PMB 1395/19

DANIEL 7 – 12 IS FUEL FOR REBELLION

A Thesis
Presented to the Faculty
Of
Malua Theological College

In Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Bachelor of Divinity

By
Arthur John Wulf
2002

ABSTRACT:

This paper is not meant to challenge the existing scholarship of the Book of Daniel. But its aim is to shed new light on the existing understanding of the Book of Daniel by interpreting chapters 7-12, through the art of ideological interpretation. This method of interpretation proved useful in defining how texts function in their social, political, economic and religious environment. The investigation will be carried out on two separate levels. First is an external investigation, which focuses on drawing up the ideological world behind the production of Daniel 7-12, in particular the time of Antiochus Epiphanes IV, who ruled over Israel between 175 and 163 B.C.E. He imposed suffering and persecution on every aspect of Jewish society. His tyrannical behavior stirred up rebellion from the Jews, led by Judas who later won the name of Maccabee. Second is an internal analysis of the Book itself. Here literary modes of interpretation will be employed to unravel the ideology promoted within Daniel 7-12. Discovering the ideology endorse by chapters 7-12, will be used as a measure to determine its function and location within the Jewish society, whether it was used to aid the Maccabeans in their cause, or a rebellion of some other sort. However, with regards to its oppressive background, it is more likely that this literary unit played a major part in the uprising of the Jews to overthrow Antiochus IV.

<u>TABLE OF CONTENTS</u>

INTRODUCTION:

The visions of Joan of Arc, the Maid of Lorraine, had remarkable effects on France during the lowest ebb of the Valois affluence, when the Burgundians and the English reigned over northern France. Joan's visions of the saints inspired many and turned the tide of events in favor of Charles IV. She stirred up revolts against the union in the north and the extraordinary proceedings that followed reasserted religion and the kingship of Charles VII, whom his father Charles VI disinherited in 1420. Despite Joan's death at the stake in the hands of the English in 1431, the well-liked fervor she implemented led to the reunification of France in 1435. Since then, the unanimity of the country was never again in question up to this day.[1] The visions and dreams of Daniel in chapter 7-12 likewise, could also have yielded the same effects on its readers at its time.

This section of Daniel is labeled by most commentators of the Bible as apocalyptic in nature, because of the fact that it contains features pertaining to the apocalyptic caucus. According to Reddish, this body of writing is " crisis literature,"[2] fashioned to offer hope and encouragement for those under subjugation and persecution.

Social predicaments that yielded apocalypse differ from apocalypse to apocalypse. These predicaments included military, political, theological, and economical aspirations. This is also the case with Daniel. It is widely acclaimed as a product of military and political tyranny in Palestine under the rule of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

---

[1] Mitchell James, (ed), *History and Culture 1,* (London: Mitchell Beazley Encyclopedia Limited, 1976), p203.

[2] Reddish G. Mitchell, (ed), *Apocalyptic Literature: A Reader*, (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1998), p24.

Obviously with this claim in hand one would be easily tempted to declare that, the author of Daniel, is hopeful of a rebellion of the similar sort as that sparked by Joan of Arc. This was evident in the views of eighteenth century radical scholars like Anthony Collins, Corrodi, Michaelis, Bertholt, von Lengerke and others who saw Daniel as a second century B.C.E. pseudepigrapha intended to give the Jewish rebels confidence in their struggle against the dictatorship and oppression of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.[3]

On the other hand, contemporary critical study of Daniel tends to favour the opposite view. This trend can be seen in the works of J. J. Collins[4] and P. R. Davies,[5] who sees in Daniel's content evidence calling for a non-violent resistance. This included the message of Daniel 1-6, which held that liberation could be achieved through a transforming personality and conduct rather than war. Secondly the presence of the phrase 'little help' in Daniel 11:34, which is considered by many to be a pointing to the Maccabean resistance. Thirdly the perception of the wise that provided perceptions for the confused populace in times of turmoil, that is they are seen in the light of Isaiah's 'suffering servant' who tolerated persecutions and oppression.

This paper however will not engage in the debate over a non-violence or violence appeal within the Book of Daniel. But it will attempt to identify if Daniel 7-12 is really trying to promote rebellion or not and why. Rebellion is a common feature among the apocalypses, like that of 1 Enoch, designed to encourage the Maccabean in

---

[3] Childs S. Brevard, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), p 611.

[4] Collins J. J, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic*, Literature, 2nd Edition, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), pp110 -113

[5] Davies P. R, "The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings", in, *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspective*, P. R. Davies, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp251-271.

their struggle against Antiochus IV Epiphanes.[6] The sense of rebellion employed here includes any form of organized resistance, varying from violent to non-violent types.

Before attempting our task above, it is necessary to explore the world of apocalypses, in order to understand the nature of Daniel 7-12 and the apocalyptic group as a whole. This knowledge is vital in our investigation, especially when we are faced with the task of interpreting this literary genre. In this section, we will deal with the issues of definition, the roots or sources of apocalypses, the various categories of apocalypses and the writings included within the genre.

To achieve our task, an ideological interpretation of Daniel 7-12 will be carried out. This process will attempt to uncover the ideology or ideologies behind the production of Daniel 7-12, which may function to consolidate and encourage resistance. This type of interpretation is a twofold approach, consisting of socio-historical and literary components. The former is devoted to the uncovering of the ideological world from which Daniel 7-12 was created and the second is devoted to the unmasking of the ideological drive within the text. At the end, the two results will be matched to identify to which social group the text belongs, and what initiative(s) the text is trying to endorse. Application of the ideological approach in addition can either confirm or challenge our background understanding of the text.

---

[6] Smith-Christopher, "The Book of Daniel", NIB, vol VII, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), pp 6-7.

CHAPTER ONE: DEFINITIONS AND LITERATURE.

1. DEFINITIONS:

The first step in understanding the nature of apocalyptic literature is to familiarize oneself with the terminology of the discipline. The terms that was famous only in Old Testament, scholarship is now growing in popularity within the secular world. Mitchell G. Reddish claimed that the terms once peculiar to the apocalyptic literature has now been spoken and heard throughout modern society, from politicians to ecologists and from journalists to movie producers, usually used to refer to chaotic and tragic situations.[7] This is true if we consider Thomas Gillespie's article '*Studying Theology in Apocalyptic Times*' where he detected in the testimony of a colleague, who was near the Twin Towers in the wake of September 11, the usage of the term apocalyptic as an adjective to describe such catastrophe. He continued on accepting this usage of the term and formulating a definition of his own along this line by defining apocalyptic as cataclysmic or catastrophic with allusions to the end of the world type events.[8]

However defining apocalyptic is not as easy as it sounds due to the fact that the term was also being used as a collective noun. This is clear in P. D. Hanson's definition that, " apocalyptic though properly an adjective ... has come to designate the phenomenon of the disclosure of heavenly secrets in visionary form to a seer for the

---

[7] Reddish G. Mitchell, (ed), *Apocalyptic Literature: A Reader*, (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publisher, 1990), p19.

[8] Gillespie W. Thomas, 'Studying Theology in Apocalyptic Times', in, *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin*, Vol XXIII, No 1, (2002) : 1-10.

benefit of a religious community experiencing suffering or perceiving itself victimized by some form of deprivation."[9] This employment of the term has loose ends. It not only causes confusion in the usage of the term, but also there is no formal criterion to measure what accounts or experiences could be considered as apocalyptic. To solve this problem P.D. Hanson proposed a "triad of definitions."[10] These included apocalypse, apocalyptic eschatology and apocalypticism.

1.1 Apocalypse:

The noun apocalypse on the one hand simply means revelation but modern Biblical scholars have diverse usage for the term. They use it in a more technical manner to designate a literary genre characterized as a,

"revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."[11]

This definition reveals several important insights useful for this study. Reddish in his anthology, elaborates on this definition.[12] First is that apocalypse contains revelatory materials. Revelatory in the sense that its author claims to have received divine disclosure and revelation through a vision or a dream in which angelic beings relay to them the interpretation and meaning of what they saw. These revelations were

---

[9] Hanson P.D, *Introductory Overview*, in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, David. N. Freedman, and others, (eds), Vol I, (New York: Doubleday, 1992), p280.

[10] Hanson, *Introductory Overview*, (1992), p280.

[11] Collins J. J, 'The Jewish Apocalypses', in *Semeia*, Vol 14, (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) : 22

God given, revealing futuristic events concerning the latter days. The presence of an intermediary agent to provide the seer with interpretation suggests the fact that what has been revealed is impossible for humans to understand.

Secondly, the recipient of the revelation is usually a famous figure in history, for example Daniel, Abraham, Enoch, Job, Adam, Elijah and so forth. Their audience also attributed authorship of these revelatory materials, to these individuals in order to gain credence and acceptance while the real authors remain anonymous. J. H Charlesworth refers to the books that employed this art of pseudonymity as pseudepigrapha and all apocalypses falls under this classification.[13]

The last characteristic of apocalypse highlighted in Collins' definition above is concerned with two definitions of salvation. That is it can either be temporal or vertical. Temporal in the sense that salvation is beyond the history of mankind. It lies within the perimeters of the afterlife, where eschatological judgment and retribution is carried out. On the other hand, salvation can be spatial in the sense that it contains the supernatural phenomenon like angelic and demonic beings, otherworldly journeys and the concept of heaven and hell.

In addition to these elements, there are other minor characteristics with frequent appearances in some apocalypses. These included;

- Witnesses of both the just and the pessimists concerning human potential to alter world affairs.

[12] Reddish, *Apocalyptic Literature*, (1990), p21.
[13] Charlesworth. J.H, (ed), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments*, Vol 1, (New York: Doubleday, 1983), p3.

- Battle of good and evil for world dominion in the last days, usually a universal struggle.
- Assurance of divine intervention, to vindicate the faithful suffering persecutions in the hands of the oppressors.
- Hope in the resurrection of the dead; and
- A new Kingdom either earthly or heavenly where God's sovereignty will be wicked that will be banished.[14]

The above characteristics of apocalypse can be used as a measure or criteria to determine materials, which can be included within the apocalyptic corpus and thus make the apocalypse genre detectable.

In simple terms, therefore apocalypses are revelations from God through dreams and visions with special focus on the last things and the destiny of mankind. Its language is so symbolic that it needed agents to give logic interpretations to its recipient. It also gives attention on issues such as world history, messianic and eschatological beliefs.

1.2 Apocalyptic Eschatology:

An eschatological belief is a religious viewpoint that gives an account of the end of history. Where the old world is destroyed and succeeded by the emergence of a new world for the chosen. Hanson saw this trend to be a direct development of prophetic eschatology. He claims, " the rise of apocalyptic eschatology is neither sudden nor anomalous, but follows that pattern of an unbroken development from pre-exilic and

---

[14] Boadt Lawrence, *Reading the Old Testament; An Introduction*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), p514.

exilic prophecy."[15] This connection can be explained by the similarities between the two. First is the belief that the existing period of turmoil would end with divine judgment of the wicked and deliverance for the just, thus creating a new age of peace and tranquility.

However, this projected age happens on dissimilar stages within the prophetic and apocalyptic eschatology. Prophetic eschatology reveals a new era and salvation for Israel happening on this world. While apocalyptic eschatology refers to a transcendent reality beyond history with the annihilation of this world and salvation in another. The differences can be recognized, by examining the two passages below in parallel.

> a. *But at that time your people shall be delivered, everyone who is found written in the book. Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to everlasting contempt. Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky, and those who led many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever.* (Daniel 12: 1b-3)

> b. *For I am about to create new heaven and a new earth; the former things shall not be remembered or come to mind. But be glad and rejoice forever in what I am creating; for I am about to create Jerusalem as a joy, and its people as a delight.* (Isaiah 65:17-18)

---

[15] Hanson P.D, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp7-8.

The exercise reveals the trend mentioned above. Passage (a), presents an apocalyptic eschatology, one where judgment and retribution of an individual occurs in life after death without any reference to the end of history while the passage (b), presents a prophetic eschatology, where retribution for Israel is given on a communal basis and within this lifetime.

