, 21.7%), and empire IVb more than 1/3 (38.0%).

In an earlier section we saw a similar trend where in chart 1 there were more empire references in later prophetic narratives than in earlier ones. Dan 2 had 1/5 of all such references (21.7%), Dan 7 had 1/3 (34.8%), and Dan 8-9 together had a number approaching 1/2 (43.5%). What binds these two sets of observations together is that, in both cases, later material receives greater emphasis than earlier material. We will see this same tendency again in Daniel's fourth and final prophetic narrative.

### Final Narrative: Dan 10-12

Within Dan 10-12, chaps. 10 and 12 form an inclusio that surrounds the central prophecy. This inclusio is not part of the prophecy itself but provides information about it. The above frame around Dan 11 consists of 11:2a ("And now I will show you the truth") and 12:4 ("But you, Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book, until the time of the end"). The one verse precedes the prophecy and refers to what will be presented in it; the other follows the prophecy and refers to what was just said. This concept provides important definitions. If Dan 11 is everything inside the

inclusio, Dan 10 and 12 are everything that precede and follow it. Thus Dan 10 = 10:1-11:1, 11 = 11:2b-12:3, and 12 = 12:5-13.<sup>19</sup>

### Three Main Sections

Just as Dan 10-12 contains three chapters, Dan 11 contains three sections. The one at the center is vss. 16-28.<sup>20</sup> To support this assertion I first argue that 11:16 represents the beginning of a section, and then that 11:16-28 (section B) are a cohesive unit of text. Thus the three sections of Dan 11 are 11:2b-15 (A), 11:16-28 (B), and 11:29-12:3 (A'). Structures internal to these sections increase in complexity toward the end, just as the complexity of the book as a whole increases toward the end.

#### Dan 11:16 marks the beginning of a section

Two sets of verbal parallels indicate that vs. 16 marks the beginning of a major section.<sup>21</sup> Once this starting point is established, three internal patterns indicate that 11:16-28 is a cohesive unit of text. We begin with the parallels.

---

<sup>19</sup> John Kaltner, "Is Daniel Also among the Prophets?" in Greg Carey and Gregory Bloomquist, ed., *Vision and Persuasion: Rhetorical Dimensions of Apocalyptic Discourse* (St Louis, MO: Chalice, 1999) 41-59, proposes much the same outline (10:1-11:1; 11:2-12:4; 12:5-13), but without reference to an inclusio (11:2a/12:4) around 11:2b-12:3.

<sup>20</sup> For a chiasmic outline of Dan 11 with 11:21-35 as its center, see Jordan 498-99.

<sup>21</sup> A number of different verse groupings have been proposed beginning with 11:13, or 14, or 15. Thus we have vss. 13-16 (Montgomery 437-41); 14-16 (Jordan 555); 14-19 (Hill 191); 15-16 (Baldwin 188-89; Edlin 261-62; Gangel 300; Lucas 282; Newsom 344-45); 15-17 (Gowan 147-48). In my corpus only Collins 371, 379-81 (11:13-15, 16-18a) and Goldingay 297-98 (11:13-15, 16-19) allow 11:16 to begin a verse grouping.

*First set of parallels.* Dan 11:16 contains a formula which appears a total of four times in the book (8:4; 11:3, 16, 36).<sup>22</sup> See table 4.

Table 4

Formula *w<sup>ec</sup>āsâ kiršônô* in Four Passages

Ref	English	Formula	Empire
8:4	He did as he pleased and became great.	<i>w<sup>ec</sup>āsâ kiršônô</i>	II
11:3	"Then a mighty king will appear, who will rule with great power and do as he pleases."	<i>w<sup>ec</sup>āsâ kiršônô</i>	III
11:16	"The invader will do as he pleases; no one will be able to stand against him."	<i>w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>c</sup>as . . . kiršônô</i>	?
11:36	"The king will do as he pleases."	<i>w<sup>ec</sup>āsâ kiršônô</i>	IVb

The first power referred to above is Persia ("As for the ram that you saw with the two horns, these are the kings of Media and Persia" [8:20], empire II); the second is Greece/Macedonia ("Then a mighty king shall arise, who shall rule with great dominion and do as he wills" [11:3], empire III). If the power referred to in 11:36 is either IVa or IVb, we can identify it as IVb because of the vertical orientation of its interests and activities in subsequent verses.<sup>23</sup>

In his published doctoral dissertation, *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis: eine formkritische Untersuchung zu Dan 8 und 10-12*, Bernhard Hasslberger discusses the occurrences of *w<sup>ec</sup>āsâ*

<sup>22</sup> The relatedness of the four occurrences is mentioned by Baldwin 197, Newsom 354, but with a different meaning than here.

<sup>23</sup> Terms such as, "the holy covenant," "the holy covenant" (30); "the temple and fortress," "the regular burnt offering," "the abomination that makes desolate" (31); "the covenant," "the people who know their God" (32) show vertical intent, and in 36-39 we have "every god," "the God of gods" (36); "the gods of his fathers," "any other god" (37); "the god of fortresses," "a god whom his fathers did not know" (38); "a foreign god" (39). Goldingay 304 speaks of the focus moving in vs. 36 "from the earthly plane of attacks on people and sanctuary to the heavenly plane of attacks on God himself, . . ."

