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Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

THE APOCALYPTIC "SON OF MAN" IN DANIEL 7

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

by  
Arthur J. Ferch  
April 1979

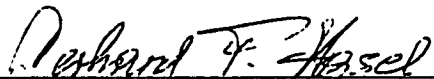
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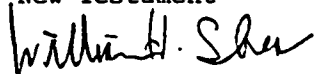
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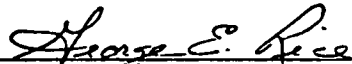
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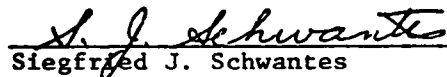
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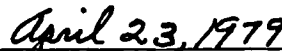
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**ABSTRACT**

**THE APOCALYPTIC "SON OF MAN" IN DANIEL 7**

by

**Arthur J. Ferch**

**Chairperson: Gerhard F. Hasel**

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: THE APOCALYPTIC "SON OF MAN" IN DANIEL 7

Name of researcher: Arthur J. Ferch

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

Date completed: April, 1979

This investigation studies the identity and nature of the manlike figure in Dan 7:13-14 (hereafter referred to as SM). In the first chapter we reviewed the interpretations of the SM in Jewish and Christian literature since the beginning of the second century of our era and noted that with the exception of the seventeenth century study by Carpzov, discussion of the Danielic figure was limited to passing comments. Throughout this period the SM was interpreted mainly messianically or christologically. During the nineteenth century more substantial inquiries attempted to find answers to the identity and nature of the manlike being primarily through philological study.

Beginning with the twentieth century, Religionsgeschichte

provided SM research with a new direction and the latter sought to elucidate the manlike being through its alleged roots or parallels. It was also within this stream that Nathaniel Schmidt first suggested the identification of the SM with an angel (Michael). Shortly after Religionsgeschichte made its impact upon the study of the Danielic being, literary-critical examinations suggested that Dan 7:9-10, 13 (14) was a fragment from another apocalyptic and had intruded into the vision of the four beasts. Thus it was proposed (later also by traditio-historical research) that the SM was originally an individual figure, which had experienced a more or less complex history of interpretation at the hands of redactors, until he was finally identified with the saints.

Currently an array of positions identifies the Danielic figure not only with the saints (on the basis that the SM of the vision [vss. 2-14] is explained by the saints in the interpretation [vss. 15-27]) but also with an angel(s), an incarnation of divine glory, hypostatized wisdom, or some historical human individual.

In the second chapter we probed the various alleged origins of and parallels to the manlike being within Babylonian, Egyptian, Iranian, Hellenistic, Gnostic, Ugaritic, and Hebrew literature. We employed the methodology which avoids "punctiliar" comparison by considering individual phenomena in their contextual totality before making comparison with a similar phenomenon. Our methodology demonstrated a basic discontinuity between the alleged roots and correspondences (whether more or less direct). Of the various biblical prototypes Michael seemed to offer the closest longitudinal parallel to the SM, though Daniel nowhere identifies him as the manlike being.

In the third chapter we examined the unity and structure of Dan 7 before passing to the specific passages dealing with the Danielic figure. Our inquiry made it apparent that the criteria inherited from Noth and Ginsberg challenging the unity of Dan 7 are based on inadequate data and occidental syllogistic reasoning. This negative evaluation is corroborated positively by the structures and themes within the chapter. It also became evident that the customary chapter division into vision and interpretation needs revision, for Dan 7:15-16, 19-22 consists of prophetic reactions and supplements to the vision. Consequently the saints are envisaged in the vision before the judgment.

Within the setting of Dan 7:9-10, 13-14 the SM is an individual, eschatological, celestial being with messianic traits. Though characterized by divine attributes, Dan 7 does not teach a ditheism for the Danielic being assumes a role subordinate to the Ancient of Days. Whereas the manlike figure is a celestial being, he is, nevertheless, set apart from the heavenly creatures referred to in Dan 7:10. While the SM resembles a human being, he is also distinct from the "saints of the Most High" who are human beings with whom he, nevertheless, enjoys a solidarity, for he shares with them throughout perpetuity the kingship given him by the Ancient of Days.

