

Andrews University

## Digital Commons @ Andrews University

---

Dissertations

Graduate Research

---

1987

### The Vision of Daniel 8 : Interpretations from 1700 to 1900

Samuel Núñez

*Andrews University*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dissertations>



Part of the [Biblical Studies Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Núñez, Samuel, "The Vision of Daniel 8 : Interpretations from 1700 to 1900" (1987). *Dissertations*. 113.  
<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dissertations/113>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Research at Digital Commons @ Andrews University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Andrews University. For more information, please contact [repository@andrews.edu](mailto:repository@andrews.edu).



Seek Knowledge. Affirm Faith. Change the World.

Thank you for your interest in the

**Andrews University Digital Library  
of Dissertations and Theses.**

*Please honor the copyright of this document by  
not duplicating or distributing additional copies  
in any form without the author's express written  
permission. Thanks for your cooperation.*

## INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the original text directly from the copy submitted. Thus, some dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from a computer printer.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyrighted material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is available as one exposure on a standard 35 mm slide or as a 17" × 23" black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. 35 mm slides or 6" × 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.



300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA





**Order Number 8725224**

**The vision of Daniel 8: Interpretations from 1700 to 1900**

**Núñez, Samuel, Th.D.**

**Andrews University, 1987**

**Copyright ©1987 by Núñez, Samuel. All rights reserved.**

**U·M·I**  
300 N. Zeeb Rd.  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106



**PLEASE NOTE:**

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark .

1. Glossy photographs or pages \_\_\_\_\_
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print \_\_\_\_\_
3. Photographs with dark background \_\_\_\_\_
4. Illustrations are poor copy \_\_\_\_\_
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy \_\_\_\_\_
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page \_\_\_\_\_
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages \_\_\_\_\_
8. Print exceeds margin requirements \_\_\_\_\_
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine \_\_\_\_\_
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print \_\_\_\_\_
11. Page(s) \_\_\_\_\_ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) \_\_\_\_\_ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered \_\_\_\_\_. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages \_\_\_\_\_
15. Dissertation contains pages with print at a slant, filmed as received
16. Other \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

University  
Microfilms  
International



Andrews University  
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

THE VISION OF DANIEL 8  
INTERPRETATIONS FROM  
1700 TO 1900

A Dissertation  
Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Theology

by  
Samuel Núñez  
January 1987


THE VISION OF DANIEL 8  
INTERPRETATIONS FROM  
1700 TO 1900

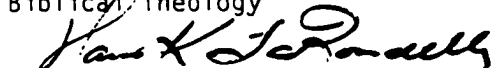
A dissertation  
presented in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree  
Doctor of Theology

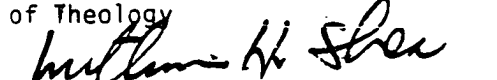
by

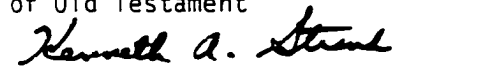
Samuel Núñez

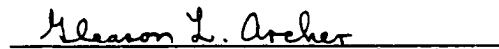
APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:

  
Faculty Advisor: Gerhard F. Hasel  
Professor of Old Testament and  
Biblical Theology

  
Hans K. LaRondelle, Professor  
of Theology

  
William H. Shea, Professor  
of Old Testament

  
Kenneth A. Strang, Professor  
of Church History

  
Gleason L. Archer, Jr., Emeritus  
Professor of Old Testament  
Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

  
Gerhard F. Hasel, Dean  
SDA Theological Seminary

21 July 1987  
Date approved

Copyright (c) 1987

by

Samuel Núñez

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

THE VISION OF DANIEL 8  
INTERPRETATIONS FROM  
1700 TO 1900

by

Samuel Núñez

Chairman: Gerhard F. Hasel



ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: THE VISION OF DANIEL 8: INTERPRETATIONS FROM 1700 TO 1900

Name of researcher: Samuel Núñez

Name and degree of faculty adviser: Gerhard F. Hasel, Ph.D.

Date completed: January 1987

This study attempts to trace the history of the interpretation of the vision of Dan 8, particularly its five animal symbols, the temporal phrase of the 2300 "evening-mornings," and three cultic expressions, from about 1700 to 1900. The main objective specified in Chapter I is to discover the different interpretations that were given to these symbols and expressions, the exegetical and/or historical arguments that were offered, and the approaches that were used.

Chapter II covers the period from about 1700 to 1800. In this century interpreters of the preterist and historicist schools were more involved in the interpretation of Dan 8 than of any other school of interpretation. It was in this century that the traditional his-

toricist view of the little horn was challenged.

Chapter III covers the period from about 1800 to 1850. In this period interpreters of the historical-critical school and futurist school proposed new methods and applied them to the interpretation of Dan 8. Nevertheless, the historicist school still remained very dominant, at least in England and United States of America. It was in this period that historical-critical scholars began to revive a less known view of the four world empires of Daniel, and historicists became more concerned with the temporal expression of "2300 evening-mornings."

Chapter IV covers the period from 1850 to 1900. Interpreters of the same four schools of interpretation continued to deal with the vision of Dan 8. At the beginning of this period the historical-critical method reached new frontiers. English expositors also began to apply it in the interpretation of Daniel. About the end of the century it had many followers in the British territory and it began to be used in the United States. The futurist school also grew in this period, while the historicist school lost some ground due to the lack of a literal and historical fulfillment of certain prophecies as had been expected by them and of growing inroads of modernism. At the same time the traditional view of the little horn recovered lost ground and the traditional view of the four world empires (Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome) continued to be the most popular.

Finally, in the last chapter certain conclusions and implications regarding the interpretations of the vision of Dan 8, schools of interpretation, and some issues in interpretation are presented.

To my dear wife Raquel

and my children

Samuel and Rachel

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	ix
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION .....	1
The Problem .....	1
The Purpose .....	6
The Importance .....	7
Limitations and Methodology .....	8
II. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE VISION OF DANIEL 8 FROM ABOUT 1700 TO 1800 .....	12
The Animal Symbols .....	12
The Two-Horned Ram .....	13
The He-Goat .....	19
The He-Goat's "Notable Horn" .....	22
The He-Goat's Four "Notable Horns" .....	24
The Little Horn .....	27
Antiochus Epiphanes .....	29
Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist.....	39
Macedonia under the power of Rome .....	50
The bishops of Rome .....	58
The Roman Empire .....	63
Antiochus Epiphanes, the Muhammedan power, and France .....	72
The spiritual kingdom of Muhammad .....	76
The Temporal Expression "2300 Evening-Mornings" .....	83
Meaning of "Evening-Morning" .....	83
A natural day .....	84
A natural and prophetic day .....	84
A prophetic day .....	86
A literal evening and morning .....	89
Evening and morning sacrifices .....	89
Beginning and End of the "2300 Evening-Mornings" ..	90
2300 days .....	90
2300 days and 2300 years .....	92
2300 years .....	93
1150 days .....	98
2200 years .....	98
Cultic Expressions .....	100
"The Daily" .....	100

"The Transgression of Desolation" .....	101
"Then Shall the Sanctuary be Cleansed .....	103
Summary .....	105
III. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE VISION OF DANIEL 8	
FROM ABOUT 1800 TO 1850 .....	111
Animal Symbols .....	112
The Two-Horned Ram .....	112
The He-Goat .....	120
The He-Goat's "Notable Horn" .....	125
The He-Goat's Four "Notable Horns" .....	127
The Little Horn .....	139
Antiochus Epiphanes .....	139
The Roman Empire in the east.....	151
The Ottoman or Turkish power .....	157
The spiritual kingdom of Muhammad .....	168
Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist .....	174
Pagan and Christian Rome .....	179
The future Antichrist .....	184
Antiochus Epiphanes and the Roman power .....	197
Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of a future	
eastern king .....	205
The Temporal Expression "2300 Evening-Mornings" .....	207
Meaning of "Evening-Morning" .....	208
A natural day .....	208
A prophetic day .....	209
Morning and evening sacrifices .....	211
A literal evening and morning .....	212
Beginning and End of the "2300 Evening-Mornings" ..	213
2300 days .....	213
2200, 2300, and 2400 years .....	216
1150 days .....	228
Cultic Expressions .....	230
"The Daily" .....	230
Continual burnt offering .....	230
Daily sacrifices and Christian worship .....	231
Christian worship .....	232
"The Transgression of Desolation" .....	232
The Syrian altar .....	233
Unclean sacrifices .....	233
Muhammedan delusion .....	234
"Then the Sanctuary Shall Be Cleansed" .....	235
Saving the honor of the Jewish temple .....	235
Reconstruction of the Jewish temple .....	236
Liberation of the Christian Church .....	236
Liberation of the Eastern Christian Church .....	236
Restoration of the Eastern Christian temples ...	237
Delivery of the Church and nations from popery ..	237
Reformation of the Western Christian Church .....	237
Justification of the Jewish temple .....	238
Reconstruction of the Jewish temple and	
conversion of the Jews .....	238

Purification of the Jewish temple and the restoration of its worship .....	239
Purification of the Jewish temple in the past as well as in the future .....	239
Summary .....	240
IV. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE VISION OF DANIEL 8 FROM 1850 TO 1900 .....	248
Animal Symbols .....	248
The Two-Horned Ram .....	249
The He-Goat .....	254
The He-Goat's "Notable Horn" .....	257
The He-Goat's Four "Notable Horns" .....	260
The Little Horn .....	264
Antiochus Epiphanes .....	265
The Muhammedan power .....	303
Pagan and Papal Rome .....	316
Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the papal Antichrist .....	322
Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the future Antichrist .....	324
Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the "king of the north" .....	342
The Roman Empire .....	344
The future Antichrist .....	349
Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the Moslem Antichrist .....	354
The Temporal Expression "2300 Evening-Mornings" .....	358
Meaning of "Evening-Morning" .....	358
Evening and Morning sacrifices .....	358
A natural day .....	360
A prophetic day .....	361
A symbolic day .....	363
Beginning and End of the "2300 Evening-Mornings" ..	364
1150 days .....	364
2300 days .....	366
2200, 2300, and 2400 years .....	367
Cultic Expressions .....	372
"The Daily" .....	372
Continual burnt offering .....	372
Christian worship .....	374
Daily sacrifices and Christian worship .....	375
Pagan worship and desolating actions .....	375
Daily memorial of the lamb .....	376
Everything used permanently in the worship of God .....	377
"The Transgression of Desolation" .....	378
Unclean Syrian sacrifices .....	378
Antiochus' desolating transgression .....	379
Antiochus' and Antichrist's desolations .....	380
Papal Rome's desolations .....	380
The sin of the Jewish people .....	381

The Syrian altar .....	381
False teaching of Muhammad and superstitions of the b'shop of Rome .....	382
The sin of the Jewish people and Antiochus' desolating transgression .....	382
"Then Shall the Sanctuary Be Cleansed" .....	382
The restoration of the Jewish worship .....	383
The cleansing of the Jewish temple and the cleansing of the Christian Church .....	385
The cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary .....	385
The future reconstruction of the Jewish temple ..	387
The restoration of the Jewish worship in the past as well as in the future .....	387
Liberation of the Christian Church .....	388
A Christian temple replacing the Mosque of Omar .	388
Deliverance of the Holy Land and Jewish people ..	388
Summary .....	389
V. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS .....	395
The Vision of Dan 8 .....	395
Animal Symbols .....	396
The Temporal Expression "2300 Evening-Mornings" ...	413
Cultic Expressions .....	424
Schools of Interpretation .....	429
Issues in Interpretation .....	433
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	436
Primary Sources .....	436
Secondary Sources .....	447

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASV	American Standard Version
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
JB	Jerusalem Bible
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JTS	Journal of Theol. Studies
KJV	King James Version
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
NSHE	New Shaff-Herzog Encyclopedia
PG	Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.
RSV	Revised Standard Version



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work has been completed thanks to the help received directly or indirectly from many persons. I wish to express my deep appreciation to the following persons and institutions to whom I feel especially indebted:

Miguel and Dionisia Núñez, my dear parents, who first suggested that I study theology.

Pastor Samuel Guizar and Dr. Jaime Cruz who first introduced me into the study of the book of Daniel and in numerous ways showed a continuing interest in my theological training.

The University of Montemorelos, México, under the former presidency of Dr. Jaime Castrejón and under the current presidency of Professor Daniel Martínez, for its financial support.

The Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, through Dr. Gerhard F. Hasel, for its opportune financial assistance.

Mrs. Susanna Metz and Dr. Annemarie Krause for graciously helping me to translate some material from German into English.

Dr. Leona Running and Mrs. Joyce Jones who kindly and efficiently edited this work.

The staff of the libraries of the University of California, Southern Methodist University, Chicago University, Northwestern University, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, Princeton Theological

Seminary, The Lutheran Theological Seminary of Philadelphia, Westminster Theological Seminary, The University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, University of Virginia, University of Missouri, University of Notre Dame, and the University of Michigan for allowing me to use some of their books which I needed for this investigation.

Dr. Gerhard F. Hasel, Dr. William H. Shea, Dr. Hans K. LaRondelle, Dr. Kenneth A. Strand, and Dr. Gleason L. Archer who in spite of their heavy responsibilities were willing to read the manuscript and offer valuable suggestions.

The staff of the James White Library for their assistance in securing crucial reference materials.

Hiram J. Núñez, my brother, and Julio R. and Maria Labrador, my parents in law, for providing financial security.

Raquel, my dear wife, Samuel and Rachel, my two loving children, who encouraged me to finish this investigation and were willing to sacrifice on my behalf.

Yahweh, the creator of heaven and earth, for giving me life and health to see this work completed.

To all who helped me I am sincerely thankful.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In the vision of Dan 8 there are some animal symbols and particular expressions which have attracted the attention of many exegetes through the centuries. Among the animal symbols are (1) the two-horned ram, (2) the he-goat, (3) the he-goat's notable horn, (4) the he-goat's four notable horns, and (5) the little horn which grew exceeding great. Among the temporal and cultic expressions may be mentioned the "2300 evening-mornings," "the daily," "the transgression of desolation," and "then shall the sanctuary be cleansed."

#### The Problem

The animal symbols and expressions of Dan 8 have been interpreted, from the time of Christ to the present, in a variety of ways. This is known thanks to the preservation of many ancient books, commentaries, and periodicals which still are extant and well kept in some libraries.

A careful reading of these sources reveals that there has existed a discrepancy of opinion in the past concerning the meaning of the animal symbols and expressions of Dan 8. For example, Matthew Henry understood the two-horned ram to refer to the unified kingdom of the Medes and Persians,<sup>1</sup> while Dom Augustin Calmet thought that it

---

<sup>1</sup>Matthew Henry, An Exposition of the Old and New Testament.

represents King Cyrus of Persia.<sup>1</sup> William Lowth considered the he-goat's notable horn to designate King Alexander the Great,<sup>2</sup> while Isaac Newton argued that it represents the unified Grecian kingdom from the reign of Alexander the Great to Hercules his son.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, Calmet interpreted the he-goat's four horns to refer to the four kings who divided the Grecian empire,<sup>4</sup> while I. Newton argued that the four horns denote the four kingdoms in which the Grecian empire was divided.<sup>5</sup> The little horn, which was the most controversial of all the animal symbols of Dan 8, was interpreted as follows: (1) it signifies Antiochus Epiphanes,<sup>6</sup> (2) it refers to Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist,<sup>7</sup> (3) it represents Macedonia under the power of the Romans,<sup>8</sup> (4) it denotes the bishops of Rome,<sup>9</sup> (5) it

(Philadelphia: Ed. Barrington & Geo. D. Haswell, 1828), 4:844.

<sup>1</sup>Dom Augustin Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament (Paris: Pierry Emery, 1715), 15:665.

<sup>2</sup>William Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets (London: William Mears, 1726), 1:73.

<sup>3</sup>Isaac Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John (London: J. Darby and T. Browne, 1733), p. 115.

<sup>4</sup>Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:669.

<sup>5</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:845.

<sup>7</sup>Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:76.

<sup>8</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 120.

<sup>9</sup>[Théodore Crinsoz], Essai sur l'Apocalypse, avec des éclaircissèmens sur les prophéties de Daniel qui regardent les

designates the Roman empire,<sup>1</sup> (6) it signifies Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the Muhammedan power,<sup>2</sup> (7) it represents the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad,<sup>3</sup> and (8) it signifies the future Antichrist.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the location of these animal symbols in the sequence of the four world empires of the book of Daniel, there was also a variety of opinion among interpreters. Henry believed that the two-horned ram represents the second world empire,<sup>5</sup> while Caesar Lengerke thought that it represents both the second and the third.<sup>6</sup> Faber maintained that the he-goat represents the third world empire,<sup>7</sup> while Lengerke believed that it represents the fourth.<sup>8</sup> Again, the he-goat's four horns, being considered as an integral part of the he-

---

derniers tem[p]s (n.p., 1729), p. 385.

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies (Philadelphia: J. J. Woodward, 1838), pp. 248, 249.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy (Oxford: At the University Press, 1799), pp. 349-351.

<sup>3</sup>George Stanley Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies . . . Relative to the Great Period of 1260 Years, 2nd ed. (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1807), 1:209.

<sup>4</sup>Samuel Roffey Maitland, An Attempt to Elucidate the Prophecies Concerning Antichrist (London: C. J. G. and F. Rivington, 1830), p. 10.

<sup>5</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844.

<sup>6</sup>Caesar von Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel (Königsberg: G. Bornträger, 1835), pp. 89-92.

<sup>7</sup>Faber, A Dissertation, 1:206.

<sup>8</sup>Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, p. 90.

goat, were understood by Faber as part of the third world empire,<sup>1</sup> while Bertholdt thought that the horns represent the fourth world empire.<sup>2</sup>

The temporal expression "2300 evening-mornings" was also interpreted in different ways. Henry, for example, understood it to mean 2300 natural days;<sup>3</sup> Roos, to signify 1150 natural days;<sup>4</sup> and Thomas Newton, to denote 2300 prophetic days or 2300 years.<sup>5</sup> An equally significant discrepancy existed in the determination of this chronological period.

The cultic expressions were also interpreted in a variety of ways. The "daily," for example, was understood by Henry to refer to the daily sacrifice of the Jewish worship,<sup>6</sup> while Faber thought that it refers to the prayers and praises of Christian worship.<sup>7</sup> The expression "transgression of desolation" was also understood by Henry to refer to the image of Jupiter Olympus, which was placed in the temple of Jerusalem,<sup>8</sup> while Faber thought that it refers to the

---

<sup>1</sup>Faber, A Dissertation, 1:207, 208.

<sup>2</sup>Leonhard Bertholdt, Daniel aus dem Hebräisch-Aramäischen neu übersetzt und erklärt mit einer vollständigen Einleitung und einigen historischen und exegetischen Excursen, 2 vols. (Erlangen: J. J. Palm. 1806-1808), 1:216.

<sup>3</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:846.

<sup>4</sup>Magnus F. Roos, An Exposition of Such of the Prophecies of Daniel as Receive Their Accomplishment under the New Testament, trans. Ebenezer Henderson (Edinburgh: J. and J. Robertson, 1811), p. 216.

<sup>5</sup>Th. Newton, Dissertations, p. 259.

<sup>6</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:845.

<sup>7</sup>Faber, A Dissertation, 1:276.

<sup>8</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:846.

religion of Muhammad.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, the expression "then shall the sanctuary be cleansed" was held by Henry to refer to Judas Maccabaeus's restoration of the Jewish worship, after it was interrupted by Antiochus Epiphanes,<sup>2</sup> while Crinsoz understood that it refers to the purification of the Christian church.<sup>3</sup> Other interpreters believed that it refers to the restoration of the Jews to Palestine,<sup>4</sup> or to the purification of the heavenly sanctuary.<sup>5</sup>

This problem of differing interpretations of the animal symbols and expressions of Dan 8 raises several questions: (1) What are in reality the interpretations which were given to the animal symbols and expressions of the vision of Dan 8? (2) What exegetical, historical, or philological arguments were offered? (3) What methodological approaches were used in the interpretation of this vision? What are the possible causes of these differing interpretations? (4) How many major schools of interpretation dealt with it? (5) What criteria do these schools have and how may they be classified?

These and other issues are of special interest in the history of the interpretation of Dan 8. As far as is known, no scholarly study in this area is available. It is true that several scholars

---

<sup>1</sup>Faber, A Dissertation, 1:271.

<sup>2</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:846.

<sup>3</sup>Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 392.

<sup>4</sup>Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, pp. 259, 260.

<sup>5</sup>Uriah Smith, Thoughts, Critical and Practical on the Book of Daniel and the Revelation (Battle Creek: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1882), p. 202.

have written histories of interpretation regarding some subjects of the book of Daniel, but none of them has covered the issues which have been raised here. For example, Charles Maitland<sup>1</sup> dealt with the interpretations of Jewish interpreters from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D., but he did not discuss the interpretations of Dan 8 in the post-Reformation period, which is the main concern of this investigation. H. H. Rowley also dealt with interpretations of Darius the Mede and the four world empires of the book of Daniel, but he did not deal much with Dan 8.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, LeRoy E. Froom dealt with several subjects relating to the book of Daniel, but he was not very concerned with the animal symbols and expressions of Dan 8, except the "2300 evening-mornings" and the "daily."<sup>3</sup>

It is hoped that this historical investigation of the interpretations of Dan 8 may fill this need, shed some light on the meaning of this vision, illuminate exegetical approaches, contribute to the knowledge of major schools of prophetic interpretation, and clarify other relevant issues.

#### The Purpose

The main purpose of this investigation is to trace a history of the exegesis of Dan 8, from about 1700 to 1900, and discover (1) the differing interpretations of the animal symbols and expressions

---

<sup>1</sup>Charles Maitland, The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849).

<sup>2</sup>H. H. Rowley, Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1959).

<sup>3</sup>LeRoy E. Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946-1954).



of Dan 8, (2) the exegetical and historical arguments which were offered, (3) the theological or philosophical presuppositions which influenced or guided the exegesis, (4) the approaches used, (5) the hermeneutical principles adopted, and (6) the major schools of interpretation which dealt with this vision.

These and other issues are addressed in this investigation with the purpose of providing some help to modern interpreters of Dan 8, by pointing out some hermeneutical problems of this vision which interpreters detected, the methods which exegetes used to solve those problems, and the solutions which were proposed. It is also the purpose of this study to contribute to the knowledge of major schools of prophetic interpretation by pointing out the basic approaches of interpreters to this vision, their main hermeneutical principles, their concepts of the nature of the vision and the time of its fulfillment.

#### The Importance

Several Biblical scholars have recognized and expressed their conviction concerning the significance that Dan 8 plays in the interpretation of other visions within the same book, and the importance that the book of Daniel plays in the interpretation of other biblical materials. For example, Albert Barnes observed: "This is one of the few prophecies in the Scriptures that are explained to the prophets themselves, and it becomes, therefore, important as a key to explain other prophecies of a similar character."<sup>1</sup> Likewise, E. B. Pusey

---

<sup>1</sup>Albert Barnes, Notes on the Old Testament, Daniel, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1950), 2:100 (first published in 1853).

wrote: "The vision [of Dan 8] is of the more moment in the interpretation of the rest, because its symbols are interpreted in the prophet himself."<sup>1</sup> Again, James A. Montgomery pointed out: "This chapter is patently a doublet of c. 7, and the latter more cryptic chap. must, most reasonably, be interpreted from c. 8."<sup>2</sup> Finally, John F. Walvoord has advocated the view that "Daniel provides the key to the overall interpretation of prophecy . . . and is essential to the interpretation of the book of Revelation."<sup>3</sup> If these assertions have some validity, then it must be important to understand Dan 8 correctly. One way toward reaching that goal is by knowing the history of its interpretation; that is, knowing how others have dealt with the text, what hermeneutical problems interpreters have encountered, what methods they have used, and what solutions they have proposed. If the hermeneutical problems of the vision are known, as well as the methods and solutions that have been proposed to solve them, then the modern interpreter is in a better position to deal with the text and to understand its meaning more adequately.

#### Limitations and Methodology

This research is limited to the period that runs from about 1700 to 1900. The beginning of the eighteenth century was chosen as a starting point because by this time a new era in the interpretation

---

<sup>1</sup>E. B. Pusey, Daniel the Prophet (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1885), p. 133.

<sup>2</sup>James A. Montgomery, The Book of Daniel, The International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 324.

<sup>3</sup>John F. Walvoord, Daniel, The Key to Prophetic Revelation (Chicago: Moody Press, 1971), p. 27.

of the book of Daniel was initiated.<sup>1</sup> The end of the nineteenth century was chosen as the concluding point of this research because by this time the major positions of interpretation of Dan 8 had been consolidated.

It was necessary to limit this investigation to the interpretations of five animal symbols, one temporal expression, and three cultic expressions of Dan 8 in order to study each of them with care and to describe the results in a more or less detailed fashion. It was also necessary to limit this study to works which were published in English, French, German, and Latin due to the accesibility of these materials.

This investigation is especially concerned with interpretations of the animal symbols and expressions of Dan 8 that were expounded by European and American expositors. Priority was given to their primary sources which deal either wholly or partly with this vision. Considerable effort was expended to include as many major sources as possible in order to have as complete a picture of the interpretation of Dan 8 as possible. Nevertheless, it is recognized that in spite of this effort some works were left out because it was not possible to get them,<sup>2</sup> fortunately, as far as is known, none of major importance.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>See Montgomery, The Book of Daniel, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup>Peter Roberts, A Manual of Prophecy (London: Ogles, Duncan, and Chochran, 1818); Christian Gottlob Thube, Das Buch des Propheten Daniels neu übersetzt und erklärt (Schwerin: und Wismar: Bödnerschen Buchhandlung, 1797); C. Trochon, La Sainte Bible avec commentaires: Les Prophètes--Daniel, 1882.

<sup>3</sup>These interpreters were not trend setters. At least they were not considered as such by other interpreters.

The results of this investigation are presented according to the subject of interpretation and in chronological order. Accordingly chapters II, III, and IV are subdivided thematically into three main sections: (1) animal symbols, (2) the temporal expression of "2300 evening-mornings," and (3) cultic expressions. Each of these chapters cover one specific period. Chapter II covers the period from about 1700 to 1800. The year 1700 was chosen to begin this first period of investigation because by this time new trends of interpretation regarding the book of Daniel began to appear in Europe. It was decided to conclude this period about 1800 to concentrate mostly on the interpretations of the two older schools of interpretation (historicist and preterist). Chapter III covers the period from about 1800 to 1850. This period begins with the interpretations of a new school of interpretation, the historical-critical school. It ends about the middle of the nineteenth century (1850) because by this time the most recent school of interpretation (dispensational futurist) had established more or less its own characteristics. Chapter IV covers the period from the middle of the nineteenth century (1850) to 1900. In this period the four schools of interpretation tried to consolidate their own interpretations and methodologies. The year 1900 was chosen as the concluding point of this investigation because by this time the major positions regarding the vision of Dan 8 had been consolidated. Finally, the last chapter contains conclusions and implications.

Before we pass to the main presentation of our investigation we would like to explain how some terms are used in it. The classification "historicist" is applied to those interpreters who believed

that the prophecies of Daniel cover the entire period from the historical Daniel of the Babylonian exile to the final eschaton. The term "preterist" is used to refer to those interpreters who considered the book of Daniel as a revelation from God (prophecy), but limited the fulfillment of its prophecies to the time period which runs from the time of Daniel in the sixth century B.C. to the first coming of Christ, and therefore understood them to be already fulfilled in the past. The classification "historical-critical" is employed to refer to those interpreters who did not consider the book of Daniel as prophecy or a revelation from God, but maintained that it is an apocalypse or a reflection of the political and religious situation of the Jewish people under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes (vaticinium ex eventu).<sup>1</sup> The classification "futurist" is used to refer to those interpreters who recognized the prophetic nature of the book of Daniel, but considered necessary to make a parenthesis or gap in the fulfillment of its prophecies either from the first coming of Christ or from the fall of the Roman Empire and expected a future division of the Roman Empire and a future Antichrist.

---

<sup>1</sup>During the nineteenth century interpreters of this school were referred as "rationalists" by interpreters of other schools of interpretation. More recently this view is designated as the "Maccabean thesis" by Klaus Koch in collaboration with T. Niewish and J. Tubach, Das Buch Daniel (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), pp. 8-9.

## CHAPTER II

### INTERPRETATIONS OF THE VISION OF DANIEL 8 FROM ABOUT 1700 TO 1800

This chapter describes differing interpretations of the vision of Dan 8 which were proposed or held by the eighteenth-century interpreters. These interpretations are presented in three main sections according to the subject matter and their chronological order. First, attention is given to the animal symbols; second, the interpretations of the temporal expression of the 2300 "evening-mornings" are presented; and finally, we describe the interpretations of such cultic expressions as the "daily," "the transgression of desolation," and "then shall the sanctuary be cleansed."

#### The Animal Symbols

The reader of the vision of Dan 8 notices that several animal symbols are employed by means of which the message of the vision is communicated. The animal symbols are: (1) The two-horned ram, (2) the he-goat, (3) the he-goat's great horn, (4) the he-goat's four horns, and (5) the little horn.

It should be noted that each of these animal symbols plays a specific and important role in the narrative, and each requires a careful interpretation, so that the reader may understand the vision as the author originally intended.

These animal symbols, in the past, have been interpreted in a variety of ways by many exegetes holding different religious convictions and using differing methods of interpretation. Thus, interpretations of the animal symbols of Dan 8 by the eighteenth-century expositors is the focal point of the first section of this chapter.

#### The Two-Horned Ram

The animal symbol which is first introduced in the vision of Dan 8 is a ram with two horns. Its appearance, activities, intention, and success are well described in the vision in relatively few words, and its meaning is given by the angelus interpres, Gabriel.

The description of the two-horned ram according to the KJV, the traditional Bible used by English-speaking expositors, is as follows:

Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and, behold, there stood before the river a ram which had two horns: and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great.

The explanation provided by the angelus interpres of this two-horned ram is as follows: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia."<sup>2</sup>

A good number of English and German expositors of the eighteenth century interpreted the two-horned ram as the united kingdom of the Medes and Persians, represented by its two horns. This position was taken by Matthew Henry (1662-1714), William Lowth (1660-

---

<sup>1</sup>Dan 8:3, 4.

<sup>2</sup>Dan 8:20.

1732), Isaac Newton (1642-1727), Thomas Newton (1704-1782), John Gill (1697-1771), Magnus Friedrich Roos (1727-1803), Richard Amner (1736-1803), Thomas Wintle (1737-1814), Thomas Zouch (1737-1815), James Bicheno (d. 1831), Henry Kett, (1761-1825) and George Stanley Faber (1773-1854).<sup>1</sup> This interpretation of the two-horned ram was based either on Gabriel's explanation of it (8:20) or on Gabriel's explanation and the resemblances which interpreters saw between Daniel's description of the ram and the history of Medo-Persia.<sup>2</sup> It was noted by them that Gabriel explicitly stated: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia" (Dan 8:20). Besides this explanation, it was also noted that there were at least two correspondences between the two-horned ram and Medo-Persia. One was between the two horns of the ram and the two kingdoms of Media

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry, An Exposition of the Old and New Testament, 4:844; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:73; I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 115; Thomas Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, reprint ed. (Philadelphia: J. J. Woodward, 1838), p. 236; John Gill, An Exposition of the Old Testament, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: W. W. Woodward, 1819), 6:364 (originally published in 1758); Magnus F. Roos, An Exposition of Such of the Prophecies of Daniel, as Receive Their Accomplishment under the New Testament, trans. by Ebenezer Henderson (Edinburgh: J. and J. Robertson, 1811), p. 207 (originally published in German in 1771); Richard Amner, An Essai towards an Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel (London: J. Johnson, 1776), p. 185; Thomas Wintle, Daniel, an Improved Version Attempted; with a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes Critical, Historical and Explanatory (London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1836), p. 129 (originally published in 1792); Thomas Zouch, "An Inquiry into the Prophetic Character of the Romans, as Described in Daniel viii. 23-25," The Works of the Rev. Thomas Zouch 2 vols. Dork: Thomas Wilson and Sons, 1820), 1:73 (originally published in 1792); James Bicheno, The Signs of the Times, in Three Parts (London: n.p., 1799), p. 52; Henry Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, 2 vols. (Oxford: At the University Press, 1799), 1:343; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:206, 207.

<sup>2</sup>See the works cited in the previous footnote.



and Persia. Here it was pointed out that as one of the ram's two horns became higher than the other, so the Persian kingdom became more prominent than that of the Medes which rose first.<sup>1</sup> The second correspondence which was emphasized was between the pushing of the ram toward the west, toward the north, and toward the south; and the Medo-Persian conquests in those directions.<sup>2</sup> These resemblances between the two-horn symbols and the ram's movements and history, in addition to Gabriel's explanation, were a clear indication that the two-horned ram represented the united kingdom of Medo-Persia.

It should be noted, however, that in spite of this general agreement of the identification of the two-horned ram with the Medo-Persian empire, interpreters did not agree on the meaning of the term

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry, An Exposition of the Old and New Testament, 4:844; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:73; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 236; Gill, An Exposition of the Old Testament, 6:364; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 207; Wintle, Daniel, pp. 129, 130; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:206, 207.

<sup>2</sup>Henry, An Exposition of the Old and New Testament, 4:844: Babylon, Syria, the Lesser Asia, and Greece to the west; Lydia, Armenia, and Cythia to the north; Arabia, Ethiopia, and Egypt to the South. Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel 1:73: Babylon, Syria, lesser Asia, and Greece, to the west; Iberia, Albania, and Colchos to the north; Egypt, Ethiopia, and India to the south. Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 237: As far as the Aegean Sea and the bounds of Asia to the west; Armenia, and Cappadocia to the north; and Egypt to the south. Gill, An Exposition of the Old Testament, 6:364: Babylon, Syria, Asia, and part of Greece, to the west; Iberia, Albania, Armenia, Scythia, and Colchis to the north; Arabia, Ethiopia, Egypt, and India to the south. Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 208: As far as the Aegean sea to the west; Scythia to the north; and Egypt to the south. Wintle, Daniel, p. 130: Syria, Asia Minor, and part of Greece to the west; Scythia, Lydia, Armenia, Cappadocia, and Iberia to the north; and Arabia, India, Egypt, and Ethiopia to the south. Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:207: As far as the extreme limits of Asia to the west; Armenia and Cappadocia to the north; and Egypt and as far as the Persian Gulf to the south.

"kings" which is used in the explanation of that animal symbol in Dan 8:20. Henry and Bicheno understood that term to refer literally to kings of the Medo-Persian empire,<sup>1</sup> while others understood the same term as a synonym of kingdoms, that is, the two kingdoms of the Medes and Persians which were united into one government.<sup>2</sup>

A double interpretation of the two-horned ram was provided by the French Catholic scholar Dom Augustin Calmet.<sup>3</sup> At one point in his commentary he maintained that the ram represents King Cyrus, the founder of the Medo-Persian empire,<sup>4</sup> whereas later he indicated that the ram represents either the whole Medo-Persian monarchy or the succession of its kings.<sup>5</sup> Calmet, like the other interpreters already mentioned, based his interpretation on Gabriel's explanation and on history. However, he differed from them in the fact that he based his former interpretation of the ram on the Vulgate in which Gabriel's explanation is rendered "king" instead of "kings,"<sup>6</sup> while the latter

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:847; Bicheno, The Signs of the Times, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 115; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 236; Wintle, Daniel, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup>Dom Augustin Calmet (1672-1757) was a French Catholic scholar who wrote a commentary on the whole Bible and other works. For more details about his life and works, see F. Bechtel, "Calmet, Dom Augustin," The Catholic Encyclopedia, 1908 ed., 3:189.

<sup>4</sup>Dom Augustin Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament (Paris: Pierry Emery, 1715), 15:665.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 15:675.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 15:675: "Aries quem vidisti . . . rex Medorum est atque Persarum."

interpretation of the ram was based on the Masoretic text.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the meaning of the two horns Calmet saw two possibilities. One was that the two horns signify the two kingdoms of the Medes and Persians which he suggested were united in Cyrus's person, since he was a Mede by his mother and a Persian by his father;<sup>2</sup> the other, that the two horns signify two different dynasties, one of Cyrus and the other of Darius Hystaspes,<sup>3</sup> a view which Theodoret had suggested before him.<sup>4</sup> The higher horn, Calmet thought, could represent either the empire of the Persians or the dynasty of Darius Hystaspes, though it seems that he favored the former.<sup>5</sup>

A third interpretation of the two-horned ram was proposed by the Dutch Reformed scholar Hermannus Venema (1697-1787). According to him, the symbol of the two-horned ram represents only the Persian kingdom.<sup>6</sup> This understanding was based on the ground that Medes and Persian are two diverse and distinct kingdoms in respect to people, reign, and time, and therefore they could not be represented by one beast.<sup>7</sup> In addition to this, Venema pointed out that the two horns of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 15:675. Calmet wrote: "L'Hébreu: ce bélier qui a des cornes, sont les Rois des Médes, & des Perses. Le bélier marque toute la Monarchie, ou toute la succession de Rois Medo-Perses."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 15:665.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Theodoret Upomnema eis tas Oraseis tou Prophetou Daniel 8.8.3 (Migne, PG, 81:1439).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 15:665, 656.

<sup>6</sup>Hermannus Venema, Dissertationes ad vaticinia Danielis emblematica Cap. 2, 7, et 8, 2d. ed. (Leiden: J. Le Mair & H. A. De Chalmot, 1768), p. 147. (First published in 1745.)

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

the ram do not denote two kingdoms but two kings, namely, Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes.<sup>1</sup>

Before Venema, in this same period, the Swiss theologian and orientalist Théodore Crinsoz had already interpreted the two horns of the ram to represent two persons, namely, Darius the Mede and Cyrus.<sup>2</sup> This view was opposed by Gill because "Darius and Cyrus were dead many years before the time of Alexander; and therefore, [they] could not personally be the two horns of the ram broken by him."<sup>3</sup> He also opposed the view of Theodoret, which was adopted by Calmet, that the two horns represent "the kings of two different families, as the one of Cyrus, and the other of Darius Hystaspes," for the same reason.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the chronological sequence of the two-horned ram, among the four world empires spoken of in Dan 2 and 7, Henry, I. Newton, Th. Newton, and Faber explicitly indicated that the two-horned ram represents the second monarchy.<sup>5</sup> Other interpreters, although they admitted the Medo-Persian empire to be the second world empire, did not explicitly state it in relation to the Ram but in relation to the symbols of Dan 2 and 7.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 150, 151.

<sup>2</sup>[Théodore Crinsoz de Bionens], Essai sur l'Apocalypse, avec des éclaircissemens sur les prophéties de Daniel qui regardent les derniers tem|p|s (n.p., 1729), p. 382.

<sup>3</sup>Gill, An Exposition, 6:370 (on Dan 8:20).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844; I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 115; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 236; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:206.

<sup>6</sup>Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:581; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:21, 59; Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse,

A different view was maintained by Venema. For him, the Persian kingdom, which was represented in his view by the two-horned ram, is the third among the four world empires spoken of in Dan 2 and 7.<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this understanding he discussed in relation to the symbols of Dan 2 and 7, but not in relation to the two-horned ram.<sup>2</sup>

#### The He-Goat

The second animal symbol in the vision of Dan 8 appears in the form of a he-goat coming from the west. Its features and actions are described as follows:

And as I was considering, behold, an he goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliveg the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he goat waxed very great:

The angelus interpretes refers to this animal symbol as follows: "And the rough goat is the king of Grecia."<sup>4</sup>

As far as could be detected, almost all the eighteenth-century interpreters of this vision agreed that the he-goat

---

pp. 369, 373; Gill, An Exposition, 6:314, 353; Wintle, Daniel, p. 33; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 147; Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, 1:335.

<sup>1</sup>Venema, Dissertationes, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>See *ibid.*, pp. 113-146.

<sup>3</sup>Dan 8:5-8a.

<sup>4</sup>Dan 8:21a.

represents the kingdom of Greece,<sup>1</sup> except Calmet who interpreted it to refer both to Greece and Alexander the Great.<sup>2</sup> This interpretation was based either on Dan 8:21a alone or on Dan 8:21a and resemblances they saw between Daniel's description and the history of the Grecian empire. Besides the explicit reference to Greece, exegetes noted a clear correspondence between the coming of the he-goat from the west, and the western position of Grecia in relation to Medo-Persia, which, according to them, was signified by the two-horned ram.<sup>3</sup> Another resemblance that they noted was between the swiftness of the he-goat and Alexander's rapid conquest over the Medo-Persian empire.<sup>4</sup> Thus, supported by Gabriel's explanation in Dan 8:21 regarding the he-goat and the correspondence which was recognized between the symbol and history, these interpreters of the eighteenth century maintained

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:843, 844, 847; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:71, 75; Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 383; I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 116; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 238; Venema, Dissertationes, p. 211, 213; Gill, An Exposition, 6:364, 370; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 207; Amner, An Essay, pp. 177, 178; Wintle, Daniel, p. 130; Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, 1:343. Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:207.

<sup>2</sup>Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:667, 675;

<sup>3</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:74; Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 383; Venema, Dissertationes, p. 217; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 238; Gill, An Exposition, 6:364; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 208; Wintle, Daniel, p. 131; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:207.

<sup>4</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:74; Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 383; Venema, Dissertationes, p. 219; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, pp. 238, 239; Gill, An Exposition, 6:364; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 208; Wintle, Daniel, p. 131; Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, 1:343; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:207.

that the he-goat represents the Grecian empire.

It should be noted, however, that although interpreters of the eighteenth century were united on the general meaning of the symbol of the he-goat, they did not agree on what the text really meant by the term "king" in Dan 8:21a. Calmet understood the term to mean literally a king, namely, Alexander the Great.<sup>1</sup> Henry understood it collectively to stand for the kings of Greece, but without further explanation.<sup>2</sup> Other interpreters understood the term "king" as a synonym or figure to stand for "kingdom," namely, the Grecian kingdom;<sup>3</sup> but they did not give any explanation of this particular passage as to why they interpreted it in that way. Some of them, however, had explained elsewhere why they understood the term "king" as "kingdom."<sup>4</sup>

With respect to the chronological sequence of the he-goat among the four world empires of the book of Daniel, Lowth, Kett, and

---

<sup>1</sup>Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:675.

<sup>2</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:847. On 8:20-22.

<sup>3</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 115; Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, pp. 369, 373; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 236; Gill, An Exposition, 6:314, 353; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 147; Wintle, Daniel, p. 33; Bicheno, The Signs of the Times, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup>For example Th. Newton in his Dissertations on Daniel 7 offered the following explanation: "Daniel dreamed, and the angel interpreted. 'These great beasts, which are four, are four kings [7:17],' or kingdoms, as it is translated in the Vulgar Latin, and the Greek and Arabic versions, and as the angel himself explains it, (ver. 23) 'the fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth'" (p. 201). In another place he again commented: "'four kings,' a little before, (ver. 17) signified four kingdoms: and so here 'ten kings' are ten kingdoms, according to the usual phraseology of Scripture" (p. 208).

Faber explicitly pointed out that it represents the third empire.<sup>1</sup> Calmet and Th. Newton only made the observation that there is a parallelism between the he-goat and the leopard of Dan 7 which, according to them, represents the third empire.<sup>2</sup> There were other interpreters who also admitted the Grecian empire to be the third empire. However, they did not express it directly in relation to the he-goat but in relation to the symbols of Dan 2 and 7.<sup>3</sup>

From the evidence known at present, among all the eighteenth-century interpreters of Dan 8, only Venema maintained that Greece is the fourth world empire spoken of in Dan 2 and 7, which in his view was represented by the he-goat.<sup>4</sup>

#### The He-Goat's "Notable Horn"

The description of the he-goat refers explicitly to a "notable horn" between his eyes, and also that this "notable horn" was broken after a time (Dan 8:5). Late in the chapter the angelus interpres explains: "The great horn that is between his eyes is the first king."<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:75, 76; Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, 1:347; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:206.

<sup>2</sup>Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:669; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:808, 838; Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, pp. 369, 378; Gill, An Exposition, 6:354; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 148; Wintle, Daniel, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup>Venema, Dissertationes, pp. 192-211. See also H. H. Rowley, Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1959), p. 145.

<sup>5</sup>Dan 8:21b.



At first sight this animal symbol does not seem to pose any problem of interpretation. However, there was a difference of opinion among interpreters regarding its meaning. Some of them thought that the "notable horn" represents King Alexander the Great, founder of the Greek Monarchy,<sup>1</sup> while others understood the same symbol to signify the first unified kingdom of Grecia or Alexander's dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

The cause of difference of opinion here, as in the previous symbol, resided in the way interpreters understood the term "king" in the explanation of the "notable horn" in vs. 21b. Some of them thought that the term was employed literally to denote a literal king, namely, Alexander the Great.<sup>3</sup> However, others thought that Gabriel used that term either as a synonym or figure to denote a kingdom, namely, the first united kingdom of Grecia which collapsed under Alexander's son Hercules.<sup>4</sup> I. Newton, who favored the latter view, argued that since the four horns are explicitly referred to as four kingdoms, so "the first great horn which they succeeded is the

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844, 847; Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:667, 668; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:74, 75; Gill, An Exposition, 6:365, 366, 370; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 208; Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, 1:343.

<sup>2</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 116, 117; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 239; Wintle, Daniel, p. 33; Bicheno, The Signs of the Times, p. 52; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:207.

<sup>3</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844, 847; Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:667, 668; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:74, 75; Gill, An Exposition, 6:365, 366, 370; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 208; Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, 1:343.

<sup>4</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 116, 117; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 239; Wintle, Daniel, pp. 131, 132; Bicheno, The Signs of the Times, p. 52; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:207.

first great kingdom of the Greeks, that which was founded by Alexander the Great . . . and lasted till the death of his son Hercules."<sup>1</sup>

Some of these expositors, being consistent with their understanding of the term "king," interpreted the breaking of the horn to refer to Alexander's death,<sup>2</sup> while others saw in it the collapse of Alexander's dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

#### The He-Goat's Four "Notable Horns"

Daniel describes that after the "conspicuous horn" was broken, "for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven."<sup>4</sup> These four horns were explained later in Dan 8 in the following words: "Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power."<sup>5</sup>

During the eighteenth century two main interpretations were offered of the he-goat's four horns. According to Lowth, the four horns denote the four governors or kings who divided the Grecian empire. This interpretation was based on the assumption that in this

---

<sup>1</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844; Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:668, 669; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:75; Gill, An Exposition, 6:365, 366; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, pp. 208, 209; Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, 1:343.

<sup>3</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 117; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 240; Wintle, Daniel, p. 132?; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:207, 208.

<sup>4</sup>Dan 8:8.

<sup>5</sup>Dan 8:22.

passage the horns represent kings.<sup>1</sup> But, according to I. Newton, Crinsoz, Th. Newton, Wintle, Roos, and Faber, the four horns signify the four kingdoms of the divided Grecian monarchy, on the basis that in vs. 22 they were so explained.<sup>2</sup> Other interpreters indistinctly referred the four horns to both kings and kingdoms.<sup>3</sup> Calmet's inconsistency depended on which version he followed, for the Vulgate reads in vs. 22 "kings," while the Masoretic "kingdoms."<sup>4</sup> Gill, on the other hand, seems to have understood the four horns in both ways on

---

<sup>1</sup>Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:75. According to him the four kings were Ptolemy, who reigned over Egypt; Cassander, who reigned over Macedonia; Lysimachus, who reigned over Asia; and Seleucus, who reigned over Syria.

<sup>2</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 117; Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 384; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 246; Wintle, Daniel, p. 133; Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 209; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:208. The four kingdoms were, according to Isaac Newton, those of Cassander, Lysimachus, Antigonus, and Ptolemy. According to Th. Newton, the kingdom of Cassander or Macedon, the kingdom of Lysimachus or Thrace, the kingdom of Ptolemy or Egypt, and the kingdom of Seleucus or Syria. According to Wintle, the kingdom of Ptolemy who reigned over Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Caelosyria, and Palestine; the kingdom of Cassander who reigned over Macedon, Greece, and Epirus; the kingdom of Lysimachus who reigned over Thrace and Bithynia; and the kingdom of Seleucus who reigned over Babylon, Syria, etc. According to Roos, Macedonia, Syria, Egypt, and Thracia, which afterwards was known as Pergamus. According to Faber, the kingdom of Cassander who held Macedon and Greece; the kingdom of Lysimachus over Thrace and Bithynia; the kingdom of Ptolemy over Egypt; and the kingdom of Seleucus over Syria.

<sup>3</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844, 847; Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:669, 676; Gill, An Exposition, 6:366, 367.

<sup>4</sup>Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:669, 676. He interpreted the four horns in one place as four kings on the basis of the Vulgate Version in which Gabriel's explanation reads "kings" instead of "kingdoms;" but in another place he interpreted them as "kingdoms," on the basis of the Masoretic Text. According to him the four kings were Ptolemy, Antigonos, Seleucus, and Antipater; and the four kingdoms, Egypt, Asia, Babylon, and Greece or Macedon.

the basis that a horn may signify both kings and kingdoms.<sup>1</sup>

These four horns were also interpreted by Henry, Calmet, Lowth, Th. Newton, Gill, Wintle, and Faber as symbols paralleling the leopard's four heads in Dan 7.<sup>2</sup> But in spite of the acknowledgement of this parallelism between the he-goat's four horns and the leopard's four heads, Calmet and Henry did not recognize the goat's four horns as part of the third empire; but following other expositors who preceded them<sup>3</sup> indicated that the successors of Alexander, or the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, or Syria alone, are the fourth empire of Daniel's four world kingdoms, as if the four horns of the he-goat were a parallel symbol with the fourth beast of Dan 7.<sup>4</sup> Against this view, Lowth remarked:

From the Description here given [8:8] of the Empire of Alexander and his four Successors, it is plain that the Prophet represents it as one and the same Empire: and as the Third in order of the Four great Monarchies. For it is represented under the Emblem of

---

<sup>1</sup>See, Gill, An Exposition, 6:364. For him the kings were Ptolemy, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus; and the kingdoms, Egypt, Greece, Asia, and Syria (pp. 366, 367).

<sup>2</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844; Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:669; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:75; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 246; Gill, An Exposition, 6:366; Wintle, Daniel, p. 134; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:208.

<sup>3</sup>Henry mentions Junius, Piscator, Polanus, and Broughton (p. 842). Calmet added to this list Grotius and Willet (pp. 583, 651).

<sup>4</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:842; Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:583, 651. It should be noted that Henry suggested that the fourth beast of Dan 7 represents primarily the Syrian empire, and secondarily, Rome heathen and papal; and the legs of iron of the image of Dan 2 to denote exclusively the Roman empire. Calmet, avoiding implications of his remarks, said: "Nous proposerons ici succinctement l'hypothese de ces Interprètes, comme nous l'avons déjà fait ci-devant, sans prétendre pour cela détruire le système qui entend le quatrième Empire, de l'Empire Romain, & qui est le plus communément reçu parmi les Interprètes" (p. 651).

one and the same He-Goat, having first one notable Horn in its Fore-head, which is expressly called the First King, ver. 21, and afterwards four growing in the room of it. This is a Confirmation of what is observed upon ii.40. that the Fourth Kingdom must be the Roman Empire.

Thomas Newton also presented three arguments why the Seleucidae who reigned in Syria and the Lagidae who reigned in Egypt cannot be the fourth empire: (1) because all the ancient historians speak of the kingdom of Alexander and of his successors as one and the same kingdom;<sup>2</sup> (2) because if these two kingdoms cannot be considered as part of Alexander's dominion, they cannot also be counted as one kingdom since they constitute properly two separate and distinct kingdoms;<sup>3</sup> and (3) because the descriptions given in Dan 2 and 7 of the fourth kingdom "by no means agree with either of those kingdoms."<sup>4</sup>

#### The Little Horn

The origin and actions of the little horn of Dan 8 are provided in Dan 8:9-12:

And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed

---

<sup>1</sup>Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:75, 76.

<sup>2</sup>Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 190, 206. On Dan 2 he said: "This fourth kingdom is described as stronger than the preceding. As iron breaketh and bruiseth all other metals, so this breaketh and subdueth all the former kingdoms, but the kingdom of the Lagidae and of the Seleucidae were so far from being stronger, that they were much weaker and less than any of the former kingdoms" (p. 190). On the four beast of Dan 7 he commented: "Of the fourth kingdom it is said, 'that it shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces':but this can never be applied to the kings of Egypt and Syria, who were so far from enlarging their dominion, that they could not preserve what was left them by their ancestors" (p. 206).

exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And a host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground; and it practised, and prospered.

The explanation of the angelus interpretes which is provided later says:

And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power; and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand.

There is a greater degree of difference in the interpretations of this little horn than on any other animal symbol of Dan 8. Several interpretations were held or proposed on this animal symbol during the eighteenth century. They are as follows: (1) The little horn signifies Antiochus Epiphanes, (2) the little horn signifies Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of antichrist, (3) the little horn represents the kingdom of Macedonia under the power of the Romans, (4) the little horn represents the Bishops of Rome, (5) the little horn represents the Roman empire, (6) the little horn signifies Antiochus Epiphanes, the religion of Muhammad, and France, and (7) the little horn signifies the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad.

In the following pages, these interpretations are considered in the order in which they were first published.

---

<sup>1</sup>Dan 8:23-25.

### Antiochus Epiphanes

One of the earliest eighteenth-century expositors claiming that the little horn denotes Antiochus Epiphanes was the non-conformist minister Matthew Henry (1662-1714).<sup>1</sup> This view was so widely accepted at his time that he could write confidently: "All agree that this was Antiochus Epiphanes."<sup>2</sup>

It seems true that from the time of Josephus to Henry's time the great majority of interpreters of this animal symbol understood it to signify Antiochus Epiphanes. However, it also seems true that most of them believed that Antiochus was a type of Antichrist.<sup>3</sup> With Matthew Henry the case was different. He was different in that he considered the little horn of Dan 8 to represent Antiochus Epiphanes and nobody else,<sup>4</sup> although he believed that a prophecy could have

---

<sup>1</sup>Matthew Henry (1662-1714) was an English nonconformist divine and commentator. His Exposition of the Old and New Testament began to be published in 1708. The fourth volume of the whole commentary, which covers from Isaiah to Malachi, was prepared by Henry for the press from 1710 to 1712. From his diary it is known that he prepared the book of Daniel in 1711. For more details about his life and work, see Alexander Gordon, "Henry, Matthew," Dictionary of National Biography, 1908 ed., 9:574; John B. Williams, The Lives of Philip and Matthew Henry (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1974); David Bogue and James Benneth, The History of Dissenters, 2 vols. (London: Frederick Westley and A. A. Davis, 1833), 1:493-500; LeRoy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1954), 4:119-120.

<sup>2</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844.

<sup>3</sup>See, Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 247. He wrote: "This little horn is by the generality of interpreters both Jewish and Christian, ancient and modern, supposed to mean Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who was a great enemy and cruel persecutor of the Jews . . . With St. Jerome agree most of the ancient fathers, and modern divines and commentators; but then all allow that Antiochus Epiphanes was a type of Antichrist."

<sup>4</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:843. In the introduction to Dan 8 he said: "The visions and prophecies of this chapter look only and

several fulfillments.<sup>1</sup> There were three more eighteenth-century interpreters holding this view, namely, Calmet, Amner, and Dathe.<sup>2</sup>

Henry maintained that the first six chapters of the book of Daniel "are historical, and are plain and easy," but the "six last are prophetic, and in them are many things dark, and hard to be understood."<sup>3</sup> According to him, the little horn of Dan 8 and the little horn of Dan 7 represent the same person, namely, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>4</sup> This understanding was based on several assumptions: (1) One of the four horns of the he-goat and the fourth beast of Dan 7 represent the fourth world empire;<sup>5</sup> (2) the fourth world empire of the book of Daniel was the Syrian or Seleucidae Empire;<sup>6</sup> (3) the little horn of Dan 8 came out from one of the four horns of the he-goat, as the little horn of Dan 7 came out from the fourth or terrible beast;<sup>7</sup> (4) a horn in the book of Daniel can represent a

---

entirely at the events that were then shortly to come to pass in the monarchies of Persia and Greece, and seem not to have any further reference at all."

<sup>1</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:842.

<sup>2</sup>Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:669; Amner, An Essay, p. 181; J. A. Dathe, Prophetæ Majores ex recensione textvs hebraei (Halle: Svmtibvs Orphanotrophei, 1779), p. 635. In a short note Dathe wrote: "Antiochus Epiphanes ex quarto illo Syrorum regno ortus. Cujus bella innuuntur versus meridiem h. e. Aegyptum, versus Orientem h. e. Persiam cf. 1 Maccab. III, 31. 37."

<sup>3</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:796.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 4:842, 844.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 4:842.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>See *ibid.*, 4:838, 844.



person;<sup>1</sup> (5) the kingdom of God or the fifth world monarchy was established at the first coming of Christ, which is represented by the stone cut out without hands;<sup>2</sup> and (6) all the prophecies of Daniel have reference primarily to certain events before and up to the first coming of Christ, and only in a secondary sense may refer to the second coming of Christ or the establishment of his kingdom of glory.<sup>3</sup>

Besides these assumptions, Henry understood the little horn of Dan 8 to be Antiochus Epiphanes on the basis of Gabriel's explanation of that symbol and on the historical resemblances which he saw between Daniel's description of the little horn and the history of that Syrian king. According to him, (1) Antiochus is called a little horn because "he was in his original contemptible," "of a base, servile disposition," and without any "princely qualities;" and also because he had been "for some time a hostage and prisoner at Rome," and from there he escaped and ascended to the Syrian throne.<sup>4</sup> (2) Antiochus, like the little horn, extended his dominion toward Egypt which is to the south, toward Persia and Armenia which is to the

---

<sup>1</sup>Thus he understood the four horns of the he-goat. See An Exposition, 4:841.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 4:808. There he wrote: "The stone cut out without hands represented the kingdom of Jesus Christ, which should be set up in the world in the time of the Roman empire."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 4:796, 842. According to him, "Daniel . . . continues the holy story from the first surprising of Jerusalem by the Chaldean Babel, when he himself was carried away captive, until the last destruction of it by Rome, the mystical Babel, for so far forwards his predictions look. ch. ix. 27" (p. 796).

<sup>4</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:844.

east, and toward Judea which is the "pleasant land."<sup>1</sup> Palestine, Henry pointed out, is called "the pleasant land" for its "fruitfulness," for its "delights of human life," for "God's presence in it," for "its being blessed with divine revelations and institutions," and because there the Messiah was to be born.<sup>2</sup> (3) Antiochus, like the little horn, "fought against the host of heaven," the Jews in general, who were at that time the "church-militant" on earth; "or the priests and Levites, who were employed in the service of the tabernacle and there warred a good warfare."<sup>3</sup> (4) "He cast down some of the host" or of the stars to the ground. By the stars Henry understood the most eminent Jews who served both in church and state. They, he said, were forced by Antiochus "to comply with his idolatries" or to suffer death. And among those who were executed he mentioned good Eleazar and the seven brethren who preferred to die rather than eat swine's flesh (2 Mac. 6:7).<sup>4</sup> (5) Antiochus, like the little horn, "magnified himself even to the prince of the host." He deprived the high priest Onias of his dignity; or rather he persecuted God in the person of his people.<sup>5</sup> (6) "He took away the daily sacrifice; that is, he forbade and restrained the morning and evening lamb to be offered upon the altar of the Jewish temple."<sup>6</sup> (7)

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 4:845.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

Antiochus, like the little horn, "cast down the place of his sanctuary." Henry acknowledged that Antiochus did not destroy the temple, but argued that Antiochus cast down the sanctuary when he profaned it and "made it the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and set up his image in it."<sup>1</sup> (8) "He also cast down the truth to the ground," that is, "he trampled upon the book of the law, that word of truth, tore it, and burnt it, and did what he could to have destroyed it quite, that it might have been lost and forgotten for ever."<sup>2</sup> He "went near," he said, "to have extirpated that holy religion which God's right hand had planted."<sup>3</sup> (9) Antiochus trampled the sanctuary and the host for 2300 days, that is, from the time Menelaus caused the Jewish people to defect from their religion in the year 142 of the Seleucidae, the sixth month, and the sixth day, to the cleansing of the sanctuary by Judas Maccabaeus in the year 148, the ninth month, and the twenty-fifth day (1 Macc 4:52).<sup>4</sup> (10) Antiochus rose up in the latter time of the Grecian kingdom, when the transgressors came to the full (v. 23), that is, "when the degenerate Jews have filled up the measure of their impiety."<sup>5</sup> (11) Antiochus was a king of "fierce countenance" and understood "dark sentences or, rather, [was] versed in dark practices." He was "insolent and furious, neither fearing God nor regarding man." He "was master of all the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 4:846.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 4:847.

arts of disimulation and deceit, and knew the depths of Satan as well as any man."<sup>1</sup> (12) Antiochus was mighty but not by his own power. He succeeded, Henry said, "partly by the assistance of his allies, Eumenes and Attalus, partly by the baseness and treachery of many of the Jews, . . . and especially by the divine permission."<sup>2</sup> Finally, (13) Antiochus was broken without hand. He fell into the hands of God and died by His direct intervention. Antiochus "was struck with an incurable plague in his bowels," and "his torments were violent." Thus, he miserably died in "a strange land, on the mountains of Pacata, near Babylon."<sup>3</sup>

This is Henry's interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8 and his support in favor of it. Two other interpreters of this period who also adopted the same interpretation are Dom Augustin Calmet and Richard Amner. Their views are discussed next.

#### Dom Augustin Calmet

Dom A. Calmet (1672-1757), a French Catholic scholar, published a commentary on Daniel in 1715.<sup>4</sup> In it he acknowledged the Hebrew and Aramaic text of Daniel as canonical but manifested some doubts regarding those portions written in Greek (Susanna, Bel, and The Dragon).<sup>5</sup> For him the four world empires spoken of in Dan 2 and 7

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 4:847, 848.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 4:848.

<sup>4</sup>Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament (Paris: Pierre Emery, 1715).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 15:515: "Tout ce qui est en Hébreu, ou en Chaldéen, a

were the Babylonian, the Persian, the Grecian, and both the Egyptian and Syrian;<sup>1</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>2</sup> This understanding seems to be grounded on the assumption that "the Messiah, who is the end of all these prophecies, should come after the destruction of the fourth empire."<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Calmet maintained that it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>4</sup> According to him, Antiochus gained much glory in his war against Philometor king of Egypt, in the south; against Artaxias king of Armenia, in the east; and against the Jewish people.<sup>5</sup> He warred against the "host of heaven" or the "holy nation." The stars of heaven, he said, which were trampled by this horn, signify the faithful Jews who opposed Antiochus. For "the holy ones, the just, the wise, are often compared to the stars and luminaries, in the style of the Scripture."<sup>6</sup> Antiochus also magnified himself even to the "Prince of the host" (God) by profaning His temple, interrupting His sacrifices, killing His servants, persecuting His faithful people, abolishing His law, and establishing

---

toujours été regardé comme Canonique. Mais ce qui est en Grec, a souffert de grandes contradictions."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 15:582, 583, 648-651.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 15:652.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 15:583: "Le Messie, qui est la fin de toute cette Prophétie, devoit venir après la destruction de ce quatrième Empire."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 15:669.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 15:669.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 15:670: "Les Saints, les Justes, les Savans, sont souvent comparez aux étoiles, & aux astres, dans le style de l'Ecriture." Gen 22:17, 26:4; Exod 32.

idolatry in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> Antiochus was raised up by God when the iniquity of the Jews and priests came to the full.<sup>2</sup> His two characteristics are given: (1) impudence and (2) the understanding of "dark and difficult sentences."<sup>3</sup> Antiochus was mighty but not by his own power. He ascended to the Syrian throne by the help of Eumenes and Attalus.<sup>4</sup> Finally, Antiochus' life came to an end by the intervention of God and not of man.<sup>5</sup>

Richard Amner

Richard Amner (1736-1803), English dissenting minister, published an Essay on the Prophecies of Daniel in 1776.<sup>6</sup> In the Preface, he revealed his approach to the interpretation of Daniel. According to him, "it might be best to begin with these last chapters [11, 12], and then proceed, by a sort of retrogression in the method, and with the assistance of such lights as they would probably afford, to the interpretation of the former."<sup>7</sup> From the total omission of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 15:676.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. " . . . Dieu suscita Antiochus Epiphane, à qui l'Écriture donne ici deux caractères. Le Premier, est l'impudence; & le second, est la connoissance des propositions obscures & difficiles . . . L'Histoire nous apprend qu'Antiochus s'abandonna sans ménagement aux actions les plus basses, les plus honteuses, & les plus indignes de la majesté royale."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 15:677.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 15:678.

<sup>6</sup>Richard Amner, An Essay towards an Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel (London: J. Johnson, 1776). On Richard Amner's life, see S. Austin Allibone, A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors, 1874 ed., 1:58.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. x.

reference "to any protecting and guardian angel of the Roman people" in Dan 10, "while those of Persia and Greece are particularly mentioned," he inferred that the Roman empire is not the principal object in the prophecies of Dan 11 and 12.<sup>1</sup> In other words, for him the prophecies of Dan 11 and 12 reach up only to the Grecian empire, and especially up to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. In this he differed from Henry, who thought that the prophecies of Daniel in their primary sense reach up to the first coming of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

In the interpretation of Dan 11, Amner was guided by the books of Maccabees, which he explicitly called "our best guide and expositor";<sup>2</sup> Josephus' history; Grotius' and Calmet's commentary on Daniel; and Prideaux's The Old and New Testament.

Having dealt with Dan 11 and 12 and concluded that those chapters refer to Antiochus' persecution of the Jews, he appealed to the reader to "go on, under the protection and with the light of these, to explain, as was formerly proposed, the other prophecies."<sup>3</sup> In the light of these chapters, he considered the four world empires of the book of Daniel to be the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian under Alexander the Great, and both the Syrian and Egyptian kingdoms;<sup>4</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>5</sup> With

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 141-159.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

regard to the little horn of Dan 8, he maintained that it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>1</sup> According to him, Antiochus "waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land."<sup>2</sup> He "'waxed great even to the host of heaven'; or against those priests and Levites who are here and elsewhere very elegantly compared to the stars in their courses."<sup>3</sup> Antiochus, he said,

. . . 'magnified himself even to the prince of the host'; that is, against the good high priest Onias, 'and from him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down,' referring no doubt to his degradation and death, of which some notice was taken formerly.<sup>4</sup>

Antiochus magnified himself in his heart, and in a time of pretended peace destroyed many Jews.<sup>5</sup> Finally, Antiochus was punished by God.<sup>6</sup>

These are the arguments or support presented by Henry, Calmet, and Amner regarding the little horn of Dan 8. Henry and Calmet shared the idea that the prophecies of Daniel point primarily to the first coming of Christ, and therefore the fourth empire spoken of in the book of Daniel, the little horn of Dan 7, and the little horn of Dan 8 must refer to historical facts already fulfilled before the first appearing of Christ on earth. Amner, on the other hand, based on the assumption that chaps. 11 and 12 should guide the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 180, 181.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. "See Acts vii. 42. Deut. iv. 19. xvii.3. Judges v. 20; and compare with them, Numb. viii. 24, 25. (margin) in illustration of this particular."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 190, 191.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 191.



interpretation of the foregoing chapters, limited the scope of Daniel's prophecies of chaps. 2, 7, 8, and 9 to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in consequence looked for the fulfilment of those prophecies before or during Antiochus' time. This mode of approach to the book of Daniel, followed by Henry, Calmet, and Amner, is called the "preterist" approach.<sup>1</sup>

#### Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist

There are several eighteenth-century interpreters who held the view that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of antichrist: Christian B. Michaelis (1720), William Lowth (1726), John Gill (1758), Magnus F. Roos (1771), and Thomas Wintle (1792).<sup>2</sup>

As far as is known, this view already had its proponents before and during the time of Jerome, who made the following comment: "Most of our commentators refer this passage to the Antichrist, and hold that that which occurred under Antiochus was only by way of a type which shall be fulfilled under Antichrist."<sup>3</sup> It seems that from

---

<sup>1</sup>See Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 98; Rowley, Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires, p. 81; Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 4:387.

<sup>2</sup>Christian B. Michaelis, Uberiores Adnotationes in Banielem, in Uberiorvm Adnotationvm Philologico-Exegeticarvm in Hagigraphos Vet. Testamenti Libros, 3 vols. (Halle: Orphanotrophei, 1720), 3:242-269; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets (London: William Mears, 1726), 1:76-78; Gill, An Exposition of the Old Testament, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1819), 6:367-371 (first published from 1748-1763); Roos, An Exposition of Daniel (Edinburgh: J. & J. Robertson, 1811), pp. 210-225 (first published in German in 1771); Wintle, Daniel, an Improved Version Attempted; with a Preliminary Dissertation, and Notes Critical, Historical, and Explanatory (London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1836), pp. 134-147 (first published in 1792).

<sup>3</sup>Jerome's Commentary on Daniel, trans. by Gleason L. Archer,

Jerome's time to the middle of the eighteenth century few expositors departed from that view,<sup>1</sup> and it was so popular that Thomas Newton could write in 1756:

This little horn is by the generality of interpreters both Jewish and Christian, ancient and modern, supposed to mean Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who was a great enemy and cruel persecutor of the Jews . . . With St. Jerome agree most of the ancient fathers, and modern divines and commentators; but then they all allow that Antiochus Epiphanes was a type of Antichrist."<sup>2</sup>

William Lowth, one of the earliest and best known English expositors of this view during the eighteenth century,<sup>3</sup> maintained in his Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel (1726) that the little horn of Dan 8 should not be confounded with the little horn of Dan 7, "although the former may be allowed to be a type of the latter."<sup>4</sup>

Lowth, who agreed that Daniel was a true prophet who lived in Babylon, pointed out that Josephus (Antiq. lib. X. c. 12) and Jesus Christ (Matt. 24:15) held the same view.<sup>5</sup> The book of Daniel, he affirmed, was written before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes,

---

Jr. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958), p. 87.

<sup>1</sup>Martin Luther, "Ad librum eximii Magistri Nostri Magistri Ambrosii Catharini, defensoris Silvestri Prietais acerrimi, responsio Martini Lutheri. Cum exposita Visione Danielis viii. De Antichristo." D. Martin Luthers Werke (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1897), 7:705-778.

<sup>2</sup>Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup>William Lowth was born in 1660 and died in 1732. He wrote commentaries on Isaiah and the Twelve Minor Prophets. For more information about his life and works, see Canon Venables, "Lowth, William," Dictionary of National Biography, 1909 ed., 12:216; Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 2:670.

<sup>4</sup>Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:76.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1:2.

contrary to Porphyry, since "this Prophecy was translated into Greek an Hundred Years before Antiochus' Time," and also because the great prophecies of Daniel which foretell "the great successes of Alexander (8:5; 11:3) were shewed to Alexander himself by the Jews" (Antiq. XI. C. 8).<sup>1</sup> Contrary to Matthew Henry, Lowth believed that the scope of the prophecies of Dan 2 and 7, concerning the four world monarchies, run from the time of Daniel to the end of the world.<sup>2</sup> However, as most of his predecessors, he believed that the prophecy of Dan 8 foretells primarily the Medo-Persian and Grecian empires, and how in the latter one Antiochus Epiphanes would persecute the Jews, profane the temple, and take away the daily sacrifice; thus he would become a type of Antichrist.<sup>3</sup>

For Lowth the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist, on the basis of resemblances which he saw between the prophetic description of it and the history of Antiochus Epiphanes as it appears in 1 Maccabees; and also on the assumption that the vile person of Dan 11:21-35 refers to the same personage. According to him, (1) Antiochus came out from one of the four sucesors of Alexander.<sup>4</sup> This argument is the result of the assumption that the personal pronoun "them" of 8:9 refers to the four horns mentioned in 8:8, and not to the "four winds of heaven," as was

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1:3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:22, 27, 66-68. In his introduction to Dan 7 he stated: "Daniel's vision concerning the four Beasts, which an Angel interprets of the four Great Monarchies, that were to continue successively unto the end of the world" (p. 27).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:71 (on his introduction to Dan 8). See also 1:11.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1:76.

suggested in the next century.<sup>1</sup> (2) Antiochus "waxed exceeding great toward the south," where "he took advantage of the youth of Ptolemy Philometor (1 Macc 1:16-19) and made himself master of Egypt, called the South in several places of the xith Chapter of this Prophecy."<sup>2</sup> (3) He also "waxed exceeding great" toward the east (Armenia and Persia); toward "the pleasant land" or Judea, which is so designated by the prophets (Ezek 20:6; Ps 48:2; Dan 11:16, 41, 45) "as being made choice of by God to place his People there, and to make it the Seat of his peculiar Residence."<sup>3</sup> (4) Antiochus "waxed great, even to the host of heaven," that is, "the Jewish church, and particularly the Priests and Levites, who are called the Host of Heaven . . . from their continual Attendance on God's Service in the Temple."<sup>4</sup> (5) Antiochus "magnified himself against the Prince of the Host," which "may more properly be understood of God" or Christ, "by abolishing his worship and setting idolatry in its stead" (1 Macc 1:21-24, 44-54).<sup>5</sup> (6) The daily sacrifice which was offered every morning and evening (Num 28:3) "was taken away by Antiochus, and both Altar and Temple profaned" (1 Macc 1:44-64).<sup>6</sup> (7) Antiochus "cast down the truth to the ground" by suppressing it for a time and hindering the

---

<sup>1</sup>See W. R. A. Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel (London: Rivingtons, 1863), pp. 274-278.

<sup>2</sup>Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:76.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 76, 77.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 77. Here, Lowth explained that the word ṣābāʾ is used in Exod 38:8 and Num 4:25 for the attendance in the sanctuary.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 78, 86.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

open possession of it.<sup>1</sup> (8) Antiochus set up the "transgression of desolation" or a pagan idol upon God's altar in Jerusalem (1 Macc 1:54, 59).<sup>2</sup> (9) He trampled the host and the sanctuary for 2300 natural days (1 Macc 1:11-54).<sup>3</sup> (10) Antiochus rose up in the latter time of the Grecian empire; for in the same year that Antiochus set up the abomination of desolation in the temple of Jerusalem, Paulus Aemilius conquered Macedonia and brought all Greece under the power of the Romans (Mede's Works, p. 654).<sup>4</sup> (11) Antiochus rose up when the transgressors came to the full, that is, when the Jews were willing to cast off "their true religion and embrace the Gentile Idolatries" (1 Macc 1:11-15; 2:15-18).<sup>5</sup> (12) Antiochus was "a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences," for he was "without pity or Compassion" and "one practised in Craft and Policy, see ver. 25."<sup>6</sup> (13) Antiochus was mighty, but not by his own power. He obtained the kingdom of Syria by the help of King Eumenes and his brother Attalus; he was helped by the treachery of the high priests Jason and Menelaus (1 Macc 1:11); and above all else he was helped by God, who permitted the chastisement of His people because of their sins. However, Lowth said, this passage fits better the Antichrist of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 80. This argument is based on the assumption that "the transgression of desolation" of 8:13 is the same as "the abomination of desolation" of 11:31, and that the latter refers to the image which Antiochus set up upon the altar of the Jewish temple.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

whom Antiochus was the type.<sup>1</sup> (14) He destroyed "the mighty and the holy people" by killing many Jews during his first invasion of Jerusalem (2 Macc 5:14) and two years later by sending Apollonius to kill those who would worship on the Sabbath (1 Macc 1:29, 30).<sup>2</sup> (15) Antiochus was crafty and cunning; "and under pretence of Peace and Friendship he invaded and spoiled both Egypt and Judea" (1 Macc 1:30).<sup>3</sup> Finally, (16) Antiochus was broken without hand or by God's judgment (cf. Job 34:20; Dan 2:45). He died by a severe disease and suffered "horrible Torments both of Body and Mind" (1 Macc 6:8-13; Polybius, p. 1453 of Gronovius's Edition).<sup>4</sup>

This was Lowth's view on the little horn of Dan 8. Other interpreters who maintained the same position are Gill, Roos, and Wintle. Their support in favor of this view is presented next.

#### John Gill

John Gill (1697-1771), Baptist divine and orientalist, in his Exposition of the Old Testament (1748-1763), also dealt with the prophecies of Daniel (1758).<sup>5</sup> According to him, the four world

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 85: "But the Expression may be more fitly applied to Antichrist, of whom Antiochus was the Type, who grew Great, and carried on his Designs not so much by his own Strength, as by the Power of the ten kings, who afforded him their Arms and Assistance. See Revel xvii, 13, 17."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 85, 86.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 86, 87.

<sup>5</sup>Gill, An Exposition of the Old Testament, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1819), 6:298 (first published from 1748 to 1763). For more details about Gill's life and works, see S. A. Allibone, A Critical Dictionary, 1:671.

empires of Daniel are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman;<sup>1</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the "antichrist" or "the pope of Rome."<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Gill maintained that it rather denotes "Antiochus Epiphanes, who sprang from the kingdom of the Seleucidae in Syria, or from Seleucus king of Syria, one of the four horns before mentioned."<sup>3</sup> In addition to this, he also maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 refers typologically to the papal antichrist. His basis seems to be the correspondence between Antiochus' actions and character and those of the papal power. Commenting on the 2300 days, during which the little horn would trample the host and the sanctuary, he said:

Indeed, as Antiochus was a type of Antichrist, and his persecution of that desolation made by antichrist in the church; these 2300 days may be considered as so many years, which will bring it down to the end of the sixth Millennium, or thereabout; when it may be hoped there will be a new face of things upon the sanctuary and church of God, and a cleansing of it from all corruption in doctrine, discipline, worship, and conversation.

On vs. 24 he commented that as Antiochus became mighty through sedition, fraud, and by the help of Eumenes and Attalus, "so his

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 6:315-316, 353-354.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 6:355: "Not Titus Vespasian, as Jarchi; nor the Turkish empire, as Saadia; nor Antiochus Epiphanes, as many Christian interpreters; for not a single person or king is meant by a horn, but a kingdom or state, and a succession of governors; as by the other ten horns are meant ten kings or kingdoms; besides, this little horn is part of the fourth, and not the third beast, to which Antiochus belonged; . . . and since no other has appeared in the Roman empire, to whom the characters of this horn agree, but antichrist, or the pope of Rome, he may be well thought to be intended."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 367. His arguments in favor of this view are very similar to those of Lowth.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 6:368.

antitype, antichrist, became great and powerful, through craft, and by the help of the ten kings that gave their kingdom to him."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he also pointed out that as Antiochus magnified himself in his heart and thought "himself above all mortals, and equal to God himself," so would "his antitype antichrist, exalt himself above all that is called God."<sup>2</sup>

Magnus Friedrich Roos

Magnus F. Roos (1697-1771), German Lutheran writer and pupil of Johann Albrecht Bengel, wrote several Biblical commentaries and among them one on the book of Daniel.<sup>3</sup> Roos considered the four world monarchies of Daniel to be the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman;<sup>4</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the future Antichrist or the last "Roman pope."<sup>5</sup>

In the same line of thought as Lowth and Gill, Roos maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to Antiochus Epiphanes as a figure or type of Antichrist<sup>6</sup> and opposed the interpretation that

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 6:371.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Magnus F. Roos, Auslegung der Weissagungen Daniels, die in die Zeit des Neuen Testaments hineinreichen, nebst ihrer Vergleichung mit der Offenbarung Johannis, nach der Bengelischen Erklärung derselben (Leipzig: Ulrich Christian Saalbach, 1771). Idem, An Exposition of Such of the Prophecies of Daniel, as Receive Their Accomplishment under the New Testament, trans. from the German by Ebenezer Henderson (Edinburgh: J. and J. Robertson, 1811). For more information about his life and work, see Hermann Beck, "Roos, Magnus Friedrich," NSHE, 1911 ed., 10:91, 92.

<sup>4</sup> Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, pp. 146-156.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 170-184.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 207, 219.



the little horn of Dan 8 represents Muhammad or "the kingdom of the Turks and Saracens,"<sup>1</sup> as well as the interpretation that it represents the Roman empire.<sup>2</sup> In support of the typological interpretation, he pointed out:

It is indubitably certain, that the time of the end, and of the last indignation, did not arrive under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. . . . Yet what was predicted of Antiochus, belongs to the time of the end, and of the last indignation, in as much as he was a type of antichrist, in whose time the seven angels will pour out their vials. When therefore Antiochus is described,<sup>3</sup> a description is given at the same time of the last antichrist.

"This mode of communicating revelations concerning distant events," he said, "may be taken from the sacrifices of the Jews."<sup>4</sup>

When Moses speaks of burnt-offerings and meat offerings, it may be said by one who knows their emblematical import, that he speaks of Christ, and that his words appertain to the time of Christ, although they do not literally treat of him. In like manner, the vision of Daniel did not literally<sup>5</sup> refer to the time of the end, but only in an emblematical manner.

Besides the reference to vs. 17, he also pointed out the "striking similitude or correspondence between" Antiochus and the "Roman Antichrist."<sup>6</sup> However, he said, it also deserves to be noticed "that the resemblance between Antiochus and the Roman Antichrist, is not so complete as to exclude every point of difference."<sup>7</sup>

The former stood up out of one of the four horns on the he-goat;

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 213.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 119, 120.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 222.

whereas the latter does not arise out of any of the ten horns on the fourth beast, but out of the body of the beast itself. From which we may conclude that antichrist will not, like Antiochus, be descended from a royal family: the horns, in so far as they are considered apart from the body of the beast, signifying kings. Further, we do not find any mouth speaking great things ascribed to Antiochus, though he be described as strong or fierce of countenance. Neither did Antiochus bring any new gods into vogue, as the Roman antichrist will do; nor did he magnify himself above every God. As a heathen, he honoured and worshipped the idols of Greece. . . . The Grecian monarchy did not disappear along with Antiochus, nor did the kingdoms of this world cease at his death; but the Roman empire shall fall with the last antichrist; temporal kingdoms shall no longer obstruct the establishment and enlargement of the kingdom of God, and then shall the time of the end be. Other points of difference we pass, as being of no consequence in determining our opinion on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that Lowth and Gill understood the Antichrist of Dan 7 to be the papal power, while Roos thought that it would be a future person or the last pope of Rome.

Thomas Wintle

Thomas Wintle (1737-1814), Rector of Brightwell, Berkshire, made a translation of the book of Daniel and published it with critical and historical notes.<sup>2</sup> According to him,

We must therefore receive the whole book as it now stands, according to the general sense of the Jews and Christians, according to the express words of Josephus, who asserts it to be of divine authority, and according to the language of our Blessed Saviour himself, who cites the book of Daniel, and expressly calls the Author of it a Prophet.<sup>3</sup>

Different from the preterist interpreters, he thought that the last

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Wintle, Daniel, an Improved Version Attempted; with a Preliminary Dissertation, and Notes, Critical, Historical, and Explanatory (London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1836). First published in 1792. For more information on Wintle's life and work, see S. A. Allibone, A Critical Dictionary, 1876 ed., 3:2798.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. xi.

vision of Daniel (chaps. 11 and 12) unfolds distinguishing scenes "from the full restoration of the Jews after Captivity to the final Determination of all Things."<sup>1</sup> The four world empires spoken of in Dan 2 and 7 were for him the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and Roman;<sup>2</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the papal Antichrist.<sup>3</sup>

With respect to the little horn of Dan 8, Wintle thought that it refers to Antiochus Epiphanes, as well as to have a further reference to Antichrist. However, his explanatory notes concentrate mostly on the fulfillment of the little horn by Antiochus, rather than by Antichrist. The reasons for the typological interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8 he did not express, but contented himself to point out on vs. 11 that "in this and the next verse the vision seems to look beyond the type to the usurpations of Antichrist."<sup>4</sup>

Wintle, as well as Lowth and Gill, seems to have followed the traditional view of the ancient as well as of those more modern interpreters of the little horn of Dan 8. They took for granted that a typological interpretation of the little horn is in accord with Scripture and did not give reasons for it. Only Roos indicated that a typological interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8 is a necessity

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-35, 109-113.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 113: "Some understand by this Antiochus Epiphanes; others one of the first Caesars; others refer it to the Turkish empire, and will have Egypt, Asia and Greece to be the three horns torn up or reduced by the Turk; but the more general and better opinion refers it to Antichrist, or the papal usurpation."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 138.

because vs. 17 expressly says that it pertains to the time of the end, and for the striking correspondence between Antiochus' actions and character and those of the final Antichrist spoken of in Dan 7.

All these expositors considered the scope of the prophecies of Daniel to run from the time of Daniel to the second coming of Christ. On this basis they could be classified as expositors of the "historicist school" of interpretation.<sup>1</sup> However, since Roos, different from the historicists, understood the ten horns of the fourth beast of Dan 7 to represent ten future kings, and the little horn of Dan 7 the last future pope of Rome, he might better be classified as a futurist interpreter.<sup>2</sup>

#### Macedonia under the power of Rome

Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), the well-known mathematician, astronomer, and philosopher, proposed for the first time that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Macedonia under the power of the Romans.<sup>3</sup> Although it is not known with precision when he first

<sup>1</sup>See Rowley, Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires, pp. 79-81; Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 4:386; Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930 Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>See Rowley, Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires, pp. 81-82; Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 4:387, 1220; Sandeen, Fundamentalism, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup>Isaac Newton was born December 25, 1642, and died March 20, 1727. He wrote more than 1,300,000 words on theology. For more details about his life and works, see David Brewster, The Life of Sir Isaac Newton (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1874); Louis Trenchard More, Isaac Newton (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934); Herbert MacLachlan, The Religious Opinions of Milton, Locke and Newton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1941); idem, Sir Isaac Newton, Theological Manuscripts (Liverpool: At the University Press, 1950); Frank E. Manuel, A Portrait of Isaac Newton (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968); idem, Isaac

advanced this view, there is sufficient evidence that his exposition on Daniel "was evidently well under way in 1690,"<sup>1</sup> for he referred to some passages of that book in his correspondence with Locke.

Newton never published any of his theological works during his lifetime,<sup>2</sup> but six years after his death Benjamin Smith edited his writings on Daniel and the Apocalypse and published them under the title Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John (1733).<sup>3</sup> In this commentary, Newton maintains that "the book of Daniel is a collection of papers written at several times" and by different authors.<sup>4</sup> The last six chapters, he said, were written by Daniel himself, but the six first chapters by others. Later Ezra collected these prophetic and historical documents and formed with them the canonical book of Daniel.<sup>5</sup>

Newton held the book of Daniel in high esteem. He remarked that to reject Daniel's prophecies "is to reject the Christian religion. For this religion is founded upon his prophecy concerning

---

Newton, Historian (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963); William H. Austin, "Isaac Newton on Science and Religion," Journal of the History of Ideas 31 (1970): 521-542; Henning Graf Reventlow, The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), pp. 335-341.

