

Daniel 11 – Principles of Interpretation
Pastor Marcus Alden Swearingen Bates
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1. Avoid interpretive dogmatism.

We should avoid being dogmatic about our personal positions on Daniel 11, no matter how confident or convinced we might be as to the soundness and strength of our interpretation. We should also never claim that our views are infallible, as no proposed interpretation is completely free from difficulties or objections. Our personal views should also be presented with humility and tentativeness, especially when addressing unfulfilled prophecy. We should treat others who hold different views with courtesy and respect at all times. Daniel 11 interpreters should engage in regular dialogue in a collegial manner, with a genuine openness to consider other viewpoints.

“There is to be closed every door that will lead to points of difference and debate among brethren. If the old man was purged from every heart, then there would be greater safety in discussion, but now the people need something of a different character. There is altogether too little of the love of Christ in the hearts of those who claim to believe the truth. While all their hopes are centered in Jesus Christ, while His Spirit pervades the soul, then there will be unity, although every idea may not be exactly the same on all points.”¹

“Prophetic fulfillment is plain and sure. Of the past we have only to compare prophecy with history, and when the application is correct, prophecy will exactly fit history, like the glove to the hand, being made for it. Present fulfillment, in connection with the past, is also plain. Prophecy will answer in all particulars to existing facts. And prophetic fulfillment, past and present in connection, will constitute a brilliant and glorious light, by which the people of God may know their present position and duty.”²

“Of future fulfillment we cannot speak as positively, especially to enter into all the particulars. Yet the light of prophecy shines ahead, and stretching along in the future may be distinctly seen the close of Christ's priesthood, the seven last plagues, the personal second advent of Christ, the first resurrection, the second resurrection, at the close of the seventh millennium, the destruction of all the enemies of God, and the kingdom and the dominion under the whole heavens given to the saints of the Most High. These great events may be seen in their order. But the particulars of future fulfillment of prophecy may not be so clearly seen.”³

“Fulfilled prophecy may be understood by the Bible student. Prophecy is history in advance. He can compare history with prophecy and find a complete fit as the glove to the hand, it having been made for it. But in exposition of unfulfilled prophecy, where the history is not written, the student should put forth his propositions with not too much positiveness, lest he find himself straying in the field of fancy.”⁴

¹Ellen G. White, *Counsels to Writers and Editors*, page 82.

²James White, “Unfulfilled Prophecy,” *Review and Herald* (April 3, 1855): 204.

³James White, “Unfulfilled Prophecy,” *Review and Herald* (April 3, 1855): 204.

⁴James White, “Unfulfilled Prophecy,” *Review and Herald* (Nov. 29, 1877): 172.

“I cannot pretend to have a comprehensive, cogent, and consistent interpretation of the last apocalypse of the book of Daniel. I only urge that such an interpretation be sought. By collaboration, by diligent study and sincere prayer, we hope to eventually find such an interpretation. And it is to this task that I would exhort the ministry and academicians of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.”⁵

“There is no excuse for anyone in taking the position that there is no more truth to be revealed, and that all our expositions of Scripture are without an error. The fact that certain doctrines have been held as truth for many years by our people, is not a proof that our ideas are infallible. Age will not make error into truth, and truth can afford to be fair. No true doctrine will lose anything by close investigation.”⁶

“We have many lessons to learn, and many, many to unlearn. God and heaven alone are infallible. Those who think that they will never have to give up a cherished view, never have occasion to change an opinion, will be disappointed. As long as we hold to our own ideas and opinions with determined persistency, we cannot have the unity for which Christ prayed.”⁷

2. **Scripture is to be its own expositor and interpreter.**

We should allow the Bible to interpret itself in the process of discovering potential interpretations of apocalyptic symbols and terms. This involves a careful comparison of passages with similar words, phrases, and subject matter. In cases where symbols could have several potential meanings, the context of a passage should provide guidance toward the correct interpretation. For example, Dan. 7:4 discusses a “lion” as a prophetic symbol. Scripture reveals that Christ (Rev. 5:6), Satan (1 Pet. 5:8), Egypt (Eze. 32:2), Assyria (Jer. 50:17), and Babylon (Jer. 50:17; 50:43-44) are each represented by the prophetic symbol of a “lion.” However, because the context of Dan. 7:4 involves a description of historical kingdoms, and Daniel was living under Babylonian rule when the vision of Daniel 7 was given (similar to the head of gold in the vision of Daniel 2), the “lion” in this text represents Babylon.