Dedicated to my wife Carole and my boys Ricky and Andrew

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AB -- Anchor Bible
- AcOr -- Acta orientalia
- AJSL -- American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
- ALBO -- Analecta lovaniensia biblica et orientalia
- ANET -- Pritchard, James B., ed. Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament. 3d ed. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- ANF -- The Ante-Nicene Fathers
- AnOr -- Analecta orientalia
- AOAT -- Alter Orient und Altes Testament
- ASTI -- Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
- ATA -- Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
- ATANT -- Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
- ATD -- Das Alte Testament Deutsch
- AUSS -- Andrews University Seminary Studies
- BASOR -- Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
- BDB -- Brown, Francis; Driver, Samuel R.; Briggs, Charles A. A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- BHK -- Kittel, Rudolf. Biblia Hebraica. 7th ed. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1951.
- BHS -- Elliger, K. and Rudolph, W., eds. Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1968ff.
- Bib -- Biblica
- BJRL -- Bulletin of the John Rylands Library

- BKAT -- Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament
- BleA -- Bauer, Hans and Leander, Pontus. Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen. Reprint of 1927 ed.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962.
- BTB -- Biblical Theology Bulletin
- BWANT -- Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
- BZ -- Biblische Zeitschrift
- BZAW -- Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
- CBQ -- Catholic Biblical Quarterly
- ChuW -- Christentum und Wissenschaft
- CQR -- Church Quarterly Review
- CSCO -- Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
- CTA -- Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques
- CTM -- Concordia Theological Monthly
- DCB -- Dictionary of Christian Biography. Edited by William Smith and Henry Wall. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1877-1887.
- EB -- Encyclopaedia Biblica. Edited by T. K. Cheyne and J. Black. London: A. & C. Black, 1899-1903.
- EstBib -- Estudios bíblicos
- ET -- English translation
- ETL -- Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses
- EvQ -- Evangelical Quarterly
- ExpTim -- Expository Times
- FRLANT -- Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
- GKC -- Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar. Edited by E. Kautzsch and Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
- HAT -- Handbuch zum Alten Testament
- HDR -- Harvard Dissertations in Religion

- HKAT -- Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
- HNT -- Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
- HSM -- Harvard Semitic Monographs
- HTR -- Harvard Theological Review
- HTS -- Harvard Theological Studies
- HUCA -- Hebrew Union College Annual
- HZ -- Historische Zeitschrift
- ICC -- International Critical Commentary
- IDB -- Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by George A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962.
- IDBSup -- Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume. Edited by Keith Crim. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976.
- IEJ -- Israel Exploration Journal
- Int -- Interpretation
- JAOS -- Journal of the American Oriental Society
- JBL -- Journal of Biblical Literature
- JewEnc -- The Jewish Encyclopedia. Edited by I. Singer. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901-1906.
- JNES -- Journal of Near Eastern Studies
- JSJ -- Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period
- JTS -- Journal of Theological Studies
- KAT -- Kommentar zum Alten Testament
- KB -- Koehler, Ludwig and Baumgartner, Walter. Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958.
- KHC -- Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
- LXX -- Septuagint
- MGWJ -- Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
- MT -- Masoretic Text

- MVAG -- Mitteilungen der vorder-asiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
- NCB -- New Century Bible
- NKZ -- Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift
- NovT -- Novum Testamentum
- NPNF -- Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
- NT -- New Testament
- NTS -- New Testament Studies
- ODCC -- Cross, F. L. and Livingstone, E. A. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. 2d ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Or -- Orientalia
- OrAnt -- Oriens antiquus
- OT -- Old Testament
- OTL -- Old Testament Library
- OTS -- Oudtestamentische Studiën
- PCB -- Black, Matthew and Rowley Harold H., eds. Peake's Commentary on the Bible. London: Nelson, 1962.
- PG -- Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.
- PL -- Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.
- PO -- Patrologia orientalis, Graffin, ed.
- PRU -- Le Palais royal d'Ugarit
- RB -- Revue Biblique
- RTR -- Reformed Theological Review
- RSV -- Revised Standard Version
- SBM -- Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
- SBS -- Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
- Sem -- Semitica
- SJT -- Scottish Journal of Theology
- ST -- Studia theologica

StudBT -- Studia biblica et theologica  
 TBC -- Torch Bible Commentary  
TBl -- Theologische Blätter  
TDNT -- Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by F. G. Kittel. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1964ff.  
THAT -- Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Munich: Kaiser, 1971.  
TLZ -- Theologische Literaturzeitung  
 TOTC -- Tyndale Old Testament Commentary  
TRu -- Theologische Rundschau  
TS -- Theological Studies  
TSK -- Theologische Studien und Kritiken  
TWAT -- Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament. Edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970ff.  
UF -- Ugarit-Forschungen  
VD -- Verbum domini  
VT -- Vetus Testamentum  
 VTSup -- Vetus Testamentum Supplements  
 WMANT -- Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament  
ZAW -- Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft  
ZNW -- Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft  
ZTK -- Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche  
ZWT -- Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

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Most of all I am grateful to my wife, who not only typed this dissertation when she could have been engaged in her own creative tasks, but who, along with my boys, endured patiently, sacrificed gladly, and cheered constantly.