<sup>1</sup>More, Isaac Newton, p. 626. See also Manuel, A Portrait, p. 362; Brewster, The Life of Sir Isaac Newton, pp. 245, 246.

<sup>2</sup>McLachlan, Sir Isaac Newton, Theological Manuscripts, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John, In Two Parts (London: H. Darby and T. Browne, 1733).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

the Messiah."<sup>1</sup> According to him, the prophecies of Daniel are related to one another, "as if they were but several parts of one general prophecy given at several times."<sup>2</sup> In "those things which relate to the last times, he [Daniel] must be made the key to the rest."<sup>3</sup> Chapter 2, he thought, was the easiest to be understood, yet the prophecies of chaps. 7 to 12 add something new to the former.<sup>4</sup>

To understand the prophecies, Newton pointed out, the interpreter must in the first place acquaint himself with the figurative or mystical language of the prophets, for otherwise the interpreter will give interpretations of his own imagination.<sup>5</sup> Therefore Newton, as an interpreter of the prophecies first dedicated himself to discover the meaning of the figurative language of the prophets. To accomplish this he followed an inductive method, as can be observed in one of his theological writings. There he wrote:

The rule I have followed has been to compare the several mystical places of scripture where the same prophetic phrase or type is used, and to fix such a signification to that phrase as agrees best with all the places: and if more significations than one be necessary, to note the circumstances by which it may be known in what signification the phrase is taken in any place: and, when I had found the necessary significations, to reject all others as the offspring of luxuriant fancy, for no more significations are to be admitted for true ones than can be proved. And as critics for understanding the Hebrew consult also other oriental languages of the same root; so I have not feared sometimes to call in to my assistance the Eastern expositors of their mystical writers (I mean the Chaldee Paraphrast and the Interpreters of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

dreams),<sup>1</sup> following herein the example of Mr. Mede and other late writers.

In addition to this rule, Newton followed another principle which he expressed in the following words:

I received also much light in this search by the analogy between the world natural and the world politic. For the mystical language was founded in this<sup>2</sup> analogy, and will be best understood by considering its original.

By means of this method Newton became convinced that the language of the prophets was practically one and that it

was as certain and definite in its signification as is the vulgar language of any nation whatsoever, so that it is only through want of skill therein that interpreters so frequently turn the prophetic types and phrases to signify whatever their fancies and hypotheses lead them to.

After his own study, he concluded that in the language of the prophets, "stars" stand "for subordinate Kings, [for] Princes and great men, or for Bishops and Rulers of the people of God when the Sun is Christ."<sup>4</sup> "The horns on any head [stand] for the number of kingdoms in that head with respect to military power: . . . and the days of their continuing or acting--for years."<sup>5</sup>

According to Newton, predictive prophecy is history given in advance<sup>6</sup> and it can only be understood after its

---

<sup>1</sup>See, MacLachlan, Sir Isaac Newton, Theological Manuscripts, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>4</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 18; MacLachlan, Sir Isaac Newton, Theological Manuscripts, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 21, 22; MacLachlan, Sir Isaac Newton, Theological Manuscripts, pp. 123, 124.

<sup>6</sup>Manuel, A Portrait, p. 367; Austin, "Isaac Newton on Science

fulfillment.<sup>1</sup> For him the prophecies of Dan 2 and 7 are the basic framework of world history. Accordingly he interpreted the four world monarchies of Daniel to be Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Newton supported his interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8 with several assumptions and correspondences which he saw between the description of the little horn and the history of Macedon and Rome. At the beginning of his exposition he maintained two main assumptions which are basic in his interpretation: (1) that the little horn is the last horn of the he-goat; and (2) that "under the type of the Ram and He-Goat the times of all the four empires are again described."<sup>3</sup> The latter assumption he clarified, pointing out that "as the Ram represents the kingdom of MEDIA and PERSIA from the beginning of the four Empires; so the he-goat represents the Empire of the GREEKS to the end of those monarchies."<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, he synchronized the period of reign represented by the notable horn and the four horns of the he-goat with the period of reign represented by the leopard of Dan 7; and the period of reign represented by the little horn of the he-goat with the period of reign represented by

---

and Religion," p. 524.

<sup>1</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 251-253.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 24-27; Manuel, A Portrait, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 116.



the fourth beast.<sup>1</sup> Besides these assumptions, Newton supported his view of the little horn with some correspondences which he saw between the description of it and the history of Macedon and Rome. According to him, the phrase "the latter time of their kingdom" (vs. 23), during which the little horn was to rise, points to the time when the Romans conquered Perseus king of Macedonia, the fundamental kingdom of the Greeks.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the phrase "when the transgressors are come to the full,"

refers to the same time, for then the high-priesthood was exposed to sale, the vessels of the Temple were sold to pay for the purchase; and the High-priest, with some of the Jews, procured a license from Antiochus Epiphanes to do after the ordinances of the heathen,<sup>3</sup> and set up a school at JERUSALEM for teaching those ordinances.

Up to this time, Newton said, the he-goat was mighty by its own power, "but henceforward began to be under the Romans." His explanation was as follows:

The third beast, or Leopard, reigned in his four heads, till the rise of the fourth beast, or empire of the Latins; and his life was prolonged under their power. This Leopard reigning in his four heads, signifies the same thing with the He-Goat reigning in his four horns: and therefore the He-Goat reigned in his four horns till the rise of Daniel's fourth Beast or empire of the Latins. Then its dominion was taken away by the Latins, but their life was prolonged under their power. The Latins are not comprehended among the nations represented by the He-Goat in this prophecy: their power over the Greeks is only named in it, to distinguish the times in which the He-Goat was mighty by his own power, from the times in which he was mighty but not by his own power. He was mighty by his own power till his dominion was taken away by the Latins: after that, his life was prolonged under their dominion, and this prolonging of his life was in the days

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

of his last horn: for in the days of this horn the Goat became mighty but not by his own power.

Having explained this point, Newton pointed out that since the little horn is a horn of the he-goat, the kingdom which is represented by it should be looked for among the kingdoms of the Grecian empire.<sup>2</sup> Since the little horn grew exceeding great towards the south, towards the east, and towards the pleasant land, the kingdom represented by it must be located in the northwest part of those kingdoms.<sup>3</sup>

Based on these arguments, Newton concluded that "such a little horn was the kingdom of Macedonia, from the time it became subject to the Romans."<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the arguments already mentioned, Newton also pointed out that the Romans conquered Armenia, Syria, and Judea, "and by these conquests the little horn waxed exceeding great towards the south, towards the east, and towards the pleasant land."<sup>5</sup> "Yea, he magnified himself even to the Prince of the Host, the Messiah, the Prince of the Jews, whom he put to death."<sup>6</sup>

By him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down, viz. in the wars which the armies of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 118, 119.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 120, 121.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 121. Newton does not explain how the kingdom of Macedonia put the Messiah to death, unless he regards the Roman Empire as the little horn.

EASTERN nations under the conduct of the ROMANS made against JUDEA, when NERO and VESPASIAN were emperors.

Finally, from the time of the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem until the division of the Roman empire, the little horn continued mighty under the Romans; then the little horn separated from the Latins, "and became the Greek empire alone, but yet under the dominion of a Roman family; and at present it is mighty under the dominion of the Turks."<sup>2</sup>

Newton not only proposed this novel interpretation of the little horn but also argued against the view that the little horn refers to Antiochus Epiphanes. He used essentially ten arguments against the identification of the little with Antiochus Epiphanes: (1) "A horn of a beast" never represents a single person, but "always signifies a new kingdom, and the kingdom of Antiochus was an old one."<sup>3</sup> (2) Antiochus was a king of Syria, which was represented by one of the four horns of the he-goat; therefore he could not be the little horn which represents a new kingdom, different from the previous four horns, and under its proper kings.<sup>4</sup> (3) The little horn "waxed exceeding great," but Antiochus did not fulfill this characteristic.<sup>5</sup> (4) The little horn is said to grow greater than the previous four horns, but Antiochus did not. His kingdom was weak and

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

became a tributary to the Romans.<sup>1</sup> (5) The little horn was "a king of fierce countenance, and destroyed wonderfully," but Antiochus was frightened by the message of the Romans and by fear of them moved out from Egypt.<sup>2</sup> (6) The little horn was mighty by the help of others but Antiochus acted by his own.<sup>3</sup> (7) The little horn stood up against the prince of princes but Antiochus did not.<sup>4</sup> (8) The little horn cast down the sanctuary to the ground, but Antiochus left it standing.<sup>5</sup> (9) The little horn trampled the sanctuary and the host for 2300 days, but Antiochus did not profane the sanctuary even for so many natural days.<sup>6</sup> (10) The indignation against the Jews would last till the sanctuary would be cleansed, but the sanctuary is not yet cleansed.<sup>7</sup>

For these reasons Newton rejected the view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes and maintained that it refers to Macedonia from the time it became subject to the Romans.

#### The bishops of Rome

A few years before Isaac Newton's commentary was published in 1733, Théodore Crinsoz (1690-1750), Swiss Protestant theologian and

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 123, 124.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

orientalist, published his Essai sur l'Apocalypse avec les éclaircissemens sur les prophéties de Daniel qui regardent les derniers tem[p]s, in the year 1729.<sup>1</sup>

For Crinsoz the prophecies of Dan 2 and 7 cover a long history of this world, from Nebuchadnezzar's time to the establishment of the kingdom of the holy ones;<sup>2</sup> accordingly, he understood the four world empires of the book of Daniel to be the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman.<sup>3</sup>

He considered the little horn of Dan 7 and the little horn of Dan 8 to represent the same power, namely, "the papal power."<sup>4</sup> In Crinsoz's view, the little horn of Dan 8 cannot represent Antiochus Epiphanes because the four horns of the he-goat do not represent four kings but four kingdoms or a succession of kings who reigned in different kingdoms.<sup>5</sup> One of those horns, he said, represented Macedonia with all its kings, another one represented the kingdom of Asia Minor with all its monarchs, the third represented the kingdom of Syria with all its princes, and the last of them represented the kingdom of Egypt with all its kings. Therefore, he pointed out, Antiochus Epiphanes cannot be the little horn, for he was already

---

<sup>1</sup>Théodore Crinsoz de Bionens was born in 1690 and died c. 1750. He was a Swiss Protestant theologian and renowned orientalist. For more details about his life and works, see "Crinsoz de Bionens (Théodore)," Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, 1855, 12:473; Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 2:678-680.

<sup>2</sup>Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 368.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 369-374.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 375, 385.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 384.

included in the symbol of one of the four horns of the he-goat or the kingdom of Syria.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he contended, Antiochus did not wax exceedingly great toward the south (Egypt), toward the east (Persia), and toward the pleasant land (Judea).<sup>2</sup> It is true, he said, that in the south he defeated Ptolemy Philopator, the king of Egypt, but he did not even add one small city to the kingdom of his predecessors. In the east, he defeated king Artaxias of Armenia, but when he wanted to spoil the temple of Elymais, he was expelled from the country and afterwards died with much suffering and pain. Neither did he wax exceedingly great toward the pleasant land or Judea, for Palestine was already under the power of the Syrian kingdom when he ascended to the throne. Instead of consolidating his authority over the Jews, he provoked them to take up arms against his kingdom and they defeated his army.<sup>3</sup>

If Antiochus is not the little horn, Crinsoz asked, whom does it represent? For him there was none other than "the power of the bishops of Rome."<sup>4</sup> The "power of the Popes," he said, can and must be considered as the little horn which came out of one of the four kingdoms of the Greeks or the Macedonian kingdom, which Constantine restored and made Byzantium the capital of his empire.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 385.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid: "De la Puissance des Evêques de Rome, qui sont les seules personnes à qui on puisse raisonnablement appliquer tout ce qui est dit de la petite Corne."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid: "Cette Puissance des Papes peut & doit être considérée comme sortie de l'un des quatre Royaumes des Grecs, savoir du Royaume

In support of this view, Crinsoz submitted the following arguments: (1) The popes grew exceedingly great toward the south (Egypt), toward the east (Syria), and toward the pleasant land (Judea).<sup>1</sup> For after a fragile beginning the popes obtained great authority in Italy and in the kingdom of Naples. They went so far in their conquests by the arms of the crusaders that they established a new kingdom in Jerusalem, occupied the territory of Edessa and Antioch, took Damietta in Egypt, and reached as far as Constantinople and the provinces of Europe.<sup>2</sup> (2) The popes cast down to the ground some of the stars or "the princes and great men of the earth," and stamped upon them. Crinsoz explained that "as heaven is the emblem of power and government (Rev 6:13, 14; 8:9; 9:1; 11:6; 12:1, 3), so the host of heaven and the stars are the symbols of princes and great men of the earth."<sup>3</sup> These, he said, were in many ways trampled by the popes. As an example he pointed out that Gregory VII excommunicated and dethroned emperor Henry IV of Germany, forcing him to go to Canossa, a castle in Modena, where the emperor stood in the winter season for three days without food and without shoes. Alexander III exercised his power against Frederic I, Innocent III against king

---

de Macedoine rétabli par Constantin, qui transporta son Siege à Bisance, qui'il appella de son nom Constantinople."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 385, 386.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 386: "Comme le Ciel est l'emblème de la Puissance & du Gouvernement (Apoc. VI. 13. 14. VIII. 9. IX. I. XI. 6. XII. I. 3. &c.), l'Armée des Cieux & les Etoiles sont le symbole des Princes & des Grands de la Terre, qui sont, dans le Ciel du Gouvernement ou de l'Autorité Civile, ce que les Astres sont dans le Ciel de la Nature, & qui ont été abatus & soulés aux pieds en plusieurs manières par les Papes."

John of England, and Clement VIII against Henry IV, king of France.<sup>1</sup> (3) The popes, Crinsoz pointed out, rose up against the "Prince of the host" or God, by authorizing idolatry and superstition and by persecuting the true Christians.<sup>2</sup> (4) The popes took away the daily sacrifice "of praises and prayers which should be offered only to God."<sup>3</sup> (5) They profaned and defiled the sanctuary or the church by many false devotions.<sup>4</sup> (6) The popes rose up in the latter times of the Greeks, for they began to act with great authority after Constantine reestablished the Greek empire.<sup>5</sup> (7) The popes were mighty but not by their own power, that is, they were mighty on account of the people they used to ruin others.<sup>6</sup> (8) They destroyed wonderfully by provoking disputes between peoples, corrupting religion, exciting wars, and persecuting the faithful.<sup>7</sup> (9) They lifted themselves up against the "Prince of princes" by persecuting His faithful servants.<sup>8</sup> But (10) they will be broken by God's judgment.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 386, 387.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 388: "Le Chef de l'Armée des Cieux c'est Dieu Mème, qui est le Roi des Rois & le Seigneur des Seigneurs. Les Pontifes Romains se sont élevez contra lui, en plusieurs manières, en s'attribuant des choses qui ne conviennent qu'à Dieu, en autorisant la superstition & l'idolatrie, & persécutant les vrais Chrétiens."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. "Ils ont fait cesser le parfum continuel des louanges & des prières, qui devoient être offertes à Dieu seul."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. "Ils ont profané & souillé le Sanctuaire, c'est-à dire l'Eglise par mille fausses dévotions."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 393.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 394.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.



Crinsoz, like other interpreters, looked for the fulfillment of this prophecy in history. But contrary to the great majority of interpreters he did not perceive its fulfillment in the history of Antiochus Epiphanes at all. In this respect his conclusion was similar to that of Isaac Newton. However, they differed about the meaning of the symbol. Isaac Newton, trying to understand the prophecy in a literal way, thought that the little horn denotes the Roman power, while Crinsoz, taking some words as figures or symbols of other things, concluded that it refers to the papal power. This difference of results on the interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8 induce us to raise the following question. What criterion should be used to decide what terms are literal or symbolic in prophecy? A correct solution of this problem is very important.

#### The Roman Empire

Thomas Newton (1704-1782), bishop of Bristol, in his Dissertations on the Prophecies (1754-1758),<sup>1</sup> maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> He conceded that Antiochus Epiphanes at first sight does indeed resemble the little horn in some features, but upon a deeper examination there are other features which have no correspondence with him.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol, was born in 1704 and died in 1782. His Dissertations on the Prophecies were first published in three volumes from 1754 to 1758. Afterwards they were reprinted many times. His interpretation of the vision of Dan 8 influenced many expositors, and provoked much discussion. For more information about his life and works, see Leslie Stephen, "Newton, Thomas," Dictionary of National Biography, 1909 ed., 14:403-405.

<sup>2</sup>Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, pp. 248, 249.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 247: "Antiochus Epiphanes at first sight doth

Bishop Newton began to compose his Dissertations on the Prophecies in 1754, after both his father and wife had died.<sup>1</sup> In 1756, in his "introduction to the lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle,"<sup>2</sup> he dealt with the eleven objections to the genuineness of the book of Daniel which Anthony Collins had proposed in his book The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered,<sup>3</sup> in order to

---

indeed in some features very much resemble the little horn; but upon a nearer view and examination it will evidently appear, that in other parts there is no manner of similitude or correspondence between them."

<sup>1</sup>See Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 2:685.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>3</sup>Anthony Collins, The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered; In a View of the Controversy Occasion'd by a Late Book Intitl'd, A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion (London: T. J., 1726), pp. 140-148. See also Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, pp. 226-232. The eleven objections are: (1) The famous Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel cannot be the author of the book of Daniel because Ezekiel "implies Daniel at that time to be a person in years. Whereas the book of Daniel speaks of Daniel, at that time, as a youth" (p. 141). (2) This Daniel is represented in the book of Daniel as living at the courts of the kings of Babylon and Persia, "and yet the names of the several Kings of his time are all mistaken in the book of Daniel" (p. 141). (3) That Daniel "cannot be suppos'd to be the author of this book," because it abounds "with derivations from the Greek; which was a language unknown to the Jews in and for a long while after the Captivity, and not understood by them, till the Grecian Empire prevail'd, and they became Helleniz'd" (p. 142). (4) "It does not appear, that the book of Daniel was translated into Greek, when the other books of the Old Testament were, which are attributed to the Seventy" (p. 143). (5) "Divers matters of fact are spoken of in the book of Daniel, in the way of prophecy, with the clearness of history, from Daniel's time to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes; . . . The author appears to be well acquainted with things down to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, but not further" (p. 143). (6) "Daniel is omitted among the Prophets recited in Ecclesiasticus, where it seems proper to have mention'd him as a Jewish Prophet-Author, had the book under his name been receiv'd as a canonical book by the Jews" (p. 144). (7) "Jonathan, who, some time before Jesus, is suppos'd to have made the Chaldee paraphrases we now have on the books of the Prophets, has omitted Daniel" (p. 145). (8) "That part of Daniel which is written in Chaldee, is near the style of the old Chaldee paraphrases; which being composed many hundred years after

prove that the book of Daniel was composed about the time of the Maccabees. In the course of the same year (1756), Newton also lectured on the vision of the two-horned ram and he-goat.<sup>1</sup>

According to Newton, the prophecies of Dan 2 and 7 are the "great outlines, the rest mostly are filling up the parts."<sup>2</sup> They "comprehend so many distant events, and extend through so many ages, from the reign of the Babylonians to the consummation of all things."<sup>3</sup> Following the steps of Mede and Isaac Newton, he called those chapters "the sacred calendar and great almanac of prophecy, a prophetic chronology of times, measured by the succession of four principal kingdoms."<sup>4</sup> These four world kingdoms, he maintained, are Babylon, Medo-Persia, Macedon, and Rome.<sup>5</sup>

---

Daniel's time must have a very different style from that us'd in his time" (pp. 145, 146). (9) "The Jews were great composers of books under the names of their renowned Prophets, to do themselves honor, and particularly under the name of Daniel" (p. 146). (10) "The author of the Book of Daniel appears plainly, from the last chapter of his book, to be a writer of things past, after a prophetic manner, and to have liv'd after divers of the events that he seems to prophecy of" (p. 147). (11) "Tho the Book of Daniel be wrote after such events as seem clearly referr'd to therein; yet, like the Jewish historical books, it sets forth facts very imperfectly, and often contrary to other historical relations . . . . To which I add, that the way of representing large scenes of affairs, by such images and symbols as are us'd therein, is intirely unlike the books of the other Prophets & the books of the Old Testament, and is agreeable to the turn of writing the Jews took up with when they had been new form'd in the schools of the Greeks" (p. 148). One of the first persons to offer an answer to these objections was Samuel Chandler in his A Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, and their Application to Jesus Christ (London: John Gray, 1728).

<sup>1</sup>Th. Newton, Dissertation on the Prophecies, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 224. See also pp. 201-211.

The little horn of Dan 8, he said, cannot represent Antiochus Epiphanes because "a horn in the style of Daniel doth not signify any particular king but always a kingdom."<sup>1</sup> The ten horns of the fourth beast in Dan 7 do not represent ten kings but ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided. And the little horn of the same chapter does not represent a single person but a succession of men who acted according to the characteristics of it. Likewise, in Dan 8 the two horns of the ram do not represent two kings but two kingdoms, namely, Media and Persia. The goat's great horn and the goat's four horns represent not kings but kingdoms. Furthermore, he said, Gabriel expressly pointed out that the four horns are four kingdoms, and by consequence the little horn of Dan 8 cannot signify a king but a kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Having established that a horn cannot represent a particular king, Newton proceeded to show that Antiochus Epiphanes cannot be the little horn of Dan 8 for the following particular reasons: (1) The little horn is plainly a power different and distinct from the four former horns, but Antiochus' kingdom was nothing more than a continuation of one of the four kingdoms.<sup>3</sup> (2) When Antiochus rose up, the transgressors had not come to the full; for when he began to reign, Onias was in charge both of the civil and ecclesiastical government of the Jewish people, and this Onias was a good man and pious priest (2 Macc 3:1). It was only after Onias was deposed "that

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 248.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 249.

the great corruptions were introduced into the Jewish church and nation."<sup>1</sup> (3) It cannot be said either that Antiochus was a man of "fierce countenance," for he was "frightened out of Egypt by a message from the Romans."<sup>2</sup> (4) Antiochus did not wax exceedingly great toward the south, toward the east, and toward the pleasant land, for he did not enlarge his kingdom and, in fact, it was less than the kingdom of his predecessors.<sup>3</sup> Although he invaded Egypt and gained great advantages over Ptolemy Philometor, he was not able to make himself master of Egypt and annex it to his own kingdom. Neither was he able to maintain his authority toward the east, for the Parthians made themselves independent from him, and the Persians were reluctant to pay their tribute. From Elymais "he was forced to fly with great disappointment and disgrace out of the country," and afterwards he "sickened and died."<sup>4</sup> Over Judea he maintained his authority for a few years, but under the Maccabees the Jews "recovered their liberties and established their religion and government in greater splendor and security than before."<sup>5</sup> (5) Antiochus was mighty but by his own power; though Eumenes and Attalus helped him to take the Syrian throne, they never helped him in any of his wars; neither "was his kingdom strengthened by foreign armies or alliances."<sup>6</sup> (6)

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 252, 253.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 253.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

Antiochus did not cast down the temple of the Jews.<sup>1</sup> (7) If by the "Prince of princes" is meant the Messiah, then he did not magnify himself against Jesus the Messiah.<sup>2</sup> (8) Antiochus did not take away the daily sacrifice for 2300 days even if the days are taken as natural days, which make "six years and somewhat more than a quarter,"<sup>3</sup> for the profanation of the altar lasted only three years, according to 1 Macc 1:59, and three years and a half according to Josephus.<sup>4</sup>

For these reasons, Th. Newton rejected the view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes and contended that the Roman empire fits better the general and particular characteristics of the little horn. In favor of the Roman view he submitted the following arguments: (1) The kingdom of the Romans was a new and different kingdom than the he-goat's four horns and "rose from small beginnings to an exceeding great empire, who first subdued Macedon and Greece . . . and from thence spread and enlarged their conquests over the rest."<sup>5</sup> (2) The kingdom of the Romans became a little horn of the he-goat when they got footing in Macedonia, and out of this horn they came out and grew exceedingly great overtopping the other kingdoms.<sup>6</sup> (3) The Romans rose up in the latter time of the Grecian

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 258.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

empire. Their rising signaled the decadence of that empire; they "saw the end not only of one kingdom, but of all the four;" first, they conquered Macedonia, then inherited Pergamus, reduced Syria to a province, and finally subjugated Egypt.<sup>1</sup> (4) The Romans rose up when the transgressors were come to the full. For at that time, when they defeated the kingdom of Macedonia, the high priesthood was exposed to sale, the vessels of the temple were sold to pay the purchase of the high priesthood, the heathen customs of the Greeks were introduced among the Jews, the youth were trained after the Greek customs, the Jewish people turned away from true religion, and the priests were reluctant to minister in the temple. Furthermore, in the very same year that the heathen worship was established in Jerusalem and all Judea, Paulus Aemilius, the Roman consul, conquered Macedonia. Then indeed, Newton pointed out, the transgressors had come to the full and the Romans stood up.<sup>2</sup> (5) The Romans were a people of "fierce countenance." The description of the little horn of Dan 8, he said, harmonizes very well with the description of the Romans in Dan 7 where they are described as a "terrible and dreadful beast." The way they treated their enemies leaves no doubt that they were of fierce countenance. For when Antiochus asked the Romans for time to consider the Roman message, the Roman consul made a circle around him and did not let him go out until he expressed his intentions.<sup>3</sup> (6) The Romans waxed exceedingly great toward the south (Egypt), toward the east

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 250, 251.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 251.

(Syria), and toward the pleasant land (Judea). They made Egypt a province of their empire "and kept possession of it for several centuries;" they incorporated Syria in the east; and Judea they made first into a province, and afterward destroyed Jerusalem and the temple and dispersed the Jews to other lands.<sup>1</sup> (7) The Roman empire, as a horn of the he-goat, was mighty but not by its own power. For the Romans drew their nourishment and strength not from the goat, but from Rome and Italy. "There grew the trunk and body of the tree, though the branches extended over Greece, Asia, Syria, Judea, and Egypt."<sup>2</sup> (8) The Roman empire "waxed great even to the host of heaven" and cast down some of the stars to the ground and stamped upon them. They made war against the Jews in general, and against the priests and Levites in particular, who are referred to as the host of heaven, for "they watched and served in the temple, and their service is denominated a warfare: (Num. 8:24, 25)." Furthermore, since Jesus, speaking of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, said the stars would fall from heaven (Matt 24: 29), then the application of Daniel's passage to the Romans fits very well.<sup>3</sup> (9) The Roman empire magnified itself even to "the prince of the host," "took away the daily sacrifice," and "cast down the place of his sanctuary." For it was by the authority of the Romans that the Messiah was put to death, the Prince of princes; and afterwards they took away the daily

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 252, 253.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. "This passage was in some measure fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes as well as by the Romans."



sacrifice and utterly destroyed the temple.<sup>1</sup> (10) The Romans destroyed "the mighty and the holy people"; for they slew and took captive many thousand of Jews and "carried their revenge so far, as to put an end" to the Jewish government and took away their nation.<sup>2</sup> Finally, (11) the dominion of the Roman empire will come to an end at the close of the 2300 days; that is, at the end of the sixth millenium, when that empire will be overthrown.<sup>3</sup> It should be noted here that Newton reckoned the 2300 days by the principle that a day in prophecy represents a year.<sup>4</sup>

Based on these arguments Newton concluded:

By thus tracing the particulars it appears that though some of them may agree very well with Antiochus Epiphanes, yet others can by no means accord or be reconciled to him: but they all agree and correspond exactly with the Romans, and with no one else: so that the application of the character to them must be the right application.<sup>5</sup>

Newton's approach to Dan 8 was to match the text in every particular with history. Thus he followed a hermeneutical approach which Martin Luther, in his preface to the Book of Revelation, had recommended before:

Since it is intended as a revelation of things that are to happen in the future, and especially of tribulations and disasters for the Church, we consider that the first and surest step toward finding its interpretation is to take from history the events and disasters that have come upon the Church before now and hold them

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 254, 255: "Antiochus did indeed take away the daily sacrifice, but he did not cast down the place of his sanctuary."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 259-260.

<sup>4</sup>See *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 257.

up alongside of these pictures, and so compare them with the words. If, then, the two were to fit and agree with each other, we could build on that, as a sure, or at least an unobjectionable interpretation.

Among the followers of Newton's view, during this period, are the Anglican preacher William Dodd (1729-1777), the Presbyterian minister Job Orton (1717-1783), the Anglican divine Thomas Zouch (1737-1816), the American layman Samuel Osgood (1748-1813), and the first Methodist bishop Thomas Coke (1747-1814).<sup>2</sup>

Antiochus Epiphanes, the  
Muhammedan power,  
and France

A triple interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8 was presented by Henry Kett (1761-1825), Rector of Charlton, Gloucestershire,<sup>3</sup> in his book History, the Interpreter of Prophecy (1799).<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Martin Luther, "Prefaces to the Revelation of St. John," in Works of Martin Luther (Philadelphia: The Castle Press, 1932), 6:481.

<sup>2</sup>William Dodd, The Holy Bible with a Commentary and Practical Improvements, 3 vols. (London: R. Davis, 1767), vol. 2 (on Dan 8:9); Job Orton, A Short and Plain Exposition of the Old Testament, 6 vols. (Shrewsbury: J. and W. Eddowes, 1791), 6:235-237; Thomas Zouch, "An Inquiry into the Prophetic Character of the Romans, as Described in Daniel viii. 23-25," The Works of Rev. Thomas Zouch, 2 vols. (Dork: Thomas Wilson and Sons, 1820), 1:81-142 (first published in 1792); Samuel Osgood, Remarks on the Book of Daniel (New York: Greenleaf's Press, 1794), pp. 62, 63; Thomas Coke, A Commentary on the Holy Bible, 6 vols. (Printed for the author, 1801-1803), 4:429-431.

<sup>3</sup>In 1780 Kett received his B.A. degree, in 1783 his M.A., and in 1793 his B.D. For more information about his life and works, see W. P. Courtney, "Kett, Henry," Dictionary of National Biography, 1909 ed., 11:75-76.

<sup>4</sup>Henry Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, or, A View of Scriptural Prophecies and Accomplishment in the Past and Present Occurrences of the World, 2 vols. (Oxford: At the University Press, 1799).

Kett, like I. Newton, regarded the language of the prophets as "highly figurative,"<sup>1</sup> and believed that the "earthly dignities and powers are symbolized by the celestial bodies."<sup>2</sup> The four world monarchies of the book of Daniel he considered to be Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome;<sup>3</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antichrist.<sup>4</sup>

Many prophecies, he said, have often a first or partial, and an ultimate fulfillment, "of which the former may generally be considered as an earnest of the latter."<sup>5</sup> In accord with this reasoning he was convinced that

there remain as great reasons, for applying this prophecy [of the little horn of Dan 8] in the first instance to Antiochus Epiphanes, and in the last to Antichrist, without contradicting the accuracy of its application, in many points, to the Romans.

According to him,

The symbol of a 'little horn' is applicable to Antichrist in the beginnings of all its forms--Papal, Mahometan, and Infidel. The power of Antichrist is still the little horn; but as exerted in Greece and the East it is described as the little horn of the he-goat, or the third empire, and this even to the present hour; for the seat of the Mahometan Empire is Grecia, or what was called the Greek empire.--As exerted in Italy and the West, it is described as the little horn of the fourth beast, or the fourth empire.

Although he believed that all the different prophecies of Daniel

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1:30.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:30, 31.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:334-341, 334-337.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1:340.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1:26, 27.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1:346.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 1:347, 348.

"foretell the power of Antichrist, and contain allusions to all the different forms of that power," he nevertheless was convinced that "each vision seems to describe one of these forms with peculiar distinctness, while it points to some circumstances which strongly characterize that power which was to arise the last."<sup>1</sup> Thus, it appeared to him that the little horn of Dan 8, though it represents Antiochus Epiphanes in its primary sense, and the Infidel Power of France in its ultimate sense, better describes the power of the religion of Muhammad.<sup>2</sup>

Kett opposed Th. Newton's exposition, i.e., to apply the little horn exclusively to the Romans. This interpretation, he pointed out, falls short of Gabriel's explanation that the vision pertains to the time of the end. The vision "extends not only beyond the destruction of Jerusalem, but to the end of time; for the parallelism between the breaking of the little horn without hand (Dan 8), and the destruction of the fourth beast of Dan 7, and the breaking of the image of Dan 2, is very obvious."<sup>3</sup>

It should be noted that most of the interpreters who understood the little horn to represent Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist restricted themselves to explain mainly how Antiochus fulfilled that prophecy. Kett, on the other hand, did not explain how the little horn was fulfilled by Antiochus, nor how it would be fulfilled by the infidel power of France, but how it was fulfilled

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1:347.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:349.

by the Muhammedan dominion or Antichrist of the east.<sup>1</sup>

According to Kett, the Muhammedan power extended itself toward the south (Africa); toward the east (Persia, Tartary, and China); and toward the pleasant land (Judea); but never made any progress in the west and north.<sup>2</sup> The Muhammedans cast down some of the stars and trampled upon them. They overthrew the stars or churches established in Africa, Arabia, Asia Minor, India, Palestine, and Greece; and the cruelty and oppression by which they treated the Christians denote their trampling upon them.<sup>3</sup> They profaned the place of God's sanctuary by taking away the daily sacrifice of praise and prayer from Palestine, for about eleven hundred years.<sup>4</sup> Muhammad magnified himself even to the "Prince of princes" by placing himself in a superior position to Jesus Christ. He gave to himself titles such as "'God on earth,' 'the shadow of God,' 'Brother to the sun and moon,' and the 'Giver of all earthly crowns'."<sup>5</sup> This power, he said, rose in the latter time of the Grecian empire, when the eastern division of the Roman empire was considered as the Greek empire.<sup>6</sup> At that time "the corruptions of the eastern churches had arisen to

---

<sup>1</sup>We have not been able to find an expositor before Kett who had understood the little horn of Dan 8 to refer to the Muhammedan Power. But Willet, in his Hexapla in Danielelem, p. 216, points out that Melancton, Osiander, Vatablus, and Pintus understood the little horn of Dan 7 to refer to the Turkish Empire.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:350.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1:351.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1:357.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1:356.

their full height."<sup>1</sup> The Muhammedan power was mighty but not by its own power. It received its strength from the eastern kingdoms, as the papal Antichrist from the kingdoms of the west.<sup>2</sup> But at last, it will be broken without hand.<sup>3</sup>

Kett's hermeneutical principle of multiple fulfillments of prophecy met opposition very soon. On the other hand, his suggestion that the little horn of Daniel 8 could represent the Antichrist of the east (the Muhammedan power) fell in good ears and it became the most popular in the first half of the nineteenth century.

#### The spiritual kingdom of Muhammad

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad, was proposed by G. S. Faber (1773-1854) in 1806.<sup>4</sup> Before him, Henry Kett, as just noted, had already applied the little horn to the Muhammedan power, but in a secondary way.<sup>5</sup> Faber, on the other hand, stated that the little horn of Dan 8

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:358, 359.

<sup>4</sup>George Stanley Faber wrote 27 books on several subjects. His Dissertation on the Prophecies . . . Relative to the Great Period of 1260 Years was first published in 1806; a second edition appeared in 1807; and a fifth in 1814. In 1828 Faber published The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 3 vols. (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1828). This book Faber considered as superseding his Dissertations on the Prophecies. For more details about his life and work, see G. C. Boase, "Faber, George Stanley," Dictionary of National Biography, 1908 ed., 6: 975-976; Francis A. Faber, "Memoir of the Rev. G. S. Faber," in G. S. Faber, The Many Mansions in the House of the Father, 3d ed. (London: William Brown & Co., 1862), pp. 1-48.

<sup>5</sup>See above, pp. 72-74.

represents the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad in its primary sense.<sup>1</sup>

According to him, Dan 2 and 7 "equally predict" four universal empires which run from "the era of the Babylonian monarchy to the commencement of the millennium."<sup>2</sup> These four empires he considered to be the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman;<sup>3</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, "the spiritual kingdom of the Pope."<sup>4</sup>

Faber rejected Kett's view that a prophecy may have a double or triple fulfillment. He maintained that a chronological prophecy is not "capable of receiving more than one completion"; nor should any interpretation of it be allowed to be valid, "except the prediction agree with its supposed accomplishment in every particular."<sup>5</sup> He criticized Kett's system as "complicated and intricate" and argued that "if one and the same horn is to symbolize three different powers, there certainly cannot be any precision or definiteness in the prophecy."<sup>6</sup>

In regard to the exposition of Isaac and Thomas Newton on the little horn of Dan 8, he said:

I readily allow, that these points of resemblance are very striking; nevertheless it will be found upon examination, that there are insuperable objections, principally of a chronological nature, to this exposition of the prophecy.

---

<sup>1</sup>G. S. Faber, Dissertation on the Prophecies, 2d ed., 1:266-269.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:123.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1:158.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1:133, 220.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1:134, 135, 221.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 1:209.

Among the "insuperable objections" which Faber pointed out are the following: (1) It is improbable "that the same power which in the former vision was represented under the symbol of a great and terrible beast, should now be described under that of only a little horn."<sup>1</sup> For an empire is never represented in prophecy by a horn, but always by a beast, and the division of an empire is never represented by a beast but by a horn.<sup>2</sup> Isaac and Thomas Newton's argument that

when the Romans conquered Macedonia, it became in that capacity a little horn of the third or Macedonian beast, while in the mean time, so long as we consider them confined to Italy and the West, they are to be accounted a distinct fourth beast,<sup>3</sup>

only brings confusion, if it be allowed. Because the same could be said of the Greeks when they were conquered by the Persians, and of the Persians when they were conquered by the Babylonians, but that is not the case in the prophecy.<sup>4</sup> (2) Newton's interpretation "renders Daniel liable to the charge of unvarying repetition."<sup>5</sup> For "if the little horn of the he-goat . . . be the Roman empire, the vision of the ram and the he-goat is a mere repetition of the greater part of the vision of the four beasts."<sup>6</sup> (3) Newton's interpretation "cannot be reconciled with Daniel's chronological numbers."<sup>7</sup> For the application of the little horn of Dan 8 to the Romans cannot be reconciled

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:209, 210.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:210.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1:210, 211.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1:211.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1:211, 212.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 1:212.



with the prophecies of the 1260, 1290, and 1335 days. Faber pointed out that the phrase "abomination of desolation" occurs three times in the book of Daniel (8:13; 11:31; and 12:11). These mentionings, he said, both Isaac and Thomas Newton regarded as one and the same, relating them to "the sacking of Jerusalem by the Romans, and their idolatrous worship of their standards within the very precincts of the temple."<sup>1</sup> Faber agreed that the abomination of desolation spoken of in Dan 11:31 is the abomination set up by the Romans in the year A.D. 70. However, he said, that event cannot be reconciled with the 1260, 1290, and 1335 days spoken of in Dan 12:11, 12, since 1260 years after the year A.D. 70 (A.D. 1330), the Jews did not begin to be restored into their country. Neither is known what event Daniel had in mind that took place in the year 1360, or 1290 years after the same epoch. Neither is one able to point out what is the peculiar blessedness of living in the year 1405, or 1335 years after the Romans set up the abomination of desolation. Therefore, he concluded, the abomination of desolation set up by the Romans spoken of in Dan 11:31 cannot be the same abomination referred in Dan 12:11, nor the same transgression of desolation of Dan 8:13. By consequence, the little horn of Dan 8 must be totally a different power than the Romans.<sup>2</sup>

As for Kett's conjecture that the little horn of Dan 8 relates ultimately to the infidel power of France, Faber remarked that "a horn which was to spring up in the east, can never be

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1:213.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:212-218.

designed to typify a power, which was arisen in the west."<sup>1</sup>

Against the application of the little horn of Dan 8 to Antiochus Epiphanes, he pointed out that the 1260, 1290, 1335, and 2300 days cannot be applied to his time, even if those days, contrary to the method of prophecy, be computed as natural days.<sup>2</sup> And since in the interpretation of prophecy it is not enough to discover mere partial resemblances, there must be a perfect similitude between the type and its antitype, so the application of the little horn to Antiochus Epiphanes is out of place.<sup>3</sup>

Having objected to previous interpretations of the little horn of Dan 8, different from his, Faber proceeded to point out the validity of his interpretation. Among his major arguments are the following: (1) The religion of Muhammad rose up in the latter time of the Grecian empire, and out of one of them.<sup>4</sup> That religion, he said, appeared in A.D. 606, "when all the four Greek kingdoms had come to their end."<sup>5</sup> Mecca was the place of its origin, but in a very short period of time it invaded Syria, "and thus accomplished its prophetic character of being a little horn of one of the four subverted horns of the he-goat."<sup>6</sup> (2) Though small in its beginnings, it very soon grew exceeding great toward the south, toward the east, and toward

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1:221.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:222.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:221, 222.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1:278.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1:278, 279.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1:279.

the north. Southward they conquered Arabia, eastward they conquered Persia, and northward they conquered Asia Minor and Greece. They made some conquests in the west, but they were neither so permanent nor so considerable as the other ones.<sup>1</sup> (3) The religion of Muhammad rose up when the transgressors had come to the full. In the year 606, when that religion began, the apostasy of the Christian Church had become an embodied system, and afterwards idolatry was established by the papal pontiff.<sup>2</sup> (4) The religion of Muhammad was a religion of "fierce countenance" and a teacher of "dark sentences." It used no other instrument of conversion than the sword, and its spiritual enigmas were nothing other than the pretended revelations of the Koran.<sup>3</sup> (5) Muhammedanism cast down the stars of heaven to the ground and stamped upon them by persecuting the bishops and pastors of the church.<sup>4</sup> (6) It magnified itself even to the prince of the host and cast down the truth to the ground. "Accordingly Mohammedism did openly magnify its founder against the divine author of the Christian religion."<sup>5</sup> Muhammad allowed Jesus to be a prophet, "but he maintained that he himself was a greater prophet, and that the Koran was destined to supersede the Gospel."<sup>6</sup> (7) It took away the daily sacrifice of praise and prayer, polluted the spiritual sanctuary, and

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1:282, 283.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:284.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:284, 285.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1:287.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1:288.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

killed the people of the holy ones or the church.<sup>1</sup> (8) The religion of Muhammad was mighty, but not by its own power. It did not rely on reason, argument, evidence, miracles, or its own intrinsic worth and piety to gain new converts, but upon the sword of the Saracenes.<sup>2</sup> One of Muhammad's sayings was: "The sword is the key of heaven and hell: a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer: whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven."<sup>3</sup> (9) The religion of Muhammad fits the character of the little horn. It used fraud, perfidy, cruelty, and injustice to propagate its faith.<sup>4</sup> (10) It destroyed many while in a state of false security. Thus Persia, Constantinople, Africa, Egypt, and Spain were destroyed.<sup>5</sup> Finally, (11) the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad will be destroyed without hand at the end of the 2200 days or A.D. 1866.<sup>6</sup>

Faber concluded:

Though the character of the little horn agrees in some particulars with those of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Romans, and the power of Infidelity; yet it evidently disagrees with them in others: Therefore the result of the whole inquiry must be this, that the prophet designed to symbolize by the little horn Mahomedanism, and nothing but Mahomedanism.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1:288, 289.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:289-293.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:292.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1:294, 295.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 1:295-305.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 1:305-309. Faber thought that the true reading of the temporal expression of Dan 8:14 is 2200 instead of 2300.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 1:308, 309.

Faber pretended to have followed three basic principles of interpretation in his exposition of the little horn of Dan 8: (1) To assign to each prophetic symbol a single definite meaning, and never to vary from that meaning; (2) to point out a perfect correspondence between the text and the historical event to which it is supposed to relate; and (3) not to allow a chronological prophecy, like Dan 8, to be capable of receiving its fulfillment in more than one sense. Besides these, he also adopted the principle that a day in prophecy denotes a year.

#### The Temporal Expression "2300 Evenings-Mornings"

The most important temporal expression in the vision of Dan 8 is the "2300 evening-mornings." This expression is employed as part of the answer which a heavenly being gave in response to a direct question concerning the vision. At first sight this expression does not seem to pose any problem of interpretation. However, the history of its exposition reveals the opposite.

Interpretations of the "2300 evening-mornings" which were given during the eighteenth century are presented in this second section: first, the different meanings of the expression "evening-morning", and, second, the reckonings of the chronological period.

#### Meaning of "Evening-Morning"

The expression "evening-morning" literally translates the Hebrew words ereb bōqer, which have been translated in some of the ancient and modern versions of the Bible as "days,"<sup>1</sup> and more

---

<sup>1</sup>The LXX and KJV.

recently as "evenings and mornings."<sup>1</sup> A careful reading of commentaries and expositions of this expression reveals that there has been a wide discrepancy of opinion concerning its real meaning. It was understood in at least five different ways during the eighteenth century: (1) a natural day, (2) a natural and prophetic day, (3) a prophetic day, (4) a literal evening and morning, and (5) the morning and evening sacrifices.

#### A natural day

Among those who understood the expression "evening-morning" as a natural day are Matthew Henry and D. A. Calmet.<sup>2</sup> For them, this meaning is the less forced, since in that way it is used in Gen 1, where it is said that the evening and the morning were the first, second, third, etc., day of the week.<sup>3</sup>

#### A natural and prophetic day

William Lowth, John Gill, Johann Philip Petri, and Thomas Wintle understood the expression "evening morning" to have both a literal and a typological meaning.

Lowth took the expression "evening-morning" to mean a natural

---

<sup>1</sup>The JB, NASB, RSV, NIV.

<sup>2</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:846; Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:673.

<sup>3</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:846: "It shall continue 2300 days, and no longer; so many evening and mornings, (so the word is,) so many nuxthemerai; so many natural days, reckoned, as in the beginning of Genesis, by the evening and mornings." Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:673: "Ces paroles, jusqu'au soir, & au matin, signifient que ces jours son des jours ordinaires, composez d'une nuit & d'un jour, suivant la manière de compter des Hébreux, qui commencent leurs jours au soir, & qui mettoient nuit avant le jour, Factum est vespere, & mane dies unus, dit souvent Moysse dans la Génèse."

day in its primary sense, and a prophetic day or year in its typological sense.<sup>1</sup> He pointed out that this expression was the Hebrew way of expressing a natural day, as for example in Gen 1. However, since this prophecy is typological in nature, these "days" should be extended to the end of the times of Antichrist: taking each day for a year, "according to the genius of the prophetical writings" (Ezek 4:6; Num 14:34).<sup>2</sup>

Gill also understood the expression "evening-morning" to mean a natural day,<sup>3</sup> and thought that typologically could denote a year.<sup>4</sup> Petri, in the same line of thought, remarked:

There are 2300 days to have from evening to morning; until the

---

<sup>1</sup>Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:80, 81.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. "The Phrase here translated, two thousand three hundred Days, is in the original, two thousand three hundred Morning [and] Evening: which is the Hebrew way of expressing a natural Day: See Gen. i. 5. . . .But since it is generally agreed, that the Persecution of Antiochus was a Type, or an imperfect Representation of a greater Desolation which Antichrist should make in the Church of God: Comp. ver. 13 here with Chap. xii. 11. It is the Opinion of some Learned Men that these two thousand three Hundred Days are a Line of Time that is to be extended to the end of the Times of Antichrist: taking each Day for a Year, according to the Genius of the Prophetical Writings: See Numb. xiv. 34. Ezek. iv. 6. according to which Sense the three Years and a half, mentioned Chap. vii. 25. and the Seventy Weeks in the ninth Chapter, are explained by most interpreters."

<sup>3</sup>Gill, An Exposition, 6:368: "Unto two thousand and three hundred days; or so many mornings and evenings; which shews that not so many years, as Jacchiades, and others are meant; but natural days, consisting of twenty-four hours, and which make six years, three months, and eighteen days."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. "Indeed, as Antiochus was a type of antichrist, and his persecution of that desolation made by antichrist in the church; these 2300 days may be considered as so many years, which will bring it down to the end of the sixth millennium, or thereabout; when it may be hoped there will be a new face of things upon the sanctuary and church of God, and a cleansing of it from all corruption in doctrine, discipline, worship, and conversation."

Holy place will be consecrated again. This figure, which after the summa is the largest, and the following figures included in the total, has an inclusive twofold fulfillment, as many other prophecies in themselves. The first is literally 2300 separate days under Antiochus in the Grecian kingdom. In this Daniel concurs 8:8, 14, chapter 11:30, 35 and with which the four are to be compared. The other fulfillment in prophetic years because of the small horn, which grew up among the ten horns of the fourth kingdom, and of which three fell off.

Wintle thought that the expression "evening morning" should be understood "in the first instance literally, rather than of months and years."<sup>2</sup> However, he agreed with other interpreters that typologically it can be understood for years.<sup>3</sup>

#### A prophetic day

Isaac Newton, Théodore Crinsoz, Thomas Newton, Richard Beere, Samuel Osgood, James Bicheno, and G. S. Faber understood the term "evening-morning" to mean a prophetic day or year.<sup>4</sup> Of these, I. Newton, Bicheno, and Faber took for granted that this meaning is the

---

<sup>1</sup>Johann Philip Petri, Aufschluss der Zahlen Daniels und der Offenbarung Johannis (n.p., 1768), pp. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup>Wintle, Daniel, pp. 140: "The nuxthemeron of the Greeks is probably the same expression with this before us, and denotes a natural day, or space of 24 hours; see Gen. i. and Matt. xii. 40, and I am inclined to think this vespera-mane should induce us to understand these days in the first instance literally, rather than of months and years."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 141: "It must however be remembered, that many interpreters, and with great reason, understand these days in the same sense in which days are generally understood by this prophet, for years; and thus refer the prophecy to Antichrist, of whom Antiochus was a type."

<sup>4</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 122; Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 391; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 259; Richard Beere, A Dissertation on the the 13th and 14th Verses of the 8th Chapter of Daniel (London: Printed for the author, [1790]), p. 12; Osgood, Remarks, pp. 63, 64; Bicheno, The Signs of the Times, p. 112.



correct one and gave no explanation for holding that view in this particular passage.<sup>1</sup>

Crinsoz, on the other hand, argued that

one can not adduce any place of the Scripture, which points out, that the evening is taken sometimes for the sacrifice of the evening, and the morning for the sacrifice of the morning, in the place that we have already seen in the first chapter of Genesis that the evening and the morning signify a natural day of twenty four hours.<sup>2</sup>

However, he did not think that the 2300 "evening-mornings" signify 2300 literal days. "The event," he pointed out, "shows us that the sanctuary and the host must be trampled during a longer Period."<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, "since this is a prophecy, it is reasonable to understand for this expression of evening and mornings, not natural days; but prophetic days."<sup>4</sup>

Thomas Newton pointed out that "in the original it is, Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings, an evening and morning being in Hebrew the notation of time for a day."<sup>5</sup> Neverthe-

---

<sup>1</sup>Many years later Faber presented an exposition of this principle in his Provincial Letters from the County-Palatine of Durham, 2 vols. (London: Painter, 1842), 1:121-148.

<sup>2</sup>Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 391: "Ajoutez à cela, qu'on ne produit aucun endroit de l'Écriture, qui fasse voir, que le soir se prend quelquefois pour le sacrifice du soir, & le matin pour le sacrifice du matin au lieu que nous voyons déjà dans le premier Chapitre de la Genèse que le soir & le matin signifient un jour naturel de vingt-quatre heures."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. "L'événement n'a que trop fait voir, que le Sanctuaire & l'Armée devoient être soulez pendant une durée beaucoup plus longue."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. "Comme c'est ici une prophétie, il est raisonnable, d'entendre par ce nombre de soirs & de matins, non des jours naturels; mais des jours prophétiques."

<sup>5</sup>Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 258.

less, he said, "the days without doubt are to be taken, agreeably to the style of Daniel in other places, not for natural, but for prophetic days or years."<sup>1</sup> He defended this meaning on the basis that the angelic being did not ask only "how long the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue, but also how long shall the vision last."<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the 2300 "days" "denote the whole time from the beginning of the vision to the cleansing of the sanctuary. The sanctuary is not yet cleansed and consequently these years are not yet expired."<sup>3</sup> In addition to this, Newton remarked:

The angel farther affirms the truth and certainty of the vision, and of the time allotted for it, (ver. 26:) . . . The vision being for 'many days,' must necessarily infer a longer term, than the calamity under Antiochus of three years, or three years and a half . . . Such a vision could not well be called long to Daniel, who had seen so much longer before; and especially as the time assigned for it is 'two thousand and three hundred days,' which since they cannot by any account be natural days must needs be prophetic days, or two thousand and three hundred years.<sup>4</sup> Such a vision may properly enough be said to be for 'many days.'

Samuel Osgood (1748-1813), Postmaster-General of the United States,<sup>5</sup> following Lowth, maintained that the angelic question should be rendered "for how long a time shall the vision last, the daily sacrifice be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue?"<sup>6</sup> And thus rendered, he said, "the question not only

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>5</sup>S. Austin Allibone, A Critical Dictionary, 1874 ed., 2:1465.

<sup>6</sup>Osgood, Remarks, p. 64.

embraces the period of time between the taking away of the daily sacrifice and the cleansing of the sanctuary, but also from from the commencement of the vision to the taking away of the daily sacrifice."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, he remarked, "the vision was to be for many days; on account on which Daniel fainted, was sick, and was astonished at the vision."<sup>2</sup> The three years or three years and a half, he explained, during which Antiochus Epiphanes afflicted and persecuted the Jews could not have occasioned Daniel's fainting, since he and his people had suffered greater calamities and during a longer period in Babylonia.<sup>3</sup>

#### A literal evening and morning

Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752), in his book on chronology, seems to have understood the expression "evening-morning" as a literal evening and morning, but without further explanation.<sup>4</sup>

#### Evening and morning sacrifices

M. F. Roos maintained that the expression "evening-morning" refers to the evening and morning sacrifices of the Jewish worship.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Osgood, Remarks, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>I. Albert Bengel, Ordo temporvm a principio per periodos oeconomiae divinae historicas atqve propheticas (Stuttgart: C. Erhard, 1741), pp. 372, 373: "Divisim numera vesperam, divisim mane, quemadmodum distincta eorum mentio sit versu 26, ut sint, dimidiato numero 2300, dies 1150, sive anni 3, & dies 54 pleni, sive hebdomades 164 & dies 2. Sic omnia sunt faciliora" (p. 373).

<sup>5</sup>Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, p. 216: "The phrase ערב בקר, (ereb boker), evening-morning, is quite singular, and without doubt refers to the daily sacrifice, which consisted of two lambs, of which

He was convinced of this on the ground that the real issue of the angelic question was the sanctuary and the daily sacrifice, and therefore, the answer given to the angelic question must be related to the daily sacrifice which was offered every morning and every evening.<sup>1</sup>

#### Beginning and End of the "2300 Evening-Mornings"

The reckoning of the "2300 evening-mornings" was a challenge to the eighteenth-century interpreters. No matter how they understood this expression, literally, figuratively, or both, there was no agreement among them as to when the period is to begin or to end.

#### 2300 days

Those who understood the expression "evening-morning" to mean a natural day reckoned the 2300 days in three different ways. Matthew Henry, following Josephus and the book of Maccabees, reckoned the 2300 days from the sixth day of the sixth month of the year 142 of the Seleucidae, to the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of the year 148 of the same era.<sup>2</sup> Although Henry did not explain his

---

the one was offered in the evening, and the other in the morning of every day. . . . The evening is placed before the morning, agreeably to the Jewish manner of reckoning their days. Two thousand three hundred evening and morning sacrifices were omitted."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid. "A saint said to the certain saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? . . . Whence it is evident, that the inquiry and reply respected the daily sacrifice and the sanctuary which were to be abolished and desolated."

<sup>2</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:846: "2300 days make six years and three months, and about eighteen days; and just so long they reckon from the defection of the people, procured by Menelaus the High Priest in the 142d year of the kingdom of the Seleucidae, the sixth

procedure for this reckoning, it is quite clear that he took the date of the purification of the sanctuary by Judas Maccabaeus as the terminus ad quem of the 2300 days and counted backwards six years, three months, and eighteen days (year of 365 days), and fixed the terminus a quo in the year 142 of the Seleucidae in which Menelaus began his campaign of Hellenization in Jerusalem.

Calmet, different from Henry, reckoned the 2300 days from the year 143 of the Seleucidae to the year 149 of the same era.<sup>1</sup> He chose the year 149 as the terminus ad quem of the 2300 days, because in that year Antiochus died, and the year 143 as the terminus a quo, because in that year Antiochus profaned the temple of Jerusalem after his return from the first invasion of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> He explained that although Antiochus did not take away the daily sacrifice in the year 143, nevertheless he removed the altar, the table of showbread, the candlestick, and other utensils by which he profaned the temple.<sup>3</sup>

Richard Amner reckoned the 2300 "evening-mornings" from the time "when the vessels of the temple were publicly sold" and Onias

---

month of that year, and the sixth day of the month, (so Josephus dates it,) to the cleansing of the sanctuary, and the re-establishment of religion among them, which was in the 148th year, the ninth month, and the 25th day of the month, 1 Mac. iv. 52." Before Matthew Henry, other interpreters had adopted the same view, such as Junius, Polanus, and Willet. See Andrew Willet, Hexapla in Danielelem (n.p.: Leonard Greene, 1610), p. 251.

<sup>1</sup>Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:673.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. "Les deux mille trois cent jours sont six ans & demi, qui s'écoulèrent depuis l'an 143. des Grecs, auquel Antiochus se rendit maître de Jérusalem (1 Macc. i. 21.), jusqu'en l'année 149. qui est celle de sa mort (1 Macc. iv. 16)." This view was already set forth by Bullinger and Pererius. See Willett, Hexapla, p. 250.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

was murdered, to the cleansing of the temple by Judas Maccabaeus.<sup>1</sup> Taking the latter event as the fulfillment of Dan 8:14, he counted backwards 2300 days from that event and established the beginning of the period at the time Onias was murdered.<sup>2</sup>

### 2300 days and 2300 years

According to Lowth, the reckoning of the 2300 days should begin some time before Antiochus' first invasion of Judea (143), and not from the time that the daily sacrifice was taken away (145), since that prohibition lasted only three years.<sup>3</sup> Although he did not point out when this period would end, it is clear that he accepted the date of Judas Maccabaeus' purification of the temple as the end of the 2300 days. With regard to the reckoning of this period in its typological sense he kept total silence.

John Gill, who also understood the "evening-morning" expression both as a natural day in its primary sense and as a prophetic day in its secondary sense, reckoned this period from the fifteenth day of the month of Chislev, of the year 145 of the Seleucidae, to the thirteenth day of the month of Adar, of the year 151 of the same era.<sup>4</sup> He chose the year 145 as the beginning of this period, because in that year the abomination of desolation was set up upon the altar (1 Macc 1:57); and chose the year 151 as the end of the period,

---

<sup>1</sup>Amner, An Essay, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:80.

<sup>4</sup>Gill, An Exposition, 6:368. This was also the view of Melancthon.

because in that year Nicanor was defeated by Judas Maccabaeus.<sup>1</sup> Another possible reckoning he thought could be from the year 141 of the Seleucidae to the year 148, when Judas Maccabaeus purified the temple of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> In a typological sense, he expected the 2300 days or years to terminate at the end of the sixth millennium.<sup>3</sup>

J. Ph. Petri, who understood the term "evening-morning" as a natural day in its primary sense and as a prophetic day in its typological sense, reckoned the 2300 "days" from the year 453 before Christ's birth to the year 1847 after Christ's birth.<sup>4</sup> He reckoned the 2300 "days" on the ground that the seventy weeks of Dan 9 are the clue to understand the 2300 days, and that the seventy weeks spoken of in that chapter are the shorter period within the 2300 days.<sup>5</sup> He explained that

The angel showed the 30th year of Christ [the time of His baptism] or the 483d year of the 70 weeks and therefore the 453d year as the birth of Christ, so that was the correct explanation of the sealed vision of the 2300 days. 453 years of the 2300 had passed at the birth of Christ and the remainder of this number contigues from that date to A.D. 1847, as 1847 plus 453 make 2300.<sup>6</sup>

### 2300 years

Isaac Newton, who understood the "evening-morning" expression

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Petri, Aufschluss der Zahlen Daniels, pp. 8, 9.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 9. See also Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 2:717.

to denote a prophetic day or a literal year, was not sure when this period was to begin or when it was to end. Nevertheless he ventured to suggest some important events which could be taken as the beginning of this period: (1) the year of the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem by the Romans, (2) the year in which the temple of Jupiter Olympius was built in the same place where the temple of the Jews had been, during the reign of Hadrian, (3) or some other event which time would discover in the future.<sup>1</sup>

Théodore Crinsoz reckoned the 2300 "evening-mornings" from the year 555 B.C., to the year A.D. 1745.<sup>2</sup> The basis for this reckoning was his conviction that the 2300 "days" should cover the whole period of the vision, from the time it was given to the time when the sanctuary would be cleansed. Since he accepted the year 555 B.C. as the year in which Daniel received the vision, he counted 2300 years from that year and established the end of the period in A.D. 1745.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 122: "Daniel's days are years; and these years may perhaps be reckoned either from the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in the reign of Vespasian, or from the pollution of the Sanctuary by the worship of Jupiter Olympius, or from the desolation of Judea made in the end of the Jewish war by the banishment of all the Jews out of their country, or from some other period which time will discover." "In the 16th year of the Emperor Hadrian, A.C. 132, they placed this abomination of desolation by building a Temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, where the Temple of God in Jerusalem had stood" (p. 126).

<sup>2</sup>Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 392.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 392: "& rien n'est plus naturel que d'en fixer le commencement à la date même de cette Prophétie. Daniel fut honoré de cette seconde vision, la troisième année du regne de Belsatsar, qui étoit comme nous l'avons dit l'an 555 avant Jésus-Christ, à quoi il faut ajouter 1745. pour accomplir les deux mille & trois cents ans, de sorte que nous avons lieu d'espérer qu'après l'an 45. du siècle où nous vivons l'Eglise sera purifiée."



Thomas Newton pointed out two reasons for the difficulty in reckoning this period. First, because this prophecy was not yet fulfilled; and second, because there were some manuscripts with different readings.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, accepting the number 2300 of the Hebrew text, he reckoned this period from the year 334 B.C., to the end of the sixth millennium.<sup>2</sup> He did not manifest his reasons for this reckoning. However, it seems that he chose the year 334 B.C., or the time when the Macedonians began their conquests, for at least three reasons: (1) because he assumed that at the end of the 2300 days the world would be destroyed; (2) because he believed in the sixth-millennium theory; and (3) because choosing the year 334 B.C. as the beginning of the 2300 years, the end of the 2300 years and the sixth millennium would synchronize better with it than other events.<sup>3</sup>

Hans Wood reckoned the 2300 "evening-mornings" from 420 B.C. to A.D. 1880.<sup>4</sup> He, like Petri, also reckoned this period on the ground that the seventy weeks of Dan 9 is the clue for the understanding of the 2300 "days," and that the seventy weeks is the shorter period within the longer period. Since he established the end of the 70 weeks in A.D. 70, when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem, he

---

<sup>1</sup>Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 259: "It is difficult to fix the precise time when the prophetic dates begin, and when they end, till the prophecies are fulfilled, and the events declare the certainty of them. And the difficulty is increased in this case by reason of some variety in the copies. For the Seventy have four hundred in this place; and others as Jerome informs us, read two hundred instead of three hundred."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>See, *ibid.*, pp. 259, 260.

<sup>4</sup>Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 2:720; Hales, A New Analysis, 2:518.

counted backwards 490 years and established the beginning of the seventy weeks and of the 2300 "days" in 420 B.C. Having established in this way the beginning of the 2300 "days," it was easy for him to establish the end of that time period in A.D. 1880.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Beere reckoned the 2300 prophetic days from the ninth year of Darius Hystaspes, or 511 B.C., to the year A.D. 1791.<sup>2</sup> He reckoned this period on the basis that the 2300 days embrace the whole period of the vision, from its beginning to the cleansing of the sanctuary.<sup>3</sup> However, he understood the time of the beginning of the vision as the year that the ram pushed toward the west, toward the north, and toward the south, and not the time when Daniel received the vision. The time of the two-horned ram pushing, he said, took place in the year 511 B.C., when the Persians extended their conquests westward into Greece, northward into Scythia, and southward into Egypt.<sup>4</sup> Having established the terminus a quo, he predicted that the 2300 "days" would end in A.D. 1791.<sup>5</sup>

Samuel Osgood reckoned the 2300 prophetic days from the time Alexander defeated the Persians to the year A.D. 1970.<sup>6</sup> He reckoned this period on the basis that it embraces the whole time of the vision, that is, from its beginning to the cleansing of the

---

<sup>1</sup>See the works cited in the previous footnote.

<sup>2</sup>Beere, A Dissertation, pp. 17-25.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 11-17.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-25.

<sup>6</sup>Osgood, Remarks, p. 64.

sanctuary. However, he understood the time of the beginning of the vision as the year when Alexander defeated the Persians and not the time when Daniel received the vision. He argued that since chap. 8 is placed in the book of Daniel after the Persians had been introduced (chap. 6), the vision should begin with the Greeks and not with the Persians.<sup>1</sup>

James Bicheno reckoned the 2300 "evening-mornings" from 481 B.C., when Xerxes made his expedition against Grecia, to the year 1819.<sup>2</sup> He, like Beere, believed that the 2300 "days" embrace the whole time of the vision, and that they should begin from the time that the ram began to push westward, northward, and southward. However, he departed from Beere in the fact that he chose the year 481 B.C. as the beginning of the vision instead of the year 511 B.C., which Beere chose. The ground for Bicheno's reckoning was his assumption that the 1260 and 1290 "days" commence at the same time, and that the 1290 and 2300 days terminate together. Under this assumption he established the beginning of the 1260 and 1290 years in the year A.D. 529 and, by consequence, established the end of the 1290 days in the year 1819. Since he assumed that the 1290 and 2300 days terminate together, he reckoned backwards 2300 years from 1819 and came to the year 481 B.C. Looking for an important event in history that would justify this date, he found that at that time Xerxes had made an expedition against Greece. Taking that event as the beginning of the vision and of the 2300 days, he expected that in his time or in the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Bicheno, The Signs of the Times, p. 54.

near future this prophecy would be fulfilled.<sup>1</sup>

### 1150 days

M. F. Roos, who understood the expression "evening-morning" to mean the morning and evening sacrifices, reckoned the 1150 days from the year 145 of the Seleucidae (45 days before the abomination of desolation was set up on the fifteenth day of Chislew in the year 145, 1 Macc 1:54) to the twenty-fifth day of Chislew in the year 148 of the same era, when Judas Maccabaeus purified the temple of Jerusalem (1 Macc 4:54).<sup>2</sup> He explained that from the time that the abomination of desolation was set up to the cleansing of the sanctuary, three years and ten days, or 1105 days, elapsed. The remaining forty-five days, he said, must be the period during which the soldiers prepared the place where the image was to be set up, and by consequence the Jews could not offer their sacrifices (1 Macc 1:38-40).<sup>3</sup>

### 2200 years

G. S. Faber maintained that the correct reading of this period should be 2200 instead of 2300, and reckoned it from 334 B.C. to 1866.<sup>4</sup> This reckoning was based on the assumption that the 1260 and the temporal expression of Dan 8 terminate together. For the vision of Dan 8 is said to concern "the time of the end" (8:17) and

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 53-55.

<sup>2</sup>Roos, An Exposition of Daniel, pp. 216, 217.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>4</sup>Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:245-250. He knew about the numerical reading of 2200 from Jerome's commentary.

the end of the wonders is said to take place at the conclusion of the 1260 days (12:7). Faber established the beginning of the 1260 days or years in A.D. 606, when emperor Phocas granted to Boniface III the title of "Universal Bishop and Supreme Head of the Church,"<sup>1</sup> and the end of those days in A.D. 1866.<sup>2</sup> Since he assumed that the 1260 and "2300 days" would terminate together, he reckoned backwards from A.D. 1866, the 2300, 2200, and 2400 years, which are the readings according to Jerome and one misprinted edition of the LXX. In this way, Faber thought he could establish the correct reading of the true period and also the beginning of the vision. The 2200 years reached back to the year 334 B.C., the 2300 years to 434 B.C., and the 2400 years to the year 534 B.C. Having obtained these dates, he looked for some remarkable historical event which happened in one of those years, and found that nothing remarkable had happened in the years 534 B.C. and 434 B.C.; so he discarded them. But he found that Alexander the Great in the year 334 B.C. began his expedition against the Persians, and thought that that event could really mark the beginning of the vision. As a consequence, he concluded that the true reading of the text should be 2200 and not 2300, and the beginning of that period the year 334 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Thus he followed a versional reading cited by Jerome because it matched history.

It should be noted that before him Thomas Newton had proposed the same date for the beginning of the 2300 days, and how much Faber

---

<sup>1</sup>See, *ibid.* 1:223-240.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 1:248.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 1:245-250.

was influenced by Newton is difficult to decide. Nevertheless, many years later Faber changed his mind concerning this position, as is noted in Chapter III.

### Cultic Expressions

In the vision of Dan 8 there are some cultic expressions which are very important for the understanding of the whole vision, such as (1) the "daily," (2) the "transgression of desolation," and (3) "then shall the sanctuary be cleansed."

These expressions have been interpreted in a variety of ways. Those interpretations which were held or proposed during the eighteenth century are presented next.

#### "The Daily"

The expression, "the daily," appears five times in the book of Daniel (8:11, 12, 13; 11:31; 12:11). The word "sacrifice(s)," which is attached to it in some Bible versions, is printed sometimes in italics to indicate that is not part of the original Hebrew text, but an addition.<sup>1</sup> Other recent English versions render the Hebrew term as "regular sacrifice,"<sup>2</sup> "perpetual sacrifice,"<sup>3</sup> and "continual burnt offering."<sup>4</sup>

Most of the eighteenth-century interpreters who expressed their views on this expression understood it to denote the daily

---

<sup>1</sup>See for example the KJV, NAB, NIV, NKJV.

<sup>2</sup>NASB.

<sup>3</sup>JB.

<sup>4</sup>RSV, ASV.

sacrifice of the Jewish worship. This was the view of Henry, Lowth, I. Newton, Th. Newton, Gill, Roos, Amner, and Wintle.<sup>1</sup> Lowth found support for this understanding in Num 28:3, and Wintle in Exod 29:42.<sup>2</sup> The others took for granted that this was the correct understanding and did not give any exegetical or biblical support.

A different interpretation was given by Crinsoz, Kett, and Faber.<sup>3</sup> According to them, this term refers to the "praise and prayers" of the Christian Church, but they did not elaborate on it.<sup>4</sup>

#### "The Transgression of Desolation"

The Hebrew phrase hapeša' šōmēm is rendered in some Bible versions as "transgression of desolation." This phrase is found only in Dan 8:13.

Henry, Lowth, and Gill understood this expression to denote the image which Antiochus Epiphanes set upon the altar of the Jewish temple.<sup>5</sup> They held this view on the assumption that this expression

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:845; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:78; I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 121, 126; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 254; Gill, An Exposition, 6:367; Amner, An Essay, pp. 80, 182; Wintle, Daniel, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup>Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:78; Wintle, Daniel, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup>Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 388; Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, p. 351; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:276.

<sup>4</sup>Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 388; Kett, History, the Interpreter of Prophecy, 1:351; Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:276.

<sup>5</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:846; Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:80; Gill, An Exposition, 6:368.

means the same thing as "the abomination of desolation" of Dan 11:31 and of Dan 12:11, but they did not elaborate more on this point.<sup>1</sup>

A similar interpretation was given by I. Newton and Th. Newton. According to them, this expression refers to the image of "Jupiter Olympius," which was set up by the emperor Hadrian on the same place where the temple of the Jews had been.<sup>2</sup> They, like Henry and Gill, assumed that this term is an expression identical with the "abomination of desolation" of 11:31 and of 12:11, but no further support was given.<sup>3</sup>

Only G. S. Faber suggested that it refers to the religion of Muhammad.<sup>4</sup> He pointed out that this expression appears three times in the book of Daniel (8:13, 11:31, and 12:11). It could refer either to the same event or to several events. Faber was sure that the abomination of desolation mentioned in Dan 11:31 had to do with the Romans, since Jesus speaking of the "abomination of desolation" related it to them, and also because that passage in its context fits very well with the Romans. However, he said, the abomination of desolation set up by the Romans does not harmonize with the 1290 and 1335 days of Dan 12:11, 12, since nothing remarkable happened 1290 and 1335 years after A.D. 70. On this ground he concluded that the abomination of desolation of Dan 11:31, and the abomination of Dan 12:11, do not refer to the same event; and by consequence the abomination of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>I. Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 121; Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, p. 295.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, 1:271, 276.



desolation of Dan 12:11 must be the same as the transgression of desolation of Dan 8:13, because it would be very rare that Daniel would speak of a third abomination of desolation (12:11), different from the previous two (8:13; 11:31), without further explanation.<sup>1</sup>

Based on this reasoning and other arguments already presented in relation to his interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8, he concluded that the "transgression of desolation" of Dan 8:13 refers not to the Romans but to the religion of Muhammad.<sup>2</sup>

#### "Then Shall the Sanctuary be Cleansed"

This important cultic expression was understood in a variety of ways by the eighteenth-century expositors. Henry understood it to denote the reestablishment of the Jewish cult by Judas Maccabaeus, on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of the year 148 of the Seleucidae (1 Macc 4:52).<sup>3</sup> It seems that also Calmet understood the cleansing of the sanctuary as the restoration of the Jewish worship by Judas Maccabaeus. However, he computed the end of the 2300 days in relation to the death of Antiochus in the year 149 of the same era.<sup>4</sup> According to Lowth, the cleansing of the sanctuary refers primarily to the reestablishment of the Jewish cult by Judas Maccabaeus, but typologically to the restoration of the church.<sup>5</sup> Crinsoz suggested that at the end of the 2300 years the church would be purified, but

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1:212-218.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:265, 266.

<sup>3</sup>Henry, An Exposition, 4:846.

<sup>4</sup>Calmet, Ezechiel et Daniel, 15:673.

<sup>5</sup>Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel, 1:80, 81.

he did not elaborate more on it.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Newton expected the Jews to be restored to their own land at the end of the 2300 years and the Roman empire to be destroyed, but he also did not elaborate more on this expression.<sup>2</sup> Gill understood the cleansing of the sanctuary to denote the purification of the the temple of Jerusalem by Judas Maccabaeus in its primary sense, but as the purification of the church in its typological sense.<sup>3</sup> Beere thought that the sanctuary could refer either to the land of Judea or to the Christian Church. If it be meant Judea, he said, then at the end of the 2300 years the Jews would be restored to their own land, but if the sanctuary means the Christian Church, then at the end of the 2300 years the church would be free from papal persecutions. However, of these two possibilities he preferred the former.<sup>4</sup> Bicheno contended that the sanctuary is the land of Judea; and the host, the Christian Church. Therefore, he expected at the end of the 2300 years the liberation of both the land of Judea and the Christian Church from their enemies.<sup>5</sup> And Faber thought that at the end of the 2200 "days" the church would begin to be "cleansed from the abomination of the twofold Apostacy."<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Crinsoz, Essai sur l'Apocalypse, p. 392.

<sup>2</sup>Th. Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, pp. 259-261. He wrote: They expect [the Jews] and we expect, that at length "the sanctuary will be cleansed," and that in God's determined time his promise will be fully accomplished, (Amos 9:11, 12; Acts 15:16, 17) 'I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down . . ."

<sup>3</sup>Gill, An Exposition, 6:368.

<sup>4</sup>Beere, A Dissertation, pp. 25-32.

<sup>5</sup>Bicheno, The Signs of the Times, p. 54.

<sup>6</sup>Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecies, pp. 305, 273.

Summary

The animal symbols of Dan 8 were interpreted in a variety of ways during the eighteenth century. The two-horned ram was interpreted by the majority of expositors to denote the Medo-Persian empire. A double interpretation of it was given by one them (Calmet), who thought that the two-horned ram denotes both King Cyrus and the Kingdom of Medo-Persia. And a third interpretation was that it refers only to the Persian empire. In regard to the chronological sequence of the two-horned ram, among the four world empires of Dan 2 and 7, the majority of interpreters understood that it represents the second empire, while one interpreter (Venema) maintained that it represents the third.

The he-goat was interpreted by the majority of expositors to denote the Grecian empire. Only one interpreter (Calmet) offered a double interpretation of the he-goat, pointing out in one place that it refers to Alexander the Great and elsewhere that it denotes the Grecian empire. With regard to the chronological sequence of this animal symbol among the four world empires of Daniel, the majority of interpreters pointed out that it represents the third empire. Only one expositor (Venema) maintained that it denotes the fourth.

Most of the exegetes of this period understood the he-goat's "notable horn" to signify Alexander the Great. On the other hand, there were other interpreters who thought that it refers to the Grecian empire under the leadership of Alexander the Great or his dynasty.

The he-goat's four "notable horns" were understood by some expositors to denote the four immediate successors of Alexander the

Great, while the great majority maintained that the four horns represent the four kingdoms into which the Grecian empire was divided after Alexander's death. A good number of interpreters thought that these four horns, together with the notable horn, were an integral part of the he-goat, and understood them as part of the third empire, while others maintained that two of the horns represent the fourth empire.

A greater degree of difference was manifested in the interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8. At least seven different interpretations of it were offered by interpreters. They are as follows: (1) it signifies Antiochus Epiphanes, (2) it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as type of Antichrist, (3) it refers to Macedonia under the power of the Romans, (4) it signifies the Bishops of Rome or the papal power, (5) it represents the Roman empire, (6) it denotes Antiochus, Muhammedanism, and France, (7) and lastly, it refers to the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad or Muhammedanism.

The temporal expression of 2300 "evening-mornings" was also understood in a variety of ways. To begin with, the expression "evening-mornings" was interpreted to mean (1) a natural day, (2) a natural and prophetic day, (3) a prophetic day, (4) a literal evening and morning, and (5) the morning and evening sacrifices. Accordingly, the period of 2300 "evening-mornings" was reckoned as follows: (1) from the year 142 of the Seleucidae to the year 148 of the same era, (2) from the year 143 of the Seleucidae to the year 149 of the same era, (3) from 555 B.C. to A.D. 1745, (4) from 334 B.C. to A.D. 1966, (5) from the year 145 of the Seleucidae to the year 151 of the same era, (6) from 453 B.C. to A.D. 1847, (7) from the year 145 of the

Seleucidae to the year 148 of the same era, (8) from 420 B.C. to A.D. 1880, (9) from 511 B.C. to A.D. 1791, (10) from 331/330 B.C. to A.D. 1970, (11) from 481 B.C. to A.D. 1819, and (12) from 334 B.C. to A.D. 1866.

Among the cultic expressions which were surveyed are "the daily," "the transgression of desolation," and "then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." The "daily" was understood by some interpreters to refer to the daily sacrifices of the Jewish cult, while others thought that it denotes the Christian worship.

The expression "the transgression of desolation" was interpreted by some interpreters to refer to the idol image which was placed upon the altar in the holy area of the Jewish temple, while another one (Faber) understood that it refers to the Muhammedan religion.

Some expositors interpreted the expression "then shall the sanctuary be cleansed" to denote the restoration of the Jewish cult under Judas Maccabaeus. Others understood it to have a double sense, primarily to refer to the restoration of the Jewish worship under Judas Maccabaeus, and typologically to denote the restoration of the Christian Church. It was also understood to denote only the purification of the Christian Church, the restoration of the Jewish people into their own land, and the cleansing of the church from "the abomination of the twofold Apostasy."

The interpreters of this period, who dealt with the vision of Dan 8, might be grouped into two different schools of interpretation: (1) The preterist and (2) the historicist schools. The feature which differentiates the preterists from the historicists is the fact that

the preterists considered the scope of the prophecies of Daniel to extend from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the epoch of Antiochus Epiphanes or to the first coming of Christ, while the historicists understood the scope of the same prophecies to extend from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the second coming of Christ. In other words, the preterist limited the fulfillment of the prophecies of Daniel to the period which runs from the Babylonian captivity to the first coming of Christ, while the historicists understood the same prophecies to be fulfilled from the time of Daniel to the second coming of Christ. These two different approaches caused different results in the interpretation of Dan 8. According to the preterist interpreters the vision of Dan 8 was fulfilled before and during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, while for the historicists only some symbols of this vision were fulfilled in the past but others were in the process of fulfillment.

Interpreters of this period who belonged to the preterist school are Henry (1712), Calmet (1715), Venema (1745), Amner (1776), and Dathe (1779). The most popular of them was Henry, but the best in this school of thought are Venema and Amner.

The interpreters of the historicist school are Lowth (1726), I. Newton (d. 1727), Crinsoz (1729), Th. Newton (1754), Gill (1758), Dodd (1767), Beere (1790), Orton (1791) Wintle (1792), Zouch (1792), Osgood (1794), Bicheno (1799), Kett (1799), Coke (1803), and Faber (1806). Of these I. Newton, Th. Newton, and Faber might be considered as trend setters, and Th. Newton as the best among them. On this basis it may be affirmed that the historicist school was dominant during this period.

Our research also reveals that within the historicist school there was a shift in the interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8. Isaac Newton, applying the inductive method<sup>1</sup> in the interpretation of this vision, concluded that the little horn does not signify Antiochus Epiphanes at all, but Macedonia under the Roman power. This view, although in a modified form, was reaffirmed at the end of the controversy between deists and Anglicans by Bishop Newton. In the midst of the deist controversy Anthony Collins raised the hermeneutical question "whether the New Testament interpretation of the Old Testament prophecies ought to be understood literally or in some other way."<sup>2</sup> The discussion of this issue seems to have helped in the consolidation of the novel interpretation of the little horn, while it undermined the typological interpretation of it during this period as well as in the next.

The philosophical emphasis of the supremacy of reason over revelation, which began to be proclaimed during the seventeenth century by Renè Descartes (1596-1650), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), Benedict de Spinoza (1632-1677), and John Locke (1632-1704)<sup>3</sup> flourished in the eighteenth century. One of the results of this philosophical emphasis was the birth of the historical-critical

---

<sup>1</sup>Francis Bacon (1561-1626) recommended the inductive method for the interpretation of nature in his Novum Organum (1620).

<sup>2</sup>See Hans W. Frei, The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 67; Reventlow, The Authority of the Bible, pp. 366, 367.

<sup>3</sup>See Renè Descartes, Discourse on the Method (1637); Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (1651); Benedict de Spinoza, Tractatus Theologico-Politicus (1670); John Loke, Concerning Human Understanding (1690).

method at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The effects of this method in the exegesis of Dan 8 were not seen in this period, but in the next.

---

<sup>1</sup>See Adam Storey Farrar, A Critical History of Free Thought in Reference to the Christian Religion (London: John Murray, 1862), pp. 296-368; Hans-Joachim Kraus, Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1956), pp. 82-102; Edgar Krentz, The Historical-Critical Method (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 16-22; Gerhard F. Hasel, Biblical Interpretation Today (Lincoln, Nebraska: College View Printers, 1985), p. 5; John Rogerson, Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), pp. 15-27.



## CHAPTER III

### INTERPRETATIONS OF THE VISION OF DANIEL 8 FROM ABOUT 1800 TO 1850

The period from about 1800 to 1850 may be rightly called a new era in the history of the interpretation of the vision of Dan 8, for at least two reasons: First, during this period of time a greater number of interpreters were involved in the interpretation of this prophecy than ever before;<sup>1</sup> second, in this time period new historical and exegetical methods were employed in the interpretation of this vision.<sup>2</sup>

Interpreters of at least four different schools of prophetic interpretation<sup>3</sup> debated intensively the true meaning of the animal symbols and expressions of Dan 8 as well as the true method of

---

<sup>1</sup>This can be observed in the great amount of works dealing particularly with this prophecy which were published during this period of time, in comparison to previous centuries. For example, we have found that during the eighteenth century about 25 interpreters dealt with the vision of Dan 8 or part of it, while during the first half of the nineteenth century about 50 did so. From mentions in his Prophetic Faith, 3:266, that more than 100 important books "on the premillennial advent and the prophecies appeared" from 1800 to 1840.

<sup>2</sup>For example the historical-critical method, which a priori rejects the possibility of prediction and supernatural events; and the literalist method of the futurist school.

<sup>3</sup>The Preterist, Historicist, Historical-critical, and Futurist schools of prophetic interpretation. The principles of interpretation of the two latter schools began to be employed in the interpretation of Daniel during the first half of the nineteenth century.

interpreting them. Thousand of pages were printed in books, journals, and pamphlets in which these issues were discussed. Those printed pages which are still extant and have been available to us are the main sources of the historical investigation of this chapter.

This new chapter, like the foregoing, deals with the different interpretations of the animal symbols and expressions of Dan 8 in three main sections. The first treats the interpretations of the animal symbols; the second the interpretations of the temporal expression of the 2300 "evening-mornings"; and the third section, the interpretations of some cultic expressions such as "the daily," the "transgression of desolation," and "then the sanctuary shall be cleansed."

#### Animal Symbols

As already noted in Chapter II, the animal symbols of the vision of Dan 8 are: (1) the two-horned ram, (2) the he-goat, (3) the he-goat's notable horn, (4) the he-goat's four notable horns, and (5) the little horn which grew exceedingly great.

The interpretations of these five animal symbols which were expounded from about 1800 to 1850 are presented in chronological order. Our presentation begins with the interpretations of the two-horned ram and ends with those of the little horn which grew exceedingly great.

#### The Two-Horned Ram

It can be safely said that in the first half of the nineteenth century four different interpretations were given to the symbolic two-horned ram. The first of them, and most popular, was

that the ram represents the united kingdom<sup>1</sup> or empire<sup>2</sup> of Medo-Persia; or, as other interpreters simply expressed it, the kingdom,

<sup>1</sup>Leonhard Bertholdt, Daniel aus dem Hebräisch-Aramäischen neu übersetzt und erklärt mit einer vollständigen Einleitung und einigen historischen und exegetischen Excursen, 2 vols. (Erlangen: J. J. Palm, 1806-1808), 2:474, 484; Thomas Scott, The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with Original Notes, Practical Observations and Copious References (New York: Published by Whiting and Watson, 1812), vol. 4 (notes on Dan. 8:3, 4); James Hatley Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St. John, Shewing That All the Prophetic Writings Are Formed upon One Plan (London: J. Hatchard, 1815), p. 226; Archibald Mason, Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number of Two Thousand Three Hundred Days; and on the Christian's Duty to Inquire into the Church's Deliverance (Glasgow: Young, Gallie, & Co., 1820), p. 3; George Stanley Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy: or a Dissertation on the Prophecies, Which Treat of the Grand Period of Seven Times, 3 vols. (London: C. & F. Rivington, 1828) 2:113; Alexander Keith, The Signs of the Times, as Denoted by the Fulfilment of Historical Predictions, 2 vols. (New York: Jonathan Leavit, 1832), 1:26; Ernst Friedrich Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1832), 10:250, 251; Franz Joseph V. D. Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus in Vetus Testamentum, (Leipzig: F. Volckmar, 1838), 2:140; Joseph Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, Being an Exposition of the Books of Daniel and Revelation (London: Jackson and Walford, 1838), p. 19; William Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ about the Year 1843 (Boston: Joshua B. Himes, 1842), pp. 48, 49; Thomas R. Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy: Including an Examination of Several Recent Expositions, and of the Year-Day Theory (London: William Edward Painter, 1843), pp. 97, 98; John Nelson Darby, Studies on the Book of Daniel (London: John B. Bateman, 1864), p. 42. (First published in French in 1847.)