1.3 Apocalypticism

Apocalypticism on the other hand is the "worldview or symbolic universe, which is extrapolated from the apocalypses."[16] This worldview is common among the apocalypses, believing in judgment beyond death for both humans and supernatural beings and the impacts of the angelic and demonic beings upon mankind. This worldview therefore suggests the existence of a supernatural world interacting with this one. It is obvious here that there is domination within this worldview of the beliefs, motives and concepts promoted by apocalypses but the two terms are not the same. Apocalypticism seems to be broader in outlook.

Collins took his own understanding of apocalypticism further defining it as an "ideology of a movement that shares the conceptual structure of the apocalypses."[17] It is clear from Collins designation that apocalypticism has a dual meaning. It can be a set of ideas or assumptions, and also a designation for a movement or faction that sees reality through the eyes of apocalypses.

---

[16] Collins J.J, "Early Jewish Apocalypticism", in, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, D. N. Freedman & others, (eds) Vol 1, (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp282-288.
[17] Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, (1998), p13.

However, the attempt to find links between apocalypses and a single movement has been unproductive, therefore rejecting a single apocalyptic movement theory proposed by Walter Schmithals. He claimed a single apocalyptic movement flourished from the third century B.C.E until the New Testament era.[18] To further strengthen the opposing view was the claim that, apocalypses display differences in features, therefore they could be products of numerous movements sporadically occurred throughout history. There is also evidence of apocalypses that did not originate from a movement, for instance IV Ezra is more likely a work of an individual rather than a production of a movement. Likewise, there are movements such as the Qumran sect and early Christianity that are apocalyptic in their usage of the apocalyptic concepts but fail to produce apocalypses.[19] These concepts are what Collins above referred to as ideology. Therefore, the art of ideological interpretation could be employed appropriately to expand our knowledge of these concepts and their roles within the apocalyptic communities.

2. LIST OF APOCALYPSES: Canonical and Extracanonical.

A comprehensive list of Apocalypses is very hard to compose, due to the diversity of canonical and extracanonical materials that displays features of the genre outline above. But for our purpose, we can start by combining D.S. Russell[20] and J.H. Charlesworth's[21] collections of apocalyptic books.

[18] Schmithals Walter, *The Apocalyptic Movement: Introduction & Interpretation,* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1975), p13.

[19] Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination,* (1998), p13.

[20] Russell D.S, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic,* (London: Westminster Press, 1964), pp37-38.

[21] Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* (1983), p4.

Table I: List of Apocalyptic Books in Jewish Religion

The Book of Daniel	The Assumption of Moses
I Enoch & II Enoch	The Psalms of Solomon
The Apocalypse of Moses	Apocalypse of Adam
The Books of Jubilees	Apocalypse of Elijah
The Apocalypse of Abraham	II Esdras (or IV Ezra)
The Martyrdom of Isaiah	Greek Apocalypse of Ezra
Treaties of Shem	Vision of Ezra
The Sibylline Oracles, III, IV, V	Question of Ezra
The Testament of Abraham	Revelation of Ezra
The Testament of the XII Patriarchs	Apocalypse of Sedrach
II Baruch & III Baruch.	Apocalypse of Daniel.

Table I contains only one Old Testament canonical book that is the Book of Daniel. However, Lawrence Boadt[22] identified a few possibilities from the Old Testament canon that could fit the apocalypses description. This short list consists of Ezekiel 38-39, Isaiah 56-66, Isaiah 24-27 and Zechariah 9-14. But still the inclusion of these books into the apocalypses corpus has being the subject of debate. Therefore, their formal recognition as apocalypses is yet to be confirmed.

Furthermore, the above list can be sub-divided using Collin's duo-categories, namely other worldly journey and historical apocalypses. The former consist of

---

[22] Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament*, 1984, p513.

apocalypse that depicts heavenly journeys with special interest in cosmological speculation. This included The Book of Watchers, Astronomical Book, Similitudes in I Enoch; II Enoch; III Baruch; Testament of Abraham; Apocalypse of Zephaniah; and Testament of Levi in Testament of the XII Patriarchs. While the latter on the other hand contains dream visions and chronological reviews of history. Books confirmed under this heading included Daniel; Book of Dreams and Apocalypse of Weeks in I Enoch; Jubilees; IV Ezra and II Baruch.[23] It is clear from comparing Collins' list with Table I that the Apocalypse of Zephaniah is peculiar to Collins. This reveals the diverse nature of the genre, which again can be illustrated by the quest for its origin below.

3. ROOTS OF APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE:

The issue of origin for the apocalyptic literature is a complicated quest to be engaged in. It is still a dead end for scholars who wish to attempt this question. No one calculated with certainty the true origin of apocalyptic. However, a number of hypotheses have emerged within the scholarship of the subject over the years. Some of these views are pro-Jewish, claiming apocalyptic as a product of the Jewish religion. While on the other side of the debate there are anti-Jewish views opposing a sole Jewish origin for apocalyptic, rather it was an alien concept adopted by the Jewish religion.

3.1 Pro-Jewish Views.

Scholars of this school saw apocalyptic as something primarily Jewish. Included in this strand is the highly criticized view of Gerhard von Rad, who linked apocalyptic

---

[23] Collins J. John, *Daniel: with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature,* in *FOTL,* Vol XX. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Com, 1984) : 6

to the wisdom tradition of the sages.[24] Nevertheless, most scholars under the pro-Jewish banner recognized apocalyptic as a continuity of post-exilic prophecy. The forerunners of this study included H.H. Rowley, S.B. Frost, D.S. Russell and P.D. Hanson. They discovered in the apocalyptic literature prophetic overtones to establish their claim.[25] These can be summed up by the list in Table II.

Table II: Prophetic Overtones in Apocalyptic Literature

Notion of divine transcendence,	Distinctly literary style
Concept of angelology,	Cataclysm and judgment
Art of symbolism,	Day of the Lord
Cosmic imagery,	Destruction of the Gentiles
Employment of mythology,	Coming of the Golden Age
Reinterpretation of prophecy,	Messianic Savoir, and
Visionary form of inspiration	Resurrection from the Dead

For further clarification, scholars, supporting this perspective turned their attention to a body of writings embedded within the prophetic tradition, which illustrates close relation to the apocalyptic writings. In these materials, the concepts outlined in Table II are employed but not to the degree found within proper apocalypses such as Daniel. Hanson in his study of Isaiah 56-66 and Zechariah 9-14, found in these prophecies traits of apocalyptic eschatology.[26] He went further later on tracing a movement from the 6th to the 5th century B.C.E. by identifying other texts in the

---

[24] G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions,* Vol II trans by D.M.G. Stalker, (London: Harper & Row Pub, 1965). p302

prophetic tradition resembling apocalyptic features. Books mentioned here included Isaiah 24-27, Ezekiel 38-39, Joel 2:28-3:21and the Book of Malachi.[27]

Despite such accent on the prophetic institution as the manufacturer of apocalypses, supporters of this view were never far off from acknowledging the foreign influences in apocalyptic materials. This paved the way for the opposition to bring forth their case.

3.2 Anti-Jewish View.

This view is based on the perception that the development of Jewish apocalyptic cannot be understood utterly entrenched in the light of Israelite religion, because Judaism itself was not developed within a time capsule. It was open to the elements of foreign influences and existing developments within the Ancient Near East. In other words apocalyptic like other Biblical traditions is rooted within the traditions of the Ancient Near East. The leading carriers of this line of thought are J. J Collins, A. K. Grayson and P.R. Davies.[28] Collins traced and acknowledged a number of traditions from the Ancient Near East with similar components to that of Jewish apocalyptic tradition. These included the Babylonian, Persian and the Hellenistic traditions.

Despite the fact that there are, no known evidences of apocalyptic in Babylon, there are parallels found between the apocalyptic tradition and Babylon religions. These

[25] Morris L, *Apocalyptic*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Com, 1972), pp26-30.

[26] Hanson P.D, *The Dawn of the Apocalyptic*, (1975), p27.

[27] Hanson P. D, *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, in *Interpreting Biblical Text*, L.R. Bailey & V.P. Furnish, (eds), (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987), pp35-38.

[28] Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, (1984); Grayson A.K, "Akkaidian Apocalyptic Literature", in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, David N. Freedman & others, (eds), Vol 1, (New York: Doubleday, 1992) p282; Davies P. R, "The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings", (1989), pp251 - 271.

included the codes and myths, which are Babylonian in origin employed by the apocalyptists.[29] For instance, in Daniel's dream visions, the symbolism used, like the figure of the winged lion chapter 7, can be traced to the decorative art of the Babylonians.

Other resemblances can be found in the Chaldeans, mantic wisdom. That is, both the apocalyptists and the Chaldean sages were involved in the elucidation of unexplained signs and symbols. They also tend to be determinists in their approaches, presenting causes for all the occurrences in history. Comparing the apocalyptic figures of Daniel and Enoch with Enmeduranki illustrated another affinity. Enmeduranki is a Babylonian diviner whose writings showed special interest in the cosmological world. Likewise, Daniel and Enoch resembled their counterpart. Daniel is portrayed as a sage and interpreter of dreams, while Enoch has cosmic journeys.[30]

Apart from these features, the Babylonian religion also posited two literary genres with matching characteristics to the Jewish apocalyptic literature.[31] One is the Dream Vision genre, evidenced in the presentation of the Assyrian 'Vision of the Netherworld', and the death dream of Enkidu. Obviously, this style of writing found matches in the Book of Daniel and Book of Dreams in the Enoch collection. However, this view cannot go that far, due to the fact that there is little evidence of this kind of material found in Babylon. Besides, the employment of dream visions can be traced back to the institution of pre-exilic temple prophets like those the prophet Jeremiah

---

[29] Collins J.J, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, (1984), pp26-28.

[30] Collins J.J, "Early Jewish Apocalypticism", in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, D. N. Freedman & others, (eds), Vol I, (New York: Doubleday, 1992) pp 282-288.

[31] Collins J.J, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, (1984), p28.

opposed in Jeremiah 23:25 and 29:8. Visions on the other hand were widely used as well by pre-exilic prophets as in the visions of Ezekiel 1and 40.

In addition, the other genre with comparable elements to the apocalyptic literature is the Akkadian prophecies. These prophecies featured *ex eventu* prophecies and all fell under the category of pseudepigrapha with an eschatological nature. The Akkadian authors predicted past events and concluded with the prediction of something that actually happened in the time of writing. These literary techniques are also evidenced in the apocalypses. For example, Daniel 10-12 predicted the development of events in the Ancient Near East down to the fall of Antiochus IV.

A.K. Grayson, despite the inconclusiveness of the evidences at hand confidently attributed the birth of apocalyptic to the Akkadian prophecies. However, in terms of eschatology the Akkadian matches that of the Jewish prophets instead of the apocalypses that culminates with a transcendent reality.[32]

In all, the Babylonian links with apocalyptic still remain questionable because of the absence of proper apocalypses in the Babylonian traditions. But that does not deny the fact that similarities can be found between apocalyptic writings and other traditions in Babylon as mentioned above.

Another possibility of foreign influence can be traced to the Persians' Zoroastrian religion that had a fully developed apocalyptic tradition. Persian apocalyptic elements found within the Jewish apocalyptic tradition, included; a belief in life after death, dualism, heavenly journeys, division of history, angelology, four beasts schema and worldview. Nevertheless, despite these perfect matches this view is

---

[32] Grayson, "Akkaidian Apocalyptic Literature", (1992), p282

problematic because of the fact that this Persian tradition cannot be dated with certainty. Most Persian apocalyptic found were interpretations of traditions rather than originals, therefore their exact dates cannot be determined. So, the theory can also work in reverse order. In this way, the Persian apocalyptic is a product of the Jewish apocalyptic instead. However, this indecision cannot reject the fact that there was information shared between the two.