3. **The principle of typology applies to geographic terms in apocalyptic prophecy.**

Because there has been a transfer of God’s covenant promises from OT Israel to the NT Church as spiritual Israel (see *SDA Bible Commentary*, 4:25-38), geographic terms in apocalyptic prophecy should be understood through the principle of typology. This principle teaches that OT people, places, and geographic agents foreshadow future spiritual realities that are more global and spiritual in scope. Geographic terms relating to end-time apocalyptic events now represent global, symbolic agents rather than literal, geographic agents. These global agents consist of modern-day spiritual or symbolic parallels that reflect the very same disposition, temperament, and spiritual posture toward God and His covenant people as did these geographic agents during Bible times. The two most prominent examples of this principle are “Israel” and “Babylon,” which now both represent spiritual agents (not geographic agents) in apocalyptic prophecy. This typological approach should not be considered as a “phantomizing” of Scripture, as some have suggested.

⁵Donn W. Leatherman, “Adventist Interpretation of Daniel 10-12: A Diagnosis and Prescription,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 7/1 (Spring 1996): 137-138.

⁶Ellen G. White, *Counsels to Writers and Editors*, page 35.

⁷Ellen G. White, *Counsels to Writers and Editors*, page 37.

Furthermore, in addition to Babylon and Israel, the temple, Jerusalem (the holy city), and Zion on earth were also geographic agents during OT times. Applying the principle of typology, these terms as apocalyptic symbols now represent global, spiritual agents on earth, and, as stated above, are to be interpreted based on the disposition and temperament that they displayed toward God and His covenant people in Bible times. Babylon was once an OT city and geographic empire at war with God and His people, but now refers to a global, spiritual system of religious confusion that seeks to control and persecute the faithful.⁸ Israel, the temple, Jerusalem (the holy city), and Zion were also once geographic agents in OT times, but now serve as symbols that represent God’s covenant people in a spiritual sense.⁹

The principle of typology is not a “phantomizing” approach as some have wrongly suggested.¹⁰ In fact, Ellen White referred to the holy city (Jerusalem) in Rev. 11:2 (cf. Luke 21:24) as a symbol of the church.¹¹ She also referred to Babylon and Israel as spiritual agents,¹² and thus used a typological approach to apocalyptic prophecy. Mrs. White implied that “phantomizing” involves spiritualizing prophetic symbols to the point where they find no literal, identifiable, historical fulfillments. Therefore, although the principle of typology interprets geographic apocalyptic terms in a global, spiritual sense, these terms still find their fulfillment in literal, historical, identifiable events.

4. There is an interpretive consistency between Daniel and Revelation.

Given that both books discuss apocalyptic prophecy, an interpretive consistency is present between Daniel and Revelation. This consistency demonstrates that apocalyptic symbols used in both books should be interpreted in the very same manner. Stated another way, there are several prophetic symbols that are common to Daniel and Revelation, and these symbols represent the same concepts in both books. This parallel symbolism is one piece of evidence to show that these two books partner with each other in describing apocalyptic concepts and events. Symbols common to both books that are interpreted similarly include “beasts,” “heads,” “horns,” “mountains,” “ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands,” “time, times, and half a time,” and the “Son of man.” Therefore, if “Egypt” represents atheism in Revelation (Rev. 11:7-8), it must also represent atheism in an apocalyptic sense in the book of Daniel (Dan. 11:40). Daniel does not operate under a different set of interpretive principles when compared to Revelation. Both of these books should be interpreted in the same, consistent manner, as they are partner books.

Symbol/Concept	Use in Daniel	Use in Revelation
“time, times, and half a time” (1260-year papal dark ages)	Dan. 7:25; 12:7	Rev. 12:14 (11:2-3; 12:6; 13:5)
“beasts” (kings/kingdoms)	Dan. 7:17; 7:23; 8:20-21	Rev. 11:7; 13:1; 13:11; 17:10-11

⁸See 1 Pet. 5:13; Rev. 14:8; 16:19; 17:1-18:24.

⁹Israel: Matt. 21:43; 1 Pet. 2:9; Rom. 2:28-29; 9:6-8; Gal. 3:26-29; Eph. 2:11-22; Jam. 1:1; Rev. 2:9; 3:9; 7:4-10; Zion, Jerusalem (the holy city), the temple, and Zion: 1 Cor. 3:16-17; 2 Cor. 6:14-18; Eph. 2:19-22; Rev. 3:12; Luke 21:20-24; Rev. 11:2; Psa. 125:1; Isa. 51:16.

¹⁰See Ellen White, *Great Controversy*, page 360.

¹¹Ellen White, *Spirit of Prophecy*, 4:188; *Great Controversy*, 226.

¹²Ellen White, *Great Controversy*, 381; *Prophets and Kings*, 74.