<sup>2</sup>William Cuninghame, A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse, and the Prophetical Period of Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years, 2nd ed. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1817), p. 246; James E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet of the Apocalypse; . . . And also a Full Illustration of Daniel's Vision of the Ram and He-Goat (London: Printed for the Author, 1814), p. 346; Aaron Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, the Prophecies of Daniel and Hosea, the Revelation, and Other Symbolical Passages of the Holy Scriptures (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1814), p. 139; Adam Clarke, The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. . . . With a Commentary and Critical Notes (New York: G. Lane & C. B. Tippet, 1845), 4:598; F. A. Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, 1st Amer. ed. (New York: C. C. Crosby, 1836), p. 177; Nathaniel S. Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1842), p. 66; George Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image (Philadelphia: James M. Campbell and Co., 1844), p. 45.

the monarchy, or the empire of Persia.<sup>1</sup>

The majority of these interpreters held this interpretation on the basis of Dan 8:20 and the correspondence between the description of the ram and the history of the Medo-Persian empire. One correspondence which they saw was between the two horns of the ram and the two peoples or kingdoms of the Medes and Persians, of which the former was first and lower and the latter was last and higher.<sup>2</sup> Another correspondence which was pointed out was the pushing of the ram and the conquests of the Medo-Persian or Persian empire.<sup>3</sup> And finally, the correspondence between the description of the defeat of the ram by the he-goat and the destruction of the Medo-Persian empire

---

<sup>1</sup>William Hales, A New Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History and Prophecy, 4 vols. (London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington, 1830), 2:507; William Girdlestone, Observations on the Visions of Daniel, and on Part of the Book of the Revelation of St. John (Oxford: J. Parker, 1820), p. 32; John Fry, The Second Advent; or the Glorious Epiphany of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 2 vols. (London: Ogle, Duncan, and Co., 1822), 2:29; Heinrich Andreas Christoph Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1832), pp. 251, 257; Caesar von Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel (Königsberg: G. Bornträger, 1835), pp. 365, 367; David Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy (Boston: Published by the Author, 1840), p. 68; Edward B. Elliott, Horae Apocalypticæ; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical, 3d ed., 4 vols. (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1847), 3:376.

<sup>2</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (note on 8:3, 4); Hales, A New Analysis, 2:507; Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 246; J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, pp. 346, 347; Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 139; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 226; Adam Clarke, The Holy Bible, 4:598; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:114; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 260; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 70:251; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, p. 366; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, p. 177; Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:140; Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, p. 19; Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, p. 68; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 66; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, p. 45; Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup>See the works cited in the previous footnote.

by the Greco-Macedonian power under Alexander the Great.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the general agreement of these interpreters regarding the meaning of the two-horned ram, there was among them some disagreement concerning the particular meaning of its two horns and its pushing, as well as the meaning of the term "kings" of Gabriel's explanation.

Bertholdt maintained that

Not alone the two horns of the ram, but the ram with two horns symbolized Media and Persia, insofar as they were united. For the he goat not only broke the larger horn of the ram, but<sup>2</sup> broke both simultaneously, threw down the ram and stepped on it.

Others understood the two horns of the ram to represent the two kingdoms<sup>3</sup> or the "joint power"<sup>4</sup> of the Medes and Persians; or simply the Medes and Persians.<sup>5</sup> For others the two horns of the ram represented either the two kingdoms of the Medes and Persians or their two

---

<sup>1</sup>See the works cited above.

<sup>2</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:485. "Allein nicht die zwei Hörner des Widders symbolisiren, sondern der Widder mit zwei Hörnern, nämlich das medische und persische Reich, insofern sie schon combinirt waren. Denn der Ziegenbock zerbrach nicht bloss das grössere Horn des Widders, sondern er zerbrach beide zugleich, warf den Widder zu Boden und trat ihn mit Füßen."

<sup>3</sup>Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 246; Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 139; A. Clarke, The Holy Bible, 4:598; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, p. 113; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 260; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, p. 45; Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, p. 377.

<sup>4</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Dan 8:3, 4); Hales, A New Analysis, 2:507.

<sup>5</sup>J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 347; Keith, The Signs of the Times, p. 26; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 366. However, in other places he commented that in the book of Daniel, horns are used as symbols of kingdoms (p. 367). Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:140.

dynasties.<sup>1</sup> One interpreter suggested that the horns are the first two kings or race of kings of the same two kingdoms.<sup>2</sup> Folsom held this on the view that a horn can represent a king, as it is used in Dan 8:21, rather than a kingdom as Th. Newton had suggested before.<sup>3</sup>

The term "kings" in Dan 8:20 was understood by some of these expositors to refer to the kingdoms of Media and Persia.<sup>4</sup> Birks pointed out that "clearly, from the former use of the symbol of a beast . . . the phrase must signify, not two personal monarchs, but the combined kingdom."<sup>5</sup> Others understood the term "kings" to refer either to the kings or kingdoms of Media and Persia;<sup>6</sup> and still others, that it refers either to the kings or dynasties of the same empire.<sup>7</sup>

With regard to the intent of the pushing of the ram, Bertholdt and Folsom maintained that it refers to the conquests of

---

<sup>1</sup>Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 99; idem, The Two Later Visions of Daniel: Historically Explained (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1846), pp. 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup>Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:484, 485; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, p. 23; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 88. "The word 'kings' in verse 20, and 'king' in the first clause of verse 21, is an instance, as above mentioned, of king taken for kingdom." Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup>Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup>Hales, A New Analysis, 2:507; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, pp. 257, 258.

<sup>7</sup>Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 46.

the Medes and Persians;<sup>1</sup> Scott, Hävernick, and Lengerke, that it refers to the Persian conquests;<sup>2</sup> Cuninghame, that it only denotes the conquests of Darius Hystaspes;<sup>3</sup> J. E. Clarke, that it only represents the conquests of Cyrus and Cambyses;<sup>4</sup> and Frere, Faber, and Birks, that it refers to the conquests of Cyrus alone.<sup>5</sup>

The second interpretation of the two-horned ram was that it represents the kings of Media and Persia.<sup>6</sup> This interpretation was also held on the basis of Dan 8:20. The difference between this and the former interpretation seems to rest on the way the term "kings" was understood. In this interpretation the term "kings" was understood literally, while in the former as a synonym or figure.

The third interpretation of the ram was that it represents the "united kings or dynasties of Media and Persia."<sup>7</sup> This interpretation was also held on Gabriel's explanation of the two-horned

---

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:486; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Dan. 8:3, 4); Hävernick, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 260; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, p. 367; Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup>Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 250.

<sup>4</sup>J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 347.

<sup>5</sup>Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 226; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:120; Birks, The Two Later Visions of Daniel, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup>Samuel Roffey Maitland, An Attempt to Elucidate the Prophecies Concerning Antichrist (London: C. J. G. and F. Rivington, 1830), p. 10; Benjamin Willis Newton, Prospects of the Ten Kingdoms of the Roman Empire (n.p.: The Sovereign Grace Advent Testimony Secretary, n.d.), p. 140.

<sup>7</sup>Robert Reid, The Seven Last Plagues; or the Vials of the Wrath of God (Pittsburgh: D. and M. Maclean, 1828), p. 46.

ram. But here the term "kings" seems to be understood as a synonym or figure of dynasties. However, no further support is given.

The fourth interpretation of the ram was that it represents the kings of a future kingdom of Media and Persia.<sup>1</sup> This interpretation was maintained by Todd, and his argument is as follows:

For the angel expressly says, that 'at the time of the end shall be the vision,' and I see no reason why this declaration should be restricted to a part of the vision only; if therefore the vision here mean the whole vision, and if it be admitted that 'the time of the end' is not yet come, it will follow that the power represented by the ram with two horns, as well as the power represented by the goat, and the four kingdoms which shall stand up out of the nation, are all yet future.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the chronological sequence of the two-horned ram among the four world empires of the book of Daniel, only Hales, Frere, Fry, and Brooks declared explicitly that the ram represents the second world monarchy.<sup>3</sup> Other interpreters, although they also held that the Medo-Persian empire is the second world monarchy, did not state it in relation to the ram, but in relation to the arms and breast of the image of Dan 2 and the bear of Dan 7.<sup>4</sup> Maitland, on the

---

<sup>1</sup>James Henthorn Todd, Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist in the Writings of Daniel and St. Paul (Dublin: Printed at the University Press, 1840), p. 128: "I am therefore greatly inclined to believe, that the kings of Media and Persia, foretold in this vision, as well as the king of Grecia, who is to vanquish them, are yet to come. That those countries, once the seat of such mighty empires, are destined once more to recover their long lost power, and that in them shall be enacted the last great and fearful struggle between the prince of this world and the armies of the living God."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>3</sup>Hales, A New Analysis, 2:506; Frere, A Combined view of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 221; Fry, The Second Advent, p. 29; J. W. Brooks, Elements of Prophetic Interpretation, in The Literalist (Philadelphia: Orrin Rogers, 1841), p. 227.

<sup>4</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 1:203; Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Dan 2:39 and 7:6); Hales, A New Analysis, 2:495, 497; Kinne, An



other hand, following Manuel Lacunza (1731-1801),<sup>1</sup> believed that Babylon and Persia were the first world monarchy, and Grecia the second.<sup>2</sup> Lengerke maintained that the author of the book of Daniel in error speaks of the kingdom of the Medes as the second world monarchy, and the kingdom of the Persians as the third.<sup>3</sup> He found support for this assertion in Dan 6:1 and 8:3. Another expositor who followed the same view was Maurer.<sup>4</sup> Finally, Todd, different from the others,

---

Explanation of the Principal Types, pp. 128, 133; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 117-119; Girdlestone, Observations, p. 5; Mason, Two Essays, p. 3; A. Clarke, The Holy Bible, 4:579, 593; Townsend, The Old Testament, p. 733; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:13, 14, 53; Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 30; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, pp. 565, 566; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:108, 109; Keith, The Signs of the Times, pp. 11, 14; M. Habershon, A Dissertation (London: James Nisbet, 1834), pp. 4, 309, 310; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, pp. 48, 161; Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, pp. 13, 18; Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, pp. 44, 45, 52; Samuel Ralston, A Brief Explication of the Principal Prophecies of Daniel and St. John (Pittsburg: Luke Loomis, 1842), p. 112; Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History, p. 43; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 148; T. R. Birks, The Four Prophetic Empires and the Kingdom of Messiah: Being an Exposition of the First Two Visions of Daniel, 2nd ed. (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1845), p. 11; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, pp. 25, 40; Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, p. 399.

<sup>1</sup>See Juan Hosafat Ben-Ezra, La Venida del Mesias en Gloria y Magestad, 3 vols. (Londres: R. Ackermann, 1826), 1:178-183 (first published in 1812).

<sup>2</sup>Maitland, An Attempt, pp. 4-6. He offered this interpretation on his comment of Dan 2. But he suggested in his interpretation of the four beasts of Dan 7 that they represent four contemporaneous kingdoms in the future (p. 9).

<sup>3</sup>Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 91, 92, 94.

<sup>4</sup>Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, p. 92: "Regnum secundum non posse esse regnum successorum Nebucadnezaris, . . . . Ipsum scriptorem vero si consulis, intelligendum es regnum Medorum."

placed the power represented by the two-horned ram in the future.<sup>1</sup>

### The He-Goat

Two main interpretations emerged regarding the he-goat. The most popular was that it represents the Grecian kingdom or Macedonian empire, founded by Alexander the Great.<sup>2</sup> This interpretation was held on the basis of Dan 8:21a,<sup>3</sup> or on the basis of Dan 8:21a and the correspondence which was seen between the description of the animal symbol and the history of the Grecian empire.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the

---

<sup>1</sup>Todd; Discourses on the Prophecies, p. 128: "It will follow that the power represented by the ram with two horns, as well as the power represented by the goat, and the four kingdoms which shall stand up out of the nation, are all yet future."

<sup>2</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:486; Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Dan 8:5-7); Hales, A New Analysis, 2:507; Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 250; J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 348; Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 140; Frere, A Combined view of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 230; Girdlestone, Observations, p. 32; Mason, Two Essays, p. 4; Fry, The Second Advent, p. 30; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:124; Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 46; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 258; Keith, The Signs of the Times, p. 27; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:253; Habershon, A Dissertation, p. 277; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, p. 369; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, p. 177; Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:140; Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, p. 19; Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, p. 69; Ralston, A Brief Explication, p. 116; Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History, p. 49; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 68; Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 101; idem, The Two Later Visions of Daniel, p. 18; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, p. 47; Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, p. 377; Samuel Lee, An Inquiry, pp. 161, 163.

<sup>3</sup>Hales, A New Analysis, 2:507; Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 46; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:253; Keith, The Signs of the Times, p. 27; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, p. 177; Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, p. 69; Ralston, A Brief Explication, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:486; Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Dan 8:5-7); J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 349; Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 140; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 230, 231; Girdlestone, Observations,

text's explicit reference to Grecia, interpreters saw a correspondence between the coming of the he-goat from the west, and the western position of Grecia in relation to Medo-Persia.<sup>1</sup> Some of them also saw a further resemblance between the swiftness of the he-goat and Alexander's rapid conquest over the Medo-Persian empire.<sup>2</sup>

Concerning the meaning of the term "king" in Dan 8:21a, almost all interpreters took for granted that "by king of Grecia is not meant the individual . . . but the kingdom."<sup>3</sup> It seems that they understood the term "king" in this text as a synonym of kingdom or as a figure of language to denote a kingdom. Even Folsom declared,

The prophet is told, verse 21, that this goat represents the king (or kingdom) of Greece, and that the conspicuous horn between his eyes (the horn in that position indicating both sagacity and

---

p. 32; Mason, Two Essays, p. 4; Fry, The Second Advent, p. 30; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:124, 125; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, pp. 264, 302; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 369, 370; Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:140; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, pp. 68-70; Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 101; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, pp. 47, 48.

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:486; J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 349; Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 140; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 230, 231; Mason, Two Essays, p. 4; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:124, 125; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 258; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 369, 370; Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:140; Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 101; idem, The Two Later Visions of Daniel, p. 18; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Dan 8:5-7); J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 349; Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 140; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 230, 231; Mason, Two Essays, p. 4; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 264; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 369, 370; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, pp. 68-70; Birks, The Two Later Visions of Daniel, p. 18; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup>Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, p. 47.

strength) represents the first king. It needs not language so explicit even as that of verse 21, to satisfy us that the Grecian empire under Alexander the Great is meant in vs. 5-7.<sup>1</sup>

Hävernick, different from Folsom, pointed out that "king of Javan" is a collective expression for "kings of Javan."<sup>2</sup>

The other interpretation of the he-goat was that it represents the king of Grecia. This was the view of Maitland and Todd.<sup>3</sup> This interpretation is also based on Dan 8:21a. But the difference between this interpretation and the former seems to rest on the fact that here the term "king" is understood literally, while in the former as a synonym or figure.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the chronological sequence of the he-goat among the four world empires of the book of Daniel, Hales, Frere, Fry, and Brooks explicitly stated that it represents the third empire.<sup>5</sup> Mason pointed out that it represents the same as the third beast of Dan 7

---

<sup>1</sup>Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup>Hävernick, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 302.

<sup>3</sup>Maitland, An Attempt, p. 10: "In this vision only, two beasts were seen; and it is distinctly stated that they symbolized the kings of Media and Persia, and the king of Grecia." Todd, Discourses on the Prophecies, p. 128: "I am therefore inclined to believe, that the kings of Media and Persia, foretold in this vision, as well as the king of Grecia, who is to vanquish them, are yet to come."

<sup>4</sup>Todd declared: "Another leading error in the common principles or canons of interpretation, is the liberty assumed by expositors of taking the word king, it is true, implies a kingdom, and a kingdom, though not always in the language of expositors of prophecy, yet usually, implies a king; but it will not therefore follow that in prophecy, any more than in history, king and kingdom are synonymous."

<sup>5</sup>Hales, A New Analysis, 2:506; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 221; Fry, The Second Advent, p. 29; Brooks, Elements, p. 227.

and the third metal of the image of Dan 2, which for him represents the third kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Other interpreters also held that the Grecian empire is the third world empire of Daniel. However, they did not express it in relation to the he-goat, but in relation to the belly of the image of Dan 2 and in relation to the leopard of Dan 7.<sup>2</sup> Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, and Folsom, dividing the Macedonian empire into two, understood the Grecian kingdom under Alexander the Great as the third world empire, and the same kingdom under those of his successors as the fourth.<sup>3</sup> Maitland, following Lacunza, understood the Grecian empire to be the second world monarchy of Daniel, or at least he did not oppose it as he did Lacunza's suggestion regarding the fourth kingdom.<sup>4</sup> Eichhorn, Dereser, Lengerke, and Maurer considered the Grecian kingdom as the fourth one.<sup>5</sup> This

---

<sup>1</sup>Mason, Two Essays, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Dan 2:39, and 7:6); Hales, A New Analysis, 2:495, 497; Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, pp. 128, 134; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 120; Girdlestone, Observations, p. 5; Mason, Two Essays, p. 4; Fry, The Second Advent, pp. 3,4, 13; Townsend, The Old Testament, p. 733; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:14, 57; Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 3; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 567; Keith, The Signs of the Times, pp. 11, 15; Habershon, A Dissertation, pp. 4, 310; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, pp. 48, 49, 162; Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, pp. 14, 19; Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, pp. 45, 54; Ralston, A Brief Explication, p. 112; Birks, The Four Prophetic Empires, p. 11; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, pp. 21, 41; Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, p. 399; B. Newton, Prospects of the Ten Kingdoms, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:203; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:109, 337; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup>Maitland, An Attempt, pp. 4-7.

<sup>5</sup>J. G. Eichhorn, Die hebräischen Propheten, 3 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1816), 3:432, 440; T. A.

suggestion was made in relation to the image of Dan 2, and not in relation to the symbol of the he-goat.<sup>1</sup> Finally, Todd considered the power represented by the he-goat to be in the future.<sup>2</sup> He held this view on the following reasoning:

For the angel expressly says, that 'at the time of the end shall be the vision,' and I see no reason why this declaration should be restricted to a part of the vision only; if therefore the vision here mean the whole vision, and if it be admitted that 'the time of the end' is not yet come, it will follow that the power represented by the ram with two horns, as well as the power represented by the goat, and the four kingdoms which shall stand up out of the nation, are all yet future.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore he concluded "that the kings of Media and Persia, foretold in this vision, as well as the king of Grecia, who is to vanquish them, are yet to come."<sup>4</sup>

---

Dereser, Die Propheten Ezechieel und Daniel, in Die heilige Schrift des alten Testaments, 2nd ed., revised by J. M. A. Scholz (Frankfurt: F. Varrentrapp, 1835), 1:318, 354; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 91-95: "Es kann aber erwiesen werden, dass sich der Verf. das medische Reich als das zur Zeit des Sturzes Babylons herrschende und demselben in der Weltherrschaft nachfolgende gedacht habe. . . . Auch c. 8. spricht, obwohl es Hengstenberg S. 206. f. fruchtlos leugnet, dafür, dass die zweite Monarchie die medische seyn soll. . . . Das vierte Reich, insofern es durch Schenkel von Eisen repräsentirt wird, v. 33., ist die Monarchie Alexanders v. 40., insofern es aber die Füße und Zehen von Eisen und Thon darstellen, (ebda.) bedeutet es das getheilte Reich unter seinen Nachfolgern, v. 41-43." Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:92, 93: "Regnum secundum non posse esse regnum successorum Nebucadnezaris . . . Ipsum scriptorem vero si consulis, intelligendum est regnum Medorum. Hoc enim successisse regno Babylonico opinatum esse scriptorem, discimus ex 6,1., ubi mortuo Belschazare regnum Babylonicum occupasse dicitur Darius Medus (Cyaxares II). cf. etiam 8,3., ubi cornu sublimius (Persian significans) posterius crevisse dicitur altero (Media). . . . Regnum quartum est regnum Alexandri et successorum, cf. ad vss. seqq."

<sup>1</sup>See the previous footnote.

<sup>2</sup>Todd, Discourses on the Prophecies, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 128.

## The He-Goat's "Notable Horn"

The he-goat's notable horn was understood in three different ways: (1) to represent Alexander the Great,<sup>1</sup> (2) to denote the dynasty or royal family of Alexander the Great,<sup>2</sup> and (3) to refer to the dominant kingdom of Macedon or the kingdom of Alexander.<sup>3</sup>

These interpretations seem to be based on Dan 8:21b. However, they differ from each other. The problem seems to be that the term "king" in Dan 8:21 was not understood in the same way. Some expositors understood that term in Dan 8:21b to refer literally to a king, namely, Alexander the Great.<sup>4</sup> Kinne understood it either metaphorically or collectively to refer to Alexander's dynasty.<sup>5</sup> And

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:487; Hales, A New Analysis, 2:507; Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 250; Mason, Two Essays, p. 4; Keith, The Signs of the Times, p. 29, 30; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:253; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 369, 373; Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:140; Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, p. 19; Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History, p. 49; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 68; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, p. 47; Samuel Lee, An Inquiry, pp. 161, 163.

<sup>2</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Dan 8:8); Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 140; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, pp. 266, 267; Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, p. 69; Birks, The Two Later Visions of Daniel, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup>J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 349; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 234; A. Clarke, The Holy Bible, 4:599; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:126; Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 47; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, p. 178; Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, p. 377.

<sup>4</sup>Hales, A New Analysis, 2:507; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:253; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 369, 373; Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:140; Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, p. 19; Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History, p. 49; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, pp. 71, 88; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup>Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 140.

still others understood it either as a metaphor or as a synonym of kingdom or government.<sup>1</sup> Of those who understood the term "king" literally in this particular case, only Folsom, in his exposition of the two-horned ram, made some explanation for taking it that way. He wrote:

It has been supposed by many . . . that the horns designate kingdoms, not kings. Now there occurs in this very chapter, verse 21, a use of the word 'horn' with the signification of king, viz. 'The great horn that is between his eyes is the first king.' The word 'king' is indeed sometimes synonymous both in common usage, and in the Scriptures, with kingdom. It is so used in this chapter, in the same verse where the phrase 'first king' occurs, viz. 'and the rough goat is the king of Grecia.' But with this signification of kingdom in the phrase king of Grecia, it becomes the more clear that the word king in the phrase 'first king,' is to be taken literally.<sup>2</sup>

Lengerke, who commented elsewhere that a horn represents a kingdom, defended his application of the notable horn to Alexander on the basis that "thereto lead v. 8 and 9, where on the he-goat, after the notable horn is broken up, others grow up; also v. 8 and 21, where the he-goat by himself will certainly be differentiated from the notable horn."<sup>3</sup> Those who understood the term king as dynasty did not explain on what basis they adopted that meaning. And of those who understood it as kingdom, only Faber gave the following explanation:

---

<sup>1</sup>J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 349; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 234; A. Clarke, The Holy Bible, 4:599; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:126; Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 47; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, p. 178; Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, p. 377.

<sup>2</sup>Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup>Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 369, 370: "Allein der Ziegenbock muss das macedonisch-griechische Reich, das Horn den Alexander bedeuten, darauf führen v. 8 und 9, wo an dem Ziegenbock, nachdem das ansehnliche Horn zerbrochen ist, noch andere aufwachsen, auch v. 8 und 21, wo der Ziegenbock an sich von dem ansehnlichen Horne bestimmt unterschieden wird."



The single great horn of the goat, as we are informed by the interpreting angel, is the first king or kingdom of Grecia. Hence, on the same principle that the two horns of the ram are the two dominant kingdoms of Media and Persia, the single great horn of the goat is the dominant kingdom of Macedon . . .

Some interpreters, being consistent with their interpretation of the notable horn, pointed out that the breaking of the horn refers to Alexander's death<sup>2</sup> or to the extinction of Alexander's dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

#### The He-Goat's Four "Notable Horns"

Four different interpretations were provided regarding the he-goat's four horns during this period. The most popular was that the four horns represent four kingdoms.<sup>4</sup> This interpretation was held on the basis of Dan 8:22 or on the basis of both Dan 8:22 and the

---

<sup>1</sup>Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:126.

<sup>2</sup>Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, p. 373; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Dan 8:8); J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 350; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 266.

<sup>4</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Dan 8:5-7); Hales, A New Analysis, 2:507; Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 250; J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 348; Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 140; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 230; Girdlestone, Observations, p. 32; Mason, Two Essays, p. 4; Fry, The Second Advent, p. 30; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:124; Maitland, An Attempt, pp. 4-9; Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 46; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, pp. 568-570; Keith, The Signs of the Times, p. 27; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:253; Habershon, A Dissertation, p. 277; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, p. 369; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, p. 177; Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, p. 19, 20; Nolan, The Chronological Prophecies, p. 141; Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:140; Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, p. 69; Ralston, A Brief Explication, p. 116; Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History, p. 49; Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 101; idem, The Two Later Visions of Daniel, p. 18; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, p. 47; Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, p. 377; Samuel Lee, An Inquiry, pp. 161, 163.

correspondence which interpreters saw between the description of the four horns and the history of the division of the Grecian empire.<sup>1</sup>

The second interpretation is that they denote four kings.<sup>2</sup> This was the understanding of Bertholdt. It seems that he held this view on the basis of textual criticism, for in his explanation of Dan 8:22 he made the remark that the Hebrew word malkuyôt is a corrupt word which came into the original text by mistake. He maintained that the Hebrew words "four kingdoms will emerge from his nation"

make themselves known as false; for the first and the last are totally corrupt forms. If malkuyôt could be considered for a special scribal variant or for the plural of the otherwise unusual form of mlkyh, then it must be written ta'amōdnā in place of ya'amōdnāh. For to understand, together with the Masoretes, the form ya'amōdnāh, as an archaism of a so called forma androgynos, the law of strict linguistic research would not permit. All previous translators read melakim instead of malkûyôt, and this interpretation must not only be vindicated by malkûtām v. 23, but the anomalous yod in the vulgar malkuyôt betrays clearly, that this reading came into being from melakim. A copier wrote as far as mlky; here he remembered that the meaning was not of kings, but of kingdoms. He added the ending of the feminine plural, but omitted according to the common practice of the Jewish copiers, to strike out the incorrectly written yod. The rest he copied correctly. A future copyist copied the horrible malkuyôt faithfully, but as he had already written the first letters of yimdenū, he became aware of the incorrect gender ending of the word. He wrote instead of the masculine ending waw the feminine ah. Thus the second incorrect figure was brought into the text.

<sup>1</sup>See the works cited in the previous footnote.

<sup>2</sup>Bertholdt, Daniei, p. 486.

<sup>3</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:532-533: "Diese Worte machen sich selbst als unächt kenntlich; denn das erste und das letzte sind ganz corrupte Formen. Wäre auch מלכיות vielleicht nur für eine besondere Schreibart oder für den Plural der sonst ungewöhnlichen Form מלכיה zu halten, so muss es doch Statt יעמדינה nothwendig תעמדינה heissen. Denn יעמדינה für einen Archaismus, für eine sogenannte forma androgynos mit den Masorethen zu halten, gestatten die Gesetze einer nüchternen Sprachforschung nicht. Alle alten Uebersetzer lasen מלכים Statt מלכיות und diese Lesart muss nicht nur wegen des מלכותם v. 23. dem Texte vindicirt werden, sondern das anomalische Jod in dem

The third interpretation is that they denote either four kings or races of kings.<sup>1</sup> This was Folsom's view. According to him, "the four horns denote, like the two in 8:3 and the one in 8:5, four kings, or races of kings, viz. those between whom Alexander's empire was divided, as mentioned under 11:4."<sup>2</sup>

The fourth is that the four horns represent "powers or dynasties."<sup>3</sup> It seems that this view was based on the belief that a horn symbolizes "power."<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the chronological sequence of these four horns among the four world monarchies of Daniel, there was some discrepancy among interpreters. Bertholdt (after Cosmas Indicopleustes and J. C. Becmann, Dissertatio de Monarchia quarta, 1679), Rosenmüller, and Folsom, in their exposition of Dan 2 and 7, considered the Grecian kingdom under Alexander as the third world monarchy and the kingdoms

---

vulgären מלכיות verräth auch deutlich, dass diese Lesart erst aus מלכים entstanden ist. Ein Abschreiber schrieb bis zu מלכי ; hier fiel es ihm ein, dass dem Sinne nach nicht von Königen, sondern von Königreichen die Rede ist. Er hängte also die Endigung des weiblichen Plurals an, unterliess aber, nach der gemeinen Sitte der jüdischen Abschreiber, das nunmehr fehlgeschriebene ך zu streichen. Das übrige schrieb er richtig ab. Ein nachfolgender Copist schrieb das horrible מלכיות getreulich nach, als er aber von יעמדן schon die ersten Buchstaben geschrieben hatte, so wurde er auf die fehlerhafte Geschlechtsendung des Wortes aufmerksam. Er schrieb also Statt des männlichen Ausgangs ך den weiblichen נה. So war also die zweite Misgestalt in den Text gebracht."

<sup>1</sup>Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Samuel Lee, An Inquiry, p. 163. He made the remark: "Let it be borne in mind, that by these horns is more particularly meant--as before--the powers or dynasties."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 159: "These four horns will therefore, now represent the four heads just mentioned: which may also be termed Horns, i.e. Powers."

of his successors (the four horns of the he-goat) as the fourth.<sup>1</sup> In defense of his position Bertholdt remarked:

a) It is unanimous among the Jews of that time, from whom this writing originates, a common historical method to combine the Median and Persian and to place separately the kingdom of Alexander from the kingdom of his successors; b) It affords a view of the whole, in which the individuality of the Jewish scribe is preserved and can be comprehended according to the spirit of the age.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, Bertholdt pointed out that Dan 2:41 refers to a divided kingdom. "These words," he said, "could not be more explicit to teach that the fourth kingdom was not one kingdom but a number existing with and adjacent to one another."<sup>3</sup> Also Dan 2:42, he added, indicates that "this kingdom will in part be strong as iron but also breakable. The Egyptian and Syrian kingdoms were by far mightier than the other two colleagues, the Macedonian and Thracian."<sup>4</sup> In addition to this, he pointed out that Dan 2:43, which speaks about the mingling of peoples, is a reference to a happening before the author's eyes. "I refer these words," he said, "to the forced closer alliance

---

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 1:215, 216; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:109; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, pp. 119, 123-125.

<sup>2</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:215, 216: "a) Sie stimmt mit der unter den Juden zu der Zeit, aus welcher dieser Aufsatz stammt, gewöhnlichen historischen Methode, das medische und persische Reich zu combiniren und das Reich Alexanders von denen seiner Nachfolger abgedondert darzustellen, überein; b) Sie gewährt von dem Ganzen eine Ansicht, bei welcher die Individualität des jüdischen Skribenten erhalten wird und nach dem Geiste seines Zeitalters rein aufgefasst werden kann."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

of the Seleucidae and Lagidae at the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Antiochus Theos."<sup>1</sup>

In the same line of thought Folsom remarked:

Only the kingdom of the successors of Alexander, only the manifold dynasty that stood up in the place of his, answers to the nature of the symbol, and that kingdom with its kings, must accordingly be designated by the fourth beast and its kings.<sup>2</sup>

He argued that in Dan 7:7, 19, 23, the fourth beast is described as "dreadful and terrible" which "shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces." Accordingly he said:

The world never suffered more than . . . under the reign of Alexander's successors, in their mutual contests for the supremacy both before and after the partition of the kingdom 301 B.C., and in their oppressive treatment of their provinces.<sup>3</sup>

Syria, he pointed out, "was worse than the others . . . and it lasted longer than Alexander's, longer even than the Persian or the Chaldean."<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, he remarked,

The monarchy was 'diverse' from those which preceded it, in respect to its being not under one king, but under many who were often allied together as one over different divisions of one great kingdom. It was diverse in respect to its being strong and weak, united and divided.<sup>5</sup>

This view, which considers the kingdoms of Alexander's successors as the fourth world monarchy, was opposed by Scott, Hengstenberg, and Lengerke. According to Scott, the fourth beast would be "diverse from all the others," but "the kingdoms of Alexander's

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 123, 124.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

successors were not remarkably different from those which had preceded them."<sup>1</sup> Also the fourth beast "would 'devour the whole earth, and tread it down and break it in pieces,'" but "it is obvious that the Chaldeans caused more grievous and permanent calamities" to the land of Judah "than ever the successors of Alexander did."<sup>2</sup>

Hengstenberg opposed the view that the kingdom of Alexander is symbolized apart from that of his successors, arguing that Dan 7:6 is against it, since there the kingdom of Alexander "is manifestly symbolised together with that of his four principal successors."<sup>3</sup> He asked, "If the four horns symbolise the four principal kingdoms proceeding from the kingdom of Alexander, Egypt, Syria, Thrace, and Macedonia (comp. Bertholdt p. 488), how can it be mistaken that by the four heads the same kingdoms are symbolised?"<sup>4</sup> Then he remarked,

But from this it follows with the same necessity, that the third kingdom can not be the Persian, or the fourth that of Alexander's successors. For, since it has already been symbolized along with that of Alexander, how could it here again be symbolised separately as a fourth kingdom?<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, he said,

The contrast in chap. 2:44, where it is said of the Messianic kingdom that it shall not pass to any other people, shows that the division of the kingdoms was not founded on a change of dynasties, but on a change of nations, which was not the case between the kingdom of Alexander and that of his successors."<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (on Daniel 7: 23-27).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>E. W. Hengstenberg, Dissertations on the Genuineness of Daniel and the Integrity of Zechariah (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1848), p. 165 (first published in German in 1831).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 166.

Finally, Hengstenberg pointed out: "The manner in which the fourth kingdom is described, makes the supposition impossible that it was the kingdom of Alexander's successors."<sup>1</sup> Clarifying this point, he said:

Even supposing it were allowable to regard the kingdoms of Alexander's successors as a collective whole, were they as such at all more terrible than the Chaldean and Persian monarchy, nay rather, than the kingdom of Alexander himself? Could it be said of them, that they would devour, tread down, and break in pieces, the whole earth? . . . The assumption, moreover, that the kingdom of Alexander's successors presents itself to the author as more terrible than it really was, merely because it was so destructive to the chosen people, is refuted by the passage chap. 8:22, where it is said of Alexander's successors, that they were not so mighty as he was; further, by chap. 11:4, where it is said that the kingdom of Alexander's successors would not equal his kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, supported by the correspondence between the description of the third symbolic beast of Dan 7 and the Grecian kingdom under Alexander and his successors; and by the absence of historical correspondence between the description of the fourth symbolic beast and the kingdoms of Alexander's successors, Hengstenberg estimated that the kingdoms of Alexander's successors cannot be the fourth world empire of Daniel.

Another scholar who opposed the same view, that the kingdoms of Alexander's successors are the fourth world kingdom of Daniel, was Lengerke. According to him,

Never, not even by the contemporaries of the author, was the kingdom of Alexander separated from that of his followers, and the latter counted as a distinctive one; never did anyone think of both so separated, as the Median from the Babylonian, for the kingdoms of the successors, in fact, together formed the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 167, 168.

Macedonian under Alexander. 1 Macc 1:7; compare v. 1. Dan 11:3, 4 do not prove anything.

A different view of the kingdoms of Alexander's successors, from that one held by Bertholdt, was maintained by Eichhorn, Dereser, Lengerke, Maurer, and De Wette. They considered those kingdoms together with the kingdom of Alexander as one world empire. However, they did not regard it as the third, like most interpreters, but as the fourth.<sup>2</sup> According to Lengerke, the legs of iron (2:33) represent the Grecian kingdom under Alexander (2:40); the feet and toes, the divided Grecian kingdom under Alexander's successors (2:41-43).<sup>3</sup> Likewise the fourth beast of Dan 7, before the appearing of the ten horns, represents the Grecian empire under Alexander, and during the time of the ten horns, the Grecian empire under Alexander's successors.<sup>4</sup> The feet, part of iron and part of clay, refer to the strength and weakness of Alexander's successors. "Especially the Syrian kingdom, as founded by Seleucus, outdid by far the other

---

<sup>1</sup>Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, p. 95: "Niemals wurde, auch nicht bei den Zeitgenossen des Verf., das Reich Alexanders von dem seiner Nachfolger getrennt und letzteres als ein besonderes gezählt; niemals dachte man sich beide so getrennt, wie das Medische vom Babylon, denn die Reiche der Nachfolger bildeten ja zusammen das Macedonische unter Alexander. 1 Macc 1, 7. vgl. v. 1. Dan. 11, 3.4. beweisen nichts. Vgl. Hengstenberg, S. 203. f.-4.)."

<sup>2</sup>Eichhorn, Die hebräischen Propheten, 3:432, 440; Dereser, Die Propheten Ezechiel und Daniel, 1:318, 354; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 95-97; Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:93, 130; Wilhelm Martin L. De Wette, A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, trans. Theodore Parker, 2nd Engl. ed. (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850), 2:487.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.



kingdoms in might and gallantry."<sup>1</sup> Again, the mingling of iron and clay, which was interpreted as the union of the ruling families through marriage contracts (2:43), was seen by Lengerke as a real correspondence of those marriage unions between the royal family of Egypt and that of Syria.<sup>2</sup>

Those interpreters (Eichhorn, Dereser, Lengerke, Maurer, and De Wette) who held the view that the Grecian kingdom is the fourth world empire of Daniel, regarded the Median kingdom as the second world empire and the Persian kingdom as the third.<sup>3</sup> Bertholdt opposed this view as follows:

In the time, in which the author lived, the Jews never distinguished the Median from the Persian empire, but they viewed both as one empire (Dan. 5:28, compare 6:1 with 1 Macc 1:1; Esther 1:5). Even Dan. 8:3, from which Eichhorn wants to show the opposite, declares the same. For the ram with two horns in no way symbolizes the Median and Persian kingdom as two different co-existing kingdoms, but as one combined empire.

Furthermore, he remarked,

What is said in v. 39 about the third kingdom: it will rule the whole earth, can with great difficulty be said about the Persian

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 96: "Zumal das syrische Reich, als es Seleukus gründete, übertraf weit die andern Reiche an Macht und Tapferkeit."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 96, 97.

<sup>3</sup>See pp. 118, 122.

<sup>4</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:205: "In der Zeit, in welcher der Concipient lebte, unterschieden die Juden nie das medische Reich von dem persischen, sondern sie betrachteten beide als Ein Reich. (Dan. V, 28. vergl. mit VI, 1. 1 Macc I, 1. Esth. I, 5.) Selbst die Stelle Dan. VIII, 3., aus welcher Herr Hofrath Eichhorn das Gegentheil erweisen will, sagt das Nämliche aus. Denn der Widder mit zwei Hörnern symbolisirt keineswegs das medische und persische Reich als zwei verschiedene coexistirende Reiche, sondern als Ein combinirtes Reich."

empire. Alexander's empire who had spread out his conquests farther than any Persian monarch, it fits more exactly.<sup>1</sup>

Hengstenberg also opposed the view that the fourth monarchy of Daniel is the Grecian empire. According to him,

. . . every where, both in our book itself, and in the latter Jewish writers, the Medo-Persian monarchy appears as a whole. That in chap. 8:3, sqq. it is symbolized by a ram with two horns, even the advocates of the present view allow; comp. especially ver. 20. In chap. v. 28, Daniel says to Belshazzar, 'thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians'. In chap. vi. 8, 12, 15, even under Cyaxares mention is made of the laws of the Medes and Persians . . . In the book of Esther it is not the Persians alone, but the Persians and Medes, who appear as the ruling people. . . . According to 1 Macc i, 1, Alexander smote 'Darius the king of the Persians and Medes.'<sup>2</sup>

There were also other interpreters who considered the kingdom of Alexander and the kingdoms of his successors as one empire, yet not as the fourth but as the third.<sup>3</sup> One of them remarked:

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.: "Was v. 39 von dem dritten Reiche gesagt wird: es wird über den ganzen Erdboden herrschen, kann nur äusserst unbequem auf das persische Reich gedeutet werden. Auf das Reich Alexanders, der seine Eroberungen weiter ausdehnte, als irgend ein persischer Monarch, passt es aber genauer."

<sup>2</sup>E. W. Hengstenberg, Dissertations on the Genuineness of Daniel, pp. 162, 163.

<sup>3</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, vol. 4 (note on 7:6); Hales, A New Analysis, 2:497; Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 134; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 120; Girdlestone, Observations, p. 5; Mason, Two Essays, p. 4; Fry, The Second Advent, pp. 3, 4, 13; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:14, 57; Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 3; Hävernack, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, pp. 568-570; Keith, The Signs of the Times, pp. 11, 15; Habershon, A Dissertation, pp. 4, 310; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, pp. 48, 49, 162; Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, pp. 14, 19; Nolan, The Chronological Prophecies, p. 141; Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, pp. 45, 54; Ralston, A Brief Explication, p. 112; Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History, p. 43; Birks, The Two Later Visions of Daniel, p. 1; idem, The Four Prophetic Empires, p. 11; Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, pp. 25, 41; Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, p. 399; Tregelles, Remarks, pp. 14, 15; B. Newton, Prospects of the Ten Kingdoms, p. 98; Samuel Lee, An Inquiry, pp. 161, 163.

The third empire is the Grecian.--For this followed after the Medo-Persian; and it is one single empire, as it is plain from the symbol of the he-goat and its interpretation--'the rough goat is the king of Grecia.' It can not therefore be confounded with the Medo-Persian, or broken itself into two successive empires. For by universal consent, the prophecy of the he-goat reaches at least to Antiochus, and must therefore include Alexander's successors.

It seems that Maitland, following Lacunza, considered the kingdom of Alexander and the kingdom of his successors as one empire, yet not as the fourth or third, but as the second. According to him,

If we make the second empire that of Persia, beginning with Cyrus, it did not answer the terms of the prediction, which announced, that the second empire should be 'inferior' to the first; for this Persian empire never was less, but equal to, or greater than, the kingdom of the Chaldeans founded by Nebuchadnezzar. If we view these, which have commonly been considered as two kingdoms, as forming only one, the Grecian empire, founded by Alexander, will come to be the second; and not, as hitherto, the third; and, in fact, while it answers the characteristics of the second already mentioned, (namely inferiority to the preceding) it does not answer the characteristic of the third, of which, and of which only, it is declared that it shall 'bear rule over all the earth.' (ch. ii. 29.)<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, "the characteristic of universal sovereignty, which does not apply to the Grecian empire, does apply, if not exclusively, at least with peculiar propriety, to the Roman empire."<sup>3</sup>

Birks opposed Maitland's former argument as follows:

The word 'inferior' does not mean less in territorial extent, as Mr. Maitland expounds it. For, first, this is historically untrue, on every hypothesis. Next, the breast and arms of silver were not less in size than the gold, but greater; they were inferior only in preciousness and in relative position in the image. Further, the term strictly answers to the symbol. From its derivation it might be rendered 'earthward;' and thus denotes inferiority, not in size and extent, but in dignity, splendour, and political cohesion. Hence, as the construction allows and the

---

<sup>1</sup>Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup>Maitland, An Attempt, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

symbol requires, it must be applied to the third empire, as well as the second, in comparison with the first.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the characteristic of "universal sovereignty"

Birks replied:

First, the Greek empire was larger than the Persian, and, consequently, than the Chaldean, which yet is called universal by the prophet himself. The character does apply, therefore, to the Greek empire. Next, universal rule is not asserted of the third empire only. It is distinctly applied to the first (Dan. 2:37, 38) and to the fourth beast, which Mr. Maitland admits to be the same with the iron kingdom. Three out of four have the character plainly assigned them. But, in reality, universal rule is ascribed to the second, as well to the other three. For the clause, 'which shall bear rule over all the earth,' may be joined, in<sup>2</sup> construction, with each of the two kingdoms named in the verse.

Finally, Todd believed that "the four kingdoms which shall stand out of the nation are all yet future."<sup>3</sup>

In short, the four horns of the he-goat were interpreted as (1) four kingdoms, (2) four governors or kings, (3) four kings or races of kings, and (4) four "powers or dynasties." With regard to their chronological sequence among the four world empires of Daniel, some interpreters thought that the four horns of the he-goat represent the fourth world empire. Others maintained that not only the four horns, but the four horns together with the large horn represent the fourth empire. A different view, and most popular, was that the four horns together with the large horn denote the third. Only two interpreters referred to the Grecian empire as the second, while one of them thought that the four horns represent future kingdoms.

---

<sup>1</sup>Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 76, 77.

<sup>3</sup>Todd, Discourses on the Prophecies, p. 129.

## The Little Horn

The interpretation of the symbol of the little horn of Dan 8 caused more controversy among interpreters of this period than any other animal symbol of this vision.

Each view, together with their proponents and followers, is dealt with next in chronological order.

Antiochus Epiphanes

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes was held in this period by Leonhard Bertholdt, J. G. Eichhorn, Ernest F. C. Rosenmüller, Caesar von Lengerke, and Frank F. V. Maurer, who believed that the book of Daniel was written during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes;<sup>1</sup> and by T. A. Dereser, Frederick Nolan, Nathaniel S. Folsom, and Irah Chase, who affirmed a sixth-century date.<sup>2</sup>

## Leonhard Bertholdt

Leonhard Bertholdt (1774-1822), professor of theology and University preacher at Erlangen,<sup>3</sup> was the first historical-critical scholar to write a two-volume commentary on the book of Daniel,

---

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:489; Eichhorn, Die hebräischen Propheten, 3:455; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:258; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, p. 375; Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, 2:143.

<sup>2</sup>Dereser, Die Propheten Ezechiël und Daniel, 1:361; Nolan, The Chronological Prophecies, p. 113; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 71; Irah Chase, Remarks on the Book of Daniel (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1844), pp. 26, 39.

<sup>3</sup>Bertholdt in 1810 became full professor of theology at Erlangen, in recognition of his work on Daniel. See "Bertholdt, Leonhard," NSHE, 1908 ed., 2:72.

published respectively in 1806 and 1808. In the first volume, he maintained that the book of Daniel was written by nine different authors before, during, and after the difficult times of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes' kingship.<sup>1</sup> The parts which were written by those nine authors, according to Bertholdt, are: Dan. 1, Dan 2, Dan 3:1-30, Dan 3:31-4:34, Dan 5-6, Dan 7, Dan 8, Dan 9, Dan 10-12.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the composition of Dan 8 Bertholdt pointed out that it was written shortly after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in order to clarify things which were promised but not accomplished. In his view, the author of Dan 7 had promised to the Jews happy and joyful days, but since these had not come after the cleansing of the temple from the heathen abomination, another author had to assist him.<sup>3</sup> He also assumed that the author of Dan 8 did "not write in the chronological order of the events but in the public life of Antiochus, sometimes going forward and then backwards."<sup>4</sup>

Bertholdt still admitted that the Holy Scriptures contain

---

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 1:49-57; 70-80. He wrote: "So sehr aber auch durch die Annahme eines jüngern Alters des Buches das Verständniss desselben erleichtert wird, so schwer bleibt es doch noch, wenn man dasselbe als ein ursprüngliches Ganzes betrachtet. Allein dieses ist es ganz und gar nicht, sondern es besteht aus neun einzelnen Stücken, die sich sehr leicht von einander unterscheiden lassen, da jedes für sich wieder ein eigenes abgerundetes Ganzes ausmacht" (pp. 49, 50).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:50.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:77.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 2:488, 489: "Nur das Einzige ist von einem jeden, der diesen individuellen Theil des Visums durchaus richtig verstehen will, nicht aus der Acht zu lassen, dass der Verf. nicht nach der chronologischen Folge der Ereignisse zeichnet, sondern in der Geschichte des öffentlichen Lebens des Antiochus bald vorwärts bald rückwärts geht. Er zeichnet in Aphorismen, von welchen jeder aus seinem eigenen Standpuncte angesehen werden muss."

"heavenly revelations." However, he recognized as such only those of a moral, but not those of a historical nature.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, he no longer considered the historical narratives of the book of Daniel as true fact, but as "haggadah," "tale," and "fiction."<sup>2</sup> Commenting on Dan 2 he declared: "For a long time no one hesitated to consider this story as true fact. But in recent times one has deviated from this, as from others . . ."<sup>3</sup>

The four world monarchies of the book of Daniel he considered as the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the kingdoms of Alexander's successors;<sup>4</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, to denote the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>5</sup>

The little horn of Dan 8 he also understood to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, because the description of the symbol and the history of Antiochus correspond clearly to each other. "Each word," he said, "can easily be historically documented" except the angelic words of vss. 13 and 14 "which creates a little difficulty."<sup>6</sup> Thus he

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1:214: "In unsren heiligen Schriften sind zwar allerdings göttliche Offenbarungen enthalten; aber diejenigen, die wir dafür anerkennen, sind sämtlich nicht historischer, sondern moralischer Art."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:40-42; 194, 195.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:192: "Man hat lange Zeit kein Bedenken getragen, in dieser Erzählung lauter reine Thatsachen zu finden. Allein in den neuern Zeiten ist man hievon, so wie von manchen andern, vom Buchstaben befangenen, Ansichten der biblischen Geschichte zurück gekommen."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 2:215-220, 426.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 2:429-432, 488.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 2:496: "Jedes Wort lässt sich also ganz leicht geschichtlich documentiren; nur das, was nach der Maschinerie der Dichtung ein Engel zu einem andern auf die Frage . . . v. 13. 14.

interpreted the description of the little horn of Dan 8 to correspond exactly with Antiochus' origin and doings. According to him, (1) the little horn came out from one of the four horns of the he-goat, and so Antiochus Epiphanes descended from the dynasty of the Seleucidae.<sup>1</sup> (2) The little horn grew toward the south, toward the east, and toward the pleasant land, and so Antiochus made four expeditions. He went toward the south against Egypt; toward the north against Artaxias, king of Armenia; toward the east against Elymais; and toward the pleasant land against the Jews.<sup>2</sup> (3) Antiochus grew to the "host of heavens" or the Jewish nation, and threw some of the stars to earth (2 Macc 9:9).<sup>3</sup> (4) He advanced to the "Prince of the army" (Jehovah), took from him the "daily" or the morning and evening sacrifices (1 Macc 1:45), and laid waste the temple.<sup>4</sup> In place of the "daily," Antiochus set up the abomination or the idol altar on which offering was made to Jupiter Olympus (1 Macc 1:54, 59).<sup>5</sup> (5) Antiochus cast down the law; that is, he abolished or destroyed the law of Moses (8: 12; 1 Macc 1:41, 55-57).<sup>6</sup> (6) In the explanation of the vision Antiochus is called a "barbarian" and a "smart king,"

---

macht einige Schwierigkeiten."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:489. There was some inconsistency in Bertholdt's interpretation of the four horns. Sometimes he spoke of the four horns as representing four kings (p. 477), and at others as dynasties.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2:489.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2:490.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 2:490, 491.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 2:491.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.



v. 24, because "he allowed the confessors of Judaism to be executed in a most inhuman way" (2 Macc 7) and "sought through cunning and through deceitful promises (2 Macc 7:24) to persuade the Jews to turn from their paternal religion."<sup>1</sup> (7) Antiochus was mighty over Heliodorus and other crown pretenders, but not by his own power. He ascended to the Syrian throne only by the help of Eumenes and Attalus (Appian Syr. 45).<sup>2</sup> (8) Antiochus "caused astounding devastation" (8:24). He allowed Apollonius to torch Jerusalem and tear down many houses and the walls of the city (1 Macc 1:31; 2 Macc 5:24).<sup>3</sup> (9) Antiochus "conquered princes" (8:24) such as Heliodorus, the Armenian king Artaxias, and the Egyptian Ptolemy Philometor (Polybius 31, 4), and destroyed the Jewish people (8:24).<sup>4</sup> (10) Antiochus massacred many in the midst of freedom (8:25); that is, he allowed a blood-bath to happen in Jerusalem through Apollonius (2 Macc 5:24-26).<sup>5</sup> (11) Antiochus revolted against the "Prince of princes" (Jehovah) but quickly found his grave (8:25). He died of an unusual and fierce illness; he suffered an unexpected and quick death (1 Macc 6:8 and passim; Polybius 31. 11).<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:492: "In der folgenden Explication des Visums heisst Antiochus ein barbarischer (er liess auf die unmenschlichste Weise die standhaften Bekenner des Judenthums hinrichten II Macc VII.) und schlauer König v. 24. (er suchte aber auch durch List-- durch falsche Versprechungen II Macc VII, 24., die Juden zum Abfall von ihrer väterlichen Religion zu bewegen."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2:492, 493.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2:493: "wird erstaunliche Verwüstungen anrichten."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 2:494.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 2:494, 495.

Concerning the time period of 2300 "evenings-mornings," Bertholdt established the terminus a quo at the setting up of the abomination of desolation in the year 145 of the Seleucidae, and the terminus ad quem at the celebration of the victory of Nicanor over Antiochus' army in the year 151.<sup>1</sup>

Without doubt, Bertholdt's view of the composition of the book of Daniel exercised a great influence on his interpretation of the little horn. In our opinion his view of prophecy written after the event, a priori wipes out any possibility of fulfillment beyond the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

#### Caesar von Lengerke

Caesar von Lengerke (1803-1855), a German theologian,<sup>2</sup> was another historical-critical scholar who considered the little horn of Dan 8 to signify Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>3</sup> He, like Bertholdt, believed in a Maccabean origin of the book of Daniel<sup>4</sup> and considered its visions to be "invented, as in Enoch, and other writings of the same nature."<sup>5</sup> The literary patterns of the author of Daniel, he said, are

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:501-504. See also the third section of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup>"Lengerke, Cäsar," Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, 1894 ed., 5:345. "He was educated at the University of Königsberg, and became a professor of theology and Oriental languages at that high school in 1829."

<sup>3</sup>Caesar von Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel (Königsberg: G. Bornträger, 1835), p. 375.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. lxi-lxxxii.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. xciii: "Dass diese Ekstasen und Visionen, obgleich als Thatsachen dargestellt, doch nur für erdichtet zu halten sind, wie im Henoch und anderen Schriften solcher Art, versteht sich bei unserem Verfasser von selbst, wenn gleich die Möglichkeit und

widely different from the older prophets. With the latter the description is simpler, the speech symbolic or allegorical, and the visions less often and shorter. With Daniel there are long and almost dramatic visions, composed primarily of symbolic transactions.<sup>1</sup>

Lengerke, different from Bertholdt, maintained that the book of Daniel has only one author, who wrote the first part of the book (chaps. 1-6) at different times, but the second part (chaps. 7-12) at once after Antiochus' death.<sup>2</sup>

As already noted, Lengerke maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>3</sup> According to him, (1) the little horn which comes out from one of the four horns, or the kingdom of the Seleucidae, is referred to as a king in the explanation of this symbol (8:23).<sup>4</sup> (2) The little horn waxed toward the south, toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. Likewise

---

Denkbarkeit des ekstatischen Zustandes wahrer Propheten, wie bei'm Je (c. 6.) nicht geleugnet werden kann."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. xcii.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. c, ci.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 375.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. pp. 375, 376: "Das Nebenhorn (Zinke) welches nun aus einem der vier Hörner, nämlich aus dem, welches das seleucidische Reich symbolisirt, hervorbricht, ist ein König (v. 23.) und zwar Antiochus Epiphanes." His explanation of the Hebrew phrase "out of one of them," at the beginning of n. i) on p. 375 is as follows: "mhm where one should expect mhn, to refer to qarnôt. Gramatically gender of the person justifies itself, but here the author, as not seldom, already takes notice of that represented by the symbol (the horns), namely of the kings (individual for kingdoms, v. 20, 21, 23)." "מִיֵּצֵא" wo man erwarten sollte, auf קַרְנֹת zu beziehen. Schon sprachlich rechtfertigt sich das Geschlecht des pron., hier aber nimmt der Verf., wie nicht selten, schon auf das unter dem Bilde (der Hörner) Dargestellte Rücksicht, nämlich auf die Könige (individuell für Königreiche, v. 20, 21, 23)."

Antiochus undertook four expeditions toward the south (Egypt) at the time of Ptolemy Philometor (11:22; 1 Macc 1:18ff.). From there he turned to Palestine, (11: 6, 41; Ezek 20:6, 15; 26: 12), called the "glorious land" or "ornament" not so much because of the beauty of the land, "but because it was the heritage from God and the temple of the only true God was erected therein."<sup>1</sup> In the last years of his life, Antiochus also undertook an expedition against Persia (1 Macc 3:31-37), which lay toward the east.<sup>2</sup> (3) Antiochus grew up to the stars in the heavens (the Jews, comp. Gen 22:17), made them fall down, and trampled upon them (8:10; 1 Macc 1:23 and passim; 2:35 and passim; 5:2, 12, 13).<sup>3</sup> (4) Antiochus magnified himself against the "Prince of the host" (Jehovah), by taking away his worship, persecuting his pious worshipers, and speaking blasphemies against him (comp. 7:8).<sup>4</sup> (5) Antiochus took from God the continual burnt offering (the daily morning and evening sacrifices), which was the main part of the Jewish service, and profaned the temple with his actions (1 Macc 1:22 and passim; 3:45-51; 4:38).<sup>5</sup> Finally, Antiochus desecrated the sanctuary and suspended the cultus for 2300 "evenings-mornings."<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 376: "Nicht sowohl wegen der Fruchtbarkeit und Schönheit des Landes, sondern weil es das Erbtheil von Gott und der Tempel des alleinwahren Gottes darin aufgerichtet war."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 377-378. According to Lengerke, Theodoret interpreted the "host of heaven" to refer to the Jews; Ephraem and Grotius to denote the Levites.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 378, 379. Lengerke pointed out that on the basis of vs. 25 it is entirely unsuitable to think of the "Prince of the host" as Onias, as Ephraem and Grotius do.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 379, 380.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 387. See also the third section of this chapter.

It should be noted here that Bertholdt and Lengerke were pioneers of a new approach to the book of Daniel, different from the great majority of previous interpreters--different in the fact that they did not recognize the book of Daniel to be written by the prophet Daniel during the sixth century B.C., but maintained that it was written during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes' persecution against the Jews. On the other hand, they, like previous interpreters, looked for correspondences between the text and history.

Other interpreters who understood the little horn of Daniel 8 to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes are T. A. Dereser,<sup>1</sup> Frederick Nolan,<sup>2</sup> Nathaniel S. Folsom,<sup>3</sup> and Irah Chase.<sup>4</sup> They, in contrast to Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Lengerke, and Maurer, acknowledged the prophet Daniel as the author of the book which carries his name. Of these, only Folsom argued extensively on the symbol of the little horn; Nolan and Chase dealt more particularly with the 2300 "evenings-mornings." Therefore, only Nolan's approach to the book of Daniel and his arguments in favor of this interpretation are considered next.

#### Nathaniel S. Folsom

Nathaniel S. Folsom (1806-1890) considered the book of Daniel to be written by the prophet Daniel on the basis of Jesus' (Matt

---

<sup>1</sup>T. A. Dereser, Die Propheten Ezechiel und Daniel, in Die heilige Schrift des alten Testaments, 2nd ed., revised by J. M. A. Scholz (Frankfurt: F. Varrentrapp, 1835), 1:361.

<sup>2</sup>Frederick Nolan, The Chronological Prophecies (London: William Pickering, 1837), p. 113.

<sup>3</sup>Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup>Irah Chase, Remarks on the Book of Daniel (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1844), pp. 26, 29.

24:15; Mark 13:14) and Josephus' (Ant. x. 11. 7) testimony, and also on internal evidences of the book.<sup>1</sup> It appeared to him that the leading object of the prophecies of Daniel is "to fix the era of the first advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to teach that the kingdom of God would be set up at the close of a series of kingdoms, the last of which had been a great oppressor of the Jews."<sup>2</sup>

The general scope of each vision of the book of Daniel Folsom considered to be the same. Accordingly, it appeared to him more proper to study the prophecies of Daniel from the clearest of them to the most difficult. In his view, Dan 11 was the clearest, then Dan 8, Dan 7, Dan 2, and Dan 9.<sup>3</sup> He pointed out that "the predictions recorded in chap. xi, are on the whole an expansion of the prophecy in chap. viii, and contain the key to its most difficult passages."<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, he believed that Dan 7 "is the more enigmatical prophecy, and the vision in chap. viii was designed to make that part of it more clear and definite, which, in the first announcement of the deeds of the little horn, was obscure."<sup>5</sup>

Following this approach, Folsom understood the four world empires of Daniel as the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian under Alexander, and the kingdoms of Alexander's successors;<sup>6</sup> and the

---

<sup>1</sup>Nathaniel S. Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1842), p. viii.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. ix.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. v.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 112, 113.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 96-107.

little horn of Dan 7, to denote Seleucus I or the dynasty of the Seleucidae.<sup>1</sup>

The interpretation of Folsom regarding the little horn of Dan 8 seems to be based on the following arguments: (1) A horn in the book of Daniel may designate an individual king or race of kings.<sup>2</sup> (2) The description of the little horn corresponds with the actions of Antiochus.<sup>3</sup> (3) "All that is asserted of the little horn in this chapter, has been asserted in ch. xi, of one whom the context and laws of language allow to be not other than Antiochus Epiphanes; and if he is meant there, he must be meant here."<sup>4</sup>

Among the agreements between the description of the little horn and the life of Antiochus Epiphanes, Folsom pointed out the following: (1) The emblem of the little horn

well describes him, and his small beginnings, as younger son of Antiochus the Great, of the race of the Seleucidae; as hostage at Rome during the reign of his elder brother, Seleucus Philopator; as the illegal successor to his brother, while the son and heir of that brother was living; as the 'vile person to whom they gave not the honor of the kingdom,' but who 'obtained it by

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 110-113, 126: "It has already appeared under 11:6, and 8:3, compared with 8:7, that the word king is used either for an individual king, or for a race of kings; and this none indeed dispute. We have the usage of the prophet therefore in regarding the little horn in 7:8, as the symbol of a race of kings, and the 'king' in vs. 24-26 as synonymous with race of kings. If then we find some of the things asserted fulfilled in the founder of the race or dynasty, and the occupants of his throne, we meet every reasonable demand respecting the application of the prophecy."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 74: "If, in verse 21, an individual king or race of kings, may be designated by the emblem of a horn, . . . then may an individual king, or race of kings, be designated by the little horn in verse 9."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid: "If the events predicted agree in him, that little horn was Antiochus Epiphanes."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

flatteries;' as a monarch of comparative insignificance at first, because the resources of the Syrian empire were well nigh exhausted, and its territory circumscribed within narrow limits.<sup>1</sup>

(2) Antiochus extended his kingdom over Egypt, over Armenia, and over Palestine, as is denoted by the growth of the little horn toward the south, toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.<sup>2</sup> (3) Antiochus rose up against the "Prince of the host" (Jehovah) by destroying His city, temple, and people.<sup>3</sup> (4) He "cast down the truth to the ground," for he overthrew the "divine institutions," prostrated "God's holy religion," and abolished His law.<sup>4</sup> (5) Antiochus trampled the "host" and the sanctuary for 2300 "days."<sup>5</sup> (6) He rose up in the "latter time of the reign of the four horns," and "when the transgressors are come to the full."<sup>6</sup> (7) Antiochus was mighty but not by his own power. He succeeded against the Jewish nation "by the aid of apostate Israelites."<sup>7</sup> (8) Antiochus destroyed the mighty and "the holy people" (the Jews).<sup>8</sup> (9) Finally, Antiochus died, as is denoted

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 75, 76.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 76-77.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 78-87.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 89: "He stood at the height of his prosperity about 170 B.C., one hundred and thirty one years from the division of the kingdom in 301 B.C. It was the latter time of the reign of the four horns."

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 90, 91: "It was even not by his own inherent might, see on 11:21, 23. It was by the aid of apostate Israelites, that he succeeded in his designs upon that nation, 11:30."

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 91: "They seem to be distinguished--the "mighty" denoting other people besides the Israelites, and the Israelites designated as the people of the saints."



in the vision, not by the intervention of man, but stricken by an "unseen power."<sup>1</sup>

This is, in synthesis, the view of those who considered the little horn of Dan 8 to signify Antiochus Epiphanes.

### The Roman Empire in the east

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the Roman Empire in the East was held by W. Hales, William C. Davis, W. Cuninghame, G. Townsend, Adam Clarke, and George Duke of Manchester.<sup>2</sup>

#### William Hales

William Hales (1747-1831), Irish chronologist and minister of the Church of England, interpreted some prophecies of Daniel in his book New Analysis of Chronology (1809-1812).<sup>3</sup> In it he acknowledged Daniel as the author of the book which takes his name, based on the testimony of Josephus (Ant. x. 11, 7) and Jesus Christ (Matt 24:15).<sup>4</sup> He maintained that the four world monarchies of the book of Daniel

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 90, 91: "The mode of Antiochus Epiphanes' death is here strongly given. There is no room for doubt in regard to the manner of his death, as there is respecting Antiochus the Great, 11:19. He died not by poison, nor by the hands of others, but an unseen power smote him to earth, 11:45."

<sup>2</sup>Bibliographical reference of their works is given on p. 155.

<sup>3</sup>William Hales, A New Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History and Prophecy, 4 vols. (London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington, 1830), 2:489-529. William Hales was born in Ireland. He studied at Trinity College, Dublin, receiving his B.A. in 1768 and afterwards his D.D. degree. He became a professor of Oriental languages and resigned that position in 1788. It is said that he wrote 22 books in the fields of science, theology, chronology, and prophecy. About his life and works see Warwick Wroth, "Hales, William," DNB, 1908 ed., 8:922-923; Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 3:329-332.

<sup>4</sup>Hales, A New Analysis, 2:490.

are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman;<sup>1</sup>  
and the little horn of Dan 7, papal Rome.<sup>2</sup>

In his interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel Hales followed three principles formulated by Faber and one by himself: First, "to assign to each prophetic symbol its proper definite meaning, and never to vary from that meaning." Second, "to allow no interpretation of a prophecy to be valid, except the prophecy agree in every particular with the event to which it is supposed to relate." Third, "to deny that any link of a chronological prophecy is capable of receiving its accomplishment in more than one sense." And fourth, "to endeavor to find out the general scheme of the prophecy in question, by careful comparison of the parts with the whole, and with corresponding prophecies earlier and later."<sup>3</sup>

In his short exposition of Dan 8 Hales interpreted the little horn to represent the Roman power. According to him, (1) "Rome, founded B.C. 753, and inhabited by Grecian colonists, was originally a little horn, small and inconsiderable during its regal state; but increased rapidly when it became republican, B.C. 448. . . ." <sup>4</sup> (2) The rapid increase of Rome, he said, "is marked in the prophecy geographically by the progress of their conquests":

Sicily was made a Roman province in the first Punic war, B.C. 240; Carthage was subdued in the second Punic war, B.C. 200, and destroyed in the third, B.C. 145; and Africa reduced to a Roman province, by the conquest of Jugurtha, B.C. 105. Macedon was

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:495-505.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2:498.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2:494.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 2:509.

subdued, B.C. 168; Greece reduced to a Roman province, B.C. 145, Syria and Asia Minor humbled, B.C. 187 [sic], and reduced to a Roman province, B.C. 66. Jerusalem was stormed by Pompey, B.C. 63; . . . Judea was made a Roman province on the deposal of Archelaus, A.D. 6.

(3) Rome waxed great, even to "the host of heaven" (the Jews), cast some of the host to the ground, and trampled upon them. Thus, "Antigonus the last king of the Asamonean [sic] race, and his adherents, were slain by Anthony, at the instigation of Herod, who was made king of Judea in his room, B.C. 37."<sup>2</sup> (4) Rome magnified itself even against the "Prince of the host," for "Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, sentenced CHRIST to be crucified, A.D. 31."<sup>3</sup> (5) Rome took away the daily and cast down the place of his sanctuary, for "Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, A.D. 70."<sup>4</sup> (6) Dan 8:23-25, Hales pointed out, "is a critical description of the Roman power and policy, in subduing the world by force or fraud."<sup>5</sup>

That peculiar characteristic of the Romans 'the fierce countenance,' first noticed by Moses, Deut. 28:50; and again by Isaiah, 23:19, is here repeated, a third time, so as to leave no doubt of its application; 'the dark sentences' or 'aenigmas,' may refer either to those apologues of which the Romans were fond . . . or it may denote their eagerness to pry into futurity by the arts of divination. They were 'mighty, but not by their own power,' the singular progress of their greatness was owing, not so much to their own strength, as to the assistance of their allies, and not seldom to the feuds and divisions of their enemies . . . And a Roman magistrate stood up against the PRINCE OF THE HOST, or the PRINCE OF PRINCES, and sentenced him to crucifixion, like the vilest of their slaves!<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:510.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. 2:509, 510.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2:510.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 2:510, 511.

Besides this argumentation in favor of his view, Hales contended against Faber's interpretation. According to him,

1. Mohammedism sprung up in Arabia, which never was subdued by Alexander or his successors; and not till long after the end of their kingdom. It could not, therefore, destroy the Jews, nor take away their daily sacrifice, nor stand against THE PRINCE OF PRINCES; all which was done above 530 years before. The anachronism is obvious. 2. It breaks the uniformity of the scheme of Daniel's vision, which no where else, either introduces, or alludes to this second ecclesiastical power. That was reserved for the Apocalypse.

Therefore, it appeared to Hales that Faber, by adopting that view of the little horn, "receded from one of his own fundamental rules: 'To allow no interpretation of a prophecy to be valid, except the prophecy agree, in every particular, with the event to which it is supposed to relate.'"<sup>2</sup>

William Cuninghame

William Cuninghame (1776-1849), a Scottish Presbyterian layman, interpreted Dan 8 in his Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse (1813).<sup>3</sup> According to him, the little horn of Dan 8 is "a symbol of the Roman empire in the east, after its conquests extended to the territories of the he-goat."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:511. See the footnotes.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>William Cuninghame, A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse, and the Prophetical Period of Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years, 2nd ed. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1817). (First ed. 1813, and the 4th ed. 1843.) He "attended the university of Utrecht going thence to India in the Bengal Civil Service." The last forty years of his life he dedicated himself to writing 21 large and small works on prophecy and Biblical chronology. He also participated in the Albury Park Prophetic Conference in 1826. About his life and work, see S. Austin Allibone, A Critical Dictionary, 1874 ed., 1:460; Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 3:365-372; Sandeen, Fundamentalism, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 251.

He maintained that by comparing "the exploits of the horn of the he-goat . . . with the history of the Roman empire, we discover the most minute and circumstantial correspondence between them."<sup>1</sup> Among the correspondences which Cuninghame pointed out in favor of his view are the following: (1) "The Romans became a horn of the goat rising up in his dominions, when the kingdom of Macedon was reduced into a Roman province in the year A.C. 148."<sup>2</sup> (2) From Macedon the Romans extended their conquests "to the south, to the east, and towards Judea (the pleasant land), by the reduction of Achaia, Asia Minor, and Syria."<sup>3</sup> (3) The Roman horn waxed great unto the host of the symbolical heaven, and cast down some of the stars (Levites) to the ground, "when Pompey took the city and temple of Jerusalem, slew a multitude of the priests employed in the sacrifices, and entered the holy of holies (A.C. 63)."<sup>4</sup> (4) "The Roman horn magnified itself even to the prince of the host, by crucifying the Lord of Glory."<sup>5</sup> (5) "It took away the literal daily sacrifice of the Levitical worship, and cast down the place of his sanctuary, when Titus took the city of Jerusalem and destroyed the temple."<sup>6</sup> (6) The Romans set up a host against the daily sacrifice (8:12) when they established the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 251. This was for him a chronological correspondence.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

Antichristian priestly power (the papacy) within the church.<sup>1</sup> (6) The Romans rose up at the end or latter part of the four kingdoms (8:23), "when the transgressors of the Jewish nation were come to the full, as there was at that time a great falling away from the true religion among the Jews" (2 Macc 4:14).<sup>2</sup>

Cuninghame not only gave reasons in favor of his interpretation but also argued against Faber's view that the little horn denotes the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad. His main arguments are the following: First, "The little horn was to arise at the latter end of the four Greek kingdoms, symbolized by the four horns of the he-goat, Dan. 8:23." But "Mahummud [sic] did not appear till near seven centuries after the fall of the last of these kingdoms."<sup>3</sup> Second,

The spiritual daily sacrifice of the Christian church, never was taken away by the false religion of Mahummud . . . Neither the Saracens nor Turks have interfered with the worship or doctrines of the Greek Church, or refused to tolerate its worship.

And third,

The Roman power, by conferring on the pope the title of Head of the church, and by introducing idolatry into the Greek and Latin churches, had taken away the daily sacrifice, and placed the abomination of desolations in both these churches, before the appearance of Mahummud [sic].<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 254. His reasons for this interpretation he explained as follows: "In interpreting this clause, we must recollect that after the city of Jerusalem with its temple had been destroyed by Titus, there no longer remained a literal temple, or a literal daily sacrifice, and it therefore becomes necessary in the period subsequent to the above event, to interpret these objects in a symbolical sense."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 255, 256.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 256. See the footnote.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 257. See the footnote.

Other interpreters who followed the view that the little horn of Dan 8 signifies the Roman power are the American Presbyterian minister W. C. Davis; G. Townsend, prebendary of Durham and vicar of Northallerton; Adam Clarke (1762-1832), Irish Wesleyan preacher, commentator, and theologian; and George Duke of Manchester.<sup>1</sup> Since they did not advance new arguments for holding this interpretation, we will pass on to the next interpretation of the little horn.

#### The Ottoman or Turkish power

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the Ottoman or Turkish power was proposed by J. E. Clarke in 1814,<sup>2</sup> and followed by E. B. Elliott in 1844.<sup>3</sup>

James Edward Clarke

According to J. E. Clarke, the vision of Dan 8 "has been

---

<sup>1</sup>William C. Davis, The Millennium, or A Short Sketch on the Rise and Fall of Antichrist (Salisbury, N.C.: Coupee and Crider, 1811), p. 11; George Townsend, The Old Testament Arranged in Historical and Chronological Order, 2nd ed. (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1826), 2:771; Adam Clarke, The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. . . . With a Commentary and Critical Notes, 6 vols. (New York: G. Lane & C. B. Tippet, 1845), 4:499-501 (first published from 1810 to to 1825). He argued that the king of fierce countenance of Gabriel's explanation (8:23) is the Roman government, "for king is often taken for kingdom or empire." About his life and works see W. G. Blaikie, "Clarke, Adam," DNB, 1908 ed., 4:413-414; George Duke of Manchester, The Times of Daniel (London: James Darling, 1845), p. 399.

<sup>2</sup>James E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet of the Apocalypse; . . . And also a Full Illustration of Daniel's Vision of the Ram and He-Goat (London: Printed for the Author, 1814), pp. 351-394.

<sup>3</sup>E. B. Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae; or, a Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical; Including also an Examination of the Chief Prophecies of Daniel, 3rd ed., 4 vols. (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1847), 3:387-396.

almost wholly misunderstood, as those verses relating to the little horn, have been by ancient commentators supposed to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes; and by moderns either to the Roman empire, or Mohammedanism."<sup>1</sup> This conviction seems to have impelled him to examine the vision of Dan 8 and to try to elucidate it.<sup>2</sup>

Clarke believed that one of the principal reasons why interpreters failed in their attempts to elucidate the prophecies of Daniel was because they misapprehended the symbols and attached to "the same symbol different ideas."<sup>3</sup> Therefore, he endeavored to correct that general error "by assigning to each symbol one determinate idea," which he fixed on by comparing the passages in the Scriptures where it is used.<sup>4</sup> This determinate idea, he said, "I have carried through the whole of this work, for Scripture, all must acknowledge, is the best interpreter of Scripture."<sup>5</sup>

For Clarke, "in order to understand either Daniel's vision of the little horn, or the angel's interpretation of it, it is necessary to ascertain what is meant by the indignation spoken of" in vss. 17 and 19.<sup>6</sup> "In these words," he said, "there is a general account of the time when the calamitous part of the vision shall be fulfilled: it is to 'be in the last end of the indignation."<sup>7</sup> By "indignation"

---

<sup>1</sup>J. Clarke, A Dissertation on the Dragon, p. v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. vi.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 352.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 352, 353.



he understood "some signal act of God's displeasure upon the Jewish nation."<sup>1</sup> This indignation, Clarke pointed out, could not be the Babylonian captivity, for the Jewish captivity "was considerably more than half over at the date of the vision, and consequently the future verb, in this sense, would be totally absurd."<sup>2</sup> Neither could it be the distress of the Jewish nation under Antiochus Epiphanes, because that "is proved at large by Bishop Newton."<sup>3</sup> The only indignation which remains, he said, is "the last awful dispensation of the Lord against the Jews, viz. their final destruction as a nation by the Romans, and their dispersion over the whole habitable globe." Therefore, he remarked, "the exploits of the little horn must be performed some time in the course of the long captivity which now afflicts the Jewish people."<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the text explicitly points out that "in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up." This king, he continued, has been understood by the generality of interpreters to denote Antiochus Epiphanes. However, Isaac Newton and Thomas Newton have demonstrated that the prophecy does not refer to him at all. Their main argument, he said, is that horns signify kingdoms. "Consequently, the little horn must be a fifth kingdom."<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 353.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 354.

Although Clarke did agree with Isaac and Thomas Newton that the little horn of Dan 8 does not refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, he did not agree with them that it denotes the Roman Empire, for their application of the little horn to Rome appeared to him "highly absurd."<sup>1</sup> He opposed Newton's view on the basis that "the little horn should arise out of one of the four horns of the goat; but the Romans are well known to have arisen out of Latium, no part of which was ever subdued by the ancient Greeks."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he contended, Bishop Newton considered the phrase "the latter time of their kingdom" to denote the last period of the four divided Grecian monarchies previous to their subjugation by the Romans. "But that this is not the meaning," he pointed out, "is evident from the word kingdom being in the singular connected with the plural pronoun their."<sup>3</sup> If the latter time of the kingdoms of Alexander's successors were intended, he added,

the expression would have been, 'the latter time of these kingdoms.' As the kingdom here alluded to is that of the Greeks according to the interpretation of the angel, their kingdom must mean the Greek empire; and, therefore, alludes to a time when the dominions of the four horns should be again re-united into one great empire, as in the time of Alexander. This did not take place till the fourth century of the Christian era . . . It is hence clear that the little horn cannot be before the re-union of the Greeks into one great empire entirely independent of all others.<sup>4</sup>

Clarke also maintained that Bishop Newton misunderstood the phrase "when the transgressors are come to the full," referring it to to the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 355.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

"wicked Jews; and therefore explains the passage of the time when the Romans destroyed the Jewish nation."<sup>1</sup> "But it is evident," he pointed out, this cannot be the meaning, for

the transgressors spoken of are the Greeks and not the Jews, a circumstance which is demonstrable from the very words: 'And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full;' that is, in the latter time of the Greek empire, when the Greeks have filled up the measure of their iniquity.<sup>2</sup>

It is, Clarke said, in the time of the universal corruption of the Greek church, and in one of the four divisions of the Greek Empire that the little horn of Dan 8 would arise. Therefore the little horn cannot be other than "the Othman, or Ottoman empire."<sup>3</sup>

(1) The Ottomans "first rose up in Asia Minor, a province which fell to the share of Lysimachus at the time when the Greek empire was divided, about 308 years before the Incarnation."<sup>4</sup> (2) The little horn is explained as a "king of fierce countenance," which indicates that "this horn should be a fierce and cruel nation." "That the Turks have been and still are, a cruel, inhuman people, is most notorious to the whole world."<sup>5</sup> (3) The little horn is said to "understand dark sentences" (8:23), or understand "enigmas, or obscure sentences;" and the meaning must be "that its policies are of such a cast as to be almost totally impenetrable." "This," he remarked, "has been a very striking characteristic of the Othman emperors."<sup>6</sup> (4) The little horn

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 357.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 361.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 363, 364.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. Clarke wrote: "The king of fierce countenance, or the

waxed exceeding great toward the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land; so, too, the Ottoman empire from Constantinople, the metropolis of the Greek empire, conquered Morea which was to the south, the empire of Trebizond which was to the east, and the pleasant land (the land of Israel, Ps. 106:24; Zech. 7:14).<sup>1</sup> (5) The little horn waxed great even to the "host of heaven" and cast down some of the host to the ground and stamped upon them. Likewise the "Othman empire, has cast down, or brought into subjection, not only some of the host of heaven, or a part of the world professing Christianity, but also some of the stars, or religious ministers, have been also subjected to his authority."<sup>2</sup> (6) The little horn magnified himself even to the "Prince of the host." Likewise the Ottoman empire magnified itself against Jesus Christ by "diminishing the number of those called Christians."<sup>3</sup> (7) The little horn took away the "daily sacrifice" and cast down "the place of his

---

Othman nation, is said to 'understand dark sentences.' This passage is variously translated: the Septuagint has it . . . understanding problems; the English translation of the Arabic is, 'skillful in disputations;' that of the Syriac is 'skillful in ruling;' and in the Vulgate is 'intelligens propositiones,' understanding propositions. The Hebrew words . . . certainly signify 'understanding aenigmas, or obscure sentences;' and Bishop Newton and others suppose the meaning to be, that he should be 'a politic and artful, as well as a formidable power.' But as it is a nation which is said to 'understand hard sentences,' the meaning must be, that its policies are of such a cast as to be almost totally impenetrable."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 365-368.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 368, 369. Clarke argued that "as this horn had its commencement in the time of the Christian dispensation, the host of heaven must mean the Christian powers." And "as the host of heaven signifies the Christian powers, the stars must here denote Christian ministers."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 370.

sanctuary." So the Ottoman empire "abolished the public ministration of the word among the Christians," and "either destroyed the places of Christian worship or appropriated them" for their own rituals.<sup>1</sup> (8) The little horn would be mighty, but not by his own power. This, Clarke said, "corresponds to the Othmans in the most exact and singular manner." For "the great body of the military forces of the Turks were composed of Greek captives whom they educated in the art of war from their childhood, and thus became the main, and in some cases the only strength of the Othman empire."<sup>2</sup> (9) The little horn would destroy wonderfully, and prosper, and practice. And so the Ottomans "destroyed without respect to age, sex, or condition."<sup>3</sup> (10) The little horn would destroy "the mighty and the people of the Holy ones." Likewise the Ottomans "destroyed the mighty by destroying the Roman empire in the east, and the people of the saints by "putting an end to this empire, for Christianity was the professed religion of the Greek empire."<sup>4</sup> (11) Finally, the little horn shall stand up

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 370, 371. Clarke explained that since this vision has to do with the "last end of the indignation," the daily must be "a Jewish figure to denote its Christian antitype." And as the daily sacrifice "was the standing and public worship among the Jews; its antitype can then be no other than the public ministration of the word among the Christians" (p. 370). In regard to the sanctuary he pointed out that as the sanctuary of the Jews was the place where they worshiped, so the sanctuary in its antitype "must mean the places appointed for public worship among those denominated Christians." Accordingly, he said, the Ottomans not only suspended the public worship of Christ, but also either destroyed the places of Christian worship or appropriated them for their own rituals (p. 371).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 374.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 378, 379.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 379.

against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand. This event, Clarke said, would take place in the future. He conjectured that the Ottomans standing against the prince probably means "their opposition to the will of God in the return of the Jews to their own land," and such opposition would cause the empire to be broken without hand, or to be destroyed by God.<sup>1</sup>

Edward Bishop Elliott

Edward B. Elliott (1793-1875), prophetic expositor, also maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to the Turkish empire.<sup>2</sup> He opposed the interpretation that the little horn refers to Antiochus Epiphanes for the following reasons: (1) In the book of Daniel a horn represents a kingdom and not a king.<sup>3</sup> (2) Antiochus' kingdom "instead of being exceeding great on the scale of Alexander's given in the prophecy, was at the greatest scarce a third of that of the first Syro-Macedonian king, Seleucus."<sup>4</sup> (3) "The Jewish transgressors could not be said to have come to the full: there being many at that time zealous for the law, some of whom constituted, soon after, the noble army of the Maccabees; and Christ himself having fixed the epoch much later (Matt. 23:32)."<sup>5</sup> And finally, (4) "even on

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 386.

<sup>2</sup>Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, 3:388, 389. Elliott received his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating in 1816. In 1849 he became incumbent of St. Mark's Church, Brighton. About his life and works, see "Elliott, Edward Bishop," DNB, 1908 ed., 6:686.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 3:382.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 3:382, 383.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

the day-day system, no satisfactory explanation is to be offered, in reference to his profanation of the temple and its cleansing, of the period of the 2300 days."<sup>1</sup>

Elliott also opposed the interpretation that the little horn signifies the Roman Empire because "there meet us on the very face of the question two objections most palpable, and which no ingenuity can ever overcome":<sup>2</sup>

The first is that the old Roman power can never be considered as a little horn of the Greek he-goat. For the local origin of its horn was from Latium in Italy, not any spot in Greece or Persia: and before ever it moved eastward, to intermeddle with the territories of the Greek he-goat, it was (on the scale in Daniel's vision) a great horn, not a little one,--Sicily and Spain and Carthaginian North Africa, besides all Italy, being comprehended in its dominions.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, he pointed out, Rome "never rooted itself in the Grecian soil, under a separate and independent though associated government, until the division of the empire by Diocletian."<sup>4</sup>

2. Even if the symbol of the Macedonian he-goat's little horn might by any possibility be allowed to represent the old Roman Pagan power, the idea of its representing also, while all unmodified and the same, the extremely different power of Rome Papal, (a supposition, as we have seen, rendered necessary by the little horn's assigned duration to the end of 2300 years,) is one utterly contrary both to the reason of the thing, and to the analogy of the three other admitted and notable configurations of Rome Pagan and Papal in Daniel and the Apocalypse.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, he pointed out,

as no other power but these two desolated the Jewish Sanctuary,

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 3:384.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 3:384, 385.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 3:385

or oppressed its people, from Daniel's time of seeing the vision to the final Jewish dispersion, we are forced on giving the prophetic phrases a mystic meaning, and interpreting the holy but transgressing people to be desolated, of professing Christendom.<sup>1</sup>

One of Elliott's guides in the interpretation of symbolic prophecies was the principle that "the evidence must be sought, and must consist, in the fitting of historic fact with the prophetic figurations."<sup>2</sup> On this basis, he maintained that the four world monarchies of Dan 2 and 7 are the Babylonian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman. For "the succession of these four great empires is a plain historical fact, recognized by the most learned heathen writers, as well as Christian" (Dionysius of Halicarnassus; Tacitus, His., v. 8; Ptolemy; and the church fathers).<sup>3</sup> The little horn of Dan 7 he understood as the Papacy;<sup>4</sup> and the little horn of Dan 8, "the Turkish power."<sup>5</sup>

Among Elliott's arguments for holding the little horn of Dan 8 to represent the "Turkish power" are the following: (1) "It originated in Chorassan (the ancient Parthia,) south of the Oxus; and thus out of the territory of the Seleucian or Syro-Macedonian horn."<sup>6</sup> (2) It grew toward the east (eastern Persia), toward the south (south of Persia), and toward the "glory" (the holy and Christian land).<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 3:386.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:xviii.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:403.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1:73.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 3:387, 387.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 3:388.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.