*kirṣônô* in 11:3 and 36, and of *w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>c</sup>aś . . . kirṣônô* in 11:16.<sup>24</sup> In 11:3 and 36 the expression *w<sup>ec</sup>āsâ kirṣônô* is called a formula (*Formel*) (206, 273). In vs. 16, however, where *habbā<sup>?</sup> ʔēlāyw* is center embedded within *w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>c</sup>aś . . . kirṣônô* (*w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>c</sup>aś habbā<sup>?</sup> ʔēlāyw kirṣônô*), Hasslberger mentions only the second half of the formula (*kirṣônô*), calling it an adverbial modifier (*Umstandsbestimmung*) (235). In the clause, “But he who comes against him shall do as he wills” (16), Hasslberger suggests that the subject “he” must refer to the “king of the north” in 15a and that the object “him” probably refers to the “king of the south” in 15b. Thus, “But he [the king of the north] who comes against him [the king of the south] shall do as he wills, and none [the king of the south] shall stand before him [the king of the north].”

I submit that 11:16a does not restate or reformulate anything in 15a/b. Instead the clause “he who comes against him” introduces a new king of the North not present in vs. 15. The situation in 11:15 and 16 is closely similar to what we find in 11:45 and 12:1, where a king who has just conquered everything comes to his end “with none to help him” (45), because another more powerful king unexpectedly arrives from another place.

***Second set of parallels.*** Above, our focus in *w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>c</sup>aś habbā<sup>?</sup> ʔēlāyw kirṣônô* (16a) was on the outer words of the group (*w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>c</sup>aś . . . kirṣônô*). We now consider the inner words (*habbā<sup>?</sup> ʔēlāyw*). Saying “the one who comes” could refer to joining battle, or it could simply refer to coming on the scene of action. There is a broader context for this expression, unrelated to vs. 15.

---

<sup>24</sup> Munchener Universitatsschriften (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1977) 206, 235, 273.

## Daniel’s Empires Apart from History

The expression *habbā’ ʿēlāyw* links 11:16 to 9:26. In both passages the ruler is the same (*nāgîd habbā’* “the prince who comes” [9:26] = *habbā’ ʿēlāyw* “the one who comes against him” [11:16a]), and in both cases his intent and the results of his activity are the same (*yašhîṭ* “he will destroy” [9:26] = *lʿhašhîṭāh* “to destroy her” [11:17]; *w<sup>ec</sup>ad-kālā* “and to the end” [9:27] = *w<sup>e</sup>kālā b<sup>e</sup>yādō* “and an end [the ability to bring something to an end] in his hand” [11:16b]) (my lit. glosses). These are not simply parallel terms, but terms drawn from parallel contexts. See table 5.

Table 5

Parallels Linking Dan 9:26-27 and 11:16-17

Dan 9		Dan 11	
Ref	Term	Ref	Term
9:26a	<i>nāgîd habbā’</i>	11:16a	<i>habbā’ ʿēlāyw</i>
9:26b	<i>yašhîṭ</i>	11:17b	<i>lʿhašhîṭāh</i>
9:27	<i>w<sup>ec</sup>ad-kālā</i>	11:16b	<i>w<sup>e</sup>kālā beyādō</i>

The power described as *nāgîd habbā’* in 9:26a “shall destroy [*yašhîṭ*] the city and the sanctuary” (9:26b). No one in vs. 15 did this. If “the city and the sanctuary” is a reference to Jerusalem, Jerusalem was only destroyed twice in history – once by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BC, once by Titus in AD 70. The power introduced as *habbā’ ʿēlāyw* in 11:16a is linked by verbal parallels to the one that does these things in 9:26b. This is a new power, not previously introduced in chap. 11, and for this reason vs. 16 must be acknowledge as a point of transition in the narrative.

**Dan 11:16-28 represents a cohesive section**

Three textual patterns characterize the internal structure of 11:16-28. These have to do with (a) the author's choice of clause-initial predicates, (b) the thematic presence or absence of violence, and (c) two matched examples of the word *bešalwâ* which form an inclusio around the central verse. These patterns demonstrate not only that the section is a section, but that it is structured chiastically – like the chapter (Dan 11), and like the prophecy as a whole (Dan 10-12).

*First pattern.* Consider the following series of clause-initial predicates, noting that the first in the sequence (*w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>c</sup>mōd* [11:16b]) follows the formula discussed above. This is because the formula (*w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>c</sup>as habbā<sup>2</sup> ʿēlāyw kiršônô* [11:16a]) pertains to its section, and not only to its verse. See table 6.

