

"North" and "South" in Dan 11: A Prolegomenon to the Final Verses

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Introduction

This paper was originally drafted approximately three years ago by way of introducing my entire discussion of Dan 11 and placing its various sections in perspective. In the actual event it is being used as a review for many of those sections. What it introduces and seeks to place in perspective are vss. 40-45.

There are two reasons why it is especially appropriate that the present paper should appear in an issue of *Historicism* whose theme topic is the nature of Christ. The first reason is that it provides opportunity to emphasize again that vss. 29-30 deal with a massive attack on the truth about the nature of Christ. The attack came in two forms involving the combined influences of a theological heresy and an aggressive body of people who accepted and promoted it. The barbarian tribes that overwhelmed the Roman Empire before and during the sixth century A.D. were Christians for the most part but not orthodox in their beliefs. With the sole exception of the Franks they had espoused Arianism, a system in which Christ was a created being and therefore neither coeternal nor coequal with the Father. The most vigorous support for this heresy came from the Vandal-Alan alliance. The Vandals, who crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and conquered the ancient city of Carthage in Libya directly south of Rome, were the only group of barbarians to make effective use of the sea. They were also the only such group to mount a vigorous and concerted persecution of orthodox Catholics within their territories. We shall have more to say about these events later in the paper.

The second reason why the present topic is appropriate here has to do with the difficulty of interpreting the final verses of Dan 11. Up through vs. 39 we have been dealing with predictions which can be verified as history from any public library. In vs. 40 also history can be brought into the discussion. But as we go further, into vss. 41-43 and especially vss. 44-45, we are confronting events that have not yet occurred. The events of vss. 41-43 are only now

starting to be fulfilled. Compounding this problem is the fact that prophecy is not generally understood until the events it describes take place. But by the time these events take place it will be too late to understand them.

So the challenge is to find some means of understanding Dan 11:40-45 correctly and with a high level of confidence before the events occur. These are among the Scriptures that we must trust more than our own eyes and ears in the crisis before us. Trusting the fact that Dan 11 is a prophecy and that God revealed it might be one thing, but how can we be sure that our interpretation of the prophecy is trustworthy? This might seem like an impossible challenge but there is a way to do it. If we acknowledge Jesus' presence in each of three passages, scattered through the second half of the prophecy (11:22, 37; 12:1), the implications of His being there will shape our understanding of other verses nearby, these will provide a context for still others, and our exegesis of the entire chapter will benefit from the three references in question. In this way Jesus takes personal responsibility for leading us through the chapter. Any who follow Him at each point where He is to be seen will come to a useful and reliable understanding of its final verses and will have the assurance that he has not been misled.

One implication of letting our interpretation of Dan 11 and the first verses of Dan 12 revolve around Christ in the above manner is that a gradual shift of emphasis occurs in the angels use of the directional terms "North" and "South." The significance of these terms does not derive uniformly from the compass. It derives from other parts of Scripture as well. As the chapter progresses the one set of meanings gradually falls away and the other rises to take its place. At the beginning of the chapter "North" simply means north from Judea and "South" means south from Judea. By the end of the chapter, however, those in covenant relationship with Christ are scattered all over the globe and so the issues that concern them are global in scope. This represents a change. But it is not a sudden change. One purpose of this paper is to summarize the manner in which it takes place.

Distribution of the Terms

"North" and "South"

Perhaps the most obvious and memorable feature of Dan 11 is the extended series of conflicts between the king of the North and the king of the South. But such conflict is not

ubiquitous within the chapter. It occurs only in vss. 5-15, 25-28, 29-30, and 40-43. Elsewhere the king of the North is above being challenged. He is unassailable.

The Hebrew terms translated "North" and "South" occur in the following verses. In addition "Egypt" is mentioned by name in vss. 8, 42, and 43. See table 1.

Table 1
Verses Where "North" And "South" Occur

Verses	<i>Ṣāpôn</i> ("North")	<i>Négeb</i> ("South")
2
3-4
5-15	6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15	5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15
16-22
23-28	...	25, 25
29-35	...	29
36-39
40-45	40, 44	40

Notice that in table 1 the reference is to the Hebrew words *ṣāpôn* and *négeb* rather than the corresponding English words "North" and "South." In NIV the distributions of these two sets of terms are not the same. NIV supplies the word "North" in vss. 9 and 28 and the word "South" in vs. 17. Thus, as one example, where NIV has "and will make an alliance with the king of the South" (vs. 17), a more accurate rendering would be, "and will make an alliance with him."