## INTRODUCTION

What is the identity and nature of the manlike being referred to in Dan 7:13-14? Apart from a seventeenth century study by Carpzov, answers to this question prior to the modern period were limited to passing remarks. Beginning with the nineteenth century, an increasing number of scholars attempted to supply more substantial replies. However, owing to its close connection with the "son of man" figure in the Similitudes, 4 Ezra, and the NT, study of the Danielic כְּנַר שְׁמַיָּא (hereafter referred to as SM) has been overshadowed by inquiries into the other images.

Indeed, research on the manlike being of Dan 7 has been generally limited to scholarly articles or prolegomena to cognate studies. Although it is readily acknowledged that an understanding of the Danielic figure is fundamental for a better evaluation of the later uses of the phrase "son of man," especially the christological inquiry into the messianic consciousness of Jesus, no full-fledged investigation limited to the first step in "son of man" research, namely, the manlike being of Dan 7, has appeared in modern times.

While nineteenth century studies sought to illuminate the Danielic being and the "son of man" of the NT primarily through philological research, Religionsgeschichte, beginning with the present century, encouraged SM studies to elucidate the identity and nature of the SM through possible origins of or parallels to the manlike



being in extra-biblical and biblical literature. A number of literary-critical investigations endeavored to aid this pursuit by offering proposals of literary analyses and traditio-historical patterns in Dan 7.

Today, when scholars tend to rely less on religio-historical erudition to provide a key to understanding the nature and identity of the Danielic being, we need to stop and reflect upon the insights and the direction Religionsgeschichte has provided for SM research. Though there is also currently a tendency to move to a basic unity of Dan 7, the issue of unity is still not settled. To what degree have the insights of Sellin, Hölischer, Haller, Noth, Ginsberg, and the proposed stages of textual growth done justice to the literary structure of the text and advanced our understanding of the SM? Has the customary division of the chapter into vision (vss 2-14) and interpretation (vss. 15-27), on the basis of which the manlike being was interpreted as the saints, adequately reflected the intent of Dan 7?

Recent studies have identified the SM not only with Israel but also with Adam, Judas Maccabeus, Daniel the prophet, an incarnation of divine glory, hypostatized wisdom, and some named or unnamed celestial being, which may or may not have been reinterpreted by later redactors. It would be safe to say that presently the degree of complexity and uncertainty which the phrase "son of man" poses in NT research is matched by the bewildering array of opinions concerning the origin, identity, nature, and function of the Danielic figure. Hence the necessity for a full-fledged evaluation of both

the directions into which scholarly investigations have led us and of the text and meaning of Dan 7 itself in order to elucidate the identity and nature of the Danielic SM. In the study which follows we propose to respond to this need.

## CHAPTER I

### A SURVEY OF POST-NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATIONS OF THE SON OF MAN IN DANIEL 7

In the following survey of the post-NT understanding of the Danielic SM, we will travel along the paths this locution has taken in both Christian and Jewish literature. To begin with, we will briefly note the chronologically older interpretation, and then turn our attention to the more recent usage of this phrase.

#### Interpretations of the Son of Man Prior to the Modern Period

In this section, we will briefly explore the interpretations given in both Christian and Jewish literature to the Danielic figure between the end of the NT era and prior to the modern period.

