

The Broken Messiah-Prince of the Covenant: Hermeneutic Doorway between Type and Antitype in Prophetic History¹

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Opening Statement

Unlike the earlier apocalyptic visions of Daniel that have seen wide unanimity within the historicist interpretations of Seventh-day Adventist expositors, the expansive prophecy found in the last three chapters of the book has evaded a consensus position to date. Though renewed interest of recent years has brought fresh ideas and perspectives to this chapter, this has inevitably caused the number of varied expositions to increase. Yet, in spite of the more than dozen attempts to produce a historical overlay to fit the specifications of this prophecy, they all essentially fall into one of two hermeneutic streams, each with their own methodological considerations.³

Before looking at these differing interpretations, it is important to identify key points of agreement from across the historicist SDA interpretative spectrum. There is more or less complete functional agreement on the events that fulfill the first fifteen verses of the chapter from those who have written or presented on the fulfillment of Daniel 11 in history.⁴ In fact, our concord on these verses also has wide support outside of Adventism up to this point, including among preterists. That so many commentators who differ so much on the later verses can find this early consensus speaks strongly for the fact that the first third of this chapter is rather locked in. This should give hope for the future that there is a common platform that everyone is building upon.

The next point of convergence is in verse 22, where almost all SDA historicists agree that the crucifixion of Christ by the Roman Empire on behalf of the Jews is in view.⁵ The variation of interpretation between verses 16 and 21 is very minor and while worthy of further discussion and analysis, they also achieve the same functional result by the centre of the chapter.⁶ This all means that from a pragmatic perspective, close to one half of this prophecy is essentially in the bag. This agreement is largely due to the fact that these verses cover the period of history that brings us to the close of Biblical canon.

It is after verse 22 that the greatest diversity is seen within SDA historicist interpretations. Viewing the chapter from its crescendo at verse 45, these different interpretations take many twists and turns to arrive at some widely divergent positions. Now if it is manifest that almost the entire commentariat can follow the same path from the beginning of the chapter and arrive at the same point by verse 22 before branching off, then this must be the first major interpretative fork in the road. As it happens, all the various interpretations that exist today within Adventism take one of two paths after the twenty-second verse:⁷

1. The first stream of interpretation (geographical-literal) holds that since the “king of the north” in the verses preceding verse 22 is fulfilled by the literal geopolitical power/s which existed to the north of Judea, this same principle must continue after verse 22. Thus, the “king of the north” will be seen either as a power that

¹ All Bible quotes are from ESV unless otherwise stated.

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³ This paper will deal with historicist interpretations and will not cover the neo-futurist explanations that have begun to establish themselves in the fringes of Adventism.

⁴ An outlier on this point would be Jacques Doukhan, who sees Rome introduced as early as verse 4. This interpretation has gained no clear traction in Adventism. Jacques B. Doukhan, *Secrets of Daniel: Wisdom and Dreams of a Jewish Prince in Exile* (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald, 2000) 168.

⁵ C. Mervyn Maxwell does offer a departure from this, but it has also not gained a significant following. Maxwell appears to see the Papacy introduced into verse 21, thus making verse 22 refer to a general hostility against the heavenly ministry of Christ rather than the specific Cross event. C. Mervyn Maxwell, *God Cares, Volume 1: The Message of Daniel for You and Your Family* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1981) 283-285.

⁶ This paper will facilitate some of that further discussion as it further builds upon the work of Roy E. Gane and his hypothesis that Antiochus III remains in view up to verse 19.

⁷ There have been various proponents who have spoken of a “third option”, but these are basically variations on a theme. Tim Roosenberg presents as his “3rd option” a “twofold” application where the first is “literal, localized, and geopolitical fulfillment” and the second is “globalized, religious application” - Tim Roosenberg, “Statement No. 3: A False Choice?.” Paper presented at Daniel 11 Symposium, Las Vegas, NV, May 2019. Roosenberg’s identification is still rooted in the localized and extended outward to global implications. Therefore, it doesn’t qualify as a third option in terms of hermeneutic approach. Ivor Myers has a paper “The King of the South in Daniel 11:40-45: A Third View”(Unpublished Paper, 2018) which also presents a variation rather than a truly independent hermeneutical option, arguing for a wider view of the “king of the north” and “king of the south” to that put forward under the representative-spiritual view.

controls the lands in the region of Anatolia, Syria or Ancient Babylonia, or as a power that first came onto the scene to the north of Judea. The inverse is held to be true in the case of the “king of the south”, this being held to be either a political power that controls the land of Egypt or that first came onto the scene to the south of Judea.

2. The second stream of interpretation (representative-spiritual) holds that the “king of the north” after verse 22 moves from literal geopolitical powers to the north of Judea and instead identifies a power that is the spiritual inheritor of this moniker. In other words, it looks at the principles that characterized the literal powers to the north of Israel – Assyria, Babylon and the Seleucids – and identifies later powers that embody these traits. For the “king of the South”, the same principle applies, seeing a spiritual heir to Egypt rather than a geographically bound entity.

These two views present the *crux interpretum* which forms the chief impasse among SDA historicist commentators. Each position holds to its own attendant hermeneutical considerations and can boast of support from William Miller’s rules of interpretation.⁸ The geographical-literal interpretation has as its chief strength the apparent consistency that can be claimed for following the same methodology throughout the entire chapter.⁹ This is truly a formidable consideration and without strong justification to do so, the geographical-literal proponent has good grounds to claim that a switch from literal to spiritual identification seems arbitrary. This view looks to William Miller’s 11th rule of Interpretation for support.¹⁰

On the other hand, the representative-spiritual position places considerable emphasis on the parallels between the outline prophecies of Daniel.¹¹ In doing so, it highlights the literary links between the actions of the latter “king of the north” in chapter 11 and the activities of the “little horn” in chapters 7 and 8.¹² Advocates for this position consider it a breaking of the pattern for this prophecy to introduce a new player in this chapter and to part from the pattern established in the earlier chapters. This position finds support in the 6th rule of William Miller.¹³

It would appear, then, that the divide boils down to two hermeneutic issues – one of internal consistency and the other of intertextuality. All commentators would likely agree to the importance of both of these interpretative principles, yet would see the other side as violating the one they hold to be of primary importance. For example, all Seventh-day Adventist historicist commentators would likely agree in principle that the apocalyptic prophecies in Daniel and Revelation feature a pattern of repeat and enlarge. Likewise, all parties would agree that there needs to be consistency when interpreting any passage of Scripture.

So why might two parties, who claim to hold to the same well-established principles of Scripture, come away with two very divergent interpretations? The question seems to be one of priority. The geographical-literal school appears to prioritise what they see as internal consistency over intertextual congruence. The representative-spiritual school has these priorities reversed, first finding synchronisms between the prophecies and then seeking to be consistent within this framework.

⁸ Joshua V. Himes, *Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology, Selected From Manuscripts of William Miller; With a Memoir of His Life, Volume 1* (J. V. Himes: Boston, MA): 20-24.

⁹ “The hermeneutic proven by the format of the book of Daniel is symbolic vision followed by a literal interpretation consisting of literal kings, kingdoms and events. The interpretations of every prophetic chapter in Daniel are literal throughout. Daniel 11 is an interpretation of Daniel 8 confirmed by comparing scripture with scripture within the book of Daniel itself and the comments of Ellen White that relate directly to the book of Daniel. And since it is an interpretation, it describes literal kings, kingdoms and events throughout its entirety, following the pattern set by every other interpretation in the book of Daniel.” Kim Kjaer, *Hermeneutical Horses*, (Unpublished paper presented at the Daniel 12 Symposium in Berrien Springs, 2018), 6.

¹⁰ “Rule XI: How to know when a word is used figuratively. If it makes good sense as it stands, and does no violence to the simple laws of nature, then it must be understood literally, if not, figuratively.” Joshua V. Himes, *Views of the Prophecies*, 22.

¹¹ For example, “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 great image of chapter two, where Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome are represented by the gold, the silver, the 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. Now comes the point in the argument upon which very much depends. 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.” James White, “Unfulfilled Prophecy”, *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 50, no. 22 (Nov. 29, 1877), 172.

¹² A good example of this can be seen in the parallels presented in the eighth chapter of Louis Were’s *King of the North at Jerusalem: God’s People Delivered* (Berrien Springs, MI: First Impressions, 1949).

¹³ “Rule VI: God has revealed things to come, by visions, in figures and parables, and in this way the same things are oftentimes revealed again and again, by different visions, or in different figures, and parables. If you wish to understand them, you must combine them all in one.” Joshua V. Himes, *Views of the Prophecies*, 21.

When these two systems of interpretation are distilled to these basic considerations, several things stand out. At first glance, it seems that they are evenly matched in terms of the weighting of principles – each resting upon sound hermeneutical rules outlined by Miller. It is also clear that the adherents of either point of view hold strongly to divine revelation. Therefore, in terms of both intentionality and exegesis they both offer weighty considerations.

The question that is faced by the SDA Church is how to plot a path through this seeming deadlock of competing theories and thus begin to narrow the field of viable options to present a united front on this final prophecy of Daniel. Notice that the question is not “if” this is possible. To “agree to disagree” is not really an option that God has left open to Bible-believing Christians. Christians should respect each other in their differences, but the existence of those differences should open the door to humble dialogue, not obstinate reserve.¹⁴

Great care should be taken by each participant in this collective journey to offset the ‘human factor’ that may frustrate the combined efforts of those involved. Many have written or preached with conviction regarding their personal views and this has unfortunately set a stage of fragility for this journey. SDA history is beset with occasions wherein strong personalities have clashed and pride of opinion has withheld progress because it involves a paradigm shift from positions that have been publicised.¹⁵ Ideas, whether privately held or widely disseminated, should not be treated as the law of the Medes and the Persians. Thankfully, within the same history of this Church there have also been times where men and women of strong convictions have set the example of laying these upon the altar and studying out an issue with prayer and humility.¹⁶

Having identified the equally-weighted competing principles and priorities, the solution must be to find additional evidence that might tip the scales one way or another. For the geographical-literal theory, this could come in the form of finding a correlation between a proposed literal “king of the north” and “king of the south” and the details contained within the earlier outline visions of Daniel. For the representative-spiritual theory, it might involve a defence in favour of prioritising intertextuality over internal consistency, the advocating of a hermeneutic key which requires a shift from geographical-literal to representative-spiritual for the latter “king of the north” and “king of the south” and literary precedent for such a switch. A valid criticism leveled against the representative-spiritual interpretation is that there has been little agreement on when exactly the change in interpretation should begin.¹⁷

In fairness, it must be admitted that the burden of proof rests largely upon those who are advocating the most extraordinary viewpoint, which in this case is the idea that a switch of referent occurs midway through a single prophetic narrative. The remainder of this paper will take up this challenge from a number of lines of evidence and present a cogent and self-consistent reason that the chapter moves from a consensus geographical-literal identity of the main powers in the first half of the chapter to a representative-spiritual identity for the “king of the north” and “king of the south” in the latter portion of the chapter.

¹⁴ “Truth is eternal, and conflict with error will only make manifest its strength. We should never refuse to examine the Scriptures with those who, we have reason to believe, desire to know what is truth. Suppose a brother held a view that differed from yours, and he should come to you, proposing that you sit down with him and make an investigation of that point in the Scriptures; should you rise up, filled with prejudice, and condemn his ideas, while refusing to give him a candid hearing? The only right way would be to sit down as Christians, and investigate the position presented, in the light of God’s work, which will reveal truth and unmask error. To ridicule his ideas would not weaken his position in the least if it were false, or strengthen your position if it were true. If the pillars of our faith will not stand the test of investigation, it is time that we knew it. There must be no spirit of Phariseism cherished among us.” Ellen White, *Gospel Workers* (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald, 1892): 127.

¹⁵ The most well-known example of this was the clash of personalities at the 1888 General Conference session in Minneapolis, however this has had ripple effects throughout our history in the early 1900s, after Ellen White’s death (1919 Bible Conference and its aftermath), during the 1950s with Questions on Doctrine and the violent opposition it attracted from the Andreasen wing, etc. etc. Excellent resources on these internal skirmishes in Seventh-day Adventist history are Leroy Moore’s, *Adventism in Conflict: Resolving the Issues that Divide Us* (Review and Herald: Hagerstown, MD) 1995, and the updated *Adventist Cultures in Conflict: Principles of Reconciliation* (Moore Publishing: Ithaca, MI) 2009.

¹⁶ The Sabbath-Bible Conferences in the late 1840s is an excellent example of thought leaders coming together to discuss doctrine and settle differences. That this happened in the genesis of this movement means that is a part of our formative DNA.

¹⁷ “Some believe that chapter 11 should switch from the initial, literal hermeneutic to a symbolic one. The switch is suggested at various places such as verse 40 because we enter the time of the end, from verse 30,31 because the Papacy is introduced or from verse 23 because it’s after the death of the Messiah. Some have suggested verse 5 and others verse 2. The majority of adherents see the transition in verse 23 or verse 30,31, so we’ll look at those. A hermeneutic is a principle of interpretation and as such, must be equally applied to all passages and not just when and where we want to.” Kjaer, *Hermeneutical Horses*, 6.

Exhibit A: The Pattern of Repeat and Enlarge in Apocalyptic

Prophecy may be seen as existing in four principle forms:

1. Exhortative prophecy – The majority of prophetic discourse involves a call to awaken the audience to moral piety through admonition, warning, reproof and even judgement. This is often not given as much attention as the other more predictive forms of prophecy due to the fact that “prophecy” has become more-or-less synonymous with “prediction” in the modern vernacular.
2. Near-sighted predictive prophecy – A common form of prophetic prediction involves the forecasting of events in the near future, within the lifetime of the prophet and his audience. These are often linked to exhortative prophecy in that those predictions are in an effort to produce a moral response and revival in the intended recipient/s.
3. Far-sighted predictive prophecy – This type of prophecy involves predictions of distant events disconnected from clear historical anchor points within the prophecy. These could be considered to be “postcard” prophecies. A postcard presents a snapshot in time but without the clear directions to navigate to the location. In the same way, far-sighted prophecies, such as the “Messianic” prophecies or the “Day of the Lord” prophecies give limited details of an event in the far future relative to the time in which they are given but without a roadmap or timeline as to how or when these events should be expected.
4. Apocalyptic outline prophecy – Apocalyptic prophecy is sort of a bridge between the immediate and distant prophecies in that it begins in the near temporal proximity of the prophet and his audience and extends out in successive increments toward the eschaton. It provides the wider overview into which postcard prophecies may find their context.¹⁸

Defined as above, apocalyptic prophecy is chiefly to be found in in the outlines of Daniel, Revelation and the Synoptic Apocalypse of Christ (Mark 13, Matthew 24, Luke 21). In Daniel and Revelation, it is widely accepted by historicist interpreters that there is a principle of repetition and enlargement. Thus Nebuchadnezzar’s prophecy, Daniel’s visions in chapters 7 and 8 and the angelic orations in chapters 9 and 11-12 each expand upon the earlier profiles of history. In Revelation, the same phenomenon is seen. The earlier half of the book contains seven churches, seven seals and seven trumpets leading up to a great controversy panorama in the centre of the book. These four outlines are largely held to cover the same unfolding of history from John’s time until the return of Christ. The latter half of Revelation focuses on the narrower climax of history, but again it does so with a series of visions which cover and progress upon the same events.

As each of these prophetic series rehearse and supplement earlier scenes, they do so with linguistic, stylistic and thematic synchronisms. The visions of Daniel 2 and 7 are most obviously connected numerically. Nebuchadnezzar’s dream contains four successive metals, the fourth of which divides culminating in a stone which destroys all that precedes it. Daniel’s dream consists of four beasts, during which his attention is drawn to a division of the fourth beast by ten horns followed by an eleventh, distinct horn. This concludes with a courtroom scene which results in the judgement of all that precedes it. This is not all that ties these visions together, as there are a few linguistic and thematic parallels between the details in these visions as well:

- The iron teeth in the fourth beast provide a linguistic connection with the fourth metal in the golem of Nebuchadnezzar.
- Attention is specifically drawn to the toes of the statue which connects to the ten horns of the fourth beast. The feet and toes are said to be a divided kingdom, while ten horn-kings are said to arise out of a single beast-kingdom.
- A stone cut from a mountain that shatters an image as well as the open books that are the basis of the judgement call to mind the Decalogue.¹⁹

¹⁸ For example, all the Messianic prophecies find the historical timeframe for their fulfillment only when they are combined with the apocalyptic prophecy in Daniel 9 which gives a historical timeframe for the Messiah’s first advent.