Table 6

## Patterns of Initial Predicates

in Dan 11:16-28

Vss	Ref	Text	Clause Initial
4	16b	<i>w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>ca</sup>mōd</i>	<i>w<sup>e</sup> + yiqtol</i>
	17	<i>w<sup>e</sup>yāsēm pānāyw</i>	
	18	<i>w<sup>e</sup>yāsēb [w<sup>e</sup>yāsēm] pānāyw</i>	
	19	<i>w<sup>e</sup>yāsēb pānāyw</i>	
2	20	<i>w<sup>ec</sup>āmad<sup>c</sup>al kānō</i>	<i>w<sup>e</sup> + qatal</i>
	21	<i>w<sup>ec</sup>āmad<sup>c</sup>al kānō</i>	
1	22	<i>ūz<sup>e</sup>rō<sup>c</sup>ōt</i>	<i>w<sup>e</sup> + N</i>
2	23	<i>ūmin hithabb<sup>e</sup>rūt<sup>2</sup>ēlāyw</i>	<i>w<sup>e</sup> + PP</i>
	24	<i>ūb<sup>e</sup>mismannē m<sup>e</sup>dīnā<sup>25</sup></i>	
4	25	<i>w<sup>e</sup>yā<sup>c</sup>ēr kōhō</i>	<i>w<sup>e</sup> + (mixed)</i>
	26	<i>w<sup>e</sup>rōklē pat-bāgō</i>	
	27	<i>ūs<sup>e</sup>nēhem hamm<sup>e</sup>lākīm</i>	
	28	<i>w<sup>e</sup>yāsōb<sup>2</sup>aršō</i>	

It would be gratifying if the last bloc of clauses in table 6 contained nothing but *w<sup>e</sup> + yiqtol* initial predicates, but this is not the case. Initial predicates for the inner lines (vss. 26, 27) don't fit easily any pattern, but those for the outer lines (25, 28) are both *w<sup>e</sup> + yiqtol*, and these correspond to the predicates of the first bloc.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See below for discussion of the verse division at 11:23/24. Correctly understood, the first word of vs. 24 is not *bešalwā*, but *ūb<sup>e</sup>mismannē*.

<sup>26</sup> This pattern does not extend beyond its section. Clause initial predicates in the three verses before (13-15) and after (29-31) the central chiasm follow no particular pattern (13 *w<sup>e</sup> + qatal*, 14 *w<sup>e</sup> + PP . . . yiqtol*, 15 *w<sup>e</sup> + yiqtol*; 29 *PP yiqtol w<sup>e</sup> + qatal PP*, 30 *w<sup>e</sup> + qatal . . . w<sup>e</sup> + qatal*, 31 *w<sup>e</sup> + N PP yiqtol*). The symmetry here identified in 11:16-28 is confined to 11:16-28.

**Second pattern.** A second pattern visible within 11:16-28 involves the theme of violence.<sup>27</sup> Verses 16-19 contain the usual complement of military activity, but vss. 20-21 do not. Verse 22 refers to violent acts in both its clauses, but again vss. 23-24 do not. The section closes with a return to the theme of violence in vss. 25-28. Thus we have four verses of [+violence], followed by two of [-violence], one of [+violence], two of [-violence], and four of [+violence], forming a 4 2 1 2 4 (+ - + - +) chiasmic pattern. All of this serves to focus attention – not on the “contemptible person” of vs. 21 – but on “the prince of the covenant” in vs. 22. Both this pattern and the next place strong emphasis on the violence done to the *n<sup>e</sup>gîd b<sup>e</sup>rît*.

**Third pattern.** The term *bešalwâ* occurs twice within the section. Correctly understood, its location is not vss. 21 and 24, as the Hebrew and most versions would imply, but rather vss. 21 and 23. The Hebrew verse number for vs. 24 has been misplaced. The editors of *BHS* (1977) acknowledge this fact and propose two alternative methods for resolving it: (a) change the text to accommodate the verse number (*prb l* ‘ובשׁ ב׳), or (b) change the verse number to accommodate the text (*al cj* ‘בשׁ c 23). Earlier, in *BH* (1937), the same two choices are offered, but inversely. The first alternative of Kittle corresponds to the second of *BHS*, and vice versa. Thus Kittle’s first suggestion is to preserve the text as written (*conj c fin* 23) and his second is to keep the verse number where it is (*aut l* ‘ובשׁלוה במשׁ).

In this I agree with Kittle. The correct resolution of the syntactic problem at the beginning of vs. 24 is not to move a letter back, but to move the verse number forward. This makes *bešalwâ*

---

<sup>27</sup> See P. M. Venter, “Violence and Non-Violence in Daniel,” *OTE* 14 (2001) 311-29.

the last word of 23 rather than the first word of 24.<sup>28</sup> When we do this, the two occurrences of *bešalwâ*, with their paired references to flatteries, intrigue, dissimulation, or the like, form a contrastive inclusio around vs. 22<sup>29</sup> in adjacent verses (21, 23). We now bring the above three patterns together in table 7.