It is also very wrong to deny any Hellenistic influence on the apocalyptic material, due to the understanding that there were no hindrances on the already existing traditions and religions when the Greeks came into power. Many traditions were tolerated; even the Persian-Babylonian traditions above came to fruition at the time. For instance, Zoroastrianism of the Persian Empire, with its underlying concepts and doctrines above never faded under the Hellenists, thus filtering into the apocalyptic writings, solidifying its influence which started from the time of Jewish-Persian contacts.[33]

If this was the case, then it is fair to claim that, the Egyptian culture should not be excluded as an influencing factor in Jewish apocalyptic. There are evidences that the Egyptian wisdom tradition found its way into the wisdom tradition of the Jews, so the same process could also have happened in the apocalyptic materials. In support of this view is P.R. Davies, who found in the Old Testament, a second type of wisdom, different from that of the Hebrew wisdom tradition. This strand originated from the Egyptian and the Babylonian wise men and he identifies Daniel, Joseph and Enoch with

---

[33] Russell D.S, *Between the Testament*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1960), pp20-22.

these groups, thus suggesting strong linkages between this tradition and Jewish apocalyptic tradition.[34]

Furthermore, Collins identified two clusters of materials to highlight Hellenistic influences on Jewish apocalyptic. One is otherworldly journeys and the other is eschatological prophecy. The first phenomenon flourished in Hellenistic writings as in Homer's Odyssey, Plato's Myth of Er and Virgil's Aeneid. The second can be traced to the writings of Alexandra of Lycophron presented in the manners of four kingdom schemer and *ex eventu* prophecy.[35] However this should not mean that Jewish apocalyptic is a plagiarism of Hellenism denying the Jewish inventiveness. It suggest however that the Jews were writing using the conventions of writing at the time.

Regarding the findings highlighted above, it is clear that Jewish apocalyptic is not the product of a single medium, but a blend of multiple traditions interacting with its social context, (see Introduction). It is one of the many strands of apocalyptic material that existed at the time as opposed to the Persian and the Hellenistic apocalyptic corpuses. In this sense, Jewish apocalyptic is totally Jewish, for the Jews. That is, Jewish apocalyptic contains an ideology and message from within the Jewish population for the Jews. This claim leads us to the issue of authorship, audience and ideology that will be investigated and illustrated in our study of Daniel 7-12 in the chapters to come.

[34] Davies P.R, "The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings", (1989), p260
[35] Collins J.J, *The Apocalyptic Imagination,*, (1984), p35.

CHAPTER TWO: IDEOLOGY AND IDEOLOGICAL CRITICISM:

Defining and understanding the term ideology is the most appropriate step that has to be taken by anyone who is engaged in interpreting texts, through the art of ideological criticism. Notable scholars such as Gale Yee[36] and David Clines[37] took this path in their studies as well. Hence, at this stage, we will also approach this identifiable path.

1. DEFINITIONS AND ORIGIN:

The genesis of the term ideology goes back to the time of the French Revolution in the 18th century. Its originator was a French philosopher by the name of Antoine Destutt de Tracy. He proposed the term to signify the "science of ideas," or the study of ideas. Here, de Tracy saw the importance of the logical search for the birth of ideas, in terms of everyday human needs and wants. This new science uncovers and counters false ideas, which deceive people and hinder social and scientific progression.[38]

This filtering of ideas according to Hans Barth, guarantees a just political and economic system, because it examines the source and the principles governing ideas. This process therefore provides a basis and a framework for the political, ethical,

---

[36] Yee A. Gale, "Ideological Criticism", in, Judges and Methods: New Approaches in Biblical Studies, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), pp 146-169.

[37] Clines D, *Interested Parties: The Ideology of Writers and Readers of the Hebrew Bible*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

[38] Geyer A, *Ideology in America: Challenges to Faith*, (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1997), p12.

economic and educational sciences. In other words, knowledge of the birth of ideas will benefit society as a whole.[39]

However, this advantage was not always good news for the dictators and politicians of the time. They saw the emerging science as a threat and barrier to their political establishments. For example in the beginning of the 19th century, Napoleon Bonaparte showed hostility to the new emerging science because of the negative consequences it creates for his political expansions. Due to these circumstances, he opted for a religion based society and dispelled the ideologues[40] from France. His religion founded society was the opposite of that proposed by the ideologues who wanted a society based on the spirit of tolerance and thus viewed the church to be a threat to social stability and peace.[41]

This view on religion was also uncovered during the Marxian and the Engelian eras. They saw the church as an ideology that manufactures "false consciousness."[42] Their perceptions redefined the term. It no longer represents the science of ideas but now represents anything that makes someone unconscious of reality. This distorting process is clearer in Gale Yee's interpretation of the Marxist theory, as an explanation on how ideology function to explain "any unequal distribution of wealth, prestige and control over the means of production- land, natural resources, factories and so forth."[43]

---

[39] Barth H, *Truth and Ideology*, Translated by F. Lilge, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), p3.
[40] Ideologue, designates those engaged in the study of ideology, active in public speaking.
[41] Barth, *Truth and Ideology*, (1976), p10.
[42] Hinnells R. J, (ed), "Ideology", *The Penguin Dictionary of Religions*, 2nd Edition, (London: Penguin Books, 1995), pp 230-231.
[43] Yee, "Ideological Criticism", (1995), p148.

In this case, the Marxist theory highlights the pejorative function of ideology in society. It sees ideology as a manipulative tool employed by the upper class to justify their status in society as normal and therefore imposing a false realization upon the peasant population. This process prevents the peasants from challenging their position. In other words, it is the way in which the privileged of society avow their interests.

Following the Marx connotation of ideology was Vladimir Lenin, except he acknowledges both the pejorative and the non-pejorative usage of ideologies. This is evidenced in his classification of ideologies into bourgeois and socialist ideologies.[44]

This classification adds a new dimension to the understanding of ideology in the sense that a socialist ideology will function against the upper class by breaking down and revealing what the upper class citizens were trying to impose on civilization.

This non-pejorative understanding of the function of ideology was made clearer in Mannheim's notion of utopia. He saw utopia as a vision of an alternative to the existing political and social order. This alternative is offered with the purpose of encouraging political and social transformation.[45]

This observation highlights the fact that ideology can be both a pejorative and a non-pejorative concept depending on its employers and their intentions. It also highlights the fact that ideology can be anything that produces "false consciousness"[46] or distort the image of reality. This aligns with the contemporary understanding of ideology provided by Gale Yee as "a complex system of values, ideas, pictures, images

---

[44] Geyer, *Ideology in America*, (1997), p13.
[45] McLellan D, *Ideology*, (Minneapolis: University of Minesota Press, 1986), p29, and, Geyer, Ideology in America, (1997), p14.
[46] Clines, *Interested Parties*, (1995), p13.

and perceptions, ideology motivates men and women to 'see' their place in the social order as natural, inevitable and necessary."[47]

Alan Geyer agrees with Yee's definition suggesting ideology to be "a set of beliefs and symbols that serve to interpret social reality and motivate political actions … it is both inevitable and necessary in any society."[48] Gayer's definition attaches the term to the political realm and sees the importance of ideology in the operation of every society. Likewise, David Clines sees the location of ideologies in society to be in the cream of the crop, use by the elite to influence every faction of society.[49]

From these views, it is obvious that ideology can either be physical (e.g., pictures, symbols, images, etcetera) or metaphysical (e.g., beliefs, ideas, values, assumptions, etcetera). Examples of a physical ideology can include the statues of Stalin, corpse of Lenin, and the Nazi salute, to mention a few. On the other hand, metaphysical ideology includes beliefs in the supernatural, language and statements, ideas and so forth.

However, Mannheim's view of utopia above highlights ideology functioning in reverse, that is, to reveal another option of reality as oppose to the existing one. Utopia therefore, functions to reverse and unwarrant the existing ideology or ideologies. In this sense if ideology functions to distort reality, then utopia on the other hand can either be another ideology or the true image of reality to unravel what the existing ideology has established.

---

[47] Yee, "Ideological Criticism", (1995), p148.
[48] Geyer, *Ideology in America*, (1997), p9.
[49] Clines, *Interested Parties*, (1995), p50.

Moreover, for the purpose of our study and a fuller understanding on how influential ideology is on society, we still need to highlight the functions of ideology.

2. FUNCTIONS OF IDEOLOGY:

The above definitions all included functional clauses that depict the usage of the concept in different contexts. This will be looked at in detail to broaden our understanding of ideology.

2.1 Political Correctness;

Ideology can have sound impacts in the political arena. It can be used to encourage political actions and in an extremist standpoint, it can operate to transform governments. Geyer's definition of ideology above, agrees with this function. In his study, he claimed that ideological renewal could alter the mind on matters in politics. Such can be evidenced in the United States especially during election years, where campaigners employ different ideologies to opt for changes in government.[50] In this sense, campaign slogans can be classified as ideologies. Full extent of this view is represented in Mannheim's concept of utopia, where an apparition of an alternative social order and political system is presented to encourage changes.

---

[50] Geyer, *Ideology in America*, (1997), pp 1-4.

2.2. Motivational Capability;

Ideology as we have seen in Cline's definition above, has the capability of moving and driving groups of people to take certain directions. In this sense, ideology can be seen as a catalyst for actions, that is, it motivates people to carry out certain actions in life. Such can be seen during the Nazi era, where Hitler's ethnic cleansing phenomenon gained substantial followers. President Bush's fight on terror also illustrates this function of ideology, in the sense that he was never short of support from the American public and the world during his crusade. The first of these examples is a perfect example of ideology used in a pejorative manner, while the second can be identified as a non-pejorative use of ideology.

2.3. Justification and Preservation Agent;

The Marxist definition above highlights this function of ideology. That is, ideology preserves the interest of a group by justifying their indefensible behavior. In Marx's terms, the middle class employed ideology to produce deception and false consciousness among the people, in order to justify and accept their socio-economic status. Aichele et al. agree with this by stating that ideology "challenges readers to accept political responsibility for themselves and for the world in which they live in."[51]

---

[51] Aichele et al, *The Post Modern Bible*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p275.

But the question is; how does ideology find its way into Biblical criticism? This is due to the presumption that texts are "representation and reproduction of ideology."[52] Consequently, in every text, there is an ideology to be promoted. Clines agreed with this view and went further equating ideology with theology.[53] In this sense, the Bible therefore is full of ideologies, function in both a pejorative and a non-pejorative manner in the Bible Land.

3. IDEOLOGICAL CRITICISM:

An ideological critic, in applying this approach, must have several presuppositions in mind. Firstly, the text is a product of an ideological context.[54] That is, behind every text is a world full of ideologies. This reflects the fact that there is always ideology, anywhere at any time. Secondly, the text reproduces an ideology with reason of its own.[55] In other words, the text reflects the ideological structure it belongs to. In addition, Randolph Tate proposed a third assumption. He claimed authors could only express the ideological contexts of their own time. It is impossible for one, to adopt a future ideological framework and it is out of date to express one's self on past ideologies.[56]

---

[52] Aichele et al, *Post Modern Bible*, (1995), p275.
[53] Clines, *Interested Parties*, (1995), p13.
[54] Yee, "Ideological Criticism", (1995), p149.
[55] Yee, "Ideological Criticism", (1995), p149.
[56] Tate. Randolph, *Biblical Interpretation: An Integrated Approach*, Rev. ed, (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publisher, 1997), p35.

The ideological approach therefore investigates three features of a text,

- Ideological context of the text;
- Reproduced ideology with in the text; and
- Reader's ideology.[57]

3. 1. Readers Ideology.

Uncovering the readers' ideologies involves historical research in underlining the manipulative ideologies surfaced during the text's record of reception, and responses of its readers. Aichele gives a clearer picture of this level of ideological criticism by using the example of liberation hermeneutics. That is, liberation theologians tend to read the Bible to affirm their political intention and position.[58] Evidently, liberation theologians use the Bible to entertain their ideology or ideologies, thus forcing them to fall into the trap of eisegesis.

Nevertheless, this study will follow Yee's twofold method of investigation, that consisted of an *'extrinsic'* and an *'intrinsic'* analysis.[59] Application of the two will expose the writer or editor's ideology, and also the ideological thrust of its context. Recognizing these two elements could point us directly to the intended audience, and their expected responses to the ideology presented within the text, thus providing an answer to our thesis statement as stated in the introduction.

---

[57] Soullen .R & Soullen .K, *Handbook of Biblical Criticism*, 3rd Rev.ed, (London: John Knox Press, 2001), pp 84-85.
[58] Aichele et al, *Post Modern Bible*, (1995), p281.