¹⁹ It has been credibly posited that according to ancient near eastern tradition the Ten Commandments were written in duplicate on the two tablets, front and back by Meredith Kline, “The Two Tables of the Covenant”, *Westminster Theological Journal* 22 (1960), 133-46. Therefore, each stone tablet would contain the entire Decalogue. The motif of a stone, cut from a mountain destroying an image would have clear allusions to the tablets which smashed the golden calf in Exodus 32. There are several linguistic links between these two events. The Aramaic for “stone” is a cognate of the Hebrew word used to describe the tablets of stone in Exodus 24:12 (see also Exo. 31:18; 32:15-16; Deut 5:22). The word for “pieces” describing the destruction of the metals in the image is a cognate of the “powder” that the Golden calf is reduced to (Exo. 32:20). This doesn’t diminish the application that the stone in Daniel 2 represents Christ, but that becomes more of a secondary, New Testament application as He is revealed as the Chief Cornerstone. The primary application is in line with the other Danielic apocalypses in that the stone

- The stone is said to strike “the image on its feet” and “break in pieces all these kingdoms and bring them to an end”, while the judgement results in the fourth beast being “killed, and... burned with fire”, “to be consumed and destroyed to the end” and together with the other beasts their “dominion was taken away”.
- The stone represents “a kingdom that shall never be destroyed” and which shall “stand forever”, while in the seventh chapter the Son of man is given “everlasting dominion” with the saints and “their kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom”.

These links help tie the two visions together. Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, which identifies the first kingdom as his kingdom of Neo-Babylonia, gives us an anchor point in time for the progressive unfolding of history to be overlaid upon the prophecy. Daniel’s dream in chapter seven, however, has no such explicit anchor point. It is primarily through the parallels between these chapters that we can confidently present an interpretation of the four beasts.

The synchrony of details becomes greater as the intricacies of the visions increase. The eighth chapter of Daniel drops one of the elements of the prior visions as the first kingdom of Babylon is fading from the geopolitical scene by this time. It realigns itself both explicitly, through the explanation of the angel revealing the ram as Medo-Persia and the goat as Greece, and through numerous connections as below:

- The bear is “raised up on one side” which connects to the horns of the ram, of which one was higher than the other.
- The three ribs in the mouth of the bear agree with the three directional conquests of the ram, “westward and northward and southward”.²⁰
- The leopard has four heads which correspond to the four horns of the goat.
- Both visions describe a “little horn” as the last significant power which in chapter seven makes “war with the saints, while chapter eight it is said to “destroy mighty men and the people who are the saints”
- The other activities of the little horn may be thematically paralleled also, including “think to change... laws” and “he shall make deceit prosper”.

These correlations are the backbone of historicist apocalyptic interpretation. Where one vision is ambiguous or opaque, a parallel vision helps provide clarity. We have certainty on chapter seven because of chapter two, even though chapter seven contains many more particulars. We can accurately align chapter eight with the previous chapters even though it is missing the first empire of those visions. This brings us to another element in these successive prophecies; each one builds on those that precede it. Daniel’s dream of the four beasts contains many additional details that are only implied in or are missing altogether from Nebuchadnezzar’s dream of the metal image.

- The first kingdom now has wings that are then plucked off and it is given the mind/heart of a man and stands upright.
- The second kingdom is now lopsided, has three ribs and is told to devour much flesh.²¹
- The third kingdom has a four-fold division and has the swiftness of four fowl-like wings.
- The fourth kingdom has iron teeth and bronze claws and breaks the remnant under its feet.
- The mixed/divided kingdom now contends with an upstart “little horn” which uproots three of the ten divisions in its rise.
- The stone kingdom is now a full-court judgement against these gentile kingdoms.

The additional data that comes in each new vision is then locked into the framework that has been established in the more basic templates starting with Nebuchadnezzar’s dream. It’s like completing a jigsaw puzzle; begin with the edges, then fill in the most detailed pieces, leaving the less discernable pieces until the end, when it is known what the basic picture is supposed to be. This is how God unveils the future through signs and symbols, He first presents a silhouette, then adds colour, and finally the character until a clear and complete picture is presented.

represents the foundation of the Judgement – the Law. An additional support for the view that the stone kingdom represents the judgement comes from Daniel 5 where an “unseen finger” writes the sentence upon Babylon and corresponds thematically to “without hand”.

²⁰ The kingdoms of Neo-Babylonia, Lydia and Egypt lay respectively west, north and south of Medo-Persia, thus aligning the three ribs as prey with the three directions of expansion.

²¹ Although if the arms are silver and do not traverse the bronze segment of the image, they must be either open in a horizontal fashion or folded. If folded, one arm would naturally be higher than the other, thus giving a further implicit link to the later visions.

Exhibit B: The Heroic Protagonist of Daniel and History

It may be easily mistaken that Daniel is the prime character in the book of Daniel. From a narrative perspective, this would be a mistake. The book of Daniel is an anthology of events during the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid empires. In some of these accounts, Daniel is absent entirely or is merely a peripheral character. The third chapter, detailing the fiery furnace is notable for the non-appearance of Daniel, instead featuring the three Hebrew worthies as the apparent primary protagonists. However, even here their role is largely supporting. The fourth chapter is a telling from Nebuchadnezzar's point-of-view, written in his own first person. Here, Daniel is merely a supporting character.

Taken as a complete literary work then, Daniel cannot be the main Character around whom the story is centered. Rather he would be a deuteragonist, the second most important character in the story. The story is greater than Daniel, who just happens to be there some of the time that the real story is going on. This is seen most clearly in the tenth chapter, where Daniel is told that the real story is going on in the supernatural realm, unseen to him. It involves principalities and powers to which even human kingdoms are subject. Daniel's literary function is as an "everyman", an ordinary individual we can identify with as he is thrust into extraordinary circumstances and is witness to a world that leaves him alarmed and out of his depth.²²

The real story of Daniel is *The Story* – the only story that is ever really playing out. The first chapter begins with the true Hero of the story behind the scenes. The *sitz im leben* as the Danielic narrative opens involves the Babylonian defeat of Jerusalem and the carrying off of the temple articles. From a narrative perspective, it appears as if the God of Israel has been defeated. However, there is an unseen Hand that guides Daniel as he remains obedient to his faith and elevates Daniel and his three friends to a status of respect in the Babylonian court, bringing victory out of apparent loss. For those who have read the prequels – the Torah and prophets such as Isaiah and Jeremiah, this wasn't really a loss at all, but the consequences of repeated national apostasy that themselves were guided by God.

A clue to the identity of the Protagonist is found in the very name of the everyman, Daniel – "God is my Judge". The same Judge that allowed Jerusalem to be subdued and later razed by Nebuchadnezzar is also the One Who stands for Daniel and his people. This Judge stands in the background in the first chapter, vindicating the Hebrew youth as they are faithful in the small things. In the second chapter, this Hero intersects with the stories of both Nebuchadnezzar and the Hebrews, first giving Nebuchadnezzar a vexing dream and then saving Daniel, Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael and through them all the wise men of Babylon by giving Daniel the same dream and its interpretation.

In the third chapter, the Lead Character reveals Himself as He stands in the open flames with the three Hebrew worthies. This account also shows that the Divine Protagonist must have been the subject of off-page discussions between the Hebrew captives and Nebuchadnezzar as he recognizes the Defender as the "Son of God". As Ellen White writes:

How did that heathen king know what the Son of God was like? The Hebrew captives filling positions of trust in Babylon had in life and character represented before him the truth. When asked for a reason of their faith, they had given it without hesitation. Plainly and simply they had presented the principles of righteousness, thus teaching those around them of the God whom they worshiped. They had told of Christ, the Redeemer to come; and in the form of the fourth in the midst of the fire the king recognized the Son of God.²³

In Nebuchadnezzar's autobiography, He is the One Who humbles the great king, while at Belshazzar's feast He humbles the entire nation. As the kingdom transitions to Darius the Mede, this Angel comes to stand for Daniel in shutting up the mouths of the lions in the den. Daniel's dream in the seventh chapter reveals more about this Person as the Son of Man Who carries out the final Judgement, puts an end to the ravages of earthly despots and stands for all the persecuted saints. The visions in the seventh and eighth chapters reveal more than just this supernatural

²² An "everyman" as a literary character is defined as "a character in a play who either expresses the attitudes and feelings of the dramatist or is representative of the majority of the audience." J. A. Cuddon (rev. C. E. Preston), *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* (London, UK: Penguin Books, 2000) 409. "The everyman character archetype often acts as the stand-in for the audience. This character archetype is just a normal person, but for some reason, he or she must face extraordinary circumstances. The everyman can be the protagonist or a supporting figure." C. Bhooma, "Social Archetypes: A Study on Fact and Fiction", *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research* 6, no. 2 (Apr-Jun, 2018) 841.

²³ Ellen G. White, *The Captivity and Restoration of Israel: The Conflict of the Ages Illustrated in the Lives of Prophets and Kings* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1917) 509.

Protagonist. They also revealing the supernatural identity of the unseen antagonist of the story and the final conflict caused by the little horn as the “desolating rebellion”.

The ninth chapter unveils that part of narrative which defines any hero’s journey. Joseph Campbell called this the “Atonement with the Father/Abyss” stage, while David Adams Leeming calls it the “Death” and “Descent into the Underworld” stages and more recently Christopher Vogler has marked it as “The Ordeal”.²⁴ Whatever it is called in literary theory, like every other protagonist in every other story, this is the point at which this Divine Protagonist makes the ultimate sacrifice, overcomes the obstacles so that they can ultimately emerge victorious. Here the Hero is called the Messiah-Prince and He is prophesied to be “cut off and . . . have nothing”.

The last three chapters, constituting the tenth literary unit of this anthology, begin with a Theophany of this Hero Who has thus far gone unnamed throughout. The name is given; this Hero is Michael and His very name is a challenge to all pretenders, antagonists and foils – “Who is like God?” What then follows is a final, completed picture of all the stories and prophecies that have preceded it, an epic unfolding of history where the Prince of the covenant is broken, but stands triumphant at the last for Daniel’s people.

The Messiah-Prince is the True Hero, the Leading Man, the Protagonist of all the stories and prophecies of Daniel – the only connective thread, sometimes unseen, sometimes opaque, at other times fully revealed, but ever-present and standing for His people. This Christocentric approach to Daniel is crucial to its interpretation. From the very first chapter, the controversy between the Messiah and His people and the worldly kingdoms of the earth, beginning with Babylon, drive both narrative and prophecy.

Exhibit C: 490 Years of National Probation

The ninth chapter of Daniel deviates from the earlier apocalyptic outlines in several ways. There are many signs that this passage is in fact an addendum to the earlier prophecy in chapter eight. The last words of the angel to Daniel are that “the vision (מראה – *mar’eh*) of the evening-mornings that has been told is true” (Dan. 8:26), but no elaboration is given as to what this means. This was the only portion of that prophecy that was not explained to Daniel.²⁵ Chapter eight concluded with the reaction of Daniel that he was “appalled by the vision (מראה – *mar’eh*) and did not understand it” (Dan 8:27).

What might have appalled the prophet Daniel about this one, unexplained section of what he was shown? That prophecy points to the vindication of the Sanctuary at the close of 2300 evening-mornings. Daniel’s fervent anticipation was in the restoration of the earthly sanctuary to come after the close of Jeremiah’s seventy-year prophecy, so the thought of this time being extended out to 2300 years would have rightly filled him with horror. This failure on Daniel’s part to discern that it was the heavenly sanctuary that was in view constituted a ‘great disappointment’ for him.

The following chapter begins with an account by Daniel that he was studying Jeremiah’s seventy-year prophecy which from his meditations he had expected to conclude immanently.²⁶ His dire feelings seem not to have diminished since the previous vision as he is seen vigorously petitioning God “seeking Him by prayer and pleas for mercy with fasting and sackcloth and ashes” (Dan. 9:3). The intercessory prayer that follows shows several links to the language of the Day of Atonement ceremonies of Israel, and this is thematically in view as Daniel prays on behalf of the entire nation as the high priest does in the annual ritual.²⁷ Daniel uses the word יָדָה (*yādāh*) at the beginning and closing of

²⁴ Joseph M. Campbell, *The Hero With a Thousand Faces* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2008); David Adams Leeming, *Mythology: The Voyage of the Hero* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998); Christopher Vogler, *The Writer’s Journey: Mythic Structure for Writers* (

²⁵ Shea writes about this verse, “The word translated ‘vision’ here is *mar’eh*, a term that refers more specifically to the ‘appearance’ of personal beings. *Mar’eh* is used in contrast to the word *hazon*, the more commonly used term for the symbolic visions in Daniel. For one example of this contrast, see their occurrences in 10:7-8 (*mar’eh*), 14 (*hazon*). The same distinction is maintained in 8:26 where Gabriel assured Daniel that ‘the . . . [*mar’eh*] of the evenings and the mornings which has been told is true.’ But he was instructed to ‘seal up the vision (*hazon*).’ The first reference is to the appearance of the personal (angelic) beings who discuss the 2300 days (8:13-14). The second reference is to the symbolic vision he had seen up to that point (vss. 2-12).” William Shea, “The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27”, in *The Seventy Weeks, Leviticus, and the Nature of Prophecy* (Daniel and Revelation Committee 3; ed. F.Holbrook; Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 105.

²⁶ Jer. 28:10.

²⁷ The Day of Atonement intercessory ministry of the High Priest is enlarged upon in Mishnaic and Talmudic literature. Mishna Yoma 5:1 describes the prayerfulness of the High Priest going about his ministry. Talmud Bavli, Yoma 36b discusses the format of the prayer of corporate confession uttered by the High Priest when the goat for Azazel is sent into the wilderness (Lev. 16:21), but also mentions prayers of confession over the bullock slain for the High Priest and the goat for YHWH. Daniel’s prayer in chapter 9 is referenced in the Talmud Bavli as conforming to this type of confession, showing that the Day of Atonement corporate confession was intercessory in nature.

his prayer which in both instances is in the hithpael stem, meaning “confess”.²⁸ This form of the word is also found in the Day of Atonement rites in Leviticus 16:21. Many of the synonyms for transgression from this rite are also found throughout Daniel 9.²⁹

In describing Gabriel’s arrival, Daniel explicitly links this messenger to the prior vision saying “whom I had seen previously in a vision”.³⁰ Gabriel, in turn states that he has come to finish the work he started in the explanation of the previous vision, saying “at the beginning of your pleas for mercy a word went out, and I have come to tell it to you, for you are greatly loved. Therefore consider the word and understand the vision” (Dan. 9:23). The last words of Gabriel here (והבן במראה – *wəhābēn bammar’eh*) indicate that he had come to resolve the dilemma in the closing words of the previous chapter that Daniel “could not understand [the vision]” (המראה ואין מבין – *hammar’eh wə’ēn mēbîn*), which was the portion that was left unexplained previously.

Gabriel opens further the meaning of the 2300 evenings-mornings to Daniel with the words “Seventy weeks are decreed about your people and your holy city” (Dan. 9:24). The verb for “decreed” (חתך – *chāthak*) is a Biblical *hapax legomenon* and it is only from extracanonical sources that we can discern its meaning. Owusu-Antwi, in his survey of both Semitic cognates and Mishnaic usage argues for a semantic range that includes the basic meaning of “to cut” and an extended meaning of “decide or determine”.³¹ While considerable evidence has been presented that the link between chapters 8 and 9 favours the translation of “cut off”, the extended meaning might also apply given the judgement context of both chapters and Danielic prophecies in general. The extended meaning of “decide” or “determine” is found specifically in contexts of judgement.³²

The connection between the seventy-year prophecy that Daniel had been meditating upon and the seventy-week prophecy must be noted. The seventy years were a judgement upon the Jewish nation for abandoning the Torah. The land of Israel was at rest during this period of Jewish exile as noted by the Chronicler and in fulfillment of the warnings in Leviticus.³³ The span of this prophecy as “seventy weeks” also calls to mind the Sabbath-year and Jubilee cycles outlined in Leviticus 25. Seventy weeks would equal ten Jubilee cycles.

While the annual worship calendar began and ended with the month of Nisan, the Sabbath-year reckoning, culminating in a Jubilee year, was reckoned from Tishri and the Jubilees were specifically dated from the Day of Atonement.³⁴ This period is specifically decreed concerning “your people and your holy city”, indicating that this specifically related to the post-exilic people and the city of Jerusalem which was the subject of Daniel’s prayer. In light of the underlying judgement motif, the fact that the shorter period is set apart from the longer span for Daniel’s people and the background of the then-present punishment Daniel was contemplating, this 490-year period should be seen as a probationary period for the Jewish people.

The idea of a probation period in this chapter has been explicitly recognized by other commentators, such as Shea, “From the preceding analysis it can be seen that the 70 week period was one of probationary time.”³⁵ LaRondelle agrees, stating, “Seventy ‘sevens’ were decreed, or determined, by God as a final probationary period for Jerusalem and the Jewish people after the seventy years of the Babylonian exile had terminated.”³⁶ This would not be the first time God had given a centuries-long period of probation to nations, having set a period of time explicitly for the Canaanites.³⁷ While most probationary periods are not explicit, the concept of corporate probation is common in Scripture and forms the basis of divine exhortation and reproof as well as eventual retribution.

Seeing this as a period of probation for Daniel’s people, the six infinitival phrases become the equivalent of key performance indicators by which they shall be judged. The first half of these *conditiones sine quibus non* involve negative behaviours that the Jewish people were to address while the last three constitute positive actions that are being enjoined.

²⁸ Dan. 9:4, 20.

²⁹ André Lacocque draws additional parallels between the Day of Atonement ritual and Daniel’s prayer of corporate confession in “The Liturgical Prayer in Daniel 9”, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 47 (1976), 119-142.

³⁰ Dan. 9:21 (NET).