#### Individual Interpretations of the Son of Man

##### Christian individual interpretations

Harold H. Rowley suggested that the personal and messianic connotations for the SM in Dan 7:13 developed very early and are "found in 1 Enoch xlvi.2ff., xlviii.2 and in the NT."<sup>1</sup> Immediately

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<sup>1</sup>Harold H. Rowley, Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1959), p. 62 n. 2. Cf. Aage Bentzen, Daniel, HAT, 19, 2d rev. ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1952), pp. 62-63. NT scholars do not all agree with Rowley or Bentzen. E.g., Thomas W. Manson, who believes in a consistent collective interpretation of the SM ("The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch, and the Gospels," BJRL 32 [1950]:171-193).

following the period of the NT, Justin Martyr (c. A.D. 100-c. 165) linked the climax of the prophecy of Dan 7 with Christ's second coming in the words "for He shall come on the clouds as the Son of Man, so Daniel foretold, and His angels shall come with Him."<sup>1</sup> Irenaeus (c. A.D. 130-200) and Tertullian (c. A.D. 160-c. 225) shared this application.<sup>2</sup> The latter thus stressed Christ's human nature and contrasted his two advents, one lowly, the other majestic. The same christological applications were made by Hippolytus (c. A.D. 170-c. 236) and Cyprian (c. A.D. 200-258).<sup>3</sup> Lactantius (c. A.D. 240-c. 320) used Dan 7:13, 14 for the human birth of Jesus as well as his ascension.<sup>4</sup> For the earlier Eusebius (c. A.D. 260-c. 340) the Danielic passage was a clear prediction of Christ.<sup>5</sup>

Aphrahat (c. A.D. 290-c. 350), the first of the Syriac fathers, believed Jesus to be the fulfillment of the Danielic SM, even though he identified the little horn of Dan 7 with Antiochus

---

<sup>1</sup>Justin Dialogue with Trypho 31 (ANF 1:209).

<sup>2</sup>Irenaeus Against Heresies 4.8.11 (ANF 1:491) and Tertullian An Answer to the Jews 14 (ANF 3:172); id. Against Marcion 3.7 (ANF 3:326); 3.25 (ANF 3:343); 4.10,11 (ANF 3:359, 416); id. On the Flesh of Christ 15 (ANF 3:534).

<sup>3</sup>Hippolytus Fragments from Commentaries 3 (ANF 5:189-190); id. Treatise on Christ and Antichrist 44 (ANF 5:213); id. Against Heresy of One Noetus 4 (ANF 5:225). Here the term SM describes the pre-incarnate Christ. Cyprian Treatises 12.2.26 (ANF 5:525), employs Dan 7:13, 14 alongside Isa 33:10, 11; Ps 6; etc., to show that after his resurrection Christ received all and everlasting power from his father.

<sup>4</sup>Lactantius The Divine Institutes 4.12, 21 (ANF 7:111, 123); id. The Epitome of the Divine Institutes 47 (ANF 7:241).

<sup>5</sup>Eusebius The Church History 1.2.24-26 (NPNF 2d ser. 1:85). Though at a later time Eusebius employed certain prophecies formerly applied to the latter days for the new churches of the post-Constantine "conversion" period he still disagreed with Porphyry.

Epiphanes.<sup>1</sup> In the fourth century Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, Dan 7:13 is listed among other christologically understood OT passages like Isa 11:1, 10; Zech 9:9; and Dan 2:34.<sup>2</sup> Ephraem Syrus (c. A.D. 306-373) considered our passage symbolic of second century B.C. Jews but consummated in Christ.<sup>3</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem (c. A.D. 315-386) and Rufinus (c. A.D. 345-410) took this verse to be a prophetic prediction of Christ's second advent.<sup>4</sup> While Chrysostom (c. A.D. 347-407) makes no explicit identification of the SM with Christ, he appears to imply it.<sup>5</sup> For Jerome (A.D. 347-420), Augustine (A.D. 354-430), and Cyril of Alexandria (d. A.D. 444), the Danielic figure was none other than Christ.<sup>6</sup>

This same exegetical tradition was shared by Theodoret (c. A.D. 393-c. 466),<sup>7</sup> the mid-sixth-century geographer and later monk

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<sup>1</sup>Aphrahat Demonstrations 5.21 (NPNF 2d ser. 13:359-360).

<sup>2</sup>Constitutions of the Holy Apostles 5.3.20 (ANF 7:448).

<sup>3</sup>Ephraem Syrus Opera omnia quae exstant graece, syriace, latine, eds. G. S. Assemani, P. Benedictus, S. E. Assemani, 6 vols. (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1737-1743), 5:215. Note also the individual application in Ephraem Syrus Hymnus 32:5-6 (CSCO, 170; Scriptores Syri, 77:115-116).

<sup>4</sup>Cyril Catechetical Lectures 15.27 (NPNF 2d ser. 7:113). The whole lecture is devoted to an explanation of Dan 7:9-14; Rufinus A Commentary on the Apostle's Creed 33 (NPNF 2d ser. 3:556).