3.2. Ideological Contexts: An Extrinsic Investigation.

An extrinsic investigation according to Yee combines the social sciences and historical criticisms in order to gain knowledge of specific social classes, their social structure and their relations to other sects in society.[60] Along this line of thinking, Soulen and Soulen considered this socio-historical examination as the reconstruction of the social, economic and political environments of Biblical period. The aim of all these is to determine the ideological world of the text.[61]

To fulfill this task, this study of Daniel 7-12 will first enquire about issues of authorship/editor and date of composition. This data gives us the precise location within the social order from which Daniel 7-12 was produced. Afterwards, the social, political, economic and religious background of Daniel will be investigated. Data from here will aid us in drawing up the existing ideologies that made up the ideological context of Daniel 7-12.

3.3. Reproduced Ideologies within the Text: An Intrinsic Investigation.

The intrinsic analysis on the other hand, is an internal investigation of the text, aiming at identifying the ideology or ideologies promoted by the text and their relations to the ideologies of its time. That is, to find out if the text is opposing or supporting the prevailing ideology of its context, or promoting a whole different ideology of its own. The underlying assumption here is that, texts are both the "representation and

---

[59] Yee, "Ideological Criticism", (1995), p151.
[60] Yee, "Ideological Criticism", (1995), p151.
[61] Soulen and Soulen, *Handbook of Biblical Criticism*, (2001), pp 84-84.

reproduction of ideology."[62] That is, texts either represent the existing ideology, or produce a whole new ideology of their own opposing or supporting the existing ideology.

In this quest, different literary approaches of interpretation, plus special features of historical criticism, can be used to verify how the text's presents the conflicting ideologies of its time, and its ideological stance. The different modes of literary criticisms that are valid for this assignment include, rhetorical criticism, structural criticism, narrative criticism, grammatical criticism and deconstruction.

However, not all will be employed in this study, but selected literary methods will be integrated to retrieve the ideology and the ideological stance of Daniel 7-12. This includes,

3.3.1. Rhetorical Criticism.

This is a denotation of a reading strategy to the Bible, designed to uncover the writer's objective and meaning by identifying the compositional content, structure and style of a text. Critics using this approach should have an eye for parallelism, chiasmus, inclusio, editorial notes, repetitions, images and so forth. These elements were used in tailoring the literary unit into a whole and can function as tools of persuasion, encouraging the audience to act according to the text's interests.[63] This type of analysis therefore, will attempt to identify the persuasive elements within Daniel 7-12 that

---

[62] Aichele et al, *Post Modern Bible*, (1995), p275.
[63] Hayes H.J. and Holladay R.C, *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook*, 2nd Ed, (London: SCM Press, 1983), p74.

prompted its audience to action. This task would undeniably aid the interpreter in seeing the ideological standpoint within the text itself.

3.3.2. Structural Criticism.

With the assumption that a text contains "surface structures and deep structures,"[64] structural critics seek to draw out the various ways meaning is structured into a text. Surface structures are those structural elements that are detected effortlessly by the reader, and can be spotted using other methods of literary investigation. This includes metric patterns, parallelism, diatribe, anaphora and so forth. On the other hand, deep structures refer to the complex grammatical and linguistic structures in a text, governed by underlining laws like, binary opposition, chiasmus and so forth.

3.3.3. Textual Criticism.

This approach denotes the quest for the original wording and the history of transmission of a text over the ages.[65] It is useful when the exegete encounters variant readings of a same passage. If working with the Hebrew Bible, these variants are usually identified by footnotes that are elaborated fully underneath the passage in the textual apparatus. This will be helpful for this study, by identifying alternative meanings for the passages in question. These alternative meanings can be useful to recognize and determine the ideological stance of Daniel 7-12, in relation to the ideologies that will be discovered by the external investigation.

---

[64] Hayes and Holladay, *Biblical Exegesis*, (1983), p111.

3.3.4. Grammatical Criticism.

This approach attempts to answer the issues related to the language of a text. This study focuses on individual words or single phrases and their syntax. This critical approach aids us in our study of Daniel 7-12 through the identification and defining of terms and expressions in the text, which may lead us to depict its ideology.

3.3.5 Narrative Criticism.

The employers of this method of investigation stressed special interests in the way stories are being told. This interpretive tool highlights and reasons with narrative elements such as plot, characterization, the implied author or narrator and so forth. Understanding these features will be supportive for the ideological interpreter by enlightening the "ironic comments or dogmatic statements,"[66] and thus the ideology of the text.

3.3.6. Absences and Gaps.

Absences and gaps will be useful to the ideological critic as well. Yee emphasized how vital absences and gaps are to the ideological critic, by affirming, "in the text's gaps and absences, the presence of ideology is most tangibly perceived."[67] This is due to the fact that the author may not contradict his or her motives and views by

---

[65] Hayes and Holladay, *Biblical Exegesis*, (1983), p32.
[66] Yee, 'Ideological Criticism', (1995), p152.
[67] Yee, 'Ideological Criticism', (1995), p151.

including opposing perspectives. Therefore, the silence represents the opposition whom the ideology of the text is countering. In this sense, absences and gaps consequently identify the ideological stance of the text.

Nonetheless, the result of the extrinsic and the intrinsic investigations will be matched in the conclusion of this paper, to substantiate and confirm the ideology or ideologies Daniel 7-12 was trying to endorse into society. Under this matching exercise, the author, audience and date of the text will again be confirmed and validated.

CHAPTER THREE: AN EXTRINSIC INVESTIGATION: SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

The initial step for this analysis is first to determine the date and authorship of the book of Daniel.

1. GENERAL BACKGROUND: Date/Authorship.

The Historical-Critical study of the Book of Daniel has been a sturdy battle for the scholars who engaged in it over the years. This is apparent if we outline some of the views that have been proposed considering the date and authorship of the Book itself.

The traditional view regarding the time and authorship of Daniel finds no difficulty in terms of evidences. The Book of Daniel itself reveals its originator to be Daniel: an exile Jew in the courts of the Babylonian king. However, this view fell in the hands of critical scholars. And therefore became heavily criticized and later on being discredited. This was the outcome of lapses within the Book itself. Redditt[68] sums up these inconsistencies as follows,

1. The bilingual nature of Daniel: Hebrew section (1:1- 2:4a and 8:1-12:13) framing the Aramaic section (2:4b-7: 28),

2. The mixture of narrative types (court narratives chapter 1-6 and vision narratives 7-12),

3. Inconsistencies in the historicity of the exile,

---

[68] Redditt P.L, "Daniel 11 and the Sociohistorical Setting of the Book of Daniel", in, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol 60 No 3, (Washington: Biblical Association of America, July 1998) : pp463-474.

4.   A change in narrator from 3rd person in chapter 1-6 to the 1st person in

chapter 7-12.

These factors poses a whole new set of questions concerning the date and authorship of Daniel; Is the Book of Daniel the product of one hand? (consider factors 1,2, and 3). Was Daniel really written during the Babylonian exile? (consider factor 3).

In addressing these issues, critical scholars put forward numerous proposals. The first notable attempt was from a 3rd century non-Christian scholar named Porphyry. He attributed Daniel to a 2nd century B.C.E. Judean composer in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. This view was welcomed and entertained by the critics of today, shifting the focus of the pursuit for the date and authorship of Daniel from the nobleman in the Babylonian exile of chapter 1 to the *maskilim* during Antiochus Epiphanes' reign of chapter 11 and 12. Determining who the *maskilim* were seems to be the appropriate step in discovering the exact date and authorship of the Book of Daniel. Attempting this task yielded a number of theses, which are apparent in the studies by Davies[69] and Redditt[70]. They included,

1.   The *hasideans*: they were the pious, passive Jews mentioned in 1Maccabees 2:29-42, who later on joined the Maccabean resistance against Antiochus Epiphanes.

2.   A group described in 1Maccabees 2:29-38 as those, "seeking righteousness and justice".

3.   Scribes related to Jesus ben Sira of the Book of Sirach.

---

[69] Davies P. R, *Daniel*, in Old Testament Guides, (England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1985) pp 121-125

4.   An unknown group: identified as the wise in Daniel 12: 3,10.

Accordingly, this unknown group is the *maskilim*, whom Collins asserted to be mismatched to the first three nominees above. Nevertheless, little can be known of this group outside the Book of Daniel. Collins himself reconstructed a portrayal of the group from internal evidences as wise teachers unrelated to the Jerusalem establishment, responsible for instructing the masses during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes.[71] Davies shed new light to this issue; he identifies the *maskilim* as scribes in the vicinity of Jerusalem with close relation to the priest and the cult.[72]This therefore suggests the *maskilim* to be within close range to the activities of Antiochus, feeling the oppression themselves.

In the midst of this fact, our quest for the date of Daniel is now narrower and more focus on the time of Antiochus Epiphanes' from 175 to 164 B.C.E. Nevertheless, the scholarship of the Book of Daniel dated it in 165 B.C.E: a year before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Gottward agrees with this claim on the basis that the historicity of Daniel was accurate down to the final events of Antiochus Epiphanes' life.[73] Besides, since the date and authorship of Daniel seems to depend on internal evidences for verification it is therefore fair to leave this issue at this moment until the internal analysis in the next chapter.

[70] Redditt, Daniel 11, (1998), pp 465-467.
[71] Collins J. J, "Daniel and His Social World", in, *Interpretation*: (Virgina: Union Theological Seminary, April 1985), pp 131-143.
[72] Davies, "*The* Social World of Apocalyptic Writings", (1989), p261.
[73] Gottward N. K, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), p590.

2. SECOND CENTURY PALESTINE UNDER ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES:

2.1 Political Influence:

The emergence of Antiochus III and the Seleucids in 198 B.C.E saw the crafting of a new political entity in Judea. Simon II was the new high priest appointed from the conservative faction of the Jews and the Jewish senate remained as the governing body, upholding strict observances of the Torah as the Law of the land.[74]

Antiochus III was succeed by his eldest son Seleucus IV Philopater who ruled for a short period of time from 187 – 175 B.C.E. His assassination gave way to his younger brother Antiochus IV to annex the throne ahead of Demetris his son. Antiochus IV as the Seleucid king inherited a Judea that was dividing up into political factions where he played a very influential role within the political struggle of the Jewish aristocratic families. Most notable was the competition between the Tobiads and the Oniads for political supremacy, with the Tobiads who were pro-Seleucid having the upper hand over their conservative counterparts.

Antiochus IV Epiphanes' influence can be illustrated in the continuing practice of his predecessors of appointing the high priest. For him the office of high priest was always granted to the highest bidder. First, it was given to Jason ahead of Onias, then Menelaus later on outbid Jason for the post. His choice of Menelaus was never a wise selection; it stirred hostility from the conservative Jews because Menelaus was not from the priestly lineage of Zadok.[75]

[74] Armstrong Karen, *A History of Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths*, (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1997), pp 111-113.
[75] Bruce F. F, *Israel and the Nations: The History of Israel from the Exodus to the Fall of the Second Temple*, revised by David F. Payne, (Garden Crove: Inter Varsity Press, 1997), pp 134-135.

This hostility is evidenced when Jason at the news that Antiochus was dead in his campaign against the Egyptian, imprisoned Menelaus and annexed the office for himself. Unfortunately, such news was fictitious and it resulted in Antiochus IV persecutions that will be discussed below. However, Antiochus's practice of appointing the high priest was for the Jews both interferences to a divine appointment and direct influence on its political front.

2.2 Religious Influence.

Antiochus IV Epiphanes' autocracy over Jerusalem was the first known religious persecution in the history of the Jews. He not only had direct influence on the appointment of the high priest but he also attempted to wipe out the Jewish Yahwistic religion and reinstate it with the cult of the Hellenists. This was at its peak when he learned that Jason over ruled his appointee and seized the office of high priest. For Antiochus such action was rebellion towards his reign.

The consequences of the Jews' actions were overwhelming. Antiochus IV attacked Jerusalem, causing Jason to flee from the city and reinstated Menelaus to the position of high priest. Menelaus, who was pro Seleucid and sworn allegiance to Antiochus, aided the king in his quest to wipe out the Jewish religion and purify Jerusalem of rebellious attitude.