It is not good enough to put terms in and take them out at will in Dan 11. From the perspective of the chapter as a whole it is significant that terms relating to North-South conflict should be omitted from vss. 16-22, 36-39, and 44-45.¹ In vss. 2-4 of course such terms have not yet been introduced but elsewhere their absence is part of what the chapter is saying and their distribution should not be tampered with.

Geographical Significance of the Terms
"North" and "South"

During the periods dominated by Persia, Greece, and secular Rome (as a republic and an empire) the role of the king of the North is entirely political in nature. For the last third of the chapter, however, this is no longer the case, as even the most cursory reading of vss. 29-39 will demonstrate. "Then he will turn back and vent his fury against the holy covenant. He will return and show favor to those who forsake the holy covenant" (vs. 30). It could be argued that the king merely opposes an institution of someone else's religion and that he is not himself religious. But the reason why there is conflict between the king and those who keep the covenant is that they are somehow in competition with each other. Two objects can collide only are on the same plane. The term "holy covenant" occurs again in vs. 32. In vs. 31 we have the terms "daily sacrifice" and "abomination." Corresponding to this shift from purely secular to a mixture of secular and religious interests there is a broadening of the angel's use of the terms "North" and "South."

Verses 5-15

The first use of directional terms in Dan 11 occurs in vs. 5 with a reference to the "king of the South." When vs. 5 says "The king of the South will become strong," it means, on one level, that Ptolemy I Soter (323-283) would become strong. On another level, however, it means that the country ruled by Ptolemy would become strong and this country was Egypt.

The above fact illustrates a principle. Continuing on, we read that, "After some years, they will become allies" (vs. 6). The word "they" refers back to vs. 5. There the kings of the South and the North were Ptolemy I Soter and Seleucus I Nicator (312-281), respectively. By all accounts, however, the ones who consummated the alliance in vs. 6 were not Ptolemy I and Seleucus I but Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246) and Antiochus II Theos (261-247). The reference to the king of the South and the king of the North is therefore to roles rather than individuals. Individuals change but the roles remain the same. This principle for using pronouns and other technical terms in Dan 11 could be called corporate reference. None of what the angel says will make any sense in a broad historical context until this principle is understood.

Notice that in vss. 5-15 Seleucid Syria is geographically north from Judea and Ptolemaic Egypt is geographically south from Judea. In addition consider one other fact that is so simple it might be overlooked: The king of the South is south from the king of the North, and vice versa. Thus, Northness and Southness in vss. 5-15 is predicated in terms of where God's people are and also in terms of where the opposing ruler is. Two different factors are involved. That these factors really are different will be seen later from the fact that they diverge.

Verses 25-28

The principle of corporate reference illustrated above in vss. 5-15 continues to apply as we come to vss. 25-28. By this time Rome has displaced Greece as the dominant political force in the Mediterranean world and the king of the North is not Greek any more but Roman.²

Verses 25-28 describe the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) between Octavian, who ruled the western Mediterranean from Rome, and Mark Antony, who ruled the eastern Mediterranean from Egypt. Actium itself, where the battle took place, was located just above the Gulf of Corinth. This battle brought a long period of civil war to an end and transformed Rome into an empire.³ After defeating Antony, Octavian met no further opposition and could rule the entire Roman world alone as Caesar Augustus. The focus of attention, however, is not on Octavian and Antony as individuals but on the political entities they represent--the roles they occupy within the chapter.

Notice that, whereas by this time the king of the North and the king of the South are both Roman rather than Greek, the king of the North has shifted westward but the king of the South remains where he always was--geographically south from Judea.

Verses 29-30

The final section of the chapter (vss. 29-45) calls our attention to events that occur during the Christian era. Such a claim is not arbitrary in the context of a chapter that spans so much history as this one claims to. If we begin during the Persian period in 11:2 and end with the second coming of Christ in 12:1-3, the prophecy will have to include some reference to the Christian centuries--unless we arbitrarily leave them out. Any attempt to remove part of the text of Dan 11 by critical means would meet with immediate resistance from those who believe in

verbal inspiration. And yet using exegetical⁴ means to achieve the same result is no different in the end. There is no excuse whatever for omitting the Christian centuries from Dan 11. If the angel wishes to talk about them, we must let him do it. The problem is that this makes a dispensationalist interpretation virtually impossible.