“heads” (kings/kingdoms)	Dan. 7:6; 7:17; 7:23; 8:22	Rev. 17:9-11
“horns” (kings/kingdoms)	Dan. 7:17; 7:23-24	Rev. 17:12
“mountains” = kings/kingdoms	Dan. 2:35; 2:44-45; 9:16; 9:20	Rev. 17:9-12; cf. Jer. 51:24-25
“ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands” (angelic beings)	Dan. 7:9-10	Rev. 5:11
“Son of man” (Jesus Christ)	Dan. 7:13-14	Rev. 1:13; 14:14
“lion, bear, leopard” (Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece)	Dan. 7:3-7	Rev. 13:2

Ellen White confirmed that Daniel and Revelation are partner books that help to explain each other: “The books of Daniel and the Revelation are one. One is a prophecy, the other a revelation; one a book sealed, the other a book opened.”¹³ “In the Revelation all the books of the Bible meet and end. Here is the complement of the book of Daniel. One is a prophecy; the other a revelation. The book that was sealed is not the Revelation, but that portion of the prophecy of Daniel relating to the last days.”¹⁴ Mrs. White also observed that William Miller applied the same principles of interpretation to Daniel and Revelation that he applied in the study of other Scriptures:

“With intense interest he [William Miller] studied the books of Daniel and the Revelation, employing the same principles of interpretation as in the other scriptures, and found, to his great joy, that the prophetic symbols could be understood. He saw that the prophecies, so far as they had been fulfilled, had been fulfilled literally; that all the various figures, metaphors, parables, similitudes, etc., were either explained in their immediate connection, or the terms in which they were expressed were defined in other scriptures, and when thus explained, were to be literally understood.”¹⁵

5. There is a sequential consistency between Daniel’s four apocalyptic visions.

There is an interpretive, sequential consistency between Daniel’s first three apocalyptic visions as far as the historical kingdoms that are discussed (Daniel 2, 7, and 8-9). Given that Daniel 10-12 is the fourth and final apocalyptic vision in Daniel, it would seem consistent that this final vision would also reveal, repeat, and enlarge on this established sequence of historical kingdoms. These earthly kingdoms consist of those that have been directly involved in the affairs of God’s covenant people, and include Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, four Greek empires, Imperial Rome, and Papal Rome. Daniel 2 and Daniel 7 begin with Babylon, the kingdom in power when these visions were given to Daniel. Chapters 8-9 and 10-12 begin their sequences with Persia because these visions were either given and/or explained to Daniel while he lived under Medo-Persian rule. It does not seem consistent with the pattern established in Daniel’s prior three apocalyptic visions for Daniel’s fourth

¹³Ellen G. White, *Bible Commentary*, 7:791.

¹⁴Ellen G. White, *Acts of the Apostles*, 585.

¹⁵Ellen G. White, *Great Controversy*, 320.

apocalyptic vision to shift its main focus to Turkey or some other historical power outside of the established empire sequence in Daniel's three prior visions. The Turkey view was also not the original pioneer view. James White held that Rome was the final power in each of Daniel's visions, and, prior to 1871, Uriah Smith also originally held that the papacy was the final power in Daniel 11.

The parallel sequential consistency of Daniel's four apocalyptic visions can be easily demonstrated. Babylon is represented by the gold in Daniel 2 (vs. 38) and the lion in Daniel 7 (vs. 4). Medo-Persia is represented by the silver in Daniel 2 (vs. 39), the bear in Daniel 7 (vs. 5), the ram in Daniel 8-9 (vs. 3-4, 20), and by name in Daniel 10-12 (10:1, 10:13, 10:20, 11:1-2). Greece is represented by the bronze in Daniel 2 (vs. 39), the leopard in Daniel 7 (vs. 6), the male goat in Daniel 8-9 (8:5-8, 21), and by name in Daniel 10-12 (10:20, 11:2-4). The four Greek kingdoms are not mentioned in Daniel 2, but are represented by the four heads of the leopard in Daniel 7 (vs. 6), the four horns on the male goat in Daniel 8-9 (8:8, 22), and the division of Alexander's kingdom toward the "four winds of heaven" in Daniel 10-12 (11:4).

Imperial Rome is also discussed in Daniel's four apocalyptic visions. This power is represented by the iron in Daniel 2 (vs. 40), the fourth beast in Daniel 7 (vs. 7, 19, 23), the little horn and desolating power in Daniel 8-9 (8:9-10; 9:26-27), and the "he" that "consumes" the "glorious land" in Daniel 10-12 (11:16). This conquest of the "glorious land" (11:16) is a parallel to how the Roman "little horn" of Daniel 8-9 moves toward the "pleasant land" (8:9). There is also a reference to the "raiser of taxes" (11:20), Caesar Augustus, a Roman emperor (Luke 2:1), and Christ's crucifixion (the "Prince of the covenant" who is "broken," 11:22), which took place under Roman rule (John 19:15).