In doing so the factors that make Judaism unique were under scrutiny. Jewish sacrifices to their God was banned and they were forced to offer sacrifices to

pagan gods, on altars erected around Judah. Observance of the Torah was forbidden so as the practice of circumcisions.[76]

Enforcing these decrees led to persecutions of the disobedient Jews by Royal inspectors. These persecutions were vividly described by the author of I Maccabees as, " And the king...directed them to follow custom strange to the land, to forbid burnt offerings and sacrifices and drink offerings in the sanctuary, to profane Sabbaths and feasts, to defile the sanctuary and priest, to build alters and sacred precincts and shrines for idols, to sacrifice swine and unclean animals, and to leave their sons uncircumcised."[77]   The defilement of the Temple mentioned above was the transformation of the Jerusalem temple into a house devoted to Olympian Zeus. That is the temple now shelters an alter for offerings to Olympian Zeus with an image of the god depicting the face of Antiochus IV himself.

This enforcement extensively spread throughout the Seleucid dynasty. Antiochene cities encouraged Jews dispersed throughout to adopt the imposed cult. Those who remain loyal to the God of their fathers face the death penalty.

2.3 Economic Influence.

The arrival of the Seleucids and Antiochus III was economical unproblematic for the Jews. They were excused from taxation for three years; imposts were cut down to one third to allow prosperous economic redevelopment within the city.

---

[76] Gottward, *The Hebrew Bible*, (1985), p445.
[77] 1 Maccabees, 2:44-48.

However, this was not always the case, Antiochus IV Epiphanes' enthusiasm to expand his Empire, put him in a position where he desperately needed money. So to increase his revenues, Antiochus resolved to an increase in taxation. Martin Hengel commenting on Hellenistic influence on trade and commerce blamed the increase in taxation as the major factor in the economic recession of the second century throughout eastern Mediterranean including Palestine.[78]

Unfortunately, the economic issue poses serious research problems due to the lack of recorded records and writings to present evidence for such case. However, the letter of Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV recorded in I Maccabees[79] gives us some useful insights into this issue. In his letter, he promised the exemption from paying tributes and the variety of taxes they were obligated to pay to the Seleucids. These taxes included salt taxes, crown levies, a third of their grain and fifty percent of their crop yielding. These taxes obviously were imposed on the Jews by the former kings after Antiochus III including Antiochus IV who I Maccabees testified to his brutal tax collecting campaigns[80]. The secular author of II Maccabees[81] presented the best record of this boost in taxation to 360 talents for the Jews during Antiochus' reign. Jason proposed this increased in his bid for the office of high priest and Antiochus who is in desperation for revenues to pay his depths, welcomes the idea.

---

[78] Hengel Martin, *Judaism and Hellenism, Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, translated by John Bowden, vol 2, (London: SCM Press Ltd, Great Britain, 1974), pp32-37.

[79] I Maccabees, 10:26-30.

[80] I Maccabees, 1:29ff.

[81] II Maccabees, 4:719.

The auctioning of the high of priest title was a dangerous process, economic wise. It is clear from Jason's strategies that to outbid him, one needs to propose a better deal to the king. Hengel agrees with this claiming that the above taxes of 360 probably escalated to 720 or double during Menelaus winning bid to take over the high priest position.[82]

Obviously from the inventory above the rural farmers and the lower class of Jewish society were the ones who were most affected by the oppression. Most of their output went towards the state in the form of taxes thus making life much harder. This explains why the rebellion started from the rural areas, in Modein a small rural town of Judea.

2.4 Social and Cultural Influences.

Antiochus's vengeance on the Jewish people created numerous social changes. His persecution caused many city dwellers to fled and settle in the rural areas, thus causing population relocation. This population relocation is reflected upon in I Maccabees. "Then many who were seeking righteousness and justice went down to the wilderness to dwell there, they, their sons, and their cattle, because evils pressed heavily upon them."[83] This population movement to an extent decreases the population of the city.

---

[82] Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, (1974), p279.
[83] I Maccabees, 2:25.

Furthermore, there was also disunity among the people at all levels of society from the family unit as consequences of prosecutions, to the religious and political levels as a result of a competition for power. For example, throughout the land there was no uniformity in the people's reactions to Antiochus' royal edict. Pro Seleucids welcomes the king's decree, adopting the Hellenistic culture and way of life. While on the other hand conservative Jews prefer to die rather than to compelled to the royal edict.[84]

Another cultural change encouraged by the Seleucids, was evidenced within the educational sphere. That is the education of Jewish youngsters shifted from local synagogues to the gymnasiums. The erection of such an education system occurs during the time of Jason as high priest. The gymnasium carries many functions. It is both a center for education and entertainments, where games were being held. This was enjoyed by the Hellenising Jews, Armstrong record that priests usually hurry down for athletics at the moment the gong sounds.[85]

All these changes were encouraged by the Hellenistic Jews who saw the Hellenistic system as a catalyst for a better way of living. This explains their devotion in transforming Jerusalem into an "Antioch in Judea."[86]

[84] Bruce, *Israel and the Nations*, (1997), pp144-145.
[85] Armstrong, *A History of Jerusalem*, (1997), pp 111 & 113.
[86] Armstrong, *A History of Jerusalem*, (1997), p113.

3. JEWISH RESPONSE:

The actions and the decree of Antiochus IV split Jewish society into two. First, his actions were favorable among the aristocrats, who wanted a change from the old orders. And secondly, it encouraged revolutionary actions, especially from those Jews loyal to the God of their forefathers. The resistance took different forms, but the most notable was that of the Hasideans and the Maccabeans.

3.1 The Hasidean Revolt.

The hasideans or hasidim were at first passive in their approach towards Antiochus's reforms against their religion. They directly disobeyed the royal decree and faced the death penalty proudly. Some of them even fled and practiced their religion in the safe haven of the wilderness. This move indirectly hurts Antiochus's empire through a decrease of tax revenues.

Their loyalty to the Torah resulted in a peaceful revolt, boycotting the policies of the king. This nature of the hasidean revolt is clearly depicted in I Maccabees,[87] where these torah abiding people prefer death to the breaking of the Sabbath law. This foolish faith was discouraged by Mattathias the founder of the Maccabean revolt and urged these pious Jews to pick up their arms and join his course. Thus, saw the merging of the Hasmonean and Hasideans in the fight against the Seleucids.[88]

---

[87] I Maccabees, 2: 29-38.

[88] Goldstein.A.Jonathan, I Maccabees; *A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, The Anchor Bible*, vol 41, N. Freedman and others, (eds), (New York: Doubleday, 1976), p164.

3.2 Maccabean Revolt.

Mattathias and his sons founded the Maccabean revolutionary movement. Here " passive resistance gave way to open aggression,"[89] and the Jews took up arms and engaged in guerilla warfare against the Seleucid Empire. They hid during the day and attacked at night. This characteristic of the movement was evidenced from the start at Modein. When royal inspectors came to the city to force the people to offer sacrifices to pagan gods, Mattathias who was the local priest refused to obey and slew a Jew who complied with the order, together with the kings official. This made him and his five sons fugitives and they fled to the mountains. Where many joined their ranks, these recruits brought new dimension to the course. The Hasideans promoted religious values, those from the rural areas fought for improved economic conditions and so forth. But the movement as a whole fought to neutralize the effects of Antiochus's decree.

The effectiveness of the movement was at its minimum during Mattathias' leadership. However, the change in command after Mattathias death in 166 B.C.E to his third son Judas (nicknamed Maccabeus) boosted the activities of the movement. This was a response to his father's dying wish to " show zeal for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of our father's."[90]

Under Judas, the rebels won victories against the Syrians and the Hellenisers and were able to defend themselves from the enemies' siege and attacks. Judas forces defeated the expeditions of Apollonias and Seron, they crushed the armies of Nicanor

---

[89] Russell. D. S, *Between the Testaments*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1960), p 29.
[90] I Maccabees, 2:50.

and Gorgias at Emmaus, and they dissolved Lysias attempts to cripple the rebellion, and marched triumphantly into Jerusalem.[91]

Once in Jerusalem the rebels confiscated the rest of the city except the Akra and started cleaning up the city, removing all the Hellenistic symbols. The pagan artifacts of the religion of Zeus Olympius within the Temple were removed, an altar for offerings to Yahweh was installed, and Priests who remain loyal to the Torah were reinstated. In the month of Kislev (December) 164 B.C.E, the Temple was rededicated to the worship of Yahweh with great celebration. From then onwards that day becomes an important day on the Jewish calendar; it became an annual celebration in remembrance of such a happy occasion. This celebration is well known as the Feast of the Hanukkah (Dedication) or the Festival of Lights, an eight-day celebration marking the end of the three years, during which the Temple had been control by the Seleucid.

However, this achievement did not put an end to the conflict. Still the Maccabeans faced attempts by the Syrians who tried to recapture Jerusalem. For example, Lysias in his second attempt defeated the rebellion's forces and besieged the city. But news of the capital Antioch being under threat from its enemies led him to lose interest in the Jerusalem conflict and head north. This led to a peaceful settlement with the Jews. Where Syrian influence on Jewish affairs will be diminish, an abolishment of the decree towards Judaism, removal of Menelaus from the office of high priest (to be replaced by Alcimus), and that Judas and his emissaries will be pardoned.[92]

[91] Rappaport Uriel, "Maccabean Revolt", in, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol 14, Freedman and others, (eds), (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp 433-439.
[92] Gottward, *The Hebrew Bible*, (1995), pp444-445.

Response to Lysias' proposal was welcome with mixed reaction by the rebels. The Hasidims accepted the terms, thus highlighting the fact that their interest in the revolt was strictly religious. That is their sole purpose in joining the rebellion was for the sake of religious liberty alone. However, on the other hand Judas and the house of Hasmon wanted not only religious freedom but also political freedom. In other words, they wanted a complete exile of Hellenistic influence within Judea. This explains the continuation of their anti-Seleucid campaigns, which led to Judas' death in 160 B.C.E, and eventually a Jewish independence state.

4. THE IDEOLOGICAL DILEMMA:

The above observations indeed expose an ideological crisis in Judea during the reign of Antiochus IV. The social, economic, political and religious conflicts between the Antiochus society and the conservatives Jews add up to the ideological environment that fashioned Daniel 7-12. These two ideological spheres were oppositioning each other.

4.1. Ideology of Antiochus IV and His Followers.

Antiochus IV in his campaign to unify and strengthen his crippling dynasty obviously employed religious reforms in Judea as an ideology to acquire eco-political stability and avoid rebel uprising from his Jewish colony. The radical Jews who supported his course called for a transforming society, from the old order into

modernity. They too wanted to enjoy the luxurious lifestyle of the Syro-Hellenistic populace and saw Antiochus IV Epiphanes' reforms as a vehicle of achieving such goal.

4.2. Ideology of the Conservative Jews.

However, Antiochus IV Epiphanes' ideology was unpalatable to the conservative Jews, thus producing an opposing ideology. These Jews called for political and religious independence in the midst of Antiochus' tyranny. They were loyal to the religion of their fore fathers and saw Antiochus' involvement in electing the high priest and his religious reforms as a threat to the survival of the Jewish religion. This ideology existed within the realms of the Hasidic and the Maccabean communities, who fought for the purification of the Jewish religion and political independence. They saw independence from Antiochus as freedom to control their own political, economic and religious destiny.

Moreover, it is now clear that there were conflicting ideologies in the context of Daniel 7-12. But the question is: which of these ideologies the Book of Daniel is promoting? Is it Antiochus' or the Conservatives' ideologies? Only an intrinsic study will tell.

CHAPTER FOUR: AN INTRINSIC ANALYSIS.