After the cross the Jewish nation did not retain its former monopoly on the worship of Yahweh. For this reason the Jewish homeland does not retain its former significance as the place where that worship once took place. It was Paul's attempt to make precisely this point that made his Jewish hearers react so violently at one point in his speech after being arrested at the temple in Jerusalem:

(21) "Then the Lord said to me, 'Go; I will send you far away to the Gentiles.'

(22) The crowd listened to Paul until he said this. Then they raised their voices and shouted, "Rid the earth of him! He's not fit to live!" (Acts 22:21-22).

The crowd's response is not evidence that they understood or accepted what God was trying to accomplish in the world. He could not do His work through them any longer. So He offered the blessings and responsibilities of His covenant with Israel to anyone who would appreciate them (see Luke 14:15-24). Since that time the promises have been inherited by individuals with the faith of Abraham, whether or not they also have the flesh of Abraham. These are known collectively as the Christian church. By the end of the first century A.D. the church had become established throughout much of the Mediterranean world, Europe, and Asia.⁵ Thus, in vss. 29-35 the focus of the chapter correspondingly broadens to include those regions.

The king of the North is still Rome in vss. 29-30, but has now taken on a religious dimension. At this time in history Rome was trying to establish herself as the seat of western Christianity and the attack against her came in the form of Arianism--a heretical belief about the nature of Christ, developed in the fourth century A.D. by an Alexandrian presbyter named Anus.⁶ This belief would have been dangerous enough by itself but it received vigorous and tangible support from most of the barbarian tribes that invaded the Empire starting in the third century and on through the seventh. Only the Franks were orthodox.⁷

Rome's struggle to establish herself in a dominant religious role is one thing to keep in mind. But she was struggling politically as well. In the fourth century the capital of the Empire

had been moved to Constantinople (A.D. 321). Then in the fifth century Rome was sacked twice (A.D. 410, 455) and Italy was overrun by Goths. These were dark days for a city that had once been the military center of the Mediterranean world. At one point during the Gothic wars of the sixth century Rome was entirely depopulated. Not one soul remained behind.⁸

The Goths, however, are only one group that the prophecy has in view. Most of the Germanic invaders settled in territories north of the Mediterranean (including Italy), fought on land, and did not persecute those who disagreed with them in religious matters. The exception in every case were the Vandals. They settled in Africa, fought by sea (raiding both the western and eastern parts of the Empire),⁹ and forced their subjects to accept Arianism. They are notable for attacking Rome not only as a state but also as a church. The religious persecution they mounted was so intense and prolonged (lasting several decades) that one authority is led to speculate, "Perhaps Catholicism might have been quite rooted out in Africa if the king [Huneric] had not died prematurely on 23 December 484."¹⁰ If the Vandals had succeeded in their campaign against Catholicism, Africa would have been lost to the Roman church as well as the ostensibly Roman state and the result would have been doubly tragic. They did not succeed. But my point is that for a time Rome was under heavy attack both religiously and politically. Here is the meaning of the clause which says, "Ships of the western coastlands will oppose him, and he will lose heart" (Dan 11:30).

These facts do not converge by accident. Nor is it mere happenstance that Anus taught his heresy concerning the nature of Christ initially in Egypt. His connection with that country is a link to an earlier day, when Egypt was the king of the South and Syria was the king of the North. Over time the role occupied by the king of the North shifted westward to Rome. Now the role of the king of the South shifts westward to Carthage. These later representatives of North and South in Dan 11 oppose each other just as bitterly as Syria and Egypt but do so in a religious as well as a political sense.

After His resurrection Christ commanded the disciples, "Do not leave Jerusalem, but wait for the gift my Father promised, which you have heard me speak about" (Acts 1:4). So they waited in Jerusalem until Pentecost. And in fact they continued to wait there until Stephen was martyred, more than three years later.¹¹ "On that Day a great persecution broke out against the church at Jerusalem, and all except the apostles were scattered throughout Judea and Samaria" (Acts 8:1). When Paul reached Thessalonica some years afterward the Jewish

population "dragged Jason and some other brothers before the city officials, shouting: `These men who have caused trouble all over the world have now come here, and Jason has welcomed them into his house" (Acts 17:6-7). The gospel was not localized to one city as the earlier temple worship had been. As the church expands beyond Palestine, the interest of the prophecy also expands beyond Palestine.