Table 7  
Literary Symmetries in Dan 11:16-28 Showing the Alternating  
Motifs of Violence and Peace

	A	B	C	B'	A'
Predicates	16-19	20-21	22	23-24	25-28
Violence	4	2	1	2	4
	+	-	+	-	+
Vss. 21/23		<i>bešalwâ</i>		<i>bešalwâ</i>	

**Internal structure of bloc A'.** Collins and Flint speak of “the repetitiveness and the breaks in sequential logic” of the visions in Dan 7-12 and suggest that these seeming irregularities follow from “multiple redactional insertions and additions” or “the dream-like nature of myth.”<sup>30</sup> I do not accept their analysis, but consider their statement of the problem interesting. It is true that Daniel is repetitive and contains breaks in sequential logic, but this simply means that chronology is not

<sup>28</sup> English versions that fail to get this right include: *American Revised Version* (1901), *English Standard Version* (2001), *Good News Bible* (1976, 1992), *Jerusalem Bible* (1968) / *New Jerusalem Bible* (1990), *Jewish Publication Society* (1917), *Living Bible* (1971) / *New Living Translation* (2004), *Modern Language Bible* (1969), Moffatt (1935), Moulton (1950), *New American Bible* (1987), *Revised Standard Version* (1952) / *New Revised Standard Version* (1989), Smith-Goodspeed (1935), *The Message* (2006). Two versions that do translate correctly at Dan 11:23/24 are *New English Bible* (1970), *Revised English Bible* (1989).

<sup>29</sup> It remains to be seen how the editors of *Biblica Hebraica Quinta* (BH5) will deal with this issue.

<sup>30</sup> John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, *The Book of Daniel: Composition & Reception* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 1:7.

his only organizing principle. In particular, the unique chronological problems of bloc A' (25-28) follow from the fact that it has its own internal chiastic structure, not discussed here.<sup>31</sup> See table 8.

Table 8

Chiastic Form of Vss. 25-28

Topic		Vs.	Part 1	Part 2	Vs.	
Outcome	C	25c	South loses	Why does South lose?	26	C'
South	B	25b	South has the initial advantage	Why does South fight?	27	B'
North	A	25a	North sets out	North returns victorious	28a	A'

### Other sections before and after 11:16-28

If the central prophecy of the fourth narrative is 11:2b-12:3, and if its central section is 11:16-28 (B), the material is pervasively chiastic and one could reasonably claim that 11:2b-15 (A) and 11:29-12:3 (A') are sections which frame 11:16-28 between them.<sup>32</sup> In this model the structure of the chapter is ABA', just as the structure of the prophecy is ABA'.

With respect to section A of the chapter, the author begins by mentioning that "three more kings shall arise in Persia," and that a fourth "shall stir up all against the kingdom of Greece" (2b). These statements provide important background, but the fact being emphasized is that "a mighty

<sup>31</sup> Isolating 11:25-28 as a subsection are Goldingay 300-1 and Steinmann 527-28. These writers, however, do not posit internal chiastic structure for the bloc.

<sup>32</sup> Newsom 349 correctly distinguishes what follows 11:29 from what goes before: "The notice that 'this latter occasion will not be like the first' prepares the reader that what follows will describe the climactic period of history." Goldwurm 304 correctly points out that the contrast in this clause involves not two facts (before, after), but three (before, during, after).

king shall arise" (3), displacing Persia with such success that, even when his empire disintegrates, the fragments of it that remain can still dominate the Jewish people politically and militarily for however long a period. Those parts of 11:2b which deal with Persia should not be considered a history of Persia (II), but rather the setting for a history of Greece (III). The author is placing the rise of Greece in its Persian context. Greece does not enter Dan 11 in vs. 3; it enters in vs. 2b ("he shall stir up all against the kingdom of Greece"). Thus the focus throughout 11:2b-15 is on Greece.

### Three Recapitulations in Dan 11

There are three places within Dan 11 where grammatical markers indicate a recapitulation in the flow of the narrative. In such cases the story turns back and entire subsections are involved in portraying one period of time from two points of view. Each of these recapitulations occurs toward the center of its section. We consider each in turn.

#### First recapitulation

Dan 11:23 begins with the phrase *ûmin hithabb<sup>e</sup>rût 'ēlāyw*. The critical word here is not *ûmin*,<sup>33</sup> or *hithabb<sup>e</sup>rût*,<sup>34</sup> but *'ēlāyw*. Pronouns in Hebrew, as in English, point to an antecedent – something that goes before – and I suggest that the pronoun in the above phrase is being used in this commonly accepted way.

---

<sup>33</sup> Collins 366, n. 82, Montgomery 451.

<sup>34</sup> Hartman and Di Lella 269.

If the word *ʿēlāyw* requires us to look back for its antecedent, there is a question how far back and which antecedent the author has in view. Syntactically the nearest possibility would seem to be preferred, but applying this principle in the present case raises a problem, because while *n<sup>e</sup>gîd b<sup>e</sup>rît* in vs. 22 is portrayed positively, the party with which the alliance is made in vs. 23 is portrayed negatively. Grammar would allow 23 to reference 22, but doing so does not allow us to make sense of the narrative.

I suggest that *ʿēlāyw* takes us back, not to the preceding verse, but to the beginning of the preceding subsection. The “alliance” referred to in vs. 23 is made, not with the positive figure of a covenant prince (vs. 22), but with the negative figure of “one who comes” with hostile intent (11:16; also 9:26b) (see table 5 above). Thus the word *ʿēlāyw* in *ûmin hitḥabb<sup>e</sup>rût ʿēlāyw* (11:23) is co-referential with the word *ʿēlāyw* in *habbāʿ ʿēlāyw* (11:16).<sup>35</sup> No specific fact is repeated in either subsection, but the timeframe of 11:23-28 roughly corresponds to the timeframe for 11:16-22. The same period of history is presented from two points of view.