<sup>5</sup>Chrysostom Letters to the Fallen Theodore 1.12 (NPNF 1st ser. 9:101).

<sup>6</sup>Jerome Commentarium in Daniele Liber 7.13 (PG 25:533); Augustine The City of God 20.23 (NPNF 1st ser. 2:443); id. Reply to Faustus the Manichean 12.44 (NPNF 1st ser. 4:197; Cyril of Alexandria In Daniele Prophetam 7:13 (PG 70:1461).

<sup>7</sup>Theodoret In Danielis 7.13, 14 (PG 81:1425). Commenting on Dan 7:28 Theodoret expresses surprise that the fourth Danielic beast should be interpreted as Macedonia in opposition to the most transparent facts.

Cosmas Indicopleustes,<sup>1</sup> the Syrian writer Theodore bar Kōnī (early seventh century),<sup>2</sup> the widely circulated Ethiopian manuscript Sargis d'Aberga (seventh century),<sup>3</sup> Peter the Archdeacon (c. A.D. 742-814),<sup>4</sup> Isho<sup>c</sup>dad of Merv (ninth century),<sup>5</sup> Rupert of Deutz (c. A.D. 1075-c. 1129),<sup>6</sup> Peter Comestor (d. c. A.D. 1179),<sup>7</sup> Thomas Aquinas (c. A.D. 1225-1274),<sup>8</sup> and Gregorius Abulfarag (better known as Bar Hebraeus, A.D. 1226-1286).<sup>9</sup> The SM was also applied to

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<sup>1</sup>Cosmas Indicopleustes Topographiae Christianae 2 (PG 88: 109, 112). While he identified the little horn with Antiochus, he applied both the stone of Dan 2 and the SM of Dan 7 to Christ.

<sup>2</sup>Addai Scher, ed., Theodorus bar Kōnī: Liber Scholiorum, CSCO, 55; Scriptores Syri, 19, 2 vols (Paris: C. Poussielgue, 1910), 1:334. Theodore bar Kōnī and later Isho<sup>c</sup>dad of Merv saw the fulfillment of Dan 7:13, 14 in Christ but also noted a reference to the Maccabees.

<sup>3</sup>Sargis d'Aberga sixieme assemblee (PG 13:33, 35).

<sup>4</sup>Peter the Archdeacon Quaestiones in Daniele 43 (PL 96:1354).

<sup>5</sup>Ceslas van den Eynde, trans., Commentaire d'Isho<sup>c</sup>dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament V: Jérémie, Ézéchiél, Daniel, CSCO, 329; Scriptores Syri, 147 (Louvain: Secretariat du CSCO, 1972), p. 113.

<sup>6</sup>Rupert of Deutz De trinitate et operibus eius libri 42-In Dan. Liber Unus 14 (PL 167:1516).

<sup>7</sup>Peter Comestor Historia Scholastica-Liber Danielis 6 (PL 198:1453).

<sup>8</sup>Thomas Aquinas Expositio in Daniele 7 in Opera Omnia, secundum impressionem P. Fiaccadori Parmae 1852-1873, 25 vols. (New York: Musurgia Publishers, 1948-1950), 23:161-167.

<sup>9</sup>Jakob Freimann, Des Gregorius Abulfarag, gen. Bar-Hebraeus, Scholien zum Buche Daniel (Brünn: B. Epstein, 1892), p. 45. Bar Hebraeus applied the SM figure literally to Zerubbabel but symbolically ("bildlich") to Christ.

Christ by John Wycliffe (c. A.D. 1330-1384),<sup>1</sup> John Calvin (A.D. 1509-1564),<sup>2</sup> Hugo Broughton (A.D. 1549-1612),<sup>3</sup> Henry More (A.D. 1614-1687),<sup>4</sup> possibly Hugo Grotius (A.D. 1583-1645),<sup>5</sup> and Flavius Lucius Dexter (c. A.D. 1620).<sup>6</sup> Johann Benedict Carpzov (A.D. 1639-1699),<sup>7</sup> whose work seems to be the first monograph on the nature and identity of the SM, equally argued that the Danielic figure represented Christ, as did also Isaac Newton (A.D. 1642-1727),<sup>8</sup> William Lowth (A.D. 1660-

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<sup>1</sup>Rudolf Buddensieg, ed., John Wyclif's De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae, 3 vols. (London: Wyclif Society, 1907), 3:266.