The above interpretation would be reasonable even if it did not also have great significance. But it does have great significance. At issue in the conflict between Rome and Carthage during the period of Vandal rule was the church's ability to understand the truth about Christ and its freedom to maintain that truth openly. The Vandals not only sacked Rome but attempted to establish their unorthodox beliefs about Christ by means of violent persecution.

Discussion

Rome within Dan 11 is not merely the capital of a great world empire--one of four within the book of Daniel. It is that, but it is also the seat of a world-wide church, which, with time, would eventually command vast political power and would also attempt to establish its religious beliefs by means of physical force and persecution.¹² This latter conflict would be on a much greater scale. It would not be confined to the one little territory of Libya, nor would it be measured in decades. The Roman Church would dominate Europe during the middle ages in much the same way that the Roman Empire had in antiquity but its rule would extend over a longer period of time.

This period is stated in three different but equivalent ways in Scripture. Daniel speaks of "a time, times and half a time" (Dan 7:25; 12:7). A "time" is a symbolic expression denoting a year, composed of months and days. At twelve months per year, three and a half years would be forty-two months. Thus, "The beast was given a mouth to utter proud words and blasphemies and to exercise his authority for forty-two months" (Rev 13:5; cf. 11:2). Notice that these years or months are future not only to Daniel but also to John, writing in the first century A.D. And at thirty days per month, forty-two months would be 1260 days. Thus, "The woman fled into the desert to a place prepared for her by God, where she might be taken care of for 1,260 days" (Rev 12:6; cf. 11:3). Each day of this prophetic period stands for a year. The 1260 days are 1260 years.

Here is a description of the high middle ages of the Christian era--the centuries that our dispensationalist friends would like to skip over. Admittedly it is not a pleasant task to study this page from our past.¹³ What attitude should we take now? We can choose to remember what happened or forget, but we cannot make the events themselves go away. Another thing we cannot do with impunity is ignore what God calls to our attention. So let us learn from these things. The very most effective way to turn our backs on past mistakes is not to repeat them.

Summary

There is a natural progression in the angel's use of the terms "North" and "South" in Dan 11. Up through vs. 28, in those sections where they appear, the king of the North and king of the South have geographical significance primarily in relation to the worship of Yahweh (and with it the worshippers of Yahweh), localized in and around a single temple. The king of the North is north from the temple of God in Jerusalem and the king of the South is south from it. Over time the worship of Yahweh becomes geographically diffuse and as a result the focus of the chapter becomes correspondingly diffuse. By the time we come to vss. 29- 30 the church has become established all over the Mediterranean world, in Europe, and in Asia. There is no one center from which the kings of the North and South can draw their geographical significance, and so they draw it only from each other.

Verses 25-28 are transitional in this respect. Actium was on the northern shore of the Mediterranean and Egypt is on the southern shore. In this battle the venue of North-South conflict is being shifted slightly westward. See table 2.

Table 2
Summary of Geographical Terms
as Used in Dan 11

Verses	North	South	Duration of Crisis
Sections 1-2			
5-15	Syria	Egypt	3 years
25-28a	Actium	Egypt	...
28b-c	Rome	...	2½ centuries
Section 3			
29-30	Rome	Carthage	4 decades
36-39	Rome	...	12½ centuries

Prophetic Significance of the Terms
"North" and "South"

What has been said so far does not bring us to the end of the chapter, nor does it exhaust the significance of the terms "North" and "South." These terms are especially prominent in Dan 11 but they do occur elsewhere. Whenever "North" is used in the Old Testament it refers to an oppressive power.¹⁴ This can be Babylon¹⁵ or it can be Assyria¹⁶ but in any event North is always hostile. Occasionally a northern oppressor comes against Babylon rather than from Babylon).¹⁷ "South" is used much less frequently than "North." More often the prophets just say "Egypt." After the exodus Egypt is consistently portrayed as holding out the false prospect of security as an alternative to seeking help from God.¹⁸ The nations of the North and South are constantly poised for conflict. Thus, the theme of superpower rivalry, with God's people caught in between, is seen not only in Daniel but in other Old Testament prophecies as well, both before and during the exile. See appendices 1-3.