(3) "His 'fierceness of countenance,' as he conquered, has past into a proverb."<sup>1</sup> (4) It cast down some of the stars to the ground and stamped on them, it took away the "daily sacrifice," it cast down "the place of the Lord's sanctuary," it magnified itself against the "Prince of the host," it cast down "the truth to the ground," and "it practised and prospered," as is told by Gibbon.<sup>2</sup> (5) The Turkish power destroyed the "mighty" and "holy people" by destroying the Greek empire.<sup>3</sup> Finally, (6) the end of the 2300 years, when the sanctuary would be cleansed and the Turkish power broken, agrees with history.<sup>4</sup>

As already noted, in James Clarke's view the clue for the understanding of the little horn is the elucidation of the expression "the last end of the indignation" (8:19). Besides this, he looked for a correspondence between the text and history. Elliott, on the other hand, saw no other alternative that interprets the text "mystically" since neither Antiochus nor the Roman empire, who were the only two who persecuted the Jews and literally profaned the temple, fits the description of the little horn. In addition to this, he also looked

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 3:389.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 3:389: "In proof how . . . 'it cast of the host and of the stars to the ground,' and stamped on them,'--how, 'by it the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of the Lord's sanctuary cast down,' how 'it magnified itself against the Prince of the host,' 'cast down the truth to the ground, as it practised and prospered, and caused craft to prosper in its hand,'--I say, in proof of the exact applicability of all this to the Turkman Sultans, it needs but that we read the account given by Gibbon [x. 373] of Soliman's conquests in Asia Minor."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 3:390.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. 3:392-398.

for a correspondence between the text and its historical fulfilment.

### The spiritual kingdom of Muhammad

The view which suggests that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad or Muhammedanism was the most popular in this period. This was the view of Aaron Kinne, James H. Frere, William Girdlestone, John Bayford, John Fry, Edward Irving, Thomas Scott, Alexander Keith, F. A. Cox, Matthew Habershon, David Cambell, J. W. Brooks, Samuel Ralston, and George Junkin.<sup>1</sup>

Aaron Kinne

Aaron Kinne (d. 1824), American Congregationalist minister,

---

<sup>1</sup>Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 146; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 225; William Girdlestone, Observations on the Visions of Daniel, and on Part of the Book of the Revelation of St. John (Oxford: J. Parker, 1820), p. 38; J. Bayford, Messiah's Kingdom, or, A Brief Inquiry Concerning What Is Revealed in Scripture Relative to the Fact, the Time, the Signs, and Circumstances of the Second Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ (London: Printed for the Author, 1820), p. 80; John Fry, The Second Advent; or the Glorious Epiphany of our Lord Jesus Christ, 2 vols. (London: Ogle, Duncan, and Co., 1822), 2:33; E. Irving, Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God: A Discourse on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse (Glasgow: Chalmers and Collins, 1826), 1: 257, 258; Thomas Scott, The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized version, with explanatory notes, practical observations and copious marginal references. From the fifth London ed. (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1827), 4:672. In the first, second, and third editions of his commentary Scott upheld the Roman view, but after the appearance of Faber's Dissertation he adopted Faber's view. Alexander Keith, The Signs of the Times, as Denoted by the Fulfilment of Historical Predictions, 2 vols. (New York: Jonathan Leavit, 1832), 1:33; F. A. Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, 1st Amer. ed. (New York: C. C. Crosby, 1836), p. 176; M. Habershon, A Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures, (London: James Nisbet, 1834), p. 7; David Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy (Boston: Published by the Author, 1840), p. 74; J. W. Brooks, Elements of Prophetic Interpretation in The Literalist (Philadelphia: Orrin Rogers, 1841), pp. 280-283; Samuel Ralston, A Brief Explication of the Principal Prophecies of Daniel and St. John (Pittsburg: Luke Loomis, 1842), p. 117; George Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image (Philadelphia: James M. Campbell and Co., 1844), p. 72.

made an exposition of the prophecies of Daniel in his book An Explanation of the Principal Types.<sup>1</sup> He recognized the prophet Daniel as the author of the book which bears his name, and maintained that his prophecies cover from the time of the prophet "to the end of the world."<sup>2</sup> For him the four world monarchies of Dan 2 and 7 were the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman;<sup>3</sup> and the little horn of Daniel 7, the papacy.<sup>4</sup>

Kinne opposed the interpretation that the little horn of Dan 8 signifies Antiochus Epiphanes, on the basis that (1) "the coming forth of a little horn out of one of the four, made them five, as the springing up of a little horn among the ten, made them eleven."<sup>5</sup> Therefore, he said, to understand this little horn as Antiochus Epiphanes makes no sense since Antiochus was included in one of the four horns (the kingdom of Syria).<sup>6</sup> (2) Antiochus did not wax exceeding great toward the south (Egypt). For he "did not make an absolute conquest, so as to possess any part of it,-and was finally expelled from it in a manner which very much chagrined and disgraced him." Neither did he wax exceedingly great toward the east. On the contrary, he "was disgracefully repulsed and wounded in his attempt to

---

<sup>1</sup>Aaron Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, the Prophecies of Daniel and Hosea, the Revelation, and Other Symbolical Passages of the Holy Scriptures (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1814).

<sup>2</sup>Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 128, 131-135.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 136, 137.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

plunder the temple in Elmais [sic], in the east."<sup>1</sup>

It seems that Kinne adopted the view that the little horn of Dan 8 signifies Muhammedanism, on the basis that there is a "wonderful uniformity" between Dan 7 and Dan 8 if the latter prefigures "the powerful delusion of Mahomet in the east," as the former symbolizes the papacy in the west.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he adopted this view of the little horn for it harmonizes with the description of the little horn as "equally as with the Romans."<sup>3</sup>

James Hatley Frere

Another influential writer who maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad was the Scottish Presbyterian James Hatley Frere (1779-1866), one of the founders of the Society for the Investigation of Prophecy, in 1826.<sup>4</sup> Frere began to study the historical prophecies of Daniel and John about 1798, and to discuss the correct interpretation of prophetic symbols with others in 1813.<sup>5</sup> According to Frere, the book of Daniel

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 144, 145.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 146. He pointed out that this argument "at least, furnishes an apology for applying the little horn of the he-goat, to the powerful and pernicious imposture of Mahomet, rather than to the Romans."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>4</sup>James Hatley Frere, "On the Present Unsatisfactory State of Prophetic Interpretation," The Monthly Review and Record of the London Prophetic Society (London: Partridge and Co., 1856), p. 458; Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 3:387.

<sup>5</sup>Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. iii, iv; idem, The Great Continental Revolution Marking the Expiration of the Times of the Gentiles, A.D. 1847-8 (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1848), p. 6.

has "two classes of prophecies": One class gives "the Temporal History of the World," the other, "the History of the Church." In the former category is Dan 2, while in the latter, Dan 7.<sup>1</sup>

Frere also considered the prophecies of Daniel "to reach to the end."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, he understood the four world monarchies of Dan 2 and 7 as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman.<sup>3</sup>

Frere was convinced that "as the former vision [Dan 7] related chiefly to the great Western, or Papal apostasy, so the principal object of this [Dan 8] is to describe the Apostasy of the east."<sup>4</sup> Among the arguments he offered for holding the view that the little horn of Daniel 8 represents Muhammedanism are the following: (1) The little horn is described as appearing among the four kingdoms of the Macedonian empire, and history tells us that the Muhammedan power "first appeared upon the prophetic earth, in the upper part of Arabia, which formed part of the kingdom that fell to the share of Ptolemy, upon the division of the empire into four parts."<sup>5</sup> (2) The little horn "is said to appear 'in the latter time of their kingdom,' that is, after the dominion was passed away from them [the Macedonians], and they had become subject to the Romans."<sup>6</sup> (3) "It is

---

<sup>1</sup>Frere, A Combined view of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St. John, Shewing that all the Prophetic Writing are Formed upon One Plan (London: J. Hatchard, 1815), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 119-123.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 221. Frere said that by adopting this view "the analogy of the prophetic symbols is accurately maintained" (p. 257).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

described as bearing a prophetic character, for it is said to represent 'a king understanding dark sentences;' that is, who is a teacher of some new and mysterious doctrine, implied under the term dark sentences."<sup>1</sup> (4) The little horn is said to be "of fierce countenance" (warrior), and so was the Muhammedan power which propagated his doctrine "by the power of the sword."<sup>2</sup> (5) The Muhammedan power "waxed exceeding great towards the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land." For "the first seat of the Mahometan power was in the south, Mecca being the birth place of the Prophet, and the Peninsula of Arabia the scene of his conquests."<sup>3</sup> Then Muhammad's successors extended their empire entering first "in the upper part of Arabia, which was the Southern part of the Macedonian Empire."<sup>4</sup> From there they continued their conquests toward the east (Persia). Then, after their complete conquest of Arabia, "they marched into Syria, took Damascus, and laid siege to Jerusalem . . . thus extending their conquests 'towards the pleasant land'."<sup>5</sup> (6) The Muhammedan power waxed even to "the host of heaven" (the Christian church), and cast down some of "the stars" (the ministers and pastors of the Eastern Church).<sup>6</sup> (7) The Muhammedan power

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 236, 237.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 239, 240.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 240.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 240-242: ". . . then the Host of Heaven, must be considered as meaning the Church; and the greater stars alone, as distinguished from the inferior ones, must represent the Bishops and Pastors of that Church" (p. 241).

magnified itself "even to the Prince of the host; and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down."

Mahomet allowed our Savior to be superior to Abraham and Moses; but as coming last, he considered himself as still superior to Christ . . . The daily sacrifice of prayer offered to our Savior, was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary or the Eastern Church, was cast down.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, (8) the Muhammedan power cast down the truth to the ground by denying "the Divinity of our Savior."<sup>2</sup>

At the end of his exposition Frere opposed Isaac Newton's view of the little horn, which was adopted by Bishop Newton and William Cuninghame, arguing that "it is improbable 'that the same power, which, in the former vision, was represented under the symbol of a great and terrible beast, should now be described under that of only a little horn.'"<sup>3</sup>

Frere's interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8 is based on the supposed analogy which must exist between Dan 7 and Dan 8. As the former describes the Western apostasy, so the latter must also describe the Eastern apostasy. Besides this, he looked for correspondence between the text and its fulfillment in history.

As already noted, William Girdlestone, John Bayford, John Fry, Edward Irving, Thomas Scott, Alexander Keith, F. A. Cox, Matthew Habershon, David Cambell, J. W. Brooks, Samuel Ralston, and George Junkin also adopted this view of the little horn, which became the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 242.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 255. He gives credit to Faber for this argument.

most popular during this period.<sup>1</sup> But since they repeat more or less the same arguments which were given by Faber and Frere, who are the main exponents of this view, we omit them here and present the next interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8.

Antiochus Epiphanes as  
a type of Antichrist

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist was maintained during this period by Archibald Mason, H. A. C. Hävernicks, and Benjamin Harrison.<sup>2</sup>

Archibald Mason

Archibald Mason (1753-1831), a Scottish Presbyterian minister, published an essay on Daniel's Prophetic Number of Two Thousand Three Hundred Days (1820).<sup>3</sup> In that work he opposed the view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the Muhammedan power, "for it did not come out of any of the kingdoms into which Alexander's empire was divided."<sup>4</sup> He also opposed the view that the little horn represents

<sup>1</sup>At the beginning of this subdivision (p. 168) the bibliographical references of these expositors are given.

<sup>2</sup>Archibald Mason, Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number of Two Thousand Three Hundred Days; and on The Christian's Duty to Inquire into The Church's Deliverance (Glasgow: Young, Gallie, & Co., 1820), p. 4; Heinrich Andreas C. Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1832), p. 251; Benjamin Harrison, Prophetic Outlines of the Christian Church and the Antichristian Power as Traced in the Visions of Daniel and St. John (London: Francis and John Rivington, 1849), pp. 107-121.

<sup>3</sup>Froom says that "he was favorably known to the religious public through his eleven principal books, issued between 1793 and 1829. 'In consideration of these writings' he 'received in 1831 the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the College of Schenectady in North America'" (3:396). For more about his life and works, see Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 3:396-404.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 5.



the Roman Empire, because that power "was represented by the legs and feet of the image in the King's dream, and by the fourth beast in the vision of Daniel."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, "the Roman power had an origin very different from any of those kingdoms which came into existence by the division of the Greek empire."<sup>2</sup>

Mason was convinced that the little horn of Dan 8 symbolizes Antiochus Epiphanes because his "character and conduct" correspond exactly to the description of the symbol and its explanation (8:23-25),<sup>3</sup> and also because the "little horn" is denominated by the angel as "'a king of fierce countenance,' importing that he was to be an individual man, vested with royal authority."<sup>4</sup> In addition to this, he also maintained that "Antiochus Epiphanes must be considered as a type of the antichristian and popish power of Rome,"<sup>5</sup> for Dan 8:17 and 19 point out that the vision is for "the time of the end."<sup>6</sup> However, he added,

The time of the end did not come, the last end of the indignation did not arrive, neither did the many days expire at the miserable death of Antiochus. Some other power, therefore, must be signified by this part of the vision, besides that of the Syrian monarch; and this can be no other than the antichristian and idolatrous church of Rome. The idolatry, the policy and craft, the cruelty and persecution, the tyranny and success of this Syrian monster, and his hatred of the church of God, have been

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

exemplified, exceeded, and for a very long time practiced by the popes of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

Thus on the basis of Dan 8:17 and 19 which refers the fulfillment of the vision to the time of the end, and the correspondence which Mason saw between the conduct of Antiochus and that of the "church of Rome" impelled him to interpret the symbol of the little horn typologically.

#### Heinrich Andreas Christoph Hävernick

Heinrich A. C. Hävernick (1811-1845), a German Lutheran theologian, also understood the little horn of Dan 8 to represent Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist.<sup>2</sup> Hävernick became one of the most arduous defenders of the genuineness of the book of Daniel in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century,<sup>3</sup> and wrote a commentary on that book.<sup>4</sup> The four world monarchies of Dan 2 and 7 he considered as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman. However, his understanding of the last monarchy was different from the traditional view of the historicists in the fact that he expected its division into ten kingdoms to be in the future.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Heinrich Andreas C. Hävernick, Commentar über das Buch Daniel (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1832), p. 251. Hävernick studied at the universities of Leipzig and Halle. In 1830 he went to the University of Berlin "where he came under the influence of Hengstenberg, whose theological trend he adopted." In 1841 he became professor of theology at Königsberg. About his life and works, see W. Volck, "Haevernick, Heinrich Andreas Christoph," NSHE, 1909 ed., 5:113.

<sup>3</sup>Heinrich A. Hävernick, Neue kritische Untersuchungen über das Buch Daniel (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1838).

<sup>4</sup>Idem, Commentar über das Buch Daniel.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 560-570.

toward the pleasant land (the Jewish land, Ezek 20:6; Zech 7:14; Mal 3:12; Ps 106:24, Dan 11:16, 41).<sup>1</sup> (3) Antiochus waxed great even to the "host of heaven" (the followers of the true God, the true church.)<sup>2</sup> (4) He magnified himself even to "the Prince of the host" (the "Lord of his church").<sup>3</sup> (5) Antiochus took away the "daily," i.e., "everything that belongs to the tāmīd for continuous holy service, thus the most important, most necessary, and most indispensable of the cult (1 Macc 1:45)."<sup>4</sup> (6) Antiochus desolated the temple (1 Macc 1:39, 45).<sup>5</sup> (7) Antiochus cast down "the truth" (Holy Scriptures) to the ground, "partly by the the abrogation of the Law . . . and specially by the destruction of all copies of the holy books (1 Macc. 1:55-57)."<sup>6</sup> (8) Antiochus rose up "toward the end of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 270, 271.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 272-275. Hävernick commented that Ephraem Syrus and Grotius understood the "host of heaven" as the Levites who performed the temple service; Glassius, as the Jews in general; Harenberg and Dathe, as the leadership of the State and the church under the Jews. However, he thought that it rather refers to "the congregation of true Israelites."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 275. He remarked: "Absurd is the referring of the expression to the high priest Onias, as Grotius does; see against that especially v. 25." "Abgeschmackt ist die Beziehung des Ausdrucks auf den Hohenpriester Onias, wie es Grotius thut, s. dagegen besonders v. 25."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 276. He said: "So glauben wir mit C. B. Michaelis den unbestimmten Ausdruck hier auch richtiger allgemein fassen zu müssen: alles was zum Tamid, zum beständigen heiligen Gebrauche gehört, also das wichtigste nothwendigste und unentbehrlichste des Cultus."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 276.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 281. "Dieser Angriff von Seiten des Antiochus geschah theils durch die Abschaffung des Gesetzes, der göttlichen Institute überhaupt, theils und insbesondere durch die Vernichtung aller Exemplare der heiligen Bücher (1 Macc 1, 55. bis 57.)."

the Greek monarchy."<sup>1</sup> (9) He was mighty but not by his own power; that is, he was mighty only because God permitted him to chastise His people.<sup>2</sup> (10) Antiochus destroyed "the mighty" (noble ones).<sup>3</sup> (11) He also destroyed the holy people through cunning.<sup>4</sup> (12) Finally, Antiochus was destroyed without hand or by the power of God.<sup>5</sup>

Thus by means of the study of words, grammar, and figures of language, Hävernicks endeavored to interpret the little horn of Dan 8. Besides this, he also looked in history for confirmation of his understanding of the text. However, he kept total silence regarding his typological view of the little horn.

#### Pagan and Christian Rome

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes pagan and papal Rome was maintained by at least Robert Reid and William Miller.

#### Robert Reid

Robert Reid (1781-1844), minister of the Gospel in Erie, Pa., held that the little horn of Dan 8 "signifies the Roman power; but

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 303.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. p. 305. Hävernicks commented that Iben Ezra and Saadia understood the phrase "but not by his power" to mean "because of the sins of Israel"; J. Jachiades and Calvin, "not with the might which Alexander possessed;" and Bertholdt, "through the support of Attalus and Eumenes." However, he preferred to follow Theodoret.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p. 306: "For eswmy are mighty, indeed noble ones, and not exactly kings."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 307.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 308-311.

not so much the heathen as the antichristian power of Rome."<sup>1</sup> "There are many things," he said, "in this account of the works of the little horn, which are accomplished in the first sense of the prophecy by Rome pagan, but we must look to Rome Christian for the full accomplishment."<sup>2</sup> In Reid's view Dan 7, Dan 8, Dan 11:31-45, as well as Rev 13, "are all intended to exhibit the antichristian power which has risen and reigned for nearly 1260 years."<sup>3</sup> However, he did not elaborate why he understood it that way. The reason he gave for not doing it was that the main object of his writing was to point out "that the time is at hand when God will cleanse his sanctuary by the torrent of his judgments."<sup>4</sup>

#### William Miller

William Miller (1782-1849), a Baptist preacher, also understood the little horn of Dan 8 to denote pagan and papal Rome.<sup>5</sup> According to Miller "almost all the figures used in prophecy have a

---

<sup>1</sup>Robert Reid, The Seven Last Plagues; or the Vials of the Wrath of God (Pittsburgh: D. and M. Maclean, 1828), p. 48.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>5</sup>William Miller, Evidences from Scripture & History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year A.D. 1843, and of His Personal Reign of 1000 Years (Brandon, Vt.: Vermont Telegraph Office, 1833), pp. 13, 14. William Miller was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. In 1816 he embraced the Gospel, and in 1833 the Baptists gave him a license to preach. He is better known as the founder of the "Millerite Movement." About his life and work, see "Miller, William," Seventh-Day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., pp. 889-891; Fromm, The Prophetic Faith, 4:455-620; P. Gerard Damsteegt, Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1977), pp. 16-20.

literal and metaphorical meaning; as beasts denote literally a kingdom, so metaphorically, good or bad, as the case may be, to be understood by the particular subject in connection."<sup>1</sup> His procedure to understand the literal meaning of figures used in prophecy, he pointed out as follows: (1) To compare "scripture expressions of a similar kind," and "then let every word have its proper bearing."<sup>2</sup> (2) To compare the prophecies which reveal the same events in different ways, "as in the 2nd, 7th, and 8th chapters of Daniel," "and let every word and sentence have its proper signification, and force in the grand whole."<sup>3</sup> (3) To look for a literal fulfillment in history.<sup>4</sup> (4) To be aware that some prophecies are "typical, that is, partially fulfilled in one event, but completely only in the last."<sup>5</sup> "The foregoing rules," he said, "are the principal keys by which I have attempted to unlock the prophecies of Daniel and John."<sup>6</sup> Following these rules, Miller concluded that Dan 2:31-45 and Dan 7 cover a period of time from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar "until the end of all earthly kingdoms." Accordingly, he considered the four world empires spoken of in these two chapters as the Chaldean, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman;<sup>7</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, as the

---

<sup>1</sup>Miller, Evidences, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 4. See also Apollos Hale, The Second Advent Manual: in Which the Objections of Calculating the prophetic Times Are Considered (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1843), pp. 103-106.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 4, 5.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 7, 8.

papal Antichrist.<sup>1</sup> In the exposition of the latter symbol, Miller made known another principle which he used in the interpretation of prophecies, namely, the day-year principle. The Scriptural basis for adopting this principle he pointed out as follows:

The scripture rule for reckoning a day for a year will be found in Numbers 14:34, and Ezekiel 4:6, also in the fulfilment of Daniel's seventy weeks which we shall speak of in its proper place.<sup>2</sup>

In his exposition of Dan 8, Miller first quoted the text and then gave a brief commentary. On vs. 9 he remarked:

It is very evident that Rome is here meant by the little horn, because in waxing exceeding great toward the south, east and north, which I understand the words pleasant land to mean, as Jerusalem was, and had been for a long time, under the control of the Assyrian or northern kingdom. Then the western kingdom must be the one which in process of time subdued and brought into subjection the other three. No other kingdom after this had the control of all these kingdoms but<sup>3</sup> the Romans, Macedon becoming a Roman province 168 before Christ.

On vs. 10 Miller made the following comment:

By the host of heaven, we can only understand the people of God, the Jews; by stars I understand rulers, such as kings, high-priests or sanhedrin, which was fulfilled by the Romans depriving the Jews of their right to appoint their own kings or high-priests, and taking from the 70 elders or sanhedrin the power of life or death over the Jews themselves . . ."<sup>4</sup>

On vs. 11 he pointed out:

By this verse I understand that the Roman government would magnify itself even against Christ the prince of his people, and be the instrument of destroying the Jewish ceremonial law,<sup>5</sup> and finally Jerusalem itself, the place of Christ's sanctuary.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

Miller introduced the papal power beginning with vs. 12. On this passage he made the following comment:

That is, the Papal power or the abomination that maketh desolate, by reason of departing from the truth and leading off an host with them; they cast out and trampled on the true followers of Christ, and practised and prospered in their iniquity. See the angel's explanation in the 24th to 26th verses. He is represented as doing these things, 'not by his own power' for the 'dragon should give him his seat, his power and great authority.' Rev. 13:2.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Miller pointed out that the papal power would "be broken without hand" or by Christ's power.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, by comparing the words of Dan 8 with other similar words used in Scripture, by comparing the prophecy of Dan 8 with other prophecies which refer to the same events, and by looking for its fulfillment in history, Miller arrived at the conclusion that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to pagan and papal Rome.

It should be noted that Miller's interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8 was opposed by John Dowling (1807-1878), a Baptist clergyman, on the following basis: (1) The term king in vs. 23 refers to an individual monarch and not to a kingdom,<sup>3</sup> (2) the description and explanation of the little horn correspond very well with "the cruelties and death" of Antiochus Epiphanes as is presented by

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>John Dowling, An Exposition of the Prophecies, Supposed by William Miller To Predict the Second Coming of Christ, in 1843 (Providence, [R.I.]: Geo. P. Daniels, 1840), pp. 61, 62: "The four horns which stood up in the place of that which was broken, says the angel, are 'four kingdoms,' and 'in the latter time of their kingdom, shall stand up,' not another kingdom, but a 'king of fierce countenance'."



ancient and modern historians,<sup>1</sup> and (3) the 2300 "evening-mornings" can not be a prophetic day (i.e., a year), but a natural day.<sup>2</sup>

### The future Antichrist

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the future Antichrist was held in this period by Samuel Roffey Maitland, William De Burgh, Joseph Tyso, James H. Todd, Samuel P. Tregelles, and Benjamin W. Newton.<sup>3</sup>

#### Samuel Roffey Maitland

As far as is known, Samuel R. Maitland (1792-1866), an Anglican historian and author of some fifty books, was the first Protestant expositor in this period (1800-1850) to propose that the little horn of Daniel 8 represents the future Antichrist,<sup>4</sup> as well as one of the first to question and oppose the year-day theory.<sup>5</sup> He

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 72, 73: "Now it does not appear to me that this compound Hebrew word evening-morning, ever means a prophetic day, (i.e.) a year, but from the very nature and form of the word must be confined to a natural day" (p. 72).

<sup>3</sup>Maitland, An Attempt, p. 10; W. De Burgh, Lectures on the Second Advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ and Connected Events, 3d ed. (Dublin: B. M. Tims, 1841), pp. 127, 175; Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, p. 24; Todd, Discourses on the Prophecies, pp. 109-116; Samuel P. Tregelles, Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel, 6th ed. (London: Samuel Boyster and Sons, 1883), pp. 81-92; B. W. Newton, Prospects of the Ten Kingdoms of the Roman Empire, 4th ed. (n.p.: The Sovereign Grace Advent Testimony, n.d.), p. 140; idem, First Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1850), p. 73.

<sup>4</sup>S. R. Maitland, An Attempt to Elucidate the Prophecies Concerning Antichrist (London: C. J. G. and F. Rivington, 1830), p. 10. About his life and works, see A. Jessopp, "Maitland, Samuel Roffey," DNB, 1909 ed., 12:815-818.

<sup>5</sup>See his An Enquiry into the Grounds on which the Prophetic

maintained that one of the main causes for the misinterpretation of the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation

arises from their having been considered as chronological prophecies; that is to say, prophecies giving an anticipatory history of the events which should take place in the Christian Church, from the time, when they were delivered, until the consummation of all things.

Contrary to that view, he considered that the chief object of the book of Daniel and Revelation "is to reveal things which are still future; and their chief subject the HISTORY OF ANTICHRIST--his rise, progress, and destruction."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he remarked,

I believe that the prophetic Scriptures do not (unless it may be incidentally) throw any light on the state of things, either in the Church or in the world, previous to the breaking out of the apostacy. The main subject I believe to be, the great and final struggle between the god of this world, and the God of Heaven--between the Destroyer, and the Redeemer of man--between Christ and Antichrist.<sup>3</sup>

This assumption led him to conjecture that the several visions recorded in the book of Daniel "were intended to afford successive developments of the history of Antichrist."<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Maitland maintained that it prefigures "the same person as that symbolized by the little

---

Period of Daniel and St. John, has been Supposed to Consist of 1260 Years (London: Hatchard and Son, 1826); idem, A Second Enquiry into the Grounds on which the Prophetic Period of Daniel and St. John, has been Supposed to Consist of 1260 Years (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1829); idem, The Twelve Hundred and Sixty Days: In Reply to the Strictures of William Cuninghame (London: F. Rivington, 1834).

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, An Attempt, p. 3 (italic his).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 4. Maitland remarked: "I do not say to prove it--for I propose it as that of which I am not entirely certain."

horn in the vision of the four beasts."<sup>1</sup> His reasons for this position he pointed out as follows:

(1.) Because the period of the little horn seems to be the same as that of the former. It is particularly stated, that the events predicted in this vision shall be at the 'time of the end' (v. 17); or, as it is expressed (v. 23), 'when the transgressors are come to the full;' or, as (v. 19) at the 'last end of the indignation.' Such expressions can hardly relate . . . to any period prior to the transgressions of the little horn of the preceding vision, or the 'indignation' which destroys him.<sup>2</sup>

(2.) The same blasphemous conduct, and persecution of the saints, is ascribed to him, as to the little horn of the fourth beast."<sup>3</sup>

(3.) Whereas, it was predicted, that the dominion of the four empires should be taken away, by the coming of the Ancient of Days to judgment, it is here predicted, that this little horn shall 'stand up against the Prince of Princes, and be broken without hand.' v. 25."<sup>4</sup>

Based on these parallelisms, he concluded that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the same person which is represented by the little horn of Dan 7.<sup>5</sup> In addition to this conclusion he pointed out that Dan 8 is "a farther development of Antichrist," and contains "the following particulars, which were not before revealed:"<sup>6</sup>

(1.) That this person, or power, shall arise out of one of the four kingdoms, into which the empire of Alexander should be divided. v. 9--the transition to the time of the end (v. 19) being made at v. 23. (2.) He is more particularly described a 'king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences;' and, as one whose 'power shall be mighty, but not by his own power,' and who shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, through

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. He pointed out the parallelism between Dan 7:25 and Dan 8:11, and between Dan 7:21 and Dan 8:24.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

his policy,' and 'destroy many by peace.' v. 22, 23. (3.) It is declared, that he shall take away the daily sacrifice. v. 12. (4.) That the duration of the period prefigured by the vision, as measured from the taking away of the daily sacrifice to the cleansing of the sanctuary, shall be two thousand three hundred evenings and mornings. v. 13.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Maitland pointed out that the infidel king of Dan 11 refers to the same power of whom further particulars are given.<sup>2</sup>

In this way a more radical futurist interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8 was presented as another alternative, based basically on the following belief: (1) The main object of the book of Daniel is the future. (2) "The prophetic Scriptures do not throw any light of the state of things, either in the Church or in the world, previous to the breaking out of the Apostacy."<sup>3</sup> (3) The main subject of the book of Daniel is the last conflict between Christ and Antichrist. (4) The transition to the time of the end or the end of the indignation is made at 8:23. And (5) the conduct and actions of the little horn of Dan 8 are parallel to those of the little horn of Dan 7.

#### William Burgh

William Burgh or De Burgh (1800-1866), an Irish expositor, seems to have understood that the little horn of Dan 7, the little horn of Dan 8, and the infidel king of Dan 11 represent the same person or future Antichrist.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 11, 12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Maitland, An Attempt, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>William De Burgh, Lectures on the Second Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ and Connected Events, 3rd ed. (Dublin: B. M. Times,

De Burgh stated that in the prophecy of Dan 8 there is a transition from the past to the future beginning at 8:23, but no further explanation was given.<sup>1</sup>

#### Joseph Tyso

Joseph Tyso, Irish Futurist, was another expositor who held the view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the future Antichrist.<sup>2</sup> One of his principles of interpretation is that "every passage of God's word should be interpreted literally, unless there is a necessity to the contrary."<sup>3</sup> Accordingly he advocated that "days" in prophecy mean literal days and opposed the day-year theory.<sup>4</sup>

Tyso, in contrast to Maitland, maintained that the prophecies of Daniel extend from the time of Daniel "to the dissolution of all things." Accordingly he considered the four world monarchies of Dan 2 and 7 to be the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires.<sup>5</sup>

In Tyso's view the vision of Dan 8 "is not consecutive," but

---

1841), pp. 127-133, 175 (first published in 1832). About his life and works, see Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 3:658-659.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, Being an Exposition of the Books of Daniel and Revelation (London: Jackson and Walford, 1838), pp. 23, 24. Tyso was educated at Trinity College, in the University of Dublin. About his life and works see Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 3:731.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 66-77.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 15, 17.

has a gap or chasm which "commences at the breaking up of the Grecian empire, and continues to the last days."<sup>1</sup> It appears, he conjectured,

that at least a portion of the Jews will be restored in their unconverted state, that they will rebuild the temple and restore the daily sacrifice. Then the little horn will wax great and magnify himself even to the prince of the host, and that he will take away the daily sacrifice and set up the predicted abomination, profane the sanctuary and the host and tread them under foot in contempt for 2300 literal days, ver. 14.<sup>2</sup>

A basis for this view he found in Dan 8:17 and 19, where it is said that "the vision belongeth to the time of the end," and that "for the time appointed will be the end."<sup>3</sup> It seems that he also was influenced by the parallel description of Dan 11.<sup>4</sup>

Thus based on Dan 8:17, 19, and parallel passages of Dan 11, he thought that the description of the little horn will be fulfilled by the future Antichrist in relation to the Jews.

James Henthorn Todd

James Henthorn Todd (1805-1869), Irish scholar and professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin, also maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the future Antichrist.<sup>5</sup> One of his supports for this view seems to be his belief that the little horn of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 23, 24. See also p. 17 where he admits to be following Mr. Burgh.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>It .

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>James H. Todd, Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist in the Writings of Daniel and St. Paul (Dublin: At the University Press, 1840), p. 109-122. About his life and works, see S. Austin Allibone, A Critical Dictionary, 1874 ed., 3:2426; From, The Prophetic Faith, 3:660.

Dan 8 possesses "the same general characteristics," and takes "a part in the same events," as the little horn of Dan 7.<sup>1</sup> Among them, he pointed out the direction of conquests, blasphemy, similar destruction, and persecution of the saints.<sup>2</sup> Another support he found in his assumption that the fourth beast of Dan 7 is still future. According to him, the two prophetic visions of Dan 2 and 7 "have been erroneously considered as fulfilled or in course of being fulfilled, a portion of the prophecy whose accomplishment is as yet altogether future."<sup>3</sup> The chief cause of this mistake, he said, "was the assumption, common to all the popular systems of interpretation, ancient as well as modern, that the Roman empire is to be identified with the fourth kingdom."<sup>4</sup> The same assumption, he added, is also the cause of another mistake which asserts that the little horn of Dan 8 represents "a different power from that which was represented by the little horn of the fourth beast." For if the Roman view is admitted, "it must indeed follow that the horn of the goat cannot be the same power that was symbolized before by the horn of the beast; for the rough goat, we are expressly told, is the king of Grecia."<sup>5</sup> "But as we have already seen," he pointed out,

there exists no reason whatsoever for supposing the fourth beast

---

<sup>1</sup>Todd, Discourses on the Prophecies, pp. 107-108. He also said: "In each prophecy at least a power is described, under the same emblem of a little horn, agreeing in the same general character, and performing, as it would seem, the same actions" (p. 109).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 109-112.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. pp. 122, 123.

of the former vision to be the Roman empire; nor have commentators been able to discover in the history of the Roman power, the characteristic marks attributed in the prophecy to the predicted kingdom. The more legitimate process of reasoning, therefore, would seem to invert the argument upon which commentators have relied, and to say, that since the identity of the two prophecies appears from a comparison of the prophecies themselves, and since it is expressly declared in one of them, that the 'kingdom from which the little horn is to spring, is not the Roman empire, therefore the kingdom from which the other little horn is to spring cannot be the Roman empire either.

The other support for Todd's view, besides his assumption that the fourth empire is still future and that both the little horn of Dan 7 and the little horn of Dan 8 represent the same power, was his understanding of the expression "the time of the end" (8:17).<sup>2</sup> According to him, by that phrase "the prophets have designated the future period, which is to succeed the restoration of the Jewish people, and to extend to the second coming of the Lord, the resurrection of the dead, and the establishment of His eternal and glorious kingdom."<sup>3</sup> Finally, he said:

And when we consider that the efforts of commentators to discover in past events a fulfilment of these visions, have failed to produce any permanent conviction; and especially when we find in the prophecies themselves distinct intimations that they are not to be accomplished until 'the time of the end,' and the coming of the Lord to Judgment, the conclusion would seem inevitable, that they relate to events which are yet to come.<sup>4</sup>

In Todd's interpretation of Dan 8 futurism reached its climax.

Samuel Prideaux Tregelles

Samuel P. Tregelles (1813-1875), in his book Remarks on the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 123, 124.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 118-120.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 122.



Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel also maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to the future Antichrist.<sup>1</sup> One support for this view he found in Dan 8:17, and 19. "This is certainly an intimation," he said, "that the distinguishing features of this vision belong to the time when God's indignation against Daniel's people shall reach its completion."<sup>2</sup> Based on this assumption, he affirmed that the descriptions of Dan 8:3-8 and 21-22 pertain to the past, but those of Dan 8:9-14 and 23-25 are still future.<sup>3</sup> Besides this assumption, he understood the little horn of Dan 8 to be the future Antichrist for its "many points of resemblance between this horn and that which has been spoken in the seventh chapter."<sup>4</sup> According to him, both "coincide as to period of time"; both "are found within the same territorial limits"; and both have "moral features which are alike."<sup>5</sup>

Thus, based on Dan 8:17 and 19 and on the points of resemblance between the little horn of Dan 8 and that of Dan 7, Tregelles concluded that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to a future persecuting power.

---

<sup>1</sup>Samuel P. Tregelles, Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel, 6th ed. (London: Samuel Boyster and Sons, 1883), pp. 81-92. This book was first published in 1847. He joined the Plymouth Brethren, but later in life he became a Presbyterian. In 1838 he took up the critical study of the New Testament and dedicated most of his life to it. About his life and works see E. C. Merchant, "Tregelles, Samuel Prideaux," DNB, 1909 ed., 19:1097-1098.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 81, 86-92.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. pp. 83, 84.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

Benjamin Wills Newton

Benjamin W. Newton (1805/7-1898), a leader of the Brethren Movement in England,<sup>1</sup> deviated from previous futurist interpreters by allowing Antiochus Epiphanes to foreshadow the future Antichrist.<sup>2</sup> However, he did not explain the way the little horn of Dan 8 was fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes but concentrated on pointing out the way it will be fulfilled by the future Antichrist.

B. Newton believed that Daniel the prophet wrote the book which carries his name on the basis of Jesus' testimony (Mark 13:14),<sup>3</sup> as well as on internal evidences of the book.<sup>4</sup> "The more minutely we examine each individual word," he remarked, "the more shall we be struck with the consistency of the prophecy, not only

---

<sup>1</sup>Harold H. Rowdon, The Origins of the Brethren (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1967), p. 59; H. A. Ironside, A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1942), pp. 30, 31. "It was he who was used of God to begin the work at Plymouth, where for fifteen years he was the accredited leader." In 1831, together with J. N. Darby, he took a leading part in launching the Brethren Movement in Plymouth, where he continued until 1847. In 1832 and 1833 he took part in the Powerscourt Conferences (Ireland), where some of the Brethren gathered to study the unfulfilled prophecies of the Bible. About 1840 he wrote a series of five letters in which he set his views regarding the church and the Second Advent of Christ in disagreement with some teachings of Darby.

<sup>2</sup>B. Newton, Prospects of the Ten Kingdoms of the Roman Empire, 4th ed. (n.p.: The Sovereign Grace Advent Testimony Secretary, n.d.), pp. 143,144. This book was first published in 1849. He wrote: "Some years after Alexander came Antiochus. No one can read in the first book of Maccabees the terrible description of his acting in Jerusalem without seeing that he must have been especially intended to foreshadow the last great Destroyer . . . And so it will be again. They will be captivated by one more attractive and mighty than Alexander, but will find in him, at last, a terror and a power of destruction, such as Antiochus but faintly prefigured."

<sup>3</sup>B. Newton, Prospects of the Ten Kingdoms, p. 9. This book was originally published in 1849; new edition 1873.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

with itself but with the rest of Scripture."<sup>1</sup>

The four world empires of Daniel he understood as "the successive empires of Chaldea, Persia, Greece, and Rome," "for few things are more capable of being demonstrated both from Scripture and from fact."<sup>2</sup> However, different from other interpreters, he thought that the symbolic ten toes of the image of Dan 2 and the ten horns of the fourth beast of Dan 7 are kingdoms which will appear in the future.<sup>3</sup>

According to B. Newton, "the subject of the book of Daniel is the secular history of the Gentile Empires in their relation to Jerusalem, and not the history of Christianity."<sup>4</sup> Basic in his system of interpretation is the view that "the early dispensations of God revolve around Jerusalem as their centre";<sup>5</sup> and that "Christ will not undertake the government of earth apart from His chosen city and His chosen nation."<sup>6</sup> God, he pointed out, "will give to Jerusalem and to Israel supremacy in the earth, and will govern instrumentally through them."<sup>7</sup> This concept appeared to him to be present in the book of Daniel. About it he wrote:

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 12, 94-99.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 15: "And, seeing that no division of the Roman empire answering to these conditions has ever taken place, it follows that this part of the vision remains to be fulfilled."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>5</sup>B. Newton, First Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry, p. 69. This book was first published in 1848.

<sup>6</sup>B. Newton, Prospects of the Ten Kingdoms, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

The subject of the prophecy of Daniel is the history of those Gentile nations who have been appointed to hold supreme power in the earth throughout the period of Jerusalem's punishment. It is not the history of all Gentile nations. It is the history only of those Empires who were appointed, after trampling down Jerusalem, to rule successively in her stead; and they are four--the empires of Chaldea, of Persia, of Greece, and of Rome. . . . Jerusalem is the centre of the prophecy; and the events among the Gentiles are only recorded because of their relation to that city. Accordingly, when Jerusalem ceased nationally to exist, detailed history in Daniel is suspended. The long period, already exceeding eighteen hundred years, which has elapsed since Israel ceased to exist nationally in Jerusalem, is passed almost in silence. No dates, localities, or personages are, during this interval, mentioned, nor will the thread of prophetic history be resumed until Israel shall again assume a national position in Jerusalem, and again become a centre of Gentile energy, and Gentile iniquity.

Furthermore, he emphasized that "the burden of the prophecy rests upon a brief and yet future time."<sup>2</sup>

Besides this general assumption, he considered the little horn of Dan 8 to represent the future Antichrist on the basis that "the vision of the eighth chapter is expressly said to relate to the end of the indignation."<sup>3</sup> "Unless," he said, "we are prepared to say that the indignation against Jerusalem has terminated, and that the time of blessing, both on Israel and on the nations, has come; we must admit that the king described in this chapter, has not yet arisen."<sup>4</sup> Again, he pointed out, "whenever this last great King of the Gentiles does arise, he will be known by answering to the criteria supplied by this chapter:" (1) he must arise from the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>B. Newton, First Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry, p. 72; idem, Prospects of the Ten Kingdoms, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup>B. Newton, First Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry, p. 73.

eastern division of the Roman Empire; (2) "he will find the daily sacrifice offered at Jerusalem, and will take it away"; (3) "he is to arise 'when the transgressors are come to the full'"; (4) "he is to act during the last end of the indignation against Jerusalem"; (5) he will exalt himself "against the Prince of Princes, i.e. against the Lord Jesus, the Messiah of Israel"; and (6) he will be "broken without hand, that is, by no human instrumentality, but immediately by the Lord."<sup>1</sup> In Newton's view, "no one, in whom these characteristics are united, has yet arisen."<sup>2</sup> Therefore, he remarked, "the fulfilment of this chapter must be future."<sup>3</sup> Finally, he added, "the mere fact of Egypt and of Greece being now existent as recognized governments, is a proof that the prophecy before us is not fulfilled."<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 73, 74.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 74: "It is scarcely needful to say that no one in whom these characteristics are united has yet arisen. Neither the pope, nor Mahomet, nor Antiochus Epiphanes (all of whom have been supposed to fulfill this chapter) answer to these tests. Mahomet and the pope answer to none. . . . Antiochus however went far towards fulfilling the predictions of this chapter, and was doubtless intended in a special manner to prefigure Antichrist." Although Antiochus accomplished some things, "he did not live in the last end of the indignation; nor when the transgressors are come to the full; nor in the latter time of those kingdoms (for Greece and Egypt are still ruling); nor did he stand up against the Prince of princes (for Christ had not then been manifested); nor was he broken without hand."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>B. Newton, Prospects of the Ten Kingdoms, p. 141. He argued: "The king spoken of it said to arise 'in the last time of their kingdom.' Now, nothing that occurred previously to their disappearance as kingdoms, or previously to the late separation of Egypt and Greece, could be the LAST TIME OF THEIR KINGDOM, because sovereigns in Egypt and Greece are at this moment ruling; and seeing that the king predicted has not arisen since the separation of those kingdoms, it follows that his must be future."

Based on this reasoning B. Newton conjectured,

The Jews, when they return to Jerusalem, will re-build their temple and re-institute their sacrifices. . . . Antichrist will little care whether God does, or does not own the temple and accept the sacrifices. He will be the servant of Satan. . . . and therefore he will desire to sweep such memorials utterly away. God, because of the transgression of his people, will not interfere to hinder. 'An host, i.e power, will be given him against the daily sacrifice, and he will cause it to cease.'

Thus based on the belief that the subject of the book of Daniel is the Gentile powers in relation to the Jews, that the main burden of the book is a brief but yet future time, that Dan 8 expressly says that it pertains to the time of the end (8:17, 19), and that no one has arisen who fulfills the characteristics mentioned in Dan 8, Newton concluded that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to the future Antichrist.

#### Antiochus Epiphanes and the Roman power

Thomas R. Birks (1810-1883), an Anglican theologian and controversialist, known as an arduous defender of the historical view of the prophecies against the recent exposition of the futurist view, proposed that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes in a "precursive" sense as well as the Roman power in the "full or complete sense."<sup>2</sup>

In Birks's view, the prophecies of Daniel extend "from the time of the prophet to the second advent."<sup>3</sup> Accordingly he considered

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas R. Birks, The Two Later Visions of Daniel: Historically Explained (London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1846), pp. 148-221. About his life and works, see Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 3:706; G. Barnett, "Birks, Thomas Rawson," DNB 2:546-547.

<sup>3</sup> Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 127.

the four world empires of Dan 2 and 7 as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman.<sup>1</sup> Against the futurists Birks contended that the little horn of Dan 7 and the little horn of Dan 8 represent different powers. He argued that there is not such similitude between the two little horns as the futurists claim.<sup>2</sup> When the characteristics of both little horns are collected and compared, he pointed out, "the marks of distinction . . . seem greatly to outweigh the points of resemblance."<sup>3</sup>

The first arises from the fourth, which has been proved to be the Roman empire; the second from the third empire, or that of Greece. The first co-exists with ten horns in the same political body; the second with three at the most. The first continues little; the second waxes great. The first is symbolized with eyes and a mouth; no such emblems appear in the other. The first has no express connection with the land of Israel; the second waxes great towards the pleasant land, and casts down the sanctuary. The season of the first is three times and a half; of the second, if any expressed, one quite distinct. The second alone is said to

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 118-122. According to Birks there are only four characteristics which correspond to each other out of ten or twelve characteristics. The account of the little horn of Dan 7, he said, "involves at least ten particulars: . . . its rise from the fourth beast; its co-existence with ten kings, and its subjugation of three; its eyes as of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and its judgment by the Ancient of days; diverseness from the other kings; blasphemy against God; persecution of the saints; changing of times and laws; and continuance for a time, times and dividing of a time." And the little horn of Dan 8 includes at least twelve particulars: "its rise from the he-goat, or Grecian empire, in one of its four divisions; its great increase of size and power, and the three directions of its conquests; its trampling on the stars of heaven; its opposition to the prince of the host; removal of the sacrifice and casting down of the sanctuary; the time, two thousand three hundred days, of its continuance, or of some related events; its might, not by its own power; its fierceness of countenance; its understanding of dark sentences; its triumph by policy; and its destruction without hand" (p. 120).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

cast down the stars of heaven, or to be mighty by a power not of its own.

Birks made known that his first understanding of the little horn of Dan 8 was that it represents the Muhammedan power, but that later on he changed his mind not "without close and repeated examination."<sup>2</sup> Basic in his new interpretation of the little horn was his conviction that some biblical prophecies have a double sense or double fulfillment, one precursive and the other full and complete.<sup>3</sup> According to him,

To establish such a double sense, in any particular prophecy, three conditions are requisite. First, that the supposed fulfillment agree with the course, the scope, and the order of the vision. Secondly, that its resemblance be so close to the terms of the prophecy, as to leave a natural impression on those who saw the events, that it was really designed. And thirdly, that this impression, and the resemblance to which it owes its birth, shall have been the express design of the revealing Spirit of God.<sup>4</sup>

All these conditions, he said, are "satisfied in the interpretation which refers the Little Horn to Antiochus Epiphanes" in a precursive way. First, for this was the "nearly universal" interpretation of Jewish and Christian expositors "for seventeen or eighteen centuries." Second, the actions of Antiochus agree with the order of the vision. And third, "the Spirit of God has chosen out such features in this description as will apply mainly to the Syrian king."<sup>5</sup>

Besides this reasoning, Birks maintained that the little horn

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 121, 122.

<sup>2</sup>Birks, The Two Later Visions of Daniel, p. vi.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 152, 153.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.



of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes in a precursive way for the following particular reasons: (1) "The little horn was to arise from a horn of the he-goat, or one of the four divided Macedonian kingdoms. So Antiochus arose from the stock of the Syrian kings."<sup>1</sup> (2) The horn was to appear in the latter time of the Grecian kingdoms, when the transgressors were come to the full; and so Antiochus appeared when the Grecian kingdom began to be subordinated to the Romans.<sup>2</sup> (3) The horn was small at the first, but soon waxed great. So Antiochus was at first a hostage at Rome but afterward became "the most formidable, in his own day, of all the eastern kings."<sup>3</sup> (4) "The three directions of conquests were equally fulfilled."<sup>4</sup> (5) Antiochus profaned the Temple (1 Macc 1:20-25; 2 Macc 5:11-21).<sup>5</sup> (6) Antiochus destroyed the mighty and the people of the holy ones.<sup>6</sup> (7) "Antiochus stood up against the God of Israel, and against the Son of God, the Prince of princes, when he sought to abolish the law and the prophets, and to blend the Jews entirely with the heathen."<sup>7</sup> (8) In the time of Antiochus the sanctuary was

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 157, 158.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. Antiochus "waxed great towards the south, for he invaded Egypt, and almost entirely subdued it; towards the east, for he subdued Artaxias the Armenian, and recovered the upper provinces as far as Elymais; and towards the pleasant land, or temple, for he profaned the sanctuary, and cruelly oppressed the people of Israel."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 158-164.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 164.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

profaned and cleansed (1 Macc 4:36-59; 2 Macc 10:1-8).<sup>1</sup> Finally, (9) "The end of Antiochus equally resembles the predicted ruin of the little horn (2 Macc 9:1-28)."<sup>2</sup>

In addition to this precursive sense, Birks maintained that "the true and full reference of this striking emblem" is the Roman power and not the "spiritual Empire of Mahomet, or the great apostasy of the east."<sup>3</sup> One of the main reasons for referring this emblem to the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad, he argued,

is the symmetry which it seems to establish between the two visions of the seventh and eighth chapters. If the former Little Horn be applied to the Papacy in the West, it seems natural to apply the other to Mahometanism in the East, a spiritual delusion of still wider prevalence.<sup>4</sup>

But "the parallel," he added,

however strong it may seem at first sight, fails entirely in one main feature. The Papacy grew up at once, and without interval, on the division of the Fourth Empire. On the contrary, eight hundred years had elapsed from the fall of the Grecian kingdoms before the rise of the Saracens.<sup>5</sup>

Another support for the Muhammedan view, he said, "is the sameness of the emblem in the two visions" which they take as a clear proof that the Muhammedan empire is designed.<sup>6</sup> It is argued that "the two little horns are homogeneous. Hence, if the first of them denotes a spiritual empire, so too must the second."<sup>7</sup> This reasoning Birks

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 169, 170.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 173-174, 177.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 174.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

opposed, for "the two horns are homogeneous in part only; in part they are heterogeneous."<sup>1</sup> He argued that the feature which gives the little horn of Dan 7 its spiritual character is the "mouth of the prophet, and the eyes of a seer, ascribed to it in the vision," but this feature does not occur in the little horn of Dan 8. Therefore, he said, "we may infer, with more justice, that since the eyes and mouth of a man are not specified in the second little horn, it relates to a civil, and not a spiritual power."<sup>2</sup>

Birks preferred to adopt the view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the Roman power in the full sense, for the features of the vision correspond better with them. According to him, (1) the little horn arises "while the divided kingdom of the Macedonian empire are still in being, and succeeds to their dominion;"<sup>3</sup> so the Roman Empire obtained rule in the east after the decline of the Macedonian kingdoms.<sup>4</sup> (2) The little horn is described waxing great "towards the south, and the east, and the pleasant delight or temple of Jerusalem; and so the Roman power . . . extended itself southward to upper Egypt, and eastward to the Euphrates and Tigris."<sup>5</sup> (3) The little horn was to cast down the sanctuary, and take away the daily sacrifice; and so the Romans "sacked Jerusalem, and one stone of the temple was not left upon another."<sup>6</sup> (4) The little horn is referred

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. "That there are symbols used in the vision, is no

to as "a  
for the Ro  
the princ  
sanctuary  
referred  
Roman pow  
"in the  
"helples  
blow."<sup>3</sup>

refer to  
better  
first p  
kingdom  
arose  
waxed c  
pleasan  
progre  
little  
Empire  

---

proof

is  
people of  
and  
Roman  
them  
it  
last  
ave  
to  
corn  
the  
Macedonian  
Roman power  
little  
to  
the  
the  
The  
oman  
ould

to as "a king of fierce countenance"; and this same phrase is used for the Romans in Deut 28:49, 50.<sup>1</sup> (5) In Dan 9 it is "the people of the prince that shall come" who will destroy the city and the sanctuary, and in Dan 8 it is the little horn. Since the Romans are referred to in chap. 9, so the little horn must be an emblem of the Roman power.<sup>2</sup> (6) As the little horn was to be broken without hand or "in the failure of hands," so the Roman Empire in the east had a "helpless fall," where there was "no human deliverer to avert the blow."<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, Birks understood the little horn of Dan 8 to refer to the Roman power in the east, for the prediction corresponds better with the facts of Roman history. (1) The little horn, in the first place, was to arise out of one of the divided Macedonian kingdoms and in the latter end of their dominion; so the Roman power arose in the east out of the Macedonian horn.<sup>4</sup> (2) The little horn waxed great towards the south, and towards the east, and toward the pleasant delight, or temple of Jerusalem, and so exactly did the progress of the Romans answer to the words of the vision.<sup>5</sup> (3) The little horn was to be a king of fierce countenance, and so the Roman Empire was.<sup>6</sup> (4) The little horn was to be a king who would

---

proof whatever that the sanctuary is figurative."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 188-193.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 193, 194.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 194-198.

understand dark sentences or "subtle policy." This feature was "eminently seen in the whole history of the Romans, and is marked by all the best historians."<sup>1</sup> (5) The little horn would be mighty but not by his own power. If these words "denote conquests obtained by the help of allies, in contrast to those which are the result of a nation's own efforts, without foreign support, . . . such was the case in all the eastern progress of the Romans."<sup>2</sup> (6) The little horn was to arise when the transgressors came to the full. These words can refer to the four kingdoms or to the Jews. "That they were eminently fulfilled in the moral state of the Grecian kingdoms and of Judea, when the Romans began to prevail in the East, is proved by all the records of history."<sup>3</sup> (7) The little horn would destroy wonderfully; and so "Rome was the source of perpetual wars."<sup>4</sup> (8) The little horn was to prosper and practice (perform great works); "and what nation was ever so successful?"<sup>5</sup> (9) The little horn by peace was to destroy many. These words, Birks said, "denote victories and conquests, the fruit of negligence and prosperous ease in the vanquished people. And this was the character of the Roman triumphs in the east, with only a few exceptions."<sup>6</sup> (10) The little horn was to destroy the mighty and the people of the holy ones; so the Romans humbled the kings and

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 202, 203.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 206, 207.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 211.

rulers of the east and slaughtered more than a million Jews and early Christians.<sup>1</sup> (11) The little horn was to take away the daily sacrifice and cast down the sanctuary; and so both parts were completely fulfilled by the Romans.<sup>2</sup> (12) The little horn was to stand up against the "Prince of princes." This had "a clear and exact fulfillment in the condemnation of our blessed Lord by Pilate, the Roman governor."<sup>3</sup> Finally (13) The little horn was to be broken without hand or "without human help." "Surely there never was a power, in the history of the world, whose fall bore such marked and visible signs of utter helplessness as the Eastern Empire of Rome."<sup>4</sup>

Thus, based on his belief that some prophecies have a double fulfillment, and also on his conviction that the features of the little horn correspond to the history of Antiochus as well as to the history of the Roman Empire, Birks maintained that the symbol of the little horn of Dan 8 denotes both Antiochus and the Roman power.

Antiochus as a type  
of a future eastern king

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to Antiochus Epiphanes as type of a future king, who will come out from one of the Greek monarchies, was maintained by John N. Darby.

John Nelson Darby

John N. Darby (1800-1882), the leading figure of the Plymouth

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 213.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 215.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 217.

Brethren Movement and precursor of modern dispensationalism,<sup>1</sup> maintained in his Studies on the Book of Daniel that the symbol of the little horn of Dan 8 denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as type of a future Eastern king.<sup>2</sup> This typological view of the little horn he upheld on the basis that Dan 8:17 and 19 point out that the vision shall be "in the last end of the indignation," which certainly was not the time of Antiochus but will be at the time of the end (v. 17).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he also assumed that in the explanation which Gabriel gives of the symbol (8:23-25) "he confines himself to what the antitype will do at the time of the end (ver. 17)--the end of the indignation against the Jews (ver. 19)."<sup>4</sup> Therefore, he thought that all that is said in Dan 8:23-25 will be exclusively fulfilled in the future in relation to the Jews.<sup>5</sup> "We must," he remarked, "put the church altogether on one

---

<sup>1</sup>Rowden, The Origins of the Brethren, p. 44; Daniel P. Fuller, "The Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism" (Th.D. Dissertation, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1957), pp. 36-58. John Nelson Darby was first educated at Westminster School, and then at Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. He was ordained in the Church of Ireland in 1826 and from this date onwards he began to write some of his views concerning the Church, Christ's Second Advent, and other prophecies.

<sup>2</sup>John Nelson Darby, Studies on the Book of Daniel: A Course of Lectures, 3rd ed. (London: John B. Bateman, 1864), p. 52. This book was first published in French in 1847, and later translated into English. There he wrote: "And this scene will be in Palestine, and with a king out of the Greek monarchies, of whom the king of Syria, Antiochus Epiphanes, has certainly been a type."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 49, 50: "I have no doubt, dear friends, that the type was the king of the Syrians, the king of the race of the Seleucidae; but it is quite certain that this was not the end of the indignation; and in the explanation which Daniel gives, he confines himself to what the antitype will do at the time of the end (ver. 17)--the end of the indignation against the Jews (ver. 19)."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>See *ibid.*, pp. 51-53.



side in this case: it is a question of the Jews in the latter days, at the end of the indignation."<sup>1</sup> Thus, assuming that the "end of the indignation" (8:19) refers to the last indignation of God against the Jews in the last days, and also that the explanation of Gabriel refers exclusively "to what the antitype will do at the time of the end," Darby maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as type of a future king who will come out from one of the Greek monarchies.

In short, it may be safely said that at least nine different interpretations were given to the little horn of Dan 8. They are: (1) the little horn represents Antiochus Epiphanes, (2) the little horn signifies the Roman power, (3) the little horn represents the Ottoman or Turkish power, (4) the little horn signifies the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad or Muhammedanism, (5) the little horn represents Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist, (6) the little horn denotes Pagan and Christian Rome, (7) the little horn symbolizes the future Antichrist, (8) the little horn represents both Antiochus and the Roman power, and (9) the little horn denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as type of a future Eastern king.

#### The Temporal Expression "2300 Evening-Mornings"

This second section, first deals with interpretations of the meaning of the term "evening-morning," and second with the reckoning of the chronological period.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

### Meaning of "Evening-Morning"

During this period, the term "evening-morning" was understood to mean (1) a natural day of twenty-four hours, (2) a prophetic day, (3) the morning and evening sacrifices of the Jewish cult, (4) and the literal evening and morning of the day reckoned apart.

#### A natural day

The view that the term "evening-morning" means a natural day, was held by Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, Maitland, Hävernicks, Maurer, Tyso, Todd, Hofmann, and Folsom. Of these, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, Hävernicks, and Maurer held it on the basis of its use in Gen 1:5, 8, 13, etc.;<sup>1</sup> Folsom, on the basis that the term "harmonizes with the Jewish mode of calling the evening and morning one day;"<sup>2</sup> Maitland, because he knew "of no reason for supposing otherwise";<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>See Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:526; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:267; Hävernicks, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 294. Hävernicks furthermore said: "The expression must however at the same time have designated a current concept, for otherwise the asyndeton, which is only used ordinarily with suchlike words (Gesenius, Lehrg., p. 822.), is entirely unexplainable . . ." "Der Ausdruck muss aber auch zugleich einen gangbaren Begriff bezeichnet haben, denn sonst ist das Asyndeton, welches nur bei dergleichen Wörtern zu stehen pflegt (Ges., Lehrg., S. 822.), völlig unerklärbar . . ." Maurer, Commentarius grammaticus criticus, 2:146.

<sup>2</sup>Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup>See Maitland, A Second Enquiry into the Grounds on which the Prophetic Period of Daniel and St. John, Has Been Supposed to Consist of 1260 Years (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1829), pp. 31, 32. He wrote: "For my own part, I should agree with Mr. Mede in supposing the mornings and evenings to mean natural days, though not for the reason which he suggests. If, as he supposes, the angel avoided saying days, lest he should be supposed to mean years, the end has not been answered, for, as I have stated, almost every modern writer does understand him to mean years. I merely suppose the 2300 evening and mornings are to be taken literally, because I know of no reason for supposing otherwise."

and the others took it for granted.<sup>1</sup>

### A prophetic day

The phrase "prophetic day" was used by some interpreters to indicate that the term day or its equivalent, mentioned in some prophecies, should not be understood literally to denote a day of twenty-four hours, but symbolically to denote a year. In this way the term "evening-morning" was understood by Hales, Davis, Cuninghame, Kinne, J. E. Clarke, Frere, Mason, Girdlestone, Bayford, Fry, A. Clarke, Scott, Faber, Reid, Keith, Cox, Habershon, Cambell, Ralston, Junkin, Elliott, and Birks. Cuninghame defended this view, arguing that

as the question was asked, not only how long the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue; but also, how long the vision shall last? so the answer is to be understood, and these two thousand and three hundred days denote the whole time from the beginning of the vision to the cleansing of the sanctuary.<sup>2</sup>

In addition he remarked:

This is further apparent from what is communicated to Daniel, by the angel Gabriel, in the 17th verse of the chapter under consideration. It is there said, that the vision (shall be) unto the time of the end, i.e it shall reach unto the time of the end . . . Therefore we may conclude that this vision of Daniel reaches to the close of the period during which the saints were to be given into the hand of the little horn, Dan. 7:25.<sup>3</sup>

"Consequently," Cuninghame said, "the two thousand three hundred days

---

<sup>1</sup>Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, p. 24; Todd, Discourses on the Prophecies, pp. 116, 117; J. C. Hofmann, Weissagung und Erfüllung im Alten und im Neuen Testament, 2 vols. (Nördlingen: E. S. Bed'schen Buchhandlung, 1841/1844), 1:295.

<sup>2</sup>Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 259.

of the vision must be prophetic days, used for years."<sup>1</sup> Birks, in response to the attacks of futurists and preterists against the year-day theory, argued extensively in favor of it. He affirmed:

It is plain at once that this is not the usual and literal expression for a space of between six and seven years. There are only three instances in all Scripture history where a period of above forty days is expressed in days only (Gen. 7:3; Neh. 6:15; Esth. 1:4). And it is without any precedent in Scripture, or in common usage, that periods of more than one year should be thus described.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, he pointed out,

Now the test of the two systems has already been shown to consist in this very point. If short, literal periods were designed, no reason can be given why they should not be expressed in the most simple, usual and literal form. We might then expect to have found three years and six months, three years and seven months, three years eight months, three years eight months and a half, six years three months and twenty days. But if terms, which suggest at first sight shorter periods, were used as mental emblems of longer intervals, we might expect that the form of the statement would be peculiar, and bear indications on its surface of a secret meaning. . . .The words of the present text are just of this kind; inexplicable on the literal theory, but deeply expressive when the explanation of the year-day is received.<sup>3</sup>

Another argument Birks offered was stated as follows:

The connection with the seventy weeks leads to the same conclusion. There is plainly a close correspondence between the two visions. The seventy weeks are said to be cut off for certain distinct objects; and this implies a longer period from which they are separated, either the course of time in general, or some period distinctly revealed. . . .And since the seventy weeks are thus only a part of the numeral period 2300, the unit in the latter must be a natural year.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, Birks pointed out,

The words of the angel, near the close of the chapter, lead

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 357, 358.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 359.

to the same inference: 'shut thou up the vision, for it shall be for many days.' These strictly answer to the former inquiry and its answer, 'How long shall be the vision? 'Unto two thousand three hundred days.' . . . This cannot be, if the number denotes less than seven years; but is exactly fulfilled, if the space designed by it is twenty-three centuries.

The other expositors, who understood the "evening-morning" to be a symbolic day representing a year, took for granted that such understanding was correct and did not provide any arguments for holding it.

#### Morning and evening sacrifices

The view that the term "evening-morning" refers to the morning and evening sacrifices of the Jewish cult, was held by H. G. Kirmss<sup>2</sup> John Dowling,<sup>3</sup> and Irah Chase.<sup>4</sup> According to Chase this view "is favored by what precedes and by what follows in this [8th] chapter."<sup>5</sup> "By what precedes," he said, "in the eleventh and twelfth verses . . . our attention is called especially to the taking away of the daily sacrifices. These were regarded as being of peculiar importance."<sup>6</sup> And "by what follows," he continued, in the twenty-

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 360.

<sup>2</sup>Henrico Godofredo Kirmss, Commentatio Historico-Critica (Ienae: n.p., 1828), p. 39.

<sup>3</sup>Dowling, An Exposition of the Prophecies, pp. 73, 74: "I understand the reply to allude to the number of daily burnt offerings, including both morning and evening sacrifices, which should be omitted through the violence and cruelty of this 'king of fierce countenance,' Antiochus Epiphanes."

<sup>4</sup>Irah Chase, Remarks on the Book of Daniel (Boston: Gould, Kendal, and Lincoln, 1844).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

sixth verse this vision is called "the vision of the evening and the morning," since it announced "the taking away of the daily or perpetual sacrifices, which should have been offered evening and morning."<sup>1</sup> Therefore, he said, if we overlook the connection of the term "evening-morning" with the sacrifices it will be misunderstood, but if not all will be plain. The next point which, according to Chase, corroborates this sense is the parallel period of three years and a half of Dan. 7:25, which is a "period equivalent to that which is expressed here by one thousand one hundred and fifty days."<sup>2</sup> Finally, Chase declared that "the number 1150 very well corresponds with the idea of a gradual progress of events, as developed by what we find in the eleventh and twelfth verses of the twelfth chapter: 1150; 1290; and 1335."<sup>3</sup>

#### A literal evening and morning

The view that the term "evening-morning" means a literal evening and morning was proposed by Nolan. According to him,

In the next place, it is observable, that the term, which is rendered 'days' in the text, has a different force in the original, as literally meaning 'mornings and evenings.' This distinction is important on a double account: as in every instance in the inspired writings, where the prophetic rule applies, wherein years are expressed by days, the simple term 'day,' is uniformly used instead of the compound or explanatory 'morning and evenings.' From this distinction the consequence follows, that the number 2300, which gives the prophecy its character as chronological, cannot be meant literally of entire days, nor figuratively of proper years; but must be understood, in the strict letter of the phrase, of 'mornings and evenings,' separately reckoned. When computed by natural days, it must be

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

consequently reduced one-half; 1150 days containing '2300 mornings and evenings.'

As far as is known nobody else followed this view in this period.

#### Beginning and End of the "2300 Evening-Mornings"

The period of the 2300 evenings-mornings was reckoned in a variety of ways during the first half of the nineteenth century--even by some of those who understood the expression "evening-morning" in the same way.

#### 2300 days

Those who understood the expression "evening-morning" as natural days reckoned this period in two different ways: (1) from 145 to 151 of the era of the Seleucidae, and (2) from 142 to 148 of the same era. The former reckoning was followed by Bertholdt and Hävernich, and the latter by Maurer, Hofmann, and Folsom. Bertholdt (following Melancton, Junius, Polanus, Capellus, and others) chose the setting up of the heathen altar or the abomination of desolation (1 Macc 1:54), on Kislev 145, as the terminus a quo or beginning of the 2300 days; and the celebration of the Jewish victory over Nicanor (1 Macc 7:48), in the year 151, as the terminus ad quem or end of the 2300 days.<sup>2</sup> He defended this view by arguing that this reckoning "stays within the two limits, which are definitely designated in the question and answer" of Dan 8:13, 14.<sup>3</sup> The terminus a quo, which is

<sup>1</sup>Nolan, The Chronological Prophecies, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:501. It should be noted that the specific date which Bertholdt chose for the terminus ad quem was 29 days after the 13th of Adar, and Hävernich chose precisely the 13th of Adar.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2:503: "Diese Berechnung ist so leicht und so

taken, he said, as the building or superimposing of the heathen altar on the burnt altar, is implied in the question of the angel about the "transgression of desolation." And the terminus ad quem, as the celebration of the victory over Nicanor, is noted in the answer "then the sanctuary shall be secured"; for the etymology and common use of the Hebrew verb leads to the idea "of saving of honor, guarantee or bring into safety the temple." And this, he pointed out, "was the theme of the folk festival celebrated after the victory over Nicanor."<sup>1</sup>

Hävernick, different from Bertholdt, chose as the terminus ad quem of the 2300 days, not the celebration but the Jewish victory over Nicanor on the 13th day of Adar (1 Macc 7:48, 49). His reasons he pointed out as follows:

(1) Only when the presumptuous and shameless general of Demetrius Soter, Nicanor, before whom all Judah trembled, for he had threatened to set on fire the temple, was in a murderous battle completely conquered and himself killed, could Judah say that it had rest (1 Macc 7:50).<sup>2</sup>

(2) "This day was generally regarded as the day of complete liberation from the Syrians and their heathen horrors through the help of

---

natürlich, dass man so kühn sein darf, sie für die einzig richtige zu erklären. Was ihr aber den grössten Vorzug giebt, ist: dass sie sich innerhalb zweier Gränpuncte hält, die selbst in der Frage und Antwort deutlich bezeichnet sind."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 503, 504: "Die Etymologie und der gemeine Gebrauch des Zeitwortes פִּצָּעִים führt aber auf die Idee einer Ehrenrettung, Sicherstellung oder Salvirung des Tempels--und siehe da! gerade diess war der Gegenstand des nach dem Siege über Nicanor gefeierten Volksfestes" (p. 504).

<sup>2</sup>Hävernick, Commentar über das Buch Daniel, p. 292: "Erst als der übermüthige und freche Feldherr des Demetrius Soter, Nicanor, vor dem ganz Judäa zitterte, da er den Tempel anzuzünden gedroht hatte, in einer mörderischen Schlacht völlig unterlag . . . und selbst getödtet wurde, konnte Juda sagen, dass es Ruhe habe (1 Macc 7:50)."



God, and in fact it earned this name with the fullest right."<sup>1</sup> Having settled the terminus ad quem on the 13th of Adar of the year 151 of the seleucidæ, Hävernick reckoned backwards 2300 days and established the terminus a quo twenty-nine days before the Syrian idol-altar was set up in the temple. In this he saw a probability that "the beginning of the horrors prophesied by Daniel in their whole dreadful extent fell, Comp. 1 Macc 1:52 ff."<sup>2</sup>

Folsom reckoned the 2300 days from the year 142 of the Seleucidæ to the year 148 of the same era.<sup>3</sup> According to him, during 2300 days were the predicted calamities to last and at the expiration of this period the sanctuary should "be made right"; that is, "the sanctuary which had been desecrated should be restored to its former state."<sup>4</sup> That purification of the sanctuary, he argued, was done on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month (Kislev) in the year 148 of the Seleucidæ (165 B.C.). Therefore, from that point of time he reckoned back 2300 days and fixed the beginning of this period either on the third day of Elul (allowing 365 days to the year) or the third of Ab (allowing 360 days to the year) in the year 142.<sup>5</sup> In this year,

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid. "So wurde dieser Tag allgemein als der Tag der völligen Befreiung von den Syrern und ihren heidnischen Gräueln durch die Hülfe Gottes angesehen, und in der That verdiente er diesen Namen mit dem vollsten Rechte."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 296. He wrote: "Unsere 29 Tage werden mithin richtiger vor dem angenommenen terminus a quo gesucht, in welchem wahrscheinlich nach dem Einlaufen des grausamen Ediktes des Antiochus (1 Makk. 1:44 ff.) ein besonders herbes Schicksal, der Anfang der von Daniel geweissagten Gräueln in ihrem ganzen furchtbaren Umfange fiel, vgl. 1 Makk. 1:52 ff."

<sup>3</sup>Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 81, 82.

he pointed out, Menelaus "seized the office of high priest . . . brought on a wide-spread and thorough apostasy of the Jews from their religion, and probably occasioned even the frequent suspension of the stated morning and evening sacrifice."<sup>1</sup>

2200, 2300, and 2400 years

Among those who understood the term "evening-morning" symbolically to represent a year, there was some disagreement; not only about the reckoning of the 2300 years but also about the genuine textual reading of the chronological number. Some of them chose the numerical figure of 2200 spoken of by Jerome; others, the numerical figure of 2400 which appeared by error in the Vaticanus printed edition of the LXX (1587);<sup>2</sup> and the great majority, however, preferred the Masoretic reading of 2300.

William Hales, influenced by Hans Wood of Ireland, reckoned the 2300 years from 420 B.C. to A.D. 1880.<sup>3</sup> In his view, the prophecy of the seventy weeks of Dan 9

was evidently designed to explain the foregoing vision, especially in its chronological part of 2300 days: at the end of which the predicted 'desolation of the Jews' should cease, and

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>2</sup>See William Cuninghame, The Scheme of Prophetic Arrangement of the Rev. Edward Irving and Mr. Frere Critically Examined (Glasgow: University Press, 1826), pp. 76, 77.

<sup>3</sup>Hales, A New Analysis, 2:518. In the footnote on this page he wrote: "This simple and ingenious adjustment of the chronology of the seventy weeks, considered as forming a branch of the 2300 days, was originally due to the sagacity of Hans Wood, Esq. of Rosemead, in the county of Westmeath, Ireland, and published by him in an anonymous commentary on the Revelation of St. John, London, 1787. Payne, 8vo. Whence I republished it in the Inspector, 8vo. 1799. And afterward, in the Orthodox Churchman's Magazine, 1803; and now more correctly, 1809."

their 'sanctuary be cleansed,' or their temple finally be rebuilt; by determining a certain fixt point or epoch within it, namely, the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem by the Romans, A.D. 70, for, counting backwards from thence seventy weeks of days, or  $70 \times 70 = 490$  years, we get the beginning of the period, B.C. 420; and this being known, the end of the period also, A.D. 1880; for  $420 + 1880 = 2300$ .

William C. Davis, pastor of Bullock's Creek and Salem Churches, South Carolina, reckoned the 2300 years from 453 B.C. to A.D. 1847.<sup>2</sup> According to Davis, the 2300 years and the seventy weeks of Dan 9 begin together. This was evident to him for three main reasons. First, "the explanation of the seventy weeks by the angel, is evidently an explanation of the vision which was to last 2300 days, or years, until the cleansing of the sanctuary."<sup>3</sup> This he explained as follows:

We find that Daniel prayed and confessed the sins of his nation, at the close of his prayer Gabriel was sent again, evidently, to explain the vision [of Dan. 8] more particularly, and under these circumstances we have the statement of the 70 weeks (ch. 9). It must therefore appear that this second explanation, is an explanation of the same vision which contains the 2300 years, and where can we place these 490 years, but at the beginning of the vision.<sup>4</sup>

Second, "the very design of the 70 weeks, was evidently to designate that first part of the vision [of 2300 evening-morning], which would last until the calling of the Gentiles."<sup>5</sup> And third, it evidently appears from the explanation of the angel in Dan 9:27

that the account was to go on, 'to the consummation, and that

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 517, 518.

<sup>2</sup>Davis, The Millennium, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 12.

determined shall be poured out upon the desolate,' which evidently means unto the cleansing of the sanctuary, viz. the end of the 2300 years, which makes it clear, that the 70 weeks was the beginning of the vision.

The beginning of the seventy weeks Davis established in the following way: First he divided the seventy weeks into three parts, the first comprehending the time in which Jerusalem would be rebuilt (9:25); the second, 62 weeks, at the end of which the Messiah would be baptized;<sup>2</sup> and the last division, one week, at the middle of which the Messiah was to "cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease."<sup>3</sup> The last week or the seventieth week, he said, began when Jesus was thirty years old at the time of His baptism (Luke 3:23); the middle of the week was in the year 34 at the time of His death; and the end of the seventy weeks was in the thirty-seventh year of Christ, when Paul began to preach the gospel to the Arabians.<sup>4</sup> Having thus established the end of the seventy weeks on A.D. 37, he took out those thirty-seven years from the 490 years of the seventy weeks, and established the beginning of the seventy weeks in the year 453 B.C.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 12

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 5. He explained that the sentence, "after three score and two weeks shall the Messiah be cut off, but not for himself, . . . does not mean, that the 62 weeks would last until the real crucifixion of Christ, but to the time when he should be publicly inaugurated, which was at his baptism, when he was thirty years old."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 9, 10. He wrote: "We have seen that Christ was baptized when he was thirty years of age, and that he was crucified in his 34th year. So that when we add three years and an half, the remainder of the 70th week, we evidently see that Daniel's 70 weeks, or 490 years, come exactly to the thirty seventh year of Christ. So that Daniel's 490 years, overruns the Christian aera 37 years. We must therefore take the 37 years from 490 and the remainder is 453, and will coincide exactly with the birth of Christ."

Then he subtracted 453 years from 2300 years and established the end of this period in the year A.D. 1847.<sup>1</sup>

Cuninghame reckoned the 2300 years from 508 B.C. to A.D. 1792.<sup>2</sup> He arrived at this conclusion assuming that the 1260 days and the 2300 days terminate together or at the same time.<sup>3</sup> Since in his study of the 1260 "days" he concluded that those years expired in the year 1792, so he also thought that the 2300 years must have ended in that year.<sup>4</sup> Computing back 2300 years from 1792 he reached the year 508 B.C. when, according to him, the ram was "pushing northward, westward, and southward."<sup>5</sup>

Kinne reckoned the 2300 years from 434 B.C. to A.D. 1866. Although he did not explain clearly his procedure, it seems that he also assumed that the 2300 years and the 1260 years should end together. Having established the end of the 1260 years in the year A.D. 1866, he reckoned back 2300 years and established the year 434 B.C. as the year of the commencement of this period.<sup>6</sup>

J. E. Clarke and A. Clarke computed the 2300 years from 334

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 259. The same view was maintained in the third edition of this book (1832).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. He wrote: "Now in the series of scriptural propositions which were discussed in the last chapter, I arrived at the conclusion, that the twelve hundred and sixty prophetic years expired in the year 1792, it therefore follows, that the two thousand three hundred years which are shown to conterminate with the former period, must also have ended in the same year 1792."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>6</sup>Kinne, An Explanation of the Principal Types, pp. 146, 147.

B.C. to A.D. 1966.<sup>1</sup> J. E. Clarke, following Thomas Newton, chose the year 334 as the beginning of the 2300 years, because in that year Alexander invaded Persia. According to him, the 2300 years cannot be dated before Alexander's reign because in the "account of the ram with two horns there is nothing spoken respecting the daily sacrifice, or the transgression of desolation: but in the vision of the he-goat all these things are mentioned." And since Daniel saw the he-goat for the first time when it was coming from the west, it appeared to Clarke "not improbable that the year in which Alexander invaded Persia was the commencement."<sup>2</sup>

Frere and Irving, adopting the numerical figure of 2400 which appeared by error in the Vaticanus printed edition of the LXX (1587), reckoned this period from 553 B.C. to A.D. 1847.<sup>3</sup> His procedure Frere explained as follows:

From a consideration of the prophecy alone; first, I was decidedly of opinion, that the history detailed in it began in the year in which the vision was seen; secondly, of the three readings, which are mentioned as found in different manuscripts, namely, 2400 years, 2300 years, and 2200 years, I expected that the first would be found to be the true number of Daniel: my reason for this opinion was, that it is a sacred number, or

---

<sup>1</sup>J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 392. A. Clarke, The Holy Bible, 4:600. Of these two, only J. E. Clarke explained why he chose those years as the beginning and ending of the 2300 years.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. Clarke closed his remarks by saying: "But as the prophecy is not yet fully accomplished, it would not be safe nor prudent to speak positively concerning the exact time of its entire fulfillment; I, therefore, conclude with Bishop Newton, that 'when these years shall be expired, then their end will clearly shew whence their beginning is to be dated'."

<sup>3</sup>Frere, A combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 247, 250. Irving, Babylon and Infidelity, 1:259; 2:222. It should be noted that Irving was influenced by Frere.

divisible by three, which all the numbers of Daniel are, a property not found either in the number 2300, or 2200.<sup>1</sup>

Having assumed that the beginning of the 2400 years was at the time Daniel received the vision or the year 553 B.C., it was easy for him to establish the end of this period in the year A.D. 1847.<sup>2</sup> Irving, who followed Frere, stated his position as follows:

Now, no time or event being given from which to date this period, we must, as in all such cases, reckon from the time when the vision was given, and the information sought; which according to the approved chronology, was before Christ five hundred and fifty-three years. From this let us reckon 2300 years, and we are brought down to the year after Christ, 1747; reckon 2400 years, and we are brought down to the year after Christ, 1847. It hath not been fulfilled of the former; and therefore we adopt the reading of the Septuagint, and expect that true worship will be restored in Jerusalem in the year 1847.<sup>3</sup>

Mason, Habershon, Bickersteth, and Cambell computed the 2300 years from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843.<sup>4</sup> Mason, influenced by Davis,<sup>5</sup> found the clue for the reckoning of the 2300 years in the seventy weeks of Dan 9. He admitted that "the Spirit of prophecy has not said, that

---

<sup>1</sup>Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 245, 246. Frere remarked "that to consider the vision as commencing from the time at which it was seen by the prophet, is not only most natural in itself, but is agreeable to the analogy of all the other prophecies."

<sup>2</sup>The third year of King Belshazzar as 553 B.C. he took from Prideaux. See *ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup>Irving, Babylon and Infidelity, 1:259.

<sup>4</sup>Mason, Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number, p. 23; Habershon, A Dissertation, p. 293; Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, pp. 82, 83.

<sup>5</sup>Mason wrote: "I lately have seen a small Pamphlet, which was first published in America, by the Rev. William E. Davis, South Carolina, and republished in 1818, at Workington, in the North of England. This author asserts that the two thousand three hundred days commence with Daniel's seventy weeks, which are mentioned, chap. ix. 29. In this opinion I am constrained to concur" (p. 10).

the two thousand three hundred days began with the seventy weeks; and, therefore, positive certainty, on this matter, by express Scripture testimony, is unattainable."<sup>1</sup> Then he added,

But if it can be shown that there is such a connection between those visions, and that such things are said of them as do authorize us to conclude that the numbers mentioned in them, began at the same time; it will lay a foundation for a judgment or belief concerning it, amounting either to a high degree of probability,<sup>2</sup> or to that certainty which arises from scriptural deductions.

The opinion that there is a connection between Dan 8 and 9 appeared to him "reasonable," "highly probable," and even certain, for the following reasons: First, "the same angel, whom the Lord employed to explain to Daniel the vision of the ram and he-goat, was despatched to him, to make the comfortable revelations concerning the seventy weeks."<sup>3</sup> Second, "when Daniel, in giving an account of his vision of the seventy weeks, calls the vision of the ram and the he-goat, the vision at the beginning [9:21], it certainly imports, that the two visions are, in some respects the same."<sup>4</sup> Third,

Though those pollutions and purifications of the sanctuary are not the the same, yet when both visions have a relation to the sanctuary, and to its defilement and cleansing, it forms such a connexion between them, and presents them to our view with such an identity of object, as encourage a belief, that the numbers belonging to them began at the same time.<sup>5</sup>

Finally,

As the time of accomplishing the prediction of the consummation

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Mason, Two Essays, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 14.



[9:27], or the time of the end, goes far beyond the number of the seventy weeks, there must be another number, which fixes the termination of those events that are predicted in both visions; and this can be no other than the number of the first vision, commencing with the seventy weeks."<sup>1</sup>

Being convinced that the seventy weeks of Dan 9 are the clue for the reckoning of the 2300 years, Mason proceeded to establish the beginning of that period. His explanation is as follows:

This period commenced at the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, ver. 25. The decree of the Persian king, mentioned in this prophecy, must be the decree of Artaxerxes given to Ezra, in the seventh year of that monarch's reign. The decrees of Cyrus and Darius were too early, and the decree of Artaxerxes, in the twentieth year of his reign, given to Nehemiah, was too late, for answering the prediction. Artaxerxes issued his decree to Ezra, in the 457th year before Christ. If we add to this number 33 years, which was our Redeemer's age at his crucifixion, we have 490 years.<sup>2</sup>

Having established the beginning of both the seventy weeks and the 2300 years in the year 457 B.C., he subtracted 457 from 2300 and the remainder gave him the end of the 2300 years or 1843.<sup>3</sup>

Habershon chose the beginning of the 2300 years on the basis that it "should be marked by an important event, forming an era in history, but that this event should have an immediate connection with the church."<sup>4</sup> The event was, according to him, the first edict given by Artaxerxes to Ezra. For "it is the point of time that marks the commencement of the seventy weeks, the prophecy relating to the first coming and death of Christ."<sup>5</sup> And also because "it was in virtue of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>4</sup>Habershon, A Dissertation, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 290.

this edict that the Jewish church and polity were fixed upon a settled basis, and fully restored from the disorders and confusion of the Babylonish captivity."<sup>1</sup> Subtracting 457 years from 2300 he concluded that the end of this period would be in A.D. 1843.<sup>2</sup>

Bickersteth also believed that there is a connection between Dan 8 and 9. On this basis he reckoned the 2300 years. His explanation is as follows:

If this 2,300 years be taken from Ezra's decree, 457 years before Christ, it will bring us to 1843, the beginning of the cleansing of the sanctuary, and of the restoration of the Jews, and of the approach of the great tribulation. If taken from Nehemiah's completed cleansing in 433-4, it will bring us to 1867-8, the completed Jewish restoration.<sup>3</sup>

Cambell, like Mason, believed that the vision of Dan 9 belongs to the vision of Dan 8, and that the "commandment to build Jerusalem" is the event which marks the beginning of both chronological prophecies.<sup>4</sup> "It was not," he said, "the commandment of Cyrus to build the temple, 536 years before Christ, but the commandment of Artaxerxes, (Ez. 7:7,) to build again the walls of Jerusalem, even in troubled times, 79 afterward, 457 years before the Christian era."<sup>5</sup> "If this is a correct calculation," he continued, "the whole vision, 2300 years, will end in 1843."<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 291.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Edward Bickersteth, A Practical Guide to the Prophecies, 6th ed. (London: Published by R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1839), p. 214.