³¹ Brempong Owusu-Antwi, *An Investigation of the Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27*, 147-150

³² Shevu’ot, Talmud, 30b; Megillah, Talmud, 15a; Vayikra Rabbah, 4.

³³ 2 Chron. 36:21; cf Lev. 26:34-35.

³⁴ Lev. 25:9-10.

³⁵ Shea, *The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27*, 99.

³⁶ Hans K. LaRondelle, *The Israel of God in Prophecy: Principles of Prophetic Interpretation* (Andrews University Press: Berrien Springs, MI, 1983) 171-2.

³⁷ Gen. 15:13-16.

Three Negative Conditions	Three Positive Conditions
1. End the rebellion	4. Institute everlasting righteousness
2. Finish (ולחמם) sins	5. Complete (ולחמם) prophet and vision
3. Atonement for evil	6. Anoint Most Holy

In these clauses we see many other links to the Day of Atonement, particularly the reference to the “Most Holy” which was the inner chamber of the Sanctuary into which the High Priest only entered during the annual ritual. Of additional interest is the word for “atone” (כפר – *kâphar*) which is found throughout the ceremonial literature yet is most heavily concentrated in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus where it appears 15 times. The three synonyms for sin among the negative phrases are also all found in that chapter. We now have multiple lines of convergence between Daniel 9 and Leviticus 16 which itself held a probationary motif. Whoever did not afflict themselves on this day would be “cut off (ונכרתה – *wānikrātāh*) from his people” (Lev. 23:29-30). This indicates that there was a participatory element to the ceremonies for the entire congregation in terms of an attitude of humility.

These six conditions it was the obligation of Daniel’s people to accomplish, as part of their probationary period. The result of failure on their part would result in a new destruction similar to that which prompted Daniel’s supplications, “the people of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary” (Dan. 9:26). These stipulations were ultimately not fulfilled by the Jews and the predicted outcome came to pass with the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple in 70 A.D.

While the terms in the prophecy were not completed corporately by the ones under probation, these were still accomplished on their behalf. The final seven years of this prophecy were to be characterized by the coming of the Anointed One, the Messiah. This Messiah would “strengthen (והגביר – *wāhigbîr*) the Covenant” during the last week, or seven years of the prophecy. The verb here in the Hiphil perfect and could take an adjectival sense “make the covenant strong” or “make the covenant prevail”. The word for Covenant (ברית – *bərîṭ*) is found several times in one of the background passages previously touched on, Leviticus 26. Here can be seen the contrasting blessings and curses for obedience and disobedience respectively that stem from the response to the Covenant.

The prophecy says that in the middle of the last seven years the Messiah would be “cut off (יכרת – *yikkārēṭ*) and have nothing” (Dan. 9:26). This is the same word used in Leviticus 23 for those who did not afflict themselves on the Day of Atonement, practicing self-denial through fasting, prayer and supplications. The cutting off of the Messiah is clearly fulfilled by the death on the Cross at Passover in 31 A.D. Yet the probation and the confirming of the Covenant endured for three and a half more years after this. The Bible does not explicitly indicate the event that closes this long period of evaluation though there is strong evidence that links the martyrdom of Stephen as the *terminus ad quem*.

Christ’s ministry began with His baptism and spans four spring/Passover seasons, counting the one in which He died, thus equaling 3.5 years.³⁸ The post-Pentecost chronology is not explicit in Acts and therefore we need to rely upon thematic links in the preserved record. The account of Stephen’s trial before the Jews holds several conspicuous features. To begin with, it is by far the longest oration in the book of Acts. The length of time dedicated to this discourse is the first striking element. Then there is its content. Stephen’s sermon has been criticized for apparent idiosyncrasies, including reference to data that is not preserved in the Old Testament and some alterations to Old Testament quotes.

The first criticism may be deferred on the grounds that Stephen would be expected to have access to more extant historical sources than we have today and may be preserving details as he knew them. The second critique pertains largely to a quotation from Amos 7:43 which states “I will send you into exile beyond Damascus” in which Stephen substitutes “Babylon” for “Damascus” (Acts 7:43). The splicing and slight alteration of Old Testament quotes in the

³⁸ Grace Amadon sets forth the first four spring/Passover seasons as being discerned in relation to the imprisonment and death of John the Baptist. The first Passover is recorded in John 2:13 prior to John the Baptist’s imprisonment. Another harvest season (and by implication a corresponding Passover) is found in the narrative of the ears-of-corn Sabbath recorded in each of the synoptic gospels (eg. Luke 6:1-5) and which is placed during the imprisonment of John the Baptist. The third is recorded in John 6:4, just before the Johannine account of the feeding of the five thousand. In the synoptists, this account is immediately preceded by the death of John the Baptist, indicating that this is the third Passover season in Jesus’ ministry. The fourth, is of course, the Passover on which Christ was crucified. See Grace Amadon, “Crucifixion Date, and Astronomical Soundness of October 22” (*Report of Committee on Historical Basis, Involvements, and Validity of the October 22, 1844* 5; ed. L. Froom; May 23, 1939), 26-27.

New Testament is not unique to Stephen.³⁹ The fact that Stephen chose to highlight Babylon rather than Damascus is noteworthy, considering our examination of the Daniel 9 prophecy. Amos' prophecy was concerning the northern kingdom of Israel and "beyond Damascus" refers to the lands of their captivity. However, Stephen is addressing the descendants of Judah and so he refers to Babylon, the location of that tribe's exile.

The genre of Stephen's address has been identified as a Covenant lawsuit.⁴⁰ His survey of Israel's history recalls to his audience the workings of God and His Covenant with them. From the beginning of his speech, Stephen uses inclusive language, first appealing to his listeners as "brothers and fathers" and then goes on to speak of "our father Abraham" (Acts 7:2-3). He uses these inclusive pronouns until the climax when he switches from "our fathers" to "your fathers" when he turns from the history of God's providence to the rejection of the Covenant by those unfaithful to it (Acts 7:51-53). This deviation constituted a demarcation and indicated that the limit of divine forbearance had been reached.

Yet there is one last detail that ties the account of Stephen's death with the seventy-week prophecy. The last seven years of this prophecy began with the baptism of Jesus. This event shares four features with the close of Stephen's ministry. The most obvious three elements are the inclusion of the three persons of the heavenly trio. At Jesus' baptism, God the Father speaks to humanity for the first time since the fall while the Holy Spirit descends like a dove upon Christ. As he finishes his elocution, Stephen is declared to be "full of the Holy Spirit" and he sees a vision of "the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God" (Acts 7:55). The very act of Jesus standing calls to mind a judgement or sentencing, echoing Michael standing up in Daniel 12:1. This contrasts with the instances of Jesus being described of as sitting at God's right hand.⁴¹ The final link between these two passages, however, is linguistic. At the pneumatophany after Christ's baptism, Luke states that "heaven opened (*ἀνεῳχθῆναι τὸν οὐρανόν*)" (Luke 3:21). These same words are then found in Stephen's final words where he describes "I see the heavens opened (*τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνεῳγμένους*)" (Acts 7:56).

These expressions, together with the inclusion of the heavenly trio frame these two accounts as bookends of the seventieth week of Daniel and the close of probation upon the Jewish nation. The death of the first follower of Christ sealed the fate of the Jews as a people, as much as if they had crucified Christ a second time. Not long after this, persecution would scatter the believers in Christ and begin the spread of the Gospel in wider and still wider circles.⁴² And Saul the persecutor, present at the martyrdom of Stephen, was soon converted into Paul the apostle to become the champion of the Gospel to the Gentiles.

Exhibit D: Israel in Type and Antitype

It is now essential that attention be given to the two views of "Israel" that find development in New Testament theology. These two uses are clearly demonstrated in Paul's letter to the Romans:

For I could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my brothers, my kinsmen according to the flesh. They are Israelites, and to them belong the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises. To them belong the patriarchs, and from their race, according to the flesh, is the Christ who is God over all, blessed forever. Amen. But it is not as though the word of God has failed. For not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel... (Rom. 9:3-6)

In these thoughts, Paul contrasts those who are "descendants of Israel", who he calls his brothers "according to the flesh", with those who "belong to Israel". These two uses have often been described as "literal Israel" and "spiritual Israel" however these terms are ambiguous and imperfect in a systematic sense.⁴³ In current theology, the terms "literal Israel" and "spiritual Israel" tend to be used to support a false notion of a "replacement theology", whereby

³⁹ The book of Mark begins (Mark 1:2-3) with a similar spliced quote from Malachi 3:1 and Isaiah 40:3 and some manuscripts simply state that this is from "Isaiah the prophet".

⁴⁰ This has been aptly enlarged upon by Brian Peterson, "Stephen's Speech as a Modified Prophetic *riḇ* Formula", *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* (2014) 315-69. Early forms of this argument are found in Shea, *The Prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27*, 75-118.

⁴¹ Psa. 110:1; Heb. 1:3; 8:1.

⁴² The evidence is there that this Gospel reached the entire known world in that one generation as there are stories of Christian communities from the British Isles in the west to Japan and the Philippines in the east and far south of Abyssinia as early as the first century.

⁴³ Ellen White frequently contrasted "ancient Israel" with "modern Israel", though this was before the development of the State of Israel in 1948. Such vernacular wouldn't work today as it would be too confusing. Ellen White does use the term "spiritual Israel", largely in *Prophets and Kings*, chapter 31. In 1899, in a Manuscript titled 'Lessons from Israel' (Ms. 121), Ellen White contrasts "literal Israel" to "spiritual Zion". While these terms are therefore acceptable, it is necessary to further distinguish what constitutes "literal Israel" and what constitutes "spiritual Israel".

the Christian Church *replaces* Israel. This is not a correct understanding of the Biblical teaching on the relationship between Israel and the Church, and so it is necessary to explore the developing understanding of Israel in the New Testament to fully define these two concepts of “Israel”.

Israel’s national identity was wrapped up in their status as the chosen of God. These Paul affirms in the above statement, saying that “to them belong” the adoption into Covenant, attested by the theophanic presence in their history, as well as the promises, the giving of the Law, the sanctuary service. The last point here, the sanctuary service, implied the temple in Jerusalem and thus the entire land. This prevailing idea of what it meant to be “Israel” was therefore constrained by ethnocentric and geographic boundaries.⁴⁴

The distinction Paul describes between this and the other view of Israel is anticipated in the ministry of Christ. In his dialogue with the Samaritan woman we see the following exchange:

The woman said to him, ‘Sir, I perceive that you are a prophet. Our fathers worshiped on this mountain, but you say that in Jerusalem is the place where people ought to worship.’
Jesus said to her, ‘Woman, believe me, the hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father. You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews. But the hour is coming, and is now here, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father is seeking such people to worship Him. God is spirit, and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and truth.’ (John 4:19-24)

In response to the woman’s attempts to draw Jesus into a geographical dispute about the location of the temple, Jesus redirects the discussion from the terrestrial to the transcendent. He points to the immanent diminishing of geo-religious boundaries towards a spiritually inclusive Kingdom. It is not until the close of Christ’s ministry that he gives further revelation of the nature of His kingdom, and once again it is to an “outsider” to Judaism:

So Pilate entered his headquarters again and called Jesus and said to him, ‘Are you the King of the Jews?’
Jesus answered, ‘Do you say this of your own accord, or did others say it to you about Me?’
Pilate answered, ‘Am I a Jew? Your own nation and the chief priests have delivered you over to me. What have you done?’
Jesus answered, ‘My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would have been fighting, that I might not be delivered over to the Jews. But my kingdom is not from the world.’ (John 18:33-36)

Here Christ is much more explicit, pointing beyond this world to the world to come. All of Christ’s teachings about His kingdom are focused through these words “not of this world”. The Jewish idea of “kingdom” had become perverted through the Davidic dynasty to the point where it had focused entirely and exclusively upon the land in which they dwelt. Jesus refused to accept the title “King of the Jews” for He knew His identity as King over all creation. It would have been impossible for Christ to acknowledge such a limitation to His sovereignty.

The early Church slowly developed upon this understanding. Paul’s writings are the clearest upon the subject, primarily in his letter to the Romans. Earlier in this epistle, he writes:

For no one is a Jew who is merely one outwardly, nor is circumcision outward and physical. But a Jew is one inwardly, and circumcision is a matter of the heart, by the Spirit, not by the letter. His praise is not from man but from God. (Rom. 2:28-29)

Here Paul is making a similar distinction to what he writes later in chapter nine. He argues that it is not the “outward” or physical circumcision that constitutes a true sign of covenant Jewish identity, but inward heart-circumcision.⁴⁵ However his next words show that he is contrasting spiritual-character identity with geographical-genetic identity. When Judah was born, from whom the Jews are descended, his mother Leah exclaimed the words “this time I will praise YHWH” (Gen. 29:35). Judah, or *Yehūdah*, means “praise” and in light of this it is clear that Paul is putting a

⁴⁴ This led to a sense of cultural superiority and constituted a “wall of partition” (Eph. 2:14) to those who did not hold hereditary claim to the same promises.

⁴⁵ A similar point is made in Col. 2:11.

play on the meaning of the name Judah as well as the proclamation of Leah at his birth. In doing so, Paul is saying that a real Jew is someone who lives up to the name and the character it represents.

Paul explains how he sees the Covenant with Abraham as inclusive and spiritual rather than exclusive and geographic-genetic.

What then shall we say was gained by Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh? For if Abraham was justified by works, he has something to boast about, but not before God. For what does the Scripture say? 'Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness.' ... Is this blessing then only for the circumcised, or also for the uncircumcised? We say that faith was counted to Abraham as righteousness. How then was it counted to him? Was it before or after he had been circumcised? It was not after, but before he was circumcised. He received the sign of circumcision as a seal of the righteousness that he had by faith while he was still uncircumcised. The purpose was to make him the father of all who believe without being circumcised, so that righteousness would be counted to them as well, and to make him the father of the circumcised who are not merely circumcised but who also walk in the footsteps of the faith that our father Abraham had before he was circumcised. (Rom. 4:1-3, 9-12)

Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith--just as Abraham "believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness"? Know then that it is those of faith who are the sons of Abraham. And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, 'In you shall all the nations be blessed.' So then, those who are of faith are blessed along with Abraham, the man of faith. (Gal. 3:4-9)

Paul is offering a midrash on Genesis in both Romans and Galatians and highlights the fact that Abraham's divine call and the promises made to him preceded his circumcision. Paul begins his thought in Romans by saying "What then shall we say was gained by Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh". In the Greek, the words "according to the flesh" can take either "was gained" or "our forefather" as its antecedent. This ambiguity appears deliberate as Paul is at once both making a case to a Jewish readership and at the same time contrasting between the "flesh" and the "spirit" in terms of Abraham's descendants.

Paul's argument has twofold implications. The first is that not all who are children of Abraham genealogically are children of Abraham spiritually. It is only those who have the faith of Abraham who are included in the promises of Abraham. The second and more important implication is that one doesn't have to be genetically descended from Abraham at all to be a part of the spiritual promises and blessings of Abraham!

Returning to the ninth chapter of Romans it becomes apparent that Paul's understanding of the two Israels, "not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel" (which in the Greek is literally "not all those who are from Israel are Israel") is built on this platform. To be born as a genetic descendent of Israel is not a guarantee of citizenship in the transcendent Israel, and additionally it isn't even a prerequisite. It is character, and not census, that determines who is a part of this antitypical Israel and antitypical Judah. Jesus had highlighted the point that character determines citizenship when He called Nathanael "an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no deceit" (John 1:47).

Paul goes on to make further apology for the inclusion of the Gentiles into Israel through several illustrations, first picking up the same point he had previously made concerning Abraham, saying "For not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel, and not all are children of Abraham because they are his offspring, but 'Through Isaac shall your offspring be named.' This means that it is not the children of the flesh who are the children of God, but the children of the promise are counted as offspring" (Rom. 9:6-9). Paul next takes his reader through several instances of God's interactions with humanity, pointing out God's own free-will in choosing Jacob over Esau, in raising up Pharaoh, and just when the reader might question these choices as arbitrary, Paul holds up the transcendent providence of God, saying "who are you, O man, to answer back to God? Will what is molded say to its Molder, 'Why have you made me like this?'" (Rom. 9:20).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ LaRondelle writes that "Paul's differentiation of ethnic origins within the Christian community did not lead him to distinguish between different covenant promises for Israel and the Gentiles. The very opposite is the case. The thrust of Paul's epistle is to remind the church of the original purpose of Israel's election: to be a blessing to all the gentiles of the world by sharing with them the saving light of Israel's God and Messiah (Isaiah 42:1-10; 49:6)." *Israel of God*, 125.

The force of Paul's rhetoric is not to answer the deeper questions of theodicy in these cases, but rather to highlight difficult texts to dispel the arrogant confidence the Jews had in their own national and genetic identity. Paul then makes some curious uses of the Old Testament prophets.