## Second recapitulation

The chapter's second recapitulation marker is the formula *w<sup>ec</sup>āšâ kiršônô hammelek* (11:36), discussed above. Many wish to jump forward at this point,<sup>36</sup> but the definite article of

---

<sup>35</sup> We note also the reference to *y<sup>e</sup>šārîm* “terms of an agreement” in vs. 17, which is thematically, though not verbally, related to *hitḥabb<sup>e</sup>rût* “an alliance” in vs. 23.

<sup>36</sup> Arguing for a future application are Duguid 203-4, Gangel 304-9, Leupold 510 (“As soon as the attempt is made consistently to apply these verses to the king last spoken of, the difficulties begin to become overwhelming”), Longman 280-81, Miller 304-13, and Steinmann 536-44. Mark Mercer, “The Benefactions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and Dan 11:37-38: An Exegetical Note,” *Master's Seminary Journal* 12 (2001) 89-93, argues that 11:36 must look forward to a future king because Antiochus IV Epiphanes does *not* fulfill the specifications of 11:37-38, which is the inverse of Newsom's position. Mercer makes his case well, but cannot be considered successful – not because his argument is weak (it is not weak), but because it is historical rather than textual.

*hammelek* requires that the reference be to a king previously introduced.<sup>37</sup> Again one period of time (11:29-39) is discussed from two points of view (29-35, 36-39). In both 16-28 and 29-39 the recapitulation involves, not individual verses, but blocs of verses. Thus in 11:29-35 we have actions and events, while in 36-39 attitudes and policies. These two types of information do not compete for the same space.

Allowing a recapitulation at vs. 36 enables us to resolve three otherwise intractable textual difficulties.

**First difficulty.** It is the function of the formula “he will do as he pleases” (*w<sup>ec</sup>āśā kirṣônô/w<sup>e</sup>ya<sup>c</sup>as . . . kirṣônô*) to introduce a new power.<sup>38</sup> However, it is the function of the definite article in the expression “the king” (*hammelek*) to show that a new power is not being introduced, but was active previously. So how can vs. 36 simultaneously introduce a power as something new (“he will do as he pleases”) and treat it as something already familiar to the reader (“the king”)?

Verses 29 and 36 are chronologically coreferential. The subsections overlap with respect to time. Thus there is no difference between introducing a power in vs. 29 and introducing it in vs. 36. And in fact the power in question is introduced both places. See table 9, where the point at issue is the relationship between vss. 29 and 36.

---

<sup>37</sup> “[T]he paragraph begins resumptively” (Goldingay 304). See also Baldwin 197, Jordan 597, Montgomery 462, Newsom 353 (“These verses interrupt the historical narration in order to focus on the person of Antiochus and in particular his relationship with deity”). Our understanding of the text must be based primarily on the text, not primarily on history, which is an understanding of the text. Basing an understanding on an understanding is circular. See Edlin 267-68 for further references.

<sup>38</sup> For Newsom, “The phrase ‘will do as he pleases’ is an expression for unchecked power (cf. 8:4; 11:3, 16)” (354). At issue is what “unchecked power” means. I suggest “unchecked” does not mean X can no longer control itself/himself, but that X can no longer be controlled by Y. The sense is not introspective, but relational, and therefore transitional. The point is that one power rises above another to such a degree that it can no longer be challenged.

Table 9

Distribution of  $w^{ec} \bar{a} \acute{s} \hat{a} \text{ kir}\acute{s} \hat{o} \acute{n} \acute{o}$  in Dan 11

Empire III	Empire IV(a)	Empire IV(b)	
11:2b*-15	*11:16-22	11:29-35 >	< 11:40-45
	11:23-28	*11:36-39	12:1-4



**Second difficulty.** Just as vss. 29 and 36 both mark one beginning point, vss. 35 and 39 both mark one ending point. Notice that just before 36 (i.e., 35) and just after 39 (i.e., 40) we find matching references to  ${}^c \bar{e} t \text{ q}\bar{e} \acute{s}$ . The one verse says “until the time of the end [ ${}^c ad-{}^c \bar{e} t \text{ q}\bar{e} \acute{s}$ ]” (11:35) – leading up to the time of the end; the other says, “At the time of the end [ $\hat{u} b^{ec} \bar{e} t \text{ q}\bar{e} \acute{s}$ ]” (11:40), which starts from that same moment of time and moves onward.<sup>39</sup>

**Third difficulty.** If there is no chronological space between vss. 35 and 40, how can we account for the presence of vss. 36-39? Where do those verses fit?

If vs. 35 and vs. 40 lead respectively up to and away from the same moment of time, the solution is to acknowledge that 11:29-35 and 36-39 overlap. See table 10, where angle brackets (> <) show the seamless contiguity of the paired references to  ${}^c \bar{e} t \text{ q}\bar{e} \acute{s}$  in vss. 35 and 40. All of the verses correspond perfectly. See table 10.

<sup>39</sup> We note that the time of the end is not the same as the end of time.  ${}^c \bar{e} t \text{ q}\bar{e} \acute{s}$  is a period of time toward the end of earth’s history, not a moment of time marking its close.