<sup>4</sup>Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 81-83.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

Scott reckoned the 2300 years from 334 B.C. to A.D. 1866. He, following the same reasoning of Faber's first proposition on the 2300 years, assumed that the 2300 years and the 1260 years terminate together. Since the 1260 years, according to him, would terminate in 1866, he reckoned backward from that year 2300 and established the year 334 B.C. as the beginning of the 2300 years.<sup>1</sup>

Reid, like Frere and Irving, adopted the misprinted numerical figure of 2400 which appeared in the Vaticanus printed edition of the LXX, instead of the Masoretic 2300.<sup>2</sup> He chose this number on the basis that the chronological prophecy should commence at "the rise of the ram, or the Medo-Persian power." In his view the Medo-Persian empire emerged in the year 550 B.C. Reckoning the 2300 years from this date he reached the year A.D. 1750. But since no judgments were executed in that year, he thought that without doubt a mistake was introduced into the text by a copyist.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, he remarked, "we are obliged to follow the Septuagint, as the last resource."<sup>4</sup> Having established the true numerical figure of the text as 2400 and the beginning of the period in the year 550 B.C., he subtracted 550 from 2400 and settled on the year A.D. 1850 as the end of the 2400 years.

---

<sup>1</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, from the fifth London ed. (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1827), 4:674. He wrote: "If the 1260 years, so often spoken of, began A.D. 606, they must end A.D. 1866 . . . and 2300 reckoned backward from that period, will bring us to the year A.C. 334." Scott made here a mistake; instead of 334 should be 434, unless he adopted the numerical figure of 2200 as Faber did in his first proposition of this period.

<sup>2</sup>Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

In 1828 Faber, adopting the Masoretic reading of 2300, proposed a new reckoning of this period. According to him, the 2300 "days" began in the year 784 B.C. and terminated in A.D. 1517.<sup>1</sup> He reached this conclusion by assuming that the chronological prophecy should commence with the standing up of the ram (the Persian monarchy)<sup>2</sup> and terminate "with the incipient cleansing of the sanctuary."<sup>3</sup> By "the sanctuary" he understood the Christian Church "viewed as mainly settled within the limits of the Roman Empire"; and by its cleansing, the rejection of "demonolatrous superstition."<sup>4</sup>

He wrote,

If we ask at what time the Christian Church of the Roman Empire began to renounce the apostatic worship of demons or of canonized saints: the voice of history will reply, that this great moral revolution commenced at the era of the Reformation in the year after Christ 1517.<sup>5</sup>

Calculating retrogressively 2300 years from A.D. 1517 he established the year 784 B.C. "for the commencement of the period and for the rise of the Persian monarchy."<sup>6</sup>

Keith and Elliott reckoned the 2300 years from 480 B.C. to A.D. 1820.<sup>7</sup> Keith did not explain his procedure. Elliott, who was influenced by Bicheno, assumed that the 2300 years should commence at

---

<sup>1</sup>Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:180, 181.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 174.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 177, 178.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>7</sup>Keith, The Signs of the Times, 2:635; Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, 3:396.

the time of the pushing of the ram westward, northward, and southward; and also that the commencement and termination of the period "ought to be a marked and well-determined epoch in history."<sup>1</sup> The commencement of this period he found in "Xerxes' splendid progress against Greece in 481, 480, just before his great catastrophe";<sup>2</sup> and the termination in the breaking up of the "Turkman Moslem power" in A.D. 1820.<sup>3</sup>

Ralston, adopting the numerical figure 2200 of some manuscripts mentioned by Jerome, reckoned this period from 332 B.C. to 1868.<sup>4</sup> In principle he followed Faber's first proposition of this period.<sup>5</sup> However, he departed from him in choosing the year 332 B.C. as the commencement of this period instead of 334 B.C., as Faber had first proposed. His reason for choosing 332 B.C. instead of 334 B.C. was that in this year "Alexander finally overthrew, the Medo-Persian king, in the battle of Arbela, and put an end to the Persian empire."<sup>6</sup>

Junkin, also adopting the numerical figure of 2200 mentioned by Jerome, reckoned this period from 334 B.C. to A.D. 1866.<sup>7</sup> This he did on the basis that "the most natural time for the commencement of

---

<sup>1</sup>Elliott, 3:394.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 395.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>4</sup>Ralston, A Brief Explication, pp. 119, 120.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 117, 118.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 118, 119.

<sup>7</sup>Junkin, The Little Stone and the Great Image, p. 73.

this period is the opening of the vision." However, by this expression he did not mean the time when Daniel saw the vision, "but when history began to fulfill prophecy," that is, "when the war of the ram and he-goat commenced."<sup>1</sup> This happened, he said, in the year 334 B.C. Therefore, from this date he computed 2200 years and established the year A.D. 1866 as the termination of this period.<sup>2</sup> Birks, following Hales and Mason, saw two possible reckonings of the 2300 years: either from 420 B.C. to A.D. 1880 or from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843.<sup>3</sup> However, he did not elaborate more on it.

#### 1150 days

Chase, who understood the "evening-morning" as the morning and evening sacrifices of the Jewish cult, reckoned the 1150 days from the "taking away of the daily sacrifice" in the year 145 of the Seleucidae to the "restoration of the true worship" by Judas Maccabeus on the 25th of Kislev of the year 148 of the same era.<sup>4</sup> He explained that the 1150 days are equivalent to three lunar years (1062 days) and three months (88 days). "If we reckon back," he said, "88 days from the 25 of Cisleu (November), we are brought by the Jewish computation, to the 25th of Elul (August), three months."<sup>5</sup>

Dowling reckoned the 2300 "evening-mornings" or 1150 natural days from the time Athenaeus made cease the Jewish sacrifices on B.C.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy, p. 360.

<sup>4</sup>Chase, Remarks on the Book of Daniel, pp. 68, 72.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

168 to the purification of the Jewish temple by Judas Maccabaeus. He explained that from the 25th day of Casleu of the year B.C. 168, when sacrifices were offered to Jupiter Olympus, to the purification of the Jewish temple by Judas Maccabaeus on the 25th of Casleu (1 Macc 4:52) elapsed exactly three years. The remaining 55 days of his interpretation of the 2300 "evening-mornings" he explained as follows:

The half of 2300 days, as we have seen, is three years and 55 days. We are not informed by any historian how many days elapsed between the time when Athenaeus stopped the daily sacrifices, and the 25th of the month Casleu, when Jupiter was worshipped in the temple. Had we been thus informed, I have no doubt that we should find that time to be exactly 55 days.

Nolan, who understood the "evening-morning" as literal mornings and evenings separately reckoned, computed the 1150 days from the 23rd of Tishri of the year 145 of the Seleucidae (Oct. 17th, 168 B.C.) to the 25th of Kislev of the year 148 of the same era (Dec. 12th, 165 B.C.), when the sanctuary was cleansed.<sup>2</sup> Taking the 25th of Kislev (December 12th) of 165 B.C as the end of the 1150 days, he "computed in ascent" and arrived "at October 17th of the year 168 of the same era."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Dowling, An Exposition of the Prophecies, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup>Nolan, The Chronological Prophecies, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. Nolan wrote: "If from this epoch, assumed as a basis, '2300 evenings and mornings,' or 1150 natural days, be computed in ascent; we shall arrive at October 17th of the year 168 of the same era; corresponding with the 23rd of the month of Tisri, which is marked in the anniversary of 'the rejoicing of the law.'" In his notes on p. 419 he said: "According to Dodwell's Tables of the Chaldee Cycle, used in the first Book of Maccabees; Cisleu 25th, in the year 148 of the aera of the Seleucidae, corresponded with December 12th: as Cisleu 1st correspond with Nov. 18th."

### Cultic Expressions

The interpretations of some cultic expressions of Dan 8 such as "the daily," "the transgression of desolation," and "then shall the sanctuary be cleansed" are dealt with in this last section of the chapter.

#### "The Daily"

The expression "the daily" (Hebrew, tāmīd), which appears five times in the book of Daniel (8:11, 12, 13; 11:31; 12:11), was understood in this period as (1) the daily sacrifice of the Jewish cult, (2) both the daily sacrifice of the Jewish cult and the Christian worship, (3) the true Christian worship, and (4) everything that belongs to the tāmīd.

#### Continual burnt offering

Among those who understood "the daily" to mean specifically the continual burnt offering or the daily morning and evening sacrifices of the Jewish cult are Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, Lengerke, Maurer, Nolan, Tyso, Folsom, Chase, Birks, and B. Newton.<sup>1</sup> Of these, Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, Lengerke, Maurer, and Folsom argued that hattāmīd stands in the place of ʿolat hattāmīd or as the elliptical designation of the continual burnt offering.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:520; Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:262; Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 379, 380; Maurer, Commentarius grammaticus criticus, 2:144; Nolan, The Chronological Prophecies, p. 118; Tyso, Elucidation of the Prophecies, p. 24; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, pp. 78, 39; Chase, Remarks on the Book of Daniel, p. 57; Birks, The Two Later Visions of Daniel, pp. 178, 179, 213; B. Newton, First Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:520: "תָּמִיד plene עֹלָה תָּמִיד Num 28:3,



### Daily sacrifices and Christian worship

Cuninghame considered "the daily" of Dan 8:11 as "the literal daily sacrifice of the Levitical worship,"<sup>1</sup> but "the daily" of vs. 12 and 13 as the symbol of the pure worship of God and "the due administration of the sacraments."<sup>2</sup> His reason for this understanding of "the daily" he stated as follows:

In interpreting this clause, we must recollect that after the city of Jerusalem with its temple had been destroyed by Titus, there no longer remained a literal temple, or a literal daily sacrifice, and it therefore becomes necessary in the period subsequent to the above event, to interpret these objects in a symbolical sense.<sup>3</sup>

Mason, based on his belief of double fulfillment, understood

---

the customary daily sacrifice which was brought every morning and evening (Talmud tr. תמיד), therefore called the morning and evening sacrifice . . . and consisted of yearly rams." Rosenmüller, Scholia in Vetus Testamentum, 10:262: "תמיד, proprie perpetuitas, hic ut vs. 12, 13, 11:31, 12:11, ponitur pro עלה תמיד sive עלה תמיד Exod. 29:42, et saepius, holocausto perpetuitatis." Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 379, 380: "תמיד eigtl. das Beständige, daher das Beständige, täglich darzubringende Brandopfer, nämlich das Morgen und Abendopfer, vgl. v. 12, 13, 11:31, 12:11 (3 Esr. 5:50) f. das vollständige עלה תמיד 4 Mos. 28:3, 1 Chron. 16:40." Maurer, Commentarius Grammaticus Criticus, p. 144: "תמיד hic ut vs. 12, 13, 11:31, 12:11, pro עלה תמיד holocaustum perpetuum." Folsom, A Historical and Critical Interpretation, pp. 39, 40: "The words 'daily sacrifice,' are in the original, the perpetual. The phrase is found in full, in Num. 28:3, 6, 10, etc.; also Ex. 29: 38-42 viz. the continual burnt offering. The epithet 'the continual,' . . . would naturally become the familiar and elliptical designation of this chief rite."

<sup>1</sup>Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 252. He wrote: The Roman horn "took away the literal daily sacrifice of the Levitical worship, and cast down the place of his sanctuary, when Titus took the city of Jerusalem and destroyed the temple."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 253: "The daily sacrifice of the visible church, is a form of sound words suited to the pure worship of the Father, through Jesus Christ the only mediator between God and man, and also the due administration of the sacraments." See also "Religious Communications," The Christian Observer 7 (1808):210.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

also "the daily" to mean both the Jewish daily sacrifices and the Christian worship.<sup>1</sup>

### Christian worship

J. Clarke, Frere, Girdlestone, Bayford, Fry, Scott, Faber, Reid, Cox, Habershon, and Cambell considered the term "the daily" as a figure, symbol, or type which refers only to the Christian worship.<sup>2</sup> The basis for this understanding is given by J. E. Clarke in the following words:

Commentators in general have understood daily sacrifice here to mean literally what the Jews meant by it; and therefore have applied it to the suspension of the daily sacrifice in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, or to its entire abolition by the Romans. But that neither of these can be the meaning is evident from the angel's assertion that this vision was to take place 'in the last end of the indignation,' . . . The daily sacrifice must, therefore, be a Jewish figure to denote its Christian antitype. The daily sacrifice was the standing and public worship among the Jews; its antitype can then be no other than the public ministration of the word among the Christians.<sup>3</sup>

The other interpreters did not provide reasons for holding this view.

### "The Transgression of Desolation"

As was already noted, the phrase "the transgression of desolation" is found only in Dan 8:13. This expression was understood by interpreters of this period as (1) the altar which the Syrians

<sup>1</sup>Mason, Two Essays, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup>J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 370; Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 242; Girdlestone, Observations, p. 46; Bayford, Messiah's Kingdom, p. 82; Fry, The Second Advent, pp. 38, 39; Scott, The Holy Bible, 4:673; Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:152; Reid, The Seven Last Plagues, p. 49; Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, p. 185; Habershon, A Dissertation, p. 287; Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, pp. 370, 371.

built in the Jewish temple, (2) the unclean pagan sacrifices which were offered in the Jewish temple, and (3) the Muhammedan delusion.

### Syrian altar

Bertholdt maintained that the transgression of desolation of Dan 8:13 refers to the altar which the Syrians built on the same place where the Jewish altar had been.<sup>1</sup> He supported his view with 1 Macc 1:54; 4:44; and 6:7.<sup>2</sup> This seems to be also Folsom's understanding, but he did not elaborate more on it.<sup>3</sup>

### Unclean sacrifices

Lengerke and Maurer maintained that the phrase "transgression of desolation" refers to the unclean sacrifices which were offered in the Jewish temple.<sup>4</sup> Lengerke gave two reasons to support his view. First, as in Dan. 8:13 the "daily sacrifice" and "the transgression of desolation" stand together, so also do "the daily sacrifice" and "the abomination of desolation" in 11:31 and 12:11. From this observation Lengerke inferred that the term "transgression" and "abomination" indicate "obviously something that defiles and hinders the

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:522.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. " ἡ ἁγία ist nämlich dasselbe, was v. 13. ἡ ἁγία 1 Macc. 1. 54. Το βδελυγμα ἐρημωσης und iv, 44 ὁ μιασμος heisst, der kleine Altar, welchen die Syrer über dem Brandopferaltar erbauten (1 Macc vi,7.) und darauf nach ihrer Weise opfern liessen."

<sup>3</sup>See Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, pp. 78, 42. On p. 78 he said that "the 'transgression of desolation' is the same substantially with 'abomination of desolation,' 11:31"; and on p. 42 he considered the abomination of desolation to be "the placing of the idol-altar on the altar of God."

<sup>4</sup>Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 381, 382; Maurer, Commentarius grammaticus criticus, p. 144.

temple and especially the sacrifice." Second, from the addition of the term "desolation" to the term "transgression" it becomes clear that what is meant by "transgression" wastes a place, that is, "defiles and desecrates," as is the case with the abomination of desolation. Therefore, he said, as the "daily" means the daily sacrifices, so "the transgression . . . can denote nothing else, but the unclean sacrifices, which according to [1 Macc] v. 50 are presented in that passage."<sup>1</sup> Maurer did not give any new argument; he repeated what Lengerke had said.

#### The Muhammedan delusion

Thomas Scott, following Faber, understood the phrase "transgression of desolation" as the Muhammedan delusion. This understanding is based on the assumption that "the transgression of desolation" in Dan 8:13 is identical with "the abomination of desolation" in Dan 12:7. And since, according to Bishop Newton, "the abomination of desolation" in Dan 12 refers to the Muhammedan delusion, so it also should in Dan 8:13.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 381, 382: "Dass nun aber הפסע שם der verwüstende Frevel, (vgl. Anm. n.) etwas zum Tempel und speciell zum Opfer Gehöriges bezeichnen müsse, ersehen wir 1) daraus, dass, wie v. 13 הפסע שם und הזמיד ensammenstehen, so auch 11:31 הזמיד und שקרי שם und c. 12,11 הזמיד und שם; letzteres bedeutet aber offenbar etwas, was den Tempel und speciell das Opfer schädigt und verhindert. 2) Aus dem Zusatze שם erhellet, dass das unter פסע Gemeinte einen Ort verwüstete d.h. verunreinigt und entweihte, wie diess der Fall ist in שקרי שם, und der Frevel wird hier aus demselben Grunde ein verwüstender genannt, aus welchen es 1 Macc. 1, 41 heisst . . . Wie nun aber הזמיד das tägliche Opfer bedeutet, nach 1 Macc. 1 besonders v. 47, aber alle Opfer, blutige und unblutige aufgehoben wurden, so kann פסע nichts anderes bezeichnen, als die unreinen Opfer, die an deren Stelle nach v. 50 dargebracht werden."

<sup>2</sup>Scott, The Holy Bible, 4:674: "Bp. Newton, compelled, as it

"Then the Sanctuary Shall Be Cleansed"

This cultic expression was understood in a variety of ways by interpreters of this period. It was understood to mean (1) the saving of the honor of the Jewish temple, (2) the reconstruction of the Jewish temple after it was destroyed by the Romans, (3) the liberation of the Christian Church, (4) the liberation of the Eastern Christian Church from the Muhammedan power and the restoration of the spiritual worship of God, (5) the restoration of Eastern Christian places of worship, (6) the delivery of the Church and nations from Popery, (7) the reformation of the Western Christian Church, (8) the justification of the Jewish temple through the death of the destroyers, (9) the reconstruction of the Jewish temple and the conversion of the Jews, (10) the purification of the Jewish temple and the restoration of its worship by Judas Maccabaeus, and (11) the purification of the Jewish sanctuary by Judas Maccabaeus and a future cleansing of the Jewish sanctuary.

Saving the honor of the Jewish temple

According to Bertholdt, the "etymology and the common use of the verb פָּצַל leads to the idea of saving of honor, guarantee, or bringing into safety the temple." "This," he said, "is the theme of the folk festival celebrated after the victory over Nikanor."<sup>1</sup>

---

may seem, by chronological numbers, explains the prophecy in the twelfth chapter of the Mohammedan delusion: (Note, 12:11-13:) yet 'the abomination, that maketh desolate' mentioned in that chapter (12:7); is doubtless the same as that here spoken of." See Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 284.

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt, Daniel, 2:504: "Die Etymologie und der gemeine Gebrauch des Zeitwortes פָּצַל führt aber auf die Idee einer

### Reconstruction of the Jewish temple

According to Hales at the end of the 2300 years "the desolation of the Jews' should cease, and their 'sanctuary be cleansed,' or their temple finally be rebuilt." However, he did not elaborate more on it.<sup>1</sup>

### Liberation of the Christian Church

Cuninghame considered the cleansing of the sanctuary to be a symbolical phrase. "It will receive its accomplishment," he said, "when the visible church of Christ shall be freed from those Gentiles which were to tread it under foot, during the space of forty-two prophetic months, or twelve hundred and sixty years."<sup>2</sup>

### Liberation of the Eastern Christian Church

Frere considered the cleansing of the sanctuary to refer "exclusively to the Eastern church,"<sup>3</sup> and "implying no less than the restoration of the spiritual worship of God, where an idolatrous worship had before prevailed."<sup>4</sup>

---

Ehrenrettung, Sicherstellung oder Salvierung (dass ich sage) des Tempels--und siehe da! gerade diess war der Gegenstand des nach dem Siege über Nikanor gefeierten Volksfestes." See also pp. 505 and 527 (note 22).

<sup>1</sup>Hales, A New Analysis, 2:517.

<sup>2</sup>Cuninghame, A Dissertation, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup>Frere, A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, p. 276. "That the period of the vision of the Ram and He-Goat did not expire in the year 1792, as Mr. Cuninghame supposes, will appear, if we consider that the cleansing of the sanctuary mentioned in it must necessarily be understood as referring exclusively to the Eastern Church, the whole prophecy relating to the Eastern Roman Empire."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 277, 278.

Restoration of the Eastern  
Christian temples

According to J. E. Clarke the sanctuary which was to be cast down by the little horn was the places of public worship among the Christians.<sup>1</sup> Although he did not say specifically what he understood by the cleansing of the sanctuary, it seems that he considered it to be the reconstruction and appropriation of those eastern places of worship by the Christians which were once taken or destroyed by the Ottomans.<sup>2</sup>

Delivery of the Church  
and nations from Popery

Mason considered the cleansing of the sanctuary as the delivery of the Church and the nations "from the abominations of the mother of Harlots," and the perishing of Popery from the earth.<sup>3</sup>

Reformation of the Western Christian Church

Faber considered the cleansing of the sanctuary to refer to the Christian Church of the Roman Empire, and to "consist in a

---

<sup>1</sup>J. E. Clarke, Dissertation on the Dragon, p. 371: "Among the Jews sanctuary often meant the place wherein their public worship was performed. See Ps. 73:17. Therefore as Jewish things were a type of Christian, sanctuary must mean the places appointed for public worship among those denominated Christians; and consequently the meaning of the prophecy is, that the Othmans would not only suspend the public worship of Christ, but also either destroy the different religious edifices, or appropriate them to his own abominable superstition."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 389: "It has been already shewn that the sanctuary was cast down by the Othmans; and as their empire exists, the sanctuary is not yet cleansed, that is to say, the Mohammedan superstition still pollutes the eastern world, where the religion of Christ once flourished."

<sup>3</sup>Mason, Two Essays, p. 23.

rejection of that demonolatrous superstition" and "to reform itself from the gross errors of the prevailing apostasy."<sup>1</sup>

#### Justification of the Jewish Temple

Lengerke understood the cleansing of the sanctuary as the justification of the Jewish sanctuary through the death of the destroyers. Unfortunately, he did not give any support for his view.<sup>2</sup>

#### Reconstruction of the Jewish temple and conversion of the Jews

It seems that Cox considered the cleansing of the sanctuary as the reconstruction of the Jewish temple and the conversion of the Jews. "That the period in question," he said, "is still future is obvious, because the Jewish sanctuary has long been desolate, and the Jews are not yet converted or restored--an event joyous to the church, which the 'cleansing of the sanctuary foretells."<sup>3</sup> It seems that this also was the view of Habershon and Cambell.<sup>4</sup> Habershon remarked:

Thus shall the sanctuary, the temple, the most holy place which has been so long desolate, and polluted by every abomination that the malice and hatred of man can invent, be yet cleansed, and made the habitation of Jehova's glory. The Lord has

---

<sup>1</sup>Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy, 2:177.

<sup>2</sup>Lengerke, Das Buch Daniel, p. 387.

<sup>3</sup>Cox, Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup>Habershon, A Dissertation, pp. 282, 285. Cambell, Illustrations of Prophecy, p. 85, 86: "In this vision, the outlines of which we have traced, Daniel has left us at Jerusalem, to witness the destruction of the Ottoman power,--the return of the Jews, and the 'cleansing of their sanctuary.'" Furthermore he said, "for Daniel understood this vision as having a peculiar application to the people of the Jews, and the cleansing of their sanctuary."



been pleased to give by Ezekiel, as well as by the Apostle John, many particulars of the new temple that shall be erected, as well as the new city that shall be built.<sup>1</sup>

Then, he added,

This cleansing of the sanctuary, however, will not be merely external; it will be attended with an entire conversion of the nation to the obedience of faith in the blood and righteousness of Christ. 'For I will take you,' saith the Lord God, 'from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land. Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you (Ezek. 36:24-27).'<sup>2</sup>

Purification of the Jewish temple and  
the restoration of its worship

Nolan, Folsom, and Chase understood the cleansing of the sanctuary as the purification of the Jewish temple and the restoration of its worship by Judas Maccabaeus. This understanding is based on 1 Macc 4:36-56 and 2 Macc 10: 3, 4.<sup>3</sup>

Purification of the Jewish temple in  
the past as well as in the future

Birks, based on his belief that prophecies may have a double fulfillment, understood the cleansing of the sanctuary to refer to the cleansing of the Jewish sanctuary by Judas Maccabaeus, as well as to another cleansing of the Jewish temple in the future, after its destruction by the Romans. However, he did not elaborate more on it.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Habershon, A Dissertation, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 285.

<sup>3</sup>See Nolan, The Chronological Prophecies, p. 127; Folsom, A Critical and Historical Interpretation, pp. 47, 48, 81; Chase, Remarks on the Book of Daniel, pp. 66-68, 72.

<sup>4</sup>See Birks, The Two Later Visions of Daniel, p. 165, 223. He wrote: "The cleansing of the sanctuary is thus described in Josephus

Summary

A variety of interpretations were given to the animal symbols of Dan 8 during the first half of the nineteenth century. The most popular interpretation of the "two-horned ram" was that it denotes the Medd-Persian kingdom or empire. Other expositors pointed out that it refers to "the kings of Media and Persia." One expositor suggested that it refers either to the kings or dynasties of Media and Persia. And finally, another pointed out that it refers to future kings of Media and Persia.

The sequence of the two-horned ram among the four world empires of Dan 2 and Dan 7 was understood by some expositors to be the second. Others did not make any comment about the sequence of the two-horned ram. However, some of them, commenting on the symbols of Dan 2 and Dan 7, suggested that the Babylonian and Persian empires are the first world empire of Daniel. For others the Median kingdom is the second and the Persian the third. Only one expositor maintained that the kingdom or empire represented by the two-horned ram is still future.

The most popular interpretation of the he-goat was that it denotes the Grecian or Macedonian empire. Other expositors (Maitland

---

and the books of Maccabees." Then, follows a quotation from Josephus' Antiquities, 12. 7. 6; 2 Macc 10:1-8; and 1 Macc 4:36-59. In p. 223 he wrote: "In the three last chapters I have endeavored to ascertain the meaning of the Little Horn, which closes the vision of the Morning and Evening; and have shewn, by copious evidence, that it had a precursive reference to Antiochus Epiphanes; but that its full and proper application is to the Eastern dominion of Rome. The vision becomes thus one continuous and connected prophecy from the rise of the Persian Empire to the fall of Constantinople; and reaches onward, through that long desolation, to the future cleansing of the Jewish sanctuary in times near at hand.

and Todd) stated that it refers to the "king of Grecia." The sequence of this animal symbol among the four world empires of Daniel was understood by the majority of expositors to be the third. Other expositors did not make any comment about the sequence of the he-goat. However, some of them, commenting on the symbols of Dan 2 and Dan 7, pointed out the Grecian Empire as the third in order. Others (Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, and Folsom), dividing the Grecian Empire into two empires, indicated that the Greek empire under Alexander the Great is the third empire of Daniel, and the Greek empire under the successors of Alexander, the fourth. Two expositors (Lacunza and Maitland) understood the Greek Empire as the second, while others (Lengerke, Maurer, and De Wette) as the fourth. Finally, one expositor (Todd) suggested that the power represented by the he-goat is still future.

The most popular interpretation of the he-goat's notable horn was that it refers to Alexander the Great. A second view was that it denotes the dynasty of Alexander the Great, and a third view, that it signifies the dominant kingdom of Macedonia or the kingdom of Alexander.

The four horns of the he-goat were understood as (1) four kingdoms, (2) four kings, (3) four kings or races of kings, and (4) powers or dynasties. The sequence of the four horns among the four world empires of Daniel was pointed out by one expositor (Folsom) to be the fourth. Other interpreters (Bertholdt and Rosenmüller) also understood the kingdoms of Alexander's successors as the fourth empire, but they did not point it out in relation to the four horns, but in relation to the symbols of Dan 2 and Dan 7. The great majority

of expositors, on the other hand, understood the four horns as an integral part of the he-goat, together with the notable horn. However, some of them (Eichhorn, Dereser, Lengerke, Maurer, and De Wette) understood the he-goat together with its horns as the fourth empire, while the majority as the third. Finally, one expositor (Todd) understood the four horns of the he-goat to refer to future kingdoms.

At least nine different interpretations were given to the little horn. They are as follows: The little horn denotes (1) Antiochus Epiphanes, (2) the Roman power, (3) the Ottoman or Turkish Empire, (4) the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad or Muhammedanism, (5) Antiochus Epiphanes as type of Antichrist, (6) Pagan and Papal Rome, (7) the future Antichrist, (8) both Antiochus and the Roman Empire, and (9) Antiochus as type of a future Greek king.

The term "evening-morning" was understood to mean (1) a natural day, (2) a prophetic day, (3) the evening and morning sacrifices of the Jewish cult, and (4) the literal evening and morning. The numerical figure was disputed in this period. Some expositors chose 2400 as the correct figure, while others 2200. However, the great majority preferred the Masoretic reading of 2300. Accordingly the chronological period was reckoned as follows: (1) From the year 145 of the Seleucidae to the year 151 of the same era, (2) from the year 142 of the Seleucidae to the year 148 of the same era, (3) from 420 B.C. to A.D. 1880, (4) from 453 B.C. to A.D. 1847, (5) from 508 B.C. to A.D. 1792, (6) from 434 B.C. to A.D. 1866, (7) from 334 B.C. to A.D. 1966, (8) from 553 B.C. to A.D. 1847, (9) from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1843, (10) from 550 B.C. to A.D. 1850, (11) from 784

B.C. to A.D. 1517, (12) from 480 B.C. to A.D. 1820, (13) from 332 B.C. to A.D. 1868, (14) from 334 B.C. to A.D. 1866, and (15) from the year 145 of the Seleucidae to the year 148 of the same era.

The cultic term "the daily" was understood to mean (1) the daily sacrifices of the Jewish cult, (2) both the daily sacrifices and the Christian worship, (3) and (4) everything that belongs to the tāmīd. The cultic expression "the transgression of desolation" was referred to as (1) the Syrian altar built in the Jewish temple, (2) the unclean pagan sacrifices which was offered in the Jewish temple, and (3) the Muhammedan delusion. Finally, the expression "then the sanctuary shall be cleansed" was understood to mean (1) the saving of honor of the Jewish temple, (2) the future reconstruction of the Jewish temple, (3) the liberation of the Christian Church, (4) the liberation of the Eastern Christian Church from the Muhammedan power and the restoration of the true worship of God, (5) the restoration of Eastern Christian places of worship, (6) the delivery of the Church and nations from popery, (7) the reformation of the Western Christian Church, (8) the justification of the Jewish temple through the death of its destroyers, (9) the future reconstruction of the Jewish temple and the conversion of the Jews, (10) the purification of the Jewish temple and the restoration of its worship under Judas Maccabeus, and (11) the purification of the Jewish temple under Judas Maccabeus and its future cleansing.

The interpreters of this period, who dealt with the vision of Dan 8, might be grouped into four schools of interpretation: (1) the historicist school, (2) the preterist school, (3) the futurist school, and (4) the historical-critical school.

As already noted in the summary of Chapter II, the philosophical emphasis of the supremacy of reason over revelation which began to be proclaimed in the seventeenth century gave birth to the historical-critical method at the end of the nineteenth century. This method began to be employed in the interpretation of Daniel by Bertholdt at the beginning of the nineteenth century (1806-1808), and within four decades it became popular in Germany. Those interpreters who used the historical-critical method in the interpretation of Daniel may be rightly grouped into a new school of interpretation, different from the preterists, for at least three reasons: (1) They regarded the book of Daniel as history written in the form of prophecy (vaticinia ex eventu), while the preterists considered it as a divine revelation of the future; (2) they considered the book of Daniel as a product of the second century B.C., while the preterists regarded it as a product of the sixth century B.C.; and (3) some of them separate themselves explicitly from the preterists.<sup>1</sup> Among the historical-critical interpreters of this period who dealt with the book of Daniel are Bertholdt, Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Lengerke, and Maurer. These interpreters joined hands with the preterists in affirming that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to Antiochus Epiphanes, but in the interpretation of the four world empires they were divided among themselves. Bertholdt and Rosenmüller, following the majority of preterists, affirmed that the four world empires are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian under Alexander, and the kingdoms of Alexander's successors; while Eichhorn, Lengerke and

---

<sup>1</sup>See, e.g., Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 98; Rowley, Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires, pp. 84, 175.

Maurer, following a minority of preterists,<sup>1</sup> considered them as the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Grecian.

The preterist interpreters of this period, who dealt with the book of Daniel, are Dereser, Nolan, Chase, Folsom, and Lee. These interpreters, like the preterists of the eighteenth century, considered the prophecies of Daniel to reach to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, or to the first coming of Christ, or the destruction of Jerusalem.

The great majority of interpreters of this period, at least in England and U.S.A., belonged to the historicist school. Among them are Scott, Hales. Davis, Kinne, J. Clarke, Cuninghame, Frere, Girdlestone, Bayford, Mason, Fry, A. Clarke, Irving, Townsend, Reid, Keith, Habershon, Cox, Brooks, Cambell, Dowling, Ralston, Miller, Birks, Junkin, Elliott, and Harrison. These interpreters differed from the preterists and historical-critical expositors in that they considered the prophecies of Daniel to outline the history of this world from the time of Daniel to the second coming of Christ. Accordingly they looked in modern history for a literal fulfillment of the little horn of Dan 8. It seems that the French revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, and the seeming decadence of the Turkish Empire during the first half of the nineteenth century awakened many students of the Bible to look for an answer in the books of Daniel and Revelation. These historicist interpreters were divided among themselves regarding the interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8 and the "2300 evening-mornings". Some of them understood the little

---

<sup>1</sup>Ephraem Syrus, Cosmas Indicopleustes, and Venema.

horn of Dan 8 to refer to the Roman Empire or to pagan and papal Rome and expected the end of the "2300 evening-mornings" about 1843 or 1847. Others understood the little horn to refer to the Muhammedan power and expected the end of the 2300 "days" between 1820 and 1866.

The futurist interpreters of Ireland and England reacted during this period against the interpretation of the historicists, and those of Germany, against the method of the historical-critical school. They might be classified into two groups. One class of futurists distinguish themselves in that they followed a hermeneutical principle of two peoples or churches of God, one earthly and the other heavenly. Accordingly they believed that the prophecies of Daniel find fulfillment only in relation to the Jews, and by consequence were forced to make a parenthesis in the fulfillment of the prophecies of Daniel from the first coming of Christ to seven years before His second coming. The other class of futurists did not follow this hermeneutical principle, but differed from the historicists in that they considered the fulfillment of the ten horns of the fourth beast of Dan 7 and the little horn of the same vision to be in the future. In the former class of futurists are Maitland, De Burgh, Tyso, Todd, B. Newton, Darby, and Tregelles; and in the latter, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Hofmann.

Among the major causes for the four schools of interpretation to differ so widely in their interpretation of Dan 8 are the following: (1) The rationalist position of historical-critical interpreters regarding the nature of the prophecies of Daniel, i.e. they are vaticinia ex eventu and a product of the second century B.C.; (2) the preterists' limitation of the scope of the prophecies of Daniel as



terminating in the first coming of Christ; the historicists' understanding of the prophecies of Daniel as an outline of the entire history of the world, from Daniel's time to the final eschaton; and the futurists' hermeneutical principle of two peoples of God which leads to a gap in the Biblical revelation.

## CHAPTER IV

### INTERPRETATIONS OF THE VISION OF DANIEL 8 FROM 1850 TO 1900

The period from 1850 to 1900 may be considered as an epoch of consolidation for some interpretations of the vision of Dan 8, while it was a retreat for others. The exegetical controversy which had been carried on by interpreters of differing schools of interpretation during the first half of the nineteenth century, concerning the real meaning of the symbols and expressions of Dan 8, continued with almost the same force during this period. This is evidenced by the great number of published works which dealt with the whole vision or parts thereof.

This chapter, as the foregoing, presents a variety of interpretations of the vision of Dan 8 in three main sections. The first section examines interpretations of the animal symbols; the second, interpretations of the temporal expression of the "2300 evening-mornings"; and the third, interpretations of some cultic expressions such as the "daily," "the transgression of desolation," and "then the sanctuary shall be cleansed."

#### Animal Symbols

First, we consider interpretations of the five animal symbols of Dan 8: (1) the two-horned ram, (2) the he-goat, (3) the he-goat's

notable horn, (4) the he-goat's four horns, and (5) the little horn which grew exceeding great.

#### The Two-Horned Ram

The two-horned ram of Dan 8 was interpreted during this period basically in one way, although expressed by the expositors in different words. The great majority of them stated explicitly that the two-horned ram of Dan 8 represents the kingdom,<sup>1</sup> the empire,<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup>John Cumming, Prophetic Studies; or, Lectures on the Book of Daniel (London: Arthur Hall, Virtue and Co., 1850), p. 263; William Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel: With Practical Observations (Edinburgh: Thomas Grant, 1853), p. 200; William Robert A. Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel; and Other Portions of Holy Scripture (London: Rivingtons, 1863), p. 188; Philip S. Desprez, Daniel; or, the Apocalypse of the Old Testament (London: Williams and Norgate, 1865), p. 96; Henry Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel; with Notes (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1868), p. 373; Carl F. Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872), p. 290 (first published in German in 1869); Joseph A. Seiss, Voices from Babylon; or, the Records of Daniel the Prophet (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1879), p. 211; Adolphus Hebbelynck, De auctoritate historica libri Danielis (Löwen: Excudebant Vanlinthout Fratres, 1887), p. 241; Alexander Arthur, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Edinburgh: Norman Macleod, 1893), p. 107; John D. Prince, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899), p. 143.

<sup>2</sup>Moses Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1850), p. 227; Albert Barnes, Daniel, Notes on the Old Testament, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1950), 2:103 (first published in 1853); A. M. Osbon, Daniel Verified in History and Chronology (New York: Carlton and Phillips, 1856), p. 133; Edward B. Pusey, Daniel the Prophet (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1885), p. 133 (first published in London in 1864); Georg Heinrich A. von Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament, trans. J. Frederick Smith (London: Williams and Norgate, 1881), 5:260 (first published in German in 1868); Otto Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, trans. J. Strong (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1915), p. 173 (first published in German in 1870); A. J. Rose and J. M. Fuller, The Holy Bible: The Book of Daniel, ed. F. C. Cook (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1876) 6:341; Uriah Smith, Thoughts Critical and Practical on the Book of Daniel and the Revelation (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1882), p. 149; Edouard Reuss, La Bible (Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1878), 6:258; H. Deane, An Old Testament Commentary for English Readers: Daniel,

monarchy,<sup>1</sup> or the combined power<sup>2</sup> of Medo-Persia; or as some of them simply stated, the empire or monarchy of Persia.<sup>3</sup>

The basis of this interpretation was either the explanation of the symbol of Dan 8:20,<sup>4</sup> or the explanation of Dan 8:20 and the correspondence which interpreters saw between the description of the two-horned ram and the history of the Medo-Persian Empire.<sup>5</sup>

---

ed. Charles J. Ellicott (London: Cassell & Company, 1884), 5:382; G. H. Pember, The Great Prophecies, 2nd ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1885), p. 95; J. Fabre d'Enviu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1891), 2:774; A. A. Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1892), p. 130; F. W. Farrar, The Book of Daniel, The Expositor's Bible; ed. R. Nicoll (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1895), p. 257; Edward Huntingford, Daniel and St. John (London: Bickers and son, 1895), p. 45; Joseph Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898), p. 509; Nathaniel West, Daniel's Great Prophecy (New York: The Hope of Israel Movement, 1898), p. 92; Milton S. Terry, Biblical Apocalypics (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1898), p. 197.

<sup>1</sup>Ferdinand Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel (Leipzig: Weimann'sche Buchhandlung, 1850), p. 127; Salesio Tiefenthal, Daniel explicatus (Paderborn: Ferdinandum Schönigh, 1895), p. 262; J. E. H. Thomson, Daniel, The Pulpit Commentary (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1977), 13:238 (first published in 1897).

<sup>2</sup>Samuel R. Driver, The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges: The Book of Daniel (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1900), p. 112.

<sup>3</sup>William Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel (London: George Morris, n. d.), p. 124 (first published in 1858); William Taylor, Daniel the Beloved (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1878), p. 145.

<sup>4</sup>Osbon, Daniel, p. 133; Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets, 5:260; Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 290; Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 173; Smith, The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days of Daniel VIII.14 (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press, 1877), p. 30; Reuss, La Bible, 6:258; Deane, Daniel, 5:382; d'Enviu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:773, 774; Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 130; Arthur, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 107; Farrar, The Book of Daniel, pp. 73, 255-256; Terry, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 129; Stuart, A Commentary on the

Interpreters pointed to particular correspondences (1) between the two horns of the ram and the two kingdoms of Media and Persia;<sup>1</sup> (2) between the pushing of the ram toward the west, toward the north, and toward the south, and the Medo-Persian conquests in those directions;<sup>2</sup> and (3) between the defeat of the ram by the he-goat and the conquest of Medo-Persia by the Grecian Empire under Alexander the Great.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the general agreement in interpretation concerning the meaning of the two-horned ram, there was among them some disagreement with regard to the specific meaning of the two horns. Some of them pointed out that the two horns signify (1) the two kingdoms,<sup>4</sup>

---

Book of Daniel, p. 229; Barnes, Daniel, 2:102, 103; Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 200; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, p. 124; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 188; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 373; Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 509.

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 129; Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 229; Barnes, Daniel, 2:103; Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 200; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, p. 124; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 189; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 373; Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 510.

<sup>2</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 129; Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 229; Barnes, Daniel, 2:103; Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 200; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, p. 124; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 189; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 373; Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 510.

<sup>3</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 129; Barnes, Daniel, 2:103; Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 200; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, pp. 125, 126; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, pp. 195, 196; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 374; Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 510.

<sup>4</sup>Barnes, Daniel, 2:102, 103; Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 200; Pusey, Daniel the Prophet, p. 133; William Harris Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel the Prophet (London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1869), p. 218; Taylor,

the powers,<sup>1</sup> or nations,<sup>2</sup> of the Medes and Persians; or simply Media and Persia.<sup>3</sup> Others declared that the two horns of the ram signify (2) the two peoples or races of the Medes and Persians;<sup>4</sup> (3) the two dynasties of the Medes and Persians;<sup>5</sup> (4) two kings of the Medes and Persians;<sup>6</sup> (5) the kings of Media and Persia;<sup>7</sup> (6) the twofold character of the empire;<sup>8</sup> (7) the two periods of supremacy of Medo-Persia;<sup>9</sup> and (8) the two divisions of the empire.<sup>10</sup>

---

Daniel the Beloved, p. 145; Arthur, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 107.

<sup>1</sup>Barnes, Daniel, 2:102, 103; Smith, The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days, p. 30; Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup>Seiss, Voices from Babylon, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 129; Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 229; Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets, 5:260; Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup>Cumming, Prophetic Studies, p. 263; Osbon, Daniel, p. 134; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, p. 124, 125; Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 290; Thomson, Daniel, 13:238. The view that horns represent nations and races was opposed by Terry, who said that "the analogies of biblical symbolism, . . . show that horns represent individual kings rather than constituent nations and races which are incorporated in a kingdom" (p. 97).

<sup>5</sup>Rudolph Kranichfeld, Das Buch Daniel Erklärt (Berlin: Gustav Schlawitz, 1868), p. 290; West, Daniel's Great Prophecy, p. 93; Terry, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 197. Terry remarked that the two horns refer to the dynasty of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes. He followed Theodoret; Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 143.

<sup>6</sup>Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 373. The two kings were Darius or Astyages and Cyrus.

<sup>7</sup>Huntingford, Daniel and St. John, p. 45.

<sup>8</sup>Deane, Daniel, 5:382; Pember, The Great Prophecies, p. 95.

<sup>9</sup>Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 130; but Thomson opposed this view.

<sup>10</sup>Farrar, The Book of Daniel, p. 257.

With regard to the chronological sequence of the two-horned ram among the four world empires of Daniel, Stuart, Füller, Caspari, d'Envieu, Tanner, and Philippe explicitly stated that it represents the second world empire.<sup>1</sup> Other interpreters such as Cumming, Osbon, Boyle, Desprez, Fausset, Seiss, Pember, and Nevin pointed out that the two-horned ram is a parallel symbol to the silver of the image of Dan 2 and the bear of Dan 7,<sup>2</sup> which for them represented the second world empire.<sup>3</sup>

A different view was maintained by Ewald. According to him, the two-horned ram represents both the second and third world empires together.<sup>4</sup> In his view, this interpretation is in accord with the symbols of Dan 2 and 7.<sup>5</sup> Terry, who followed the same idea, remarked that "the vision [of Daniel 8] is a reproduction under other symbols

---

<sup>1</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 229; J. L. Füller, Der Profet Daniel erklärt (Basel: Bahnmaier's Verlag, 1868), p. 202; C. P. Caspari, Zur Einführung in das Buch Daniel (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1869), pp. 133, 134; d'Envieu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:773, 774; Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 509; A. Philippe, "Daniel (Le livre de)," in Dictionnaire de la Bible, (1895-1912), 2:1274, 1275.

<sup>2</sup>Cumming, Prophetic Studies, p. 263; Osbon, Daniel, p. 133; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 189; Desprez, Daniel, p. 93-96; Robert Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, and David Brown, A Commentary: Critical, Practical and Explanatory on The Old and New Testaments (Toledo, Ohio: Jerome B. Names & Co., 1885), 2:529; Seiss, Voices from Babylon, p. 211. Pember, The Great Prophecies, p. 94. Robert Nevin, Studies in Prophecy (Londonderry: James Montgomery, 1890), p. 75.

<sup>3</sup>Cumming, Prophetic Studies, p. 230; Osbon, Daniel, pp. 46-51; 97-98; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, pp. 111-187; Desprez, Daniel, pp. 38-39; 89-98; Fausset, A Commentary, 2:599; Pember, The Great Prophecies, pp. 65-66; 83-88; Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, pp. 23-38; 48-53.

<sup>4</sup>Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets, 5:260.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

of the third and fourth kingdoms of the foregoing prophecies,"<sup>1</sup> but without further explanation.

#### The He-Goat

The symbol of the he-goat was interpreted during this period basically in one way, but with very few exceptions. The most popular interpretation of the he-goat was that it represents the monarchy,<sup>2</sup> power,<sup>3</sup> empire,<sup>4</sup> or kingdom<sup>5</sup> of Grecia; or as others expressed it, the power,<sup>6</sup> kingdom,<sup>7</sup> or empire<sup>8</sup> of Macedonia.

<sup>1</sup>Terry, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 129; Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup>Barnes, Daniel, 2:106, 107; Pember, The Great Prophecies, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup>Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 200; Carl August Auberlen, The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John, trans. Adolph Saphir (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1856), 190; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, p. 124; John W. Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1871), pp. 38, 39; Deane, Daniel, 5:382; d'Enviu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, pp. 773, 774, 796, 797; Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 127, 131; Terry, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 198; Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 144; Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup>William H. Brewster, Adventism Reviewed and Its Leading Principles and Arguments Refuted (Lowell: C. I. Knapp, 1854), p. 8; Osbon, Daniel, p. 140; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, pp. 373, 384; Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 219; I. Knabenbauer, Commentarius in Daniele prophetam (Paris: Sumptibus P. Lethielleux, 1891), p. 210; Farrar, The Book of Daniel, pp. 73, 257; Tiefenthal, Daniel, p. 263.

<sup>6</sup>Cumming, Prophetic Studies, p. 263; Huntingford, Daniel and St. John, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup>Desprez, Daniel, pp. 96, 97.

<sup>8</sup>Taylor, Daniel the Beloved, p. 145; Boyie, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, pp. 191-196.



The basis of this interpretation was either the explanation of the symbol in Dan 8:21,<sup>1</sup> or the explanation of Dan 8:21 and the correspondence which interpreters saw between the description of the he-goat and the history of the Grecian Empire. Among the correspondences which interpreters pointed out are: (1) the coming of the he-goat from the west and the western position of Grecia in relation to Medo-Persia;<sup>2</sup> (2) the swiftness of the he-goat and the rapidity of Alexander's conquests;<sup>3</sup> and (3) the defeat of the ram by the he-goat and the overthrow of Medo-Persia by the Grecian Empire.<sup>4</sup>

A second interpretation of the he-goat was that it denotes Alexander the Great,<sup>5</sup> but no support was provided for this assertion.

---

<sup>1</sup>Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, pp. 38, 39.

<sup>2</sup>Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 201; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 373; Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 219; Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 292; Pember, The Great Prophecies, p. 97; d'Envieu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, pp. 796; Knabenbauer, Commentarius in Daniele prophetam, p. 211; Tiefenthal, Daniel, p. 264.

<sup>3</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 129; Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 230; Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 201; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, pp. 126, 127; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 195; Desprez, Daniel, p. 97; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 373; Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 219; Taylor, Daniel the Beloved, p. 145; Seiss, Voices from Babylon, p. 213; Deane, Daniel, 5:382, 383; d'Envieu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, p. 796; Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 131; Farrar, The Book of Daniel, pp. 73, 258; Tiefenthal, Daniel, p. 264; Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 144; Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 130; Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 202; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, pp. 126, 127; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 196; Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 174; Smith, The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days, p. 32; Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, pp. 75, 76; Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 510; West, Daniel's Great Prophecy, pp. 93, 94; Thomson, Daniel, 13:240; Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup>Kenrick, Book of Job and the Prophets, p. 624.

A third interpretation suggested that it represents Chosroes, but also without exegetical or historical support.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the chronological sequence of the he-goat among the four world empires of the book of Daniel, some interpreters explicitly stated that it represents the third;<sup>2</sup> others, that it represents the same empire as the brass of the image of Dan 2 or the leopard of Dan 7, which for them was equivalent to the third world empire.<sup>3</sup>

A different interpretation was given by Zöckler. In his view the he-goat represents both the third and the fourth world empires.<sup>4</sup> His reason for holding this view was expressed as follows:

This comprehensive animal symbol accordingly includes all that had been characterized separately in the two former visions of the world monarchies, chapters ii and vii, at first by the figure of two different parts of the body of the colossus and afterwards by the symbol of two beasts appearing in succession. This departure from the former mode of representation involves no questionable features whatever, inasmuch as this chapter follows a different train of ideas in many other respects as well, and the advocates of the interpretation of the fourth beast in chap. vii (and the legs of clay and iron intermingled, in chap. ii), which differs from ours, must not be permitted to urge their view to the exclusion of our own, because they also are compelled to

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry Taylor, The Times of Daniel (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Co., 1871), p. 81.

<sup>2</sup>Auberlen, The Prophecies of Daniel, p. 191; Desprez, Daniel, p. 97; J. L. Fuller, Der Profet Daniel erklärt, p. 203; C. P. Caspari, Zur Einführung in das Buch Daniel, pp. 133, 135; d'Enviu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:774, 797; Knabenbauer, Commentarius in Daniëlem prophetam, p. 210. A. Philippe, "Daniel (Le Livre de)," in Dictionnaire de la Bible, (1895-1912), 2:1274, 1275.

<sup>3</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, pp. 180, 230; Fausset, A Commentary, 2:630; Rose and Fuller, The Book of Daniel, 6:342; Taylor, Daniel the Beloved, p. 146; Seiss, Voices from Babylon, p. 212; Deane, Daniel, 5:382; Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, p. 75; Tiefenthal, Daniel, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup>Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 173.

acknowledge that the present vision combines in one two features which are there found separately, so that the one Medo-Persian ram in this place corresponds to the two beasts in the former vision, which in their judgment represent Media and Persia.

A third view was that of Bevan and Farrar, who maintained that the he-goat together with its horns represents the fourth world empire.<sup>2</sup> Their main argument was that the author of the book of Daniel had in mind the Greek Empire as the last of the "Gentile empires."<sup>3</sup>

#### The He-Goat's "Notable Horn"

The he-goat's notable horn was understood during this period in two ways. The first and most popular interpretation was that it represents Alexander the Great.<sup>4</sup> This interpretation was based either

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 173, 174.

<sup>2</sup>Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 127: "Its main subject is the rise and the conclusion of the Greek Empire, which, as we have seen, is the Fourth Empire of chaps. ii and vii." Farrar, The Book of Daniel, pp. 73, 156: "That the Greek empire is to be last of the Gentile empires appears from viii. 17, where the vision is said to refer to 'the time of the end'." (p. 157).

<sup>3</sup>See the previous footnote.

<sup>4</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 130; Cumming, Prophetic Studies, p. 263; Barnes, Daniel, 2:106, 107; Auberlen, The Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 53, 191; Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 201, 218; Osbon, Daniel, pp. 137, 138; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, p. 125; Pusey, Daniel the Prophet, p. 134; Desprez, Daniel, p. 98-100; Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets, 5:260; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 373; Fausset, A Commentary, 2:629; Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 219; Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 173; Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, p. 39; Smith, The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days of Daniel, p. 32; idem, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 151; Reuss, La Bible, 6:258; Seiss, Voices from Babylon, p. 214; Deane, Daniel, 5:382; Pember, The Great Prophecies, p. 97; d'Enviu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:773, 796, 797, 836; Knabenbauer, Commentarius in Daniellem prophetam, p. 210; Arthur, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 107; Farrar, The Book of Daniel, p. 73, 256-257; Huntingford, Daniel and St. John, p. 45; West, Daniel's Great

on the explanation of the symbol in Dan 8:21,<sup>1</sup> or this explanation (8:21) and the correspondence which interpreters saw between the notable horn and Alexander the Great.<sup>2</sup> The main correspondence which interpreters pointed out was between the breaking of the notable horn, after which came up four other notable horns, and the death of Alexander which prepared the way for the division of the empire into four kingdoms.<sup>3</sup>

The other interpretation of the he-goat's notable horn was that it signifies the undivided Grecian Empire during the reign of Alexander and his family,<sup>4</sup> or the sole dominion of Alexander.<sup>5</sup> Nevin, who followed the former view, argued that in consistency with the meaning of the two horns of the ram and with the meaning of the four horns of the he-goat, this notable horn must also signify "the

---

Prophecy, pp. 95, 96; Terry, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 198; Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 144; Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 113.

<sup>1</sup>Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets, 5:260; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 373; Fausset, A Commentary, 2:629, 634; Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 173; Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, p. 39; Reuss, La Bible, 6:258; Deane, Daniel, 5:383; d'Enviu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:836; Knabenbauer, Commentarius in Daniele prophetam, p. 210; Arthur, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 107; Farrar, The Book of Daniel, p. 73; Huntingford, Daniel and St. John, p. 45; Terry, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 198; Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 144; Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>Osbon, Daniel, pp. 137, 138; Smith, Daniel and the Revelation, pp. 151-153; Pember, The Great Prophecies, p. 97; Farrar, The Book of Daniel, pp. 73, 258.

<sup>3</sup>See the works of the previous footnote.

<sup>4</sup>Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 197; Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 230.

empire, in its undivided unity."<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Kranichfeld and Keil maintained that the notable horn of the he-goat signifies "the first king, i.e. the founder of the Javanic world-kingdom, or the dynasty of this kingdom represented by him."<sup>2</sup> However, it seems that Keil favored the former idea that the notable horn refers to Alexander the Great.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the chronological sequence of the he-goat's notable horn among the four world empires of Daniel, Moses Stuart explicitly stated that it represents the third.<sup>4</sup> According to him,

In 8:8 above, the third empire is represented as broken to pieces when at the height of its power. Such was notoriously the case with Alexander's dominion. His death caused the empire to fall in pieces. In vain was his son nominated as successor. . . . In 8:22, the third dynasty is represented as broken to pieces; and in 11:4, as scattered to the four winds of heaven. Chap. 8:8 says of the new kings that arise, that they are toward the four winds of heaven; and in 8:22, they are declared to be of Grecian origin. In 8:22, these kings are said not to possess his (Alexander's) power; and 11:4 asserts, 'that his kingdom shall not be given to his posterity, and that the fourth dominion shall not be like the other.' Again, it confirms all this by a reassertion: 'His kingdom shall be plucked up, and given to others beside these,' viz. to others different from his posterity. How language can more strongly declare, that Alexander's dominion differs from that which follows, and that it ends with his destruction, I do not see.<sup>5</sup>

There were others who held the same view but they did not express it directly.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>Kranichfeld, Das Buch Daniel, p. 290; Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 316.

<sup>4</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>For example Cowles and Zöckler.

## The He-Goat's Four "Notable Horns"

The most popular interpretation of the he-goat's four horns in this period was that they represent the kingdoms,<sup>1</sup> monarchies,<sup>2</sup> or dominions<sup>3</sup> into which the Grecian Empire was divided after Alexander's death. This interpretation was based on the explanation of the four horns in Dan 8:22,<sup>4</sup> or on the explanation of Dan 8:22 and the correspondence which interpreters saw between the description of the four horns and the history of the kingdoms of Alexander's successors.<sup>5</sup> The principal correspondence which

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 130; Barnes, Daniel, 2:107, 108; Auberlen, The Prophecies of Daniel, p. 191; Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, pp. 203, 204; Osbon, Daniel, pp. 140, 141; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, pp. 127, 128; Kenrick, Book of Job and the Prophets, p. 625; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 198; Pusey, Daniel the Prophet, p. 135; Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets, 5:261, 265; Kranichfeld, Das Buch Daniel, p. 241; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 384, 385; Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel, pp. 220, 221; Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, pp. 293, 294; Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, p. 39; Rose and Fuller, The Book of Daniel, 6:343; Smith, The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days of Daniel, p. 32; idem, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 154; Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, p. 78; Knabenbauer, Commentarius in Daniele prophetam, p. 211; Farrar, The Book of Daniel, p. 259; Huntingford, Daniel and St. John, p. 45; Tiefenthal, Daniel, p. 265; West, Daniel's Great Prophecy, p. 94; Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, pp. 510, 511; Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 145; Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, pp. 231, 243; Taylor, Daniel the Beloved, pp. 148-149; Reuss, La Bible, 6:258; Seiss, Voices from Babylon, p. 214; d'Envieu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:773, 798.

<sup>3</sup>Pember, The Great Prophecies, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 130; Auberlen, The Prophecies of Daniel, p. 191; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, pp. 384, 385; Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel, pp. 220, 221; Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, p. 78; Tiefenthal, Daniel, p. 265.

<sup>5</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, pp. 231, 243; Barnes, Daniel, 2:107, 108, 119; Osbon, Daniel, pp. 140, 141; Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, pp. 293, 294; Birchmore, Prophecy

interpreters pointed out was between the description of the rising up of the four horns after the notable horn was broken, and the rising up of the four kingdoms of Alexander's successors after Alexander's death.<sup>1</sup> Here it should be noted that some interpreters understood the numeral four not necessarily to indicate four specific kingdoms, but as a symbol corresponding to the four winds of heaven.<sup>2</sup>

A slightly different view of the four horns was offered by Desprez and Deane. According to them, the he-goat's four horns refer to the fourfold division of the Grecian Empire;<sup>3</sup> but they did not elaborate more on it.

Finally, Hebbelynck understood the four horns of the he-goat to represent four kings,<sup>4</sup> as it seems, based on Dan 8:22 of the Vulgate version, which reads "kings" instead of "kingdoms".<sup>5</sup>

With regard to the chronological sequence of the four horns of the he-goat among the four world empires of Daniel, Stuart explicitly stated that they represent the fourth world monarchy.<sup>6</sup> His

---

Interpreted by History, p. 39; Smith, The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days of Daniel, pp. 32, 33; idem, Daniel and the Revelation, pp. 153, 154; d'Envieu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:773, 798, 837; Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 115.

<sup>1</sup>See the same works of the previous footnote.

<sup>2</sup>Trevillian, A Dissertation, p. 398; Kliefoth, Das Buch Daniels, p. 248; Kranichfeld, Das Buch Daniel, p. 292; Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 294; Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 173; Rose and Fuller, The Book of Daniel, 6:343; Huntingford, Daniel and St. John, p. 46; Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup>Desprez, Daniel, pp. 99, 100; Deane, Daniel, 5:383.

<sup>4</sup>Hebbelynck, De auctoritate historica libri Danielis, p. 241.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 243.

argument is as follows:

If the reader has any doubt whether the breaking of the great horn here, and the standing up of four others in its room, indicates a transition from a third dynasty to a fourth, a comparison of this verse with 11:4 may help to solve the problem.

Other interpreters who also maintained the same view are Cowles and Zöckler.<sup>2</sup> The former defended this view by pointing out that the fifth kingdom or the stone of Dan 2 "is precisely the gospel kingdom of the New Testament."<sup>3</sup> On this basis he affirmed:

The fourth kingdom ends not later than the point where the fifth begins; for plainly the fifth succeeds the fourth as the second does the first, and the third the second, and the fourth the third. . . . The stone, while yet a stone, and before it has grown into a mountain, smites the whole image . . . and breaks all in pieces. In fact, the smiting blow is specially said to have been upon the feet. Hence the natural sense of the symbol is that the fourth kingdom is demolished before the fifth is inaugurated as a visible kingdom among men.

Zöckler, in favor of the same view, argued:

The kingdoms of the Hellenistic Diadochi, which arose from the universal monarchy of Alexander the Great, cannot be included in the third or brazen kingdom, since they present a picture of internal disruption, such as is clearly symbolized by the fourth monarchy of Daniel.

This position, which considers the four horns of the he-goat to represent the fourth world monarchy, was opposed by Pusey and d'Enviu among others. Pusey contended:

Either of these identifications, the he-goat with four horns with the four headed panther, or the ram with the bear, involve

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>The latter said that before him, Polychronius, Grotius, and Bertholdt had maintained the same position.

<sup>3</sup>Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 306.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 307.

<sup>5</sup>Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 85.



the other. For the symbol relates to two consecutive empires. It is cumulative evidence, whence each has a visible agreement with the corresponding symbol in the previous vision. Conversely, it is an aggravated disagreement with the previous symbols, when, in order to make out the fourth empire to be the Greek, the two symbols of the 8th chapter are fitted to two in the 7th, with which they severally disagree. The four-horned he-goat, i.e. an empire, as it is explained, divided into four kingdoms, cannot agree with the 4th Empire, whose division into ten is marked by the ten horns of the terrible beast, and the ten toes of the image. Nor can the heavy ram, with its two horns, be identified with the superhuman swiftness of the four-headed leopard. The correspondence of the two symbols, each to each, in the one case, and their disagreement each from each, in the other, leave no question but that the third empire is the Grecian.

And d'Enviu, arguing specifically against Stuart, pointed out:

All this, which he says in this reason, consists in to say that the text denotes the transition from one dynasty into another. But all these dynasties came out from the same nation, as the four horns which replaced the first horn are growths of the same he-goat. Under Alexander and under his successors the prevailing nation was the Greek nation: the four monarchies continued the ethnic group of the third empire. In the second empire, the line of Cyrus had also been broken: at the coming of Darius Hystaspes, there was a dynastic change. And nevertheless the kingdom of Darius and his successors does not less continue that of the Medo-Persians, that is to say the empire which Cyrus had founded.<sup>2</sup>

The rest of the interpreters considered the four horns, together with the notable horn, as an integral part of the he-goat and therefore as representing the same world empire of the he-goat. However, they differed among themselves concerning the sequence which

---

<sup>1</sup>Pusey, Daniel the Prophet, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup>D'Enviu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:838: "Tout ce qu'il dit à ce sujet consiste à dire que le texte indique le passage d'une dynastie à une autre. Mais toutes ces dynasties sortent de la même nation, comme les quatre cornes qui remplacent la première sont des excroissances du même bouc. Sous Alexandre et sous ses successeurs, la nation régnante était la nation grecque: les quatre monarchies continuaient le groupe ethnique du troisième empire. Dans le second empire, la ligne de Cyrus avait aussi été brisée: à l'avènement de Darius d'Hystaspe, il y eut un changement dynastique. Et néanmoins le règne de ce Darius et de ses successeurs n'en continua pas moins celui des Médo-Perses, c'est-à-dire l'empire que Cyrus avait fondé."

the he-goat, together with its successive horns, occupies among the four world empires of Daniel. Some of them maintained that the Grecian Empire is the fourth,<sup>1</sup> while others that it is the third.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Little Horn

The little horn of Dan 8, which caused more controversy than any other animal symbol of this vision, was interpreted during this

---

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 126; Adolf Hilgenfeld, Die Propheten Esra und Daniel und ihre neuesten Bearbeitungen (Halle: C. E. M. Pfeffer, 1863), pp. 78-83; Adolf Kamphausen, Daniel, in Bunsen's Vollständiges Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde (Lipzig: J. A. Brockhaus, 1868) 3:644, 661; Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets, 5:172, 203, 247; Fuller, The Book of Daniel, 6:336-337; Reuss, La Bible, 6:219, 236, 254; Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 115; Farrar, The Book of Daniel, pp. 72-73, 156-157; Terry, Biblical Apocalypics, pp. 184, 186-187; Prince, A Critical Commentary, pp. 70-71, 130-132; Driver, The Book of Daniel, pp. 28-29, 83-84.

<sup>2</sup>Cumming, Prophetic Studies, pp. 61, 230-231; Barnes, Daniel, 1:161-164, 2:52-54; Auberlen, The Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 190-191; Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, pp. 51-52, 160-161; Osbon, Daniel, pp. 48-50; Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, pp. 36-37; Kenrick, Book of Job and the Prophets, pp. 602, 621; David Zündel, Kritische Untersuchungen über die Abfassungszeit des Buches Daniel (Basel: Bahnmaier's Buchhandlung, 1861), pp. 92, 116, 117; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, pp. 126-145; Pusey, Daniel the Prophet, pp. 134, 135; Fausset, A Commentary, 2:599; Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel, pp. 76, 189; Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, pp. 261-262; J. L. Fuller, Der Profet Daniel erklärt, p. 203; C. P. Caspari, Zur Einführung in das Buch Daniel, pp. 133, 135; Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, pp. 20-21, 32; A. Rohling, Das Buch des Propheten Daniel (Mainz: F. Kirchheim, 1876), pp. 73, 81; Smith, Daniel and Revelation, pp. 60-61; Taylor, Daniel the Beloved, pp. 42-43, 127; Seiss, Voices from Babylon, pp. 61-62, 189-190; Deane, Daniel, 5:366, 380; Pember, The Great Prophecies, pp. 65-66, 87-88; Hebbelynck, De auctoritate historica libri Danielis, p. 222; Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, pp. 23-24; d'Envieu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:796-798, 838; Knabenbauer, Commentarius in Daniele prophetam, pp. 90-91, 191; Arthur, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, pp. 35-39, 84; Huntingford, Daniel and St. John, pp. 28-29, 44; Tiefenthal, Daniel, pp. 93-94, 232-233; Thomson, Daniel, 13:225; Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, pp. 168-169; West, Daniel's Great Prophecy, p. 98. A. Philippe, "Daniel (Le livre de)," in Dictionnaire de la Bible, (1895-1912), 2:1274, 1275.

period at least in eight different ways. It was interpreted as (1) Antiochus Epiphanes, (2) the Muhammedan Power, (3) pagan and papal Rome, (4) Antiochus Epiphanes as type of the papal Antichrist, (5) Antiochus Epiphanes as type of the future Antichrist, (6) Antiochus Epiphanes as type of a future "king of the north," (7) the Roman Empire, and (8) the future Antichrist. Each of these views is presented next in chronological order.

### Antiochus Epiphanes

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes was maintained during this period by every interpreter of the historical-critical school,<sup>1</sup> by almost every interpreter of the preterist school,<sup>2</sup> by some interpreters of the historicist school,<sup>3</sup> and by some interpreters of the futurist school.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 131; Hilgenfeld, Die Propheten Esra und Daniel, pp. 82-84; Desprez, Daniel, p. 113; Kamphausen, Daniel, in Bunsen's Vollständiges Bibelwerk, 3:665; Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets, 5:261; A. Kuenen, The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel, p. 143; Reuss, La Bible, 6:258; Meinhold, Das Buch Daniel, p. 308; Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 132; Behrmann, Das Buch Daniel, p. 53; Farrar, The Book of Daniel, p. 259; Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 145; Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 232; Osbon, Daniel, p. 142; Kranichfeld, Das Buch Daniel, pp. 293-305; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 373; Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 175; Fuller, The Book of Daniel, 6:343; Thomson, Daniel, 13:241; Terry, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup>Barnes, Daniel, 2:102, 108; Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup>Kenrick, Book of Job and the Prophets, p. 624; Pusey, Daniel the Prophet, p. 134; Taylor, Daniel the Beloved, p. 152.

## Ferdinand Hitzig

Ferdinand Hitzig (1807-1875), German exegete and Old Testament critic, published a commentary on the book of Daniel.<sup>1</sup>

Hitzig did not support that the historical Daniel wrote the book which carries his name,<sup>2</sup> but upheld the unity of the book under one authorship.<sup>3</sup> According to him, the book of Daniel was written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes from 170 B.C. to the spring of 164 B.C.<sup>4</sup> The place of its origin was Egypt, and its author Onias IV.<sup>5</sup> He maintained that the style of Daniel is not prophetic but apocalyptic; its forerunners were Ezekiel and Zechariah.<sup>6</sup>

Hitzig understood the little horn of Dan 7 and the little horn of Dan 8 to represent the same person, namely, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>7</sup> This understanding seems to be the result of his assumption that "what the true author [of the book of Daniel] saw as past and present, was for Daniel something future."<sup>8</sup> In addition to this,

---

<sup>1</sup>Ferdinand Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel (Leipzig: Weimann'sche Buchhandlung, 1850). He studied theology at Heidelberg, Halle, and Göttingen. From 1833 till 1861 he was professor of theology at Zürich. In 1861 he returned to Germany to teach theology at Heidelberg. About his life and works, see A. Kamphausen, "Hitzig, Ferdinand," NSHE, 1909 ed., 5:300-301.

<sup>2</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. ix.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. p. x

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. xii, xiv.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. p. 131.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. xiii, xiv: "Was der wirkliche Vf. als Vergangenheit und Gegenwart sah, war für Daniel ein Künftiges; und wenn diesem eine spätere Zukunft enthüllt sein sollte, so musste es auch jene jene

it seems that Hitzig understood the little horn of Daniel 8 to represent Antiochus Epiphanes on the basis of the correspondence between the description of the little horn (8:9-14, 20-26) and the character and actions of Antiochus Epiphanes, especially as narrated in the book of Maccabees. According to him, Antiochus campaigned toward the south (Egypt, 1 Macc 1:16ff.), toward the east (Persia, 1 Macc 3:31-37, 6:1-4), and toward the pleasant land (the kingdom of Israel, 1 Macc 1:20 ff.).<sup>1</sup> He trampled the stars (the Jews, 1 Macc 1:24, 30-37; 2:38; Ps. 79:2, 3), and waxed great even to the "Prince of the host" (God).<sup>2</sup> Antiochus took away the daily sacrifice (1 Macc 1:45) and threw the truth or true religion to the ground (1 Macc 1:43-52, 56, 60).<sup>3</sup> He profaned the sanctuary for 2300 evening-mornings until the 25th of Kislev of the year 148 of the Seleucidae (1 Macc 4:52-59) when the sanctuary was justified.<sup>4</sup> In accord with Dan 8:23, which points out that the king would stand up "when the wicked fill up the measure," the Jews became rebellious in large numbers (1 Macc 1:11-15) after Antiochus ascended the Syrian throne.<sup>5</sup> Finally, Antiochus, without the hand of man, was crushed, as the book of Maccabees narrates (1 Macc 6:8, 9, 16).<sup>6</sup>

---

frühere."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 131, 132.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 132, 133.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 135.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 141.

Thus, on the assumption that the book of Daniel describes in prophetic form what is past and present and on correspondences between the text and the history of Antiochus Epiphanes as presented in the book of Maccabees, Hitzig understood the little horn of Dan 8 to refer to that Syrian king.

Philip Charles Soulbien Desprez

Philip S. Desprez (d. 1879), incumbent of Alvediston, Wilts., believed that the prophet Daniel was a historical person. The basis of this belief was the testimony of Ezekiel, Jesus, the first book of Maccabees, and Josephus. However, Desprez thought that the book of Daniel was written during the epoch of Antiochus Epiphanes by an unknown author, who wished to encourage his Jewish people to endure the severity of Antiochus' persecution.<sup>1</sup> According to him, there is no prediction in the book of Daniel. It was written after the events therein described.<sup>2</sup> His reasons are the following: (1) "the diversity of language in which the book is written"; (2) "the place occupied by the book in the Hebrew canon"; (3) "the use of Greek words"; (4) "the style of the book differing from the writings of the captivity"; (5) "the historical character of the book extending to, but not far beyond, the age of Antiochus Epiphanes"; and (6) "the seemingly marvellous narrations and historical inaccuracies which have aroused suspicion from the earliest times."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Philip Desprez, Daniel; or, the Apocalypse of the Old Testament (London: Williams and Norgate, 1865), pp. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 9. See also p. 29.

The four world monarchies spoken of in the book of Daniel he understood as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Syro-Egyptian kingdom of the ten horns;<sup>1</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>2</sup>

Desprez affirmed that the little horn of Dan 8 symbolizes Antiochus Epiphanes based on the correspondence between the description of the text and the life of the Syrian monarch.<sup>3</sup> According to him, Antiochus came out of one of the successors of Alexander (Josephus, Ant x. 11; 1 Macc 1:10) as is described in Dan 8:9.<sup>4</sup> He appeared on the scene of Jewish affairs in a time of national apostasy (2 Macc 4:9-19), when the "transgressors were come to the full" (8:23).<sup>5</sup> His accession to the Syrian throne was in "the latter time of the kingdom" of the four notable successors of Alexander as it is defined in ch 8:23.<sup>6</sup> Antiochus waxed great toward the south (Egypt), toward the east (Eastern provinces), and toward the pleasant land (Judea).<sup>7</sup> He invaded Egypt twice (Dan 11:25-29, 40-43; Josephus, Ant

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 91-111.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 112-135.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 113, 114: "It would, we think, be simply difficult to find another who could answer to the character and fulfill the description given of him by Daniel." "In endeavoring to maintain this position we shall first cite the passages in which the persecutor, and the qualities ascribed to him, are set forth; and then show from contemporaneous and subsequent history their fulfillment in the person and circumstances of Antiochus Epiphanes."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 115, 116.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 118, 119.

12, 5); he devastated Judea; "and his dominions over Syria and the Eastern provinces extended 'from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt'" (1 Macc 3:32).<sup>1</sup> Antiochus was mighty but not by his own power; he usurped the Syrian crown by the assistance of Eumenes and Attalus.<sup>2</sup> He was a treacherous man; pretending peace he destroyed many (8:24, 25; Josephus, Ant 12, 5).<sup>3</sup> Antiochus waxed great against the host of heaven (the people of Israel), and cast some of the stars to the ground (2 Macc 9:10).<sup>4</sup> He took away the daily sacrifice and cast down the place of God's sanctuary (1 Macc 1:54-59; Josephus, Ant 12, 5).<sup>5</sup> Finally, Antiochus died by a divine judgment (2 Macc 9:4-9; 9:12-17, 28) as it is told in the book of Daniel.<sup>6</sup>

#### Georg Heinrich August Ewald

Georg H. A. Ewald (1803-1875), German orientalist and Biblical scholar,<sup>7</sup> maintained that the book of Daniel is "half Apokalypse and half prophetic legend, but more the former than the latter."<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 120, 121.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 124-127.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 129, 130.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 131-133.

<sup>7</sup>Ewald studied philology, orientalia, and theology at the University of Göttingen where later he was appointed professor of Oriental languages. See Carl Bertheau, "Ewald, Georg Heinrich August," NSHE, 1909 ed., 4:234-35.

<sup>8</sup>Georg H. A. Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament (London: Williams and Norgate, 1881), 5:155 (published in German in 1868).



According to him, the book of Daniel was written in Palestine during the time of Antiochus' persecution<sup>1</sup> and composed of "brief and hasty pieces, without close connexion."<sup>2</sup> Despite the two languages in which the book is written, Ewald pointed out, the whole book has manifestly the same author.<sup>3</sup>

The four world monarchies spoken of in the book of Daniel he considered as the Chaldean, Median, Persian, and Grecian.<sup>4</sup> However, he conceded that

as a fact, it cannot be said with strict historical truth that the Chaldean empire first made way for the Median, and then this to the Persian, but as is elsewhere always said in the Old Testament, Persians and Medes together, under Kyros as their true head, overthrew the Chaldeans and formed one kingdom; our author himself also still felt that, when ch. viii, he comprehended the Medo-Persian empire under one figure of a two horned ram.

The little horn of Daniel 7 he understood to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes;<sup>6</sup> and "the time of the end," mentioned in Dan 8:17 as well as in Dan 11, as the epoch of Antiochus Epiphanes during which the author of Daniel lived.<sup>7</sup>

For Ewald the little horn of Dan 8 also refers to Antiochus Epiphanes. Three particular characteristics of this symbol, he pointed out, should be noted. First, the little horn becomes "soon so

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 156, 158.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 248, 249.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 167, 168.

uncommonly great and victorious" towards the south (Egypt), towards the east (particularly Parthia), and against the Ornament (the land of Palestine).<sup>1</sup> Second, the little horn's enmity against the host of heaven (the Jewish people), his casting down and trampling some of the stars to the ground, and his blasphemies against the "Prince of the host" (the true God).<sup>2</sup> And third, the little horn abolished the daily (true offering), cast down the place of God's holy thing, and substituted heathen sacrifices, "designated as the most horrible abomination," in place of the true sacrifices.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Ewald pointed out, Antiochus' reign coincided with the last days of the Greek kingdom spoken of in Dan 8:22;<sup>4</sup> and the abilities and peculiarities described in 8:24b-25 correspond with him.<sup>5</sup> Antiochus destroyed the mighty men (his three fellow princes of Dan 7:8, 9), and the people of the holy ones (the people of Israel).<sup>6</sup> Finally, Antiochus seems to have died by the intervention of God Himself.<sup>7</sup>

Edouard Guillaume Eugene Reuss

Edouard G. E. Reuss (1804-1891), French Biblical scholar,<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 261; idem, History of Israel, 5:296-297.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Reuss studied at the universities of Strasbourg, Göttingen, Halle, Jena, and Paris. In 1838 he entered the theological faculty of Strasbourg, and it is said that Graf was one of his students. See P.

also maintained that the book of Daniel was written during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes about the year 167 to 164 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The four world monarchies of Daniel he considered as the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Grecian;<sup>2</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>3</sup>

Reuss also understood the little horn of Dan 8 to refer to Antiochus IV (Epiphanes). According to him, Antiochus made some expeditions toward the orient, toward Egypt, and toward the holy land.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, he profaned the sanctuary and persecuted the host or the faithful Jews.<sup>5</sup>

#### Anthony Ashley Bevan

Anthony A. Bevan (1859-1933), Church of England layman, wrote a commentary on the book of Daniel.<sup>6</sup>

In the introduction of this commentary, Bevan pointed out that he was not proposing any new meaning on the book of Daniel but "stating, as concisely as posible, the views of former

---

Lobstein, "Reuss, Eduard Guillaume Eugene," NSHE, 1911 ed., 10:1-2.

<sup>1</sup>Reuss, La Bible, 6:227.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 6:115.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 6:256.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 6:258.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 6:259.

<sup>6</sup>A. A. Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1892). Bevan studied at the University of Strassburg. In 1884 he became a member of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was elected fellow in 1890. See "Bevan, Anthony Ashley," NSHE, 1908 ed., 2:76.

investigators."<sup>1</sup> According to him, the most valuable commentaries on Daniel are those of von Lengerke, Hitzig, and Ewald.<sup>2</sup> Like them, he believed that the book of Daniel was written in the time of the Maccabees.<sup>3</sup>

The four world empires of the book of Daniel, Bevan considered as the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Grecian;<sup>4</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>5</sup>

The little horn of Dan 8, Bevan understood also to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes. According to him, Antiochus waxed great towards the south, the east, and the glory, conquering nations, influencing them, and having success in his intrigues (11:22-24).<sup>6</sup> In Bevan's view, "the south" means Egypt (11:25); "the east, Media and Persia; and "the Glory," Jerusalem and the Temple (11:16, 41, 45; Ezek 20:6).<sup>7</sup> The casting down of some of the stars he understood to refer to "the cruelties perpetrated at Jerusalem by Antiochus and his agents (1 Macc 1:24, 30)," and perhaps "the deposition and subsequent

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. v: "As to the character and general meaning of the Book of Daniel all sober critics have long been agreed, and I have therefore, in the great majority of cases, contented myself with stating, as concisely as possible, the views of former investigators."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 131, 132.

murder of the high-priest Onias III."<sup>1</sup> The description of Dan 8:24, he pointed out, was fulfilled in the political successes of Antiochus.<sup>2</sup>

#### Frederic William Farrar

Frederic W. Farrar (1831-1903), dean of Canterbury, also wrote a commentary on the book of Daniel.<sup>3</sup> According to him, the book of Daniel "first saw the light in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes," about the year 164.<sup>4</sup> He considered it to be the product of one individual mind on the basis of style, common points of connection, and resemblance throughout the book.<sup>5</sup> Its content, he remarked, is "history written under the form of prophecy," or a "unique apocalypse."<sup>6</sup>

Farrar considered the four world empires of Daniel as the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Grecian;<sup>7</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>8</sup>

According to Farrar, the general meaning of Dan 8 is clear,

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 139, 140.

<sup>3</sup>F. W. Farrar, The Expositor's Bible: The Book of Daniel, ed. R. Nicoll (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1895). Farrar was born in Bombay India. He studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was ordained priest in 1857. See "Farrar, Frederic William," NSHE, 1909 ed., 4:279.

<sup>4</sup>Farrar, The Book of Daniel, pp. 3, 71.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 72, 73.

although "there is here and there a difficulty in the details and translation."<sup>1</sup> Antiochus, he said, "is called a 'puny horn,' because in his youth no one could have anticipated his future greatness."<sup>2</sup> He extended his power towards the south (Egypt, 1 Macc 1:17-20), towards the east (in the direction of Media and Persia, 1 Macc 3: 29-37), and towards the Glory (the Holy Land, Ezek 20:6).<sup>3</sup> Antiochus set himself against the host of heaven or the chosen people of God.<sup>4</sup> He took away the daily offering, desecrated the temple, and seized and destroyed the sacred books of the Jews.<sup>5</sup> "His skill in enigmas is illustrated by his dark and tortuous diplomacy, which was exhibited in all his proceedings."<sup>6</sup> Finally, "Antiochus died of a long and terrible illness in Persia."<sup>7</sup>

#### John Dyneley Prince

John D. Prince (1868-?), American professor, author and diplomat,<sup>8</sup> also wrote a commentary on the book of Daniel.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 259.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. See note 2.

<sup>8</sup>Prince was born in New York City. He studied at Berlin University (1889-1890) and received his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Johns Hopkins University in 1892. "He was professor of Semitic Languages in New York University, and Dean of the Graduate School, 1892-1902." See John D. Prince, Fragments from Babel (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. vii-viii.

<sup>9</sup>John D. Prince, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel

For him the book of Daniel is the oldest apocalyptic work on record, and used as a model for all later productions of the same nature.<sup>1</sup> He defended the unity of the book of Daniel and remarked that "any theory seeking to divide the authorship of the book on the basis of the unexpected change of language is untenable."<sup>2</sup> In his view, the book of Daniel is unauthentic and composed "at a very late period, when the record of most of their historical events becomes hopelessly confused and perverted."<sup>3</sup>

Prince understood the four world empires of Daniel as the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Grecian;<sup>4</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>5</sup>

For Prince the little horn of Dan 8 also denotes Antiochus Epiphanes. According to him, Antiochus was a member of the Greek nation, and turned his power towards Egypt (11:5; 1 Macc 1:18), towards Persia (1 Macc 3:31), and towards Jerusalem (1 Macc 1:20 ff.).<sup>6</sup> Antiochus attacked the "host of heaven" (the people of Israel) and "tortured many of the Jews to force them to consent to his idolatrous abominations; cf. 1 Macc. 1:44 ff."<sup>7</sup> He took away the

---

(Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899).

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 70, 71, 130-132.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 146.

daily sacrifice and desecrated the temple (1 Macc 1: 44 et passim).<sup>1</sup> His agents cast down the truth to the ground "when they polluted the Holy of Holies."<sup>2</sup> Antiochus was mighty, not by his own power, but by divine permission.<sup>3</sup> He, pretending peace, attacked Jerusalem and killed many Jews (1 Macc 1:30).<sup>4</sup>

#### Samuel Rolles Driver

Samuel R. Driver (1846-1914), Englishman, Anglican, is the last historical-critical scholar of this period who dealt with Dan 8.<sup>5</sup> He, like his predecessors, did not believe that the prophet Daniel wrote the book which bears his name, but thought that it was written no earlier than 300 B.C. or very probably during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, between 168 and 165 B.C.<sup>6</sup> According to him, the first six chapters of Daniel are "didactic narratives," and the last half is "apocalyptic in its character."<sup>7</sup>

The four world empires of the book of Daniel Driver understood as the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Grecian;<sup>8</sup> and the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel R. Driver, The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges: The Book of Daniel, ed. A. F. Kirkpatrick (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1900), p. 155. Since 1882 he was "regius professor of Hebrew and canon of Christ Church, Oxford." See "Driver, Samuel Rolles," NSHE, 1909 ed., 4:6.

<sup>6</sup>Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. xlvi.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. lxxvi.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp., 28-29, 81-84.



little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Driver maintained that it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes. The basis for this understanding seems to be the correspondence which he saw between the description of the little horn and the life of Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>2</sup> According to him, Antiochus warred against Egypt (11:21 ff.) and "led an expedition into Elymais in the last year of his life (see on 11:40)."<sup>3</sup> He waxed great against the "host of heaven" (the people of Israel) and cast down some of the stars (the faithful Israelites, 1 Macc 1:24, 30, 57, 63).<sup>4</sup> Antiochus magnified himself even unto the "Prince of the host" (God).<sup>5</sup> He took away the daily or continual burnt offering (1 Macc 1:45, 59; 4:52); and although he did not cast down the temple literally, he carried away its vessels and profaned it (1 Macc 1:21-23, 39; 4:38).<sup>6</sup> "Antiochus was habitually successful in concealing his real motives and intentions when his interests required it."<sup>7</sup> Finally, "Antiochus died suddenly, in B.C. 164, a few months after the re-dedication of the Temple (25 Chisleu, 165), apparently from

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. xiv: "The little horn, which arose out of one of these, and magnified itself against the host of heaven and the sanctuary, represented a king who, though not named, is shewn by the description of his character and doings (vv. 23-25) to be Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175-164)."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

some mental disorder, such as might well suggest the idea of a Divine stroke, at Tabae in Persia."<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that all these interpreters who dealt with the book of Daniel did not believe that the prophet Daniel wrote the book which carries his name, but thought that all the external and internal evidences of the book point for its origin in the time of Antiochus' persecution. Besides this assumption, they understood the little horn of Dan 8 to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes based on the correspondence between the description of the text and the history of that Syrian king as is mainly told in the book of Maccabees.