Southness

A second level of metaphorical significance associated with Egypt is based on its attitudes at the time of the Exodus. Egypt, in the person of its ruler, refused to recognize Yahweh's existence or authority: "Pharaoh said, 'Who is the Lord, that I should obey him and let

Israel go? I do not know the Lord and I will not let Israel go" (Exod 5:2). Pharaoh's defiance of God and opposition to His expressed will may be taken as a prototype for others who would exhibit similar attitudes later in history. The most extreme form of such an attitude would be atheism).¹⁹

Northness

A second level of metaphorical significance associated with the various Northern powers derives from Isaiah's usage. An oracle against Babylon is found in Isa 14, which says in part:

(12) How you have fallen from heaven, O morning star, son of the dawn! You have been cast down to the earth, you who once laid low the nations! (13) You said in your heart, "I will ascend to heaven; I will raise my throne above the stars of God; I will sit enthroned on the mount of assembly, on the utmost heights of the north. (14) I will ascend above the tops of the clouds; I will make myself like the Most High." (15) But you are brought down to the grave, to the depths of the pit. (Isa 14:12-15, margin)

The "utmost heights of the north" (vs. 13, NIV margin) are associated with the throne of God.²⁰ In the New Testament the city of Babylon eventually became a symbol for worldly authorities in competition with God for the loyalties of His people, as in the above passage. Its associations there are specifically religious. And Daniel's later uses of this term should be understood in the same way.²¹

The terms "North" and "South" have a level of significance in the Old Testament prophets that goes beyond preserving a geographical orientation toward Judea. The associations of Southness are epitomized by Pharaoh's open defiance of God in Exod 5 and the associations of Northness are epitomized by the "king of Babylon's" effort to take over the role and prerogatives of God in Isa 14.

The king of the North in Dan 11:29-30 is the church of Rome, trying to solidify its political power base. The king of the South is the Arian heresy as championed by the various barbarian tribes but more especially by the one barbarian tribe which attacked Rome from the south by sea. I have pointed out that what made Arianism heretical was its teaching that Christ had a

definite beginning in time and is therefore not one with the Father. It would not be unfair to say that Arianism is a secularizing system of belief because it removes the deity of Christ. Catholic orthodoxy took the opposite position. So in the Arian controversy of the fourth to sixth centuries A.D. the proposed larger significance of the figures "North" and "South" is present though not fully developed. The king of the South removes the spiritual dimension in the nature of Christ at this time in history and the king of the North asserts it. This same distinction appears more clearly in vss. 40-45, to which we now turn.

Directionality in vss. 40-45

in vss. 40-45 the timeframe is after the discovery of the Americas and the church of Christ is no longer a European community with its greatest concentration around the Mediterranean basin. It has become a truly global community of faith. For this reason the challenges to it are seen in the prophecy as being truly global in scope. Thus, it is meaningless to speak of some hostile power being north of the church or south of the church. The terms "North" and "South"--which were both geographical and spiritual vss. 29-30--are now solely religious or ideological in nature.²²

It is not my purpose to discuss Dan 11:40-45 at length here. This paper is the pedestal, not the statue. But it can be pointed out that "North" in those verses combines the ideas of religion and hostility and that "South" will have the same irreligious associations there that we have seen earlier in Exod 5. In vss. 44-45 Northern and Southern forces merge and there is no longer a distinction between challenging God's authority openly (South) and imitating it with a show of piety (North). The final attack by the king of the North is launched from the South.

These facts do not have geographical significance but show rather that the last one who claims the role of the king of the North just before Christ comes will exhibit the same attitudes toward God and His beleaguered saints that Pharaoh did when Moses appeared before him to gather God's people for their exodus from Egypt and their entrance into Canaan. The challenge to God's authority at that time will be open and avowed. Once again the world will hear the words, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey him and let Israel go? I do not know the Lord and I will not let Israel go" (Exod 5:2). And once more God will personally take action to set His people free.

Conclusion

For five years readers of this journal have been seeing papers on various sections of Dan 11. Much of the material studied in this way has the function of confirming faith in God's ability to predict the future. It is true that the events predicted happen in part because He takes active steps to ensure that they happen. But His relationship with history goes beyond the self-knowledge that He will work to shape events in a certain way when the issues arise. Any theological model that cannot account for the fact of divine foreknowledge, as exhibited in Dan 11 and other similar prophecies, is an impoverished model.