A major transformation takes place in the book of Daniel as we move from chapters 1-6 to chapter 7-12. The court narratives in the former have now been transformed to vision narratives in the latter. Daniel was no longer the interpreter of dreams but now the dreamer himself. The contest of wisdom between the Jews and the Chaldeans has been removed to the background in the narrative of chapter 7-12. The Gentile kings, whom Daniel 1-6 saw as instruments of God, now became rebellious monsters to the divine will. The aspiration of the Jews was no longer to strive from higher status in the courts of foreign kings but to shine like the hosts of heaven in the after life. The overtones of the Jewish law have now been deemed in chapters 7-12. These features according to most scholars challenge the unity of the book of Daniel as a whole. But that is not of major concern here. The only intention of highlighting these features is to put us into perspective as we approach the vision narratives in chapters 7-12.[93]

1. CHAPTER 7: VISION OF POLITICAL BEASTS.

Chapter seven presents the first of Daniel's four visions together with its parallel interpretation given by an angelic being in the usual apocalyptic manner. The vision was given to Daniel during the time of the corrupt king Belshazzar, thus signifying the vision as occasioned by negative political rule.

[93] These features were drawn from, Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, (1998), pp 87-90, and, Davies, *Daniel*, (1985), pp1-18

This negative portrayal of foreign political rule can also be seen in the description of the four beasts that Daniel saw emerging out of the sea. They were anomalous beasts resembling different animal features, described by Daniel in strong languages like "fearsome," "terrible," "very strong." These descriptions suggests that the four beasts were not of the creation order and their actions were indeed directed against the divine will and the people of God.

If this is the case, then who gave the lion "the heart of a man"? Who ordered the bear to "arise and devour the many flesh"? Who gave the leopard dominion? Most scholars presumed that this was God. Meadowcroft for example saw this presence outside of the scene as a rhetorical technique foreshadowing the divine presence.[94] This placed emphasis on God's sovereignty, that is God empowers only to show that he has the power to undo what he initiated.

However, with the overall skeptical outlook in this section against foreign kings, this could be seen from another perspective. The outside presence here could be the foreshadowing of evil opposing the divine, hence depicting the fact that the emerging beasts were evils' agents at war with the four winds of heaven that represents God in the battle. This view is supported by the mythical interpretation of the sea as the place of chaos.[95]

On the other hand, there is no instruction or blessing particular to the fourth beast. The absence here could be an indication that only the fourth beast is not included in God's creation except for the first three. Accommodating this view is the fact that

---

[94] Meadowcroft T.J, *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel: A Literary Comparison, in, JSOT*, Sup Series 198, (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1995), p209.

[95] Smith-Christopher, "The Book of Daniel", NIB, vol VII, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), p101.

there is no earthly resemblance to the description of the fourth beasts. This isolation is

further supported by the terms חִשְׁנָא and יִשְׁנֵא which are derivatives of the verb שְׁנָא

translated as 'different'. This is an indication that the fourth beast is dissimilar from the

rest. This isolation indicates three factors. First, it highlights the fourth beast to be the

focus of the narrative. Secondly, it proves beyond doubt the fourth beast as the only

ungodly creation in the schema. And thirdly, it directs the readers' attention to the

events of the fourth beast.

The seer stressed this desire by enquiring to know more about this beast and its

eleventh horn.[96] This horn "made war with the holy ones" the only note in the narrative

concerning the beasts actions against the holy people, thus depicting that the horn was

considered the only passionate enemy of the people. The seer's request, allowed the

bystander to became the narrator and gave a more elaborated account considering the

destinies of the fourth beast and the eleventh horn.[97]

On the whole, judgment was not so cruel for the first three beasts, "their

dominion was taken away, but their lives were prolonged." While for the fourth beast

and eleventh horn, they "will be consumed and totally destroyed" and their dominion

will be passed on to the Son of Man and the people of the Holy one of the Most High

that constitutes the emerging fifth kingdom. This passing of the kingdom portrays the

creation of a new state, where the 'Son of Man' is the ideal king according to Daniel.

This new kingdom is widely accepted to refer to a new Jewish state.

---

[96] Daniel. 7:19-20.
[97] Daniel. 7:13-27.

In addition, Daniel's reaction towards the beasts and their events in the vision are summed up by the remarks to his welfare[98]. He was terrified by the vision; he feared the destruction caused by foreign kings. These remarks will have special effects on Daniel's readers whom he constantly addressed throughout the vision by using the formulas, "I was seeing and behold" and "I was seeing until."[99] Collins saw these formulas as introductory notes. The first functions to introduce scenes while the second introduce dynamic scenes. These formulae therefore are rhetorical techniques aimed to grab attentions and aid the readers in following the scenes of the vision.[100]

So, Daniel here is taking his readers through history, teaching them a lesson on the negative impacts of foreign rule on Israel and suggesting an ideal state; where the people reign. Interestingly Daniel's focus is devoted to the events of the final beast and its eleventh horn. He described the fourth beast as the most hostile of the four and the eleventh horn to be in opposition to the Most High.

2. CHAPTER 8: VISION OF WILD TAMER POLITICAL BEASTS.

Here the language of Daniel reverts to the Hebrew from Aramaic. This alarms most scholars and led some to question the unity of the two chapters. However, parallels between the two seem to overshadow this view. For example, both vision narratives portray dark images of alien political kingdoms, with the use of images common to the apocalyptic genre. More to the point, both visions also show similarity in composition with repetitive structures: of vision and interpretation. Collins hails this structure as a

---

[98] Daniel. 7:15 & 28.
[99] The first formula is in 7:2,6,7 & 13, while the second is in 7: 4, 9 & 11.
[100] Collins, *Daniel,,* (1984), p76.

communicational technique employed in myth and folklore, so that the message can get through.[101] So, in this case this vision complimented its predecessor. However, this chapter tends to be straightforward than the previous one; with less elaborated images and a simpler structure with less interpretations or breaks.

The narrative begins with the seer describing the setting for the vision. That is in the time of king Belshazzar, two years after the preceding vision. Again, the mention of this corrupt king set the stage of the vision during the time of political turmoil under foreign kings.

In this vision, a sequence of World empires makes another appearance. But these appearances are brief and less monstrous than the creatures in chapter 7. Gowan sees this as a literary device; "use only to introduce the author's main concern,"[102] which was the tyrannical actions of the little horn, climaxing with the assurance that its end is at hand. However, these "tamer beasts"[103] images do not mean a favorable outlook towards foreign empires, because the attached descriptions of their actions depict the opposite.

The narrator described the ram as a charging ram: like a ram in battle with another, no one can withstand its powers and 'it did as it pleased'. This is a sarcastic note employed to divert readers' attention to the ram's activities. So, what pleased the ram was the destruction of other beasts or kingdoms as the angel reveals the beasts to be. This included Israel, which lies south of Persia. This note also gives us the impression that the ram acted on its own will opposing the divine will.

---

[101] Collins, The Apocalyptic Imagination, (1998), pp107-108.
[102] Gowan E, Donald, Daniel, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001), p116.
[103] Smith-Christopher, The Book of Daniel, (1996), p111.

On the other hand, the He-Goat was described as savage and enraged; it destroyed the ram and no one could rescue the ram from it. This description clearly pictures the he-goat surpassing the ram's power and might, therefore overtaking the ram's empire. This means a change of ruling government for the Jews. Besides evaluating both descriptions, it contradicts the 'tamer beast view.' In the sense that both, clearly highlights the inability of the people to tame these beasts.

Furthermore, Daniel's resentment towards foreign kings is clearly illustrated in his portrait of the little horn and it's activities: speaking arrogantly against the Prince of princes, attacking the hosts of heaven and destroying the worship of the people. Gabriel in his interpretation elaborated on these negative aspects, of this emerging king.

Further proof of Daniel's bitterness towards foreign kingdoms can be detected on the notes on his state of being in 8: 27. Daniel concluded by revealing that the vision confused him and left him in disarray, for he "lay sick for some days." Apparently, what was revealed in the vision exhausted Daniel causing confusion on his part.

In addition, the angelic dialogue introduces a new issue to the narrative that is the time factor.[104] When will all this malice end? How long will this suffering last? With poise, the second holy one revealed the exact time as "two thousand, three hundred evenings and mornings." Scholars today are still trying to put this into arithmetic terms.[105] However, this should not be the emphasis, what is being revealed here is that the end of this period of turmoil is within measurable distance.

---

[104] Daniel 8:13-14.
[105] Coldingay, *Daniel*, in *Word Biblical Commentary*, (Waco: Word Books, 1989), p212, by using the 'evenings and mornings' formula in Genesis1 he halved the given number to 1150 days. Smith-Christopher, *The Book of Daniel*, (1996), p115, proposed it to be 2300 days.

This will be marked by the demise of the little horn, described by the narrator as, "he shall be broken and not by human hand." This portrayal strengthens the non-violent stance of Daniel, because it highlights the ineffectiveness of those who take arms to resist. However, the more reasonable explanation here is that what the narrator is trying to emphasize here is the " hand of God in history," thus assuring the audience of divine intervention.

3. CHAPTER 9: WHY ARE ALL THESE HAPPENING AND HOW LONG?

Many scholars saw this prayer to be misplaced in this section of the book; this is the result of grammatical observances[106], a change of Daniel's focus from the malice's of foreign kings to the sinfulness of Israel and because chapter 9 is not a formal vision as chapters 7-8 and 10-12. So, what then is the real purpose and function of the prayer here? To address this issue we need to have a closer look at the narrative itself.

This chapter begins with the narrator revealing the chronological setting of the narrative. This time the setting is different. It is set in the first year of Darius the Mede, who succeeded the corrupt Belshazzar of Chapters 7 and 8. In this sense, Chapter 9 therefore depicts a time of Hope for the people of God.

Identifying Darius the Mede links Chapter 9 to the sequence of empires in Chapter 8, to the first horn of the ferocious ram. This connection not only qualifies the location of Chapter 9 in the narrative framework of Daniel 7-12, but also justified the accuracy of the previous vision.

---

[106] Collins, *Daniel*, (1984), p90, and Smith-Christopher, *The Book of Daniel*, (1996), p112, both acknowledged the fluency in Hebrew of Chapter 9, compared to Chapters 7-8 & 10-12.

Daniel's misunderstanding seen at the last chapter is being carried onto this chapter (9). To solve his confusion, he turned to the Books for answers, where he found it in Jeremiah's Seventy Year Prophecy. This highlights that Daniel here is again wrestling with the how long question, trying to establish with exactness when all this will come to an end.

Unfortunately, for Daniel his quest was not satisfied in the books, he needed interpretation and that was given by an angelic figure later on in the usual apocalyptic manner. His dissatisfaction turned him to prayer and supplication. Daniel's lengthy prayer uses tradition to reflect Israel's sinful nature and the righteousness of God. These traditions are best summed up by Gowan to include reference to the "covenant prophets and king, the Law of Moses and the Exodus elements of Israel's faith."[107] These concepts according to Berringan qualify the prayer as a common typical Jewish prayer with a language familiar to them.[108] So, the prayer here is really an appeal to the people to repent of their ways and return to the Lord in order to halt the destruction of Jerusalem. By doing so Daniel here is also addressing the Why, question. In his supplication, this is noticeable by blaming the sinfulness of the people as the cause of the destruction. Evidently, these were the people Gabriel also referred to in verse 27, who made a covenant with the desolator. If we contextualize this view to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, then it is clear that Gabriel here is referring to the Hellenistic Jews who sided with Antiochus Epiphanes.

---

[107] Gowan, *Daniel*, (2001), p126.
[108] Berringan D, *Daniel Under Siege of the Divine*, (Sussex: Plough Publishing House, 1998), pp 155-166.

Plainly, Daniel in his supplication performed a typical prophetic task of confessing and interceding for the people. In this way, Daniel is identifying himself with the people. This is supported by the use of the first person common plural suffix נו meaning us or we.

However, the revelation of Gabriel contradicts Daniel's perspective in the prayer. Gabriel revealed to Daniel that his prayer was ineffectual on God's decision. The end to the desolation had already been pronounced prior to Daniel's plea. This means that the course of events had already been determined. This course can be seen in Gabriel's redefinition of Jeremiah's seventy weeks prophecy into seventy weeks of years in which he subdivided into three as: 7 sevens (25a), 62 sevens (25b), 1 seven (26-27).[109]

Attached to these subdivisions were descriptions of events within their set durations. The first duration is marked by "The time that the word went out to restore and rebuild Jerusalem until the time of an anointed prince." The sixty-two weeks was a period of turmoil where streets and moat shall be built. This brief comment does not yield much because of a lack of concern on the author's part. However, elaborate descriptions are given for the last duration, thus suggesting where the author's emphasis is. This period is being described as a time of desolation, beginning from the murder of the anointed one, to the end of the desolator who rose and destroyed the city and sanctuary, made a covenant with many, and ceased sacrifices and offerings.