Among the expositors of the preterist school, who also maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes Antiochus Epiphanes, are Stuart, Osbon, Kranichfeld, Cowles, Zöckler, Fuller, Thomson, and Terry. Their reasons for holding this view are considered next.

#### Moses Stuart

Moses Stuart (1780-1852), American clergyman and Biblical scholar,<sup>2</sup> wrote a commentary on the book of Daniel.<sup>3</sup> In it he remarked that "of all the books in the Bible, except perhaps the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>2</sup>Stuart was born in Connecticut. He studied law at Yale. In 1806 he was ordained to the ministry and became pastor of the First Church of Christ (Congregational) in New Haven. After three years and some months he was invited to be a teacher of sacred literature at Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. He is known as a pioneer of Biblical criticism in United States of America. About his life and works see William F. Albright, "Stuart, Moses," Dictionary of American Biography, 1936 ed., 18:174-175; Jerry Wayne Brown, The Rise of Biblical Criticism in America, 1800-1870 (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1969).

<sup>3</sup>Moses Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1850).

Apocalypse, Daniel has been least understood, and most perverted and abused."<sup>1</sup>

Stuart believed and defended the sixth-century-B.C. origin of the book of Daniel.<sup>2</sup> Against Lengerke's view, that "the book of Daniel was written in the time of the Maccabees to encourage and comfort the Jews under persecution," he replied:

Of course, if this were the object, it must have been written when the persecution was going on, i.e. during the life of Antiochus. But how then did the writer come to know so much about the death of Antiochus? . . . At all events, then, those who reject prophecy as an impossibility, must maintain that the whole book of Daniel (comp. 2:40-43) was written after the death of Antiochus. . . . If such were the case, then what need of the paraenetics addressed to the persecuted? Antiochus was dead; Judas was triumphant; Judea was free; her temple was cleansed and reconsecrated, and all its holy rites and privileges renewed. Did the Jews need the exhortation and consolation addressed to the persecuted, when it was with them a time of feasting, and of keeping their national thanksgiving? . . . And then, (I cannot help asking the question): How were the Jews of that period, led on by such men as Mattathias, and Judas, and Simon, to be convinced that a book just written, and never before heard of, was the work of a man who lived more than four centuries before, and deserved a place in their sacred canon, now rendered doubly dear by persecution, and by the efforts to destroy it? Believe all this who may, I must regard it as a stretch of credulity far beyond that belief which others cherish, who are accused of an *prigri* faith, and are treated with so much scorn on account of it.<sup>3</sup>

In Stuart's hermeneutical theory there was no place for a double sense in prophecy, which for him was different from typology.<sup>4</sup> However, he did not object to what "the German critics called an

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. v.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 400-489.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 390, 391.

<sup>4</sup>M. Stuart, Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy (Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1842), pp. 11-47; idem, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 192.

apotelesmatic accomplishment of predictions in the O. Test., . . . provided it be kept within due limits."<sup>1</sup> For him the coming of the Messiah is "the main design" of the book of Daniel; "and the state and circumstances of the Jews, until that period, are passed in brief and rapid review."<sup>2</sup> "Events that precede the Messianic kingdom," he emphasized, "are the objects of Daniel's vision. Through and through he tells us, that the new and perpetual kingdom, i.e., the fifth dynasty, is built upon the complete destruction of the other four dynasties."<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, Stuart maintained that the four world empires of Daniel are the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, the kingdom of Greece under Alexander, and the kingdom of Greece under Alexander's successors;<sup>4</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>5</sup>

Stuart also maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to Antiochus Epiphanes based on the correspondence between the description of the little horn and the history of the Syrian king. According to him, Antiochus made four military incursions into the south (Egypt). He campaigned toward the east (Persia or Elymais,

---

<sup>1</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 192: "The epithet means a final or concluding, or complete accomplishment, in distinction from a prior literal or obvious accomplishment. If the matter be plainly stated, as it lies in my own mind, it might stand thus: A prophecy may contain a generic principle of God's government, or of development in regard to occurrences; and then there may be a primary and obvious accomplishment of the prediction, and afterwards a development of the same generic principle in other events. To such an apotelesmatic accomplishment I should make no objection; I would freely admit it."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 174-194.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 183, 185.

11:41-44), and toward the glory ("an honorary name of Palestine").<sup>1</sup> Antiochus waxed great to "the host of heaven" (the Jewish priests), and cast down some of the stars or leaders to the ground.<sup>2</sup> He magnified himself even to the "Prince of the host" (God), took away from him the daily sacrifice (1 Macc 1:22; 3: 45-51), and profaned the temple.<sup>3</sup> Antiochus trampled the sanctuary and the host for 2300 days, from the year 171 B.C. to the year 165 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Antiochus became an "active enemy and oppressor of the Jews" when the latter completed the full measure of their iniquity (8:23).<sup>5</sup> "That he had much craftiness and subtlety, and often brought about his designs by means of flattery and cunning, appears abundantly from 11:21-23, 25, 32."<sup>6</sup> Antiochus was mighty, yet not by his own power, but by means of his artifice and cunning.<sup>7</sup> Finally, Antiochus died without the intervention of man, giving "a deep impression of perishing by a peculiar visitation of God."<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 237-239.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 245: "His rising up does not here so much designate his mere accession to the throne, as his becoming the active enemy and oppressor of the Jews."

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.: "The same character is given him in Polyb. Reliq. XXXI, 5. Appian, de Reb. Syr. XLV. See also 1 Macc. 1: 30 seq. 2 Macc. 5: 24-26."

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 246.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 247: "Polybius (XXXI, 11) says of him, that he fell mad and died; 1 Macc. 6: 8 relates, that he fell sick of grief for his losses."

Wilhelm Rudolph Kranichfeld

Wilhelm R. Kranichfeld (1834-?) wrote a commentary on the book of Daniel.<sup>1</sup> In it he acknowledged a sixth-century-B.C. date for the composition of this book,<sup>2</sup> as well as the unity of authorship on the basis of the unity of content, the connection of the content in both the Aramaic and Hebrew parts of the book, the "uniformity of expression," "the relationship of both parts to one another," and the claim of the book itself concerning its authorship.<sup>3</sup> The four world empires of Daniel he considered as the Chaldean, Median, Persian, and Grecian.<sup>4</sup>

The little horn of Dan 8 he also understood to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes. Commenting on Dan 8:9, he pointed out that the "south" refers to Egypt, the "east" to Asia, and the "pleasant land" to Palestine.<sup>5</sup> Most of his comments deal with the meaning of particular expressions without indicating how they are related to the vision and their fulfillment. However, he suggested that 2 Macc 9:10 refers vs. 9 to Antiochus Epiphanes, and 1 Macc 1:45, 39; 3:45

---

<sup>1</sup>Wilhelm R. Kranichfeld, Das Buch Daniel Erkläert (Berlin: Gustav Schlawitz, 1868).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 6: "Das Buch will innerhalb des Babylonischen Exils und der an sie angrenzenden Zeit verfasst sein; und es entsteht hier die Frage nach der Aechtheit des Buches."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 5: "Für die Einheit des Verfassers spricht ebenso die planvolle Einheit des Inhaltes überhaupt und die Beziehung des Inhaltes der einzelnen Capitel und der beiden Theile des Buches auf einander, als die Gleichförmigkeit des Ausdruckes und der Darstellung wie innerhalb der beiden Theile des Buches, so im Verhältniss dieser beiden zu einander."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 115-130.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 293.

present a historical comment on Dan 8:10.<sup>1</sup> Finally, he understood the 2300 "evening-mornings" to refer to the three and a half years of Antiochus' persecution against the Jews.<sup>2</sup>

#### Henry Cowles

Henry Cowles (1803-1881), professor of sacred literature at Oberlin College,<sup>3</sup> believed that the prophet Daniel wrote the book which bears his name, and argued in favor of this position.<sup>4</sup> For him, the scope of Daniel's prophecies covers the time from Nebuchadnezzar to the inauguration of the gospel kingdom.<sup>5</sup> And Daniel, "like every other prophet, had a present moral object in reference to his first readers--the people among whom and for whom he wrote."<sup>6</sup>

The four world kingdoms spoken of in the book of Daniel he regarded as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and the "Empire of Alexander's successors."<sup>7</sup> The little horn of Dan 7 he interpreted to

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 294: "Durch 2 Makk. 9, 10 wird der Danielische Ausspruch auf den Antiochus Epiphanes bezogen." "Als geschichtliche Erläuterung zur prophetischen Charakterschilderung 1 Makk. 1, 45. 39; 3, 45."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 301.

<sup>3</sup>Cowles was born at Connecticut. He studied at Yale Divinity School from 1826-1828. "From 1835 to 1848, he was professor, first of Greek and Latin, and then of ecclesiastical history and sacred literature in Oberlin college." See "Cowles, Henry," NSHE, 1909 ed., 3:292.

<sup>4</sup>Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel; with Notes (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1868), pp. 276-287.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 306-307.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 370.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 305. For him "the identity of the fourth kingdom is the great question of this prophecy [Dan 2]."

denote the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>1</sup>

In Cowles's view, the description of the little horn of Dan 8 fits Antiochus perfectly.<sup>2</sup> He pushed his conquests toward the south (Egypt), towards the east (Babylonia and Persia), and towards the pleasant land (Palestine).<sup>3</sup> "Antiochus Epiphanes sent his chief collector of tribute (1 Macc 1:29) to Jerusalem, seized it, and took away the daily sacrifice."<sup>4</sup> Antiochus trampled the Jews and the sanctuary for 2300 days or 6 years, 4 months, and 20 days.<sup>5</sup> He came to the throne in the latter time of the four Grecian kingdoms and was a man of fierce countenance.<sup>6</sup> Antiochus was mighty but not by his own power; that is, he was not the rightful heir to the throne.<sup>7</sup> Antiochus was a man of cunning, deceit, and self-esteem.<sup>8</sup> He destroyed suddenly, or in the midst of apparent tranquility.<sup>9</sup> Finally, he was broken without hand or by the judgment of God.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 360-367.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 388.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 375.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 376.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 378-380.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 385.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 385, 386.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 386.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 386, 387.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 387.



Otto Zöckler

Otto Zöckler (1833-1906), a German Lutheran theologian,<sup>1</sup> contributed to Lange's commentary with Chronicles, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and Daniel.<sup>2</sup>

In his commentary on Daniel he acknowledged that the prophet Daniel wrote most of the book which carries his name, but expressed some doubts regarding Dan 11:5-39. In his view, Dan 11:5-39 contains some interpolations which were written by a later reviser during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>3</sup> For him, the book of Daniel is "distinguished from the earlier prophetic writings by peculiarities which mark the book as the pattern for the so-called apocalyptic prophecies."<sup>4</sup> The peculiarities are: (1) the grandeur of Daniel's field of vision "compassing all history and embracing the world"; (2) "the visional clothing of its teaching"; and (3) "the profound symbolism of its eschatological description."<sup>5</sup>

The four world empires of Daniel he considered as the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedonian, and the "kingdoms of

---

<sup>1</sup>Zöckler studied at the universities of Giessen, Erlangen, Berlin, Halle, and Göttingen. See Victor Schultze, NSHE, 1912 ed., 12:520.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>O. Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, trans. J. Strong (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 17 (originally published in German in 1870).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.: "The grandeur of its field of vision, compassing all history and embracing the world, together with the visional clothing of its teaching and the profound symbolism of its eschatological description, constitute the features which stamp it as an apocalypse, in distinction from all earlier prophecy."

the Hellenistic Diadochi";<sup>1</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>2</sup>

For Zöckler the little horn of Dan 8 should be understood collectively; that is, it should be understood to denote not only Antiochus Epiphanes but also some of his predecessors such as Antiochus Nicator and Antiochus the Great.<sup>3</sup> His main argument was that

Syria derived no 'exceeding greatness under that tyrant from these wars; the exceeding great may be far more appropriately applied to the former extensions of the power of the Seleucidae under Sel. Nicator and Antiochus the Great (whose conquests toward the west are not noticed, probably because of their transient character).<sup>4</sup>

"It is better," he said, "to be content with the more general, and, so to speak, collective or genealogical interpretation of the little horn . . ." <sup>5</sup> However, almost all his comments on the little horn of Dan 8 he applied to Antiochus Epiphanes, presenting more or less the same arguments as other preterist interpreters who preceded him.

John Ebenezer Honeyman Thomson

John E. H. Thomson (1841-1923) was another interpreter who understood the little horn of Dan 8 to represent Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>6</sup> For him, the book of Daniel "is the earliest example, and

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>John E. H. Thomson, Daniel, The Pulpit Commentary, vol. 13 (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1977), p. 241

the only one in the Old Testament canon, of apocalypse."<sup>1</sup> In his view, an apocalypse "may be regarded as in a sense the philosophy of history."<sup>2</sup> The difference between prophecy and apocalypse, he pointed out, is that

The prophet regarded the future, whether of weal or woe, as the consequence of the moral condition of the time when he spoke. . . .The apocalyptist regarded the future simply as future, as the result of<sup>3</sup>the general purpose of God totally apart from the actions of men.

Thomson recognized the prophet Daniel as the author of the book which bears his name. However, he manifested a strong suspicion in regard to the genuineness of the eleventh chapter.<sup>4</sup>

The four world empires spoken of in the book of Daniel he considered as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman;<sup>5</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, either "the imperial form of government" of Rome or Titus.<sup>6</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8 he maintained that it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>7</sup> According to him, Antiochus sprang from one of the four horns or dynasties that succeeded Alexander the

---

(first published in 1897).

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. iv.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. v.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. vii, xlv-xlvii.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 219-227.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 212. On page 225 he suggested that it could be Vespasian.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 241

Great.<sup>1</sup> "He carried his arms to the east, but mainly to the south against Egypt."<sup>2</sup> He desolated the temple during 2300 evening-mornings or 1150 days.<sup>3</sup> His "countenance was one that could successfully stand a hostile meeting."<sup>4</sup> He "did not attain the throne either by inheritance or by his own prowess, but by the help and authority of others, namely, Eumenes and Rome."<sup>5</sup> Antiochus "was to the Jews a portent of destruction."<sup>6</sup> Finally, he was broken without hand; that is, "not from the effect of wounds received, but from chagrin."<sup>7</sup>

#### Milton Spencer Terry

Milton S. Terry (1840-1914), Methodist Episcopalian,<sup>8</sup> wrote a series of exegetical essays on the "apocalyptic portions of the book" of Daniel, and a book on biblical apocalypics.<sup>9</sup>

For him, the book of Daniel was written in the Maccabean time

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibi., p. 244.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 247.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>8</sup>Terry was born in New York. He studied at Troy University and Yale Divinity School. In 1884 he came to Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., as professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis and Theology. See "Terry, Milton Spencer," NSHE, 1911 ed., 11:303-304.

<sup>9</sup>Milton S. Terry, The Prophecies of Daniel Expounded (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1893); idem, Biblical Apocalypics (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1898).

by a holy man who was inspired by the God of Israel.<sup>1</sup> The miraculous narratives of this book he regarded as "sacred allegories," and the prophetic portions as apocalyptic.<sup>2</sup>

According to Terry, the four world empires of Daniel are the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Grecian;<sup>3</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Terry maintained that it also denotes Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>5</sup>

For, according to the context, he unquestionably springs from the line of Graeco-Macedonian kings. . . . He made his power felt in Egypt on the south, in Armenia on the east, and especially in Palestine, 'the glorious land' (verse 9; comp. xi, 41, and Zech, vii, 14). . . . He destroyed thousands of the people of the saints, made their sanctuary like a wilderness (1 Macc. i, 39), and, as Josephus says, 'put a stop to the practice of offering a daily sacrifice to three years and six months.' . . . The one word of doom which is pronounced upon him in this chapter is 'he shall be broken without hand,' that is, as one smitten by the judgment stroke of heaven.<sup>6</sup>

All these interpreters believed that the prophet Daniel wrote either the whole or part of the book which bears his name. Only one suggested that it could be written by an inspired man in the time of

---

<sup>1</sup>Idem, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup>Idem, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 181; idem, The Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 11, 13.

<sup>3</sup>Idem, Biblical Apocalypics, pp. 185, 188, 189; idem, The Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 18-23.

<sup>4</sup>Idem, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 190; idem, The Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 36, 48.

<sup>5</sup>Idem, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 199; idem, The Prophecies of Daniel, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup>Idem, Biblical Apocalypics, p. 199; idem, The Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 59-70.

the Maccabees. Almost all of them limited the scope of the book of Daniel to the time of the messianic kingdom or first coming of Christ. Their belief in the prophecies of Daniel as revelation of the future and their extent reaching to the first coming of Christ make them different from the historical-critical exegetes. Those who held these two views are grouped here as expositors of the "preterist school." They understood the little horn of Dan 8 to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes on the basis of the scope of Dan 8 and on correspondences between the text and the life of that Syrian king as is mainly told in the book of Maccabees.

Among the historicist interpreters who maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes are Albert Barnes and William H. Rule.

#### Albert Barnes

Albert Barnes (1798-1870), Presbyterian pastor, in his commentary on the Book of Daniel<sup>1</sup> maintained that this book "is the work of one author and that that author was the Daniel of the captivity."<sup>2</sup>

The four world empires spoken of in the book of Daniel he considered as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman;<sup>3</sup> and

---

<sup>1</sup>Barnes, Notes on the Old Testament: Daniel, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1950). First published in 1853. Barnes was born in Rome, New York, and studied theology at Princeton. In 1830, after five years of work with the Presbyterian Church in Morristown, N.J., he accepted a call from the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia where he worked nearly until his death. See "Barnes, Rev. Albert," Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1884 ed., p. 55.

<sup>2</sup>Barnes, Daniel, 1:45.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1: 155-173.

the little horn of Dan 7, to denote the papacy.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8 he maintained that it represents Antiochus Epiphanes, for "all the circumstances of the prediction find a fulfilment in him."<sup>2</sup> According to Barnes, Antiochus came out from one of the four kingdoms into which the empire of Alexander was divided.<sup>3</sup> He "was comparatively small at first, but ultimately became mighty."<sup>4</sup> Antiochus waxed great toward the south, for he declared war against Ptolemy Philometor and conquered Egypt in the year 170 B.C.<sup>5</sup> He waxed great toward the east ("Persia and the countries of the east"),<sup>6</sup> and toward "the pleasant land" (the land of Israel).<sup>7</sup> Antiochus waxed great even to "the host of heaven" (the priests and rulers of the Hebrew people)<sup>8</sup> and cast down some of the host.<sup>9</sup> Antiochus exalted himself against the "prince of the host" (God), "by attempting to change his laws and to cause his worship to

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:76-99, 108.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2:108.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 2:109. His historical support is 1 Macc 1:16-19.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. His support here was 1 Macc 3:21-37.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 2:110: "Antiochus, on his return from Egypt, turned aside and invaded Judea, and ultimately robbed the temple, destroyed Jerusalem, and spread desolation through the land. See 1 Macc. i."

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.: "Thus, in Isa. xxiv. 21, they are called 'the host of the high ones that are on high.'"

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.: "Antiochus, in the fulfilment of this, cast down and trampled on the princes, and rulers, and people, of the holy host or army of God. . . . Comp. 1 Macc. i., and 2 Macc. viii:2."

cease."<sup>1</sup> By his command, "the sacrifice that was offered daily in the temple, morning and evening, was suspended."<sup>2</sup> Although Antiochus did not entirely destroy the temple, he carried away its holy vessels and desolated it.<sup>3</sup> He cast down the truth, "the true system of religion or the true method of worshiping God,"<sup>4</sup> to the ground. Antiochus rose up against the priesthood, the temple, and the city of the Jews for 2300 days, from 171 B.C. to 165 B.C.<sup>5</sup> He began to reign in the latter time of the Grecian kingdom,<sup>6</sup> "when the transgressors are come to the full."<sup>7</sup> Antiochus was a severe king and destroyed wonderfully or in an extraordinary manner, for he laid waste the holy city and the land of Judea.<sup>8</sup> He "was among the most successful kings in his various expeditions. Particularly was he successful in his enterprises

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:111.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.: "A full account of this may be found in 1 Macc. i. 20-24, 29-32, 44-50."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.: "The meaning here is, that the institutions of the true religion would be utterly prostrate. This was fully accomplished by Antiochus. See 1 Macc. i."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 2:114-116.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 2:119: "All these powers were ultimately absorbed in the Roman power; the meaning here is, that taking the time from the period of their formation--the division of the empire after the battle of Ipsus, till the time when all would be swallowed up in the Roman dominion, what is here stated--to wit, the rise of Antiochus--would be in the latter portion of that period."

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 2:120.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.



against the holy land."<sup>1</sup> Antiochus "succeeded in a great measure by his crafty policy, intrigue, and cunning."<sup>2</sup> Finally, he died by a "direct Divine infliction."<sup>3</sup>

#### William Harris Rule

William H. Rule (1802-1890), Methodist divine and historian, in his Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel<sup>4</sup> maintained that this book is authentic and of divine authority, being included in the canon of the Old Testament "in the time of Simon the Just, more than 300 years before the birth of Christ."<sup>5</sup> The four world empires of the book of Daniel were for him the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman;<sup>6</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the papacy.<sup>7</sup> In the interpretation of this symbol, like other historicists, he applied the principle that one prophetic day denotes one year.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:120, 121.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2:121.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>William Harris Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel the Prophet (London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1869). Rule was of Scottish parentage. In 1822 he left the Church of England for the Wesleyan Church, and was ordained into the ministry in 1826. "He received the degree of D.D. from Dickenson College (Methodist Episcopal Church), Ohio, in July 1854." See G. Le Grys Norgarte, "Rule, William Harris," DNB, 1908 ed., 17:394-395.

<sup>5</sup>Rule, An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. vi.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 71-76; 188-189.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 195, 197-203.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 205. He said: "Laws and times shall be given into his hand; for a time, and times, and half; and 'time being customarily equivalent with year, it is generally agreed that three and a half prophetic years, or 1260 days, putting a day for a year, is 1260 years."

In regard to the description of the little horn of Dan 8 and its fulfillment, Rule stated:

So clearly does this describe the great persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, that if proper names were but substituted for the symbols, what is now prophecy would be an exact and characteristic summary of history.

According to him, Antiochus "was indeed a man of fierce countenance, furious and cruel."<sup>2</sup> His actions abundantly demonstrate that "he understood dark sentences, if darkness be hypocrisy and guile; and he being an exquisitely artful politician, caused craft to prosper in his hand."<sup>3</sup> Furthermore,

Antiochus waged war successfully against Egypt on the south and Persia in the east, and went up against the pleasant land, הַצֶּבִי, as it is also called by a contemporaneous prophet (Ezek. xx<sub>4</sub> 6), who uses the same very word, when speaking of the Holy Land.

Antiochus stood up against the "prince of the host, . . . that is to say, the chief priest and his priesthood at Jerusalem, who are here described by the same figure as that used by the Prophet Isaiah when he speaks of them (Isa. xiv. 13)."<sup>5</sup> His power was mighty, yet not by his own power; "for, as Josephus well says, his murderous cruelty could never have been perpetrated in Jerusalem but for the villainous apostasy of Jewish traitors."<sup>6</sup> "By him," Rule pointed out, "the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of the sanctuary cast down."<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 223.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.: "The sanctuary was defiled, and the daily sacrifice

Finally, Antiochus was broken without hands, for he died of grief (1 Macc 6:15, 16).<sup>1</sup>

Thus Barnes and Rule on the basis of the general correspondence between the text and the history of Antiochus Epiphanes, as mainly told in 1 Maccabees, maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to that Syrian king.

Among the non-dispensational futurist interpreters, Edward B. Pusey, Theodor F. Kliefoth, and William M. Taylor understood the little horn of Dan 8 to denote Antiochus Epiphanes.

Edward Bouverie Pusey

Edward B. Pusey (1800-1882), Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford and canon of Christ Church, in his Daniel the Prophet<sup>2</sup> affirmed that in his time "disbelief of Daniel had become an axiom in the unbelieving critical school."<sup>3</sup> To counterattack the rationalistic tendency which was growing in England, after the publication of

---

ceased in the 168th year before Christ. Counting days for years, as in preceding prophecies, and according to the rule laid down in the books of Numbers and Ezekiel (Num. xiv. 34; Ezek. iv. 5, 6), 2300 years counted from that date will be finished in the year 2132."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>E. B. Pusey, Daniel the Prophet (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1885); first published in 1864. Pusey was born in England. From 1825 to 1827 he studied at Göttingen, Berlin, and Bonn, first under Eichhorn and Schleiermacher, and then under Rosengarten and Freytag. He opposed rationalism and is better known as one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement. See J. O. Johnston, "Pusey, Edward Bouverie," DNB, 1909 ed., 16:496-504; H. C. Matthew, "Edward Bouverie Pusey: From Scholar to Tractarian," JTS 32 (1981) 101-124.

<sup>3</sup>Pusey, Daniel the Prophet, p. v.

Essays and Reviews (1860), he prepared his lectures on Daniel the Prophet.<sup>1</sup> In the introduction of his lectures he maintained that the prophet Daniel was the author of the book which bears his name.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, he remarked:

The book of Daniel is especially fitted to be a battlefield between faith and unbelief. It admits of no half-measures. It is either Divine or an imposture. To write any book under the name of another, and to give it out to be his, is, in any case, a forgery, dishonest in itself, and destructive of all trustworthiness. The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies which were never uttered, and miracles which are assumed never to have been wrought.<sup>3</sup> In a word, the whole book would be one lie in the name of God.

In Pusey's view the prophecies of Dan 2 and 7 reach to the end of time "with the destruction of all human power, the everlasting kingdom of Christ."<sup>4</sup> Dan 8, however, stands in remarkable contrast to Dan 7 in its limited extent.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, he considered the four world empires of Daniel as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman.<sup>6</sup> But the powers represented by the ten horns of the fourth beast and the little horn of Dan 7, he considered as still future.<sup>7</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8 he affirmed that it

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. iii.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. xxiii-lxiv.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 118-130.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 128, 130, 135.

denotes Antiochus Epiphanes. However, his comment on this symbol was short. He limited himself to remark that Antiochus came out of one of the four kingdoms of Alexander's successors, "profaned the temple, stopped the daily sacrifice, and would have trampled out the worship of God."<sup>1</sup>

#### Theodor Friedrich Kliefoth

Theodor F. Kliefoth (1810-1895), influential German Lutheran, wrote a commentary on the Book of Daniel.<sup>2</sup> In it he maintained that the prophet Daniel is the author of the book which carries his name. To support his view he pointed out the testimony of Ezekiel (Ezek 14:4; 28:3) and Josephus (Ant xi, 8, 5).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he gave as evidence of the earlier date of the book of Daniel the acquaintance that the authors of the books of Sirach, Maccabees, and Baruch had with the book of Daniel, as can be observed in their content.<sup>4</sup>

The four world empires of Daniel he considered as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Roman;<sup>5</sup> and the little horn

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 134, 135. On page 139 he remarked: "In the 8th chapter, where Daniel did portray Antiochus, every trait corresponds; we are at a loss for nothing; not a word is without meaning."

<sup>2</sup>Theodor F. Kliefoth, Das Buch Daniels (Schwerin: A. V. Sandmeyer, 1868). Kliefoth studied at the Universities of Berlin and Rostock. He became pastor at Ludwigslust in 1840 and Superintendent of Schwerin in 1844. During the decades 1850-1870 he was actively engaged in ecclesiastical reforms. It is said that Kliefoth "was one of the strongest men among the churchmen and theologians of his day, and one of the most effective preachers of the nineteenth century." See Ernst Haack, "Kliefoth, Theodor Friedrich," NSHE, 1910 ed. 6:350-351.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 31-33.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 88-109, 187-207.

of Dan 7, the future Antichrist.<sup>1</sup>

The little horn of Dan 8 Kliefoth understood to denote Antiochus Epiphanes for the following reasons: (1) "the arising small horn is set forth as an individual king."<sup>2</sup> (2) Antiochus came out of one of the Diadochi.<sup>3</sup> (3) Antiochus conducted wars against the south (Egypt), the east (Persia and Elymais), and the "glorious land" (Palestine).<sup>4</sup> (4) Antiochus waxed great even to the "prince of the host" (God) by taking away from Him the tāmīg (everything which served and belonged to the continual holy use according to the Torah), by abandoning His temple in Jerusalem, and by attacking the "truth" (Word of God).<sup>5</sup> Finally, (5) Antiochus warred against the Jews and the sanctuary for 1150 days, which is less than the three and a half years of Antichrist.<sup>6</sup>

William Mackergo Taylor

William M. Taylor (1829-1895), Congregationalist pastor, in

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 208.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 251: "Ferner wird unser Horn sichtlich als eine Einzelpersönlichkeit begriffen. Masculina  $\text{קַרְנֵי}$  und  $\text{קַרְנֵי}$  hätten, auf die Hörner bezogen, Feminina sein müssen; indem statt dessen die Masculina auf das durch die Hörner Bedeutete hinblicken, wird das hervorgehende kleine Horn als einzelner König hingestellt."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.: "So passt 8, 9 auf den Antiochus, der zwar Palästina (und auch das nur zeitweilig) unterwarf, aber das besiegte Egypten auf Instanz der Römer wieder herausgeben musste, und Persien nicht einmal vollständig besiegte . . ."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 255, 256, 258.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 260-270.

his Daniel the Beloved,<sup>1</sup> maintained that the four world empires of Daniel are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman.<sup>2</sup> He opposed Calvin's view that that little horn of Dan 7 represents Julius Caesar, and also the historicist view that it represents the papacy.<sup>3</sup>

According to Taylor the little horn of Dan 8 denotes Antiochus Epiphanes. He argued that in Dan 8 only two beasts are brought in and by consequence "the prophecy is restricted to the histories of two out of the four great empires," which Gabriel explained as the Persian and Grecian.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, he pointed out, Gabriel set the time of the rising of this horn near the close of the four divisions of Alexander, "before the full development of the Roman power."<sup>5</sup> Based on the books of Maccabees,<sup>6</sup> Taylor maintained that Antiochus waxed great toward the south (Egypt). Then, after his

---

<sup>1</sup>William Mackergo Taylor, Daniel the Beloved, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1878). Taylor was born in Scotland. He studied at the University of Glasgow and at the United Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Edinburgh. In 1855 he was pastor of Derby Road Church, Liverpool, England; in 1871 visited the United States and became pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle (Congregational), New York, 1872. See "Taylor, William Mackergo," NSHE, 1911 ed., 11:285-286.

<sup>2</sup>Taylor, Daniel the Beloved, pp. 41-45, 126-129.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 129, 130. In his discussion of some views on the little horn of Dan 7 he remarked: "I have given these different interpretations more as a matter of curiosity than because I am willing to endorse any of them."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 150, 151.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.: "Many of his evil deeds are related in the books of the Maccabees, and the merest summary of these, which is all that we can now attempt to give, will be sufficient to identify him with the little horn of this vision."

first return from Egypt, he besieged Jerusalem and killed more than forty thousand Jews.<sup>1</sup> Two years afterwards, he pointed out, "returning from another invasion of Egypt, where he had been checkmated by the Romans, he vented his disappointment upon the Jews . . . with orders to destroy Jerusalem."<sup>2</sup> As a consequence of Appollonius' atrocities, "the temple was deserted, and the daily sacrifices ceased to be offered."<sup>3</sup> For six years the Jews were oppressed under the tyranny of Antiochus and their religion laid prostrate, until Judas Maccabeus cleansed the temple.<sup>4</sup> Finally, Antiochus was broken without hand.

Returning from an unsuccessful expedition against Persia, he died in a small town among the mountains of Paretacene, not by violence but by a strange disease, loathsome almost as that by which Herod was smitten in the moment of his blasphemy.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, on the basis of some general correspondences between the text and the history of Antiochus Epiphanes, these interpreters maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes that Syrian king. They differed from other interpreters who belonged to other schools of interpretation in the fact that they regarded the fulfillment of the ten horns of the fourth beast of Dan 7 and the little horn of the same vision to be in the future.<sup>6</sup> On this basis they might better be classified

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 152, 153.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Pusey, Daniel the prophet, pp. 127, 135: "These ten horns or kingdoms are also to be contemporaneous. They are all prior in time to the little horn which is to arise out of them" (p. 127). "And why



as futurists or rather non-dispensational futurists.

### The Muhammedan power

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the Muhammedan power was held by a good number of historicist interpreters such as John Cumming, R. S. Shimeall, J. W. Bosanquet, J. W. Birchmore, R. Nevin, A. Arthur, and J. Tanner.

#### John Cumming

John Cumming (1807-1881), minister of the National Scottish Church, was a popular Presbyterian preacher and became most widely known by his writings on the interpretation of prophecy.<sup>1</sup> In 1850 he published his lectures on the book of Daniel.<sup>2</sup> In this work, following Hengstenberg, he maintained that the book of Daniel is genuine and authentic.<sup>3</sup> The four world empires of Daniel he understood as the

---

should there not be, under the fourth empire, an antagonism to the true God, concentrated in and directed by one individual, as it was in and by Antiochus in the third? Human nature repeats itself. What man has done, man will do. We, Christians, look for an Anti-Christ yet to come" (p. 135). Kliefoth, Das Buch Daniels, p. 259: "Once more, then, we see that chap. 8 fits only Antiochus, chap. 7 only the Antichrist, even though a parallel is drawn between both." Ibid., p. 268: "As the three and a half times in 7:25 mean the last half of the duration of the Antichrist, in which he stands at the height of his power over God's people, . . . so the 2300 half days mean accordingly not the first time of Antiochus, in which he becomes and grows, but the later time of the same."

<sup>1</sup>In 1844 he received the honorary degree of D.D. from Edinburgh. "Cumming, John," DNB, 1908 ed., 5:297-298.

<sup>2</sup>J. Cumming, Prophetic Studies; or Lectures on the Book of Daniel (London: Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co., 1850).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-11. He explicitly said that he was indebted to Hengstenberg, "the celebrated German vindicator of the book of Daniel" (p. 22).

Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman;<sup>1</sup> and the little horn of the fourth beast of Dan 7, the papacy.<sup>2</sup>

Cumming opposed the interpretation that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes mainly because "like all the other horns mentioned by Daniel, it must be the symbol of a continuous sovereignty, not of one solitary individual who starts into existence, and then disappears, but of a realm, or sovereignty, governed, protected and preserved by him."<sup>3</sup> He also opposed the view that it represents the Roman power because the Roman power did not increase eastward, neither was "a realm that rose out of Macedon, but from Latium."<sup>4</sup> "If the little horn represents Rome pagan," he said, "it is utterly absurd to suppose that it can represent Rome papal at the same time."<sup>5</sup>

In Cumming's view, the little horn of Dan 8 represents the Turkish or Muhammedan power.<sup>6</sup> Following Elliott, he pointed out that the Turkish power "originated in Chorasin, a part of Parthia south of the Oxus, and in the very territory of the Syrian, or Greco-

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 41-74.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 232-245.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 266.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid. We have noticed that this argument was also presented by Elliott.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 268: "The features delineated by the prophet, and the facts thrown up in the history of Mahommetanism, so completely tally, that the inference is almost irresistible, that it is the Turkish, or Mahommetan power, that is here intended."

Macedonain empire."<sup>1</sup> Then Togrul Beg, the leader of the Turcomens, "moved first southward at the call of the caliph of Bagdat; and by reason of his success was appointed the caliph-general of Islam."<sup>2</sup> "By-and-by he conquered Judea, 'the glory,' or the 'glorious land' that is here alluded to."<sup>3</sup> He was mighty yet not by his own power, "but by the influence of a fanatical system which he adopted."<sup>4</sup> He destroyed the mightiest nations and the holy people; magnified himself against the "Prince of princes," and was ultimately broken without hand.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Cumming pointed out that Gibbon more than once uses the expression "fierceness" or "ferocity" to denote Muhammedanism or the Turkish nation, which is the very language which the prophet employs to describe the little horn.<sup>6</sup> The Muhammedans, he affirmed, denied the divinity of Christ in the same place where a general Christian synod had concluded that "the deity of Christ was a plain and obvious dogma of Holy Writ."<sup>7</sup> They also profaned "the most holy churches" and insulted the priests and bishops.<sup>8</sup> Finally, the Turkish power began to be broken without hand at the end of the 2300

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 269.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>ibid., p. 270.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

prophetic days or literal years in 1820, fulfilling this prophecy.<sup>1</sup>

Maurice Cely Trevillian

Maurice C. Trevillian, an interpreter of prophecy, wrote an exposition on some prophecies of the book of Daniel.<sup>2</sup> According to him the four world empires of Dan 2 are (1) the Babylonian, (2) the Medo-Persian and Grecian, (3) the Roman Empire, and (4) the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>3</sup> But those of Dan 7 are (1) the Persian, (2) the Macedonian, (3) the Roman Empire, and (4) the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>4</sup> The little horn of Dan 7 he understood to denote the papacy.<sup>5</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Trevillian maintained that it denotes the "Mahometan empire."<sup>6</sup> According to him, Muhammedanism came out of Arabia or one of the four kingdoms of Alexander's successors.<sup>7</sup> It waxed great towards the south (Africa), towards the east (Hindostan), and towards the "pleasant land" (Palestine).<sup>8</sup> Muhammad magnified himself (8:11) even to the "Prince

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 274-276

<sup>2</sup>M. C. Trevillian, A Dissertation on the History of The 'Beast,' as Derived from the Prophets Daniel and John. (London: Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt, 1858).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 28-32.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 74-81.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 126, 394.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 396.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 397-399. He gave several quotations from Arrian, Quintus Curtius, Justin, and the Universal History to show that Arabia was part of Ptolemy's kingdom.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 399.

of the host," "calling himself emphatically 'the prophet of God'."<sup>1</sup> He took away "the daily sacrifice of praise as enjoined in all churches of the saints."<sup>2</sup> He cast down the place of God's sanctuary, which can refer either to "the chief seat of the Christian empire--Constantinople--the Eastern Rome, or Jerusalem--the place of God's own choosing."<sup>3</sup>

Other principal marks are contained in the words, 'by peace he shall destroy many' (ver. 25)--alluding to the Mahometan alternative universally proposed to the conquered--'The Koran or the sword': and--'shall stand up against the Prince<sup>4</sup> of princes' (ib)--placing himself (that is) in front of Christ.

Finally, at the end of the 2400 "days" (years) the Eastern Church began to be purified from the pollutions of Muhammedanism.<sup>5</sup>

James Whatman Bosanquet

James W. Bosanquet (1804-1877), a writer on biblical and Assyrian chronology,<sup>6</sup> published in 1866 his Messiah the Prince.<sup>7</sup> In it he maintained a sixth-century date for the book of Daniel, except for some interpolations of chaps. 10 and 11.<sup>8</sup> The four world empires

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 400.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. "By 'sanctuary' is meant, with reference to the regions of Mahometanism, the Eastern Church."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 401.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 404-409. He admits to be following Frere (p. 202).

<sup>6</sup>Stanley Lane-Poole, "Bosanquet, James Whatman," DNB, 1908 ed., 2:874-875.

<sup>7</sup>James Whatman Bosanquet, Messiah the Prince or the Inspiration of the Prophecies of Daniel, 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1869).

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. lxxii: "We accept, then, the historical objections

of the book of Daniel he considered as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman;<sup>1</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the papacy.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8 Bosanquet maintained that it denotes the Muhammedan power. According to him, the little horn of Dan 8 is a destroying power (8:24, 25), and the religion of Muhammad "was chiefly propagated by the sword."<sup>3</sup> The Muhammedan power persecuted and destroyed the "holy people" (the Jews) "under the fierce guidance of Mahomet, whose 'dark sentences' and revelations are set forth in the pages of his own dark Koran."<sup>4</sup> Finally, the place of God's sanctuary was seized by Caliph Omar;<sup>5</sup> and the "daily sacrifice" or rather its representation was taken away by the Muhammedan power.<sup>6</sup>

---

raised by critics against the latter part of the book of Daniel, in as far as they regard parts of the tenth and the eleventh chapters, which appear to us to have been written in the days of the Maccabees."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 234-240.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 241.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 244.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 245-250: "The vagueness of expression applied to this predicted interference with the daily worship, seems to justify the construction, that the time referred to by the prophet was not a time when the actual daily sacrifice could have been in operation, but when some daily offering in memory and in representation of the daily sacrifice may have been substituted by the dispersed Jews living within the dominion of the little horn" (pp. 246-247). "But as regards the little horn of ch. viii, the charge against it is, of actually taking away and obliterating all trace in his dominions of the daily memorial of the sacrifice of the lamb, whether by Jew or Christian" (p. 250).

John W. Birchmore

John W. Birchmore, rector of Christ Church, Hyde Park, Massachusetts, wrote an exposition on the book of Daniel.<sup>1</sup> According to him, the four world empires of Daniel are the Babylonian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman;<sup>2</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the papacy.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, he maintained that it denotes the "political and ecclesiastical kingdom of Mohammed".<sup>4</sup> According to him, the prophet of Mecca was a "king of fierce countenance," "brandishing the sword and offering the 'Koran, tribute, or death'."<sup>5</sup> He was mighty, but not by his own power; he "appealed to the sword, not to argument."<sup>6</sup> Finally, the Muhammedan power destroyed the mighty and the holy people (the Christian Church) for more than 1200 years.<sup>7</sup>

Robert Nevin

Robert Nevin, in his Studies in Prophecy,<sup>8</sup> explicitly stated that in regard to prophetic dates he adhered to the year-day

---

<sup>1</sup>John W. Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1871).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-21, 32.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 34, 35.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 40-57.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 41, 42.

<sup>8</sup>Robert Nevin, Studies in Prophecy (Londonderry: James Montgomery, 1890).

principle.<sup>1</sup> The four world empires spoken of in Dan 2 and 7 he considered as the Chaldean, Persian, Grecian, and Roman;<sup>2</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the papacy.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, he maintained that it neither represents Antiochus Epiphanes nor the Roman Empire, but the Muhammedan power.<sup>4</sup> He opposed the view that Antiochus Epiphanes is symbolized by the little horn of Dan 8 for the following reasons: (1) "A horn, in the language of Daniel, means a king, but this again means, as explained in the book itself, a kingdom."<sup>5</sup> (2) "A horn appearing to the prophet in vision to rise up . . . where none had appeared, and then to grow, or 'wax great,' evidently denotes the rise of a new kingdom or power. The kingdom of Antiochus was not a new one."<sup>6</sup> (3) "The little horn was not one of the four |horns of the he-goat|, though coming out of one of them. But the kingdom of Antiochus was precisely one of the four."<sup>7</sup> (4) "The little horn, though small at its first appearance, 'waxed exceeding great.' Antiochus succeeded to a kingdom, which, notwithstanding all his wars and temporary successes, he neither enlarged nor on the whole rendered

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 18, 15-21.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 23, 48-53.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 55-62.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 77-82. Nevin tried to oppose directly Barnes's view, since Barnes's commentaries were so popular and had a great influence on their readers. He also tried to oppose Isaac and Thomas Newton's view of this little horn.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.



more formidable."<sup>1</sup> (5) "The description of the little horn as being so mighty and powerful, and denoting 'a king of fierce countenance,' can hardly be applied to the monarch 'who was even frightened out of Egypt by a message from the Romans."<sup>2</sup> (6) "Whatever Antiochus effected, it was not by alliances or help from without, but by the resources of his own kingdom."<sup>3</sup> (7) "Antiochus subjected the temple to ceremonial pollution, and brake down the wall of the city, but he left the temple standing, and after a comparatively brief period it was cleansed again."<sup>4</sup> (8) "There is felt and acknowledged difficulty in making the application of the 2,300 days, taken literally, to Antiochus. The attempt has been made, but the result is anything but satisfactory."<sup>5</sup> (9) "There are several expressions employed in the account of the vision that seem to look far beyond the time of Antiochus,"<sup>6</sup> for example 8:17, 19. Finally, (10) "the very place of the sanctuary, the site where the temple once stood, has now been trodden under foot of the infidel Moslem for many centuries in the past, and so it shall continue to be till the time of the end."<sup>7</sup>

Against the view that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes the Roman power, Nevin pointed out the following: (1) "It is surely

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

incompatible with" the description of the Roman Empire in Dan 7 "to suppose that the same power is represented by a horn growing out of a horn which symbolizes a part of its predecessor."<sup>1</sup> (2) "The power which will answer the little horn must be one springing up in the east, and not an invader issuing from the west."<sup>2</sup> (3) "The horn was very small at first, absolutely it may be, but also as compared with the four, out of one of which it sprung. At the time of the war with Macedon, Rome was approaching the very zenith of her ancient greatness."<sup>3</sup> And finally, (4) "the little horn was broken without hand. This could not be said of the fall of the ancient Roman empire."<sup>4</sup>

Having opposed these two views, Nevin maintained that the description of the little horn of Dan 8 "is fulfilled in the Mohammetan system to the very letter."<sup>5</sup> According to him, the Muhammedan power came out of one of the four kingdoms of Alexander's successors (the kingdom of Ptolemy), for Muhammad was born in Mecca, a city of Arabia, which was part of Ptolemy's kingdom.<sup>6</sup> In accord with the prophecy, he said, at the beginning of the seventh century Muhammad appeared as a prophet, when the "transgressors" (the Eastern Christian Church) had completed their apostacy.<sup>7</sup> From Medina he waxed

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 82, 83.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 83-86: "Such, as far as we are aware, is the

exceeding great toward the south (Mecca) and also toward the "pleasant land" (Palestine).<sup>1</sup> "The fierceness of the Saracen onslaughts in battle is matter of history."<sup>2</sup> Muhammad understood "dark sentences" (the Koran), which is "the Bible of the devout Mussulman."<sup>3</sup> Muhammedanism, considered as a spiritual delusion, "'has been mighty, but not by its own power; not by the energy of the doctrine, or by a divine power attending it, as Christianity prevailed against all opponents; but by the sword of war.'"<sup>4</sup> Muhammad, in fertility of crafty resources, "was a veritable genius, and his mantle in this respect seemed to have fallen on many of his successors."<sup>5</sup> Muhammad "magnified in his heart when he proclaimed himself the last and greatest of the prophets, after whom no new revelation would be given, and when he blasphemously pretended to be the Paraclete or Comforter of whom Christ had spoken."<sup>6</sup> The peace which Muhammad "'promised to the vanquished Christians was one of the arts of proselytizing which he so insidiously and successfully practised, and whereby many were destroyed by abjuring the truth, and

---

simple historical fact. The 'transgressors' in the Greek church had, indeed, at that time completed their apostasy" (p. 86).

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 87: "This ninth verse, understood of the earlier triumphs of the Saracens, as we believe it should be, and as is most natural, is found to correspond with historical fact in the minutest particulars."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 88: "The epithet is peculiarly graphic."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 90. He quoted from Scott's commentary.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

giving heed to delusion."<sup>1</sup> The Saracens suppressed the "continual burnt offering" (Christian worship), and cast down the place of God's sanctuary (the temple on Mount Moriah).<sup>2</sup> They destroyed "the mighty" and "holy people" (the Jews), as well as the "proud empire of the east."<sup>3</sup> Finally, Turkey, the modern representative, is destined to perish but not by the hand of violence.<sup>4</sup>

Alexander Arthur

Alexander Arthur, in his Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel,<sup>5</sup> considered the four world empires spoken of in Dan 2 and 7 as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman;<sup>6</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the papacy.<sup>7</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8 he maintained that it denotes the Muhammedan power. According to him, Muhammad came out

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 93. He quoted from Dr. Keith's book Signs of the Times.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 94, 95: "The word rendered place (mekon), when it stands alone, sometimes signifies, according to Gesenius, a dwelling or habitation, and sometimes a foundation or basis. Here, where it is followed by the word rendered of his sanctuary, it can be taken only in the latter sense, as denoting the site of the building in distinction from the building itself, which is denoted by the term sanctuary. . . . In the year 637 of our era, Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Saracens, and the Caliph Omar built the mosque which still remains, and is called by his name, on the very spot where Solomon's temple had stood" (p. 95).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 96, 97.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 97-99.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Arthur, A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel (Edinburgh: Norman Macleod, 1893), p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 45, 81-89.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

from one of the four kingdoms of Alexander's successors (the kingdom of Egypt), to which Arabia was given.<sup>1</sup> He magnified himself even to the "Prince of the host" by making himself greater than Jesus.<sup>2</sup> Muhammad took away the daily (abolished Christian worship where he could);<sup>3</sup> and Caliph Omar cast down the place of God's sanctuary, for he built a mosque in the same place or site where the temple of Solomon used to be.<sup>4</sup> Muhammad appeared in the latter time of the Greek Empire.<sup>5</sup> He destroyed mighty Christian nations.<sup>6</sup> Finally, his power will be broken without hand.<sup>7</sup>

Joseph Tanner

Joseph Tanner explicitly stated that he was first a futurist but later became a historicist.<sup>8</sup> The four world empires of the book of Daniel were for him the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman;<sup>9</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the papacy.<sup>10</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8 he maintained that it

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 108, 109.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>8</sup>Joseph Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898), p. x.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 160, 167-170.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 170-171.

denotes the Muhammedan Power.<sup>1</sup> According to him, the Muhammedan power sprang up out of the kingdom of Egypt, and in the latter time "when Rome itself was divided."<sup>2</sup> Muhammad, in his conquests, grew toward the south (Arabia and Egypt), toward the east (Mesopotamia, Persia, and Transoxania), and toward the glorious land (Palestine).<sup>3</sup> Muhammad and his successors were of fierce countenance (of fierce character).<sup>4</sup> Muhammedanism waxed great even to the "host of heaven" (the Christians of the east).<sup>5</sup> Muhammad magnified himself even to the "Prince of the host" by placing himself above Christ.<sup>6</sup> Finally, his followers took away "the daily" ("everything permanent in the public worship of God"),<sup>7</sup> and cast down the place of His sanctuary by erecting on the sacred site of the Jewish temple the Muhammedan mosque.<sup>8</sup>

Thus these interpreters on the supposed correspondence between the text and the history of Muhammedanism maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes that power.

#### Pagan and Papal Rome

The interpretation that the little horn of Dan 8 represents

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 511.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 512: "In less than a hundred years, the Caliphs who succeeded him had spread their conquests over Arabia, Syria, Persia, Tartary, Egypt, Africa, and Spain."

<sup>4</sup>ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 513.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

pagan and papal Rome was maintained in this period by Adventist J. N. Andrews, Congregationalist David Nevins Lord, and Adventist Uriah Smith.

#### John Nevins Andrews

John N. Andrews (1829-1883), Adventist author and editor,<sup>1</sup> maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 does not represent Antiochus Epiphanes, but pagan and papal Rome.<sup>2</sup> He denied that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes on the basis that "the ram, according to this vision, became great; the goat waxed very great; but the little horn became exceeding great."<sup>3</sup> Applying the little horn to Antiochus Epiphanes, he said, produces the following result:

Great	Very Great	Exceeding Great
Persia	GRECIA	A N T I O C H U S

This comparison, he pointed out, is "absurd and ludicrous."<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, he remarked, "How easy and natural is the following":<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"Andrews, John Nevins," Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., 10:43-44.

<sup>2</sup>J. N. Andrews, The Sanctuary and Twenty-three Hundred Days 2nd ed. (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press, 1863), pp. 11-14. This little book is a reprint of the 1853 edition.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 11. This argument was first presented by Thomas Zouch, The Works of the Rev. Thomas Zouch, 1:147: "Alexander, as expressed by the He-Goat, is said to have waxed very great. Of the person expressed by the little horn, it is declared that he waxed exceeding great . . . . If Epiphanes be the personage denoted by the little horn, it naturally follows from the above description, that he would at least equal, or rather far surpass, the king of Grecia in the extent of his dominion, the brilliancy of his actions, and the magnitude of his conquests. But the case is quite otherwise."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 11, 12.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

Great	Very Great	Exceeding Great
Persia	GRECIA	R O M E

In addition to this argument, he pointed out:

This power was to stand up against the Prince of princes. verse 25. The Prince of princes is Jesus Christ. Rev. 1:5; 17:14; 19:16. But Antiochus died 164 years before our Lord was born.<sup>1</sup>

Having argued against the view that Antiochus Epiphanes is represented by the little horn of Dan 8, Andrews, in favor of his position, pointed out that Rome could truly be said to have come out of one of the four kingdoms of Alexander's successors, for Rome "made Macedon, one of the four horns of the Grecian goat, a part of itself B.C. 168."<sup>2</sup> It waxed exceeding great toward the south (Africa), toward the east (Asia), and toward "the pleasant land" (the nation of the Jews).<sup>3</sup> "Rome was emphatically a king of fierce countenance, and one that did understand dark sentences."<sup>4</sup> Rome destroyed "more of 'the mighty and the holy people,' than all other persecuting powers combined."<sup>5</sup> Finally, "Rome did stand up against the Prince of princes. The Roman power nailed Jesus Christ to the cross. Acts 4:26, 27; Matt. 27:2; Rev. 12:4."<sup>6</sup>

All these arguments were given in relation to the Roman

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 13, 14: "Moses used similar language when, as all agree, he predicted the Roman power. Deut. 28:49, 50."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 14: "From fifty to one hundred millions of the church have been slain by it."

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.



Empire except the fourth one which might also include papal Rome. It was on the explanation of the phrase "the transgression of desolation" (Dan 8:13) that Andrews explicitly pointed out the way in which papal Rome is introduced in the vision.<sup>1</sup> On this basis we may infer that Andrews interpreted the little horn in a sequential way.

David N. Lord

David N. Lord, American Congregationalist, also understood the little horn of Dan 8 in a sequential way to signify both pagan and papal Rome.<sup>2</sup> This view he stated as follows:

The little horn is the Roman power which, after establishing itself in Macedonia, extended its conquests over the whole of what had been the eastern and southern Grecian empire. The host or stars of heaven against which it waxed great, and cast them to the ground, denote the true ministers of the Christian church; the prince of the host against whom it magnified itself by the usurpation of his rights and throne, is the Lord Jesus Christ, the head of the redeemed church; the daily sacrifice which it took away symbolized the sacrifice of Christ as the expiation of sin; and its being taken away, denotes its rejection by the papacy, and the substitution in its place of the sacrifice of the mass; and the sanctuary, the place of the offering of the Jewish sacrifices, represents the places of the worship of Christian believers who put their faith for pardon in the sacrifice of Christ. The cleansing accordingly of the sanctuary, which is the event that is to mark the close of the twenty-three hundred days, is to be a discontinuance of the mass, and the restoration of Christ's sacrifice to the faith of the ministers universally, and members of the church as their trust for expiation and pardon; and that will take place at the destruction of Babylon the great, the symbol<sup>3</sup> of the Catholic priesthood, who are the offerers of the mass.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-36, 76.

<sup>2</sup>David N. Lord, The Coming and Reign of Christ (New York: Frankling Night, 1858), p. 390.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

Uriah Smith

Uriah Smith (1832-1903), American Adventist editor, author and scholar,<sup>1</sup> also maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 does not represent Antiochus Epiphanes, but pagan and papal Rome.<sup>2</sup> He opposed the view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes for the following reasons: (1) Antiochus

was simply one of the twenty-six kings who constituted the Syrian horn of the goat. He was, for the time being, that horn. Hence he could not be at the same time a separate and independent power, or another and remarkable horn, as the little horn was."<sup>3</sup>

(2) "Antiochus did not enlarge his dominion, except by some temporary conquests in Egypt, which he immediately relinquished when the Romans took the part of Ptolemy, and commanded him to desist from his designs in that quarter."<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, (3) "the little horn was to stand up against the Prince of princes. The Prince of princes here means, beyond controversy, Jesus Christ. Dan. 9:25; Acts 3:15; Rev. 1:5. But Antiochus died one hundred and sixty-four years before our Lord was born."<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>"Smith, Uriah," SDA Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., 10:1155-1156; Roy Adams, The Sanctuary Doctrine, Three Approaches in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, Vol. 1 (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1981), pp. 16-35.

<sup>2</sup>Uriah Smith, The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days of Daniel VIII. 14 (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press, 1877), pp. 34-44; idem, Thoughts Critical and Practical on the Book of Daniel and the Revelation (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1884), pp. 156-186: "We understand that the little horn symbolized Rome in its entire history, including its two phases, pagan and papal" (p. 157).

<sup>3</sup>Idem, Daniel and Revelation, p. 155.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

Smith, in favor of his view, pointed out that the Roman Empire came out of one of the four kingdoms of Alexander's successors, for Rome conquered Macedon in the year 168 B.C., and from there it went forth to new conquests.<sup>1</sup> The Roman Empire waxed great toward the south (Egypt), toward the east (Syria), and toward "the pleasant land" (Judea).<sup>2</sup> It waxed great even to "the host of heaven" (Jews) and cast down some of the stars (Jewish rulers).<sup>3</sup> The Roman power magnified itself even to the "Prince of the host" (Jesus) by crucifying Him.<sup>4</sup> Papal Rome took away the "daily" (paganism),<sup>5</sup> cast the truth to the ground, practiced, and prospered (8:12).<sup>6</sup> Finally, papal Rome will be "broken without hand."<sup>7</sup>

This interpretation was rooted in Smith's conviction that "in the actions ascribed" to the Roman power, "sometimes one form is

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 157: "It is therefore introduced into prophecy just as, from the conquered Macedonian horn of the goat, it is preparing to go forth to new conquests in other directions. It therefore appeared to the prophet, or may be properly spoken of in this prophecy, as coming forth from one of the horns of the goat."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Idem, Daniel and Revelation, p. 158; idem, The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days, p. 40: "There was a power, however, which did stand up against the Saviour. Rome was then in the zenith of its glory."

<sup>5</sup>Idem, Daniel and Revelation, p. 158: "By him (the papal form) the daily (the pagan form) was taken away." Idem, The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days, p. 41: "By him the daily (not the daily sacrifice, as our translators have supplied, but daily desolation, which is paganism) was taken away."

<sup>6</sup>Idem, Daniel and Revelation, p. 158.

<sup>7</sup>Idem, The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days, p. 43.

spoken of, sometimes the other."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, he interpreted vss. 9, 10, and 11a to refer to pagan Rome, and vss. 11b and 12b to papal Rome. On this basis we may affirm that Smith understood the little horn in a sequential way.

Antiochus Epiphanes as a type  
of the papal Antichrist

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the papal Antichrist was maintained in this period by at least two historicist interpreters: William Ramsay and Aaron P. Forman.

William Ramsay

William Ramsay in his Exposition of the Book of Daniel considered the four world empires of Daniel as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman;<sup>2</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the papacy.<sup>3</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, he maintained that in it we have the description of that wicked monarch who was the type of Antichrist.<sup>4</sup> According to him, Antiochus waxed exceeding great "to the east and south of Syria, and into the land of Palestine."<sup>5</sup> He was great even to the "host of heaven" (the people of the Lord in the

<sup>1</sup> Idem, Daniel and Revelation, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> William Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel (Edinburgh: Thomas Grant, 1853), pp. 50-52, 157-161.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 164-165, 181.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 206.

Jewish church),<sup>1</sup> cast the stars (the ministers of God in His temple) to the ground, and stamped upon them.<sup>2</sup> Antiochus magnified himself even to "Prince of the host" (it may refer either to the high priest or perhaps rather to Jesus Christ).<sup>3</sup> "He cast down or profaned the place of his sanctuary, throwing open its sacred inclosures to heathen intruders, and caused the daily sacrifice, which was offered for the whole congregation of Israel morning and evening, to be discontinued."<sup>4</sup> Antiochus desecrated the sanctuary for 2300 days or "six years and nearly four months."<sup>5</sup> Antiochus rose up as a king toward the end of the Grecian monarchy, and "was a man of skill in dark and deceitful practices."<sup>6</sup> Finally, Antiochus was broken without hand or by God's judgment.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to this Ramsay pointed out that in the prophetic description of Antiochus "we see some of the features of Antichrist standing out with considerable prominence."<sup>8</sup> Among them he mentioned (1) its waxing great from small beginnings, (2) its casting down to the ground the people and servants of God, (3) its magnifying itself against the "prince of the host", (4) its abolition of the daily

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 206-207.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 210.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 219, 220.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 208.

sacrifice, and (5) its casting down the truth.<sup>1</sup>

Aaron Parker Forman

Aaron P. Forman (1827-1875) considered in his Prophecy the four world empires of Daniel as the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman;<sup>2</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the papacy.<sup>3</sup>

The little horn of Dan 8, Forman understood to represent Antiochus Epiphanes as type of the papal Antichrist. He, like other interpreters who adopted the same view, restricted himself to explaining (briefly) how this prophecy was fulfilled by Antiochus, but did not say how it was to be fulfilled by the papal Antichrist.<sup>4</sup>

Thus Ramsay and Forman on the basis of correspondences they saw between the text and the history of Antiochus Epiphanes maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes that Syrian monarch. In addition to this they also affirmed that Antiochus is a type of the papal Antichrist, but they did not elaborate more on this particular subject.

Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of  
the future Antichrist

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as type of the future Antichrist was held by futurist

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>A. P. Forman, Prophecy (St. Louis: Presbyterian Publishing Company, 1878), pp. 306-409.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 398-409.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 374.

interpreters such as Karl A. Auberlen, Francis P. Kenrick, Andrew R. Fausset, Johann F. K. Keil, C. P. Caspari, A. Rohling, Joseph A. Seiss, Henry Deane, A. Hebbelynck, J. F. d'Envieu, Franz Düsterwald, Joseph Knabenbauer, Nathaniel West, and A. Philippe.

#### Karl August Auberlen

Karl A. Auberlen (1824-1864), a German Theologian,<sup>1</sup> in his Prophecies of Daniel remarked that there is a theology which "finds it necessary to assume the unguineness of Daniel; but let it not be denied or ignored, this necessity is not a historical, but a dogmatic one."<sup>2</sup> For Auberlen, "Daniel is the Apocalypse of the Old Testament."<sup>3</sup> By Apocalypse he understood "a revelation in a peculiar emphatic sense, needed for the times without revelation; a guiding star in the times of the Gentiles."<sup>4</sup> The first peculiarity of the apocalyptic books, he said, is "the universal character of their survey." Accordingly "Daniel sums up all the essential data of Old Testament eschatology, i.e., Messianic prophecy."<sup>5</sup> "What prophecy

<sup>1</sup>Auberlen studied theology at Tübingen from 1841 to 1845. Later on he became "repetent in theology at Tübingen 1849, and professor at Basel 1851." See "Auberlen, Karl August," NSHE, 1908 ed., 1:359.

<sup>2</sup>Carl August Auberlen, The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John, trans. Adolph Saphir (Andover: W. F. Draper, 1857), p. vii. This book was first published in German as Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis (Basel: Bahnmaier's Buchhandlung, 1854). 2nd German ed. 1857.

<sup>3</sup>Auberlen, The Prophecies of Daniel, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 74, 75.

sees in one and the same perspective, the Apocalypse separates into its individual phases and periods."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, "the Apocalypses give more historical and eschatological detail than prophecy."<sup>2</sup> The form peculiar to apocalyptic prophecy, Auberlen pointed out, is the symbolic. And "symbols as well as parables are holy enigmas to arouse our attention; they disclose heavenly mysteries to him who is willing to attend and receive instruction; but they shut the hardened heart and close the slumbering eyes."<sup>3</sup> "In the symbol, as well in the parable, the lower is used as a picture and sign of the higher, the natural as a means of representing the spiritual."<sup>4</sup> Therefore, "to obtain an insight into the symbols and parables of Holy Scripture, nature, that second, or rather first, book of God, must be opened as well as the Bible."<sup>5</sup> According to Auberlen, "Theophany is the first form of Old Testament revelation, prophecy, the second, and the Apocalypse, the third and final."<sup>6</sup> He suggested that Daniel wrote for the Jews, and from the Old Testament stand-point, while John wrote for Gentile Christians standing on New Testament ground.<sup>7</sup>

The four world empires of the book of Daniel, Auberlen understood as the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 71.



Roman;<sup>1</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7 as the future Antichrist.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Auberlen maintained that it represents Antiochus Epiphanes as "type of the last Antichrist," but he did not elaborate more on that subject.<sup>3</sup>

Francis Patrick Kenrick

Patrick P. Kenrick (1796-1863), Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore,<sup>4</sup> in his translation of The Book of Job and the Prophets, acknowledged the sixth century date of the book of Daniel on the basis of Ezek 28:3 and Josephus' testimony (Ant 1.10.12).<sup>5</sup> The four world empires spoken of in Dan 2 and 7 he considered as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman;<sup>6</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the future Antichrist.<sup>7</sup> Following Jerome, he also maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes as type

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 32, 33.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 39-40: "Some find in the fourth monarchy also a prophecy of the Papacy. This view was naturally suggested by the fact, that the Papacy is likewise Roman. It arises, however, . . . from an unwillingness to admit that Christianity and the church are not at all mentioned prior to the millennium, and from a desire to find some intimations concerning the church before the millennium, in the prophecies of Daniel. . . . But Daniel, the statesman of Israel, did not prophesy concerning the church; it was to John that revelations concerning her were vouchsafed" (pp. 219-220).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>4</sup>Kenrick was born in Dublin, Ireland. He studied in Rome at the College of the Propaganda and was ordained in 1821. See "Kenrick, Francis Patrick," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967 ed., 8:155.

<sup>5</sup>Francis Patrick Kenrick, The Book of Job and the Prophets (Baltimore: Kelly, Hedian, & Piet, 1859), p. 594.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 602, 621.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 522.

of Antichrist.<sup>1</sup> In his short notes he pointed out that Antiochus is called a little horn because he was "a younger son of Antiochus the Great."<sup>2</sup> Antiochus cast down some of the host (the worshipers of God), "involving them in the guilt of apostasy."<sup>3</sup> Although Antiochus did not overthrow the building, he profaned it.<sup>4</sup> Finally, "his astute character is intimated by the prophet who describes him as one who solved enigmas: he formed deep schemes."<sup>5</sup>

Andrew Robert Fausset

Andrew R. Fausset (1821-1910), an Anglican divine,<sup>6</sup> contributed to the Jamieson-Fausset-Brown Commentary with several books, and among them the book of Daniel.<sup>7</sup> In his commentary on Daniel he maintained that the four world monarchies spoken of in that book are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman;<sup>8</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the final Antichrist.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 625: "St. Jerome refers to the books of the Maccabees and to Josephus, for the facts pointed out by the prophet, but observes that Antiochus prefigures the Antichrist."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 626.

<sup>6</sup>Fausset was born in Ireland. He studied at Trinity College, Dublin (B.A. 1843), and was ordained priest in 1848. See "Fausset, Andrew Robert," NSHE, 1909 ed., 4:285.

<sup>7</sup>Robert Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, and David Brown, A Commentary: Critical, and Explanatory, on the Old and New Testaments (New York: S. S. Scranton and Company, 1873). This Commentary was originally published in 1868.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 1:625 (on Dan 2:38-43), 633-634 (on Dan 7:3-7).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 1:635 (on Dan 7:24): ". . . the horn of blasphemy

In Fausset's view the vision of Dan 8 relates "wholly to the Jews and Jerusalem."<sup>1</sup> He intimated that the little horn of Dan 8 should "not be confounded with the little horn of the fourth kingdom in ch. 7. 8."<sup>2</sup> For him, the little horn of Dan 8 denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as "the forerunner of the final Antichrist, standing in the same relation to the first Advent of Christ that Antichrist does to His second coming."<sup>3</sup> According to Fausset, Antiochus waxed great toward the south (Egypt), toward the east (Persia), and toward the pleasant land (Judea).<sup>4</sup> He waxed great to "the host of heaven" (the Jews and their priests, Isa 24:21),<sup>5</sup> and even against the "Prince of the host" (God).<sup>6</sup> Antiochus took away the daily sacrifice which was offered every morning and evening (Exod 29:38, 39; 1 Macc 1:20-50),<sup>7</sup> cast down the truth (the worship of the true God) to the ground,<sup>8</sup> and "made himself master of Egypt and Jerusalem successively by craft (1 Macc 1. 30, &c.; 2 Macc 5. 24, &c.)."<sup>9</sup> Finally, Antiochus was broken

---

cannot therefore be past; for now there is almost a general cessation of persecution."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1:636 (on Dan 8).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:637.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. Regarding the sanctuary he said: "though robbed of its treasures, it was not strictly 'cast down' by Antiochus. So that a fuller accomplishment is future."

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 1:638.

without hand by worms and ulcers, "forshadowing God's judgment on the last enemy of the Jewish church."<sup>1</sup>

Fausset also believed in a future fulfillment of this prophecy based on Dan 8:17 and on the assumption that from vs. 23 the description passes from the type to the antitype. Accordingly, in a few sentences he pointed out that the future Antichrist will act by the power of Satan, and his persecutions will be especially directed against the Jews.<sup>2</sup>

Johann Friedrich Karl Keil

Johann F. K. Keil (1807-1888), a German Lutheran exegete,<sup>3</sup> wrote a commentary on the book of Daniel which was published in 1869, and translated into English in 1872.<sup>4</sup> In it he maintained that the genuineness of the book of Daniel, "or its composition by the prophet Daniel, rest on a solid foundation."<sup>5</sup> According to him, "the so-called apocalyptic character of Daniel's prophecy is neither in content nor in form a new species of prophecy."<sup>6</sup> For as the other

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1:641.

<sup>3</sup>Keil studied theology in Dorpart and Berlin. In 1833 he accepted a call to work as professor in Dorpart, where he labored for twenty-five years as professor of Old and New Testament exegesis and Oriental languages. See W. J. A. Keil, "Keil, Johann Friedrich Karl," NSHE, 1910 ed., 6:305.

<sup>4</sup>Carl Friedrich Keil, Biblischer Commentar über den Propheten Daniel (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1869); idem, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament (Edinburgh: T. T. Clark, 1872).

<sup>5</sup>Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

prophets do not limit themselves to the present but throw light on the future, so "Daniel's prophecy also goes forth from the present and reaches far beyond the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans."<sup>1</sup>

The four world kingdoms spoken of in the book of Daniel were for him the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedo-Grecian, and Roman;<sup>2</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the future Antichrist.<sup>3</sup>

In regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Keil maintained that it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the future Antichrist.<sup>4</sup> According to him, the little horn comes out of one of the four horns of the he-goat.<sup>5</sup> "The masculine forms mēhem and yāšā (out of them came)," he remarked, "are to be explained as a constructio ad sensum."<sup>6</sup> Following the first book of Maccabees (1:10), Josephus (Ant. x. 11. 7), and "all interpreters," he maintained that the horn from which the little horn grew up is the Syrian monarchy, and the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 25, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 245-268: "These four kingdoms, according to the interpretation commonly received in the church, are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedo-Grecian, and the Roman. 'In this interpretation and opinion,' Luther observes, 'all the world are agreed, and history and fact abundantly establish it' (p. 245).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 258-261. See also pp. 275-283.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp 258-261: "Antiochus, in his conduct towards the Old Testament people of God, is only the type of Antichrist, who will arise out of the ten kingdoms of the fourth world-kingdom (ch. vii. 24) and be diverse from them, arrogate to himself the omnipotence which is given to Christ, and in this arrogance will put himself in the place of God" (p. 260).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 294.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>1</sup> In Keil's view, Antiochus became great against the south (Egypt, 1 Macc 1:16 ff.), against the east (Elymais and Armenia, 1 Macc 1:31, 37; 3:31, 37,; 6:1-4), and against the "pleasant land" (Canaan).<sup>2</sup> He grew in height even unto the "host of heaven" (the people of Israel) who are called "the host of Jehovah" in Exod 7:4 and 12:41.<sup>3</sup> Antiochus raised his might even to the "Prince of the host" (God) by taking away "the daily" and destroying His sanctuary (1 Macc 1:39, 46; 3:45).<sup>4</sup> Antiochus cast down "the truth" (the word of God) to the ground (1 Macc 1:43-52, 56, 60).<sup>5</sup> He oppressed the Jews for "2300 whole days" (an incomplete period of divine judgment),<sup>6</sup> "which becomes a type for the duration of the oppression of the last enemy of the church of the Lord at the end of the days."<sup>7</sup> Finally, Antiochus was mighty but by virtue of the audacity of his conduct.<sup>8</sup>

Keil contented himself in pointing out how the little horn of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 295, 296.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 296, 297.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 297, 298: "The limitation of it [the daily] to the daily morning and evening service in the writings of the Rabbis, is unknown in the O. T." (p. 298).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 301.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 304, 307: "Thus the answer of the angel has this meaning: The time of the predicted oppression of Israel, and of the desolation of the sanctuary by Antiochus, the little horn, shall not reach the full duration of a period of divine judgment . . ." (p. 307).

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 308.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 317.

.

Dan 8 was fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes, but he did not say how it would be fulfilled by the future Antichrist.

#### Joseph Augustus Seiss

Joseph A. Seiss (1823-1904), American Lutheran preacher, editor, and author,<sup>1</sup> published his Voices from Babylon in 1879.<sup>2</sup> In it he maintained that "Daniel is peculiarly the prophet of the latter days,"<sup>3</sup> and his book "perhaps the most interesting and valuable of all the prophetic books."<sup>4</sup> For Seiss, Dan 2 "gives an outline of the history and destiny of all earthly dominions, from Nebuchadnezzar to the end of the present world, and for ever."<sup>5</sup> The four world empires spoken of in Daniel he understood as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greco-Macedonian, and Roman;<sup>6</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, the future "great Antichrist of the last days."<sup>7</sup>

In regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Seiss maintained that it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the future Antichrist.<sup>8</sup> In his view, "Antiochus Epiphanes certainly answers more fully to the

---

<sup>1</sup>Seiss was born in Maryland and served as pastor in Philadelphia, Pa., from 1858 to 1904. See Gerhard E. Lenski, "Seiss, Joseph Augustus," The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, 1965 ed., 3:2152.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Augustus Seiss, Voices from Babylon; or, the Records of Daniel the Prophet (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1879).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 59-65, 188-193.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 219-222.

prophetic delineation than any king or power that has yet existed since Daniel wrote."<sup>1</sup>

He came up out of one of the four divisions of the empire of Alexander, from the stock of Syrian kings, and toward the latter time of that empire, when it already began to come under the growing power of Rome. He came up from a very small beginning, from being a hostage at Rome, with no prospect of ever becoming a great king. He got the kingdom by deceits and flatteries. His conquests and depredations were all in the direction noted in the vision. And especially his treatment of the Jews, his profanations of the temple, his bloody tyranny against the faithful worshippers of Jehovah, and his blasphemous audacity over against God himself, well accord with what is said of this horn. The writings of Josephus and the Books of the Maccabees tell the story of his doings, which one cannot read without being touched at the miseries he inflicted; all of which wonderfully accords with the prophetic outline.<sup>2</sup>

Thus on the basis of the book of Maccabees and the history of Josephus, Seiss maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the final Antichrist.<sup>3</sup>

Henry Deane

Henry Deane (1838-1894), fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, was another futurist expositor of Daniel.<sup>4</sup> He, like Pusey, regarded the four world empires of Daniel as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman; and the ten horns of the fourth beast of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 215.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 222: "And by observing after what manner and for what reasons the calamitous inflictions of the Graeco-Syrian king fell upon the Jews of old, we may see and know how the final Antichrist will come."

<sup>4</sup>H. Deane, An Old Testament Commentary for English Readers, edited by Charles John Ellicott (London: Cassell & Company, 1884), 5:359-408; idem, Daniel: His Life and Times, (New York: Anson, D. F. Randolph & Company, [1888]).



Dan 7 and its little horn as still future.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Deane maintained that it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes, asserting also that he was a type of Antichrist.<sup>2</sup> The little horn, he pointed out, signifies an individual for "personal acts were attributed to it."<sup>3</sup> In Deane's view, Antiochus came out of one of the four kingdoms of Alexander's successors.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, Antiochus "distinguished himself by his invasions of Egypt on the south, his marauding expeditions into Persia in the east, and his abominable doings in the 'pleasant' land of Palestine."<sup>5</sup> Antiochus waxed great to the "host of heaven" (the people of Israel),<sup>6</sup> and magnified himself even to the "Prince of the host" (Jehovah).<sup>7</sup> He took away the daily sacrifice or "everything permanent in the worship of God."<sup>8</sup> Finally, for 2300 days or six

---

<sup>1</sup>Deane, An Old Testament Commentary, 5:366-367, 379-382; idem, Daniel: His Life and Times, pp. 127-128, 134-135.

<sup>2</sup>Deane, An Old Testament Commentary, 5: 383. On page 384 he wrote: "St. Jerome observes that what happened in the times of Antiochus was typical of what shall be fulfilled hereafter in Antichrist."

<sup>3</sup>Idem, Daniel: His life and Times, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>5</sup>Idem, Daniel: His life and Times, p. 141; idem, An Old Testament Commentary, 5:383: "The southern campaigns of Antiochus Epiphanes are related 1 Macc. i. 16; for his eastern wars see 1 Macc. iii. 31-37. vi. 1-4."

<sup>6</sup>Idem., Daniel: His Life and Times, p. 142; idem, An Old Testament Commentary, 5:383.

<sup>7</sup>Idem., An Old Testament Commentary, 5:383.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid. "On this conduct of Antiochus see 1 Macc. i. 39, 45 & iii. 45."

years and 140 days Antiochus persecuted the Jews until Judas Mac-  
cabeus cleansed the sanctuary; that is, from 171 B.C. to 165 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

J. Fabre d'Envieu

J. Fabre d'Envieu, Catholic professor of Sorbonne, wrote a  
commentary on the book of Daniel.<sup>2</sup> In it he acknowledged and defended  
the genuineness of the book of Daniel,<sup>3</sup> as well as the unity of the  
book.<sup>4</sup> The four world empires of Daniel he considered as the  
Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman;<sup>5</sup> and the little horn of  
Dan 7, the man of sin or future Antichrist.<sup>6</sup>

According to d'Envieu, the eighth chapter of Daniel has some  
connection with Dan 2 and 7, but it is limited to only two empires.  
On the other hand, Dan 8 and 11 are parallel chapters.<sup>7</sup> In regard to  
the little horn of Dan 8 he maintained that it denotes Antiochus  
Epiphanes as a type of the future Antichrist who is represented by  
the little horn of Dan 7.<sup>8</sup> The pronoun mēhem in vs. 9, he pointed  
out, should be understood ad sensum. In other words, the construction

---

<sup>1</sup>Idem., Daniel: His Life and Times, pp. 143-144; idem, An Old  
Testament Commentary, 5:383-384.

<sup>2</sup>J. Fabre d'Envieu, Le livre du Prophète Daniel (Paris:  
Ernest Thorin, 1888-1891).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1:772-855.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1:172-180, 274-282.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 2:162-174, 567-583, 636-676.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 2:583, 682-702: "Cette petite corne désigne l'homme  
de péché dans lequel se reproduira toute l'hostilité du quatrième  
empire contre le Messie et contre son Eglise."

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. 2:774.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.: "Chacun de ces deux monstres est type de l'autre."

of the phrase should be understood as making accord with the intended meaning of the symbol (kings) and not with the symbol, which is feminine.<sup>1</sup> "For the same reason," he added, "the verb *כָּסַף* is in masculine: Daniel sees in place of the horn the king which it represents."<sup>2</sup> According to d'Envieu, Antiochus waxed great to the south (Egypt) (1 Macc 1:17 and passim), toward the east (Armenia, Polybius 31, 11), and towards the pleasant land (Palestine).<sup>3</sup> He waxed great against the "host of heaven" (Israel).<sup>4</sup> Antiochus also magnified himself even to the "Prince of the host" (the Most High), by profaning His temple, taking away His daily sacrifice, and killing His worshipers (1 Macc 1:23, 24, 39, 41, 42, 47-49, 57, 62).<sup>5</sup> He cast down to the ground "the truth" (Jewish religion) which is revealed in the law and the prophets, and replaced it with the pagan worship.<sup>6</sup> Antiochus declared himself an enemy of the Jews at the end of the Grecian kingdom, when Rome began to exercise its dominion over the east.<sup>7</sup> Finally, Antiochus was broken without hand, that is, he died

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:799: "Mais le prophète a ici en vue les groupes de rois que comprennent les quatre royaumes représentés par les quatre cornes: l'accord est ad sensum."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.: "Pour la même raison, le verbe *כָּסַף* est au masculin: Daniel voit à la place de la corne le roi qu'elle représente."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 2:799, 800.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 2:800, 801. The "host of heaven," he stated, can be considered as a poetic expression to designate the true worshipers of the true God. And in fact, the Israelites were called a "host" when they left Egypt (Exod 7:4; 12:41). Therefore, in this passage the "host of heaven" must refer to the people of God or the people of Israel.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 2:801, 802.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 2:804.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 2:839.

by the result of divine intervention.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph Knabenbauer

Joseph Knabenbauer (1839-1911), a Catholic exegete,<sup>2</sup> contributed with several works to the Cursus Scripturae Sacrae, and among them Commentarius in Daniele Prophetam.<sup>3</sup> In it he acknowledged the sixth-century-B.C. date of the book of Daniel as well as its unity.<sup>4</sup> Knabenbauer understood the four world empires of Daniel as the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Greco-Macedonian, and the Roman.<sup>5</sup> The little horn of Dan 7 he interpreted as the future Antichrist.<sup>6</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Knabenbauer maintained that it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the future Antichrist.<sup>7</sup> According to him, Antiochus ascended to the Syrian

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 2:842, 843.

<sup>2</sup>F. X. Weiser, "Knabenbauer, Joseph," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967 ed., 8:214: "From 1860 to 1864 he taught at the college of Feldkirch, Austria, then studied classical languages, philosophy, theology, and exegesis (1864-72). He was professor of the OT and NT at Ditton Hall, England, from 1872 to 1895, then at Valkenburg, Holland, where he stayed to the end of his life."

<sup>3</sup>J. Knabenbauer, Commentarius in Daniele prophetam, Lamentationes et Baruch (Paris: Sumptibus P. Lethielleux, 1891).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-33.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 86-93, 189-192.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 192, 193, 199: "In v. 23 regnum describitur romanum. In v. 24 modo prophetico statim fit transitus ad tempus remotum, tempus scil. antichristi" (p. 199).

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 212, 217: "Antiochus, typus est cornu illius quod e medio decem cornuum post regnum quartum est oriturum; de quo 7, 8. 25; quo cornu antichristus designatur" (p. 217). See also p. 193.

throne from a small beginning, since he was a prisoner in Rome for 11 years and then usurped the Syrian throne from his brother Demetrius.<sup>1</sup> Antiochus waxed great toward the south (Egypt), toward the east (Persia), and toward the "glorious land" (Palestine).<sup>2</sup> He profaned and trampled the sanctuary and the host (1 Macc 1:22-29; 2 Macc 5:11-16) for 2300 days or six years and four months.<sup>3</sup> Antiochus was a cruel and fraudulent man who destroyed the people of God.<sup>4</sup> Finally, he was broken without hand or by God's judgment.<sup>5</sup>

#### Nathaniel West

Nathaniel West (1824-1906), Presbyterian clergyman of Cincinnati,<sup>6</sup> was another futurist expositor who dealt with the book of Daniel.<sup>7</sup> He maintained that "the book of Daniel was written to prefigure, in outline, the course of history from the Babylonian exile to the second coming of Christ."<sup>8</sup> According to him, the predictions of Daniel "set forth, by means of symbols and their interpretation, the political and religious struggles of the Jews with the empires of the world, and the outcome for both."<sup>9</sup> "Daniel's people,"

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 242.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 215.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 221.

<sup>6</sup>Froom, The Prophetic Faith, 4:1180.

<sup>7</sup>Nathaniel West, Daniel's Great Prophecy (New York: The Hope of Israel Movement, 1898).

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

he said, "the Jews, are the key of the whole interpretation."<sup>1</sup> He, like all futurist interpreters, acknowledged the genuineness and the authenticity of the book of Daniel.<sup>2</sup>

The four world empires of Daniel he regarded as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman.<sup>3</sup> The little horn of Dan 7 West considered as the man of sin or future Antichrist who will invade Jerusalem and oppress the Jews.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, he maintained that it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist.<sup>5</sup> "The 'meaning' of the prophecy," he pointed out, "is not limited to the times of Antiochus, but looks to the close of the last 1,260 days of the horn in chapter vii."<sup>6</sup> According to West, Antiochus sprang from one of the four kingdoms of Alexander's successors.<sup>7</sup> He waxed great toward the south (Egypt), toward the east (Persia and Armenia), and toward the pleasant land (the Holy Land).<sup>8</sup> Antiochus assailed the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 53-55.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 71, 72, 83-84: "Daniel saw in vision--a satanic re-appearing military leader, atheist, antichrist and supreme imperial ruler of the last times, in whom, by consent of the Horns, is vested the whole power of apostate governments in Europe" (p. 72).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 94; idem, Studies in Eschatology (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1880), p. 218: "And that this type, Antiochus, glides insensibly, by a law of prophetic representation, into the antitype, the last Antichrist . . ."

<sup>6</sup>West, Daniel's Great Prophecy, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

"host of heaven" (Israel) and cast some of the stars (princes and priests of Israel) to the ground.<sup>1</sup> He opposed the "prince of the host" (Onias III), took away the daily, and polluted the place of the sanctuary by "erecting a pagan altar upon the Altar of Burnt-Offering, sacrificing a swine upon it, sprinkling with swine's broth the holy places, and setting up beside the altar a statue of Jupiter."<sup>2</sup> The Syrian king "acquired and kept his throne" by the help of other powers.<sup>3</sup> He killed many Jews, 80,000 during his first invasion of Jerusalem and 22,000 during his second invasion.<sup>4</sup> Finally, he was broken without hand or "by some mysterious judgment of God."<sup>5</sup>

These interpreters set themselves apart as a separate group from the preterist, historical-critical, and historicist interpreters by the fact that they understood the fulfillment of the ten horns of the fourth beast of Dan 7 and the little horn of the same vision to be in the future. They might be divided into two groups: (1) those who believed that the prophecies of Daniel are only concerned with the Jews and not with the Christian Church, making a gap from the first coming of Christ to seven years before His second coming;<sup>6</sup> and (2) those who did not believe in that theory.<sup>7</sup> All of them explained

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Auberlen, The Prophecies of Daniel, pp. 219, 220; Fausset, A Commentary, 1:636; West, Daniel's Great Prophecy, pp. 6, 35.