<sup>2</sup>John Calvin, Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel, trans. Thomas Myers, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948), 2:40-44. Calvin applied our passage to Christ's first advent and ascension. Neither Luther nor Melancthon appear to have commented on the SM in Dan 7; in their interpretations they were far more interested in the four beasts and antichrist.

<sup>3</sup>Hugh Broughton, Daniel and His Chaldee Visions and His Ebrew: Both Translated after the Original (London: R. Fields, 1596) on Dan 7:13, 14.

<sup>4</sup>Henry More, An Illustration of Those Two Abstruse Books in Holy Scripture, the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of S. John (London: M. Flesher, 1685), p. 81.

<sup>5</sup>Hugo Grotius seems to imply that the picture of the SM in Dan 7 was a prediction of Jesus' first advent. (The Truth of the Christian Religion, trans. John Clarke, new ed. [Cambridge: J. Hall, 1860], pp. 49-50, 162-163). However, in his Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum (ed. Georgius I. L. Vogel, 3 vols. [Halle: I. Curt, 1775-1776], 2:366) Grotius applied the term to the Roman people.

<sup>6</sup>Flavius Lucius Dexter In Prophetiam Danielis de Quator Animalibus (PL 31:579).

<sup>7</sup>Johann B. Carpzov, De Filio Hominis ad antiquum dierum delato, ad visionem Danielis c. vii, 13, 14 (Leipzig; J.-E. Hahn, 1679), pp. 3-64.

<sup>8</sup>Isaac Newton, Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John (London: J. Darby and T. Browne, 1733), p. 128.

1732),<sup>1</sup> and Christian B. Michaelis (A.D. 1680-1764).<sup>2</sup> Our review, so far, makes apparent the widespread belief among Christian writers that Christ was the SM of Dan 7:13.

#### Jewish individual interpretations

During the Talmudic period messianically oriented rabbinic tradition interpreted the Danielic SM as the Messiah from the very beginning.<sup>3</sup> Among the rabbis who wrote more extensively on the SM during the Mohammedan period were Saadia ben Joseph (A.D. 892-942), Gaon of Sura (in Babylon), and called the "pathfinder of enlightened Judaism in the Middle Ages."<sup>4</sup> Saadia based his exposition primarily on Scripture rather than on the Talmud. Joseph Sarachek claims that

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<sup>1</sup>William Lowth, A Commentary upon the Prophecy of Daniel and the Twelve Minor Prophets, 2 vols. (London: William Mears, 1726), 1: 63-64.

<sup>2</sup>As quoted by Hengstenberg, Christology, pp. 73-83.

<sup>3</sup>B. Sanh. 98a (ca. A.D. 250); Nu Rab 13:14. Both Tanhuma Gen 27:30-32 and Yal. Zech 4:7 speak of the מָלְכָא, who is the Messiah, and Midr. Ps 2:7 begins by explaining "my son" as the children of Israel but ends with citations from R. Yudan and R. Huna, who give a messianic interpretation. Disappointingly, Morna Hooker, in her note on the rabbinic writings, only cites the first portion of this comment on Ps 2:7 and omits the equally important second half which lists R. Yudan's and R. Huna's messianic exegesis (The Son of Man in Mark [London: S.P.C.K., 1967], pp. 73-74). In b. Sanh. 38b, R. Akiba (c. A.D. 50-132) explains that the "thrones" (pl.) in Dan 7:13 provide one throne for God and one for David (i.e. the Messiah); Midr. Ps 21:7. Frequently, Dan 7:13, 14 and Zech 9:9 were linked and used for sake of contract as e.g., in b. Sanh 98a. Y. Ta'an. 65b may be an anti-Christian polemic (c. A.D. 300), explaining that anyone claiming to be God lies, anyone asserting he is the "son of man" will ultimately regret it, and anyone maintaining that he will ascend to heaven would never accomplish it.