But however this may be, the last verses of Dan 11 do not have the function of confirming faith. They inform us concerning events that have not yet happened. Here, in what may seem to be the most difficult verses of the prophecy (more difficult than others because history cannot serve as a guide in interpreting them), we must have our principles of interpretation so firmly established that we can rest our weight on them, as it were, and trust that by means of them the Holy Spirit will teach us all and only what He has put there for our instruction. The events we are dealing with here will never be repeated and when they happen it will be too late to learn more. We must get our facts right the first time--before the events occur.

Epilogue

I have stressed the necessity of interpreting Dan 11:40-45 correctly in advance. And yet people disagree widely as to what the passage means. So how can anyone be sure that his interpretation is correct? I mentioned this in the paper's Introduction, but let me say one more word about it here. It is a point I do not want anyone to miss.

Jesus is seen three times in Daniel's final prophecy. First, He is the "prince of a covenant," dying on a Roman cross in vs. 22.²³ Notice here that if the dying "prince of a covenant" is Christ, the timeframe for vs. 22 is the first century A.D. and the middle third of the chapter pertains to secular Rome. Next we see Christ again in vs. 37 as the "one desired by women," i.e., the object of the church's rightful desire.²⁴ What this means is that the setting for vs. 37, and with it vss. 36-39, falls within the Christian centuries. The text says "women" rather

than "woman." In the New Testament those who love and accept Christ are described as "a great multitude that no one could count, from every nation, tribe, people and language" (Rev 7:9).

Having followed Christ through vs. 37, we see Him next as "Michael, the great prince who protects your people" (12:1), who stands up at the end of the judgment to rescue His saints from an otherwise certain destruction at the hands of their enemies.²⁵ Having stood up, what Michael does is return to the earth, where His arrival causes the last king of the North to "come to his end, and no one will help him" (11:45). This is the second coming. The last verses of chap. 11 and the first verses of chap. 12 apply at the same time and deal with the same events. Only the perspective is different.

Let me add that the last chapters of Ellen White's book, *The Great Controversy*, can be seen as a commentary on the last verses of Dan 11. I do not claim that she intended them to be. But all of the same things are discussed. One of the insights gained from bringing the text together with its commentary in this way is that the issues are truly global scope. Unless we are prepared to say that the time of trouble and second coming are confined to Palestine, it will be clear from this comparison that the final attack of the king of the North and Michael's response to it are not confined to Palestine either.

The position I advocate derives from cherishing up every available reference to Christ in the chapter. The three glimpses of Jesus found in Dan 11:22, 37 and 12:1 are the vehicle by which He will lead all those to a correct understanding of Dan 11 who allow themselves to be drawn to Him there. Thus, He leads us through this difficult chapter now in just the same way that He will eventually lead us through the difficult events revealed in it. But these matters are discussed at greater length in a later paper.²⁶

Note: All Scripture quotations in this paper, except when noted otherwise, are from *The Holy Bible, New International Version*. Copyright (c) 1973, 1978, 1984 International Bible Society.

¹ Notice these are precisely the verses (16-22, 36-39, 44-45) that overlap with other portions of the prophecy. Verses 16-22 have the same timeframe as 23-28, vss. 29-35 have the same timeframe as 36-39, and vss. 44-45 have the same timeframe as 12:1-3.

² The point of transition between Greece and Rome comes at vs. 16. See Hardy, "Some Notes on the Linear Structure of Dan 11," *Historicism* No. 7/Jul 86, pp. 14-16.

³ The civil wars "had been bleeding the state for a century" (F. E. Peters, *The Harvest of Hellenism* [New York: Touchstone Books: 1970], p. 387).

⁴ This is done by means of what dispensationalist writers call a gap. The prophecy applies in great detail up to a certain point and then moves ahead suddenly to the end time, omitting the centuries in between. The gap is defined in a number of different ways. See Hardy, "What and Where is the Futurist Gap in Dan 11?" *Historicism* No. 2/Apr 85, pp. 48-60.

⁵ "By the end of the first century A.D. Christianity was well established in the Roman world. From its birthplace in Judaea it had spread west along the northern shore of the Mediterranean as far as Gaul, if not as far as Spain; it had spread along the North African coast to Cyrenaica, if it had not already reached the Roman province of Africa. Two hundred years were to elapse before the Roman state accepted the presence of the church; before that the intermittent attempts were made to repress and, if possible, extirpate Christianity, but the historian, looking back on the situation with all the advantages of hindsight, can see that by A.D. 100 Christianity had come to stay, that its abolition was no longer practicable" (F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History*, Anchor Books [New York: Doubleday], p. 415). For the corresponding state of affairs at the end of the fourth century see Michael Grant, *Atlas of Ancient History*, rev. ed. [New York: Dorset, 1971], "The Spread of Christianity," pp. 83-84.