What if God, desiring to show his wrath and to make known his power, has endured with much patience vessels of wrath prepared for destruction, in order to make known the riches of his glory for vessels of mercy, which he has prepared beforehand for glory-- even us whom he has called, not from the Jews only but also from the Gentiles? As indeed he says in Hosea, "Those who were not my people I will call 'my people,' and her who was not beloved I will call 'beloved'" [quoted from Hosea 2:23]. "And in the very place where it was said to them, 'You are not my people,' there they will be called 'sons of the living God'" [quoted from Hosea 1:10b]. And Isaiah cries out concerning Israel: "Though the number of the sons of Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will be saved, for the Lord will carry out his sentence upon the earth fully and without delay" [quoted from Isa. 10:22-23]. And as Isaiah predicted, "If the Lord of hosts had not left us offspring, we would have been like Sodom and become like Gomorrah" [quoted from Isa. 1:9]. (Rom 9:22-29)

Paul's precedes his exposition of the prophets by moving to an inclusive "us whom He has called, not from the Jews only but also from the Gentiles". It is in this context of speaking about the inclusion of the Gentiles in the calling of God that Paul quotes from Hosea and Isaiah and thus it renders his quotations extremely curious because the first three scriptures he quotes from pertain to the northern kingdom of Israel. The citizens of the ten tribes that constituted the northern kingdom had been scattered among the Gentiles in judgement against their persistent apostasy.⁴⁷ The vast majority of these dispersed people never returned to their homeland.

Paul begins by splicing together quotations from two separate sections of Hosea. In the first chapter of Hosea, the prophet is instructed to take a prostitute as a wife. God then directs the prophet to give his three children names that relate to the judgement that was to come upon the northern kingdom of Israel. The second child is called "no mercy" indicating God was not to have mercy on Israel and the third child was to be named "not My people" indicating that God no longer considered them to be part of His Covenant people. The verse that Paul quotes from this first chapter, however, presents a future hope of restoration. This promise begins with the words "yet the number of the children of Israel shall be like the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured or numbered" and are followed by the words quoted from Hosea 1:10 and 2:23.⁴⁸ The very judgement of God was going to cause Israel to become innumerable as it was blended with the nations it was dispersed amongst and the descendants would then have access back into Covenant relationship. The promise was that God would show mercy to those who had not received mercy and call once again "My people" those who had become "not My people", adopting them as "sons of the living God".

Paul then moves to quote from the tenth chapter of Isaiah and we begin to see his argument come together. This chapter as well as the eleventh speak of the return of a remnant of Israel that had been scattered by the Assyrians. In quoting from chapter 10:22-23, Paul is calling to mind the entire passage that is relevant to a returning remnant. Chapter 11 continues with a prophecy of the One Who will gather this remnant:

There shall come forth a Shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a Branch from his roots shall bear fruit. And the Spirit of the LORD shall rest upon Him, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD ... In that day the Root of Jesse, Who shall stand as a Signal for the peoples--of Him shall the nations [Gentiles] inquire, and His resting place shall be glorious. In that day the Lord will extend His hand yet a second time to recover the remnant that remains of His people, from Assyria, from Egypt, from Pathros, from Cush, from Elam, from Shinar, from Hamath, and from the coastlands of the sea. He will raise a Signal for the nations [Gentiles] and will assemble the banished of Israel, and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. (Isa. 11:1-2, 10-12)

Why is Paul quoting from a passage pertaining to an Israel dispersed by the Assyrians to establish the call of the Gentiles? It is because in scattering Israel among the Gentiles, the two became indistinguishable from one another. That is to say, the scattering was so thorough that the northern tribes of Israel lost their distinctive identity. This can be seen in the above passage where the Lord raising a "signal for the Gentiles" results in the assembling of "the

⁴⁷ Deut. 28:64; Ezek. 36:19.

⁴⁸ This language regarding the sand of the sea recalls the promise to Abraham (Gen. 22:17; 32:12).

banished of Israel”. So Paul’s argument, in quoting passages concerning Israel to establish the call of the Gentiles, is that the Gentiles *are* Israel.⁴⁹ For if the two cannot be distinguished, they have become one, as Paul goes on to establish.

For the Scripture says, ‘Everyone who believes in him will not be put to shame.’ For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; for the same Lord is Lord of all, bestowing his riches on all who call on him. (Rom. 10:11-12)

In Romans 11, Paul brings his argument full circle with the illustration of an olive tree to which some branches are cut off and other shoots are grafted in from a “wild olive tree”.

If the dough offered as firstfruits is holy, so is the whole lump, and if the root is holy, so are the branches. But if some of the branches were broken off, and you, although a wild olive shoot, were grafted in among the others and now share in the nourishing root of the olive tree, do not be arrogant toward the branches. If you are, remember it is not you who support the root, but the root that supports you. Then you will say, ‘Branches were broken off so that I might be grafted in.’ That is true. They were broken off because of their unbelief, but you stand fast through faith. So do not become proud, but fear. For if God did not spare the natural branches, neither will He spare you. Note then the kindness and the severity of God: severity toward those who have fallen, but God’s kindness to you, provided you continue in His kindness. Otherwise you too will be cut off. And even they, if they do not continue in their unbelief, will be grafted in, for God has the power to graft them in again. For if you were cut from what is by nature a wild olive tree, and grafted, contrary to nature, into a cultivated olive tree, how much more will these, the natural branches, be grafted back into their own olive tree. (Rom. 11:16-24)

In Paul’s mind, the principle olive tree he is speaking about is the transcendent Israel, God’s covenant people through faith. The natural branches that are cut off are those who are part of genetic, national Israel and who have shown themselves faithless to the Covenant. The wild olive branches that are being grafted in among the Gentiles are being grafted into transcendent Israel as by faith they enter into His Covenant. LaRondelle, sums up Paul’s argument saying:

In Romans 9-11 Paul reaches the climax of his epistle in his exposition of how believing Gentiles relate to the Israel of God. He portrays the conversion of Gentiles to Christ as the ingrafting of wild olive branches (Gentiles) into the one olive tree of the Israel of God (Romans 11:17-24). In this way Paul visualizes the spiritual unity and continuity of God’s covenant with Israel and His new covenant with the Church of Christ. Through faith in Christ, Gentiles are legally incorporated in the olive tree, the covenant people of God, and share in the root of Abraham (verse 18). The lesson of the parable of the cultivated olive tree in Romans 11 is that the Church lives from the root and trunk of the Old Testament Israel (Romans 11:17-18).⁵⁰

LaRondelle had dispensed in his book with the dichotomy between literal and spiritual approaches to Israel. Instead, he outlined a third option: a typological approach.⁵¹ LaRondelle’s student, Richard Davidson defines typology in the following way in his thesis that explores the hermeneutic rules of typology from within the New Testament itself:

Typology as a hermeneutical endeavor on the part of the biblical writers may be viewed as the study of certain OT salvation-historical realities (persons, events, or institutions) which God has specifically designed to correspond to, and be prospective/predictive prefigurations of, their ineluctable (*devoir-être*) and absolutely escalated eschatological fulfillment aspects (Christological/ecclesiological/apocalyptic) in NT salvation history.⁵²

Davidson found that in horizontal type-antitype relationships “the word τύπος refers to the OT reality and ἀντίτυπος to the NT fulfillment.”⁵³ The Biblical catalyst for type-antitype transition is the revelation of Jesus Christ. At this point, types meet their complete reality. In typology, the type does not necessarily cease, or become irrelevant, but

⁴⁹ This gives credence to the view that James’ epistle to the “twelve tribes scattered abroad” was intended as inclusive to all Christians.

⁵⁰ LaRondelle, *The Israel of God*, 126.

⁵¹ “Typological interpretation is distinct from both the grammatical-historical method and the allegorical approach.” LaRondelle, *Israel of God*, 35.

⁵² Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical ΤΥΠΟΣ Structures* (Andrews University Press: Berrien Springs, MI, 1981) 405-6.

⁵³ Davidson, *Ibid*, 406.

undergoes a *Steigerung* or intensification in the antitype. In the New Testament view of Israel, it is clear that Israel pivots from a genesis as the faithful among national Israel who accept the Messiah and escalates into the eschatological Israel, gathered from all the Gentiles, fulfilling the original Abrahamic promise.

In summary, the New Testament sees two Israels. One is geographic, temporal, genetic – a typical Israel that was covenantally created by God with the express purpose of being a vehicle to disseminate His light to the entire world. A remnant of this Israel was faithful to the Covenant of God and was known as the “Remnant”. This Remnant, though often seen as only signifying the faithful within Israel actually pointed to another, larger Israel entirely, the Israel of God’s ultimate purpose. This second Israel is spiritual, transcendent and eternal – the antitypical continuation of remnant Israel constituting the entire family of God. When God’s purpose through Abraham to bless all the nations (Gentiles) was retarded by the apostasy and insularity of national Israel, He scattered them abroad, accomplishing His end through other means.

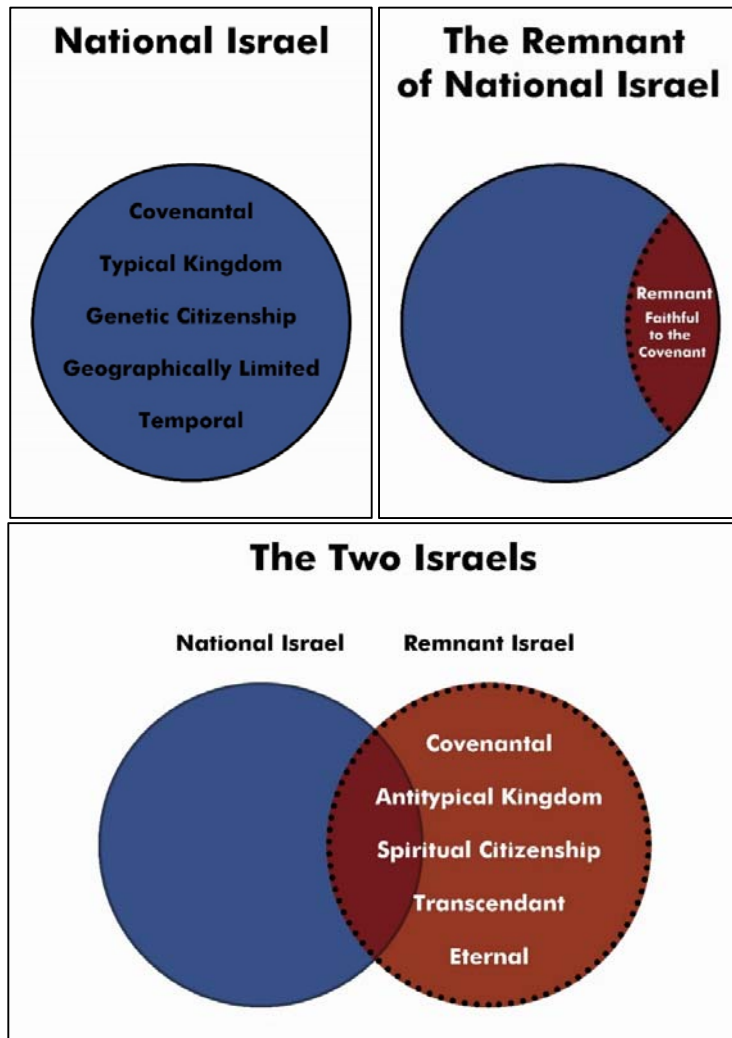


Exhibit E: Overlaying Daniel 11 upon Daniel 2, 7, 8-9

It is now possible to begin an examination of Daniel 11, having laid the groundwork of understanding the structure of the earlier visions, the method by which they repeat and enlarge upon each other, the probationary period given to typical Israel and the reality of antitypical Israel that was to follow. It is refreshing to highlight once again the broad agreement that exists regarding the first half of this chapter. Historicist SDA interpretations are essentially unanimous up to verse 13 and while there are some minor deviations from one another from verse 14 to 21, almost all functionally reach the same point again by verse 22.

There are several very clear connections between Daniel 11 and the earlier chapters of Daniel in the opening verses. Verse 2 begins with the prediction that “three more kings shall arise in Persia, and a fourth...” (Dan. 11:2) aligning

with the first, “ram” kingdom in Daniel 8 (Dan. 8:3, 20). The prophecy then introduces Greece before saying “Then a mighty king shall arise, who shall rule with great dominion and do as he wills” (Dan. 11:13). This has been connected with the “conspicuous horn” of the goat in Daniel 8 as references to Alexander the Great (Dan. 8:5, 21). The prophecy continues by saying “as soon as he has arisen, his kingdom shall be broken and divided toward the four winds of heaven” (Dan. 11:4) which lines up with the four horns that grow out of the broken prominent horn in chapter 8 (verse 22). From these three synchronisms, it is clear that the prophecies have the same starting point.

At this point it is generally understood that the prophecy begins to give an extended treatment of the history of the political and military contentions between the two largest and most enduring divisions of Alexander the Great’s empire – the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms. These powers are described in relative directional reference to the land of Israel, the Seleucid kingdom, controlling the territory of Babylon, being named the “King of the North” and the Ptolemaic kingdom, controlling the territory of Egypt, being spoken of as the “King of the South”. Throughout the machinations of these powers in their quest for dominance, national Israel is caught in the crossfire and becomes embroiled in their conflict.

The next point of consensus is that Rome is introduced as the kingdom succeeding the Grecian divisions. The only difference between Adventist expositors is on *where* Rome comes into view. This matter will be taken up in a later exhibit. All are agreed, however, that Rome is clearly in view by verses 20-21. There are several parallels between this power and the Little Horn of Daniel 8. Of particular interest is the phrase “in his place shall arise a contemptible person” (Dan. 11:21) which parallels with “a king of bold face... shall arise” (Dan. 8:23). The most significant action that ties together chapters 8, 9 and 11 is the action towards the Messiah-Prince.

Daniel 8	Daniel 9	Daniel 11
<p>“It became great, even as great as the Prince of the host...” (8:11)</p> <p>“And he shall even rise up against the Prince of princes” (8:25)</p>	<p>“an Anointed one, a Prince... an Anointed one shall be cut off and shall have nothing. And the people of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary. Its end shall come with a flood” (9:25-26)</p>	<p>“Armies shall be utterly swept away before him and broken, even the Prince of the covenant.” (11:22)</p>

In each of these passages, there is a warfare against an “Anointed One” a “Prince”. In the ninth chapter of Daniel, the appearance of the Messiah in the last or seventieth week of the prophecy marks the close of the Jewish national probation and this coincides with the 22nd verse, towards the centre of chapter 11. Chronologically, the events that follow this must be after the close of Jewish probation.

It is clear that by the time we reach the middle of the eleventh chapter, we are dealing with the same power as the “little horn” of the earlier chapters, for this is the same power that rises up against the Messiah-Prince. The nature of this little horn is crucial to understand. From its introduction in Daniel 7, it is clear that this power is a religious one as it has a “mouth speaking great things” and “shall think to change times and the law” (Dan. 7:8, 20).

The “little horn” of chapter 7 and the “little horn” 8 are related, but they are also presented from different perspectives. In chapter 7, the origin of the little horn – the terrible beast – is clearly in view (Dan. 7:7-8). In chapter 8, the origin of the little horn is so far away that it is described as coming from one of the four winds of heaven (Dan. 8:9).⁵⁴ In this vision the little horn embraces both the beast and horn of the previous chapter, having two phases represented by alternating grammatically masculine and feminine genders. Hasel states that “Historicist interpreters recognize the ‘little horn’ in chapter 8 as symbolizing both the pagan and papal phases of Rome” and that this is “possibly intimated by the change in gender in these verses”.⁵⁵ Peters goes further, asserting that,

The net effect of the gender oscillations from masculine to feminine to masculine and to feminine in verses 9-12 reveals a thematic parallelism of gender with the pattern A:B::A’:B’.

⁵⁴ This horn would have progressed in a serpentine manner in the vision, slithering southward, then eastward, then arriving at the glorious land and then ascending upward to heaven to make warfare on the host of heaven.

⁵⁵ Gerhard F. Hasel, “The ‘Little Horn,’ the Heavenly Sanctuary and the Time of the End: A Study of Daniel 8:9-14,” in *Symposium on Daniel*, in Frank B. Holbrook, ed., Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, Volume 2, (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1992): 399.

emphasises the two-phase aspect of Rome by two distinct parallel and repetitive cycles (masculine:feminine) in verses 9 & 10 and again in 11 & 12.⁵⁶

Pröbstle, while not following Hasel or Peters, sees an “intentional arrangement” of tense and gender, highlighting a more nuanced parallelism than Peters⁵⁷ Pröbstle demonstrates that the balance in verses 9-11 appears to be broken in verse 12, however he shows that this is accompanied by a change in linguistic style from narrative to discursive text.⁵⁸ The fact that more attention is given in Daniel 8 to the feminine phase while maintaining stylistic balance between the two genders indicates that the feminine phase dominates the vision going forward.

Peters’ “Thematic Parallelism of Gender”			Pröbstle’s Overview of Tense and Gender Balance
<u>Verse</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Verb/Pronoun</u>	
A 9	MASC.	HE CAME (<i>yatza</i>)	9a <i>qatal</i> m. 9b <i>wayyiqtol</i> fem.
B 10	FEM.	IT BECAME GREAT (<i>tigdal</i>)	10a <i>wayyiqtol</i> fem. 10b <i>wayyiqtol</i> fem. 10c <i>wayyiqtol</i> fem.
A' 11	MASC.	a) HE EXALTED (<i>gadal</i>) b) FROM HIM (<i>mimmennu</i>)	11a <i>qatal</i> m. 11b <i>qatal</i> m. 11c <i>w^fqatal</i> m.
B' 12	FEM.	a) IT CAST DOWN (<i>shalak</i>) b) IT WORKED (<i>'asah</i>) c) IT PROSPERED (<i>tzalehach</i>)	12a <i>yiqtol</i> fem. 12b <i>w^fyiqtol</i> fem. 12c <i>w^fqatal</i> fem. 12d <i>w^fqatal</i> fem.