The papal power is also discussed in Daniel's four apocalyptic visions. This power is represented by the feet of iron and clay in Daniel 2 (vs. 41-43),¹⁶ the little horn that rules for a "time, times, and half a time" in Daniel 7 (vs. 8, 20-21, 23-25), the little horn that takes away the "daily" and places the "transgression of desolation" in Daniel 8-9 (8:11-14, 23-25), and the power that also takes away the "daily," places the "abomination of desolation," rules for a "time, times, and a half" in Daniel 10-12 (11:31, 12:7, 11), and conquers the spiritual "glorious land" during the "time of the end" (11:40-41). Because Papal Rome was the final power in Daniel's first three visions (Daniel 2, 7, and 8-9), it seems consistent that it would be the final power in Daniel's fourth apocalyptic vision (Daniel 10-12).

"The field of Daniel's prophecy embraces five universal kingdoms. These are Babylon, Media and Persia, Grecia, Rome, and the eternal kingdom of God. The ground of the four perishable kingdoms . . . is covered by four distinct lines of prophecy. These are given in chapters two, seven, eight, and eleven. The eleventh chapter of Daniel closes with the close of the fourth monarchy . . . The student of prophecy is thus born down the stream of time from Babylon . . . past Media and Persia, the kingdom of Grecia, and the Roman Empire which comes to its end at the second coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead, out into the ocean of eternity, when the truly wise 'shine as the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.'"¹⁷

"Let us take a brief view of the line of prophecy four times spanned in the book of Daniel. It will be admitted that the same ground is passed over in chapters two, seven, eight, and eleven, with this exception that Babylon is left out of chapters eight and eleven. We first pass down the image of chapter two, where Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome are represented by the gold, the silver, the

¹⁶Ellen G. White, *Bible Commentary*, 4:1168-1169.

¹⁷James White, "The Time of the End," *Signs of the Times* (July 22, 1880): 330.

brass, and the iron. All agree that these feet are not Turkish but Roman. And as we pass down, the lion, the bear, the leopard, and the beast with ten horns, representing the same as the great image, again all will agree that it is not Turkey that is cast into the burning flame, but the Roman beast. So of chapter eight, all agree that the little horn that stood up against the Prince of princes is not Turkey but Rome. In all these three lines thus far Rome is the last form of government mentioned . . . Does the eleventh chapter of the prophecy of Daniel cover the ground measured by chapters two, seven, and eight? If so, then the last power mentioned in that chapter is Rome.”¹⁸

“And there is a line of historical prophecy, where the symbols are thrown off, beginning with the kings of Persia, and reaching down past Grecia to Rome, to the time when that power ‘shall come to his end and none shall help him.’ If the feet and toes of the metallic image are Roman, if the beast with ten horns that was given to the burning flame of the great day be the Roman beast, if the little horn which stood up against the Prince of princes be Rome, and if the same field and distance are covered by these four prophetic chains, then the last power of the eleventh chapter, which is to ‘come to his end and none shall help him’ is Rome.”¹⁹

“GREAT interest now centers in the anti-Christian papal power, which has so long held its seat upon the seven hills of the would-be eternal city. France withdraws her troops from Rome, the present year; and when the French soldier leaves, it is conceded on all hands that the Pope must leave also. Where will he go? Report says to Jerusalem, "the glorious holy mountain between the seas," where a palace for him is now in process of erection. We believe that some such movement on the part of this power is to mark the commencement of the time of trouble such as never was, in the midst of which all they are to be delivered whose names are found written in the book. See Dan. xi, 45, xii, 1. Hence the interest with which we shall watch the progress of events in this direction.”²⁰

“THE man of Sin is trembling within the Vatican. The great mother of harlots who has so long committed fornication with the kings of the earth, is beginning to experience the truthfulness of the prophecy that her power should be taken away, and that those who once supported her, should hate her and make her naked and desolate. More than two thousand years ago the word went forth that the dominion of this power should at a certain time be taken away to be consumed and destroyed unto the end, Dan. vii, 26, and that as its end drew near, it should plant the tabernacles of its palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain, Dan. xi, 45. The crisis of the papacy is evidently rapidly approaching; and if when compelled to move, the Pope should take up his residence in Jerusalem, where it is reported that a palace is already being built for him, would it not be a fulfillment of the prophecy last named, and afford us the surest index of the immediate coming of the great time of trouble such as never was, spoken of in the very next verse?”²¹

“THEY shall take away his power, says the prophet, to consume and destroy it unto the end. The following sets forth a singular movement that is on foot even in Italy itself, which must be as humbling to the papacy as anything that has ever happened. We look for this man of sin soon to plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain, Jerusalem, and come to his end with none to help him. Dan. xi, 45.”²²

¹⁸James White, “Unfulfilled Prophecy,” *Review & Herald* (Nov. 29, 1877): 172.

¹⁹James White, “Where are We?,” *Review & Herald* (Oct. 3, 1878): 116.

²⁰Uriah Smith, “Italy and the Papacy,” *Review & Herald* (Jan. 9, 1866): 45.

²¹Uriah Smith, “The Papacy,” *Review & Herald* (Sept. 11, 1866): 116.