<sup>4</sup>Joseph Sarachek, The Doctrine of the Messiah in Medieval Jewish Literature, 2d ed. (New York: Hermon Press, 1968), p. 28.



his intellectualism and use of the "scientific method" did not prevent Saadia from accepting the messianic belief.<sup>1</sup> According to Silver he was "probably the first among the Gaonim to attempt to sift the vast Rabbinic opinion on the subject of the Messiah, and whose formulation remained, with slight modification, the accredited and accepted view."<sup>2</sup> Commenting on the Danielic SM he wrote זָהוּ מְשִׁיחַ צְדִקְנֹו וְהָלֵא כְּחֵיב עַל מְשִׁיחַ עֲנִי וְרוֹכֵב עַל חֲמוֹר.<sup>3</sup>

In the second half of the tenth century, the extremely able, Karaite Palestinian scholar Jepheth ibn Ali identified the Danielic Ancient of Days as an angel and the SM as the Messiah.<sup>4</sup>

The "most celebrated figure in the rabbinical schools of France in the second half of the eleventh century"<sup>5</sup> was Rashi, also known as Solomon ben Isaac (A.D. 1040-c. 1105). In his running and terse exposition of Daniel, he states concerning the SM הוּא מֶלֶךְ הַמְּשִׁיחַ.<sup>6</sup>

Even the Spanish exegete Abraham ibn Ezra (c. A.D. 1092-1167), generally only cited for his collective interpretation of the SM, acknowledges a messianic application in the following words:

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>2</sup>Abba H. Silver, A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel (Reprint of 1927 ed.; Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 50.

<sup>3</sup>Miqraoth geduloth 12.68b.

<sup>4</sup>Jepheth ibn Ali, A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, ed. and trans. David S. Margoliouth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), pp. 35-36.

<sup>5</sup>Sarachek, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup>Miqraoth geduloth, 12:68b.

ויאמר רבי ישועה כי זה כבר אנש הוא המשיח ונכרך דבר רק הוא  
 עם הקדש שהם ישראל.<sup>1</sup>

Half a century later Samuel ben Nissim Masnuth again endorsed the messianic view of Dan 7:13.<sup>2</sup> According to Grotius, Levi ben Gershon (A.D. 1288-1344) also identified the SM with the Messiah.<sup>3</sup>

The works of Isaac Abravanel (A.D. 1437-1508), the former minister of finance in Spain, had a far-reaching influence on the messianic movements of the sixteenth century. He has been appraised as the outstanding messianic writer of the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> In A.D. 1496, now in exile in Naples, Abravanel wrote an elaborate treatise on Daniel's prophecies. Several Protestant commentators during and after the Reformation accepted his identification of the "little horn" of Dan 7 with the papacy.<sup>5</sup>

In his extended and somewhat involved comment on Dan 7:13, Abravanel gives evidence that past Jewish commentators had applied the SM to the Messiah, and he did likewise.<sup>6</sup> Messianic expectations

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 69a.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel b. R. Nissim Masnuth, Midrash Daniel and Midrash Ezra (in Hebrew), eds. I. S. Lange and S. Schwartz (Jerusalem: Mekitze Nirdamim, 1968), p. 69. The date (A.D. 1218) for Samuel ben Nissim Masnuth was derived from a notation by the University of Michigan Libraries.

<sup>3</sup>Grotius, pp. 162-163.

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

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>6</sup>Isaac Abravanel, Ma<sup>c</sup>ayne Ha-Yeshu<sup>c</sup>ah (In Hebrew; Stettin, 1860), Well 8, Palm Tree 9. Abravanel states here that he also knew of a collective interpretation of the SM. Cf. Silver, p. 120.

were kept warm during the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, and characterized by mystic, as well as apocalyptic hopes among both Jews and Christians. Menasseh ben Israel (c. A.D. 1604-1657) dedicated a whole book to the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's image but extended his messianic investigations beyond this chapter. For Menasseh the SM of Dan 7 was the coming Messiah.<sup>1</sup> In the final half of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth centuries, "the Messianic movement in Judaism ceased to be a compelling historic actuality."<sup>2</sup> It is during this time, also, that we notice the gradually increasing popularity of the collective interpretation of the SM in Dan 7, which regards the SM a symbol of an eschatological Israel.

#### Collective Interpretations of the Son of Man

##### Porphyry and the Son of Man

It is probable that the earliest post-biblical collective interpretation of the SM was advanced by the Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry (c. A.D. 232-c. 303). He was raised in Tyre, and as a youth visited Syria, Palestine, and Alexandria. Porphyry became acquainted with the principles and literature of Christianity through Origen, though he probably never became a member of the church. This critic of Christianity studied philosophy at Athens and was won to Neoplatonism by Plotinus, whom he met at Rome in A.D. 262. Just

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<sup>1</sup>Menasseh ben Israel, Piedra gloriosa o de la Estatua de Nebuchadnesar (Amsterdam: Hacham, 1655), pp. 252-257. Menasseh repeatedly reminds the reader that this coming kingdom is literal and not spiritual.