⁶ See Charles Kannengiesser, "Holy Scripture and Hellenistic Hermeneutics in Alexandrian Christology: The Arian Crisis," in Irene Lawrence, ed., *Colloquy* 41 (Berkeley: Center for Hermeneutical Studies, 1982), pp. 17-31. See also Hardy, "Historical Overview of Dan 11:29-35," *Historicism* No. 18/Apr 89, pp. 13-15.

⁷ "Experts in late Roman rhetoric such as Avitus are not noted for clarity, but what Avitus may have been saying is that Clovis had been a heretic before he converted, and not a pagan" (Edward James, *The Franks* [New York: Blackwell, 1988], p. 122). In any event he did convert.

⁸ The Gothic general Totila, who controlled Rome, thought about dismantling it and had already started to do so when a letter from Belisarius, his imperial counterpart, persuaded him to stop. Totila then sent his army to Algedon, a short distance from Rome. "As for the Romans, however, he kept the members of the senate with him, while all the others together with their wives and children he sent into Campania, refusing to allow a single soul in Rome, but leaving it entirely deserted" (H. B. Dewing, trans., *Procopius: History of the Wars*, Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979], 7.22.19)

⁹ "The energetic Emperor Leo had by this time [A.D. 467] succeeded in overcoming the influence of Aspar, who had always been a hindrance to hostile measures against the Vandals. He despatched a fleet under the command of Marcellinus to convey the newly-created Western Emperor Anthemius to Italy and afterwards proceed to Africa. But first he sent an embassy to Gaiseric to inform him of the accession of Anthemius and to threaten him with war unless he would relinquish his marauding expeditions. The king instantly refused the demand and declared the agreements made with Byzantium at an end. His ships no longer sought Italy, but the coasts of the Eastern Empire: Illyria, the Peloponnesus and all the rest of Greece felt his powerful arm, and even Alexandria felt itself menaced" (H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney, eds., *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, 8 vols. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957], vol. 1: *The Christian Roman Empire and the Foundation of the Teutonic Kingdoms*, p. 310).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

¹¹ The exact time of Stephen's martyrdom is unknown. "It is, in any case, difficult to date the death of Stephen and the conversion of Saul of Tarsus as late as 37" (Bruce, *New Testament History*, p. 225). A.D. 37 is the year in which Pilate was recalled to Rome and, fortunately for him, the year Tiberius died.

¹² See Hardy, "Dan 11:29-35," pp. 21-30.

¹³ There are those who remember the church's role during the middle ages with nostalgia. It is understandable that Catholic writers would do so. One example is Lord Acton, who died in 1902: "It was not, therefore, till the middle of the seventeenth century that the Papal dominions reached their

highest point of increase. For more than a century the temporal authority of the Popes remained unchallenged and unaltered, and they enjoyed a period of repose such as they had never known in more Catholic times. Then, at the end of the eighteenth century, came a period of disaster and decline, of which we have not seen the end nor, we fear, the worst" (Lord Acton, *Essays on Church and State*, Introduction by Douglas Woodruff [New York: Crowell, 1968], p. 111). It is totally inexplicable that Evangelical writers would take such a position. But for Harold Lindell, "The defeat and elimination of the Western Judeo-Christian tradition in the Enlightenment marks a backward step away from a millennial age" (*The New Paganism* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987], p. 216), i.e., away from the prospect of achieving a future millennial age. He laments the fact that society is no longer under the church's control. Sunday laws have been allowed to languish (*ibid.*, p. 143). We are living in a pagan society. This all might be, and yet we should remember what things were like when society was ruled by the church. The age of faith was an age of persecution--persecution of Protestants such as Lindell. Turning the clock back blindly might well take us where we do not wish to go. The middle ages must not be forgotten or they will be repeated.

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

49:12; Jer 31:8; Joel 2:20; Zech 2:6.

¹⁵ Jer 25:9; 46:6, 10; Ezek 26:7. See also Zech 2:7.

¹⁶ Zeph 2:13.

¹⁷ Jer 50:3, 9, 41-46; 51:48.