²²Uriah Smith, “Waning of the Pope’s Power,” *Review & Herald* (April 18, 1865): 157.

“A CORRESPONDENT of the Liverpool Mercury, writing from Rome, states that French officers have latterly been very busy in obtaining information respecting Jerusalem . . . The French were also actively employed in making a road from the Holy City to Damascus, along which they were erecting houses at certain intervals. It is said that such a scheme as this intelligence shows to be in course of the development, points to the realizing of Pio Nino’s favorite plan of removing the seat of the Papacy to Jerusalem.’ . . . Is not the above item significant, taken in connection with Dan. xi, 45?”²³

Some Daniel 11 interpreters have suggested that James White and Uriah Smith never directly stated that the papacy is the final manifestation of the “king of the north” in Daniel 11. The statements from Smith and White above, however, are too clear to be misunderstood. Because (1) the “king of the north” is the final power in Daniel 11, (2) James White observed that Rome is the final power in Daniel 11, and (3) Uriah Smith stated that the papacy would seek to plant its authority in the “glorious holy mountain” of Jerusalem, it is very clear that both advocated that Papal Rome, the final manifestation of the “king of the north,” is the last power discussed in Daniel 11.

6. The “king” in Dan. 11:36 represents Papal Rome and not atheistic France.

Because the “king” of vs. 36 has the very same qualities as the little horn of Daniel 7 and Daniel 8, these two symbols represent the same historical power. These qualities include (1) exalting itself above God (8:11; 8:25; 11:36-37), (2) speaking blasphemous words against God (7:8; 7:20; 7:25; 11:36), and (3) prospering in its persecuting activities against the faithful (8:12; 8:24-35; 11:36). Given that the little horn represents Papal Rome, the “king” of vs. 36 also represents Papal Rome. Dan. 11:30-35 discusses the dark-age persecuting activities of the papacy, and the phrase “And the king” (vs. 36) suggests a continued discussion of this power, not a transference to a completely different power altogether. This conclusion is supported by Ellen White (13MR 394) and a *Ministry* magazine article from March 1954 produced by leading Adventist interpreters. This “king” is also the first “him” in vs. 40a, as well as the KON in vs. 40b. The phrase, “nor regard any god” (vs. 37) does not represent an atheistic power, but describes how the papacy exalts itself above every power, including God Himself. This “king” also honors the “God of forces” and a “god whom his fathers knew not” (vs. 38), which shows that it is not atheistic in orientation.

Qualities of Papacy	Scripture Evidence from the Book of Daniel
Self-Exaltation	“He even exalted himself as high as the Prince of the host” (Dan. 8:11) “And he shall exalt himself in his heart” (Dan. 8:25) “he shall exalt and magnify himself above every god” (Dan. 11:36) “He shall regard neither the God of his fathers” (Dan. 11:37) “nor regard any god; for he shall exalt himself above them all” (Dan. 11:37)
Pompous Words	“and a mouth speaking pompous words” (Dan. 7:8) “a mouth which spoke pompous words” (Dan. 7:20) “He shall speak pompous words against the Most High” (Dan. 7:25) “shall speak blasphemies against the God of gods” (Dan. 11:36)

²³Uriah Smith, “Will the Pope Remove the Papal Seat to Jerusalem” *Review & Herald* (May 13, 1862): 192.

Dark-Age Prosperity	“he cast down truth to the ground. He did all this and prospered” (Dan. 8:12) “He shall destroy fearfully, and shall prosper and thrive” (Dan. 8:24) “Through his cunning he shall cause deceit to prosper under his rule” (Dan. 8:25) “and shall prosper till the wrath has been accomplished” (Dan. 11:36)
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“The committee felt that a careful study of Daniel 11:36-39 reveals outstanding characteristics of the Papacy and a remarkably clear picture of the cunning flattery and deceit of this power in its historical activities and its religious practices. These verses parallel not only the above-mentioned verses in Daniel 7 and 8 but also 2 Thessalonians 2:4 and Revelation 13:5, 6. It was therefore the unanimous conclusion of the committee that, both historically and according to a sound exegesis of the text, Daniel 11:36-39 must refer to the papal power, and further, that these verses are parallel to Daniel 7:24, 25, and Daniel 8:23-25, which have always been considered by the Seventh-day Adventist ministry as referring to the Papacy.”²⁴

“The prophecy in the eleventh of Daniel has nearly reached its complete fulfillment. Much of the history that has taken place in fulfillment of this prophecy will be repeated. In the thirtieth verse a power is spoken of that “shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.” [Verses 31-36, quoted.].”²⁵