Table 10

Distribution of "Time of the End" References

Empire III	Empire IV(a)	Empire IV(b)	
11:2b-15 (3*)	*11:16-22	11:29-35 >	< 11:40-45
	11:23-28	*11:36-39	12:1-4

↑

### Third recapitulation

The third recapitulation is found at Dan 12:1, which begins *ûbā̄ē̄t hahî̄?*. Some suggest that "this time" refers to the "time of the end" in 11:40.<sup>40</sup> A better solution, however, would be to apply the expression *ûbā̄ē̄t hahî̄?* to the end of the king's campaign (11:44-45), not its beginning (11:40).<sup>41</sup>

The king's Southward march (11:40-43) occupies almost 9% of the chapter by verse count (4 of 46.5 verses [11:2b-12:3]). It is a major feature of the chapter. In view of the king's ensuing success, we would expect vs. 45 to say "with none to oppose him," because the king has just brought all the forces of both North and South under his control. He has conquered everything there is to conquer. But instead it says "with none to help him." This puzzling fact is explained in 12:1. Notice first that in vs. 44 the king turns back toward the North ("the east and the north"

<sup>40</sup> Lucas 293, Seow 186.

<sup>41</sup> Hartman and Di Lella 306.

## Daniel's Empires Apart from History

[11:44]). Leading troops South to North is a posture normally occupied by kings of the South. It is then that Michael stands up.

The king's change of direction in vs. 44-45 corresponds to a different mood. He now wants "to destroy and devote many to destruction" (44) at the "glorious holy mountain" (45). This is significant. When he marched North to South he was content to pass through other countries and merely expropriate Egypt's wealth. In marching back South to North, however, his attitude changes and arguably his role. With his change of direction he appears to be assuming the role of the other king – the king of the South. For whatever reason, it is at this point that Michael intervenes.

At the end of the chapter the king of the North comes to his end because Michael stands up and causes him to come to his end. Michael's standing up (12:1) is the cause and the king's final downfall (11:45) is the effect. Dan 11:44-45 is narrated before 12:1-3. This sequence is the inverse of what we would expect. In 11:44-45 events are seen from the perspective of earth; in 12:1-3 corresponding events are seen from the perspective of heaven. Dan 12:1 takes us back to a time already narrated in 11:45. The angel covers one period of time from two points of view. Here is a third example of recapitulation.

### Collating the Data

We now add a new column for Dan 10-12 to complete the grid introduced earlier (see table 3 above), but populate it with verse groups rather than symbols, because Dan 11 does not use symbols.<sup>42</sup> See table 11.

Table 11

#### Summary of Empires with Dan 10-12 Added

Empire	Dan 2	Dan 7	Dan 8-9	Dan 10-12
I	Gold	Lion	-	-
II	Silver	Bear	Ram	10:1, 13, 20; 11:1
III	Brass	Leopard	Goat	11:2b-15
IVa	Iron	Beast	Prince	11:16-28
IVb	Iron and clay	Horn	Horn	11:29-12:3

Dan 10-12, although more complex than earlier prophecies, portrays empires in a manner comparable to what we found in Dan 2, 7, and 8-9. See table 12 and chart 3.

---

<sup>42</sup> On typology rather than symbolism see Regina Wildgruber, *Daniel 10-12 als Schlüssel zum Buch*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013) 250-53. On allusion rather than symbolism see Goldingay 231.

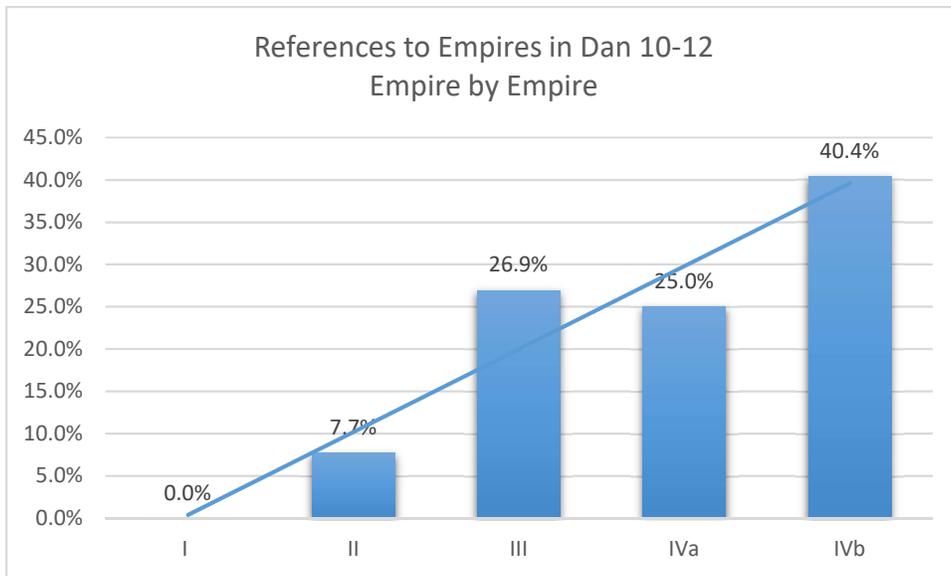
Daniel's Empires Apart from History

Table 12

Verse Listing for Empires in Dan 10-12

	I	II	III	IVa	IVb	Count	Percent
Dan 10		1, 13, 20; 11:1	20			4	7.7%
Dan 11		2b	2b, 3-15	16-28	29-45	44	84.6%
Dan 12					6-7, 11-12	4	7.7%
Totals	0	4	14	13	21	52	
Percent	0.0%	7.7%	26.9%	25.0%	40.4%		

Chart 3



The trendline of chart 3 cannot be exponential because table 13 (below) contains a data point equal to zero. This zero results from the fact that Dan 11 makes no mention of empire I.