So will there be an end to all these? Daniel here with confidence is giving his readers a yes! And it would not be long. This is reflected in the fact that half of the

activities of the last seven are being described, so the end is at hand. Gowan agrees with this suggesting that seven is the perfect number, half means only a short time remains before the end.[110]

So Chapter 9 is not misplaced after all, it offers an ideology supportive of the ideology in the previous two chapters. By addressing some of the arising issues related to the cynical foreign political powers in Israel at the time.

4. CHAPTER 10-12: TENSION BETWEEN MICHAEL AND KINGS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

This last and final vision is the most elaborate revelation in the Book of Daniel, but with minimum difficulty of interpretation, because its composition contains fewer images compared to the earlier visions. This vision is presented in a chiastic manner with lengthy auditions sandwiched between visionary elements that serve as an introduction and a conclusion.[111]

      a. Introduction: 10:1 - 11:1

      b. Vision: 11:2 – 12:4

      c. Conclusion: 12:5 – 12:13.

The introductory section provides us with the setting of a vision in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia. This note not only provides the setting but also functions in presenting the content of the vision as a prediction. Interesting here is the presence of the third person narrator, who introduces Daniel the seer and attempts to prove that the

---

[109] Meadowcroft, *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel*, (1995), p258.
[110] Gowan, *Daniel*, (2001), p136.
[111] Gowan, *Daniel*, (2001), pp1140-141.

activities of the last seven are being described, so the end is at hand. Gowan agrees with this suggesting that seven is the perfect number, half means only a short time remains before the end.[110]

So Chapter 9 is not misplaced after all, it offers an ideology supportive of the ideology in the previous two chapters. By addressing some of the arising issues related to the cynical foreign political powers in Israel at the time.

4. CHAPTER 10-12: TENSION BETWEEN MICHAEL AND KINGS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

This last and final vision is the most elaborate revelation in the Book of Daniel, but with minimum difficulty of interpretation, because its composition contains fewer images compared to the earlier visions. This vision is presented in a chiastic manner with lengthy auditions sandwiched between visionary elements that serve as an introduction and a conclusion.[111]

- a. Introduction: 10:1 - 11:1
- b. Vision: 11:2 – 12:4
- c. Conclusion: 12:5 – 12:13.

The introductory section provides us with the setting of a vision in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia. This note not only provides the setting but also functions in presenting the content of the vision as a prediction. Interesting here is the presence of the third person narrator, who introduces Daniel the seer and attempts to prove that the

[109] Meadowcroft, *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel*, (1995), p258.
[110] Gowan, *Daniel*, (2001), p136.
[111] Gowan, *Daniel*, (2001), pp1140-141.

following vision is genuine, by stating that, "The word was true, and it concerns a great conflict". This statement also yields that what is about to be revealed is the apprehension of a great conflict, thus giving the readers a preview of what follows.

This third person narrator disappeared and Daniel took over the narration of the story. Daniel specified his location and setting within the vision, on the bank of the great river Tigris. Naming of geographic locations authenticate the first narrators argument, in the sense that the locations make the vision a reality for the audience.

Daniel introduces another character to the story, an unnamed inter locator who later on becomes the narrator himself. Daniel described him as a heavenly figure, with a gleaming body and a roaring voice. This caused a great trembling upon those who were with Daniel, thus causing them to flee leaving Daniel to see the visions alone. The mention of this group in the story is a rhetorical technique to lend it credibility, by identifying that others too sensed the presence of the approaching heavenly figure.[112]

Even Daniel was astonished with his encounter with the magnificent figure. This was the effect of the figure's words. "Words" which had been described above as battle or conflict. This therefore depicts what the vision holds for the people. Again, Daniel here is identifying himself with the people's feeling, equally fearful as those who fled. This strengthens the claim made earlier that Daniel represents the people in the story.

Fortunately for Daniel, the unnamed figure rejuvenated him back to his former state of being. He strengthened, encouraged, promised further revelation and made Daniel understand. He even provided Daniel with an excuse for the delayed response to his prayers. It was because of the prince of Persia who became a barrier in his way. This

---

[112] Smith-Christopher, *The Book of Daniel*, (1996), p137.

problem was resolved by the help of Michael; freeing him to make Daniel understand concerning the future.

Again, Daniel's strength left him and he blamed the visions for the pains that fell upon him. Once again the unnamed figure relinquished Daniel of his situation, ordering him to "fear not…be strong and of good courage." Smith-Christopher assumed this statement to be a call for battle.[113]

So, what is the unnamed figure preparing Daniel for? Is it another vision or revelation? Or battle? Many of the scholars who support the non-violence stance of Daniel would suggest preparation for revelation. However against this view is the fact that the dialogue between the heavenly figure and Daniel concerns a spiritual warfare fought between Michael the prince, the Persian prince, and then the Greek prince. The spiritual warfare is a celestial backdrop of a war here on earth. That is war between two earthly powers had a parallel heavenly battle between their gods.[114]

Nevertheless, at the conclusion of this section the unnamed figure revealed that there is no one helping him except Michael. In light of the call for battle above this note could be seen as an invitation for supporters in the ongoing battle.

Furthermore, the unnamed figure outlines in chronological order the rise and fall of world empires, starting from Cyrus to the rise and fall of an archtyrant. However, interpreting this history is not easy, due to the fact that no personal names had been mentioned. The chronology begins with the rise of four Persian kings succeeding Cyrus. The first three faded to the background of the vision while the fourth and final king received special attention from the narrator. This king grew in richness and strength but

---

[113] Smith-Christopher, *The Book of Daniel*, (1996), p137.

he was unable to defend his empire from the Greeks, where a mighty king shall arise off from it, which will inherit "great dominion" and do as "he pleases", this ironic note not only depicts how powerful and mighty this king will be, but also acknowledge that he will do what is gratifying to him, not obeying the divine will. This will lead to his fatality and the downfall of his kingdom, but by whom? In light of the battle between Michael and evil princes, portrayed in this section, it is therefore fair to attribute the action of plucking up to God whom Michael is representing in battle.

Then the focus of the narrative shifts to the conflict between the king of the South and the king of the North. The angelic figure here gives details of the tribulation, which can be divided into two phases. The first part of this review begins from the split between the king of the south and one of his princes who inherited great dominion and ruled in the north. This account culminates with the event considering one of the kings of the north, whose might was also described using the formula "do as he pleases." However, this tag seems to contradict the description of his reign. Not only because he brought terms of peace but also a commander redirected his insolence to the coastlands back home and he met his demise. So, he was not so powerful after all his only sin was conveying his audacity back to his own land and people. This therefore exposed the vulnerability of this king to attacks and defeat.

The demise of this northern king and the short reign of the one who succeeded him, paved the way for the second phase of this period of tribulation. In this part, the narrator's focus is on the one he described as a "contemptible person;" a villain who imposed great sufferings upon the people and became hostile to the worship of God.

---

[114] Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, (1998), p101.

This hostility to God is again described by the usual formula "do as he pleases." This time the formula fits well; he did not give heed to anyone even the gods.

His brutality towards the people was contested by some; those who "know their God." They stood firm, and take actions while other make the people understand. They even gain followers and a "little help", an indication that those who come to their aid were ineffectual. Two forms of resistance were being described here; those who took actions and those who make the people understand. This raises questions like; what sorts of actions were taken? What is the subject for understanding?

Obviously, in this time of war and battle, the only appropriate action is to take arms. On the other hand, the subject for understanding can be referred to the message of Daniel as a whole. In this case, it is to make the people understand about the meaning of their suffering and the duration of this period of turmoil.

Furthermore the role played by the מַשְׂכִּלִים [115] (the wise), in making the people understand reflected the purpose of the angelic visits to make Daniel understand. This identification reinforces the belief that whatever happens here on earth had its counterpart in the spiritual realm.

Nonetheless, the actions of those who oppose the arch tyrant will be fruitless at this stage. Even the actions of an antitype that arose from the south failed, but the arch tyrant is destined for destruction without anyone to help him. His fatality will be deliverance for the people, meaning the end of tribulation.

---

[115] Transliterated as *maskilim*.

"At that time shall arise Michael". Interesting is the manner the narrator introduces Michael, that is similar to the way he introduces the kings in the historical sequence, through the use of the verb יַעֲמֹד (shall arise). This indicates that Michael is also part of the revealed sequence of events. Since he is the last to arise, is sure indication that history culminates in a victory for the people of God.

Those inscribed in the "Book" will be vindicated. This book image reflects the books in Chapter 7, only that the book in Chapter 7 brings punishment for the beasts. This contrast depicts that two books existed, one containing the unrighteous and the other containing the people of God. The former in the end will be resurrected to shame and everlasting contempt while the latter will rise to everlasting life. Interestingly the resurrection portrayed in Daniel is only partial. Collins claimed it to include just the 'very bad" and the "very good".[116] So what about those in between? Eventually there will be no compromise for them. Everyone is required to choose sides, either choose God and live, or the arch tyrant and die.

Receiving special privileges will be the מַשְׂכִּלִים (the wise), who guide the people during the period of turmoil. They "shall shine like the brightness of the sky...like the stars forever and forever" Their services will honor them to the status of angels when the end comes. This therefore supports the assumption made earlier that the מַשְׂכִּלִים (the wise) were the earthly counterparts of the heavenly figures Daniel came in contact with.

---

[116] Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, (1998), pp112-113.

If this is the case, then the relationship between Daniel and the angels revealed in the story reflects the reality between the מַשְׂכִּלִים (the wise) and the people. A relationship where the מַשְׂכִּלִים (the wise) provided the confused populace with understanding and encouragement in times of tribulation.

Encouragement is related to the assurance that victory is at hand, as reconfirmed in the conclusion of this section. When Daniel took over the narration of the story, once again wrestles with the how long question. In his vision, he saw two other angelic figures on each side of the river. One of them questions the one dressed in linen, concerning the time all these would be fulfilled. Three contradictory answers were given. The first one was given in an enigmatic manner of "a time, two times and half a time." The other two are more straightforward, but contradicts each other as well. They are "one thousand two hundred, ninety days" and "thousand three hundred thirty five days." Scholars are still trying to resolve this contradiction.[117]

However in light of the given time in chapter 8, these given times may also function to highlight the fact that the end of suffering is being predetermined and it is around the corner. This is further strengthened by the fact that the narrator here in Daniel 7-12 is now revealing the word that once remained a secret and being sealed up for the end times.

Adding up what our intrinsic investigation reveals, it is apparent that the text is promoting an anti stance towards foreign political rule, which the narratives of Daniel 7-12 depicts as monstrous. The focus of the narratives falls on the activities of the final

---

[117] Smith-Christopher, *The Book of Daniel*, (1999), p149, blamed it on multiple editors, that is a later editor made the insertion to correct the first date.

foreign king, whom Daniel and the angelic narrators depicted as an anti-God, an oppressor and a desolator. Fortunately, for the people of God, the time factor revealed in the stories depicts a note of hope for them in the very near future. Where this last king will be destroyed, giving them the dominion to rule a kingdom of their own. This therefore indicates that their suffering will be rewarded in the end, an incentive for choosing to side with God and for joining the narrator's cause. This is also highlighted in the call for repentance, which depicts the narrator's appeal for those who went astray to rejoin the cause against foreign rule. Furthermore, the narratives of Daniel 7-12 also highlighted the non-militant approach as the appropriate way in addressing the situation. This is depicted in the inability of human actions in the stories of Daniel to change the course of history.

With this information in hand, we are now prepared to move to the next stage of the investigation, to formulate the ideology of Daniel from the existing ideologies discovered in the extrinsic investigation.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION: Matching the Results.

Defining ideology has proven to be a difficult task. However, from our study, we have discovered the term to have a double meaning; it can both be a pejorative and a non-pejorative term, depending on its users. That is, it can be a pejorative term if it is use negatively to endorse and disguise corrupt motives and intentions. On the other hand, it can be a non-pejorative term if its users apply it to promote what is best for society by revealing its corrupt nature.