The religious nature of this power is further seen in the surrounding cultic context of this chapter as well as the cultic actions of the little horn. Whereas the beasts of chapter 7 are unclean predators and give a militaristic view of history, the beasts in chapter 8 are sacrificial beasts, which Daniel would have naturally associated with the Sanctuary rites. This association would have been strengthened by the four horns of the goat which would have paralleled the four horns of the altar of burnt offering in the courtyard.⁵⁹ The shocking part of this vision is that these symbols, usually prefiguring the suffering Messiah are now taken to refer to pagan kingdoms of Medo-Persia and Greece.⁶⁰

It is into this setting that the little horn comes into the vision. Within the cultic setting of Daniel 8, the little horn arises as a false priestly character. Pröbstle writes that “The horn not only interferes with the cult and the priestly function of the שֵׁרֵה־הַעֲבָדָה. On top of that, the horn acts as priest itself. As the subject of the verb הָרַיִם, the horn is presented as an official of the cult, since the subject of הִפּוּר hif. + מָוּ with the meaning ‘to set aside from, remove from’ in a cultic context is typically an official of the cult, usually a priest. Furthermore, by magnifying itself to the שֵׁרֵה־הַעֲבָדָה the horn obviously has ambitions to take the position of the commander of the host.”

In chapter 11, the main actor that begins the warfare against the Prince of the Covenant is the “contemptible person” who stands in the place of the king of the north. At various points his exploits echo the exploits of the little horn in the earlier chapters. The first and most explicit of these are the parallels regarding the daily and the desolating rebellion.

⁵⁶ John W. Peters, “The Mystery of ‘The Daily’: An Exegesis of Daniel 8:9-14”, 1992 Masters Paper at Andrews University, Berrien Springs (2009 Revision): 12.

⁵⁷ Martin T. Pröbstle, “A Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 7/1 (Spring 1996): 94.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 96.

⁵⁹ “The use of sacrificial animals, the ram and the goat, to symbolize the nations immediately gives a sanctuary flavor to the vision immediately in chapter 8. This usage contrasts with that of the wild beasts present in the preceding vision of chapter 7... The reference to the four horns pointing out to the four winds to symbolize the breakup of the second world empire mentioned alludes to altar imagery. This reference to four horns would naturally have recalled to the mind of an ancient Israelite imagery drawn from the four horns of the sanctuary altars (Exod 27:2; 30:2).” Shea, “Unity of Daniel,” *Symposium on Daniel*, in Frank B. Holbrook, ed., Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, Volume 2, (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1992) 196.

⁶⁰ “The key which unlocks Daniel’s use of cultic terminology is the identification of the cultic ram symbol as the pagan power of Medo-Persia and the cultic goat symbol as the pagan power of Greece. From this initial clue, it becomes apparent that Daniel intends that many of his cultic symbols and terms will represent counterfeit cultic applications.” Peters, *Mystery of the Daily*, 20.

Daniel 8:11-13	Daniel 11:31
“And a host will be given over to it”	“Forces from him shall appear”
“the place of his sanctuary was overthrown.”	“profane the temple and fortress”
“And the [daily] was [lifted up by] him”	“and shall take away the [daily]”
“the transgression that makes desolate”	“shall set up the abomination that makes desolate.”

The next clearest parallels refer to the self-aggrandizement and oppressive actions that are ascribed to the powers in these prophecies.

Daniel 7, 8	Daniel 11
“It grew great, even to the host of heaven. And some of the host and some of the stars it threw down to the ground and trampled on them.” (8:10) “he shall cause fearful destruction and shall succeed in what he does, and destroy mighty men and the people who are the saints.” (8:24)	“He shall seduce with flattery those who violate the covenant, but the people who know their God shall stand firm and take action. And the wise among the people shall make many understand, though for some days they shall stumble by sword and flame, by captivity and plunder.” (11:32-33)
“...it will act and prosper.” (8:12)	“And the king shall do as he wills... He shall prosper...” (11:36)
“He shall speak words against the Most High” (7:25)	“He shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak astonishing things against the God of gods.” (11:36)
“I will make known to you what shall be at the latter end of the indignation” (8:19)	“He shall prosper till the indignation is accomplished; for what is decreed shall be done.” (11:36)
“His power shall be great--but not by his own power” (8:24)	“He shall deal with the strongest fortresses with the help of a foreign god.” (11:39)

Even the last few verses of the prophecies indicate that the little horn comes to a similar end to that suffered by the latter king of the north.

Daniel 8	Daniel 11
“The vision is for the time of the end” (8:17)	“At the time of the end” (11:40)
“he shall cause fearful destruction” (8:24)	“he shall go out with great fury to destroy and devote many to destruction” (11:44)
“he shall be broken--but by no human hand” (8:25)	“he shall come to his end, with none to help him.” (11:45)

The foregoing analysis attests a close alignment between Daniel 11 and the earlier prophecies. While it is obvious that much more detail has been provided in this last apocalyptic overview, it does follow the set progression of kingdoms. There is also a clear counterfeit religious nature to the little horn. In the seventh chapter, it speaks great things, persecutes the saints and opposes times and the law. In the eighth chapter it officiates as a false high priest in opposition to the true antitypical ministry. The last prophecy shows the full extent of this power’s antichrist rebellion as it first breaks the Prince of the covenant and then sets itself at war with the covenant people.

Exhibit F: Daniel’s “People” in Daniel 10-12

One of the primary purposes of the final prophecy of Daniel is stated plainly by the angel Gabriel. He tells Daniel that he had come “to make you understand what is to happen to your people (לעמך – *la’ammākā*) in the latter days” (Dan. 10:14). Daniel’s people had also been the subject of the ninth chapter of Daniel, where a probation was pronounced upon national, typical Israel. The term “latter days” (באחרית הימים – *ba’ahărīt hayyāmīm*) is used of the fortunes of the sons of Jacob,⁶¹ of the days leading up to the first advent in Balaam’s prophecy,⁶² as well as to

⁶¹ Gen. 49.1.

⁶² Num. 24:14.

indefinite future tribulations and restoration.⁶³ In the Aramaic portion of Daniel, an equivalent expression is used to refer to the unfolding of Nebuchadnezzar's dream.⁶⁴

Due to the pattern of repeat and enlarge, this prophecy must continue beyond the prophecy of Daniel 9 to cover the history of Daniel's people in the eschaton, or the remaining 1810 years of the 2300 evening-morning prophecy. The question then becomes one of which "people" this is referring to? If typical Israel had a probation ending in 34 A.D. with the close of the 70 weeks, then could this refer to the antitypical Israel that persists under the Christian Church period? The first half of Daniel 11, which follows the same period of history under the 70 weeks of Daniel 9, appears to be referring to the same ethnocentric Israel:

In those times many shall rise against the king of the south, and the [sons of the] violent among your own people shall lift themselves up in order to fulfill the vision, but they shall fail. (Dan. 11:14)

Here there are two interpretations of the words "sons of the violent of your own people" (ובני פריצי עמך – *ūḇānē pāriṣē 'ammākā*). Some favour an objective translation "sons of the violent against your people". Gane points out that there is no contextual cause for taking an objective reading in this place, instead favouring a subjective translation that the "sons of the violent/lawless ones among your people".⁶⁵ Either way, the "your people" here clearly refer to the ethnocentric period of Israel during its probation.

The next time that we encounter this "people" it is after the verses that connect with the Calvary event during the last week of the 70 week prophecy and therefore after the close of probation to national Israel.

He shall seduce with flattery those who violate the covenant, but **the people** who know their God shall stand firm and take action. And **the wise among the people** shall make many understand, though for some days they shall stumble by sword and flame, by captivity and plunder. When they stumble, they shall receive a little help. And many shall join themselves to them with flattery, and some of **the wise** shall stumble, so that they may be refined, purified, and made white, until the time of the end, for it still awaits the appointed time. (Dan. 11:32-35)

The phrase "the wise among the people" (ומשכילי עם – *ūmaškilē 'ām*) as well as the surrounding context of the "covenant" indicates that this is still Daniel's people. In fact, it is the same word for "people" used throughout all these instances under examination. In this phrase the hiphil participle is in a nominal construct relationship with עם (*'ām*). This reflects the relationship of nouns in Daniel 11:14, strengthening Gane's contention that the phrase there should be read as subjective rather than objective. Because this portion of the prophecy occurs after the close of ethnocentric Israel's probation, which occurs around the time of the breaking of the Prince of the Covenant in verse 22, there must be a corresponding change to the make-up of Daniel's people. This "people" is characterized in only positive terms indicative of a Christocentric Israel. Hugo Leon, in his extensive study of the "wise" or "maskilim" in Daniel and the rest of Scripture argues that:

[T]here will be two main groups of people in the covenant community in the time of the end. One group is called the wise or the maskilim and the other group is called the wicked or the reshamim. The wise keep the covenant and the wicked do "wickedly" against the covenant (Dan. 12:10; cf. 11:32). We are told that the wise "maskilim" of Daniel 12:4, 10 will read and understand the sealed prophecy of Daniel in the time of the end, whereas their wicked counterparts (reshamim) will not be able to understand the prophecy (Dan. 12:10; cf. Is. 29:11-12).⁶⁶

Leon's paper traces this out, showing that Daniel and his friends stand as types of the end time "maskilim" from the very first chapter.⁶⁷ The fact that there are a "people" beyond the end of ethnocentric Israel's probation suggests that there has been a transition from ethnocentric Israel to antitypical, Christocentric Israel as the focus of this prophecy.

⁶³ Deut. 4:30; Isa. 2:2; Hos. 3:5; Mic. 4:1.

⁶⁴ Dan. 2:28.

⁶⁵ Roy E. Gane, *The Un-Manifestation of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Daniel 11:1-22*, (Unpublished paper presented at the Adventist Theological Society symposium on eschatology in 2007), 9-10.

⁶⁶ Hugo Leon, *The Theme of the Maskilim and the Danielic Calls to Wisdom in the Olivet Discourse and the Book of Revelation: Read, Understand, and Obey* (Unpublished paper presented at the Daniel 12 Symposium in Berrien Springs, 2018), 16.

⁶⁷ Dan. 1:4.

The final time there is an explicit reference to Daniel’s “people” is at the close of both the prophecy and human probation.

At that time shall arise Michael, the great Prince who has charge of [the children of] **your people**.
And there shall be a time of trouble, such as never has been since there was a nation till that time.
But at that time **your people** shall be delivered, everyone whose name shall be found written in the book. (Dan. 12:1)

There are two expressions here. The first one is literally “the children of your people” (בני עמך – *bənē ‘ammekā*). This expression is the same as the expression in Daniel 11:14 without the word for violent/lawless ones (פריצים – *pārīšē*), giving yet another weight to Gane’s subjective reading of Daniel 11:14. The second instance here is simply the word for “your people” (עמך – *ammakā*). The context of Daniel 12:1 is during the final stages of the eschaton, the close of human probation, far past the time that Daniel’s ethnocentric kin have been prophetically relevant. Once again this indicates that the “people” of Daniel have transitioned from their ethnocentric type to the Christocentric antitype.

Some have looked at the issue of Daniel’s people in these visions and have failed to trace the full history and therefore the switch from typical, ethnocentric Israel to antitypical, Christocentric Israel. Ken LeBrun rightly discerns the importance of the motif of Daniel’s people, however he fails to follow their history throughout Daniel 11, skipping from the reference to “your people” in verse 14 to the reference in 12:1. In doing so, he misses the connected “wise... people” and so sees a restoration at the standing up of Michael to the same “people” who are given a probationary period in chapter 9.⁶⁸ He states that,

Daniel 9 and the 70-week prophecy foretell the initial fate of Daniel’s people Israel and the holy city. The prophecy of Chapters 11 and 12 tells the rest of the story—what shall befall his people in the latter days. Michael will stand up for them, and they shall be delivered.⁶⁹

LeBrun’s idea seems to rest upon a notion of Israel that is further developed in another paper where he argues that rather than a contrast between “national Israel” and “spiritual Israel”, the distinction is really between “true Israel” and “nominal Israel”.⁷⁰ This distinction is definitely true prior to the Cross, but fails to factor in the difference between the localised promises and geographical boundaries to Israel prior to the Cross and the globalised promises and transcendent ethereality of Israel after the Cross. If LeBrun wants to be consistent, then he should argue that Christians that are grafted into “true Israel” should also take up inheritance in Palestine and seek restoration of the temple mount.

John Witcombe also sees the “your people” to be a reference to literal Israel. He argues that,

This audition found in Daniel 11 is concerning Daniel’s people—the Jewish nation. “Thy people” is not referring to spiritual Israel from all ages. No, Daniel is concerned specifically about his people, the literal nation of Israel.⁷¹

This reasoning is not followed to its conclusion by either LeBrun or Witcombe. Daniel may have been concerned with the heritage of his ethnic group, but that does not mean that God was beholden to the platform of Daniel’s thinking. The Bible doesn’t teach a replacement of Israel by the Church, but a continuation of Christocentric Israel, originally the remnant segment of ethnic, national Israel, by the Church. The Church, constituting Christocentric Israel and embracing faithful Hebrew believers as well as faithful Gentiles grafted in, becomes the antitype of national Israel. Christocentric Israel didn’t begin at the Cross, but it became dominant after the Cross, for the *raison d’être* for typical Israel had reached its fulfilment with Christ, the root of Jesse. It is therefore appropriate that the prophecy would outline the destiny of antitypical Israel to which Daniel belonged, as the Church was grafted into transcendent Israel.

LeBrun, Witcombe, and others who follow their view, if they wished to be truly consistent, would need to look at revising their view of Daniel 11 so as to seek a fulfilment for Daniel’s genetic kin throughout, not only up to verse

⁶⁸ Ken LeBrun, *Statement No. 4: ‘Thy People’ in Daniel 12:1* (Paper presented at Daniel 11 Symposium, Las Vegas, NV, May 2019).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁰ Ken LeBrun, *Statement No. 5: The Remnant of Israel* (Paper presented at Daniel 11 Symposium, Las Vegas, NV, May 2019), 1. LeBrun does correctly reject “replacement theology”, stating, “Christianity does not create a new body of true believers that replaces the old; but instead, under a charter provision in Israel for incorporating Gentiles, the gospel revitalizes authentic Israel and carries it forward to realize its original aims.” *Loc. Cit.*

⁷¹ John C. Witcombe, *Statement No. 12: Children of Thy People* (Paper presented at Daniel 11 Symposium, Las Vegas, NV, May 2019), 4.

22 and then again in 12:1. Looking for a fulfilment for typical Israel in verses 30-35 dealing with the persecution of the “wise... people”, while consistent to a “literal” hermeneutic, would result in displacing any relevance to the New Testament Church.

Exhibit G: The Messiah Type-Antitype Pivot, Key to the Riddle of Daniel 11

The four empires of Daniel 2 and 7 are not exhaustive from a global perspective. Babylon was not the only empire in its time. It was surrounded by the kingdoms of Lydia and Media which had assisted in the overthrow of Assyrian hegemony. Further west in the Mediterranean could be found the Carthaginian Empire and south of Egypt was the kingdom of Nubia both of which were contemporaries not only of Babylon but also the empires that would follow in its territory. While the Neo-Babylonian kingdom was matched by contemporary kingdoms of similar strength, Medo-Persia and Greece were largely unrivalled. Medo-Persia would eventually subjugate Babylon, Lydia and Egypt, expanding further east to the Indus river and north to Bactria.

When Alexander the Great’s empire was conquering the territory of the Achaemenid empire, in the far east the Chu kingdom was expanding in China and the Nanda dynasty held sway over much of northern India. Later, the Mauryan empire would control an even greater portion of the subcontinent. Rome would expand to become a great empire, conquering Carthage and the Greeks, but it also had its global contemporaries. The Parthian empire and then the Sassanian empire to the east controlled a vast amount of territory previously held by Medo-Persia. Further east, the Han dynasty had displaced the short-lived Qin dynasty and would itself be succeeded by the Jin dynasty.

The existence of these other empires requires the succession of prophetic kingdoms be viewed from a specific vantage point. The lens of apocalyptic prophecy is always focused upon events that impact God’s covenant people. God doesn’t include other major world empires which are extraneous to those events that directly impact His people. This is especially important in interpreting Daniel 11. When analysing which details are included or excluded in God’s preview of history-in-advance the answer will hinge upon this principle of how the events connect to Israel, whether typical or antitypical. Without this in mind, the details in focus may seem arbitrary and any number of fanciful, speculative and sensationalistic interpretations may present themselves.

Alexander the Great’s death would lead to a protracted period of unrest as various contenders carved up the empire in the wars of the Diadochi. For a time there were many power players vying for territory. A lot of conflict was kept at bay while Alexander’s posthumous son, Alexander IV was alive, though the general Antigonus for a time held the largest segment of the conquered lands. After Cassander had Alexander IV assassinated, the conflicts escalated and Antigonus, a skilled commander, was first to declare himself king, though others quickly followed suit.⁷² Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy and Seleucus, all of whom shared borders with Antigonus, formed an alliance to remove him from the picture, which was accomplished at the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C.