## Daniel's Empires Apart from History

In chart 3 empires II and IVb track closely with the trendline, but III is comparatively overrepresented and IVa underrepresented, such that empire III has a greater proportion of total verse count than IVa. Nevertheless, it is still the case that later empires are better represented than earlier ones. The unexpected relationship between empires III and IVa in chart 3 is the exception that proves the rule.

We now combine the numbers from Dan 10-12 (table 13) with those gathered earlier from Dan 2, 7, and 8-9, making one data set out of the two. In chaps. 2, 7, 8-9 there were 46 verses that had to do with empires; we now add 52 more from chaps. 10-12 for a total of 98. See table 13 and charts 4 and 5.

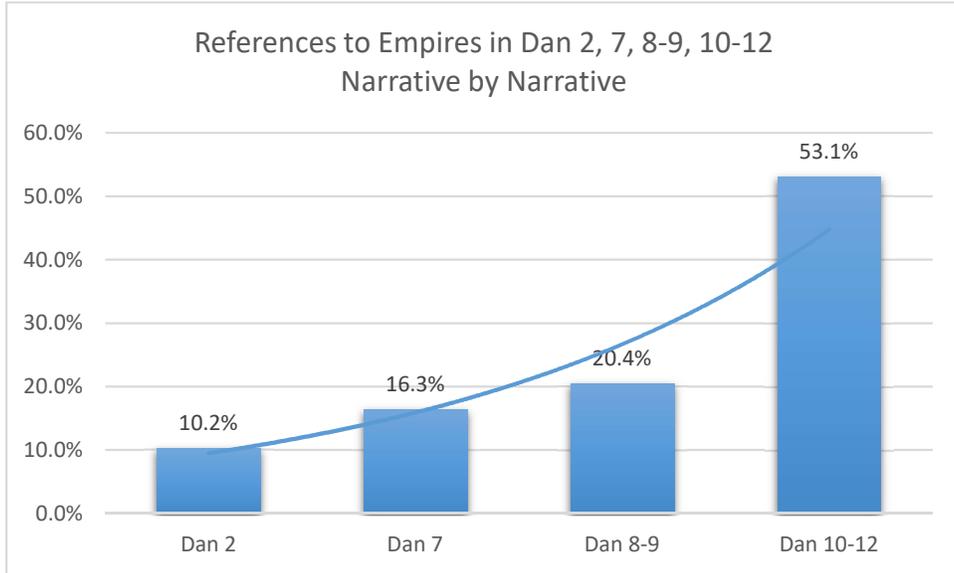
Table 13

Verse Counts for Dan 2, 7, 8-9, 10-12

	I	II	III	IVa	IVb	Totals	Percent
Dan 2	2.33	0.83	0.83	1.50	4.50	10	10.2%
Dan 7	1.50	1.50	1.50	4.50	7.00	16	16.3%
Dan 8-9	0.00	4.00	6.00	4.00	6.00	20	20.4%
Dan 10-12	0.00	4.00	14.00	13.00	21.00	52	53.1%
Totals	3.83	10.33	22.33	23.00	38.50	98	
Percent	3.9%	10.5%	22.8%	23.5%	39.3%		