7. The interpretive framework for Daniel 10-12 is based on clear textual markers.

In order to establish an interpretive framework for Daniel 10-12, we must identify textual markers located in this apocalyptic vision that clearly point to historical empires. This process is akin to putting together a puzzle – we should begin by putting together the clearer pieces, and then fill in the more difficult pieces around the framework of these clearer pieces. There are several clear textual markers in Daniel 10-12 that describe the main historical empires of Daniel’s apocalyptic visions. These empires and their textual markers include Persia (10:1; 10:20; 11:1-2), Greece (10:20; 11:2-4), four Greek empires (11:4; cf. 8:8), Imperial Rome (11:16 [cf. 8:9]; 11:20 [cf. Luke 2:1]; 11:22 [Christ’s death]), and Papal Rome (11:31; 12:11 [cf. 8:9-14]; 11:36-37 [cf. 7:8, 20 25; 8:11-12, 24-25]; 11:41 [cf. 8:9; 11:16]; 12:7 [cf. 7:25]). Although Adventist interpreters differ in their understanding of passages that are located between these textual markers, these markers form a basic framework from which to tackle more difficult texts in Daniel 10-12.

Historical Empires in Daniel 10-12	Clear Textual Markers in Daniel 10-12
Medo-Persia	“Cyrus king of Persia” (10:1) “kingdom of Persia, kings of Persia” (10:13) “prince of Persia” (10:20) “Darius the Mede” (11:1) “three kings in Persia” (11:2)
Greece	“prince of Greece” (10:20) “realm of Greece” (11:2-4)

²⁴“Report on the Eleventh Chapter of Daniel,” *Ministry* (March 1954): 23.

²⁵Ellen G. White, *Manuscript Releases*, 13:394.

Four Greek Empires	“divided toward the four winds of heaven” (11:4; cf. Dan. 8:8)
Imperial Rome	“do according to his own will” (11:16) “by his hand the glorious land shall be consumed” (11:16; cf. Dan. 8:9) “raiser of taxes” (11:20; Caesar Augustus; cf. Luke 2:1) “prince of the covenant” is “broken” (11:22; Christ’s death during Rome’s rule)
Papal Rome	“daily,” “abomination of desolation” (11:31; 12:11; cf. Dan. 8:9-14) “exalt himself,” “magnify himself,” etc. (11:36; 8:11; 8:25) “speak marvelous things against the God of gods” (11:36; cf. Dan. 7:25) “enter the glorious land” (11:41; cf. 8:9; 11:16) “time, times, and half a time” (12:7; cf. Dan. 7:25)

8. A transition from geographic and global powers takes place in Dan. 11:30-31.

Applying the principle of typology, Daniel 11 reveals a transition from agents that are geographic in scope to agents that are more global and spiritual in scope. This transition takes place with the entrance of Papal Rome in Daniel 11, which is described in vs. 30-31. This passage uses the terms “daily” and “abomination of desolation,” and because these two terms are also used in Dan. 8:9-14 in reference to Papal Rome, vs. 30-31 must also describe Papal Rome. This transition is also demonstrated by the fact that the personal pronouns (“he,” “his,” “him”) broaden in scope from this point forward in Daniel 11. In vs. 1-29, the pronouns describe both empires and the specific activities of rulers who acted in behalf of these powers, while the personal pronouns in vs. 30-45 seem to broaden in their scope, and apply to more general historical empires and trends. These points show that geographic literalism is not required throughout the entire prophecy of Daniel 11.

Moreover, the papacy is undoubtedly located in the geographic region of Rome. However, because (1) it exerts a global spiritual influence around the world, and (2) it seeks to control the worship activities of people, it clearly reveals a global scope of influence in a spiritual sense, and thus is a global, spiritual power. For the sake of consistency, therefore, other powers in Daniel 11 from this point forward (i.e. vs. 30-45) must also be viewed and interpreted in spiritual, typological sense, and not a geographic sense. Once again, this typological approach to geographic terms relating to apocalyptic prophecy recommends that geographic literalism is not required throughout Daniel 11.

9. The “time of the end” extends from the year 1798 to Christ’s return.

The phrase “time of the end” is found five times in the book of Daniel (Dan. 8:17; 11:35; 11:40; 12:4; 12:9). The evidence from Dan. 12:4-9 reveals that Daniel’s prophecies would be “unsealed” and reach their final fulfillment during the “time of the end,” which arrived after the “time, times, and half a time” (Dan. 12:7). This time prophecy is an obvious reference to the 1260-year dark ages (the period when the papacy persecuted God’s faithful people), which extended from A.D. 538 to 1798. The “time of the end,” therefore, began in 1798 and extends to Christ’s return. This point is confirmed by Ellen White and several Adventist interpreters.