Seleucus and Ptolemy had a complicated history together. For a time, Antigonus had conquered the eastern territories held by Seleucus, forcing Seleucus to seek protection in Egypt. After fighting as an admiral for Ptolemy in pushing back against the Antigoniid holdings, Seleucus was provided a very small force with which to retake Babylon.⁷³ After the final defeat of Antigonus, the Diadochi divided the territories between them. A lasting matter of dispute became the area of the Levant or Coele-Syria. Seleucus believed he had been promised this area but Ptolemy had annexed the strategic territory immediately after the battle of Ipsus. Seleucus believed Ptolemy had reneged on their earlier arrangement and this area would become a sticking point for Seleucid-Ptolemaic relations for a century.⁷⁴

The conflict between the king of the north and the king of the south in the first half of Daniel 11 deals almost exclusively with the conflict over this region that included the land of Israel. SDA interpretation of this chapter is largely unanimous up until the end of verse 15, where various political and military interactions are seen to occur between the Seleucids as “king of the north” and the Ptolemies as “king of the south”. The phrase in verse 10 “overflow and pass through” portrays the fact that this area was a proxy for their deeper skirmishes. Every time the two bordering powers would come to war, they were just “passing through” Israel to get to one another. God’s people became caught in the middle of this overflowing conflict.

For most of our history, the consensus on the early half of this chapter carried all the way to verse 22, but now a new innovative approach has given a fresh perspective to verses 16-19. Here, a plurality continues to take the traditional

⁷² Michael J. Taylor, *Antiochus the Great*, (South Yorkshire, UK: Pen and Sword, 2013) 4.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 3.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 5.

view that Rome is introduced in verse 16 as the power that stands in the Glorious Land. Roy Gane, however, has blazed a new path on this passage and it will be fruitful, in light of the principles that have been presented, to explore his reasons for doing so. Gane ultimately presents several lines of evidence for seeing the continued description of Antiochus III's history up to the end of verse 19.

The first of these begins with an exploration of the structure of the prophecy itself. Daniel 11 begins with the assertion that "three more kings shall arise in Persia" then references "a fourth". Since he has already mentioned the third year of Cyrus' reign in the previous chapter, these kings are historically Cambyses, Smerdis and Darius Hystaspes (the "three more") followed by Xerxes the Great (the "fourth"). It is this fourth king who stirs up all against the kingdom of Greece. The chapter then speaks of a "mighty king" who shall arise and as has been discussed, this is unanimously understood to be Alexander the Great. However, chronologically, Alexander's conquests of Persia did not occur for another 135 years after the death of Xerxes during which there were eight more rulers of the Achaemenid empire.

Gane also references parallels between Daniel's prophecy and the Akkadian "Dynastic Prophecy"⁷⁵ in that they both contain a succession of rulers and their selective acts, while not requiring those rulers to be completely consecutive or even from the same empires.⁷⁶ Gane's conclusion, however, derives a pattern for why there is a jump from the Persian Xerxes to the more than a century distant Macedonian Alexander:

There are gaps in the succession of kings (as in the Akkadian 'Dynastic Prophecy'). Most significantly for us, Persian history includes a number of kings after Xerxes, but once Grecia is mentioned, the focus of attention goes to that power. Shea points out 'a basic principle for interpreting Daniel's apocalyptic prophecy. That principle is this: it is only necessary to continue with one kingdom, or line of kings, until the new one of importance is introduced on the scene of action.'⁷⁷

Thus Gane, and Shea, have drawn attention to a pattern that should repeat itself if there is to be another national shift as there is from Persia to Greece – that the introduction of the new player into the narrative results in a temporal and thematic jump to the point at which that power becomes dominant. Gane makes the case that Rome is introduced as the "commander" that shall "put an end to his [Antiochus III's] insolence" in verse 18 resulting in the thematic and temporal shift to the time of Roman dominance in verse 20.⁷⁸

Gane's second reason for seeing Antiochus continue in verse 16 is linguistic. He argues:

Because the 'arms/forces' of the king of the South were just mentioned in verse 15, and the Hebrew verb aspect (waw consecutive) at the beginning of verse 16 simply continues the story without a break, verse 16 most naturally describes the conquest of Palestine ("the land of beauty") by Antiochus III. A number of Seventh-day Adventist commentators want to interpret this takeover of Palestine as the conquest for Rome by Pompey in 63 B.C. However, this would require a break in the chronological flow of the text.⁷⁹

Ken LeBrun, one of the few interpreters to engage with Gane's thesis, agrees with the focus on Antiochus III in verses 17-19⁸⁰, but argues for a parenthetical insertion of Rome in verse 16.⁸¹ Before giving reasons for differing with Gane, LeBrun actually presents several linguistic evidences that support a continuous flow from verse 15 to 16. One of these is to highlight the parity of several phrases between the verses with the following table:⁸²

⁷⁵ Temper Longman III, *The Dynastic Prophecy (1.150)* (The Context of Scripture, Volume 1; ed. William W. Hallo; Boston, MA: Brill, 2003) 481-482.

⁷⁶ Gane, *The Unmanifestation of Antiochus IV*, 4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 5. Quoting William Shea, *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation* (Daniel and Revelation Committee 1; ed. F. Holbrook; Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1992), 41.

⁷⁸ Gane sees the "commander" as Lucius Cornelius Scipio who led the Romans defeat of Antiochus III at Thermopylae as part of the Roman-Seleucid War. There is actually a correspondence to Daniel 8 in seeing this as an important event played out in the present prophecy. The expansion of the "Little Horn" is southward, then eastward and then to the "holy land". The first major expansion of Rome was the southward subjugation of Phoenicia at the end of the Punic wars in 146 B.C. The next major expansion was eastward and began with the defeat of Antiochus III in 130 B.C.

⁷⁹ Gane, *The Unmanifestation of Antiochus IV*, 12.

⁸⁰ Ken LeBrun, "Testing Daniel 11:16-22," *ThoughtLines* (blog), August 30, 2018, <http://www.thoughtlines.org/2018/08/testing-daniel-1116-22.html>.

⁸¹ Ken LeBrun, "Daniel 11:16," *ThoughtLines* (blog), September 17, 2018, <https://www.thoughtlines.org/2018/09/daniel-1116.html>.

⁸² *Ibid.*

Verse 15	Verse 16
"shall come"	"he that cometh"
"shall not withstand"	"none shall stand"
"chosen people"	"glorious land"

LeBrun's proposal is that "he who comes against him" refers to a power coming against the king of the north. He argues that the objective "him" that is opposed should naturally reach back to the "king" of the north in verse 15. However this same argument could be made for the subjective "he". It is linguistically unlikely for a brand new character, not previously mentioned in the prophecy, to be introduced with a pronoun. Rather, this would act reflexively and reach back anaphorically to a previous, explicit subject. The first example in this text, Greece, enters the scene with the explicit subject "a mighty king". Under Gane's exposition, which LeBrun agrees with, the first Roman (under the Republic) to come on the scene is "a commander" and Gane sees the introduction the imperial Rome as "a contemptible person". The Messiah is introduced explicitly as "the Prince of the covenant". Each one of these transitional personages is introduced by nouns which present a title, descriptor or position, not by a mere pronoun.

The objective "him" would more naturally refer to the nearer antecedent of the "south". LeBrun's contention that "only through some sort of literary personification of the 'south' in verse 15 is it possible to produce an antecedent that would allow one to apply the 'him' to Egypt", yet this ignores the literary personification that has been present throughout the chapter.⁸³ Theodotion⁸⁴ actually has "king (βασιλεως) of the south" in verse 15 indicating it may have been in his Vorlage of this passage predating the Masoretic Text or his interpretation of the text.⁸⁵ In all, the preponderance of literary and linguistic evidence, including that which LeBrun himself introduces, belies LeBrun's parenthetical argument and leans in favour of Gane's thesis.

Other arguments LeBrun introduces are more plausible on the surface and require some historical context. He claims that the words "shall do as he wills" does not "seem to fit a struggling Seleucid who is about to surrender the prophetic spotlight over to another empire that is truly worthy of that expression".⁸⁶ He also states that it was not true that "none shall stand before" Antiochus III, for Rome would later do just that. He contests that while Antiochus stood in the glorious land, he did not cause it to be "consumed" or "annihilated". Finally, he asserts that Antiochus III is "insufficiently worthy" of the superlatives in verse 16, let alone having one quarter of the chapter (verses 10-19) dedicated to him. These appear stronger on their surface than his linguistic points, and deserve some attention.

If verses 16-19 are taken as continuing to apply to Antiochus III, the phrases "do as he wills" and "none shall stand before him" need not refer to his entire career, but may refer to the long period of ascendancy whereby he enlarged his reign to the point where reasserted himself over the eastern lands conquered by Alexander. The reason that Antiochus III ascribed to himself the moniker *megas* ("the Great") is due to the fact that under his leadership, the Seleucid empire was able to reacquire much of the eastern territories of Alexander the Great as far as Bactria and the Indus River. After Antiochus III, the Seleucid empire saw a steady decline in the east, while the power of Rome rose in the west. Thus there is a sense in which the phrase "do as he wills" bookends the Greek period in Daniel 11, applying to Alexander the Great in verse 3 and then Antiochus the Great in verse 16. More likely, though, is that this statement refers to the conflict over the land of Israel.

Why Antiochus III is deserving of such extended treatment in Daniel 11 is an important question to ask. Under Antiochus III, the long-contested territory of Coele-Syria, including national Israel ("the glorious land") was finally brought under the power of the "king of the north". The verse doesn't specifically state that Antiochus III consumes this real estate, but that he has destruction "in his hand". The power he wields, the potential to cause this destruction, was not unleashed against the land itself, but against the Ptolemaic occupiers. This fact alone makes him thematically worthy of the attention he receives in this chapter as it has been noted that the primary indicator of prophetic attention

⁸³ LeBrun, *Daniel 11:16*.

⁸⁴ The Septuagint has its usual "king of Egypt" (βασιλέως Αιγύπτου) in the place of Theodotion's "king of the south" (βασιλέως τοῦ νότου) in this verse.

⁸⁵ 4QDan^a and 4QDan^c, though fragmentary in this section do appear to support the MT reading.

⁸⁶ LeBrun, *Daniel 11:16*.

relates to whether and how an earthly power impacts God's people. His Palestinian victory may be the context in which "none shall stand before him" is intended, since the Ptolemaic empire never again held this territory.

A look at the history of Antiochus III gives us some further reasons that he is important as a counterfeit religious entity. Earlier Seleucid rulers were worshipped as part of an informal royal cult by cities hoping to curry favour with the crown. Antiochus III institutionalised this form of religion, dispatching high priests to the power centres of his empire.⁸⁷ Thus Antiochus III embodied the principle of self-exaltation that is highlighted in these visions of Daniel. After conquering the Levant, Antiochus' ambitions were a complete reunification of Alexander's kingdom, ambitions that were to be thwarted by the appearance of a "commander".

By putting the stop to the expansion of the self-aggrandizing Antiochus III, this "commander", the Roman General Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus appears as a sort of saviour, putting an end to the "insolence" (הרפה – *herpāh*) of Antiochus III. This word also appears in the judgement epilogue of Daniel 12:2 as well as Daniel's prayer in 9:16. Thus from a narrative standpoint, there is an expectation that this is going to be a power for good. But following the established motif of counterfeit systems, the true nature of this "saviour" is revealed.

According to the rules Gane and Shea have established, now that Rome has appeared on the scene, it would be expected that there would be a time jump to the point at which this power displaces Greece as the dominant empire. This occurred not under Imperial Rome, but under the Republic just prior to the transition of government. This change from Greece to the Roman Republic and then again to the Empire is represented by the two repeated instances of the transitional phrase "in his place shall arise" in verses 20 and then again in 21 embracing first Rome as a republic and then as an empire. The character of the apparent saviour-judge that breaks the pride of Antiochus III is revealed not just in its description as a "contemptible person" but also by its actions which break the true Prince of the Covenant. The power thus stands as an antichrist. This power would also assert in both of its phases control over the "splendour of the kingdom", a probable reference to the land of Israel.⁸⁸

The centrality of the breaking of the Prince of the Covenant to this last prophecy of Daniel has already been noted. This coincides with the seventieth week of Daniel 9 that brings to a close the period of probation for Daniel's ethnic people. As noted, the prophecy continues to reference a covenant people after the Prince of the covenant is broken.

For ships of Kittim shall come against him, and he shall be afraid and withdraw, and shall turn back and be enraged and **take action against the holy covenant**. He shall turn back and **pay attention to those who forsake the holy covenant**. Forces from him shall appear and profane the temple and fortress, and shall take away the daily. And they shall set up the abomination that makes desolate. He shall **seduce with flattery those who violate the covenant**, but **the people who know their God shall stand firm and take action**. And **the wise among the people** shall make many understand, though for some days they shall stumble by sword and flame, by captivity and plunder. When they stumble, they shall receive a little help. And many shall join themselves to them with flattery, and some of **the wise** shall stumble, so that they may be refined, purified, and made white, until the time of the end, for it still awaits the appointed time.⁸⁹

This portion of the prophecy largely details the actions of the latter king of the north against the people of the covenant, also called "the wise". This people of the covenant cannot be the geographic and genetic Israel to whom the probationary period was allotted in Daniel 9, for that period closed three and a half years after the breaking of the Prince of the Covenant. Instead, there must have been a subtle transition to a new embodiment of the covenant people. The introduction of the Messiah-Prince in the text becomes an implicit pivot from the typical, ethnocentric Israel at the centre of the conflict in the first half of the chapter to the antitypical, transcendent, Christocentric Israel embodied by the Church. Later in the passage references to the "glorious land" and the "glorious holy mountain" would likewise be representative and antitypical rather than genetic and geographic.

A pivot is not a mere substitution. The early church pivoted from faithful genetic Jews making up the entirety of the Church to embrace the Gentiles in an increasingly transcendent Israel. The early half of Daniel 11 featured the back-and-forth conflict of the powers geographically north and south of Israel between which Israel was caught in the

⁸⁷ "A major change in the Seleucid royal cult took place under Antiochus III, who established the royal cult as an imperial institution, chiefly regulating its quality and content, and personally appointing high priests to oversee the cult at the satrapal level." Taylor, *Antiochus*, 55.

⁸⁸ Gane writes, "The word translated 'splendor' occurs only here in the Hebrew Bible, but 'splendor of the kingdom' seems to parallel 'land of beauty' in verse 16, which refers to the land of Israel (cf. Dan 8:9)." *The Unmanifestation of Antiochus IV*, 17.

⁸⁹ Dan. 11:30-35.

crossfire. If there has been a transition to an antitypical Israel that transcends geographical limitations then it would follow that the powers between which it is caught in conflict must also undergo a pivot. It is impossible to have powers to the geographical north or south of a geographically transcendent people! Therefore verse 22 must mark a pivot not merely towards an antitype for God’s covenant people, but for the other key powers who continue through to the end of the chapter. This agrees with the pattern that occurs when Daniel 11 is overlaid upon the previous visions.

LeBrun questioned whether Antiochus III was worthy of so much space in this prophecy dedicated to his reign. However, taking a larger view of the chapter, the exploits ascribed to Antiochus III are paralleled by those of the latter king of the north at the end of the chapter. There is a clear relationship to key events of both. In some ways there is a mirror parallel. Whereas the false-saviour that puts an end to Antiochus III’s insolence comes out of the west, the true Saviour who alarms the latter king of the north comes from the north-east.

History of Antiochus (11:11-19)	Latter King of the North (vs 11:40-45)
“The king of the south, moved with rage, shall come out and fight against the king of the north”	“At the time of the end, the king of the south shall attack him”
“The king of the north shall again raise a multitude, greater than the first... a great army and abundant supplies”	“But the king of the north shall rush upon him like a whirlwind, with chariots and horsemen and with many ships”
“he shall stand in the glorious land”	“he shall come into the glorious land.
“destruction in his hand”	“tens of thousands shall fall”
“afterward he shall turn his face to the coastlands and shall capture many”	“he shall stretch out his hand against the countries, the land of Egypt shall not escape”
“a commander shall put an end to his insolence”	“news from the east and the north shall alarm him”
“he shall turn his face back toward the fortresses of his own land”	“he shall pitch his palatial tents between the sea and the glorious holy mountain”
“he shall stumble and fall, and shall not be found”	“he shall come to his end, with none to help him”

This parallelism confirms that this prophecy doubles up with the second half replaying the events of the first half in an antitypical fashion. It also gives a reason not only for the focus on Antiochus III, but for why it was significant to reference his takeover of Coele-Syria. Antiochus III represents the height of the Seleucid reign before his over-reach brought him to ruin.⁹⁰ Antiochus III as the type represented a dominant king of the north who had finally acquired the disputed “glorious land” and who stood able to vanquish his enemies. Had Antiochus III chosen to pursue expansion into Ptolemaic Egypt, he may have been able to destroy his traditional foe. The antitypical king of the north in the end of the chapter is able to achieve just that. Having also been described as coming into the antitypical “glorious land” (the Church), he stretches out his hand against the land of Egypt to its uttermost limits of Libya and Ethiopia.⁹¹

Exhibit H: Additional Confirmation of the Type-Antitype Switch in Apocalyptic

The claim of those who argue for internal consistency is that it would be both arbitrary and unprecedented for a prophetic narrative to switch course midway through. Yet their alternative – reading Daniel 11 as consistently geographic from beginning to end – cannot be done without serious contradiction unless the entire chapter deals with the persecutions faced by ethnocentric Israel. The hermeneutical key expounded in this paper is objective rather than arbitrary, springing forth from the breaking of the Messiah-Prince which leads to the close of probation for ethnocentric Israel and ushers in the time of antitypical Israel. From this point on the whole chapter pivots to transcend geographical demarcations to the antitypical embodiment of those who functioned in the first half of the chapter. Moreover a transition from one referent to another is not without precedence in Hebrew prophecy or narrative.