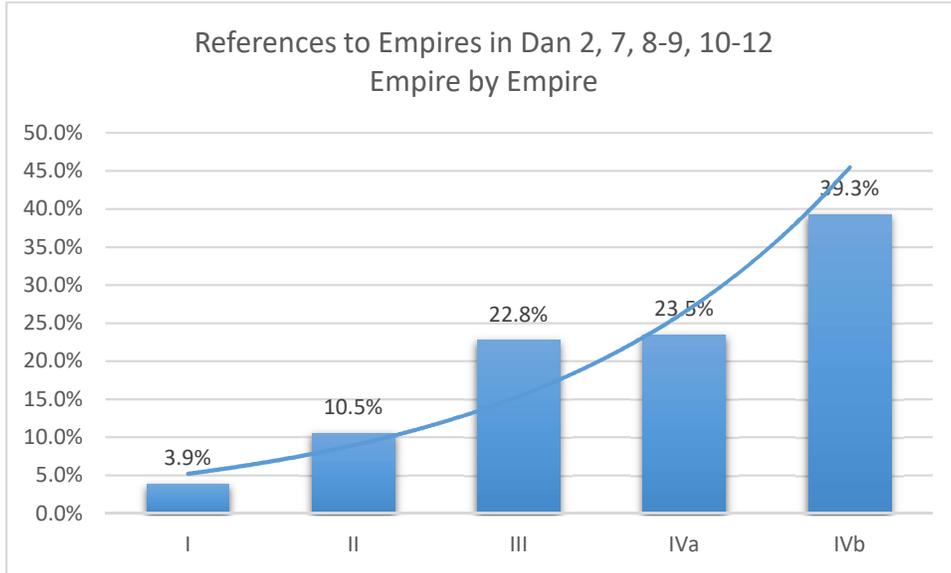
# Daniel's Empires Apart from History

## Chart 4



# Daniel's Empires Apart from History

Chart 5



In Dan 2, 7, and 8-9 empire III appears less often than IVa (chart 2: 18.1%, 21.7% [21.7% - 18.1% = 3.6%]), while in Dan 10-12 the proportions are reversed with empire III appearing more often (chart 3: 26.9%, 25.0% [26.9% - 25.0% = 1.9%]), but when data from all four narratives are brought together, the expected relationship of III and IVa is restored. For practical purposes the numbers for III and IVa in chart 5 are the same, but by a technicality there are slightly more examples of IVa (chart 5: III 22.8%, IVa 23.5%).

Comparing references narrative by narrative, in chart 1 (Dan 2, 7, 8-9) all actual values differ from the trendline by less than 5%. In chart 4 (Dan 2, 7, 8-9, 10-12), chaps. 8-9 are

## Daniel's Empires Apart from History

underrepresented, varying from the trendline by 6.3%, and 10-12 is overrepresented with a variance of 8.3%.

Comparing references empire by empire, in chart 2 (Dan 2, 7, 8-9) all actual values are within 5% of expected trendline values. In chart 3 (Dan 10-12), where the trendline had to be linear rather than exponential, empire III is overrepresented, varying from the trendline by 6.9%. In chart 5 (Dan 2, 7, 8-9, 10-12) empire III is overrepresented by 7.4%. Such variances, however, do not rise to the level of material significance. The point remains that, as a rule, throughout the book later materials receive more emphasis than earlier materials. Not only is this generalization true, but it becomes increasingly true as we move from earlier to later prophecies. Proportions of emphasis remain constant as the level of complexity increases toward the end of the book.

### **Conclusion**

In the present paper I have endeavored to show that chaps. 10-12 are broadly comparable to 2, 7, and 8-9 with respect to the author's use of the world empire motif, differing only in that the presentation becomes gradually more focused and detailed toward the end. To establish this point I document the author's usage in earlier chapters, then in later ones, and finally bring all the information together into one combined data set. What the study demonstrates is that proportions of emphasis in Daniel remain constant throughout and that complexity increases in later chapters.

## Daniel's Empires Apart from History

The above results rest on certain assumptions. One of these is that Dan 8 and 9 should be collated together. The two chapters – despite superficial differences – are a matched pair with respect to time symbolism. Another assumption is that because Daniel consistently presents empire IV in two forms (iron, iron mixed with clay [2]; beast, little horn [7]; little horn [8], destructive prince [9]; 11:16-28 [horizontal interests], 11:29-45 [vertical interests]), the row for empire IV should be treated as two rows for purposes of data collation (IVa, IVb).

When we come to Dan 10-12, Dan 11 is the central prophecy and here also there are assumptions that impact our results. It matters a great deal how we outline Dan 11, because this affects how the verses are grouped and how the numbers we gather from the chapter are collated. Just as the final narrative divides into three chapters (10, 11, 12), the central chapter divides into three sections (A=11:2b-15; B=11:16-28; A'=11:29-12:3). These are framed by an inclusio of meta-information (11:2a / 12:4). Within Dan 11 I argue that section A primarily focuses on empire III, section B on empire IVa, and section A' on empire IVb, which leads to the intervention of Michael (12:1) and the end of all things (12:2-3).

A major factor influencing the way sections are analyzed in Dan 11 is three recapitulations. The first has its textual marker in 11:23 (*ûmin hithabb<sup>e</sup>rût 'ēlāyw* [emphasis on *'ēlāyw*]), the second in 11:36 (*w<sup>ec</sup>āsâ kirṣônô hammelek* [emphasis on *hammelek*]), and the third in 12:1 (*ûbā<sup>c</sup>ēt hahī<sup>?</sup>* [emphasis on *hahī<sup>?</sup>*]). In each case the story line turns back to deal with earlier materials again, presenting one period of time from two points of view. Note that each recapitulating section (11:16-22 / 23-28 [B]; 11:29-35 / 36-39 and 11:44-45 / 12:1-3 [A']) involves empire IV in some

## Daniel's Empires Apart from History

way. The only section dealing with empire IV which does not exhibit recapitulation, and which is therefore not accounted for in the present analysis, is the middle third of section A' (11:40-43).

With respect to the author's use of the world empire motif I conclude that all the same richness and variety which characterize the use of this motif in the first three prophetic narratives can also be seen in the fourth. The same proportions of emphasis are preserved, but at greater length and with greater levels of complexity, as demonstrated by the tables and charts shown above. One point that comes through clearly in this research is that no single world power could be active throughout all of Dan 11.