Our extrinsic study above disclosed the existing ideologies that constitute the ideological world behind the production of Daniel 7-12. Two conflicting ideologies stand out, one proposed by the invading Seleucids, and the other belonging to the conservative Jews. The former proved to be the dominant ideology of the time, campaigning to transform its Jewish colony into a completely Hellenistic state. To be governed and ruled along the laws, values, religious and cultural beliefs of Hellenism. The main proponent of this ideology is Antiochus Epiphanes, who saw such a move fit, for the stability and for the economic well being of his kingdom. His ideology was promoted through the reforms he imposed on Jewish society, which had great impacts on every facet of life in the Jewish society, like the political, economic, religious, social and cultural sphere.

The latter on the other hand was the suppressed ideology of the time, proposed by the conservative Jews who were radical towards the changes, with the desired to uphold a unique Jewish state founded on their traditional beliefs, religion and customs.

The major carriers of this ideology included the Maccabeans and the Hasideans. They saw Hellenism to be a threat to the Jewish society as a whole and Antiochus Epiphanes as a tyrant and an oppressor.

This clash of ideologies resulted in military confrontation when both parties resolved in using force to promote their ideological stance. So, which side is the *maskilim* of Daniel 7-12 side with? Which ideology were they upholding? Is it the Hellenistic cause, the Jewish position or a whole new ideology of their own?

Our intrinsic examination provided us with useful insights for the formulation of a sound response to these matters. Apparently, the vision narratives of chapters 7-12 portrays foreign political kingdoms as monsters, in opposition to the divine will, and oppressive to the people of God. It also depicts an anti-God king whom Daniel saw as the most oppressive of the emerging kings. He was not only a menace to the populace, but he even challenges the religious establishment and worship.

So, if we contextualize this view to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, then undoubtedly the *maskilim* here, are expressing their anti Hellenistic views and disapproval of the reigning Antiochus Epiphanes, while at the same time approving the conservative's stance. This simply means the *maskilim* are promoting a counter ideology to that of Antiochus Epiphanes, in support of the Maccabean and the Hasidean cause.

Does this mean, we can identify the *maskilim* of Daniel 7-12 with the Maccabeans and the Hasideans? This should not be the case; our intrinsic study reveals a contrast in approaches between the *maskilim* and these two parties. Unlike the Maccabeans and the Hasideans, the *maskilim* were non-militant in their approach in

promoting the conservative ideology. Their task lies in making the people understand rather than leading the people to war. Philip Davies supports this view, claiming the group behind Daniel to be pacific in their approach rather than becoming antagonistic.[118]

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the Daniel community was neither rebellious as the Maccabeans and the Hasideans nor passive. They were as active as their counterparts in winning support for the cause and revealing the true reality behind the propaganda of the enemy. No wonder John Collins hails them as the "true heroes of the persecution... portrayed as activists, but they are not said to fight."[119]

It seems that John Collins' acknowledgement is a bit exaggerated by giving the Daniel community honorary status comparable to the Maccabeans and the Hasideans who risked their lives through military actions to defeat the enemy. However, in the eyes of Daniel, such actions were unnecessary for it would be vile to alter the cause of history. The appropriate way of resistance would be through the refusal to comply with the proposed reforms of Antiochus Epiphanes even to the point of losing one's life. In this manner, the compensation therefore is a strategy of promoting the ideology.

This observation reveals the ideology of Daniel 7-12 to be a contrast in nature to that discovered by Gay Yee in her study of Judges 17-21.[120] The ideology of Daniel 7-12 belongs to the oppressed rather than the oppressor. It promoted resistance and protests rather than hindering an uprising of the people. It also reveals reality rather than distorting it. In this sense therefore, Daniel 7-12 is not an exploitative tool, but a tool of

---

[118] Davies, "The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings", (1989), p268.
[119] Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, (1998), p111.
[120] Yee, "Ideological Criticism", (1995), pp146-169.

encouragement useful in motivating the people in challenging the status quo. Therefore, from the perspective of the oppressed Daniel 7-12 therefore is used in a non-pejorative manner. It seems Daniel 7-12 fits best with Mannheim's concept of utopia. It promoted an image of another reality with the intention of encouraging the people to drive for a change in the political and social order in society.

How was this ideology presented in Daniel 7-12? The author(s) of Daniel 7-12 resolved in using the apocalyptic genre for such a task. Philip Davies who claims, "the genre of apocalypse was not created by a situation but adapted for a situation",[121] verifies this view.

The symbolism and the imagery of the apocalyptic genre were adopted to portray the emerging evil empires. These fearsome and monstrous portraits reveals to the audience of Daniel 7-12, the truth concerning these kings. Human and angelic characters add special effects to the narratives by portraying the real situation of the people. For example, Daniel's situation as depicted in the stories, is reflective of the people under persecution. The *ex eventu* technique of history writing, a trademark of the apocalyptic corpus, authenticates the author's visions and predictions, thus validating the promoted ideology as well. And the apocalyptic eschatology that reveals a transformed reality for the people of God was utilized to raise the people's hopes by assuring victory in the end times. This encouraged the readers to endure the oppression and uphold the ideology of Daniel, for they will be victors in the future kingdom of God. All these features systematized the call to resist and reject the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes and his forceful Hellenistic reforms.

---

[121] Davies, "The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings", (1989), p268.

This aligns with the conclusion of Adela Collins that, "Apocalyptic rhetoric has the potential to unmask forces that pretend to be benign, but are actually exploitative."[122] Although she only consulted chapters 2, 7 and 8 in her brief study of Daniel, her findings support the conclusion of this study as mentioned above. That is, the ideology of Daniel 7-12 discloses the hidden reality of foreign political rule in Israel.

So, who is being targeted by Daniel's ideology? The above observations have revealed the oppressed and conservative Jews to be the prime target of Daniel 7-12. However, our intrinsic study provided us with a twist to this issue. The call for repentance in chapter 9 and the assurance of punishment for the sinners in chapter 12, broaden the intended audience of Daniel. These elements would not be applicable for those Jews who were loyal to their God but only to those who joined the Hellenists whom Daniel portrayed as sinners. This therefore depicts the call for repentance as a call for those strayed Jews to rejoin the traditionalists in the rebellion against Antiochus Epiphanes and his establishment. Hence, this factor redefines the audience of Daniel to include every Jew, conservatives and radicals alike. So Daniel's ideology after all, aims to gather every Jew, and create an establish opposition to the reign of the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes.

These findings on Daniel give us a clear indication that the art of ideological criticism surely sheds new light on the scholarship of Daniel. It enlarges our perspectives towards the Book of Daniel, by revealing the power struggles behind its

---

[122] Collins A. Y, "Apocalyptic Themes in Biblical Literature", in, *Interpretation*, Vol 53, No 2, (1999) : 117.

production. This knowledge reformulates our historical understanding of the Book of
Daniel and alerts us of the circumstances and who, the authors were addressing.

In this sense, ideological criticism can therefore be a useful supplement to
other modes of Biblical criticism. However, complete reliance on it must be avoided
because it tends to address all issues of reality in light of the power struggles in society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Aichele, et al. *The Post Modern Bible*; (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

Armstrong, Karen. *A History of Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths*, (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1997).

Barth, Hans. *Truth and Ideology*, Translated by F. Lilge, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976).

Berringan, D. *Daniel Under Siege of the Divine*, (Sussex: Plough Publishing House, 1998).

Boadt, Lawrence. *Reading the Old Testament; An Introduction*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1984).

Bruce, F. F. *Israel and the Nations: The History of Israel from the Exodus to the Fall of the Second Temple*, revised by David F. Payne, (Illinois: Inter Varsity Press, 1997).

Charlesworth, J.H. (ed), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments,* Vol 1, (New York: Doubleday, 1983).

Childs, S. Brevard. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979).

Clines, D. *Interested Parties: The Ideology of Writers and Readers of the Hebrew Bible*, (England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).

Yabro-Collins, A. "Apocalyptic Themes in Biblical Literature", in, *Interpretation*, Vol 53, No 2, (1999): 117- 130.

Collins, J. J. "Daniel and His Social World", in *Interpretation,* Vol 34, No 2, (1999): 131-143.

-------------- *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic,* Literature, 2nd Edition, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998).

-------------- *The Jewish Apocalypses*, in *Semeia*, R.W. Funk, (ed), Vol 14, (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), p22-59.

-------------- *Daniel: with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature,* in *The Forms of the Old Testament Literature*, R. Knierim & G. Tucker, (eds),Vol XX, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Pub, 1984,).

-------------- *Early Jewish Apocalypticism*, in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, David N. Freedman & others, (eds), Vol I, (New York: Doubleday, 1992) pp 282-288.

Davies, P. R. "The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings", in, *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspective*, R. E Clements, (ed), (London: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp 251-271.

----------------- *Daniel*, in, *Old Testament Guides*, (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1985)

Geyer, A. *Ideology in America: Challenges to Faith*, (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1997).

Gillespie, W. Thomas. "Studying Theology in Apocalyptic Times", in *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin*, Vol XXII, No 2, (2002): 1-10.

Goldstein, A. Jonathan. *I Maccabees*; *A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, The Anchor Bible*, Vol 41, N. Freedman and others, (eds), (New York: Doubleday, 1976).

Gottward, N. K. *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction*, (Philadelphia:

　　Fortress Press, 1985).

Gowan, E. Donald. *Daniel*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001).

Grayson A. K, *Akkaidian Apocalyptic Literature*, in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*,

　　David N. Freedman & others, (eds), Vol 1, (New York: Doubleday, 1992) p282.

Hanson, P. D. *Old Testament Apocalyptic,* in *Interpreting Biblical Text*, L.R. Bailey

　　& V.P. Furnish, (eds), (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987).

------------- Apocalypse: An *Introductory Overview*, in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*,

　　David. N. Freedman, and others, (eds), Vol I, (New York: Doubleday, 1992),

　　p280.

------------- *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of*

　　Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975).

Hayes, H.J. and Holladay, R. C. *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook*, 2nd Ed,

　　(London: SCM Press, 1983).

Hengel, Martin. *Judaism and Hellenism, Studies in their Encounter in Palestine*

　　during the Early Hellenistic Period, translated by John Bowden, Vol 2,

　　(London: SCM Press Ltd, 1974).

Hinnells, R. J. (ed), "Ideology", *The Penguin Dictionary of Religions*, 2nd Edition,

　　(London: Penguin Books, 1995), pp 230-231.

McLellan, D. *Ideology*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

Meadowcroft, T. J. *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel: A Literary Comparison, in,*

　　JSOT, Sup Series 198, (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1995).

Mitchell, James. (ed), *History and Culture 1*, (London: Mitchell Beazley

    Encyclopedia Limited, 1976).

Morris, L. Apocalyptic, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Com, 1972).

Rappaport Uriel, "Maccabean Revolt", in, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol 14, N.

    Freedman and others, (eds), (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp 433-439.

Reddish, G. Mitchell. (ed) *Apocalyptic Literature: A Reader*, (Hendrickson Pub,

    U.S.A, 1990)

Redditt P.L, "Daniel 11 and the Sociohistorical Setting of the Book of Daniel", in,

    The Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Vol 60 No 3, (1998): 463-474.

Russell, D.S. *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, (London:Westminster

    Press, 1964).

------------- *Between the Testaments*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1960).

Schmithals, Walter. *The Apocalyptic Movement: Introduction & Interpretation*, (New

    York: Abingdon Press, 1975)

Smith-Christopher. "The Book of Daniel", NIB, Vol VII, (Nashville: Abingdon Press,

    1996), pp17-152.

Soullen, R. & Soullen, K. *Handbook of Biblical Criticism*, 3rd Rev.ed, (London: John

    Knox Press, 2001).

Tate, Randolph. *Biblical Interpretation: An Integrated Approach*, Rev. ed,

    (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publisher, 1997).

G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions*,

    Vol II, translated by D.M. Stalker, (London: Harper & Row Publisher, 1965).

Yee G, (ed), "Ideological Criticism", in *Judges and Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), pp146-169.