<sup>7</sup>Kenrick, Keil, Caspari, Rohling, Seiss, Deane, d'Enviu,

how the little horn of Dan 8 corresponds to the history of Antiochus Epiphanes as mainly told in the book of Maccabees, but none of them fully explained how it will be fulfilled by the future Antichrist.

Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the "king of the north"

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes as type of the future "king of the north" of Dan 11 was maintained by William Kelly.<sup>1</sup>

William Kelly

William Kelly (1821-1906), a Plymouth Brother,<sup>2</sup> condemned the practice of interpreting Bible prophecies "by the help of history, antiquities, [and] newspapers."<sup>3</sup> He preferred to find the meaning of prophecies "by a right use of what is in His [God's] own word."<sup>4</sup>

The four world empires of the book of Daniel he considered as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Roman;<sup>5</sup> and the little

---

Knabenbauer, and Philippe.

<sup>1</sup>William Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel (London: George Morrish, [1858]), pp. 128, 136-142.

<sup>2</sup>Kelly was born in Ireland of Episcopalian parentage. He joined the Plymouth Brethren in 1840. His studies were done at Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated with classical honors. Kelly helped Tregelles in his investigations on textual criticism, and he himself published a critical edition of the Revelation of John in 1860. He was a follower and interpreter of John Nelson Darby's views and edited his Collected Writings. See E. E. Whitfield, "Kelly, William," NSHE, 1910 ed., 6:308; W. B. Neatby, "Mr. William Kelly as a Theologian," The Expositor, 7/4 (1907):70-86.

<sup>3</sup>Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-44, 102-109. According to him the Roman Empire has three stages: the imperial form, the period in which it does not



horn of Dan 7 may refer partially to the pope but fully to the future Antichrist.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, Kelly said:

I strongly suspect that, in the main, what we have here, save the portion which is marked parenthetically, has had a partial accomplishment in the past. We shall read of a personage in chapter xi. where the characteristics alluded to here, as marking this little horn, are still more minutely stated. He is called, in profaned history, Antiochus Epiphanes, and was a particularly bad man. If you have read the books of the Maccabees, (which, though not Scripture, are in the main historically true, at least two of them,) you will know that they describe this king of Syro-Macedonia, and show the dreadful feeling he cherished against Israel . . . No doubt, this was the person meant historically by the little horn. But he shows the same kind of features, which will re-appear in another great leader of the last days, and I think this will be made evident from the last part of this chapter. For when the prophet is spoken to by the angel Gabriel, he says, 'Understand, o son of man: for at the time of the end shall be the vision.'<sup>2</sup>

His reasons for this understanding he explained as follows:

. . . we must remember, that the little horn of chap. viii. is an entirely distinct power from the little horn of chap. vii. That of chapter vii. is the last leader of the Roman Empire, who arises out of the fourth empire when it is divided into ten kingdoms; whereas this power arises from the third empire, wherein there was a division into four parts--not into ten. . . . As there will be a grand leader in the west, so there will also be one in the east, springing out of the Greek empire.<sup>3</sup>

The Jews in the last days, he affirmed, "will have an evil within in their own land--the Antichrist setting himself up as God in His temple; and they will have another evil from without--the Assyrian."<sup>4</sup>

---

exist, and the future Roman Empire (p. 112).

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 113, 114: "I gather from that, not that this has no bearing upon the papacy, but that its full accomplishment is in the future."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 131, 132.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

Finally, Kelly remarked:

I have endeavoured to show, that while Antiochus Epiphanes was the type of this Assyrian, yet that after all it was only in a very small part indeed that he meets the requirement of the prophecy; which, while it makes use of him, as a type, looks onward to the latter times of the indignation of God against Israel, when their foe comes up to receive his judgment from God.

Thus, on the basis of Dan 8:17, the differences of characteristics between the little horn of Dan 7 and 8, and the correspondence between the text and the history of Antiochus Epiphanes as is told in the book of Maccabees, Kelly thought that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to that Syrian king as a type of the future "king of the north".

#### The Roman Empire

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Rome was maintained by William R. A. Boyle.

William Robert Augustus Boyle

William R. A. Boyle (d. 1875) published some books on different subjects, and among them The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel.<sup>2</sup> In this book he upheld the genuineness of the book of Daniel and defended its authenticity.<sup>3</sup> The four world empires of Daniel he understood as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Roman.<sup>4</sup> With regard to the little horn of Dan 7, Boyle did not point out whom

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>2</sup>William R. A. Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel; and other Portions of Holy Scripture (London: Rivingtons, 1863).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-658.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 111-148.

it symbolizes but maintained that it does not denote Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>1</sup>

Boyle also opposed the view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes, as well as the view that it denotes the Turkish power.<sup>2</sup> He preferred to hold the view that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes the Roman Empire. But before he proceeded to give his reasons for holding this view, he dealt with some objections which had been raised against it. One of the objections was that "the Old Roman power can never be considered as a little horn of the Greek he-goat; for the local origin of its horn was Latium in Italy, not any spot in Greece or Persia."<sup>3</sup> This objection, Boyle said, is based on the understanding "that the little horn is depicted as originating out of one of the four Macedonian kingdoms."<sup>4</sup> But, he asked:

Is this, however, a correct interpretation of the prophet's language, 'out of one of them came forth a little horn'? Has the word 'them' been rightly understood? To which then of the words preceding it does the word 'them' here refer?<sup>5</sup>

To these questions Boyle answered: "There can be no question that the immediate antecedent of 'them' is the word 'winds,' or 'quarters'."<sup>6</sup>

Then he continued:

In Daniel's previous description of the he-goat he says, 'behold, a he-goat came from the West,' of which distinct mention is thus made, because no general geographical term had previously

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 154-158.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 242-274.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 274. See also p. 292.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 275.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 276.

occurred. . . . Relatively to the Macedonians the Romans also came from the west; but this having been previously mentioned in connexion with the Macedonian empire, Daniel might hesitate to employ the same expression over again to point out the Romans. He may rather be understood as alluding (indefinitely, as it might seem, though not so in reality) to one out of the four quarters of the globe, which having just mentioned, furnished him with a convenient reference.

"The more natural inference would be," he said, "that in taking up another empire, the writer should make it emerge from one of such quarters, rather than from one of the four Macedonian kingdoms, unless there were a clear reference to the latter."<sup>2</sup>

Having dealt with the origin of the little horn, he proceeded to give his reasons for holding the view that the little horn denotes the Roman Empire. According to him, "this 'horn' came out of one of the four quarters of the world," and that quarter was the west.<sup>3</sup> The Romans issued forth on their career of aggrandizement in the latter time of the Macedonian kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

In comparison with other nations, the power that was now issuing forth to desolate and subjugate the earth occupied but a narrow strip of territory, and formed a state of insignificant extent; and so regarded was essentially a 'little horn.'<sup>5</sup>

The Roman Empire waxed exceeding great toward the south (Carthage, 195 B.C. onwards), toward the east (the whole of Asia Minor, 128 B.C. onwards), and toward the pleasant land (the kingdom of Judea, 63 B.C. onwards).<sup>6</sup> It reached an extension of more than

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 289. See also pp. 282, 303.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 303.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 282-300. According to Boyle the term "pleasant

2,000 miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus and the northern limits of Dacia, to Mount Atlas and the tropic of Cancer; it extended in length more than 3000 miles from the western Ocean to the Euphrates; . . . and it was supposed to contain above 1,600,000 square miles.

The Roman Empire was mighty, but not by its own power. The Romans "made soldiers of every people they conquered, and considered the vanquished only as so many instruments of future triumph."<sup>2</sup> "In their character the Romans were stern, fierce, intolerant, and cruel."<sup>3</sup> The Romans "arrogated to themselves the utmost superiority, treating with scorn and insolence the representatives of the most ancient dynasties, and disregarded and even outraged the feelings of other nations."<sup>4</sup>

The most arrogant titles were conferred on her emperors: To the Divine Julius; To the Eternal Prince always, every where to be revered, Augustus; To the Prosperous, Unconquered, Unconquerable and Perpetual ever-August; The Restorer of the World; To the Triumphal Lord of the whole World; The salvation of the human race.<sup>5</sup>

"In the government of the Romans its leading feature was its deep-laid and insidious policy."<sup>6</sup> The Romans paid more attention than any

---

land" imports in the Holy Scripture "prosperity and independence." He gave as support Isa 5:7; 32:12; 54:12; 64:11; Jer 3:19; Lam 1:7, 10; Ezek 26:12; Hos 9:3; Zech 7:14.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 303, 304.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 305.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 310: "In this character . . . were they marked out nearly 1000 years before by the great lawgiver and prophet of Israel (Dt 28:50)."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 315.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 316. Quoted from Dr. Zouch's book.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 317: "In the epistles of the Senate to the Jews and to Demetrius there appears that scheme of subjugation so systematically practised by the Romans. in assuming to grant liberty

other people to oracles and auguries. They "turned them to such account in promoting success, averting disaster, and, above all, in stimulating the spirit of their armies."<sup>1</sup> The Romans destroyed "the mighty and holy people."<sup>2</sup> Under the reign of Caligula (d. A.D. 41) the Jews were persecuted and killed in Egypt and in Babylon; under Nero (d. A.D. 68) and Vespasian many cities were destroyed and thousand of Jews killed.<sup>3</sup> The Romans took away the daily sacrifice and cast down the place of his sanctuary.<sup>4</sup> "In destroying Jerusalem and massacring the people of Israel, they did but exalt their own false religion, and 'cast down the truth to the ground'."<sup>5</sup>

---

to those under foreign dominion, in order that being detached from their rulers, they might afterwards be enslaved by themselves when the opportunity offered: a policy so frequently remarked upon by Justin, Dr. Hales, Rollin, and other writers."

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 325: "Nor can any thing more accurately define the ambiguous expressions, and obscure intimations of the augurs than the phrase 'dark sentences.' The arts and cunning of these pretenders were exalted into a science; one of the principal institutions at Rome was a college of augurs. Nothing of moment which concerned the state, whether in peace or war, in Italy or abroad, was undertaken or transacted without consulting them."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 328, 329.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 330-344. Boyle mentions the following cities: Gadara, Jotapata, and Jerusalem. "The entire number of those who were made prisoners during the war is estimated by Josephus at 97,000, and of those who perished during the siege at 1,100,000. But, if we include the whole period of the war, the computation rises to nearly 1,500,000. This number probably falls far short of the reality. Upon the occasion of Cestius' visit, upwards of 3,000,000 of people were assembled within the city" (p. 344).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 344: "It was the desire of Titus that the temple should be spared; but in vain did the son of Vespasian issue orders for this purpose. The gates were set on fire during the assault, and, once ignited, the ravages of the fire could not be stayed, and this matchless fabric perished in the flames."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 345.

When Christianity appeared, every device which the most barbarous ingenuity could suggest was put in practice against those, who had the fortitude to embrace it. Nero, Diocletian, and Decius stand out prominently among their most bitter persecutors; while the apostate Julian exerted his utmost to root out the religion itself, and destroy the very name of Christian. In the person of these emperors and others this power thus 'stood up against the Prince of princes'.

Thus on the basis of a new understanding of the phrase "out of them" (8:9), and on correspondences between the text and the history of the Romans, Boyle maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to the Roman Empire and its assaults against Jews and Christians.

#### The future Antichrist

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the future Antichrist was maintained by George H. Pember.

George Hawkins Pember

George H. Pember wrote several books on prophecy. One of them is The Great Prophecies concerning the Gentiles, the Jews, and the Church of God.<sup>2</sup> In this book he explicitly stated that he follows the futurist system of interpretation.<sup>3</sup> According to him, this system "is the only system which is based solely upon the great interpreting message vouchsafed to Daniel, and the Lord's own division of the Apocalypse into 'the things which thou sawest, and the things which

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 348, 349.

<sup>2</sup>George Hawkins Pember, The Great Prophecies concerning the Gentiles, the Jews, and the Church of God, 3rd ed. (New York: Christian Herald Office, 1887). This book was first published in London in 1881; a second edition was issued in 1885.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

are, and the things which shall come after these'.<sup>1</sup> Basic to Pember's system of interpretation is his belief that God has revealed His purposes in connection with three peoples upon earth: the Gentiles, the Jews, and the Church.<sup>2</sup> In Pember's view, the revelation concerning the Gentiles is that "four successive empires were to run their course, the last of them continuing until the appearing of Christ."<sup>3</sup> "The Jewish prophecies," he said, "are a little more intricate, and Daniel was unable to comprehend the purpose of God concerning Judah and Jerusalem until he had received a special revelation to give him skill and understanding."<sup>4</sup> Furthermore,

This revelation disclosed that God was about to take four hundred and ninety years out of the times of the Gentiles for the special discipline, under covenant, of the Jews; that these years would commence from the issuing of an edict to rebuild the destroyed city and walls of Jerusalem; that after four hundred and eighty-three of them had passed by, Messiah would be cut off, and, in consequence of His rejection, the covenant would be broken, and a long and unknown interval elapse, during which the Jews would be scattered and disowned of God; that at the close of the interval they would again be found in their own land, and that the last prince of the Fourth Empire would make a covenant with the majority of them for seven years; that God would at the same time resume His dealings with them, and so complete, in the time of

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.: "Beginning with the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar, four successive empires were to run their course, the last of them continuing until the appearing of Christ. But the third should fall apart into four dominions, after existing for a short time as one. And the course of the fourth should even more varied, including three phases of sovereignty: it should rule over the earth first as one undivided power, then as two more or less concerned empires, lastly as ten kingdoms confederated under a great and blasphemous president who should be destroyed by the Lord Himself. But, it should be for a while deprived of its sovereignty, and be dominated by an ecclesiastical hierarchy. Thus the times of the Gentiles should flow on without interruption until the return of Christ."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.



Antichrist's covenant, that which still remained of the four hundred and ninety years; and that, after they had experienced a fearful discipline during the final three years and a half, the Deliverer should come to Zion, and give to the remnant of Israel 'the greatness of the Kingdom under the whole heaven.'

"In regard to the third people, the Church of God," he pointed out, "we find that they began to be gathered out of all nations shortly after the Jewish covenant had been suspended, and that their age was to occupy the interval which followed."<sup>2</sup> The key to the understanding of the book of Daniel he found in the four verses of Dan 9:24-27.<sup>3</sup> In these verses he discovered three periods which divide the "prophetic time" from the beginning of the "Seventy Weeks" to the "Second Advent."<sup>4</sup> The first period, he affirmed, is definite and covers four hundred and eighty-three years, beginning with the command to rebuild Jerusalem to four days before the Messiah's death.<sup>5</sup> The second period

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 17. According to Pember, at the close of the period of the church of God the following will happen: "The Lord Jesus would descend into the air: those of the Church who died would hear His voice and come forth from their graves, while the living who had been able to endure, in spite of temptation, would be at the same moment changed, and caught up together with them into His presence. There they would remain during the last seven years of the Jewish covenant, before the close of which they would be joined by some of their fellows whose unready condition caused them to be left behind for a season. And then the whole multitude, arrayed in white, would appear with their king in glory, and, after the destruction of His enemies, rule as His subordinates over the redeemed earth."

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 43: "In glancing through the book of Daniel we observe that the prophet could not understand his earlier visions in the seventh and eighth chapters; that in the ninth chapter an angel is sent, in answer to his earnest prayer, to give him 'skill and understanding'; and that, after receiving this communication, he readily comprehended the final vision, which is narrated in the tenth and following chapters. It is clear, then, that the four verses which contain the angel's words are the key to the whole book."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

is indefinite, and begins with the close of the first period and terminates "with the resurrection of the dead in Christ and their translation, together with all waiting believers who are then upon the earth, to meet the Lord in the air."<sup>1</sup> The third period is definite and contains seven years. This is a period during which God "will resume His dealings with the Jews by casting them into the refining furnace, carry on His controversy with the Gentiles, and permit the fulfillment of the prophecies concerning Antichrist and the Great Tribulation."<sup>2</sup>

The four world monarchies spoken of in the book of Daniel he considered as the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman;<sup>3</sup> and the little horn of Dan 7, "the last monarch of the Gentiles" or the future Antichrist.<sup>4</sup> With regard to the little horn of Dan 8, he maintained that it denotes the same power represented by the little horn of Dan 7, namely, the future Antichrist.<sup>5</sup> On the basis of Dan 8:17 Pember thought that the description of the little horn of Dan 8 passes on to the time of the end.<sup>6</sup> This phrase, "the time of the end," he considered as "the first clue to the interpretation" of this symbol,<sup>7</sup> which he understood to refer to the third or seven-years

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid. During this second period, according to Pember, "all Jewish prophecies are suspended."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 64-91.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 89, 90.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 98-105.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

period.<sup>1</sup> Besides this understanding of "the time of the end," he considered the little horn of Dan 8 to denote the future Antichrist on the basis that it has the same features as the little horn of Dan 7. According to him,

The moral features of the two powers are precisely the same. Both of them are violent and blasphemous oppressors of God's people: both dare to defy the Powers of heaven, the Most High and the Prince of princes. Both exist at the same time: for the horn of the seventh chapter continues until Christ comes to take the kingdom; while that of the eighth prospers until the last end of the indignation, which is also closed by the appearing of the Lord. Both become exceedingly great upon the earth, and destroy terribly; and, finally, both are at last struck down by the direct interposition of God. Scarcely would there be room in the world for two such beings at the same time: the descriptions seem to be one and the same person.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, he pointed out that "the fierce king" will be mighty but not by his own power. The Dragon will give him his power, his throne, and great authority.<sup>3</sup>

Strengthened by such a helper, he will spread havoc in a wondrous manner, will by his cunning make the deceit which he devises successful, and will destroy many by professions of peace, or, as the words may mean, by unexpected and malignant attacks in times of security. It is especially that he will work the ruin of 'strong ones and the people of the saints.' The latter would seem to be the Jews, of whom if--we render the twelfth verse more correctly--we have already been told that 'a host shall be given up, together with the daily sacrifice, because of transgression.' . . . The king will further defy God by destroying the Temple, and will at last stand up against the Prince of princes Himself: but he will then be broken without hand, dashed to pieces by the stone cut without hands from the mountain.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 99: "And so we understand that the period of the little horn will not arrive until the closing days of the dispensation in which Daniel lived--that is, until the seven years which yet remain to it, after our parenthetical age has run its course."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 99, 100.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

Thus on the basis of Dan 8:17, the supposition that the book of Daniel is only concerned with the Jews and not with the Christian Church, the division of the historical period from Nebuchadnezzar's reign to the beginning of the millennium into three periods, and the similar characteristics of the little horns of Dan 7 and 8, Pember maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to the future Antichrist.

Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the Moslem Antichrist

The view that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the Moslem Antichrist was held by T. Robinson.

T. Robinson

T. Robinson wrote commentaries on three books of the Bible: Job, the Song of Solomon, and Daniel. In his view, the book of Daniel contains "predictions of events from Daniel's own time to the end of the world."<sup>1</sup> He acknowledged the divine authority of this book of the Old Testament on the basis of the testimonies of Jesus, "the whole Jewish Synagogue," and the "whole orthodox Christian Church."<sup>2</sup>

For Robinson the four world empires of the book of Daniel are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman.<sup>3</sup> The little horn of Dan 7 he considered to refer to the "Papacy".<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>T. Robinson, A Homiletical Commentary on the Book of Daniel, The Preacher's Complete Homiletical Commentary on the Old Testament (London: Richard D. Dickinson, 1892), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 42-44, 115-117.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 122-126: There is a well known power to which the

Following some interpreters of the past, Robinson proposed that the little horn of Dan 8 represents Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the Moslem or Turkish Antichrist.<sup>1</sup> According to him, the description of this little horn corresponds with the history of Antiochus Epiphanes. This man proceeded from one of the four kingdoms of the divided Grecian Empire, namely, the Syrian.<sup>2</sup> He greatly extended his dominions toward the south (Egypt), and the pleasant land (Palestine).<sup>3</sup> Antiochus "magnified himself even to the Prince of the host" (God or the Messiah).<sup>4</sup> His fierceness (vs. 23) is "verified by his doings as related in the first Book of Maccabees."<sup>5</sup> "Much of his success against the Jews appears as the result" of his policy and ability to deceive (vs. 25).<sup>6</sup> Antiochus "waxed great even to the host of heaven" (the Jewish people), and took away "the daily sacrifice" (the ordinary stated worship of Jehovah).<sup>7</sup> Antiochus cast down the

---

description has appeared so applicable . . . . That power is the Papacy, with the Bishop of Rome as its head and representative" (p. 123).

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 173: "It has, however, been believed by some, on apparently satisfactory grounds, that besides the Antichrist of the fourth beast or Roman Empire, Antiochus might typify another power that was to prove as hurtful to the Christian Church as that tyrant was to the Jewish one, and which was to arise within the bounds of the same third empire to which Antiochus himself belonged. That power was the Mohammedan or Turkish, which, with Mahomet for its head and representative, might be called the Antichrist of the East."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 164.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

truth (the Jewish worship and religion) to the ground.<sup>1</sup> He defiled the sanctuary and made cease the daily sacrifice for 2300 days.<sup>2</sup> Finally, Antiochus died by "the secret operation and mighty power of God."<sup>3</sup>

In Robinson's view, the description of the little horn of Dan 8 also corresponds to the antitype. Both the Saracen and the Turkish power, he pointed out, arose "within the territory of the he-goat or Grecian Empire"<sup>4</sup> from which the little horn was to spring. The Turkish Empire "was 'little' in its beginning, commencing with Togrul Beg, a Turcoman shepherd, the petty chief of a petty clan."<sup>5</sup> Pride was the characteristic of Muhammad and his people.<sup>6</sup> "Fierceness is the well-known characteristic both of Saracens and Turks."<sup>7</sup> The feature of "understanding dark sentences" may naturally be applied to Muhammad who pretended to have received the Koran, "with all its mysterious and dark sentences, from the mouth of the Angel Gabriel."<sup>8</sup> Muhammad "is known to have made the progress he did" by policy and craft.<sup>9</sup> Like Antiochus Epiphanes, "the Saracens and Turks 'waxed

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p. 174.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

exceeding great toward the south"<sup>1</sup> (Egypt), toward the east (Persia), and toward the pleasant land (Palestine). Caliph Omar took away the daily sacrifice in the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> He accomplished this when the "transgressors had come to the full."<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Muhammad magnified against the "prince of princes" by proclaiming that "There is no God but one, and Mahomet is His prophet."<sup>4</sup> Finally, the Turkish power since 1820 "has been the 'sick man,' gradually losing his strength and coming to his end."<sup>5</sup>

Thus, on the basis of a supposed correspondence between the description of the little horn and the rise, the character, and doings of Antiochus Epiphanes, as well as the rise, the character, and doings of Muhammad, the Saracens, and the Turkish power, Robinson was convinced that the little horn of Dan 8 denoted that Syrian king as a type of the Moslem Antichrist.

In summary, the nine interpretations which were given to the little horn of Dan 8 are: (1) Antiochus Epiphanes, (2) the Muhammedan Power, (3) pagan and papal Rome, (4) Antiochus Epiphanes as type of the papal Antichrist, (5) Antiochus Epiphanes as type of the future Antichrist, (6) Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of a future "king of the north", (7) the Roman Empire, (8) the future Antichrist, and (9) Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the Moslem Antichrist.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

The Temporal Expression "2300 Evening-Mornings"

The second section of this chapter deals first with the different interpretations of the term "evening-morning," and then with the different reckonings of the chronological period.

Meaning of "Evening-Morning"

From 1850 to 1900 four main interpretations were given to the expression "evening-morning." The first refers the expression to the evening and morning sacrifices of the Jewish cult; the second, that it means a natural day; the third, that it denotes a prophetic day; and the fourth, that it denotes a symbolical period of time.

Evening and morning sacrifices

The view that the expression "evening-morning" refers to the evening and morning sacrifices of the Jewish cult was explicitly maintained by Hitzig, Osbon, Zöckler, Füller, Seiss, Düsterwald, Bevan, Terry, Prince, and Driver.

Hitzig gave four reasons in support of this view: (1) It is itself improbable that the term "evening-morning" is a composite word like the Greek term nuxthemeron.<sup>1</sup> (2) Nowhere is this term used except in Dan 8:14, and here it has as its object the tāmīd (daily sacrifice), "so it is probable that the תמִיד occasioned the turn; in which case evening and morning settles each for itself and the separation remains secure."<sup>2</sup> (3) It seems that in order to keep the

---

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.: "So ist wahrscheinlich, dass das תמִיד die Wendung veranlasste; in welchem Falle Abend und Morgen Jedes für sich fixirt und die Trennung festgehalten bleibt."



The Temporal Expression "2300 Evening-Mornings"

The second section of this chapter deals first with the different interpretations of the term "evening-morning," and then with the different reckonings of the chronological period.

Meaning of "Evening-Morning"

From 1850 to 1900 four main interpretations were given to the expression "evening-morning." The first refers the expression to the evening and morning sacrifices of the Jewish cult; the second, that it means a natural day; the third, that it denotes a prophetic day; and the fourth, that it denotes a symbolical period of time.

Evening and morning sacrifices

The view that the expression "evening-morning" refers to the evening and morning sacrifices of the Jewish cult was explicitly maintained by Hitzig, Osbon, Zöckler, Füller, Seiss, Düsterwald, Bevan, Terry, Prince, and Driver.

Hitzig gave four reasons in support of this view: (1) It is itself improbable that the term "evening-morning" is a composite word like the Greek term nuxthemeron.<sup>1</sup> (2) Nowhere is this term used except in Dan 8:14, and here it has as its object the tāmīd (daily sacrifice), "so it is probable that the תָּמִיד occasioned the turn; in which case evening and morning settles each for itself and the separation remains secure."<sup>2</sup> (3) It seems that in order to keep the

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.: "So ist wahrscheinlich, dass das תָּמִיד die Wendung veranlasste; in welchem Falle Abend und Morgen Jedes für sich fixirt und die Trennung festgehalten bleibt."

evening and morning separated, the conjunction should stand before bōqer, and in this way it appears in vs. 26.<sup>1</sup> Finally, (4) while it is very difficult to find a correspondence of the 2300 days in history, in contrast the 1150 days "permits convincing adjustment with known history."<sup>2</sup>

In the same line of thought Osbon argued that the subject of the angelic question (8:13) is the "daily sacrifice," which was required to be offered every morning and evening.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he remarked:

To understand these numbers, . . . to mean days, greatly increases the difficulty of gaining a satisfactory result. The whole history of Antiochus' operations in Judea occupied much less time than the period which is made by this exegetical hypothesis.<sup>4</sup>

According to Zöckler, "evening-morning" cannot refer to a natural day in this passage, for the evening and morning are not numbered as in Genesis.<sup>5</sup> In addition to this, he pointed out that the expression "evening-morning"

can hardly be regarded as a compound word . . . but is, on the contrary, an asyndeton, arising from the poetic brevity of expression in this section . . . which, so far from being a 'current phrase' or 'stereotyped formula,' occurs only in this place as a designation of time. The limitation of the expression in this sense to this passage indicates, with an almost absolute certainty, that ערב and בקר do not signify the corresponding

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 135, 136.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 136: "Während man durch die 2300 Tage in Schwierigkeiten sich verwickelt, denen man nur mit grundlosen Hypothesen begegnen kann, lässt dag. [sic] ihre Hälfte sich mit der bekannten Geschichte überzeugend ausgleichen."

<sup>3</sup>Osbon, Daniel, pp. 162-164.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>5</sup>Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 178.

periods of the day but rather the sacrifices required to be offered in them.<sup>1</sup>

#### In Bevan's view

The phrase ערב בקר must be explained according to v. 26. Consequently it is not, as Von Lengerke and others have supposed, a period of 24 hours (Gr. *nuxthemerion*), but is equivalent of ערב וּבקר 'successive evenings and mornings' (so Ewald, Hitzig, Kuenen, and Cornill), cf. Gen. viii. 22. Since it is a question of the suspension of the daily sacrifice, the verse alludes, no doubt, to the evening oblation (chap. ix. 21) and the morning oblation (Exod. xxix. 41).<sup>2</sup>

#### Finally, Terry pointed out:

The mention of the continual offering תמיד in the three preceding verses forbids our taking the words evening and morning in any other sense than successive evening and morning offerings, as required by the law of the continual burnt offering (Num. xxviii, 3, 4).<sup>3</sup>

#### A natural day

The view that the expression "evening-morning" signifies a natural day was adopted by Stuart, Barnes, Kelly, Kenrick, Desprez, Cowles, Fausset, Taylor, Forman, Pember, Deane, and West.

Stuart held this view on the basis that ereb böger in this passage

have no copula or conjunction between them; it would seem, therefore, to be a popular mode of compound expression, like that of the Greek nuxthemerion (2 Cor. 11:25), in order to designate the whole of the day. Compare Gen. i., where the evening and morning constitute respectively day the first, day the second, etc.; for it seems plain that the phraseology before us is derived from this source.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 136. The same argument is repeated by Prince, A Critical Comentary, p. 138, and Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Terry, The Prophecies of Daniel Expounded, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, pp. 237, 238.

In other words, Stuart said:

עֵרֵב בֶּקֶר , as here employed, may be admitted to contain an allusion to the morning and evening sacrifices, and thus the phrase virtually becomes a kind of substitute for תַּמִּיד , which is generic and includes both the morning and evening sacrifice.

In Barnes's view, "the language here is evidently that which was derived from Gen. i., or which was common among the Hebrews, to speak of 'the evening and the morning' as constituting a day."<sup>2</sup> The other interpreters such as Kelly, Kenrick, Cowles, Fausset, Taylor, and Pember took for granted that the term "evening-morning" means a natural day and did not give any support for their position.<sup>3</sup>

#### A prophetic day

The view that the term "evening-morning" denotes a prophetic day or one literal year was adopted by Cumming, Ramsay, Andrews, Shimeall, Trevillian, Thurman, Bosanquet, Birchmore, Smith, Nevin, Arthur, and Tanner.

According to Andrews,

1. It is a fact that 2300 literal days (not quite seven years) would not cover the duration of a single power in this prophecy, much less extend over them all. Therefore, the days must be symbols, even as the beasts and horns are shown to be symbols. 2. It is a fact that a symbolic or prophetic day is one year. Eze. 4:5, 6; Num. 14:34. Hence the period is 2300 years.

Smith, following Hales, maintained that "the evening and the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup>Barnes, Daniel, 2:114.

<sup>3</sup>Kelly, Notes on the Book of Daniel, p. 131; Kenrick, The Book of Job and the Prophets, p. 626; Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 378; Fausset, A Commentary, 1:639; Taylor, Daniel the Beloved, p. 156; Pember, The Great Prophecies, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup>Andrews, The Sanctuary, p. 15.

morning were the first day, etc. Gen. 1:5, etc. . . . Hence the Hebrew compound עֶרֶב וּבֹקֶר 'evening morning,' is used by the prophet Daniel to denote a civil day . . ."<sup>1</sup> However, he contended that in this passage a day stands for a year on the basis that the "Bible gives the exact proportion between literal and symbolic time."<sup>2</sup> As examples he pointed out Ezek 4:6 and Num 14:34.<sup>3</sup>

Tanner explained his position as follows:

The peculiar phrase 'evening and morning,' which occurs six times in Genesis i., was a form of expression familiar to the Hebrews, indicating a complete 'night and day,' which, taken together, constitute a day of 24 hours as ordinarily reckoned. These 2,300 days must be regarded as being used in the symbolic sense of years, consistently with the year-day system of interpreting these prophecies.

The scriptural authority for this understanding he found in Num 14:34, Ezek 4:4-6, and the prophecy of the seventy weeks of Dan 9.<sup>5</sup> Other interpreters who understood the expression "evening-morning" to mean a year were Trevillian, Boyle, Rule, Bosanquet, Birchmore, Nevin, and Arthur.<sup>6</sup> They took for granted that "evening-morning" in this passage represents a year, but did not provide more details.

---

<sup>1</sup>Smith, The Sanctuary, pp. 46, 47.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 49

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 49, 50.

<sup>4</sup>Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 514.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 137-139: "And as Ezekiel was a small emblem of a large nation, so the days were a brief emblem of a long period, 'I have appointed thee a day for a year.'" "Seventy sevens of days was the symbol employed to denote seventy sevens of years."

<sup>6</sup>Trevillian, A Dissertation, p.402; Boyle, The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 363; Rule, An Historical Exposition, p. 225; Bosanquet, Messiah the Prince, p. 254; Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, p. 46; Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, p. 100; Arthur, A Critical Commentary, p. 121.

### A symbolic day

The view that the expression "evening-morning" refers to a symbolic day was maintained by Keil. He opposed the opinion that the expression "evening-morning" refers to literal evenings and mornings on the basis of "the asyndeton evening-morning and the usages of the Hebrew language."<sup>1</sup> According to him,

When the Hebrews wish to express separately day and night, the component parts of a day of a week, then the number of both is expressed. They say, e.g., forty days and forty nights (Gen. vii. 4, 12; Ex. xxiv. 18; 1 Kings xix. 8), and three days and three nights (Jonah ii. 1; Matt. xii. 40), but no eighty or six days-and-nights, when they wish to speak of forty or three full days. A Hebrew reader could not possibly understand the period of time 2300 evening-mornings of 2300 half days or 1150 whole days, because evening and morning at the creation constituted not the half but the whole day."<sup>2</sup>

Keil also opposed the other opinion that "evening-morning" refers to "the offering of a morning and an evening sacrifices each day, so that 2300 evening-mornings make only 1150 whole days."<sup>3</sup> He argued as follows:

But there is no exegetical foundation for this latter opinion. It is derived only from a comparison, or rather an identification, of this passage with Dan. vii. 25, xii. 11 f., and ix. 27; and therewith it is proved that, according to 1 Macc. i. 54, 59, cf. iv. 52, the desolation of the sanctuary by the worship of idols under Antiochus Epiphanes lasted no longer than three years and ten days, and that from Dan. xii. 11 it extends only to 1290 days. But these arguments rest on assertions which must first be justified. The passages Dan vii. 25 and ix. 27 cannot here be taken into account, because they do not speak of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the 1290 days (1335 days, ch. xii. 11f.) do not

---

<sup>1</sup>Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup>Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, pp. 303, 304. Deane, in his Daniel: His Life and Times, p. 143, also gives the argument of Gen 1.

<sup>3</sup>Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 302.

give 2300 evening-mornings,<sup>1</sup> that we can and may at once identify these statements before us.

Keil preferred to take the expression "evening-morning" like the Greek nuxthemeron and understand the 2300 "evening-mornings" as "2300 whole days."<sup>2</sup> However, these 2300 days, he did not reckon "as an historico-cronological period of time," but symbolically in relation to the number 7.<sup>3</sup> His reasoning is as follows:

The 2300 cannot, it is true, be directly a symbolical number, such as 7, 10, 40, 70, and other numbers are, but yet it can stand in such a relation to the number seven as to receive a symbolical meaning.<sup>4</sup>

Accordingly, Keil interpreted the 2300 days to mean that the predicted period in which Antiochus would oppress Israel and desolate the sanctuary would "not reach the full duration of a period of divine judgment" (7 years).<sup>5</sup>

#### Beginning and End of the "2300 Evening-Mornings"

From 1850 to 1900 the "2300 evening-mornings" were reckoned in a variety of ways, even by those who understood the term "evening-morning" in the same way.

#### 1150 days

As already noted, those who understood the term "evening-morning" to refer to the morning and evening sacrifices of the Jewish

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 303, 304.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 306. Fuller, Daniel, 6:344, also understood it this way.

<sup>4</sup>Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 306.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 307.

cult took the "2300 evening-mornings" as a time period of 1150 days. Hitzig, Osbon, Füller, and Zöckler reckoned this period from the interruption of the Jewish sacrifices in the year 145 of the Seleucidae to the restoration of the Jewish worship in the year 148 of the same era.<sup>1</sup> These interpreters chose the purification of the Jewish sanctuary under Judas Maccabeus, in the 148th year of the Seleucidae, as the terminus ad quem of this period on the basis of 1 Macc 4:52, 53. Then they reckoned backwards 1150 days and established the terminus a quo in connection with the interruption of the Jewish sacrifices, supposedly to have happened at the arrival of Apollonius in Judea in the year 145 of the Seleucidae or B.C. 168.<sup>2</sup>

Hilgenfeld, Bevan, Thomson, and Driver reckoned the 1150 days from the setting up of the abomination of desolation in the year 145 of the Seleucidae (168/167 B.C.), to the restoration of the Jewish worship in the year 148 of same era (165/164 B.C.).<sup>3</sup> However, Thomson admitted that this reckoning is not precise.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 135; Osbon, Daniel, pp. 167-169; Füller, Der Profet Daniel, p. 214; Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup>See the works cited in the previous footnote.

<sup>3</sup>Hilgenfeld, Die Propheten Esra un Daniel, p. 83; Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 128; Thomson, Daniel, p. 244; Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup>Thomson, Daniel, p. 244: "The period that one would naturally think of is that between the setting up of the abomination of desolation (1 Macc. i. 54), on the fifteenth day of Casleu, in the hundred and forty-fifth year of the Seleucid era to the rededication of the temple on the twenty-fifth of Casleu, in the hundred and forty-eighth year (from B.C. 167 to B.C. 164), but that is only three years and ten days."



2300 days

Those who understood the expression "evening-morning" to mean a natural day took the "2300 evening-mornings" as a chronological period of 2300 days. The terminus ad quem of this period was established by Stuart, Barnes, Cowles, Taylor, and Deane at the time of the cleansing of the sanctuary by Judas Maccabeus; but Desprez, Fausset, and Forman established it at the time of Antiochus' death. Stuart, Barnes, and Deane, having established the terminus ad quem in connection with the cleansing of the Sanctuary in 165 B.C., reckoned back 2300 days and established the terminus a quo in the year 171 B.C. in connection with the aggressions of Antiochus against the priesthood, temple, and Jerusalem (2 Macc 4:32-39).<sup>1</sup>

Cowles, a little different from Stuart and Barnes, dated the cleansing of the sanctuary on Dec. 25, 164 B.C. From this year he reckoned back 2300 days and established the terminus a quo on Sept. 5, 170 B.C., in connection with the death of Onias.<sup>2</sup>

Fausset reckoned the 2300 days also from 171 B.C. to 165 B.C. However, the events which he chose as the beginning and end of this period are different. He chose as the terminus ad quem the death of Antiochus on Shebath 148 (165 B.C.) instead of the purification of the sanctuary, and as the terminus a quo the neglecting of the Jewish sacrifices owing to Jason's introduction of Grecian customs in the year 142 (171 B.C.).<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, pp. 238, 239; Barnes, Daniel, 2:115, 116; Deane, Daniel 5:383.

<sup>2</sup>Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, pp. 378, 379.

<sup>3</sup>Fausset, A Commentary, 2:632.

Finally, Forman, in contrast to Fausset, dated the death of Antiochus in the year 163 B.C. From this date he reckoned back 2300 days and established the terminus a quo in 170 B.C. in connection with the first massacre of Antiochus against the inhabitants of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

#### 2200, 2300, and 2400 years

Some interpreters, who understood the term "evening-morning" to denote a prophetic day or a literal year, differed among themselves in regard to the correct numerical reading. Some of them thought that the correct numerical reading must be 2400,<sup>2</sup> while others that it must be 2200.<sup>3</sup> However, the great majority preferred the Masoretic reading of 2300. It should be noted here that as far as is known there is no Mss evidence in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin that would read anything but 2300.

Cumming and Shimeall, following Bicheno, reckoned the 2300 years from B.C. 481 to A.D. 1820.<sup>4</sup> Cumming, without further explanation, chose as the terminus a quo of this period "the meridian glory of Persia" or the defeat of Xerxes by the Greeks. From this historical event he reckoned forward 2300 years and established the terminus ad quem in the year A.D. 1820 when, according to him, the Muhammedan

<sup>1</sup>Forman, Prophecy, pp. 382-383.

<sup>2</sup>Trevillian, A Dissertation on the History of the Beast, p. 402; Bossanquet, Messiah the Prince, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup>Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, pp. 49, 50.

<sup>4</sup>Cumming, Prophetic Studies, p. 274; Richard C. Shimeall, Our Bible Chronology (New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr, 1859), p. 156.

or Turkish power began to decline.<sup>1</sup>

Ramsay reckoned the 2300 "evening-mornings" in its primary sense, from the first invasion of Antiochus against Judea to the time when the temple was restored;<sup>2</sup> but in its typological sense he reckoned this period either from 457 or 450 B.C. to the year 1843 or 1850 respectively.<sup>3</sup> The basis of this reckoning was his conviction that the seventy weeks of Dan 9 are related to the 2300 years of Dan 8 and that both periods begin at the same time.<sup>4</sup> From the 2300 years of Dan 8 he subtracted the 490 years of the seventy weeks of Dan 9 and there remained 1810, then he added thirty-three years of Christ's life and the total was 1843.<sup>5</sup> This year he took as a possible date for the cleansing of the sanctuary (i.e., the Christian Church).<sup>6</sup> His other alternative for the ending of the 2300 years was the year A.D. 1850. To this date he arrived by subtracting 483 years (69 of the 70 weeks) from 2300, and then adding the thirty-three years of Christ's life.<sup>7</sup>

Andrews and Smith reckoned the 2300 years from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1844.<sup>8</sup> This reckoning was based on the conviction that the "2300

---

<sup>1</sup>Cumming, Prophetic Studies, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup>Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Andrews, The Sanctuary, p. 27; Smith, The Sanctuary, pp. 100, 101.

evening-mornings" are explained in Dan 9,<sup>1</sup> that the seventy weeks of Dan 9 cover the first part of the 2300 "days,"<sup>2</sup> and that both the seventy weeks and the 2300 years must begin at the same time.<sup>3</sup> Andrews and Smith, relying on previous investigations based on historical, chronological, and astronomical testimony, which were published in the Advent Herald of 1850 and 1851,<sup>4</sup> concluded that the seventy weeks of Dan 9 and the 2300 years of Dan 8 must commence in the year 457 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Having thus established the terminus a quo of the 2300 years, Andrews remarked:

the first 490 years of the 2300 ended in the seventh month, autumn of A.D. 34. This period of 490 years being cut off from the 2300, a period of 1810 remains. This period of 1810 years being added to the seventh month of A.D. 34, bring us to the seventh month, autumn of 1844.<sup>6</sup>

Rule reckoned the 2300 years from 168 B.C. to A.D. 2132.<sup>7</sup> He chose the profanation of the Jewish temple by Antiochus Epiphanes in the year 168 B.C. as the terminus a quo. Counting forward 2300 years

---

<sup>1</sup> Andrews, The Sanctuary, pp. 15-17; Smith, The Sanctuary, pp. 52-57.

<sup>2</sup> Andrews, The Sanctuary, pp. 18-19; Smith, The Sanctuary, pp. 58-64.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, The Sanctuary, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Andrews gave the following references: Advent Herald, March 2, 1850; Advent Herald, Feb. 15, 1851.

<sup>5</sup> Andrews, The Sanctuary, pp. 19-27; Smith, The Sanctuary, pp. 67-81.

<sup>6</sup> Andrews, The Sanctuary, p. 27. See also Smith, The Sanctuary, pp. 92-93.

<sup>7</sup> Rule, An Historical Exposition, p. 225.

from this date he established the year 2132 A.D. as the terminus ad quem.<sup>1</sup>

Nevin maintained that the 2300 years should begin with the rise of the Grecian Empire and end with the extinction of the power represented by the little horn. The rise of the Grecian Empire, taken as the terminus a quo of the 2300 years, he established in the year 330 B.C., in connection with the battle of Issus. These 330 years he subtracted from 2300 and the result was 1970, which he took as the terminus ad quem.<sup>2</sup>

Huntingford reckoned the 2300 years from 170 B.C. to A.D. 2130.<sup>3</sup> According to him, it is "almost certain that these 2300 symbolical days are intended to represent years and to embrace the whole period of the continuance of the abomination of desolation, commenced by Antiochus, completed by the Romans, continuing for many centuries from that time, and continuing still in these days."<sup>4</sup> "Antiochus Epiphanes," he said, "polluted the sanctuary about 170 B.C. Its cleansing is to take place after 2300 years. . . . 2300 - 170 = 2130. Therefore A.D. 2130 may possibly be the date of the cleansing of the Sanctuary of chapter viii."<sup>5</sup>

Trevillian, following Frere, preferred the figure 2400 instead of 2300 because "2,400 days are one less than 2,401, which

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup>Huntingford, Daniel and St. John, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

happens to be the exact measure of forty-nine jubilees."<sup>1</sup> This period of 2400 years he reckoned from 553 B.C. to 1848 A.D. The terminus a quo seems to be chosen in connection with the time in which Daniel received the vision. From this date he reckoned forward 2400 years and reached to A.D. 1848.<sup>2</sup>

Bosanquet, also following Frere, preferred the figure 2400 instead of 2300 on the basis that seven Hebrew and Armenian manuscripts confirm that reading.<sup>3</sup> He suggested that this period "should be computed from the commencement of the new era of Jubilee, beginning in B.C. 485, established by Ezra after the return from the captivity."<sup>4</sup> His reason for choosing this historical event he did not explain. Nevertheless, reckoning forward 2400 years from 485 B.C. he reached to A.D. 1916/1917, when he expected the Jubilee of Jubilees to arrive and the sanctuary of Jerusalem to be cleansed.<sup>5</sup>

Birchmore, preferring the reading 2200 mentioned by Jerome instead of 2300, reckoned this period from 334/330-1866/1870.<sup>6</sup> His argumentation is as follows:

---

<sup>1</sup>Trevillian, A Dissertation on the History of the Beast, p. 402.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Bosanquet, Messiah the Prince, p. 226: "The reading of 2400, according to the Greek of Theodosion, instead of 2300, as in our ordinary copies, is confirmed, as observed by Mr. Hatley Frere, by seven Mss. in Hebrew and Armenian, examined by the late Dr. Wolf, viz., two at Bokhara, one at Ispahan, one at Adrianople, one at Meschid, one at Ulshkelesia, one in Chaldea."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 254, 255.

<sup>6</sup>Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, pp. 49, 50.

It would seem that a respectable number of authorities sustained this reading of two thousand two hundred, or the learned translator would have passed it without notice. . . . If from two thousand two hundred be subtracted A.D. 1870, it reaches back to B.C. 330. By turning to a chronological table, it appears, that, in the year B.C. 330 Alexander the Great completed the conquest of the Persian Empire, or, in the language of the prophecy, the he-goat 'stamped upon' the ram, and so destroyed his life. If A.D. 1866 is made the starting point as being the very year of the time of the end (or one thousand two hundred and sixty years from A.D. 606), the calculation backwards reaches B.C. 334; and that is the year when Alexander invaded Persia, or when the he-goat rushed at the ram. Thus the most important action of the vision began the period of two thousand, two hundred years, B.C. 330-334, and extended to A.D. 1866-1870.

Thus Birchmore, by determining first the terminus ad quem, established the numerical reading and the terminus a quo.

#### Cultic Expressions

The last section of this chapter deals with interpretations of three cultic expressions of Dan 8, such as "the daily," "the transgression of desolation," and "the sanctuary shall be cleansed."

#### "The Daily"

The term "the daily," which is mentioned five times in the book of Daniel (8:11, 12,13; 11:31; 12:11), was understood in this period as (1) the continual burnt offering, (2) the Christian worship, (3) both the continual burnt offering and the Christian worship, (4) pagan Rome, (5) the daily memorial of the sacrifice of the Lamb, whether by Jew or Christian, and (6) everything which is used permanently in the worship of God.

#### Continual burnt offering

That the term daily refers to the continual burnt offering or

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 50, 51.

the daily sacrifices of the Jewish cult was held by Hitzig, Stuart, Barnes, Osbon, Boyle, Ewald, Cowles, Fausset, Rule, Zöckler, Fuller, Taylor, Forman, Pember, Bevan, Farrar, Thomson, West, Prince, and Driver.

Of these interpreters, Hitzig and Prince took for granted that the term "daily" refers to the "continual burnt offering" (Num 28:3-14), but did not give further explanations.<sup>1</sup> Stuart remarked that the word hattāmid "is plainly a brevilouquent expression. The full form would require עולת before it, which תמיד would then qualify."<sup>2</sup> Barnes pointed out that tāmid means "continuance, perpetuity, and then that which is continuous or constant--as a sacrifice or service daily occurring."<sup>3</sup> Osbon, on the basis of Lev 6:20, Num 4:16, and Num 29:6, stated that "the perpetual sacrifice is then the same with the daily."<sup>4</sup> For Cowles hattāmid meant "'the perpetual'--that which occurs continually. It was in established use among the Jews for their most constant and most frequently recurring sacrifice, that which was offered each morning and each evening."<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 132. Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 147. The reference which Prince gives is Deut 28:3, but it should be Num 28:3.

<sup>2</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 234: "A brevilouquent method of expression is prevalent in Daniel, and is somewhat characteristic: see 8:12, 13. 11:31. 12:11."

<sup>3</sup>Barnes, Daniel, 2:111. "The sacrifice that was offered daily in the temple, was suspended."

<sup>4</sup>Osbon, Daniel, pp. 165: "The perpetual sacrifice is then the same with the daily, and these sacrifices were made at evening and morning."

<sup>5</sup>Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 376.



Fausset only referred to Exod 29:38, 39, but without further explanation.<sup>1</sup> Zöckler remarked that

תָּמִיד, 'the daily' (Gr. endeleisimos), designates, as is shown by the mention of 'the place of his sanctuary' immediately afterward, the daily service in the temple, and more particularly, probably the daily morning and evening sacrifice, the עֹלָה תָּמִיד, Num. xxviii. 3; 1 Chron. xvi. 40; 2 Chron. xxix. 7.<sup>2</sup>

Farrar, in a short footnote, remarked that "the word tamid includes both the morning and evening sacrifice (Exod. xxix. 41)."<sup>3</sup> Finally,

Driver explained:

The daily burnt-offering is called in Ex xxix. 42 and elsewhere the 'continual (i.e. daily recurring) burn offering,' lit. 'the burnt-offering of continuance (Heb. tamid)': from this expression, the daily burnt offering came in later Heb. to be spoken of simply as 'the tamid'; and this usage is found here, and in vv. 12, 13, xi. 31, xii. 11.<sup>4</sup>

This meaning was the most popular during this period.

### Christian worship

Interpreters such as Cumming, Birchmore, and Nevin understood "the daily" to refer to the Christian worship (i.e., prayer, praise).

According to Nevin,

The continual burnt offering of a lamb, morning and evening, was one of the most conspicuous, regular, and ordinary observances of the Jewish religion. The worship of the one living and true God under the Gospel--Christian worship, and particularly under a corrupted form of it, assimilated in many points to the abrogated Jewish ritual--may, therefore, be understood as prophetically and most naturally described in terms borrowed from that dispensation under which Daniel himself lived and wrote.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Fausset, A Commentary, 2:631.

<sup>2</sup>Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup>Farrar, The Book of Daniel, p. 263.

<sup>4</sup>Driver, The Book of Daniel. p. 116.

<sup>5</sup>Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, pp. 94, 95.

Cumming and Birchmore did not provide arguments for holding this view.<sup>1</sup>

Daily sacrifices and  
Christian worship

Ramsay understood the "daily" to refer to the daily sacrifices of the Jewish cult and also to the Christian worship.<sup>2</sup> The basis for this understanding seems to be his typological view of this prophecy, which allows a double fulfillment, one in the time of the Jews and the other in the time of the Christian Church.<sup>3</sup>

Pagan worship and desolating actions

That the "daily" refers to the pagan worship and desolating actions was maintained by Andrews and Smith.

Andrews, following Josiah Litch and William Miller,<sup>4</sup> offered the following explanation:

The daily sacrifice is the present reading of the English text. But no such thing as sacrifice is found in the original. . . . The true reading is, 'the daily and the transgression of desolation,' daily and transgression being connected together by 'and;' the daily desolation and the transgression of desolation. They are two desolating powers which were to desolate the sanctuary and the host.

Then he continued,

Paganism, from the days of the kings of Assyria, down to the

---

<sup>1</sup>Cumming, Prophetic Studies, p. 266; Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup>Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, pp. 207, 208.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Andrews gave the following reference: J. Litch, Prophetic Expositions, Vol. 1, p. 127; W. Miller, Second Advent Manual, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup>Andrews, The Sanctuary, p. 33.

period when it became so far modified that it took the name of popery, had been the daily . . . desolation, by which Satan had stood up against the cause of Jehovah. And, indeed, in its priests, its altars and its sacrifices, it bore resemblance to the Levitical form of Jehovah's worship.

According to Smith, the "daily" of vs. 11, 12, and 13 refers also to a "desolating power," namely, "paganism".<sup>2</sup> Commenting on vs. 13, Smith argued as follows:

The word here rendered daily occurs in the Old Testament, according to the Hebrew Concordance, one hundred and two times, and is, in the great majority of instances, rendered continual or continually. The idea of sacrifice does not attach to the word at all. Nor is there any word in the text which signifies sacrifice; that is wholly a supplied word, the translators putting in that word which their understanding of the text seemed to demand. But they evidently entertained an erroneous view, the sacrifices of the Jews not being referred to at all. It appears therefore more in accordance with both the construction and the context, to suppose that the word daily refers to a desolating power, like the "transgression of desolation," with which it is connected. . . . The Hebrew, התמיד והפסע שמים, justifies this construction; the last word, שמים, desolation, having a common relation to the two preceding nouns, the perpetual and the transgression, which are connected by the conjunction and. . . . By the "continuance of desolation," or the perpetual desolation, we must understand that paganism, through all its long history, is meant; and by "the transgression of desolation" is meant the papacy.<sup>3</sup>

#### Daily memorial of the lamb

Bosanquet maintained that the "daily" refers to some "daily offering in memory and in representation of the daily sacrifice,"

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 34, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, The Sanctuary, pp. 41, 42; idem, Daniel and Revelation, p. 158: "We understand that the little horn symbolized Rome in its entire history, including its two phases, pagan and papal. These two phases are elsewhere spoken of as the 'daily' (sacrifice is a supplied word) and the 'transgression of desolation;' the daily (desolation) signifying the pagan form, and the transgression of desolation the papal" (*italics his*).

<sup>3</sup> Idem, Daniel and Revelation, p. 160 (*italics his*).

whether by a Jew or Christian. <sup>1</sup> According to him,

When the prophet, in ch. ix. 27, is intending to foretell the ceasing of the literal daily sacrifice in the temple, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, he makes use of no such ambiguous expression; but speaks distinctly of the 'sacrifice' (zehbach), and the 'oblation' (minchah), as about to cease; both which have accordingly, as far as we know, ceased to be offered even till this day. In ch. viii 11, 12, 13, both these words are omitted, in three consecutive passages relating to this impious act of the little horn. Now the fact of the omission of these expressive words, and the vagueness of expression applied to this predicted interference with the daily worship, seem to justify the construction, that the time referred to by the prophet was not a time when the actual sacrifice could have been in operation, but when some daily offering in memory and in representation of the daily sacrifice may have been substituted by the dispersed Jews living within the dominions of the little horn.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, on the supposed vagueness of this term, Bosanquet thought that "the daily" designates the memorial substitute or representation of the daily sacrifice.

Everything used permanently  
in the worship of God

That the daily refers to everything which is used permanently in the worship of God was maintained by Kranichfeld, Kliefoth, Keil, Deane, d'Envieu, Arthur, and Tanner.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bosanquet, Messiah the Prince, pp. 247, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 246, 247.

<sup>3</sup> Kranichfeld, Das Buch Daniel, p. 294; Kliefoth, Das Buch Daniels, pp. 255, 257; Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 298; Deane, Daniel, 5:383: "Everything permanent in the worship of God, such as sacrifices, &c." D'Envieu, Le Livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:802: "Le subst. tamid (תמיד), perpétuité, durée) designait toutes les cérémonies quotidiennes du culte lévitique, et principalement l'holocauste que l'on offrait à Dieu soir et matin." Arthur, A Critical Commentary, p. 112: "Keil says: 'The word much rather comprehends all that is permanent in the services of divine worship,' . . ." Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 513: "Here it should be noted that 'burnt offering' is not in the original, which is simply 'the continual' and means, as well explained in Ellicott's Commentary, everything permanent in the public worship of God, such

Keil, following Hävernick and others, remarked that

the limitation of it [the daily] to the daily morning and evening service in the writings of the Rabbis is unknown in the O. T. The word much rather comprehends all that is of permanent use in the holy services of divine worship. Thus interpreted, the prophetic announcement corresponds with history; for, according to 1 Macc. i. 45, Antiochus gave orders that they should 'forbid burnt-offerings, and sacrifices, and drink offerings in the temple; and that they should profane the Sabbath and festival days.

Thus, these expositors thought that the term includes more than only the daily sacrifices.

#### "The Transgression of Desolation"

The expression "the transgression of desolation" in Dan 8:13, was understood during this period as (1) the unclean sacrifices of the heathen worship, (2) the act of iniquity on the part of Antiochus producing such desolation to the temple and host, (3) both Antiochus' and Antichrist's desolations, (4) papal Rome, (5) the sin of the Jewish people causing the desolation, (6) the Syrian idol altar, and (7) the Moslem dominion.

#### Unclean Syrian sacrifices

The expression "transgression of desolation" was understood by Hitzig, Ewald, d'Envieu, and Driver to refer to the unclean sacrifices which the Syrians offered in the Jewish temple.<sup>2</sup>

as sacrifices, prayers, preaching, etc."

<sup>1</sup>Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 133; Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets, p. 262: ". . . the altar itself upon which alone the proper offering, or sacrament, can be presented, which is immediately, ver. 13 and below ix. 27c; xi. 31; xii. 11, in connexion with the heathen sacrifices forcibly introduced, designated as the most horrible abomination." D'Envieu, Le Livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:814, 815: "La question du Saint a donc pour objet de savoir combien de temps le

Hitzig, following Lengerke, maintained that peša<sup>e</sup> in 8:12 must have the same sense as peša<sup>e</sup> in vs. 13,

for which likewise שְׁקִרָה is set over against הַזְמִיד with שָׂמָם or מִשְׁמָם 11, 31. 12, 11. Accordingly the object of abomination, the pagan worship service, with which one suppressed the orthodox one, the unclean sacrifices (1 Macc. 1:59)."<sup>1</sup>

Driver, commenting on this phrase, remarked:

'The transgression causing appalment' is the heathen worship established by Antiochus in the temple, with special reference, perhaps (cf. xi. 31, xii. 11) to the heathen altar erected by him on the altar of burnt-offering in the temple court, which was naturally an object of extreme abhorrence to the pious Jews (see 1 Macc. i. 47, 51, 54, 59).<sup>2</sup>

Thus, on the supposition that the term of Dan 8:13 and those of 11:31 and 12:11 refer to the same thing, these interpreters believed that the "transgression of desolation" refers to the unclean sacrifices.

#### Antiochus' desolating transgression

Barnes and Fausset maintained that "the transgression of desolation" refers to Antiochus' sinful act of desolating the temple, but without further explanation.<sup>3</sup>

---

sanctuaire restera désolé ou, en d'autres termes, combien de temps durera le péché qui a pour objet l'état de désolation de l'autel de Jéhovah, ou, en un mot, la substitution de l'idolâtrie au culte du vrai Dieu." Driver, The Book of Daniel. p. 118.

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel. p. 133: " בפשע Nicht: in frevelhafter Gesinnung; sondern das Wort muss den gleichen Sinn haben, wie פשע V. 13., wofür gleichfalls mit שָׂמָם or מִשְׁמָם gegenüber von הַזְמִיד 11, 31. 12, 11. שְׁקִרָה gesetzt ist. Also vielmehr der Frevel objectiv, der heidenische Gottesdienst, mit welchem man den Rechtgläubigen verdrängte, die unreinen Opfer (1 Macc. I, 59.)."

<sup>2</sup>Driver, The Book of Daniel, p. 118. On the Hebrew word שָׂמָם he said: "Except in Daniel, the word used means either laid waste, desolated (Is. xlix. 8; Lam. i. 4, 13, 16, iii. 11), or appalled (2 Sam. xiii. 20): but the passive sense is unsuitable both here, and in ix. 27 (last word), xii. 11; and the active, whether causing appalment, or causing desolation, being defensible . . . must be adopted."

<sup>3</sup>Barnes, Daniel, 2:113: "And the transgression of desolation.

Antiochus' and Antichrist's desolations

Ramsay understood "the transgression of desolation" to refer to Antiochus' persecution of the Jewish people and also to Antichrist's desolation of the Christian Church, but he did not elaborate more on this point.<sup>1</sup>

Papal Rome's desolations

Andrews and Smith, as did Litch and Miller before them, understood the expression "the transgression of desolation" to denote papal Rome's desolations.<sup>2</sup> In support of his view, Smith offered the following explanation:

Then we have two desolating powers, which for a long period oppress, or desolate the church. The Hebrew, תמיד והפסע שמים, justifies this construction; the last word, שמים, desolation, having a common relation to the two preceding nouns, the perpetual and the transgression, which are connected by the conjunction and. . . . By the "continuance of desolation," or the perpetual desolation, we must understand that paganism, through all

---

Marg., making desolate. That is, the act of iniquity on the part of Antiochus producing such desolation in the holy city and the temple." Fausset, A Commentary, 2:632: "Transgression of desolation--lit., making desolate, i.e., Antiochus' desolating profanation of the temple (ch. 11. 31; 12. 11). Cf. as to Rome and the last Antichrist, Matthew, 24.15."

<sup>1</sup>Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, pp. 207, 208: "But as this persecution, and tyranny, and cruelty of Antiochus, as was formerly noticed, was a type or symbol of a greater desolation, which Antichrist should make in the Church of God, during a long period, under the New Testament dispensation . . ."

<sup>2</sup>Andrews, The Sanctuary, pp. 34, 35: "It needs no argument to prove that the two grand forms of opposition, by which Satan has desolated the church and trod under foot the sanctuary of the living God, are none other than paganism and popery." Smith, Daniel and Revelation, p. 158: "We understand that the little horn symbolized Rome in its entire history, including its two phases, pagan and papal. These two phases are elsewhere spoken of as the 'daily' (sacrifice is a supplied word) and the transgression of desolation; form, and the transgression of desolation the papal" (italics his).

its long history, is meant; and by "the transgression of desolation" is meant the papacy.

### The sin of the Jewish people

Cowles understood the clause "the transgression of desolation" to mean the sin of the Jewish people as being the cause of the desolation.<sup>2</sup> He explained his position as follows:

I understand the word for transgression to refer to the same word in the first clause of v. 12; 'by reason of transgression,' both because this word is the same, and because it has here the article equivalent to, 'that transgression.' It is called desolating (the sense of the participle) because it is the occasion of these judgments from God upon his apostate people. Daniel would know how long these judgments for this sin will continue.<sup>3</sup>

It seems that only Cowles held this view during this period.

### The Syrian idol altar

Bevan, resorting to emendation and on the basis of Dan 11:31 and 12:11, understood the "transgression of desolation" to refer to the Syrian idol altar.<sup>4</sup> According to him,

The 'iniquity which stands in opposition to the daily sacrifice must be identical with the 'abomination' of chaps. xi. 31; xii. 11. For the Passive Participle שים, see Num. xxiv. 21. Obad. 4. The verb שרם is the very word used of the setting up of heathen altars in Jer. xi. 13, cf. also Jer. vii. 30; xxxii. 34. In chaps. xi. 31; xii. 11 the author of Daniel uses the verb נתן in this connection, but שרם and נתן are often employed interchangeably by Old Testament writers, even in the same context (Deut vii. 15. Is. xli. 19; xliii. 16, 19. Jer. vi. 8; ix. 10. Ezek. xxv. 13; xxxv. 4). That in these passages of Daniel the verb

---

<sup>1</sup>Smith, Daniel and Revelation, p. 161 (italics his).

<sup>2</sup>Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 135.



should vary, would be no more astonishing than that we find פשע in one passage and זקריז in the two others.<sup>1</sup>

This view was also maintained by G. F. Moore.<sup>2</sup>

False Teaching of Muhammad and Superstitions of the bishop of Rome

Birchmore understood the phrase "the transgression of desolation" to refer to the "soul-destroying error of Mohammed, and the no less desolating superstitions promoted by the Bishop of Rome."<sup>3</sup> However, he did not elaborate more on this dual application.

The sin of the Jewish people and Antiochus' desolating transgression

According to Prince, the phrase "the transgression of desolation" may refer to the sin of the Jewish people as being the cause of the desolation, "and also to the sinful act of Antiochus Epiphanes in defiling the Holy place."<sup>4</sup> However, he did not elaborate more on his point of view.

"Then Shall the Sanctuary Be Cleansed"

The expression "then the sanctuary shall be cleansed" was

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>G. F. Moore, "Daniel viii. 9-14." JBL 15 (1896):196: "Vs. 13 (זשע זשע) shows that the Iniquity is the same which elsewhere is called the Abomination (זקריז זשע, etc.), that is, the altar or cult of Jupiter" (*italics his*).

<sup>3</sup>Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup>Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 147: "There is probably a double allusion here to their own transgressions which, as stated in v. 12, were the cause of this punishment, and also to the sinful act of Antiochus Epiphanes in defiling the Holy place, which is described in xi. 31 as an abomination."

interpreted in several different ways, which are presented next.

The restoration of the  
Jewish worship

The view that the cleansing of the sanctuary signifies the restoration of the Jewish worship under Judas Maccabeus was maintained by Hitzig, Stuart, Barnes, Cowles, Zöckler, d'Envieu, Bevan, Farrar, Thomson, and Prince among others, on the basis of the book of Maccabees and the meaning of the term sdq.<sup>1</sup> In Hitzig's view,

The vindication of the sanctuary seems according to v. 13 to consist therein, that it stopped being מרמס and that the תמיד was re-established. It is thereby, since נצדק probably means justification, but not, being avenged, to discredit the reference to the dead Antiochus.<sup>2</sup>

According to Stuart,

shall have justice done, i.e. the rights of the sanctuary shall be effectually restored, its claims shall be vindicated. This was done when Judas Maccabeus, after the three and a half years in which all temple-rites had been suspended, and heathen sacrifices had been offered there, made a thorough expurgation of everything pertaining to the temple, and restored its entire services.

---

<sup>1</sup>Zöckler, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, p. 178: "The 'justifying of the sanctuary' is the re-consecration of the desecrated sanctuary and its services (which were permitted to be trodden under foot), which is accomplished by the renewal of the daily sacrifices." D'Envieu, Le Livre du Prophète Daniel, 2:818. "Le verbe צדק signifie 'être juste, intègre; au niphâl, 'être justifié, vengé des insultes, purifié. . . . Cette purification ou réhabilitation du sanctuaire fut faite par Judas Machabée." Farrar, The Book of Daniel, p. 265. "Turning now to the dates, we know that Judas the Maccabee cleansed (1 Macc. iv. 41-56; 2 Macc. x. 1-5) ('justified' or vindicated,' viii. 14) the temple on Kisleu 25 (December 25th, B.C. 165)."

<sup>2</sup>Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel, p. 137: "Die Rechtfertigung des Heiligthums scheint nach V. 13. darin zu bestehen, dass es aufhörte מרמס zu sein, und dass das תמיד wiederhergestellt wurde. Es ist somit, da נצדק wohl gerecht, aber nicht gerächt werden bedeutet, die Beziehung auf den Tod des Antiochus zu verwerfen."

<sup>3</sup>Stuart, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 238.

In the same line of thought Barnes remarked:

The Hebrew word (צדק) means, to be right or straight, and then to be just or righteous; then to vindicate or justify. In the form here used (Niphal), it means to be declared just; to be justified or vindicated, and, as applied to the temple or sanctuary, to be vindicated from violence or injury; that is, to be cleansed. See Gesenius, Lex. There is undoubtedly reference here to the act of Judas Maccabeus, in solemnly purifying the temple, and repairing it, after the pollutions brought upon it by Antiochus.

Cowles expressed his position as follows:

The Hebrew for 'cleansed' means usually 'justified,' but here, 'set right,' put into its proper condition for its appropriate use. Since the evil to be remedied was its pollution and desecration by idol-worship, 'cleansed' well expresses the sense. . . . The sanctuary was cleansed Dec. 25, 164 B.C. See 1 Mac. 4: 52, with 1 Mac. 1: 54, 59.<sup>2</sup>

For Bevan the niphal nišdaq, which is used nowhere else,

seems to mean properly 'to prove oneself just' and hence 'to be manifested as just', cf. שָׁפָט 'to shew oneself as holy' (Lev. xxii. 32. Ezek. xx. 41). The justification of the sanctuary is the vindication of its cause, for as long as it is polluted it lies under condemnation.<sup>3</sup>

Thomson pointed out that the word translated "cleansed" really means "justified." Then he added:

All the versions translate as if the word had been some derivative of tahar. The period referred to is that between the desolation inflicted on the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes and its cleansing by Judas Maccabeus.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, Prince declared: "Literally: 'be justified'. It shall be considered righteous and entered once more by the Divine Presence.

---

<sup>1</sup>Barnes, Daniel, 2:117.

<sup>2</sup>Cowles, Ezekiel and Daniel, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup>Bevan, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup>Thomson, Daniel, p. 244.

After this period of pollution Jhvh will again accept the Sanctuary as His earthly abode."<sup>1</sup>

The cleansing of the Jewish temple and the cleansing of the Christian Church

Ramsay understood the phrase "the sanctuary shall be cleansed" to refer both to the cleansing of the Jewish sanctuary under Judas Maccabeus and to the cleansing of the Christian Church.<sup>2</sup> This understanding seems to be based on typology, which allows a double fulfillment of prophecy. But he did not elaborate more on it.

The cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary

Andrews and Smith understood the cleansing of the sanctuary to refer to a work of judgment performed in the heavenly sanctuary.<sup>3</sup> Andrews based his conclusions on the conviction (1) that as the old covenant had its sanctuary in Jerusalem, so the new covenant has its sanctuary in heaven;<sup>4</sup> (2) that both sanctuaries are pointed out by Gabriel in his explanation of the 2300 days in Dan 9;<sup>5</sup> and (3) that both sanctuaries are embraced in the vision of the 2300 days.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Prince, A Critical Commentary, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup>Ramsay, An Exposition of the Book of Daniel, pp. 210, 213.

<sup>3</sup>Smith, The Sanctuary, p. 258: "The cleansing of the sanctuary is a work of Judgement." Andrews, The Sanctuary, p. 89: "The sanctuary to be cleansed from the sins of the church, or host, at the end of the 2300 years, is the heavenly sanctuary."

<sup>4</sup>Andrews, The Sanctuary, pp. 69, 70.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 71, 72.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

Consequently, since the 2300 symbolical days "reach far down into this dispensation; . . . the sanctuary to be cleansed at the end of those days is the sanctuary of this dispensation, the tabernacle on high."<sup>1</sup> The understanding of the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary as a work of judgment is based on the analogy of the cleansing of the earthly sanctuary on the Day of Atonement.<sup>2</sup>

Smith argued in favor of this interpretation of the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary pointing out that the meaning of the term "sanctuary" in Dan 8:14 could refer either to the sanctuary of the old covenant which was in Jerusalem or to the sanctuary of the new covenant which is in heaven. Next, he offered a criterion to determine the correctness of one interpretation or the other in the following words:

All the declarations respecting the sanctuary which apply under the old dispensation, have respect, of course, to the sanctuary of that dispensation; and all those declarations which apply in this dispensation, must have reference to the sanctuary of this dispensation. If the 2300 days, at the termination of which the sanctuary is to be cleansed, ended in the former dispensation, the sanctuary to be cleansed was the sanctuary of that time. If they reach over into this dispensation, the sanctuary to which reference is made is the sanctuary of this dispensation, --the new-covenant sanctuary in heaven.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 251: "whatever is said in reference to the sanctuary which applies to the former dispensation, has reference to the sanctuary of that dispensation; and whatever applies to this dispensation, has reference to that which is the sanctuary of this dispensation, namely, the sanctuary in heaven."

<sup>2</sup>Andrews, The Sanctuary, pp. 78-84; Smith, The Sanctuary, pp. 205-213: "We have now before us a general outline of the ministration and cleansing of the earthly sanctuary. This was performed, says Paul, unto the example and shadow of heavenly things. From this service, we are, therefore, to reason concerning the ministration and cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary" (p. 213). See also Daniel and Revelation, pp. 176-181.

<sup>3</sup>Smith, Daniel and Revelation, p. 175.

For Smith there was no doubt that the "2300 days" reach into the new dispensation.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, he concluded that by the "sanctuary" in Dan 8:14 is meant the heavenly sanctuary.

In regard to the nature of the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary, Smith, on the basis of Heb 9:22, 23, understood that it has to do with "Remission . . . , that is, the putting away of sin."<sup>2</sup> This work, he pointed out, is done by Christ, the great High Priest of the new covenant.<sup>3</sup>

#### The future reconstruction of the Jewish temple

It seems that Bosanquet understood the cleansing of the sanctuary to refer to the reconstruction of a future Jewish temple, and also to the restoration of the kingdom of Israel.<sup>4</sup> This understanding seems to be based on a literal understanding of the term sanctuary and on a symbolical understanding of the chronological period.

#### The restoration of the Jewish worship in the past as well as in the future

Fausset understood the cleansing of the sanctuary to refer to

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 195-216.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 179-181.

<sup>4</sup>Bosanquet, Messiah the Prince, pp. 244-245, 260, 264, 269: "That the sanctuary of Jerusalem shall yet indeed be cleansed from Mahomedan pollution, we have not only the authority of Daniel, but that also of the Lord Himself, who has said, 'Is it now written, My house shall be called the house of prayer for all nations?' For this is a state of honour which hast yet to be realised by some future temple of Jerusalem" (pp. 244, 245).

the restoration of the Jewish temple from profanation under Judas Maccabeus, and also to the antitypical dedication of the future Jewish temple.<sup>1</sup> The basis for the understanding of the Maccabean restoration was 1 Macc 4:51-58 and 2 Macc 10:1-7; and for the antitypical dedication, Ezek 43 and Amos 9:11, 12.<sup>2</sup>

#### Liberation of the Christian Church

Birchmore understood the cleansing of the sanctuary to refer to the liberation of the Christian Church from the Muhammedan and papal power, but he did not elaborate more on it.<sup>3</sup>

#### A Christian temple replacing the mosque of Omar

Nevin understood the cleansing of the sanctuary to refer to a future Christian temple which would take the place of the mosque of Omar, "on the site where Solomon's temple once stood." But he did not provide an exegetical support for holding this view.<sup>4</sup>

#### Deliverance of the Holy Land and Jewish people

Tanner understood the expression "then the sanctuary shall be cleansed" to refer to a final deliverance of the Holy Land and the

---

<sup>1</sup>Fausset, A Commentary, 2:633.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Birchmore, Prophecy Interpreted by History, pp. 56-57: "So may it be with the Church, in the providence of God, when released from her present slavery, and cleansed!"

<sup>4</sup>Nevin, Studies in Prophecy, pp. 94, 95: "AT THAT DATE, AS WE FIRMLY BELIEVE, THE MOSLEM POWER BEING EXTINGUISHED, A CHRISTIAN CHURCH SHALL TAKE THE PLACE OF THE MOSQUE OF OMAR, ON THE SITE WHERE SOLOMON'S TEMPLE ONCE STOOD. 'THEN SHALL THE SANCTUARY BE CLEANSSED.'"

Jewish people from the Muhammedan power.<sup>1</sup> He explained that "as the sanctuary was the most holy spot in the Holy Land, so in this prophecy it is figuratively spoken of as representing that land, and the worship of the true God carried on there. Thus the 'sanctuary' and the 'host' stand for God's land, and God's people."<sup>2</sup>

In short, the expression "then the sanctuary shall be cleansed" was understood during this period as (1) the restoration of the Jewish cult under Judas Maccabeus, (2) both the purification of the Jewish sanctuary under Judas Maccabeus and the purification of the Christian Church, (3) the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary, (4) the future reconstruction of the Jewish temple, (5) both the cleansing of the Jewish sanctuary under Judas Maccabeus and the future antitypical dedication of the Jewish temple, (6) the liberation of the Christian Church from the Muhammedan and papal abominations, (7) the future Christian temple built on the same place where the Mosque of Omar stood, and (8) the deliverance of the Holy Land and the Jewish people from the Muhammedan power.

#### Summary

From 1850 to 1900 the great majority of interpreters understood the two-horned ram to denote the Medo-Persian Empire, and its sequence among the four world empires of Daniel as the second. However, some interpreters divided the Medo-Persian Empire into two, indicating that the Median is the second world empire, and the Persian the third. The he-goat was interpreted by the great majority of

---

<sup>1</sup>Tanner, Daniel and the Revelation, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.



expositors to refer to the Grecian or Macedonian Empire, while a few of them thought that it denotes Alexander the Great. Only one interpreter indicated that it refers to Chosroes (H. Taylor).

The sequence of the he-goat among the four world empires was understood by the great majority of interpreters as the third world empire, while by others as the fourth. Only a few of them thought that it represents both the third and the fourth. The most popular interpretation of the he-goat's notable horn was that it refers to Alexander the Great. Other expositors thought that it refers to the undivided Grecian Empire under the reign of Alexander the Great; and still others, that it refers either to the first king or to his dynasty.

The four horns of the he-goat were interpreted by the great majority of expositors to refer to four kingdoms of the divided Grecian Empire. Others thought that they refer to the fourfold division of the Grecian Empire; and still others that they denote four kings. The location of these four horns in the sequence of the four world empires of Daniel was understood by few expositors to be the fourth one. However, the great majority understood the four horns to be an integral part of the he-goat and referred them together with the he-goat either as the third empire or fourth. The little horn was interpreted to refer to: (1) Antiochus Epiphanes, (2) the Muhammedan power, (3) pagan and papal Rome, (4) Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the papal Antichrist, (5) Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the future Antichrist, (6) Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of a future "king of the north," (7) the Roman Empire, and (8) the future Antichrist.

The expression "evening-morning" was understood during this

period to refer to the morning and evening sacrifices, a natural day, a prophetic day, and a symbolic day. Some interpreters thought that the numerical figure of Dan 8:14 must be 2400, while others took it to be 2200. However, most interpreters preferred the Masoretic reading of 2300. In accord with their understanding of the expression "evening-morning" and their selection of the numerical figure, the "2300 evening-mornings" period was reckoned as follows: (1) From 145 of the Seleucidae to the year 148 of the same era, (2) from 171 B.C. to 165 B.C., (3) from 170 B.C. to 164 B.C., (4) from 170 B.C. to 163 B.C., (5) from 480 B.C. to A.D. 1820, (6) from 457/450 B.C. to A.D. 1843/1850, (7) from 457 B.C. to A.D. 1844, (8) from 168 B.C. to A.D. 2132, (9) from 330 B.C. to A.D. 1970, (10) from 170 B.C. to A.D. 2130, (11) from 553 B.C. to A.D. 1848, (12) from 485 B.C. to A.D. 1916/7, (13) from 330/334 B.C. to A.D. 1866/1870.

The term "daily" was understood to mean the continual burnt offering, the Christian worship, both the continual burnt offering and the Christian worship, the pagan worship and desolating actions, the daily memorial of the Jewish sacrifice, and everything which is used permanently in the worship of God.

The expression "the transgression of desolation" was interpreted to refer to the unclean sacrifices of the Syrian worship, the iniquity of Antiochus for persecuting the Jews and desolating the temple, the desolations of both Antiochus and Antichrist, papal Rome, the sin of the Jewish people causing the desolation, the Syrian idol altar, and the Moslem teaching.

Finally, the expression "then the sanctuary shall be cleansed" was understood to refer to the restoration of the Jewish

cult by Judas Maccabeus, both the purification of the Jewish sanctuary and the purification of the Christian Church, the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary, the future reconstruction of the Jewish temple, both the cleansing of the Jewish temple in the past as well as in the future, the liberation of the Christian Church from the Muhammedan and papal abominations, the rebuilding of a future Christian temple on the same place where the Mosque of Omar stands, and the deliverance of the Holy Land and the Jewish people from the Muhammedan power.

The interpreters of this period might be classified into four schools of interpretation: (1) the historicist school, (2) the preterist school, (3) the futurist school, and (4) the historical-critical school.

A good number of historicist interpreters dealt with the vision of Daniel 8 during this period. The great majority of them continued to hold the two most popular interpretations of the little horn which were offered by interpreters of this school in the first half of the nineteenth century: (1) the Roman view, and (2) the Muhammedan view. In comparison with the previous period, the historicist school seems to have lost some ground in this period for at least three reasons: (1) the prophecy of the 2300 "days" was not fulfilled in a literal and historical event as it had been claimed it would take place,<sup>1</sup> (2) the growing influence of futurist hermeneutic

---

<sup>1</sup>About the great disappointment of the Millerite Movement and its results, see Damsteegt, Foundations, pp. 99, 100; Francis D. Nichol, The Midnight Cry (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1944), pp. 263-276; Jonathan M. Butler, "Adventism and the American Experience," in The Rise of Adventism, ed. Edwin S. Gaustad (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 173-206.

and interpretation, and (3) the growing influence of modernism. Among the historicist interpreters of Dan 8 are Cumming, Barnes, Ramsay, Trevillian, Shimeall, Andrews, Lord, Boyle, Bosanquet, Birchmore, Smith, Forman, Nevin, Arthur, Robinson, and Tanner.

The preterist interpreters of this period were divided among themselves regarding the sequence of the four empires. Stuart, Cowles, and Zöckler followed the most popular view among preterists,<sup>1</sup> while Kranichfeld and Terry followed the less popular among them.<sup>2</sup>

Interpreters of the futurist school grew in number during this period. They might be divided into two groups. One group, using the hermeneutical principle of the two peoples of God, were forced to make a parenthesis in the fulfillment of the prophecies of Daniel from the first coming of Christ to seven years before His second coming, while the other group, different from the historicists, considered the fulfillment of the ten horns of the fourth beast of Dan 7 and the little horn of the same vision to be in the future. Among the interpreters of the former group are Auberlen, Kelly, Fausset, Pember, and West; and among the latter, Kenrick, Kliefoth, Keil, Caspari, Rohling, Seiss, Deane, Hebbelynck, d'Envieu, Düsterwald, Knabenbauer, and Philippe.

The enlightenment of the eighteenth century, which moved from England to Germany, returned again to the English territory in "metamorphosed form since 1860."<sup>3</sup> At the end of this period (1850-

---

<sup>1</sup>The Babylonian, Medo-Persian, the Grecian under Alexander, and the kingdoms of Alexander's successors.

<sup>2</sup>The Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Grecian.

<sup>3</sup>Emil G. Kraeling, The Old Testament Since the Reformation

1900) the historical-critical approach to the book of Daniel became established in England through the study of Driver; and in the United States it began to be employed by Prince. It should be noted that Prince's commentary on Daniel was not published in U.S.A., but in Europe. Among the historical-critical interpreters of this period, who offered an interpretation of the vision of Dan 8, are Hitzig, Hilgenfeld, Desprez, Ewald, Kamphausen, Kuenen, Reuss, Meinhold, Bevan, Behrman, Farrar, Prince, and Driver.

---

(New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. 89; See Alan Richardson, The Bible in the Age of Science (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), p. 60.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

#### The Vision of Dan 8

This descriptive investigation of the interpretation of the vision of Dan 8, particularly its five animal symbols, the temporal expression of 2300 "evening-mornings," and three cultic expressions, covers the period from about 1700 to 1900. It seemed advisable, based on the primary sources, that this larger period could be subdivided into three shorter periods: from about 1700 to 1800, from about 1800 to 1850, and from 1850 to 1900.

The main objective of this investigation was to discover the variety of interpretations which were given to the vision of Dan 8, particularly its five animal symbols, the temporal expression of 2300 "evening-mornings," and three cultic expressions, as well as approaches or methodologies which were used in their interpretation. A synthesis of the results and some concluding remarks are presented here concerning: (1) the findings regarding the interpretations of the five animal symbols; (2) the findings regarding the temporal expression of the 2300 "evening-mornings"; (3) the findings regarding the interpretations of three cultic expressions; (4) the findings regarding four schools of interpretation; and, finally, (5) the findings regarding some problems in the interpretation of Dan 8. These findings under each topic are presented in chronological order.

## Animal Symbols

The interpretation of the two-horned ram, from about 1700 to 1800, did not cause many problems to exegetes. Historicist interpreters,<sup>1</sup> two preterists,<sup>2</sup> and one non-dispensational futurist<sup>3</sup> understood it to denote the Medo-Persian Empire. The basis for this interpretation was either the angelus interpretes' explanation of Dan 8:20 or Dan 8:20 and correspondences between the description of the two-horned ram and the history of the Medo-Persian Empire. Only one preterist interpreter<sup>4</sup> offered a double interpretation of the two-horned ram, claiming that it refers to King Cyrus and also to the kings or kingdoms of Medo-Persia. His basis for the former interpretation seems to have been the Latin text of the Vulgate, and for the latter the Hebrew text of the Masoretes. One other preterist<sup>5</sup> interpreter understood the two-horned ram to refer exclusively to the Persian Empire. The basis for his interpretation was his belief that a beast symbol must represent only one people, and also that a horn symbol signifies a king but not a kingdom.

With regard to the chronological sequence of the two-horned ram or the power represented by it, among the four world empires of the book of Daniel, most historicist interpreters,<sup>6</sup> two

---

<sup>1</sup>Lowth (1726), I. Newton (1733), Th. Newton (1754), Gill (1758), Wintle (1792), Zouch (1792) Bicheno (1798), Kett (1799), and Faber (1806).

<sup>2</sup>Henry (1712), Amner (1776).

<sup>3</sup>Roos (1771).

<sup>4</sup>Calmet (1715).

<sup>5</sup>Venema (1745).

<sup>6</sup>Lowth, Crinsoz, I. Newton, Th. Newton, Gill, Wintle, Zouch,

preterists,<sup>1</sup> and one futurist (Roos) maintained that it occupies the second position, while one preterist interpreter (Venema) believed that it occupies the third in the sequence of four empires.

From about 1800 to 1850 four interpretations were provided to the two-horned ram: (1) It refers to the Medo-Persian Empire. This view was held by many historicists,<sup>2</sup> at least four historical-critical interpreters,<sup>3</sup> three futurists,<sup>4</sup> and one preterist,<sup>5</sup> The basis for this interpretation, whenever stated explicitly, was either Dan 8:20 or this passage together with correspondences between the description of the two-horned ram and the history of the Medo-Persian Empire. (2) It refers to the kings of Media and Persia. This seems to have been the view of two futurist interpreters<sup>6</sup> on the basis of Dan 8:20. (3) It refers to the kings or dynasties of Medo-Persia, on the basis of Dan 8:20.<sup>7</sup> Finally, (4) one futurist expositor<sup>8</sup> thought that

---

Kett, Coke, and Faber.