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

¹⁹ Philo was a contemporary of Jesus who lived in Alexandria. He offered two different interpretations of Egypt as a biblical symbol. The first was psychological, having to do with man's gradual deliverance from low sensuality to rational thought. The second was more directly metaphysical. "In Philo's theology Egypt stands for atheism while Israel is understood as being the nation of those who see God"--one of the possible etymologies of the name `Israel" (Pinhas Carny, "Biblical Egypt as a Symbol in Philo's Allegory," *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, Moshe Weinfeld, ed. (Jerusalem: Israel Bible society, 1978-79), p. lxx.

²⁰ The reference was originally to an actual place. In a paper entitled, "*ṢĀPŌN* in Job 26,7" (*Biblica* 56 [1975]: 554-57), J. J. M. Roberts states that, "*Ṣāpôn* here [in Isa 14:13] is clearly parallel to the *hr mwʿd* mount of assembly', and hence should be understood in its well-attested meaning as the name of a particular sacred mountain. Certainly *ṣāpôn* also bears some relationship to the other terms in the text--*hašmym* `heavens', *kwkbt* `stars of El', and *bmty ʿb* `backs of the cloud'--but that does not require the transformation of *ṣāpôn* into anything other than a mountain. An impressive mountain such as the Jebel el-Aqra would often appear with its peak above low-lying clouds; from the plain below it would seem to rise higher than many of the stars; and the conception that its peak reached to the very heavens is totally unexceptional. . . . Seen at a distance, high mountains like the Jebel el-Aqra often have their bases shrouded in clouds or obscured by haze while their tops remain clearly visible. The visual impression made by such a scene is that of a mountain floating in the air, and it is precisely this impression of land hanging unsupported which the poet has captured in these two, no doubt traditional, lines" (*ibid.*, p. 556, 57). I have not been able to identify Roberts' Jebel el Aqra. At 9232 feet Mount Hermon is by far the highest mountain in Palestine. The Arabic name for Mount Hermon, however, is not Jebel el Aqra but Jebel esh Sheikh (see Emil G. Kraeling, *Rand McNally Bible Atlas* [New York: ~and McNally, 1956], p. 25).

²¹ An interesting set of relationships between Isaiah and Daniel is pointed out by George G. Nicol, who lists eight points of similarity between the two prophets' experiences. Nicol's paper is entitled, "Isaiah's Vision and the Visions of Daniel" (*Vetus Testamentum* 29 [1979]):

1.	The date formula	Is. vi 1	::	Dn. vii 1
2.	The throne and its occupant	vi 1	::	vii 9
3.	The divine beings in attendance	vi 2	::	vii 10
4.	The confession	vi 5	::	ix 23
5.	The flight of a divine being	vi 6	::	ix 21
6.	The word about understanding	vi 9f	::	ix 23
7.	The touching of the lips	vi 7	::	x 16
8.	In both cases the touching of the lips is followed by a long address from the deity or a divine being to the prophet or visionary (<i>ibid.</i> , p. 504).			

"Indeed, the divine council setting which critical scholarship has posited for Isaiahs call vision is explicitly mentioned in the text of Dn. vii 10 in the reference to the sitting of the court (*dyn' ytb*)" (*ibid.*). Such similarities could be accounted for by suggesting, as Nicol does, that Daniel was meditating on Isaiah as he wrote or, alternatively, that both men were shown the same things.

²² See George McCready Price's excellent book, *The Time of the End* (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1967), pp. 67, 82-84, 89. This entire volume should be studied carefully. It is filled with insight.

²³ See Hardy, "Historical Overview of Dan 11:16-22," *Historicism* No. 14/Apr 88, pp. 2-49; "Historical Overview of Dan 11:23- 28," *Historicism* No. 15/Jul 88, pp. 2-61. In the one paper see especially pp. 34-37; in the other see especially pp. 38-45.

²⁴ See Hardy, "'The One Desired by Women' in Dan 11:37," *Historicism* No. 19/Jul 89, pp. 48-66.

²⁵ See Hardy, "Who Did Daniel See and Speak With in Dan 10?" *Historicism* No. 10/Apr 87, pp. 2-17. As regards the evidence they provide concerning Michael Dan 10 and 12 are comparable.

²⁶ See Hardy, "Dan 12:1-3 in Relation to Dan 11:40-45," to appear in *Historicism* No. 23/Jul 90.