“But that part of his prophecy which related to the last days, Daniel was bidden to close up and seal ‘to the time of the end.’ . . . But at the time of the end, says the prophet, ‘many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.’ [Daniel 12:4.] . . . But since 1798 the book of Daniel has been

unsealed, knowledge of the prophecies has increased, and many have proclaimed the solemn message of the Judgment near.”²⁶

This evidence confirms that the “time of the end” began in 1798 at the end of the 1260-year dark-ages. When this final period of history would arrive, the final events of apocalyptic prophecy would begin to see their complete fulfillment. Several Adventist pioneers also recommended that the “time of the end” began in the year 1798. S.N. Haskell observed that the “time of the end . . . began in 1798,”²⁷ and noted that the “wounding of the head of the beast in 1798” marked the “beginning of the time of the end.”²⁸ A.T. Jones stated that, “the 1260 years . . . ended in 1798,” and “at that time the world entered upon the time called in the prophecy, ‘The time of the end.’”²⁹ J.N. Loughborough wrote that the year “1798” actually “marks the beginning of that period of time in this prophecy called ‘the time of the end.’”³⁰ Uriah Smith confirmed that the “termination of the 1260 years . . . showed the commencement of the time of the end.”³¹ James White also conveyed that the conclusion of the 1260 years in the year 1798 marked the “commencement of the time of the end.”³² Therefore, the “time of the end” is a phrase describing the final period of human history, which extends from the year 1798 to Christ’s return.

10. Daniel 11 discusses three conflicts between the kings of the north and south.

The main theme in Daniel 11 is the conflict between the “king of the north” (KON) and the “king of the south” (KOS). There are three north/south conflicts in Daniel 11 (vs. 5-15, vs. 25-29, and vs. 40). The first two conflicts (vs. 5-15 and vs. 25-29) only involve two powers – north and south. To be consistent, the third conflict (vs. 40) must also only involve north and south. Therefore, vs. 40 describes a two-way war between north and south, not a three-way triangular war. The KON and KOS should also be understood by their spiritual posture toward God and His covenant people. The spiritual posture of the KON is one of assuming God’s authority and position by controlling and dictating the worship activities of God’s covenant people. Seleucid Syria (vs. 5-15), Imperial Rome (vs. 16-30a), and Papal Rome (vs. 30b-45) meet this criterion. Historically speaking, these three earthly powers sought to control God’s covenant people and dictate their worship activities. On the other hand, the spiritual posture of the KOS reflects a lack of interest in God and refuses to acknowledge God’s authority, claims, and prerogatives. Ptolemaic Egypt (vs. 5-15, 25-29) showed no interest in God, and atheistic France (vs. 40) refused to acknowledge God’s claims and authority in a defiant, rebellious fashion. The significance of the KON and KOS in Daniel 11 should focus primarily on the spiritual disposition and posture of each power toward God and His covenant people, and not necessarily on geography.

Dan. 11:40 describes the third and final north/south conflict in Daniel 11. Some Adventist interpreters view this text as describing a two-way war between north and south, while other Adventist interpreters see this text as describing a three-way war between north, south, and the “king” of vs. 36 (the first “him” of vs. 40). Because (1) the first two north/south conflicts in Daniel 11

²⁶Ellen G. White, *Great Controversy*, page 356.

²⁷S.N. Haskell, *Story of Daniel the Prophet*, page 14.

²⁸S.N. Haskell, *Story of the Seer of Patmos*, page 307.

²⁹A.T. Jones, “The Working of Satan,” *Signs of the Times* (Nov. 10, 1887): 681.

³⁰J.N. Loughborough, *Great Second Advent Movement*, page 79.

³¹Uriah Smith, *Daniel and Revelation*, page 304. See also pages 520-521.

³²James White, “Signs of the Times,” *Review and Herald* (May 1, 1855): 220.

only involve the two powers of north and south (vs. 5-15 and vs. 23-29), and (2) the “king” of vs. 36 is the papal KON, it seems consistent that vs. 40 also describes a two-way war between north and south. There are also two references to “him” in vs. 40. The first “him” is the “king” of vs. 36, the papal KON, while the second “him” is the KOS from vs. 40a, which will be identified below.

Therefore, the first part of vs. 40 states that, “at the time of the end the king of the south shall attack him.” Once again, the first “him” is the “king” of vs. 36, the papal KON. The second part of vs. 40 states that, “and the king of the north shall come against him,” with the second “him” referring to the KOS from the first part of vs. 40. This reading recommends a two-way war between north and south, not a triangular war between three powers. A reading of this passage from the New Living Translation states that, “Then at the time of the end, the king of the south will attack the king of the north. The king of the north will storm out with chariots, charioteers, and a vast navy. He will invade various lands and sweep through them like a flood” (Dan. 11:40, NLT). This two-way war between north and south in vs. 40 can be summarized through a chiasmic arrangement of this passage, as shown in the chart below:

Daniel 11:40a	Daniel 11:40b
C – “him” (“king” of vs. 36)	C’ – “the king of the north”
B – shall attack (push)	B’ – “shall come against”
A – “the king of the south”	A’ – “him” (the KOS)