Isaiah 14 begins a prophecy of Israel’s restoration.⁹² This is followed by a reviling taunt against the oppressive “king of Babylon” which transitions into a deeper reproach against *hēlēl ben-šāḥar*, understood by Seventh-day Adventists to be the fallen angel commonly known by the Latin name ‘Lucifer’. The later descriptions in this chapter transcend

⁹⁰ In a similar way, Xerxes the Great represented the zenith of Persian rule before his ambition against Greece humbled him and the prophecy transitioned away from the Persian focus.

⁹¹ Daniel 11:43.

⁹² Isa. 14:1-2.

that which would be possible for a human to fulfill and indicate that the prophecy has moved seamlessly from a typical referent to an antitypical one.⁹³

Another similar prophecy is found in Ezekiel 28. The first section of this chapter contains a prophecy against the “prince of Tyre”.⁹⁴ The second section of the chapter contains a prophecy against the “king of Tyre”, yet again uses imagery which could not apply to any human.⁹⁵ So from the perspective of the Old Testament, it is clear that there are certain exemplars for a prophecy changing its subject mid-course. The connective tissue between these two examples is that of type-antitype. The “king of Babylon” in Isaiah 14 and the “prince of Tyre” in Ezekiel 28 stand as types of the maleficent supernatural force behind the scenes.

Bertoluci, in his thesis on these two passages, identifies that each is part of a self-contained literary unit comprising a type and an antitype. He concludes that, “Finally it is my conviction that this research has demonstrated that the use of Typology is a reality in Isaiah 14 as well as in Ezekiel 28...”⁹⁶ The king of Babylon and the prince of Tyre stand as representatives of a greater eschatological reality in Satan.

There is another instance of dual type-antitype fulfillment. The synoptic apocalypse given by Jesus in Matthew 24, Mark 13 and Luke 21 comes as an answer to two questions asked of Him by His disciples: “Tell us, when will these things (the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple) take place, and what will be the sign of your coming and of the end of the age?”⁹⁷ Jesus answers these two questions together, yet Matthew, as the only actual eyewitness to the Olivet discourse, distinctly preserves some key structural demarcations for understanding His answer. Richard Davidson divides the discourse into two parts, those sections dealing with “these things” (i.e. the destruction of Jerusalem) and those dealing with the parousia.⁹⁸ He presents the structural flow of the prophecy as follows:

Summary of the Structural Flow of Matthew 24:4-44 ⁹⁹	
A. Vss. 4-20	The Fall of Jerusalem
B. Vss. 21-31	The Parousia
A'. Vss. 32-35	The Fall of Jerusalem
B'. Vss. 36-44	The Parousia

Davidson presents an interplay between references to “these things” (ταῦτα) that occur exclusively in the Fall of Jerusalem sections and references to “those” (ἐκεῖνος) things that occur primarily in the Parousia sections. Contrasting words are also used for the “end”. The “end” (τέλος) referring to the Fall of Jerusalem is different from the “end” (συντέλεια) of the age and the Parousia. With this established, many passages that have long been held as referring to the end of the world are now relegated to the first century. Davidson, however, argues that in addition to this structure, there is a type-antitype relationship that Jesus is creating between the Fall of Jerusalem and the events leading up to the Parousia. He depicts many of these parallels in the following table:

The Fall of Jerusalem As A Type Of The End Of The Age ¹⁰⁰	
The Fall Of Jerusalem	The End Of The Age
tribulation (vs. 9)	great tribulation (vs. 21)
false christs (vs. 5)	false christs (vs. 24)
false prophets (vs. 11)	false prophets (vs. 24)
“end” (<i>telos</i> , vss. 6, 13, 14)	“end” (<i>synteleia</i> , vs. 3)

⁹³ “Vss. 12-15 include several characteristics which identify the Isaian passage as having an apocalyptic-like vertical dimension. The prophet is talking about a power that goes beyond the historical level, yet at the same time there is inter-relationship between the horizontal and vertical dimensions.” Jose M. Bertoluci, *The Son of the Morning and the Guardian Cherub in the Context of the Controversy Between Good and Evil*, (ThD dissertation, Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, 1985) 291.

⁹⁴ Eze. 28:1-10.

⁹⁵ Eze. 28:12-19. “The oracle against the Prince (מלך) of Tyre refers, in my view, to activities and matters related to human or earthly rulers. The oracle against the King (מלך) of Tyre has to do with a being in a cosmic or heavenly sphere.” Bertoluci, *ibid*, 292. See also Richard M. Davidson, “The Chiastic Structure of the Book of Ezekiel” in *To Understand the Scriptures: Essays in Honor of William H. Shea* (ed. David Merling; Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, 1997), 87-88.

⁹⁶ Bertoluci, *The Son of the Morning*, 295.

⁹⁷ Matt 24:3.

⁹⁸ Richard Davidson, “‘This Generation Shall Not Pass’ (Matt 24:34): Failed Or Fulfilled Prophecy?” in *The Cosmic Battle for Planet Earth: Essays in Honor of Norman R. Gulley* (ed. Ronald A. G. Du Preez and Jioi Moskala; Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University, 2003), 307–328.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 324.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 325

Reimar Vetne in his discussion of Davidson's proposal shows that the "A" sections are aligned with imagery and references to prophecy of Daniel 9 which deals with the probation of the Jews and the subsequent destruction of the temple. In contrast he finds that the "B" sections are aligned with references to Daniel 7 with its more global span that culminates in the eschaton.¹⁰¹ Vetne aligns the "type" and "antitype" proposed by Davidson with the type-antitype relationship he sees between Daniel 9 as a localised microcosm related to the probation of the Jewish people and the other prophecies of Daniel which deal with the eschatological close of human probation.

While there are clear parallels between 9:24-27 and the rest of the prophecies of Daniel—like war and persecution of God's people—the *geographic and ethnic* scope is more narrow. Daniel 2, 7, 8, and 10-12 contain large universal prophecies of nations fighting nations, of persecutions of the faithful, of wicked powers. Daniel 9 deals with the same elements of war and persecutions but with Israel and the temple as its central concern. It is almost as if the events of 9:24-27 are a small-scale *type* of the larger universal fulfillments. The seventy weeks are like a miniature prophetic piece 'cut off' from the larger prophetic scenarios of Daniel.¹⁰²

This is the same type-antitype that can be seen in Daniel 11 itself, and the Cross is the transitioning factor in each instance. The destruction of Jerusalem and the temple as prefigured in Daniel 9 is the judgement response to the rejection of the Christ after they have passed their testing period. Yet this event serves as a type for the end of the world. The Olivet discourse therefore pivots between type and antitype based upon the same prophecy (Daniel 9:24-27) and the same key event (the cut-off Messiah-Prince) as does Daniel 11.

Davidson and Vetne's analyses of the Olivet discourse also answer a possible objection to the thesis of this paper, that a pivot from type to antitype occurs after the Cross. Daniel 9:26b and 27b clearly prophesies of the destruction of Jerusalem which literally occurred after the Cross. While these events were literally fulfilled after the Cross they are the direct consequences of the probationary period given to Israel. The destruction of Jerusalem therefore belongs to the typical phase and stands as a representation of the destruction of the wicked after the close of human probation.

The major place to test any hypothesis in the interpretation of Daniel is to look at what its New Testament companion has to contribute. The book of Revelation is another key to opening the prophecies of Daniel. Ellen White wrote that "[t]he things revealed to Daniel were afterward complemented by the revelation made to John on the Isle of Patmos."¹⁰³ The question may be asked whether Revelation speaks of an antitypical Israel as well as antitypes to the powers to the north and south of typical Israel.

The seventh chapter of Revelation contains the prophecy of the 144,000 constituting equal portions from the twelve tribes of Israel. This symbolic group cannot refer to ethnocentric Israel because the genealogical records of the northern ten tribes were lost since the Assyrian deportations, while the records for the Jews were largely destroyed with the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D. and it would be impossible to take a census of people from any of the tribes today. Instead there is reason to believe that antitypical Israel is in view in the book of Revelation. The Church is signified in chapter 12 as a woman surrounded by the symbols of sun, moon and stars. These symbols reach back to Joseph's dream of his family which at the time constituted all of Israel.¹⁰⁴ This woman would correspond with Daniel's "people". This woman gives birth to the messianic "Man-Child" (literally "Son Male"),¹⁰⁵ however she also has other children. The passage goes on to say that there is a "remnant of her seed". If the woman represents the typical Jewish Church (Daniel's people), then the additional "seed" of this woman would correspond to the "children of your people" who Michael stands for in Daniel 12:1.

The final reward for the righteous in Revelation is the New Jerusalem into which the twelve tribes of Israel may enter, each at their own gate. Further Israelite imagery comes from the foundation stones corresponding to the stones in the breastplate of the high priest. If these symbols were taken to refer to ethnocentric Israel, there is no place in the New Jerusalem described for those who are not descendants of Abraham according to the flesh. These prophetic

¹⁰¹ Reimar Vetner, "The Influence and Use of Daniel in the Synoptic Gospels" Dissertations, Paper 160 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University, 2011), 197-198.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 188.

¹⁰³ Ellen G. White, *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1923) 114. In another place Ellen White states that "In it [Revelation] the same line of prophecy is taken up as in Daniel" (Ms 107, 1897).

¹⁰⁴ Gen. 37:9.

¹⁰⁵ Rev. 12:5.

symbols instead confirm that the focus of apocalyptic after the close of the seventy weeks of Daniel has shifted from typical Israel to the Christo-centric Israel.

The two chief enemies of typical Israel are also found as symbols in Revelation. Babylon, the northern power that was within the territory of the Seleucid empire is the primary symbol for the eschatological counterfeiting enemy of God’s people. The name “Babylon” first appears in the second angel’s message in Revelation 14:8 referring to the chimerical creature that emerges out of the sea in chapter 13:1-10. This beast is an amalgamation of the beasts from Daniel 7 and echoes the actions of the “little horn”. Further discussion of Babylon, including its impending destruction, occurs in chapters 17-18. It is clear that this is not typical Babylon, but an antitype to that power, as it contains descriptions that don’t accord with its geographical counterpart.¹⁰⁶

Egypt, the geographical “king of the south”, is also briefly used as a symbol in Revelation 11. The two witnesses are slain in “the great city that is spiritually called Sodom and Egypt”.¹⁰⁷ It is clear that this cannot be geographical Egypt, for Egypt was a country, not a city, while Sodom is another place entirely and Jesus was not crucified in either of these locations! While there are some differences to the context and genre between the eleventh chapters of both Daniel and Revelation, it is clear that Egypt had taken on a spiritual meaning after the Cross commensurate with the spiritual meaning of Babylon. So all three of the powers in Daniel 11 – Israel, Babylon (traditionally to the North) and Egypt (traditionally to the South) are revealed to be symbolic of antitypical eschatological entities in Revelation. This would strongly confirm the hypothesis that there has been a switch from type to antitype in the prophecy of Daniel 11.

A final evidence comes from a Pauline commentary on Daniel. The clearest place that this occurs is in the second epistle to the Thessalonians. There Paul talks about the coming “man of sin” and in doing so provides a gloss on Daniel 11. The most striking parallel is to verse 36:

2 Thessalonians 2:3-4	Daniel 11:36
Let no one deceive you in any way. For that day will not come, unless the rebellion comes first, and the man of lawlessness is revealed, the son of destruction, who opposes and exalts himself against every so-called god or object of worship, so that he takes his seat in the temple of God, proclaiming himself to be God.	And the king shall do as he wills. He shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak astonishing things against the God of gods. He shall prosper till the indignation is accomplished; for what is decreed shall be done.

While the parallels are obvious and deliberate, the reference to “the rebellion” calls to mind the “abomination of desolation” referenced in the 8th, 9th, 11th and 12th chapters of Daniel. Moreover, the term “son of destruction” highlights additional acts outside of verse 36 such as the persecution of the saints in verses 32-34. Paul’s description blended the little horn and king of the north into the one entity and also apparently understood it to be a false high priestly power due to the reference to the temple of God. Therefore, Paul stands with the other corroborating evidences and precedents that validate the hypothesis of this paper.

Excursus: Proposed Praxis for the Second Half of Daniel 11

The bulk of this paper has been occupied with establishing hermeneutic criteria upon which to evaluate the unfolding of the prophecy in Daniel 11. It would be remiss not to examine how this must impact an exposition of the second half of the chapter. This would involve highlighting starting points for future investigation as well as some predictive modelling for what to expect going forward. Using what has been ascertained from the preceding discussion, the following principles and patterns have emerged.

1. The second half of the chapter pivots to global, transcendent and antitypical fulfillment.

The first half of the chapter covers a progression of history leading directly to the breaking of the Prince of the Covenant. This history parallels the 490 years of Daniel 9. The prophecy then pivots in the second half to a wider, global application culminating in the victorious judgement of Michael – the same Prince that was broken at the mid-point of the prophecy.

¹⁰⁶ For example, the city of Babylon was not situated on seven mountains as described in Revelation 17.

¹⁰⁷ Rev. 11:8.

2. *The focus of this prophecy is the conflict over God's people.*

The focal point of this prophecy is the conflict in which God's people find themselves. In the first half of the chapter, it is geographical Israel that is in focus, culminating in the death of the incarnate Christ. The prophecy ignores historical events which do not impact Israel, which is caught between the kings of north and south. The second half transitions to events which impact antitypical, transcendent Israel, which is caught between a spiritual north-south conflict.

3. *The unfolding of the prophecy is in a continuous forward-direction.*

The first half of this chapter, up to verse 22, covers the history of Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome up to the death of Christ. The unfolding of the narrative is always in a forward-chronological direction. In the second half of the chapter, it would be expected that this forward progression would continue, absent any explicit linguistic reason for a chronological regression. The burden of proof would be on any interpretation that claims such a temporal reversion.

4. *There are time-jumps forward, but these transitions are always justified.*

Even though the prophecy progresses forward from Daniel's time, it experiences several moments where it bypasses decades or centuries of history. The first of these is the transition from Xerxes I of Persia to Alexander I of Greece. Xerxes is such a perfect fit as the fourth king who stirs up the realm of Persia against the Greeks that there have been few alternatives ever proposed. Chronologically, Xerxes is the fourth in the line of kings that followed Cyrus and his historical acts conform to the description found in the prophetic text. Likewise, there are few that have not seen the "mighty king" to be Alexander the Great. This means that the prophecy has overlooked 8 intermediate Persian rulers.

The next fast-forward occurs when the text shifts focus from Greece to Rome. This is common to all SDA historicist interpreters, even though there is some discussion over where this occurs. In the traditional SDA historicist view, the transition is from Antiochus IV to Rome as a Republic between verses 15-16. In the new Gane-hypothesis this transition occurs between verses 19-20 with Antiochus III being the final Seleucid ruler. There are two additional patterns governing this point:

- a. In both instances where there is a transition, it is because the party to whom the focus is shifting has been introduced in a conflict instigated by the existing power which is successfully defeated by the newcomer. Thus Xerxes was defeated at Salamis by the Greeks while Antiochus III was defeated at Magnesia by the Romans.
- b. The narrative resumes at the point in which the new power has dominated the earlier aggressor. Thus Alexander was the king who subdued the kingdom of Persia under Darius III while the remainder of the Seleucid kingdom was subdued by the Roman general Pompey in 63 B.C.

5. *The prophecy is synchronised to earlier visions in Daniel, particularly chapters 8 and 9.*

The unfolding of this prophetic narrative is most closely aligned to the eighth and ninth chapters of Daniel. The time-jump transitions in Daniel 11 are between the same transitional kingdoms in the earlier visions.