<sup>1</sup>Henry (1712) and Calmet (1715).

<sup>2</sup>Hales (1809), Scott (1812), Cuninghame (1813), J. Clarke (1814), Kinne (1814) Frere (1815), Mason (1820), Girdlestone (1820), Fry (1822), A. Clarke (1825), Faber (1828), Keith (1832), Cox, (1836), Miller (1833/1842), Cambell (1840), Junkin, (1844) Elliott (1844), and Birks (1843/1846).

<sup>3</sup>Bertholdt (1808), Rosenmüller (1832), Lengerke (1835), and Maurer (1838).

<sup>4</sup>Hävernack (1832), Tyso (1838), and Darby (1847).

<sup>5</sup>Folsom (1842).

<sup>6</sup>Maitland (1830) and B. Newton (1848/1849).

<sup>7</sup>Reid (1828).

<sup>8</sup>Todd (1840).



it depicts to future kings on the basis of Dan 8:17 and 8:20.

The chronological sequence of the two-horned ram or the power represented by it, among the four world empires of Daniel, was seen by all historicists,<sup>1</sup> two historical critics,<sup>2</sup> two futurists,<sup>3</sup> and one preterist (Folsom) as occupying the second place. Two futurist interpreters<sup>4</sup> believed that it occupies the first place; three historical critics<sup>5</sup> that it occupies the second and third; and one futurist (Todd) that it is still in the future.

In the period from 1850 to 1900 the interpretation of the two-horned ram reached a consensus. Historicists,<sup>6</sup> historical critics,<sup>7</sup> preterists,<sup>8</sup> and futurists<sup>9</sup> understood it to denote the Medo-Persian Empire either on the basis of Dan 8:20 or on the basis

---

<sup>1</sup>Hales, Scott, Cuninghame, J. Clarke, Kinne, Frere, Mason, Girdlestone, Fry, A. Clarke, Townsend (1826), Faber, Reid, Keith, Habershon (1834) Cox, Miller, Cambell, Ralston (1842), Junkin, Elliott, and Birks.

<sup>2</sup>Bertholdt and Rosenmüller.

<sup>3</sup>Hävernick and Tyso.

<sup>4</sup>Lacunza (1812) and Maitland (1830).

<sup>5</sup>Eichhorn, Lengerke and Maurer.

<sup>6</sup>Cumming (1850), Barnes (1853), Ramsay (1853), Andrews (1853) Boyle (1863), Smith (1877), Arthur (1893), Huntingford (1895), and Tanner (1898).

<sup>7</sup>Hitzig (1850), Desprez (1865), Ewald (1868), Reuss (1878), Meinhold (1889) Bevan (1892), Farrar (1895), Prince (1899), and Driver (1900).

<sup>8</sup>Stuart (1850), Osbon (1856), Cowles (1868), Zöckler (1870), Terry (1893), and Thomson (1897).

<sup>9</sup>Kelly (1858), Pusey (1864), Keil (1869), Seiss (1879), Deane (1884), Pember (1885), d'Enviu (1891), Tiefenthal (1895), and West (1898).

of this passage and correspondences between the description of the two-horned ram and the history of the Medo-Persian Empire.

The chronological sequence of the two-horned ram in the four world empires schema of the book of Daniel was taken to refer by all the historicist<sup>1</sup> and futurist interpreters<sup>2</sup> as well as some preterists<sup>3</sup> to the second world empire. On the other hand, all the historical-critical interpreters<sup>4</sup> and two preterists<sup>5</sup> split the Medo-Persian Empire into two, taking the Median kingdom as the second empire in the sequence of four and the Persian as the third one.

The interpretation of the he-goat symbol, from about 1700 to 1800, was relatively non-controversial. Eight historicist interpreters,<sup>6</sup> three preterists,<sup>7</sup> and one futurist<sup>8</sup> understood it to denote the Grecian Empire either on the basis of Dan 8:21 or on the basis of this passage and correspondences between its description and

---

<sup>1</sup>Cumming (1850), Barnes (1853), Ramsay (1853), Andrews (1853) Boyle (1863), Smith (1877), Robinson (1892), Arthur (1893), Huntingford (1895), and Tanner (1898).

<sup>2</sup>Kelly (1858), Pusey (1864), Keil (1869), Caspari (1869), Rohling (1876), Seiss (1879), Deane (1884), Pember (1885), d'Envieu (1891), Tiefenthal (1895), West (1898), and Philippe (1899).

<sup>3</sup>Stuart, Osbon, Cowles, Zöckler, and Thomson.

<sup>4</sup>Hitzig (1850), Hilgenfeld (1863), Desprez (1865), Ewald (1868), Kamphausen (1868) Reuss (1878), Meinhold (1889) Bevan (1892), Farrar (1895), Prince (1899), and Driver (1900).

<sup>5</sup>Kranichfeld and Terry.

<sup>6</sup>Lowth (1826), I. Newton (d. 1827), Crinsoz (1829), Th. Newton (1854), Gill (1858), Wintle (1892), Kett (1799), and Faber (1806).

<sup>7</sup>Henry (1712), Venema (1745), and Amner (1776).

<sup>8</sup>Roos (1771).

the history of the Grecian Empire. Only one preterist interpreter<sup>1</sup> seems to have given a double interpretation to the he-goat indicating that it refers to Alexander the Great and to the kingdom of Greece.

The chronological sequence of the he-goat in the four world empires schema of the book of Daniel was seen by eight historicists,<sup>2</sup> two preterists,<sup>3</sup> and one futurist (Roos) as occupying the third place, while one preterist interpreter (Venema) maintained that it occupies the fourth one.

Interpreters of all four schools of interpretation from about 1800 to 1850 appear to be in agreement that the he-goat symbol represents the Grecian Empire either on the basis of Dan 8:21 or on the basis of this passage and correspondences seen between the description of this animal symbol and the history of the Grecian Empire.<sup>4</sup> The sole exceptions are two futurist interpreters, one of whom seems to have suggested that the he-goat represents "the king of Grecia" in the past,<sup>5</sup> while the other argued that it denotes "the king of Grecia" in the future.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Calmet (1715).

<sup>2</sup>Lowth, I. Newton, Crinsoz, Th. Newton, Gill, Wintle, Kett, and Faber.

<sup>3</sup>Henry and Calmet.

<sup>4</sup>Four historical-critical interpreters: Bertholdt (1808), Rosenmüller (1832), Lengerke (1835), and Maurer (1838); twenty historicists: Hales (1809), Scott (1812), Kinne (1814), Frere (1815), Girdlestone (1820), Mason (1820), Fry (1822), A. Clarke (1825), Townsend (1826), Faber (1828), Reid (1828), Keith (1832), Habershon (1834), Cox (1836), Cambell (1840), Ralston (1842), Miller (1833/1842), Junkin (1844), Elliott (1844), and Birks (1843/1846); one futurist: Tyso (1838); and one preterist: Folsom (1842).

<sup>5</sup>Maitland (1830).

<sup>6</sup>Todd (1840).

The chronological sequence of the he-goat symbol among the four world empires of the book of Daniel was seen by the great majority of interpreters to occupy the third place.<sup>1</sup> A different view was held by two historical-critical interpreters<sup>2</sup> and one preterist (Folsom) who maintained that it occupies both the third and fourth place. There were also two futurists<sup>3</sup> who believed that it occupies the second place; three historical-critics<sup>4</sup> who maintained that it occupies the fourth one; and one futurist (Todd) who affirmed that it will come in the future.

From 1850 to 1900 the interpretation of the he-goat symbol reached nearly a consensus. Seven historical-critics,<sup>5</sup> four preterists,<sup>6</sup> seven historicists,<sup>7</sup> and seven futurists<sup>8</sup> understood the he-goat to denote the Grecian Empire either on the basis of Dan 8:21

---

<sup>1</sup>Twenty historicists: Hales (1809), Scott (1812), Kinne (1814), Frere (1815), Girdlestone (1820), Mason (1820), Fry (1822), A. Clarke (1825), Townsend (1826), Faber (1828), Reid (1828), Keith (1832), Habershon (1834), Cox (1836), Cambell (1840), Ralston (1842), Miller (1833/1842), Junkin (1844), Elliott (1844), and Birks (1843/1846); and three futurists: Tyso (1838), Tregelles (1847), and Darby (1847).

<sup>2</sup>Bertholdt and Rosenmüller.

<sup>3</sup>Lacunza and Maitland.

<sup>4</sup>Lengerke, Maurer, and de Wette (1840).

<sup>5</sup>Hitzig (1850), Desprez (1865), Meinhold (1889), Bevan (1892), Farrar (1895), Prince (1899), and Driver (1900).

<sup>6</sup>Osbon (1856), Cowles (1868), Zöckler (1870), and Terry (1893).

<sup>7</sup>Cumming (1850), Barnes (1853), Ramsay (1853), Boyle (1863), Rule (1869), Birchmore (1871), and Huntingford (1895).

<sup>8</sup>Auberien (1854), Kelly (1858), Deane (1884), Pember (1885), d'Envieu (1891), Knabenbauer (1891), and Tiefenthal (1895).

or on the basis of this passage and correspondences between the description of this animal symbol and the history of the Grecian Empire. Only one futurist<sup>1</sup> remarked that it refers to Alexander the Great, while H. Taylor thought that it refers to Chosroes.

The chronological place of the he-goat symbol in the sequence of the four world empires of the book of Daniel was assigned by all historicists and futurists the third position. All historical critics and two preterists<sup>2</sup> suggested that it occupies the fourth place. And three preterists<sup>3</sup> affirmed that it occupies both the third and fourth place.

From about 1700 to 1800 two main interpretations were given to the he-goat's notable horn. Three historicists,<sup>4</sup> two preterists,<sup>5</sup> and one futurist (Roos) explicitly indicated that it refers to Alexander the Great. On the other hand, five historicists<sup>6</sup> expounded that the notable horn of the he-goat refers either to the undivided Grecian Empire under Alexander or to Alexander's dynasty.

From about 1800 to 1850 five historicists,<sup>7</sup> four historical

---

<sup>1</sup>Kenrick (1859).

<sup>2</sup>Kranichfeld and Terry.

<sup>3</sup>Stuart, Cowles, and Zöckler.

<sup>4</sup>Lowth, Gill, and Kett.

<sup>5</sup>Henry and Calmet.

<sup>6</sup>I. Newton, Th. Newton, Wintle, Bicheno, and Faber.

<sup>7</sup>Hales (1809), Cuninghame (1813), Mason (1820), Miller (1842), and Junkin (1844).

critics,<sup>1</sup> one futurist,<sup>2</sup> and two preterists<sup>3</sup> understood the "notable horn" to refer to Alexander the Great, while five historicists<sup>4</sup> continued to maintain that it refers either to the undivided Grecian Empire or to Alexander's dynasty.

From 1850 to 1900 still two main interpretations continued to be given to the "notable horn." The great majority of historicists,<sup>5</sup> historical critics,<sup>6</sup> preterists,<sup>7</sup> and futurists<sup>8</sup> affirmed that it refers to Alexander the Great. Two historicist interpreters,<sup>9</sup> however, thought that it refers to the undivided Grecian Empire, while one preterist<sup>10</sup> and one futurist<sup>11</sup> declared that it may refer either to Alexander the Great or to his dynasty.

Two main interpretations were also given to the "four horns"

---

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt (1808), Rosenmüller (1832), Lengerke (1835), and Maurer (1838).

<sup>2</sup>Tyso (1838).

<sup>3</sup>Folsom (1842), Lee (1849).

<sup>4</sup>Scott (1812), Kinne (1814), Cambell (1840), and Birks (1843/1846).

<sup>5</sup>Cumming (1850), Barnes (1853), Ramsay (1853), Andrews (1853), Rule (1869), Birchmore (1871), Smith (1877), and Arthur (1893).

<sup>6</sup>Hitzig (1850), Desprez (1865), Ewald (1868), Reuss (1878), Farrar (1895), Prince (1899), and Driver (1900).

<sup>7</sup>Osbon (1856), Cowles (1868), Zöckler (1870), and Terry.

<sup>8</sup>Auberlen (1854), Kelly (1858), Pusey (1864), Fausset (1868), Seiss (1879), Deane (1884), Pember (1885), d'Envieu (1891), and West (1893).

<sup>9</sup>Boyle (1863) and Nevin (1890).

<sup>10</sup>Kranichfeld (1868).

<sup>11</sup>Keil (1869).

of the he-goat during the eighteenth century. The majority of historicist interpreters<sup>1</sup> and one futurist<sup>2</sup> understood the four horns to refer to the four kingdoms of the divided Grecian Empire. Only one historicist interpreter<sup>3</sup> considered the four horns to refer to the four kings who divided the Grecian Empire among themselves, while one preterist<sup>4</sup> and one historicist<sup>5</sup> indistinctly referred the four horns either to four kings or four kingdoms.

The chronological place of these four horns in the scheme of the four world empires of the book of Daniel was seen by the great majority of interpreters as an integral part of the he-goat symbol which occupied either the third<sup>6</sup> or the fourth position.<sup>7</sup> Only three preterist interpreters<sup>8</sup> maintained that one or two of the four horns occupy the fourth position in Daniel's scheme.

The most popular interpretation of the he-goat's four horns in the period from about 1800 to 1850 was that they denote the four kingdoms of the divided Grecian Empire. This was the view of all

---

<sup>1</sup>I. Newton (d. 1727), Crinsoz (1729), Th. Newton (1754), Wintle (1792), and Faber (1806).

<sup>2</sup>Roos (1771).

<sup>3</sup>Lowth (1726).

<sup>4</sup>Calmet (1715).

<sup>5</sup>Gill (1858).

<sup>6</sup>Lowth, I. Newton, Th. Newton, Gill, Wintle, and Faber.

<sup>7</sup>Venema.

<sup>8</sup>Henry, Calmet, and Amner.

historicists who were surveyed,<sup>1</sup> of three futurists,<sup>2</sup> three historical critics,<sup>3</sup> and one preterist.<sup>4</sup> In opposition to them one historical-critical expositor considered the four horns as kings,<sup>5</sup> while one preterist took them either as kings or races of kings.<sup>6</sup>

The chronological place of these four horns in the sequence of the four world empires of the book of Daniel was considered to be an integral part of the he-goat. Accordingly, one futurist interpreter understood the horns as part of the second empire;<sup>7</sup> nineteen historicists<sup>8</sup> and three futurists,<sup>9</sup> as part of the third empire; and three historical-critics, as part of the fourth one.<sup>10</sup> Only two historical-critical interpreters<sup>11</sup> and one preterist,<sup>12</sup> by dividing the Grecian Empire into two, maintained that two of the four horns

---

<sup>1</sup>Hales, Scott, Cuninghame, J. Clarke, Kinne, Frere, Girdleston, Mason, Fry, Faber, Reid, Keith, Habershon, Cox, Cambell, Ralston, Miller, Junkin, Elliott, and Birks.

<sup>2</sup>Maitland, Hävernicks, and Tyso.

<sup>3</sup>Rosenmüller, Lengerke, and Maurer.

<sup>4</sup>Nolan.

<sup>5</sup>Bertholdt.

<sup>6</sup>Folsom.

<sup>7</sup>Maitland.

<sup>8</sup>Hales, Scott, Cuninghame, J. Clarke, Kinne, Frere, Girdleston, Mason, Fry, Faber, Reid, Keith, Habershon, Cox, Cambell, Ralston, Junkin, Elliott, and Birks.

<sup>9</sup>Hävernicks, Tyso, and B. Newton.

<sup>10</sup>Lengerke, Maurer, and de Wette.

<sup>11</sup>Bertholdt and Rosenmüller.

<sup>12</sup>Folsom.



occupy the fourth position.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the great majority of interpreters surveyed<sup>1</sup> explicitly indicated that the four horns refer to kingdoms. Only one historical-critical interpreter<sup>2</sup> and one futurist<sup>3</sup> thought that the four horns refer to the fourfold division of the Grecian Empire, while one futurist<sup>4</sup> understood them to refer to four kings.

In the period from 1850 to 1900 the chronological sequence of the four horns was also seen by the great majority of interpreters as an integral part of the he-goat which had its place in the four world empires schema. Accordingly, eleven historicists,<sup>5</sup> fifteen futurists,<sup>6</sup> and two preterists<sup>7</sup> understood them as being part of the third world empire. Seven historical-critical interpreters<sup>8</sup> and

---

<sup>1</sup>Five historical-critics: Hitzig (1850), Ewald (1868), Farrar (1895), Prince (1899), and Driver (1900); nine historicists: Cumming (1850), Ramsay (1853), Boyle (1863), Rule (1869), Birchmore (1871), Smith (1877), Nevin (1890), Huntingford (1895), and Tanner (1898); seven futurists: Auberlen (1854), Kenrick (1859), Pusey (1864), Keil (1870), Knabenbauer (1891), Tiefenthal (1895), and West (1898); and three preterists: Osbon, Kranichfeld (1868), and Cowles (1868).

<sup>2</sup>Desprez (1865).

<sup>3</sup>Deane (1885).

<sup>4</sup>Hebbelinck (1887).

<sup>5</sup>Cumming, Barnes, Ramsay, Boyle, Rule, Birchmore, Smith, Nevin, Arthur, Huntingford, and Tanner.

<sup>6</sup>Auberlen, Kelly, Kenrick, Pusey, Fausset, Keil, Taylor, Seiss, Deane, Pember, Hebbelinck, d'Enviu, Knabenbauer, Tiefenthal, and West.

<sup>7</sup>Osbon and Thomson.

<sup>8</sup>Hitzig, Ewald, Reuss, Bevan, Farrar, Prince, and Driver.

two preterists<sup>1</sup> suggested that they belong to the fourth world empire. Only three preterists<sup>2</sup> maintained that the four horns themselves represented the fourth world empire.

On the basis of this information it can safely be concluded that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the leading interpretation of the two-horned ram symbol consisted of its identification with the Medo-Persian Empire. The he-goat symbol was taken to refer to the Grecian Empire. The he-goat's notable horn was seen to represent Alexander the Great, and the "four horns" of the he-goat to refer to the kingdoms of the divided Grecian Empire after Alexander's death.

This investigation also reveals that the most popular sequence assigned to the two-horned ram, the he-goat, and the four horns on the head of the he-goat or the powers represented by each of them, in the four-world-empires schema of the book of Daniel, was as follows:

- |                |                                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Babylon     |                                       |
| 2. Medo-Persia | 2. Two-Horned Ram                     |
| 3. Greece      | 3. He-Goat (notable horn, four horns) |
| 4. Rome        |                                       |

Certain interpreters of both the preterist and the historical-critical schools assigned two different orders to the same

---

<sup>1</sup>Kranichfeld and Terry.

<sup>2</sup>Stuart, Cowles, and Zöckler.

animal symbols among the four world empires of the book of Daniel.

The two positions are as follows:

A	B
1. Babylon	1. Babylon
2. Medo-Persia = Ram	2. Media = Ram
3. Greece (1) = He-Goat	3. Persia = Ram
4. Greece (2) = Four Horns	4. Greece = He-Goat (four horns)

Position A was maintained during the two centuries surveyed by Henry (1711), Calmet (1715), Amner (1776), Bertholdt (1806-1808), Rosenmüller (1832), Folsom (1842) Stuart (1850), Cowles (1868), and Zöckler (1870). All of these were preterist interpreters, except Bertholdt and Rosenmüller. Position B was maintained by Venema (1745), Lengerke (1835), Dereser (1837), Maurer (1838), de Wette (1840), Hilgenfeld (1863), Ewald (1868), Kranichfeld (1868), Kamphausen (1868), Reuss (1878), Bevan (1892), Terry (1893), Farrar (1895), Prince (1899), and Driver (1900). All of these were historical-critical interpreters, except the preterists Venema, Dereser, Kranichfeld, and Terry. Therefore, it is evident that position A was the more popular in the eighteenth century, but it was overcome by position B by about 1870. It should be noted that those who followed position A split the kingdom of Greece into two, while those who followed position B divided the Medo-Persian kingdom into two. Both types of interpreters agreed that the four world empire schema needed to conclude in one way or another with Greece.

The little horn, which caused more disagreement among interpreters than any other animal symbol of Dan 8, was understood from about 1700 to 1800 in at least seven different ways. Three preterist

interpreters<sup>1</sup> maintained that it refers to Antiochus Epiphanes. Four historicist interpreters,<sup>2</sup> and one futurist<sup>3</sup> believed that it denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist. A shift of interpretation began to appear in 1729 when Crinsoz, perhaps following Luther, affirmed that the little horn of Dan 8 represents the bishops of Rome or the papal power, but it seems that none followed him. In 1733 the commentary of Isaac Newton (d. 1727) was published posthumously. In it appeared the novel view that the little horn refers to Macedonia under the power of the Roman Empire. About 1754 Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol, modifying Isaac Newton's view, maintained that the little horn refers to the Roman Empire. This view was followed by at least five historicist interpreters.<sup>4</sup> At the end of the eighteenth century Henry Kett proposed a triple interpretation of the little horn, i.e., Antiochus Epiphanes, the Muhammedan power, and France. Finally, in 1806 Faber, modifying Kett's view, contended that the little horn cannot represent several powers but only one. Accordingly, he proposed that the little horn must represent the spiritual kingdom of Muhammad or Muhammedanism.

In the first half of the nineteenth century (1800-1850) interpreters of two other schools of interpretation became more involved in the interpretation of the little horn of Dan 8. Those who belonged to the historical-critical school joined hands with the preterists in

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry, Calmet, and Amner.

<sup>2</sup>C. Michaelis, Lowth, Gill, and Wintle.

<sup>3</sup>Roos.

<sup>4</sup>Dodd (1767), Orton (1791), Zouch (1792), Bicheno (1799), and Coke (1803).

affirming that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to Antiochus Epiphanes. This was the view of four historical-critical interpreters<sup>1</sup> and four preterists.<sup>2</sup> The view that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes the Roman Empire continued to be upheld by at least five historicist interpreters.<sup>3</sup> In 1814 J. E. Clarke, modifying Faber's view, proposed that the little horn refers to the Ottoman or Turkish Empire. At least one interpreter (Elliott) followed him. In spite of this new proposal and the opposition of other interpreters,<sup>4</sup> Faber's view prevailed in this period since at least twelve historicist interpreters adopted his interpretation.<sup>5</sup> The view which suggests that the little horn of Dan 8 refers to Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist (the most popular view before the eighteenth century), seems to have lost ground in this period since only three interpreters<sup>6</sup> maintained this interpretation.

Another modification of the Roman view appeared in this period. At least two American historicist expositors<sup>7</sup> maintained that the little horn of Dan 8 denotes both pagan and papal Rome.

In 1830 the futurist Maitland proposed a new interpretation

---

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, Lengerke, and Maurer.

<sup>2</sup>Dereser, Nolan, Folsom, and Chase.

<sup>3</sup>Hales, Cuningham, Townsend, A. Clarke, and George Duke of Manchester.

<sup>4</sup>For example Cuninghame.

<sup>5</sup>Kinne, Frere, Girdlestone, Fry, Bayford, Scott, Irving, Keith, Cox, Brooks, Ralston, and Junkin.

<sup>6</sup>Mason, Hävernack, and Harrison.

<sup>7</sup>Reid and Miller.

of the little horn. In his view this symbol denotes the future Antichrist. At least five futurist interpreters<sup>1</sup> followed him. In 1843 Birks (historicist), reacting against the futurist view, suggested that the little horn signifies both Antiochus Epiphanes and the Roman Empire, but no one seems to have followed him. Finally, Darby (futurist) proposed in 1847 that the little horn denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of a future king who will come out from one of the four kingdoms of a future Greek Empire.

From 1850 to 1900 interpreters of the same four schools of interpretation continued to deal with the little horn of Dan 8. In this period the view that the little horn denotes Antiochus Epiphanes recovered its lost ground. At least ten historical-critical interpreters,<sup>2</sup> eight preterists,<sup>3</sup> two historicists,<sup>4</sup> and three futurists<sup>5</sup> maintained this interpretation. The popular view of the previous period, which suggests that the little horn denotes the Muhammedan power, seems to have diminished in popularity since only six historicist interpreters continued to support that position.<sup>6</sup> The view that the little horn signifies pagan and papal Rome still con-

---

<sup>1</sup>De Burgh, Tyso, Todd, Tregelles, and B. Newton.

<sup>2</sup>Hitzig (1850), Desprez (1865), Ewald (1868), Reuss (1878), Meinhold (1889), Bevan (1892), Behrmann (1894), Farrar (1895), Prince (1899), and Driver (1900).

<sup>3</sup>Stuart (1850), Osbon (1856), Kranichfeld (1868), Cowles (1868), Zöckler (1870), Fuller (1876), Terry (1893), and Thomson (1897).

<sup>4</sup>Barnes (1853) and Rule (1869).

<sup>5</sup>Kenrick (1859), Pusey (1864), and Taylor (1878).

<sup>6</sup>Cumming (1850), Bosanquet (1869), Birchmore (1871), Nevin (1890), Arthur (1893), and Tanner (1898).

tinued to be upheld by some historicist interpreters.<sup>1</sup>

The traditional view held from the time of Jerome onward, which suggests that the little horn denotes Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist, once again rose to popularity. Two historicist interpreters identified the Antichrist with the papal power;<sup>2</sup> one historicist, with the moslem power;<sup>3</sup> and several futurists believed that the Antichrist had not yet come but that he will appear in the future.<sup>4</sup> The view that the little horn denotes the Roman Empire receded in this period since only one interpreter<sup>5</sup> seems to have held this position. The same situation pertains to the view that the little horn refers to the future Antichrist. Only one interpreter<sup>6</sup> argued in favor of that interpretation.

On this basis, we may conclude that the two leading views of the little horn in the eighteenth century were (1) Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of Antichrist, and (2) the Roman Empire. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the situation was different. The two most popular views of the little horn were (1) the Roman Empire, and (2) the Muhammedan power. In the second quarter of the same century another change took place. The leading interpretations

---

<sup>1</sup>For example Andrews (1853), Lord (1858), and Smith (1877).

<sup>2</sup>Ramsay (1853) and Forman (1878).

<sup>3</sup>Robinson (1892).

<sup>4</sup>Auberlen (1854), Fausset (1868), Keil (1869), Caspari (1869), Rohling (1876), Seiss (1879), Deane (1884), Hebbelinck (1887), d'Envieu (1891), Knabenbauer (1891), West (1898), and Philippe (1899).

<sup>5</sup>Boyle (1863).

<sup>6</sup>Pember (1885).

considered the little horn to be either (1) the Muhammedan power or (2) the future Antichrist. Finally, in the last half of the nineteenth century the two prominent views of the little horn were (1) Antiochus Epiphanes, and (2) Antiochus Epiphanes as a type of the future Antichrist.

It should be noted that all the views which the interpreters suggested in these two centuries revolve around four main views: (1) Antiochus Epiphanes, (2) Rome, (3) Muhammedanism, and (4) the future Antichrist. Of these, as already noted, the Antiochus hypothesis and the future Antichrist view gained more support during the second half of the nineteenth century. This was due to several factors: (1) the solidification of historical-critical "zeitgeschichtliche" interpretation, (2) the failure of historicist's time settings regarding the fulfillment of the 2300 "evening-mornings in a historical event," (3) the growth of dispensational futurism, and (4) the advantage which these two views provided to the Catholic Church to liberate her leaders from the charge of being the Antichrist.

#### The Temporal Expression "2300 Evening-Mornings"

The interpretation of the expression "evening-morning," from about 1700 to 1800, was as follows: (1) Two preterist interpreters<sup>1</sup> understood it as a natural day, on the basis of its use and meaning in Gen 1; (2) four historicist interpreters<sup>2</sup> understood it as both a natural (one literal day) and prophetic day (one literal year), on the basis of its use in Gen 1 and the typological nature of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry (1712) and Calmet (1715).

<sup>2</sup>Lowth (1726), Gill (1758), Petri (1768), and Wintle (1792).



prophecy; (3) seven historicist interpreters<sup>1</sup> understood it as a prophetic day (one literal year), on the basis that the angelic question embraces the whole vision as well as the direct reference that the vision shall be for "many days" (8:26); and (4) one non-dispensational futurist interpreter<sup>2</sup> understood it as the evening and morning sacrifices of the Jewish worship, on the basis that the angelic question alludes to the daily sacrifices and by consequence the answer must also relate to them.

From about 1800 to 1850 three historical-critical interpreters,<sup>3</sup> three futurists,<sup>4</sup> and one preterist<sup>5</sup> understood the expression "evening-morning" to mean (1) a natural day--some of them on the basis that it is so used in Gen 1; others took it for granted. (2) Twenty-two historicist interpreters<sup>6</sup> understood it to mean a prophetic day--some of them on the basis that the angelic question (8:13) embraces the whole vision, or the explicit reference that the vision is for the "time of the end" (8:17), or the explicit reference that the vision shall be for "many days," or the usual usage of time

---

<sup>1</sup>I. Newton (d. 1727), Crinsoz (1729), T. Newton (1754), Beere (1790), Osgood (1794), Bicheno (1799), and Faber.

<sup>2</sup>Roos (1771).

<sup>3</sup>Bertholdt, Rosenmüller, and Maurer.

<sup>4</sup>Hävernick (1832), Tyso (1838), and Todd (1840).

<sup>5</sup>Folsom (1842).

<sup>6</sup>Hales (1809), Davies (1811), (Scott), Cuninghame (1813), Kinne (1814), J. E. Clarke (1814), Frere (1815), Mason (1820), Girdlestone (1820), Bayford (1820), Fry (1822), A. Clarke (1825), Faber (1828), Reid (1828), Keith (1832), Habershon (1834), Cox (1836), Cambell (1840), Ralston (1842), Junkin (1844), Elliott (1844), and Birks (1843/1846).

determination in the Scriptures, or its connection with the seventy weeks of Dan 9. Others took it for granted. (3) One historical-critical interpreter<sup>1</sup> and one preterist<sup>2</sup> understood the expression "evening-morning" to mean the morning and evening sacrifices of the Jewish worship. Chase held this view on the basis that what precedes and what follows Dan 8:14 speaks of the daily sacrifices, as well as the closeness of the 1150-day period with the three and a half years of Dan 7:25.

From 1850 to 1900 four historical-critical interpreters,<sup>3</sup> three preterists,<sup>4</sup> and one futurist<sup>5</sup> understood the expression "evening-morning" to mean (1) the evening and morning sacrifices of the Jewish worship--some of them held this view on the basis that the subject of the angelic question is the daily sacrifice, or that Antiochus' operation in Judea occupied less time than the 2300 days, or that the "evening-mornings" in Dan 8:14 are not numbered as in Gen 1. (2) Two preterists,<sup>6</sup> one historicist,<sup>7</sup> six futurists,<sup>8</sup> and one historical-critical<sup>9</sup> understood the expression "evening-morning" to

---

<sup>1</sup>Kirmss (1828).

<sup>2</sup>Chase (1844).

<sup>3</sup>Hitzig (1850), Bevan (1892), Prince (1899), and Driver (1900).

<sup>4</sup>Osbon (1856), Zöckler (1870), and Terry (1893).

<sup>5</sup>Seiss (1879).

<sup>6</sup>Stuart (1850) and Cowles (1868).

<sup>7</sup>Barnes (1853).

<sup>8</sup>Kelly (1858), Kenrick (1859), Fausset (1868), Taylor (1878), Deane (1884), and Pember (1885).

<sup>9</sup>Desprez (1865).

mean a natural day--some of them held this view on the basis that ereb boqer in Dan 8:14 has no copula, or that it is derived from Gen 1 where evening and morning constitute one day. (3) Ten historicist interpreters<sup>1</sup> understood it to mean a prophetic day (one literal year)--some of them held this view on the basis that 2300 literal days would not cover the duration of a single power of this vision and therefore the "day" must be symbolic (one year according to Num 14:34 and Ezek 4:6). (4) At least one non-dispensational futurist interpreter<sup>2</sup> understood the expression "evening-morning" to mean a symbolic day in relation to the number 7. He held this view on the basis that ereb boqer in Gen 1 constitutes one day. But since in his view the number "seven" is used in the Bible as a symbol of completeness, he thought that the 2300 days (less than seven years) symbolize the incomplete judgment of God against the Jews.

Based on this information it can be concluded that the expression "evening-morning" was taken by interpreters either as a temporal or as a cultic expression, the former being by far the more popular.

The reckoning of the 2300 "evening-mornings" was even more problematic for the interpreters of this period than the elucidation of the expression "evening-morning." From about 1700 to 1800, two preterist interpreters<sup>3</sup> chose as the terminus ad quem of the 2300

---

<sup>1</sup>Cumming (1850), Ramsay (1853), Andrews (1853), Trevillian (1858), Bosanquet (1869), Birchmore (1871), Smith (1877), Nevin (1890), Arthur (1893), and Tanner (1898).

<sup>2</sup>Keil (1869).

<sup>3</sup>Henry (1712) and Amner (1776).

"evening-mornings" the purification of the Jewish temple under Judas Maccabaeus (148 of the Seleucidae) and counting backwards 2300 days established the terminus a quo. Another preterist<sup>1</sup> chose as the terminus ad quem the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (149 of the Seleucidae) and also reckoning backwards 2300 days established the terminus a quo. One historicist,<sup>2</sup> who understood this period both as a literal and prophetic day, choosing the suspension of the daily sacrifices (145 of the Seleucidae) as the terminus a quo, established the terminus ad quem in relation to the defeat of Nicanor (151 of the Seleucidae). Another historicist,<sup>3</sup> who also understood the 2300 "evening-mornings" both as a literal and prophetic period, taking the year 453 B.C. as the beginning of the 2300 years counted forward those years and established the end of this period in A.D. 1847.

At least six historicist interpreters, understanding the expression "evening-morning" to mean a prophetic day or literal year, reckoned the 2300 years in the following way. Crinsoz choosing the time when Daniel received the vision (555 B.C.) as the terminus a quo and counting forward established the terminus ad quem in A.D. 1745. Th. Newton tentatively chose the rising of the Greco-Macedonian Empire (334 B.C.) as the terminus a quo of the 2300 years and established the terminus ad quem at the end of the sixth millennium. Osgood preferred to choose the victory of the Greeks over the Medo-Persians (330 B.C.) as the terminus a quo and counting forward estab-

---

<sup>1</sup>Calmet (1715).

<sup>2</sup>Gill (1758).

<sup>3</sup>Petri (1768).

lished the terminus ad quem in A.D. 1970. Wood chose what he thought was the beginning of the seventy weeks of Dan 9 (420 B.C.) as the terminus a quo and established the terminus ad quem in A.D. 1880. Beere and Bicheno believed that the beginning of the 2300 years must be the time when the symbolic ram began to push toward the north, the west, and the south. However, the former thought that the ram began to push in the year 511 B.C., and the latter in the year 481 B.C.

Only one historicist interpreter<sup>1</sup> thought that the correct numerical figure should be 2200 instead of 2300. He arrived at this conclusion by assuming that the 2300 "evening-mornings" terminate together with the 1260 "days." Establishing the year A.D. 1866 as the terminus ad quem he counted backwards 2400, 2300, and 2200 years mentioned by Jerome, and by a process of elimination concluded that the true reading must be 2200 and the terminus a quo the rising of the Grecian Empire (334 B.C.). Finally, two non-dispensational futurist interpreters,<sup>2</sup> who understood the expression "evening-morning" to refer either to the evening and morning sacrifices or to the literal evening and morning of each day, thought that the 2300 "evening-mornings" make 1150 days. Choosing the restoration of the Jewish worship (148 of the Seleucidae) as the terminus ad quem, Roos counted backwards 1150 days and established the terminus a quo forty-five days before the placing of the idol altar on Kislev 15 of the year 145 of the Seleucidae.

From 1800 to 1850 at least one historical-critical inter-

---

<sup>1</sup>Faber (1806).

<sup>2</sup>Roos (1771) and Bengel (1741).

preter<sup>1</sup> and one non-dispensational futurist<sup>2</sup> reckoned the 2300 "evening-mornings" from the year 145 to the year 151 of the Seleucidae. However, the former chose as the terminus a quo the setting up of the "abominable idol of desolation" (Kislev 15, 145), and counting forward established the terminus ad quem twenty-nine days after the victory of Nicanor. But the latter chose as the terminus ad quem the victory over Nicanor (Adar 13, 151) and counting backwards 2300 days established the terminus a quo twenty-nine days before the setting up of the "abominable idol of desolation."

One preterist interpreter<sup>3</sup> chose the restoration of the Jewish worship (Kislev 25, 148) as the terminus ad quem and counting backwards established the terminus a quo in the year 142 of the Seleucidae.

Twelve historicist interpreters understanding the expression "evening-morning" as a prophetic day or literal year took the 2300 "evening-mornings" to refer to 2300 years. Seven of them<sup>4</sup> chose the beginning of the seventy weeks of Daniel as the terminus a quo of the 2300 years. However, they differed among themselves regarding the precise year of the beginning of the seventy weeks. Hales thought that it was the year 420 B.C.; Davies, the year 453 B.C.; and Mason, Habershon, Bickersteth, Miller and Cambell, the year 457 B.C. Two other historicists, assuming that the 2300 "evening-mornings" and the

---

<sup>1</sup>Bertholdt (1806-1808).

<sup>2</sup>Hävernick (1832).

<sup>3</sup>Folsom (1842).

<sup>4</sup>Hales (1809), Davies (1811), Mason (1820), Habershon (1834), Bickersteth (1823), Miller (1833/1842), and Cambell (1840).

1260 "days" terminate together; chose the year A.D. 1792 (Cuninghame) and A.D. 1866 (Kinne) as the terminus ad quem. Another chose the rising of the Grecian Empire (334 B.C.) as the terminus a quo. And another (Faber) chose Luther's reformation of the Christian Church (1517) as the terminus ad quem. Finally, two historicists chose the pushing of the symbolic ram (480 B.C.) as the terminus a quo. On the other hand, three historicist interpreters<sup>1</sup> differed from the previous interpreters in the fact that they believed that the true numerical figure must be 2400. Two of them (Frere and Irving) chose the year when Daniel received the vision (553 B.C) as the terminus a quo, and the other (Reid), the year of the rising of the Persian empire (550 B.C.).

Two other historicist interpreters<sup>2</sup> thought that the true numerical figure must be 2200. One of them (Junkin), assuming that the "2300 days" and the 1260 "days" terminate together, chose the year A.D. 1866 as the terminus a quem, and the other (Ralston), assuming that the time period should commence with the rising of the Grecian Empire, chose the year 332 B.C. as the terminus a quo.

Finally, one preterist interpreter,<sup>3</sup> understanding the expression "evening-morning" as a cultic expression, took the 2300 "evening-mornings" to refer to 1150 days, and another,<sup>4</sup> believing that the expression "evening-morning" should be understood literally

---

<sup>1</sup>Frere (1815), Irving (1826), and Reid (1828).

<sup>2</sup>Ralston (1842) and Junkin (1844).

<sup>3</sup>Chase (1844).

<sup>4</sup>Nolan (1837).

and reckoned apart, also took the 2300 "evening-mornings" in the same way. Both interpreters chose the restoration of the Jewish worship (Kislev 25, 148) as the terminus ad quem, and counting backwards 1150 days, established the terminus a quo in the year 145 of the Seleucidae.

From 1850 to 1900 at least three historical-critical interpreters<sup>1</sup> and three preterists,<sup>2</sup> understanding the expression "evening-morning" as a cultic expression, took the 2300 "evening-mornings" to refer to 1150 days. One historical-critical (Hitzig) and two preterists (Osbon and Zöckler) chose the restoration of the Jewish worship (Kislev 25, 148) as the terminus ad quem, and counting backwards established the terminus a quo when Apollonius invaded Jerusalem (145). Two other historical-critical interpreters (Bevan and Driver) and one preterist (Thomson), choosing the setting up of "the abominable idol of desolation" (Kislev 15, 145) as the terminus a quo and counting forward, established the restoration of the Jewish worship (Kislev 25, 148) as the terminus ad quem. It should be noted that Bevan and Thomson admitted that the 1150 days do not fit exactly into these two events.

Two preterists,<sup>3</sup> one historicist,<sup>4</sup> and two futurists,<sup>5</sup> understanding the expression "evening-morning" to mean a natural day, took

---

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig (1850), Bevan (1892), and Driver (1900).

<sup>2</sup>Osbon (1856), Zöckler (1870), and Thomson (1897).

<sup>3</sup>Stuart (1850) and Cowles (1868).

<sup>4</sup>Barnes (1853).

<sup>5</sup>Deane (1884) and Fausset (1868).



the 2300 "evening-mornings" literally. Four of them<sup>1</sup> chose the restoration of the Jewish worship (165/164 B.C.) as the terminus ad quem; and one futurist (Fausset), the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (165 B.C.). Seven historicist interpreters,<sup>2</sup> understanding the expression "evening-morning" to mean a prophetic day or literal year, took the 2300 "evening-mornings" as 2300 years. All of them reckoned this period by determining first the terminus a quo. Cumming chose the zenith of the Persian glory (480 B.C.); Ramsay, Andrews, and Smith, the beginning of the seventy weeks;<sup>3</sup> Rule and Huntingford chose the profanation of the Jewish temple (168/170 B.C.); and Nevin the rising of the Grecian Empire (330 B.C.).

Two historicist interpreters<sup>4</sup> thought that the true numerical figure must be 2400 instead of 2300. Trevillian chose the year when Daniel received the vision as the terminus a quo, while Bosanquet, the new era of Jubilee (485 B.C.).

Only one historicist interpreter<sup>5</sup> thought that the correct numerical figure should be 2200. He chose the end of the 1260 years (1866) or the year A.D 1870 as the terminus ad quem.

These interpreters confronted several problems in the reckoning of the 2300 "evening-mornings." One problem was regarding the

---

<sup>1</sup>Stuart, Barnes, Cowles, and Deane.

<sup>2</sup>Cumming (1850), Ramsay (1853), Andrews (1853), Smith (1877), Rule (1869), Nevin (1890), and Huntingford (1895).

<sup>3</sup>Ramsay thought that the beginning of the seventy weeks was either 457 or 450 B.C., while Andrews and Smith affirmed that it was 457 B.C.

<sup>4</sup>Trevillian (1858) and Bosanquet (1869).

<sup>5</sup>Birchmore (1871).

time-span of the chronological period. Was it 1150 days, or 2300 days, or 2300 years? The majority of them decided in favor of 2300 years. Another problem was regarding the correct numerical figure. Was it 2200, 2300, or 2400? The great majority of interpreters, on solid ground, preferred 2300 instead of 2200 or 2400.

One problem pertains to the method of reckoning the period of 2300 "evening-mornings." Was it to be reckoned by determining first the terminus a quo or the terminus ad quem and then count either forward or backward?

Another problem was the determination of either the terminus a quo or the terminus ad quem. Was the terminus a quo to be determined by the date of the giving of the vision, or by the time of the rising of the symbolic ram, or by the time of its pushing against the north, or by the rising of the symbolic he-goat, or by the profanation of the Jewish temple, or by the setting up of the "abominable idol of desolation," or by the beginning of the seventy weeks? The last view was preferred by a fair number of interpreters in the first half of the nineteenth century, while in harmony with the ascendancy of the Antiochus hypothesis the view of the setting up of the pagan idol in the Jewish temple began to be preferred in the last half of the same century.

The interpreters who thought that the 2300 "evening-mornings" should be reckoned by determining first the terminus ad quem confronted another problem. Was the terminus ad quem to be determined by the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, or by the restoration of the Jewish worship, or by the end of the 1260 "days"? Interpreters remained divided on this issue.

## Cultic Expressions

Interpretations of three cultic expressions of Dan 8 were surveyed in this study. The results are as follows: From about 1700 to 1800, the term "the daily" was understood in two principal ways. Two preterist interpreters<sup>1</sup> and six historicists<sup>2</sup> indicated that it refers to the daily sacrifice of the Jewish worship, while three historicists<sup>3</sup> believed that it refers to the Christian worship.

From 1800 to 1850, four historical-critical interpreters,<sup>4</sup> three preterists,<sup>5</sup> one historicist,<sup>6</sup> and one futurist<sup>7</sup> maintained that it refers to the daily sacrifice of the Jewish worship. Two historicists<sup>8</sup> thought that it refers both to the daily sacrifice and the Christian worship, while eleven historicists<sup>9</sup> affirmed that it refers to the Christian worship.

Finally, from 1850 to 1900 six historical-critical

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry (1712) and Amner (1776).

<sup>2</sup>Lowth (1726), I. Newton (d. 1727), Th. Newton (1754), Gill (1758), Roos (1771), and Wintle (1792).

<sup>3</sup>Crinsoz (1729), Kett (1799), and Faber (1806).

<sup>4</sup>Bertholdt (1806-1808), Rosenmüller (1832), Lengerke (1835), and Maurer (1838).

<sup>5</sup>Nolan (1837), Folsom (1842), and Chase (1844).

<sup>6</sup>Birks (1843/1846).

<sup>7</sup>B. Newton (1847).

<sup>8</sup>Cunninghame (1813) and Mason (1820).

<sup>9</sup>Scott (1812), J. E. Clarke (1814), Frere (1815), Girdlestone (1820), Bayford (1820), Fry (1822), Faber (1828), Reid (1828), Habershon (1834), Cox (1836), and Cambell (1840).

interpreters,<sup>1</sup> five preterists,<sup>2</sup> three historicists,<sup>3</sup> and four futurists<sup>4</sup> understood the term "the daily" to mean the daily sacrifices of the Jewish worship. Three historicist interpreters<sup>5</sup> believed that it refers to the Christian worship, while five futurists<sup>6</sup> and two historicists,<sup>7</sup> that it refers to everything which is used permanently in the worship of God.

It can be concluded that the two most popular views of this term was that it refers either to the Jewish or Christian worship. In the former view the term was taken as a breviloquent or elliptical expression of ε̄olat hattāmfid, while in the latter, either as a symbolical or typological expression.

From about 1700 to 1800, the expression the "transgression of desolation" was understood by one preterist interpreter<sup>8</sup> and two historicists<sup>9</sup> to refer to a pagan idol set up in the Jewish temple by the Syrians, while two other historicists<sup>10</sup> thought it referred to a

---

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig (1850), Ewald (1868), Bevan (1892), Farrar (1895), Prince (1899), and Driver (1900).

<sup>2</sup>Stuart (1850), Osbon (1856), Cowles (1868), Zöckler (1870), and Thomson (1897).

<sup>3</sup>Barnes (1853), Boyle (1863), and Rule (1869).

<sup>4</sup>Fausset (1868), Taylor (1878), Pember (1885), and West (1898).

<sup>5</sup>Cumming (1850), Birchmore (1771), and Nevin (1890).

<sup>6</sup>Kranichfeld (1868), Kliefoth (1868), Keil (1869), Deane (1884), and d'Envieu (1891).

<sup>7</sup>Arthur (1893) and Tanner (1898).

<sup>8</sup>Henry.

<sup>9</sup>Lowth and Gill.

<sup>10</sup>I. Newton and Th. Newton.

pagan idol set up by the Romans. Only one historicist interpreter (Faber) considered that it refers to the religion of Muhammad.

From about 1800 to 1850, one historical-critical interpreter (Bertholdt) and one preterist (Folsom) affirmed that the phrase "the transgression of desolation" refers to the Syrian idol altar, while two historical-critical interpreters (Lengerke and Folsom) thought it refers to the unclean sacrifices offered in the temple. Only one historicist interpreter explicitly stated that it refers to the "Muhammedan delusion."

From about 1850 to 1900, three historical-critical interpreters<sup>1</sup> and one non-dispensational futurist (d'Envieu) understood the same expression to refer to the unclean sacrifices of the Jewish temple; one historicist (Barnes) and one futurist (Fausset), to Antiochus' sinful act of desolating the temple; one preterist (Cowles), to the sin of the Jewish people which caused the desolation; one historical-critical interpreter (Bevan), to the Syrian idol altar set up in the temple; and two historicist interpreters (Andrews and Smith), to the desolating acts of papal Rome.

The expression "then the sanctuary shall be cleansed" was also understood in different ways. From about 1700 to 1800 one preterist interpreter (Henry) understood that it refers to the restoration of the Jewish worship; two historicist interpreters (Lowth and Gill) that it refers both to the restoration of the Jewish worship and the cleansing of the Christian church. One historicist (Crinsoz) thought that it refers only to the purification of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Hitzig, Ewald and Driver.

Christian church, while two historicists (Th. Newton and Beere) interpreted it as the restoration of the Jews into their own land.

From about 1800 to 1850, one historical-critical interpreter (Bertholdt) maintained that it refers to the saving of honor of the Jewish temple; and four historicist interpreters,<sup>1</sup> that it refers to the future reconstruction of the Jewish temple. Two other historicist interpreters (Cunningham and Mason) affirmed that it refers to the liberation of the Christian church, while two more (Frere and J. E. Clarke) limited it to the Eastern Christian church. Another historicist (Faber) thought that it refers to the Reformation of the Western Christian church initiated by Luther. One historical-critical interpreter (Lengerke) maintained that it refers to the justification of the Jewish temple through the death of its profanator. Three preterist interpreters<sup>2</sup> considered that it refers to the restoration of the Jewish worship, while one historicist (Birks) interpreted it as the Maccabean cleansing of the temple as well as a future cleansing of it.

From about 1850 to 1900, four historical-critical interpreters,<sup>3</sup> four preterists,<sup>4</sup> and one historicist (Barnes) understood the same phrase to refer to the restoration of the Jewish worship. One historicist (Ramsay) thought that it refers both to the restoration of the Jewish worship and the cleansing of the Christian

---

<sup>1</sup>Hales (1809), Habershon (1834), Cox (1836), and Cambell (1840).

<sup>2</sup>McLan, Folsom, and Chase.

<sup>3</sup>Hitzig, Bevan, Farrar, and Prince.

<sup>4</sup>Stuart, Cowles, Zöckler, and Thomson.

church; two other historicists (Andrews and Smith), that it refers to the cleansing of the heavenly sanctuary; another historicist (Birchmore), that it refers to the liberation of the Christian church; and another (Nevin) to the construction of a Christian church in the same place where the mosque of Omar stands.

Based on this information it can be concluded that the great majority of interpreters surveyed understood the sanctuary to be cleansed to refer to the Jewish temple, either past or future. Another group of interpreters understood it to refer to the Christian Church. Finally, other interpreters understood it to refer either to the land of Palestine or to the heavenly sanctuary.

Before we pass to the next section it should be noted that each of the three periods of our investigation (1700-1800, 1800-1850, and 1850-1900) has its own peculiar characteristics. The first period might be considered as a period of new proposals of interpretation and development. The second, as a period of new methods and schools of interpretation as well as of either popularity or decadence for some of the others. At the end of this second period the historical-critical school had a firm foothold in Germany, while the preterist school lost ground. Toward the end of the same period the futurist school in Germany, Ireland, and England was specializing its interpretations, while the historicist school reached its peak of popularity and began to lose ground. The third period was a period of consolidation for some schools of interpretation and decadence for others. In this period the historical-critical school and the futurist school entered into new territories and fought for their

establishment, while the preterist school and the historicist school continued to lose ground.

### Schools of Interpretation

Four major schools of interpretation were identified in this investigation: The preterist, historicist, futurist, and historical-critical schools. The historicist school was the most popular school during the eighteenth century. The preterist school followed next in popularity. And the futurist school (non-dispensational) was the least popular. In the first half of the nineteenth century the historical-critical school, which was born at the end of the eighteenth century, and the futurist school (both dispensational and non-dispensational) made tremendous progress in Europe. The growth of the historical-critical school was confined to Germany, while the futurist school grew in Germany, Ireland, and England. The non-dispensational futurists of Germany, beginning with Hengstenberg, the leader of the Confessional Orthodox Movement,<sup>1</sup> strongly opposed the views of historical critics. And those of England and Ireland (dispensationalists), beginning with S. Maitland,<sup>2</sup> opposed the methodology and interpretation of historicists who were the most popular interpreters of the book of Daniel in those countries.

The historicists, preterists, and futurists maintained that

---

<sup>1</sup>See John Rogerson, Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), p. 79.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Maitland was one of the first interpreters of this period who held some views which are peculiar to dispensationalists. However, he never held the view of the "secret rapture" which later on dispensationalists cherished.



the book of Daniel contains a divine revelation of future events and was written in the sixth century B.C., while the historical-critical interpreters dissented. The historical-critics, influenced by their philosophical view of history, which confines God's revelation to the realm of morality and does not extend it to historical prediction considered the prophecies of Daniel as vaticinia ex eventu and written in the second century B.C. This view of the nature of the book of Daniel greatly influenced the interpretation of Dan 8 by historical critics. Furthermore, this view was the main cause of the difference in interpretation of Dan 8 between them and interpreters of other schools.

The preterist interpreters separated themselves from the historicists and futurists by the fact that they believed that the scope of the prophecies of Daniel extends from the time of Daniel or later to either the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, or the first coming of Christ, or the destruction of Jerusalem. This limited view of the scope of the prophecies of Daniel was the main influential factor in the interpretation of Dan 8 by the preterists interpreters. Besides this factor, the preterists cherished the following views: (1) The symbol of a horn in the prophecies of Daniel must be understood to refer to a king; (2) temporal terms or expressions must be understood in a literal way; (3) every prophecy must be allowed to have only one fulfillment in history; and (4) the best procedure to understand the prophecies of Daniel is to do it in the light of Dan 11. These factors were the main causes of the difference in interpretation of Dan 8 between preterists and interpreters of other schools.

The historicist interpreters set themselves apart from the

futurists in the fact that they understood the ten horns of the fourth beast of Dan 7 as well as the little horn of the same vision to be already fulfilled or in the process of fulfillment in their own day, while the futurist interpreters thought that the fulfillment of the ten horns and the little horn was still future. The futurists might also be classified into two different groups: those who believed that there is a gap in the fulfillment of the prophecies of Daniel from the first coming of Christ to seven years before His second coming (dispensationalists), and those who shortened the gap from the fall of the Roman Empire to the future division of the Roman Empire (non-dispensationalists).

Dispensational futurists, in their interpretation of Dan 8, seem to have been influenced by five important factors: (1) The belief that God has two peoples on earth, namely, the Jewish people and the Christian Church (an ecclesiological view). (2) The belief that the book of Daniel is only concerned with the Jews but not with the Christian Church (a theological view). (3) The belief that the expressions "the time of the end" (8:17) and the end of the indignation" (8:19) refer to the final eschaton and therefore they have to be fulfilled in the future (an exegetical and eschatological view). (4) The belief that temporal terms or expressions must be understood in a literal way (philological and exegetical view). And (5) the belief that Dan 9:24-27 is the key for understanding all the prophecies of Daniel. These views were the main causes of the difference in interpretation of Dan 8 between dispensational futurists and interpreters of other schools.

The interpretation of non-dispensational futurists seem to

have been guided by their conviction that Dan 8 is shorter in scope than Dan 2 and Dan 7. The belief that Dan 8 is a typological prophecy. And the belief that temporal terms or expressions must be understood in a literal way.

The interpretation of one group of historicist interpreters seem to have been strongly influenced by the following factors: (1) The belief that the main prophecies of Daniel cover the period of time from the Babylonian Empire to the second coming of Christ. (2) The belief that the vision of Daniel 8 is parallel to or covers the same time span of Dan 2 and Dan 7. (3) The belief that the expression "evening-mornings" is a symbolical or figurative expression which denotes a literal year (the year-day principle). (4) The belief that the expressions "the time of the end" and the "end of the indignation" refers to the final eschaton, which according to them was very near or had already begun to appear. (5) The belief that the symbol of a horn must represent a kingdom and not a king. And (6) the belief that every prophecy must have only one sense and therefore one fulfillment in history. Another group of historicist interpreters differed from the previous one in the following: (1) The scope of Dan 8 is shorter than the scope of Dan 2 and 7. (2) Dan 8 is a typological prophecy. (3) Some prophecies have a double sense and therefore a double fulfillment in history. (4) The symbol of a horn may represent a king as well as a kingdom. (5) A temporal term or expression may be used in both a literal and figurative way. These factors were the main causes of the difference of interpretation of Dan 8 between historicist interpreters and interpreters of other schools.

### Issues in Interpretation

The problems of interpretation of the vision of Dan 8 may be classified into two categories: general and particular. Among the problems of a general character the following may be mentioned: (1) the issue of the date of the composition of the book of Daniel and its authorship; (2) the issue of the scope of the prophecies of Daniel; (3) the issue of the nature of the narratives (historical account or edificatory legend?) and prophetic statements (prophecies or vaticinia ex eventu?) of the book of Daniel; (4) the issue of the genre of the literature (prophecy, apocalypse, or prophetic apocalypse?); (5) the a priori possibility of predictive prophecy; and (6) the issue of the nature of symbolical and literal language.

The knowledge of the date in which a Biblical book was written is very important for its interpretation. In the case of the book of Daniel, the acceptance of a sixth-century-B.C. or a second-century-B.C. date has shown to make a decisive difference in the understanding of the book and its "visions." Related to this issue are two other points in dispute, the authorship and nature of the book. Of no less importance is the correct understanding of the scope of each prophecy and its relation to the others, as well as of the nature of symbolical and/or literal language. Here it might be appropriate to raise some questions. Has the same symbol in the same vision but one meaning or can it have two or more meanings? Can a symbolical prophecy be typological or both literal and typological? Is there only one fulfillment or are there more fulfillments? How can one differentiate between symbolical and literal language? These are

but a few issues that have found a great variety of answers by interpreters.

Among the particular issues in the interpretation of the vision of Dan 8 the following may be mentioned: How is the term "king" used in Dan 8 and beyond in the book of Daniel? Is it used literally, or figuratively, or both? Should the latter be the case, how can one differentiate between them? If symbolically, what does the term mean? What is the meaning of the "horn" symbol? Can it have several meanings or but one? How can one determine the fulfillment of a symbolical prophecy? Must there be a complete fulfillment of every detail of the text, or is a general thrust sufficient? What is the syntax of symbolical language?

How is a specific expression such as ‘ēreb bōqer used? Is it used in a literal or symbolical way? How should one reckon the prophecy of the 2300 "evening-mornings," by determining first the terminus a quo or the terminus ad quem? How does one determine either one or the other? Can a chronological period be symbolical, or is it only literal or both? What is the meaning of the phrases "the time of the end" and "the end of the indignation"? Indignation against whom? Is it an indignation against the Jews, the Christian Church, or the world? Who will execute it and when? Will it be at the time of Antiochus' persecution, imperial Rome's persecution, papal Rome's persecution, or the future Antichrist's persecution? What is the meaning of the term "sanctuary"? Is it literal or symbolical? If literal, is it earthly, or heavenly, or both?

Answers to these questions varied greatly among scholars over the two centuries of interpretation we have surveyed. Interpreters

were influenced by (1) their proposed date of the book (sixth century B.C. or second century B.C.), (2) the nature of the vision (prophecy or vaticinia ex eventu), (3) the genre of the literature (prophecy, apocalypse, or prophetic apocalypse), (4) the general interpretational stance (historicist, preterist, historical-critical, futurist), (5) certain philosophical and theological presuppositions and a prioris, and (6) exegetical methods and procedures. The richness of interpretational positions and the vast variety of points of view taken with regard to the vision of Dan 8 stay with us as a constant reminder to engage in our own interpretational task with sound methods and careful procedures, well reflected from as many angles as possible, and faithful to the Biblical text and its own intentions.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. Primary Sources

- Amner, Richard. An Essai Towards an Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel. London: J. Johnson, 1776.
- Andrews, John N. The Sanctuary and Twenty-three Hundred Days. 2nd ed. Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press, 1872.
- Arthur, Alexander. A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel. Edinburgh: Norman Macleod, 1893.
- Auberlen, K. August. Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis. Basel: Bahnmaier's Buchhandlung, 1854.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John. Translated by Adolph Saphir. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1856.
- Barnes, Albert. Notes on the Old Testament: Daniel. 2 vols. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1950 (Reprint of 1853 edition).
- Beere, Richard. A Dissertation on the the 13th and 14th Verses of the 8th Chapter of Daniel. London: Printed for the author, [1790].
- Behrmann, Georg. Das Buch Daniel. Handkommentar zum Alten Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1894.
- Ben-Ezra, Juan Hosafat. La Venida del Mesias en Gloria y Magestad. 3 vols. Londres: R. Ackermann, 1826.
- Bengel, J. A. Ordo temporvm a principio per periodos oeconomiae divinae historicas atqve propheticas ad finem vsqve. Stuttgart: C. Erhard, 1741.
- Bertholdt, Leonhard. Daniel aus dem Hebräisch-Aramäischen neu übersetzt und erklärt mit einer vollständigen Einleitung und einigen historischen und exegetischen Excursen. 2 vols. Erlangen: J. J. Palm, 1806-1808.
- Bevan, A. A. A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1892.
- Bicheno, James. The Signs of the Times, in Three Parts. London: n.p., 1799.

- Birchmore, John W. Prophecy Interpreted by History. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1871.
- Birks, Thomas R. First Elements of Sacred Prophecy: Including an Examination of Several Recent Expositions, and of the Year-Day Theory. London: William Edward Painter, 1843.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Four Prophetic Empires, and the Kingdom of Messiah: Being an Exposition of the First Two Visions of Daniel. London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1845.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Two Later Visions of Daniel: Historically Explained. London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1846.
- Bosanquet, James Whatman. Messiah the Prince or the Inspiration of the Prophecies of Daniel. 2nd ed. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1869.
- Boyle, William Robert A. The Inspiration of the Book of Daniel; and Other Portions of Holy Scripture. London: Rivingtons, 1863.
- Brewster, William H. Adventism Reviewed and Its Leading Principles and Arguments Refuted. Lowell: C. I. Knapp, 1854.
- Brooks, J. W. Elements of Prophetic Interpretation. In The Literalist. Philadelphia: Orrin Rogers, 1841.
- Burgh, William. Lectures on the Second Advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ and Connected Events. 3d ed. Dublin: B. M. Times, 1841.
- Calmet, Dom Augustin. Ezechiel et Daniel. Commentaire litteral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament. Paris: Pierry Emery, 1715.
- Cambell, David. Illustrations of Prophecy. Boston: Published by the Author, 1840.
- Caspari, C. P. Zur Einführung in Das Buch Daniel. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1869.
- Chase, Irah. Remarks on the Book of Daniel. Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1844.
- Chandler, Samuel. Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, and Their Application to Jesus Christ: In Answer to the Objections of the Author of the Scheme of Litteral Prophecy Consider'd. London: John Gray, 1728.
- Clarke, Adam. The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. . . . With a Commentary and Critical Notes. New York: G. Lane & C. B. Tippet, 1845.



- Clarke, James E. Dissertation on the Dragon, Beast, and False Prophet of the Apocalypse; . . . And also a Full Illustration of Daniel's Vision of the Ram and He-Goat. London: Printed for the Author, 1814.
- Collins, Anthony. The Scheme of Literal Prophecy Considered; In a View of the Controversy Occasion'd by a Late Book Intituled, A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion. London: T. J., 1726.
- Cowles, Henry. Ezekiel and Daniel; with Notes. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1868.
- Cox, F. A. Outlines of Lectures on the Book of Daniel. 1st Amer. edition. New York: C. C. Crosby, 1836.
- [Crinsoz de Bionens, Théodore]. Essai sur l'Apocalypse avec des éclaircissemens sur les prophéties de Daniel qui regardent les derniers tem[p]s. n.p., 1729.
- Cumming, John. Prophetic Studies; or, Lectures on the Book of Daniel. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue and Co., 1850.
- Cuninghame, William. A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse, and the Prophetical Period of Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years. 2nd ed. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1817.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Political Destiny of the Earth as Revealed in the Bible. Philadelphia: Orrin Rogers, 1840.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Scheme of Prophetic Arrangement of the Rev. Edward Irving and Mr. Frere Critically Examined. Glasgow: University Press, 1826.
- Darby, John Nelson. Studies on the Book of Daniel. London: John B. Bateman, 1864.
- Dathe, Johann A. Prophetæ Majores ex recensione textvs hebraei et versionvm antiqvarvm latine versi notisque philologicis et criticis. Halle: Svmtibus Orphanotrophei, 1779.
- Davis, William C. The Millennium; or A Short Sketch on the Rise and Fall of Antichrist. Salisbury, N.C.: Coupee and Crader, 1811.
- Deane, H. An Old Testament Commentary for English Readers: Daniel. Edited by Charles J. Ellicott London: Cassell & Company, 1884.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Daniel: His Life and Times. New York: Anson, D. F. Randolph & Company, [1888].

- D'Envieu, J. Fabre. Le livre du Prophete Daniel. Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1891.
- Dereser, T. A. Die Propheten Ezechiel und Daniel. In Die heilige Schrift des alten Testaments. 2nd ed. Frnkfurt: F. Barrentrapp, 1837.
- Desprez, Philip S. Daniel; or, the Apocalypse of the Old Testament. London: Williams and Norgate, 1865.
- De Wette, Wilhelm Martin L. A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament. Translated by Theodore Parker, 2nd Engl. ed. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850.
- Dodd, William. The Holy Bible with a Commentary and Practical Improvements. London: R. Davis, 1767.
- Dowling, John, An Exposition of the Prophecies, Supposed by William Miller To Predict the Second Coming of Christ. Providence: Geo. P. Daniels, 1840.
- Driver, Samuel R. An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges: The Book of Daniel. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1900.
- Düsterwald, Franz. Die Weltreiche und das Gottesreich nach den Weisungen des Propheten Daniel. Freiburg: Herder'sche Verlaghandlung, 1890.
- Eichhorn, J. G. Die hebräischen Propheten. 3 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1816.
- Elliott, Edward B. Horae Apocalypticae; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical. 3d ed. 4 vols. London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1847.
- Ewald, Georg Heinrich A. von. Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament. Translated by J. Frederick Smith London: Williams and Norgate, 1881.
- Faber, Francis A. "Memoir of the Rev. G. S. Faber." in G. S. Faber, The Many Mansions in the House of the Father. 3d ed. London: William Brown & Co., 1862), pp. 1-48.
- Faber, George Stanley. A Dissertation on the Prophecies. 2d ed. 2 vols. London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1807.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Provincial Letters from the County-Palatine of Durham. 2 vols. London: Painter, 1842.

- \_\_\_\_\_. The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy: or a Dissertation on the Prophecies, Which Treat of the Grand Period of Seven Times. 3 vols. London: C. & F. Rivington, 1828.
- Farrar, Adam Storey. A Critical History of Free Thought in Reference to the Christian Religion. London: John Murray, 1862.
- Farrar, F. W. The Book of Daniel. The Expositor's Bible; Edited by R. Nicoll New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1895.
- Folsom, Nathaniel S. A Critical and Historical Interpretation of the Prophecies of Daniel. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1842.
- Forman, A. P. Prophecy. St. Louis: Presbyterian Publishing Company, 1878.
- Frere, James Hatley. A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St. John, Shewing That All the Prophetic Writings Are Formed upon One Plan. London: J. Hatchard, 1815.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "On the Present Unsatisfactory State of Prophetic Interpretation." The Monthly Review and Record of the London Prophetical Society. London: Partridge and Co., 1856.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Great Continental Revolution Marking the Expiration of the Times of the Gentiles, A.D. 1847-8. London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1848.
- Fry, John. The Second Advent; or the Glorious Epiphany of Our Lord Jesus Christ. 2 vols. London: Ogle, Duncan, and Co., 1822.
- Fuller, J. M. An Essay on the Authenticity of the Book of Daniel. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1864.
- Fuller, J. M., and Rose H. J. The Holy Bible: The Book of Daniel. Edited by F. C. Cook. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1876.
- Füller, J. L. Der Profet Daniel erklärt. Basel: Bahnmaier's Verlag, 1868.
- Gill, John. An Exposition of the Old Testament. 6 vols. Philadelphia: W. W. Woodward, 1819.
- Girdlestone, William. Observations on the Visions of Daniel, and on Part of the Book of the Revelation of St. John. Oxford: J. Parker, 1820. Habershon, M. A Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures. London: James Nisbet, 1834.

- Hale, Apollos. The Second Advent Manual: in Which the Objections of Calculating the Prophetic Times are Considered; the Difficulties Connected with the Calculation Explained, and the Facts and Arguments on Which Mr. Miller's Calculation Rest, Are Briefly Stated and Sustained, with a Diagram. Boston: J. v. Himes, 1843.
- Hales, William. A New Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History and Prophecy. 4 vols. London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington, 1830.
- Hävernicks, Heinrich A. Ch. Commentar über das Buch Daniel. Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1832.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Neue kritische Untersuchungen über das Buch Daniel. Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1838.
- Hebbelynck, Adolphus. De auctoritate historica libri Danielis. Lowen: Excudebant Vanlinthout Fratres, 1887.
- Henry, Matthew. An Exposition of the Old and New Testament. 1st Amer. ed. Philadelphia: Ed. Barrington & Geo. D. Haswell, 1828.
- Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm. Die Authentie des Daniel und die Integrität des Sacharjah. Berlin: Ludwig Oehmigke, 1831.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Dissertations on the Genuineness of Daniel and the Integrity of Zechariah. Translated by B. P. Pratten. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1848.
- Hilgenfeld, A. Die Propheten Esra und Daniel und ihre neuesten Bearbeitungen. Halle: C. E. M. Pfeffer, 1863.
- Hitzig, Ferdinand. Das Buch Daniel. Leipzig: Weimann'sche Buchhandlung, 1850.
- Hofmann, Johann C. K. Weissagung und Erfüllung im Alten und im Neuen Testament. Nordlingen: E. S. Bed'schen Burchhandlung, 1841/1844.
- Huntingford, Edward. Daniel and St. John. London: Bickers and son, 1895.
- Irving, E. Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God: A Discourse on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse. Glasgow: Chalmers and Collins, 1826.
- Jamieson, Robert; Fausset, A. R.; and Brown, David. A Commentary: Critical, and Explanatory, on the Old and New Testaments. New York: S. S. Scranton and Company, 1873.
- Jerome's Commentary on Daniel. Translated by Gleason L. Archer, Jr. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958.
- Junkin, George. The Little Stone and the Great Image. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell and Co., 1844.

- Kamphausen, Adolf. Daniel. In Bunsen's Vollständiges Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde. Leipzig: J. A. Brockhaus, 1868.
- Keil, Carl Friedrich. Biblischer Commentar über den Propheten Daniel. Leipzig: Dorffling und Franke, 1869.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Book of the Prophet Daniel. Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872.
- Keith, Alexander. The Signs of the Times, as Denoted by the Fulfillment of Historical Predictions. 2 vols. New York: Jonathan Leavit, 1832.
- Kelly, William. Notes on the Book of Daniel. London: George Morris, n. d.
- Kenrick, Francis Patrick. The Book of Job and the Prophets. Baltimore: Kelly, Hedian, & Piet, 1859.
- Kett, Henry. History, the Interpreter of Prophecy. 2 vols. Oxford: At the University Press, 1799.
- Kinne, Aaron. An Explanation of the Principal Types, the Prophecies of Daniel and Hosea, the Revelation, and Other Symbolical Passages of the Holy Scriptures. Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1814.
- Kirmss, Henrico Godofredo. Commentatio historico-critica. Jena: n.p., 1828.
- Kliefoth, Theodor F. Das Buch Daniels. Schwerin: A. V. Sandmeyer, 1868.
- Knabenbauer, J. Commentarius in Daniele prophetam. Paris: Sumptibus P. Lethielleux, 1891.
- Kranichfeld, Wilhelm R. Das Buch Daniel Erkläert. Berlin: Gustav Schlawitz, 1868.
- Kuenen, A. The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel. An Historical and Critical Enquiry. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877.
- Lengerke, Caesar von. Das Buch Daniel. Königsberg: G. Borntreger, 1835.
- Litch, Josiah. Prophetic Expositions; or A Connected View of the Testimony of the Prophets. Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842.
- Lord, David N. The Coming and Reign of Christ. New York: Franklin Knight, 1858.
- Lowth, William. A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets. 2 vols. London: William Mears, 1726.

- Luther, Martin "Ad librum eximii Magistri Nostri Magistri Ambrosii Catharini, defensoris Silvestri Prieratis acerrimi, responsio Martini Lutheri. Cum exposita Visione Danielis viii. De Antichristo." D. Martin Luthers Werke. Weimar: Hermann Bohlaus Nachfolger, 1897. 7:705-778.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Prefaces to the Revelation of St. John." in Works of Martin Luther. Philadelphia: The Castle Press, 1932), 6:481.
- MacLachlan, Herbert. Sir Isaac Newton, Theological Manuscripts. Liverpool: At the University Press, 1950.
- Maitland, Charles. The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849.
- Maitland, Samuel R. An Enquiry into the Grounds on Which the prophetic Period of Daniel and St. John, Has Been Supposed to Consist of 1260 Years. London: Hatchard and Son, 1826.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Second Enquiry into the Grounds on which the Prophetic Period of Daniel and St. John, has been Supposed to Consist of 1260 Years. London: C. and J. Rivington, 1829.
- \_\_\_\_\_. An Attempt to Elucidate the Prophecies Concerning Antichrist. London: C. J. G. and F. Rivington, 1830.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Twelve Hundred and Sixty Days: In Reply to the Structures of William Cuninghame. London: J. G. and F. Rivington, 1834.
- Manchester, George Duke of. The Times of Daniel. London: James Darling, 1845.
- Mason, Archibald. Two Essays on Daniel's Prophetic Number of Two Thousand Three Hundred Days; and on the Christian's Duty to Inquire into the Church's Deliverance. Glasgow: Young, Gallie, & Co., 1820.
- Maurer, Franz Joseph V. D. Commentarius grammaticus criticus in Vetus Testamentum. Leipzig: F. Volckmar, 1838.
- Meinhold, J. Die geschiglichen Hagiographen und das Buch Daniel. Nordlingen: C. H. Berck'schen, 1889.
- Michaelis, B. Uberiores Adnotationes in Daniele. Uberiorvm Adnotationvm philologico-exegeticarvm in Hagiographos Vet. Testamenti Libros. 3d vol. Halle: Orphanotrophei, 1720.
- Miller, William. Evidences from Scripture & History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year A.D. 1843, and of His Personal Reign of 1000 Years. Brandon, Vt.: Vermont Telegraph Office, 1833.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, About the Year 1843; Presented in a Course of Lectures. Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842.
- Moore, G. F. "Daniel viii. 9-14." Journal of Biblical Literature 15 (1896): 193-197.
- Nevin, Robert. Studies in Prophecy. Londonderry: James Montgomery, 1890.
- Newton, Benjamin W. First Series of Aids to Prophetic Enquiry. London: James Nisbet and Co., 1850.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Prospects of the Ten kingdoms of the Roman Empire. n.p.: The Sovereign Grace Advent Testimony Secretary, n.d..
- Newton, Isaac. Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John. London: J. Darby and T. Browne, 1733.
- Newton, Thomas. Dissertations on the Prophecies. Reprint edition. Philadelphia: J. J. Woodward, 1838.
- Nolan, Frederick. The Chronological Prophecies. London: William Pickering, 1837.
- Orton, Job. A Short and Plain Exposition of the Old Testament. Shrewsbury: J. and W. Eddowes, 1791.
- Osbon, A. M. Daniel Verified in History and Chronology. New York: Carlton and Philips, 1856.
- Osgood, Samuel. Remarks on the Book of Daniel. New York: Greenleaf's Press, 1794.
- Pember, G. H. The Great Prophecies. 2nd. ed. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1885.
- Petri, Johann Philip. Aufschluss der Zahlen Daniels und der Offenbarung Johannis. n.p., 1768.
- Philippe, E. "Daniel (Le Livre De)." Dictionnaire de la Bible. Edited by F. Vigouroux. Paris: Letouzey et Ané Editeurs, 1895-1912. 2:1254-1283.
- Prince, John D. A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Fragments from Babel. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.
- Pusey, Edward B. Daniel the Prophet. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1885.

- Ralston, Samuel. A Brief Explication of the Principal Prophecies of Daniel and St. John. Pittsburg: Luke Loomis, 1842.
- Ramsay, William. An Exposition of the Book of Daniel: With Practical Observations. Edinburgh: Thomas Grant, 1853.
- Reid, Robert. The Seven Last Plagues; or the Vials of the Wrath of God. Pittsburgh: D. and M. Maclean, 1828.
- Reuss, Edouard. La Bible. Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1878.
- Rohling, A. Das Buch des Propheten Daniel. Mainz: F. Kirchheim, 1876.
- Roos, Magnus F. Auslegung der Weissagungen Daniels, die in die Zeit des Neuen Testaments hineinreichen, nebst ihrer Vergleichung mit der Offenbarung Johannis, nach der Bengelischen Erklärung derselben. Leipzig: Ulrich Christian Saalbach, 1771.
- \_\_\_\_\_. An Exposition of Such of the Prophecies of Daniel, as Receive Their Accomplishment under the New Testament. Translated by Ebenezer Henderson. Edinburgh: J. and J. Robertson, 1811.
- Rosenmüller, Ernst Friedrich. Scholia in Vetus Testamentum. Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1832.
- Rule, William Harris. An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel the Prophet. London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1869.
- Scott, Thomas. The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, with Original Notes, Practical Observations and Copious References. New York: Published by Whiting and Watson, 1812.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, According to the Authorized Version; with Explanatory Notes, Practical Observations, and Copious Marginal References. Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1827.
- Seiss, Joseph A. Voices from Babylon; or, the Records of Daniel the Prophet. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1879.
- Shimeall, Richard C. Our Bible Chronology. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr, 1859.
- Smith, Uriah. The Sanctuary and the Twenty-Three Hundred Days of Daniel VII. 14. Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press, 1877.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Thoughts Critical and Practical on the Book of Daniel and the Revelation. Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1884.
- Stuart, Moses. A Commentary on the Book of Daniel. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1850.



- \_\_\_\_\_. Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell, 1845.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy. Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1842.
- Tanner, Joseph. Daniel and the Revelation. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898.
- Taylor, Henry. The Times of Daniel. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Co., 1871.
- Taylor, William M. Daniel the Beloved. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1878.
- Terry, Milton S. Biblical Apocalypics. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1898.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Prophecies of Daniel Expounded. New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1893.
- Thomson, J. E. H. Daniel. The Pulpit Commentary Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1977 (Reprint of 1897 edition.)
- Theodoret of Cyrus Upomnema eis tas Oraseis tou Prophetou Daniel Migne, PG, 81:1255-1546.
- Tiefenthal, Salesio. Daniel explicatus. Paderborn: Ferdinandum Schoningh, 1895.
- Todd, James Henthorn. Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist in the Writings of Daniel and St. Paul. Dublin: Printed at the University Press, 1840.
- Townsend, George. The Old Testament Arranged in Historical and Chronological Order. 2nd ed. London: C. and J. Rivington, 1826.
- Tregelles, Samuel P. Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel. 6th ed. London: Samuel Boyster and Sons, 1883.
- Trevillian, M. C. A Dissertation on the History of The 'Beast,' as Derived from the Prophets Daniel and John. London: Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt, 1858.
- Tyso, Joseph. Elucidation of the Prophecies, Being an Exposition of the Books of Daniel and Revelation. London: Jackson and Walford, 1838.
- Venema, Hermannus. Dissertationes ad vaticinia Danielis emblematica. 2d ed. Leiden: J. Le Mair & H. A. De Chalmot, 1768.
- West, Nathaniel. Daniel's Great Prophecy. New York: The Hope of Israel Movement, 1898.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Studies in Eschatology. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1880.
- Willet, Andrew. Hexapla in Daniele: That Is, A Six-Fold Commentarie upon the Most Divine Prophecie of Daniel. University of Cambridge: Leonard Greene, 1610.
- Wintle, Thomas. Daniel, an Improved Version Attempted; with a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes Critical, Historical and Explanatory. London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1836.
- Zouch, Thomas. "An Inquiry into the Prophetic Character of the Romans, as Described in Daniel viii. 23-25." The Works of Rev. Thomas Zouch. 2 vols. Dork: Thomas Wilson and Sons, 1820.
- Zöckler, Otto. The Book of the Prophet Daniel. Translated by J. Strong. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.
- Zündel, David. Kritische Untersuchungen über die Abfassungszeit des Buches Daniel. Basel: Bahnmaier's Buchhandlung, 1861.

#### B. Secondary Sources

- Adams, Roy. The Sanctuary Doctrine, Three Approaches in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, Vol. 1. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1981.
- Albright, William F. "Stuart, Moses." Dictionary of American Biography. 1936 edition. 18:174-175.
- Allibone, S. Austin. A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors. 1874 edition.
- "Andrews, John Nevins." Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia. 1976 edition. 10:43-44.
- "Auberlen, Karl August." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1908 edition. 1:359.
- Austin, William H. "Isaac Newton on Science and Religion." Journal of the History of Ideas. 31 (1970): 521-542.
- "Barnes, Rev. Albert." Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. 1884 edition. p. 55.
- Bechtel, F. "Calmet, Dom Augustin." The Catholic Encyclopedia. 1908 edition. 3:199.
- Beck, Herman. "Roos, Magnus Friedrich." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1911 edition. 10:91, 92.

- Bertheau, Carl. "Ewald, Georg Heinrich August." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1909 edition. 4:234-35.
- "Bevan, Anthony Ashley." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1908 edition. 2:76.
- Blaikie, W. G. "Clarke, Adam." Dictionary of National Biography. 1908 edition. 4:413-414.
- Boase, G. C. "Faber, George Stanley." Dictionary of National Biography. 1908 edition. 6:975-976.
- Bogue, David, and Benneth, James. The History of Dissenters. 2 vols. London: Frederick Westley and A. A. Davis, 1833.
- Brewster, David. The Life of Sir Isaac Newton. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1874.
- Brown, Jerry Wayne. The Rise of Biblical Criticism in America, 1800-1870. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1969.
- Cortney, W. P. "Kett, Henry." Dictionary of National Biography. 1909 edition. 11:75-76.
- "Cowles, Henry." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1909 edition. 3:292.
- "Cumming, John." Dictionary of National Biography. 1908 edition. 5:297-298.
- Damsteegt, P. Gerard. Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission. Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1977.
- "Driver, Samuel Rolles." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1909 edition. 4:6.
- "Elliott, Edward Bishop." Dictionary of National Biography. 1908 edition. 6:686.
- "Farrar, Frederic William." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1909 edition. 4:279.
- "Fausset, Andrew Robert." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1909 edition. 4:285.
- Frei, Hans W. The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974.
- Froom, LeRoy Edwin. The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers. 4 vols. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1954.

- Fuller, Payton. "The Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism." Th.D. dissertation, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1957.
- Gordon, Alexander. "Henry, Matthew." Dictionary of National Biography. 1908 edition. 9:574.
- Haack, Ernst. "Kliefoth, Theodor Friedrich." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1910 edition. 6:350-351.
- Hasel, Gerhard F. Biblical Interpretation Today. Lincoln, Nebraska: College View Printers, 1985.
- Hauk, A. "Hofmann Johann Christian Konrad." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1909 edition. 5:312-313.
- Ironside, H. A. A Historical Sketch of the Brethren Movement. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1942.
- Jessopp, A. "Maitland, Samuel Roffey." Dictionary of National Biography. 1909 edition 12:815-818.
- Johnston, J. O. "Pusey, Edward Bouverie." Dictionary of National Biography. 1909 edition. 16:496-504.
- Kamphausen, A. "Hitzig, Ferdinand." New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1909 edition. 5:300-301.
- Keil, W. J. A. "Keil, Johann Friedrich Karl." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1910 edition. 6:305.
- "Kenrick, Francis." New Catholic Encyclopedia. 1967 edition. 8:155.
- Koch, Klaus; T. Niewisch; and J. Tubach. Das Buch Daniel. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980.
- Kraeling, Emil G. The Old Testament Since the Reformation. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955.
- Kraus, Hans-Joachim. Geschichte der historischen-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1956.
- Krentz, Edgar. The Historical-Critical Method. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley. "Bosanquet, James Whatman." Dictionary of National Biography. 1908 edition. 2:874-875.
- "Lengerke, Cäsar." Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. 1894 edition. 5:345.
- Lenski, Gerhard E. "Seiss, Joseph Augustus." The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church. 1965 edition. 3:2152.

- Lobstein, P. "Reuss, Eduard Guillaume Eugene." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1911 edition. 10:1-2.
- MacLachlan, Herbert. The Religious Opinions of Milton, Locke and Newton. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1941.
- Manuel, Frank E. A Portrait of Isaac Newton. Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Merchant, E. C. "Tregelles, Samuel Prideaux." Dictionary of National Biography. 1909 edition. 19:1097-1098.
- "Miller, William." Seventh-Day Adventist Encyclopedia. 1976 edition. Pp. 889-891.
- Montgomery, James A. The Book of Daniel. International Critical Commentary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927.
- More, Louis Trenchard. Isaac Newton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934.
- Neatby, W. B. "Mr. William Kelly as a Theologian." The Expositor. Seventh Series 1907. 4:70-86.
- Norgate, G. Le Grys. "Rule, William Harris." Dictionary of National Biography. 1908 edition. 17:394-395.
- Reventlow, Henning Graf. The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985.
- Richardson, Alan. The Bible in the Age of Science. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961.
- Rogerson, John. Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985.
- Rowdon, Harold H. The Origins of the Brethren. London: Pickering & Inglis, 1967.
- Rowley, H. H. Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1959.
- Sandeen, Ernest R. The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Schultze, Victor. "Otto, Zöckler." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1912 edition. 12:520.
- "Smith, Uriah." Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia. 1976 edition. 10:1155-1156.

- "Taylor, William Mackergo." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1911 edition. 11:285-286.
- "Terry, Milton Spencer." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1911 edition. 11:303-304.
- Venables, Canon. "Lowth, William." Dictionary of National Biography. 1909 edition. 12:216.
- Volck, W. "Haevernick, Heinrich Andreas Christoph." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1909 edition. 5:113.
- Walvoord, John F. Daniel, the Key to Prophetic Revelation. Chicago: Moody Press, 1971.
- Weiser, F. X. "Knabenbauer, Joseph." New Catholic Encyclopedia. 1967 edition. 8:214.
- Williams, John B. The Lives of Philip and Matthew Henry. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1974.
- Whitfield, E. E. "Kelly, William." The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. 1910 edition. 6:308.
- Wroth, Warwick. "Hales, William." Dictionary of National Biography. 1908 edition. 8:922-923.