11. The “king of the north” is discussed in vs. 16-39.

Some Adventist interpreters suggest that the “king of the north” (KON) is not the active agent in vs. 16-39. However, the KON is the main satanic agent represented throughout the entire prophecy of Daniel 11. In vs. 5-15, the first manifestation of the KON is Seleucid Syria, which subjugated and controlled the worship activities of God’s covenant people. Imperial Rome later conquered this power, as well as the “glorious land” (Israel) in vs. 16. Because it assumed control of God’s covenant people and their worship activities, this power is the second manifestation of the KON in Daniel 11. There are two “kings” mentioned in vs. 27, and because the “king of the south” (KOS) is mentioned in vs. 25, it is reasonable and safe to conclude that the other king in vs. 27 is the KON, which is Imperial Rome at this stage in Daniel 11. Also, because Papal Rome is the next power to emerge in vs. 30-31, it becomes the next manifestation of the KON, as it exercised control over God’s covenant people and their worship activities. The “king” of vs. 36 is also the papal KON, which is mentioned as the first “him” and the “king of the north” in vs. 40. Therefore, the three manifestations of the KON in Daniel 11 include (1) Seleucid Syria (vs. 5-15), (2) Imperial Rome (vs. 16-30a), and (3) Papal Rome (vs. 30b-45). The New King James Version also contains a series of subtitles for various passages in Daniel 11. These subtitles and their respective verses include: (1) “Warring Kings of North and South” (vs. 5-28), (2) “The Northern King’s Blasphemies” (vs. 29-39), and (3) “The Northern King’s Conquests” (vs. 40-45). Evidently, the translators of this version have concluded that the main satanic player in Daniel 11 is the KON.

12. The OT relationship between ancient Babylon, ancient Egypt, and ancient Judah presents an apocalyptic model that applies on a global scale in Dan. 11:40-45.

Applying the principle of typology, the relationship between OT Babylon, OT Egypt, and OT Judah during the 6th century BC provides a historical model for understanding Dan. 11:40-45 on a global scale. The OT history involving these powers is heavily nuanced in vs. 40-45. Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon responded to an Egyptian attack (“push”) from Necho II in 609-608 BC by defeating Egypt in the battle of Carchemish (605 BC) on the Euphrates River. He moved south after this victory and conquered Judah (the glorious land), Edom, Moab, and Ammon (Jer. 9:25-26; 25:9-27; 27:1-22; 48:1-47; 49:1-39; Eze. 21:18-21; 25:1-17; 32:1-32; Zeph. 2:1-15). He also secured control over Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia (2 Ki. 24:7; Jer. 9:26-27; 25:9-27; 27:1-22; 37:1-8; 46:1-28; 49:1-39; Eze. 21:18-21; 29:1-21; 30:1-26; 31:1-18; 32:1-32; 38:1-23; Zeph. 2:1-15). Each of these nations (Edom, Moab, Ammon, Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia) surrounded ancient Judah the eastern, southeastern, southern, and southwestern borders. The Mediterranean Sea was on Judah’s western and northwestern border, and Babylon conquered the territory on the northern and northeastern borders of ancient Judah. In effect, Babylon conquered all of the territory around ancient Judah. The Persian king Cyrus, who acted as God’s anointed, chosen instrument for the liberation of His covenant people, later conquered Babylon from the north and east, and released the Israelites from Babylonian captivity (Isa. 41:2; 44:27-28; 45:1; Jer. 50:1-9; 51:1-13; 51:48-49).

Given that these terms and events are heavily-nuanced in Dan. 11:40-45, these OT historical events serve as an end-time, apocalyptic model that can apply on a global scale in a typological sense. Just as Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon recovered from an Egyptian “push” (attack) to defeat Egypt and conquer ancient Judah, as well as all the territories surrounding Judah, so will apocalyptic Babylon (the papal KON) recover from an atheistic Egyptian “push” (attack) in 1798 by gaining the allegiance of the entire world to completely surround God’s covenant people (the “glorious holy mountain”) at the end of time. This will be accomplished through the enforcement of the mark of the beast in the form of Sunday Legislation. However, “news” (“tidings”) from the “east” and “north” in the form of the third angel’s message and the soon-return of Christ will trouble apocalyptic Babylon, and motivate this power to launch one final persecuting effort to conquer the “glorious holy mountain.” However, because God and His covenant people ultimately triumph in the end, Christ, God’s anointed One (as typified by Cyrus), will return to deliver the faithful and destroy apocalyptic Babylon. Overall, Dan. 11:40-45 was described to Daniel in familiar terms that he could relate to, as these historical events took place during his lifetime, despite the fact that he did not understand their full meaning in light of end-time apocalyptic events. John was given the visions of Revelation in a similar manner. His visions of apocalyptic events in Revelation were also described through the model of OT historical accounts and agents that he was well-familiar with.