Based on these considerations, as the chapter progresses further, it would be expected that the default progression would be forward in time, with a key focus on those events that impact God's people. This is not to say that it is impossible for there to be backtracking or recapitulation in the narrative. Recapitulation is possible in Hebrew prose and to a rarer extent in prophecy. However, given the forward flow of history in the first half of the chapter, any proposed reversion would require a high standard of hermeneutical justification. Interpretations that involve reverting the narrative after verse 22 to conflicts predating Imperial Rome would need to demonstrate that they are required by the text, rather than lean on an eisegetical reading of events in history into the text.¹⁰⁸

In the same way, any leaps forward in history would be expected to abide by a similar standard as the first half of the chapter. Based on the earlier visions of Daniel, the next transition to be expected is between the iron and iron and

¹⁰⁸ This refers to the Uriah Smith interpretation which sees a backtracking after the Cross event (in verse 22) to 161 B.C. (in verse 23) followed by the final war of the Roman Republic between Octavian and Mark Antony.

clay (chapter 2) the terrible beast and its horns (chapter 7) or the two phases of the little horn (chapter 8). Identifying where this occurs in the second half of the chapter would provide a major key for understanding the flow of time. Interpretations that jump immediately to the Papal period after verse 22 face the burden of demonstrating that a transition has occurred commensurate with the pattern established in the first half of the chapter. Those interpretations that jump to the crusades for verses 24/25 through 30 and then revert to the beginning of the 1260 or 1290 days in verses 31-33 face a double challenge to establish why the text would be jumping forwards and backwards chronologically.¹⁰⁹

Moving into the second half of the chapter, there is a clear successor for the “King of the North”. Verses 20 and 21 feature a repeated phrase “in his place shall arise” (וַעֲמֹד עַל־כִּנּוֹ – *wā ‘āmaq ‘al-kannōw*). The antecedent for the pronoun in verse 20 is the subject of the previous narrative, the King of the North, indicating that this new power is the legitimate successor to that moniker. The repetition in verse 21 indicates there has been another transition in very close temporal proximity. The traditional SDA interpretation is that verse 20 refers to Augustus Caesar, while verse 21 refers to Tiberius Caesar, his immediate successor. The Gane-hypothesis asserts that verse 20 refers to Rome as a Republic, while verse 21 refers Imperial Rome with the institution of the office of Emperor.

Perhaps the most challenging identification in the second half of the chapter is the “King of the South”. In a geographical sense, the Roman Republic and then Empire subsumed both the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasties. In a literal sense, it became both “King of the North” and “King of the South” before the pivot point in verse 22. The fulfilment of the next north-south conflict, occurring in verse 25 might be sought in a division or internal civil war within the Imperial Rome which impacts the transcendent people of God.

Tim Hayden’s interpretation of verses 25-30 satisfies many of the above criteria.¹¹⁰ He sees these verses as covering the rise of Constantine to overcome rivals to the imperial office. This constitutes a forward progression in history without any chronological reversion. It also satisfies the requirement for an Israel-centric focus to the conflict, as the rise of Constantine put an end to the persecution of Christianity on the one hand as well as the beginnings of an unholy alliance between Church and State on the other. This exposition should warrant further investigation in line with these principles.

The earlier transitions in these visions are between two distinct entities, symbolised by diverse metals or beasts, whereas the final transition is characterised by equal amounts continuity and change. The iron that is present in the legs of the statue in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream extends through to the feet, though now mixed with clay. The focus of Daniel 7 shifts to the eleven horns which grow out of, and are therefore a continuation of, the terrible beast. The little horn of chapter 8 is also characterised by two phases of growth – first horizontal and then vertical expansion.

In seeking an interpretation of the second half of Daniel 11, this paradox of change and continuity should be preserved. As such, an interpretation of Daniel 11 should expect to cover periods of Imperial and Papal Rome, including a transition between the two. This approach would favour views which see the emerging and then dominant Papacy in verses 31-39. The view that holds revolutionary France to be the fulfilment of verses 36-39 breaks with the pattern established in the earlier visions and would hold the burden of proof to demonstrate textually that a new power is required to fulfil these verses.

A unique feature of the second half of Daniel 11 is the focus on time. Expressions and phrases found throughout this chapter include “time” (עַתָּה – *‘ēṭ*) in 11:24, “appointed time” (לְמוֹעֵד – *lammōw ‘ēḏ*) in 11:27 and 29, and “time of the end” (עַתָּתָה – *‘ēṭ qēṣ*) in 11:35 and 40. The exchange between Daniel and the angel in chapter 12 is also largely concerned with the expanse of time. The periods given by the angel are linked to the prophetic unfolding found in the second half of Daniel 11. This includes the phrase “time, times and half a time” (לְמוֹעֵד מְרֻבָּעִים וְחֵצִי – *lammōw ‘ēḏ mōw ‘āḏīm wāhēṣī*) which would correspond to a period of persecution by the little horn in Daniel 7:25, as well as periods of 1290 and 1335 days.

Time is so much a part of this second half of the prophecy that it appears to fill the void left by the direct chronological succession in the first half of the chapter. Instead of a succession of individual kings, there appears to be a succession of different periods of time. A view in line with this understanding would acknowledge first a “time” of Imperial Roman dominance, followed by a transition that leads to a “time, times and half a time” of Papal (little horn of Daniel

¹⁰⁹ Such a view is followed by William Shea, Mervyn Maxwell, Tim Roosenberg, Greg Bratcher, Roy Gane and Ivor Myers.

¹¹⁰ Tim Hayden, *The Vision by the Tigris: Daniel’s Greatest Prophecy Unsealed* (TEACH Services: Ringgold, GA, 2011)

7) dominance, which is followed by a transition to the “time of the end”, during which the final conflict plays out. Identifying these eras within the prophecy would be instrumental to a defensible interpretation.

The “time of the end” is a prophetic synchronism deserving of renewed attention. Since the time of Uriah Smith, this phrase has been associated with the close of the 1260 years, ending in 1798 to the point where few interpreters have questioned this assertion. The only other apocalyptic passage that deals with the “time of the end” outside of Daniel 11-12 is the earlier vision of Daniel 8. That chapter only contains a single time element – the 2300 evenings-mornings. In charting a course for the second half of chapter 11, attention should be given to exploring whether verse 40 begins in 1798 as following Uriah Smith’s traditional approach or 1844, following Daniel 8.¹¹¹

Finally, due consideration should be given to textual links between this prophecy and the wider corpus of Scripture. There would be two aspects to such an investigation. The first would look at passages from earlier or contemporary prophets that this prophecy might be alluding to or echoing. The following are a couple of possible connections that may have bearing on the interpretation:

- The description of the King of the North coming “like a whirlwind” echoes the theophanic descriptions of God (Job 38:1; Isa. 66:15; Jer. 4:13; Zec. 9:14). This may indicate an escalation of the self-aggrandisement of the King of the North to usurp the place of God.
- The reference to Edom, Moab and the Ammonites alludes to the similar list in the “gathering of the remnant” prophecy in Isaiah 11. This may give a greater context to these verses.

The second intertextual analysis would look at how later Biblical writers may have quoted, alluded to or echoed this prophecy. The synoptic apocalypse, 2 Thessalonians 2, and the book of Revelation would be main sources for this investigation. How later writings understood or were shaped by this passage will give further evidence to align this passage with historical fulfilment. A few connections that may illuminate the latter verses are:

- The “news from the east and the north” may connect to the drying up of the Euphrates under the sixth plague (Rev. 16:12). Typical Babylon was defeated by Medo-Persia led by Cyrus coming from the North-East. There is a high chance that this here refers to news of the coming of the antitypical Cyrus.
- The reference to “tent” in the final verse of chapter 11 may have an antithetical connection to the incarnation. In John 1:14, Jesus is described as dwelling (literally tabernacling - ἐσκήνωσεν) among humanity. The LXX in Daniel 11:45 uses the noun of this word describing the pitching of the King of the North’s “tent” (σκηνην). This may refer to a final personation of Christ by the power behind the King of the North – Satan.

By way of a tentative outline of the second half of the chapter based upon the principles and criteria proposed above, the following table may serve as a guide for future study and research.

Macro Structure		Micro Structure	
11:23-29	The “Time” of Imperial Rome	11:23-24	Expansion of Imperial Rome and the Pax Romana
		11:25-30	Civil War surrounding the rise of Constantine and the union of Church and State
11:31	Transition to Papal Rome	11:31	Removal of “the Daily” in 325 A.D to setting up of Abominating Desolation in 508 A.D.
11:32-39	1290/1260 period of Papal Dominion	11:32-35	1260 year persecution against Christians
		11:36-39	Character of Papacy

¹¹¹ Perhaps one of the greatest reasons for the perpetuity of 1798 as the date for the beginning of the time of the end is due to a superficial reading of some comments by Ellen White. In the Great Controversy, Ellen White uses the Biblical phrase “time of the end” in connection with 1798 and this seems to be taken by many as confirmation that the time of the end begins in that year. Looking at her exact words, however, yield a different picture. She states that “It is **this side of that time** [1798] that the message of Christ’s second coming is to be proclaimed,” and “**since** 1798 the book of Daniel has been unsealed”. *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan: The Conflict of the Ages in the Christian Dispensation* (Pacific Press: Mountain View, CA, 1911) 356. A closer look at her commentary on the Biblical phrase shows that she uses it in connection to the proclaiming of the first angel’s judgement hour message, the complete unsealing of Daniel that occurred during the midnight cry. In an article in *The Southern Watchman*, she connected the “time of the end” to the 2300 days (“Christ’s Closing Ministry in the Heavenly Sanctuary,” *The Southern Watchman*, January 17, 1905). In a manuscript written in 1896, she connected the “time of the end” to the proclamation of “time no longer” in Revelation 10 (“Testimony Concerning the Views of Prophecy Held by Brother John Bell, No. 2,” *Manuscript 32*, December 6, 1896). From her statements in this manuscript, the earliest date for the beginning of the “time of the end” would be 1843, at which time she states that the first angel’s message was given. However, if the time of the end required all three angels of Revelation 14 to be sounding, this would bring it to the close of the 2300 days in 1844.

11:40-45	Time of the end – 1844 to Second Coming	11:40	Rising secular-humanistic opposition to Papacy followed by Papacy subsuming these forces into itself
		11:41	Perseverance of the Remnant
		11:42-43	Total domination by Papacy over humanistic opposition
		11:44	Loud Cry and Time of Trouble
		11:45	Personation of Christ and Second Coming

Closing Statement

This paper began with a review of the chief hermeneutical divide within historicist SDA interpretation regarding the latter portion of Daniel 11. Both sides were seen to have equal apparent strengths to base their views on. What is necessary in such instances of expositional impasse is additional data or methodological principles to tip the scales one way or the other. But it also requires something else. The weight of evidence does not come from merely amassing more texts and correct principles of hermeneutics than those held by another position. Rather, the weight of evidence needs to account for *all* the evidence and *all* the principles raised.¹¹²

The foundation for this study was established first by exploring the pattern of repetition and enlargement that is found in apocalyptic prophecy (**Exhibit A**). From the examples shown, it is clear that later, obscure prophecies are made plain by earlier, clear interpretations. Thus a high priority should be given to the interconnectedness of outline prophecies before preparing an interpretation. The study then shone a spotlight upon the ultimate Protagonist of Daniel – the antitypical Cyrus, Son of God, Son of Man, Angel, Messiah Prince, Michael (**Exhibit B**). This literary view highlights the Christocentric focus that should be in mind when examining any section of Daniel.

A hypothesis was proposed that there is a Christocentric pivot point contained within Daniel 11 that allows for transition from type to antitype while remaining internally consistent. The survey of evidence established that the pattern of Danielic apocalyptic requires first seeking synchronisms with earlier, less detailed prophecies, before seeking to overlay a proposed historical fulfillment. Daniel 9, as a smaller slice of the prophecy in Daniel 8, stood out as a probationary period for ethnocentric, typical Israel (**Exhibit C**). The New Testament teaching reveals that after the 490-year period, Christocentric Israel, ever the true covenant Israel from the divine standpoint, emerged as distinct from its national counterpart (**Exhibit D**).

When Daniel 11 is overlaid with the earlier prophecies, it is clear that there are multiple points of agreement, especially between that chapter and the two-part prophecy in Daniel 8-9 (**Exhibit E**). Verse 22, where the Prince of the covenant is broken, clearly parallels the cutting off of the Messiah-Prince in Daniel 9 and allows us to locate the timing of the close of national Israel’s probation within Daniel 11. After this point, when the prophecy discusses the people of the Covenant, it must be understood as referring to the antitypical Israel, removed from boundaries and bloodlines (**Exhibit F**).

As the chapter now deals with a geographically transcendent Israel, the proximal directions of “north” and “south” cannot apply as you cannot be “north” or “south” of an indefinite, globally-dispersed entity. This indicates that the transition to transcendent antitype must also have occurred for the “king of the north” and the “king of the south” (**Exhibit G**). The powers that are now represented by these terms must be antitypes of the Seleucid empire which controlled Babylon and the Ptolemaic empire which controlled Egypt. This is confirmed by the many parallels between the “king of the north” in the second half of Daniel 11 with the “little horn” of Daniel 7 and 8.

Analysis of the history of Antiochus III as portrayed in the verses leading up to the transition to Rome shows that he stands as the type of the latter “king of the north” in the final portions of the Daniel 11 prophecy. Antiochus institutionalised the royal cult and conquered the long-disputed, Ptolemaic-controlled land of Israel. Rome enters the scene from the west as a false saviour figure and becomes the antichrist in its first moments by breaking the true

¹¹² “That view of the subject is certainly the true one which embraces all the testimony, and gives to each part its proper weight and bearing. All ground of controversy ceases to exist, when the just claims of all the contending parties are fairly allowed. Truth is not partial and sectarian. It embraces within itself all the facts that have any bearing upon the subject of inquiry in every case. We have the truth concerning any doctrine of the Bible when we are able to present a divine harmony of all the scripture testimony pertaining to that subject... Let us give all the facts recorded in the Bible concerning this subject their proper weight, and then accept the grand result as the truth of God.” John N. Andrews, *The Commandment to Restore and Rebuild Jerusalem* (SDA Publishing House: Battle Creek, MI, 1865) 7-8.

Prince of the covenant. This power then repeats the history of the typical king of the north but to a more expansive degree only to be defeated by tidings of the true Messiah from the “north-east”.

Old Testament prophecies that lift the veil on the Great Controversy, such as Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28, were seen to also involve transition from literal monarchs to the spiritual Satan thus setting a precedent for hermeneutic shifts in Daniel 11 (**Exhibit H**). Jesus’ apocalypse recorded in the synoptic gospels also demonstrated a type-antitype pivoting on the consequences of Daniel 9 in the destruction of the temple. The history leading up to this event would be carried out in a greater way leading up to the eschatological Parousia. Meanwhile, Revelation, the companion book to Daniel, confirms that a transition has occurred from typical Israel, Egypt and Babylon to their respective antitypes and provides clues for the identification of each. Paul’s “man of sin” also matches up with the description of the “king of the north” in Daniel 11:36.

In applying the principles of this study to outline a framework for interpreting the second half of the chapter (**Excursus**), the following criteria were proposed:

1. A Christo-centric, Covenant-centric and Israel-centric view of history when seeking to connect the prophecy to world events.
2. A focus on transcendent, antitypical Israel growing out of typical Israel after the close of national Jewish probation.
3. A corresponding pivot to transcendent, antitypical identifications for the “King of the North” and the “King of the South”.
4. Ongoing chronological progression should be expected. Extraordinary reversion would need to be strongly justified with literary and linguistic evidence.
5. Fast-forward transition is to be expected, but should be aligned with transitions in earlier prophetic outlines in Daniel. Extraordinary proposals should be strongly justified with literary and linguistic evidence.
6. A clear line of succession for the “King of the North” by Rome as a Republic and then an Empire as demonstrated by the dual “in his place shall arise” in Daniel 11:20-21.
7. Lacking an explicit successor for the “King of the South”, this power should be seen throughout the chapter as a power/powers standing opposed to Rome and into which conflict antitypical Israel is caught up.
8. Because the territory of both the “King of the North” and the “King of the South” was consolidated by Rome by the time the prophecy pivots to antitype, the first conflict between these powers (in verses 25-29) should be an internal, civil war conflict within Imperial Rome
9. A panorama of the history of Imperial and Papal Rome including the transitions between these two phases in line with earlier prophetic outlines.
10. A shift towards transitions between “time” phases.
11. Synchronisation between “time” elements in this chapter and those found in earlier chapters.
12. The identification of intertextual links with earlier and contemporary Hebrew prophets to give context to the symbols in the prophecy.
13. Confirmation through the New Testament commentary and Apocalyptic.

These principles were derived from the course of this study. They provide a predictive framework for testing the validity of the hermeneutic principles identified in this paper, as well as a course for future exposition. This modelling and the conclusions of this study are thereby opened to further verification or falsification.

The onus of proof was initially admitted to rest upon the side of those who would argue for a representative-spiritual “king of the north” and “king of the south” after verse 22. Having established this to a high standard, the obligation must now rest with any alternate proposal to bring additional evidence and principles that might be claimed to have been neglected by this investigation. It must also account for the hermeneutical considerations brought to bear in this paper to create an even bigger picture than this study which has fully embraced the intersection between Hermeneutics, Christology, Eschatology and Ecclesiology. These multiple lines of convergence confirm the hypothesis that there is a self-consistent reason for moving from a geographical fulfillment in the first half of the chapter to a global fulfillment beginning midway through Daniel 11. The type-antitype reading of Daniel 11 is neither arbitrary nor unprecedented, but shows clear signs of divine intentionality and congruity with the pattern of prophecy and how the Scriptures interpret themselves. The first advent of Jesus Christ becomes the event upon which history and prophecy hinges as it pivots from local to universal, from transient to transcendent, from type to antitype.