<sup>2</sup>Silver, pp. xviii-xix.

before Plotinus died in A.D. 270, Porphyry went to Sicily, whence he returned to Rome toward the end of his life.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the major portion of his life and his more productive years were spent in the West as a student, writer, and teacher.

Moffatt surmises that Porphyry composed his treatise *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν* in fifteen books, the twelfth of which deals with Daniel, written between A.D. 270 and 280.<sup>2</sup> Our source for Porphyry's exegesis of Daniel is Jerome's Commentary on Daniel.<sup>3</sup> In the prologue to the commentary, Jerome claims that the critic had attacked the book of Daniel because its prophecies, particularly the predictions dealing with Christ and the time of his coming, had met such accurate historic fulfillment.<sup>4</sup> Porphyry is further alleged to have denied the Danielic authorship of the book, and proposed instead a Jewish author who, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, recounted authentic history up to his time. Beyond that point, the writer is said to have conjectured falsities, inasmuch as the future would not have been known to him. The book of Daniel, Porphyry suggested, was composed to revive the hopes of the writer's contemporaries.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>ODCC, 1974 ed., s.v. "Porphyry," p. 1110.

<sup>2</sup>James Moffatt, "Great Attacks on Christianity: II. Porphyry 'Against Christians'." ExpTim 43 (1931):73. A convenient collection of Porphyry's extant works is cited in Georg Loesche, "Haben die späteren Neuplatonischen Polemiker gegen das Christenthum das Werk des Celsus benutzt?" ZWT 27 (1883):266 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup>In PL 25:491-584 (ET in Gleason Archer, Jerome's Commentary on Daniel [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1958]), pp. 15-156).

<sup>4</sup>PL 25:491-494 (Archer, pp. 15-18).

<sup>5</sup>PL 25:574 (Archer, p. 142).

Furthermore, he claimed, the events foretold by Daniel concerning Antichrist, supposedly to occur at the end of the world, were actually fulfilled in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. This was evident from the similarities of the events described in Daniel and the historical circumstances in the days of Antiochus. In summing up a study of Porphyry and his relationship to the book of Daniel, P. Maurice Casey writes, Porphyry's "achievement makes him genuinely worthy to be regarded as a forerunner of the modern critical scholar."<sup>1</sup>

For our purpose three passages from Jerome's commentary are significant. In these the interpretations of the stone of Dan 2 and the SM of Dan 7 are grouped together twice. In a somewhat lengthy comment on Dan 11:44, 45, Porphyry is taken to task for introducing Antiochus Epiphanes as fulfilling these verses. Jerome then challenges the Neoplatonist:

Let him explain the meaning of that rock which was hewn from the mountain without hands, and which grew to be a great mountain and filled the earth, and which smashed to pieces the fourfold image. And let him say who that Son of Man is who is going to come with clouds and stand before the Ancient of Days and have bestowed upon him a kingdom which shall never come to an end, and who is going to be served by all . . . nations, tribes, and language groups.<sup>2</sup>

Then Jerome makes this interesting observation, "Porphyry ignores these things which are so very clear and maintains that the prophecy refers to the Jews, although we are well aware that they are to this

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<sup>1</sup>P. Maurice Casey, "Porphyry and the Book of Daniel," JTS 27 (1976):33.

<sup>2</sup>Archer, pp. 141-142 (PL 25:573-574).

very day in a state of bondage."<sup>1</sup> Thus Porphyry is accused of applying prophecies regarding the stone of Dan 2 and the SM of Dan 7 to the Jews.

In his comments on Dan 2:40, Jerome interprets the rock "cut out without hands" which became a great mountain and filled the whole earth as "the Lord."<sup>2</sup> The next statement reads: "This last the Jews and the impious Porphyry apply to the people of Israel, who they insist will be the strongest power at the end of the ages, and will crush all realms and will rule forever."<sup>3</sup> Accordingly "Porphyry," as well as "the Jews," understood the rock to be the people of Israel.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, we may come to Jerome's exposition of Dan 7:13, 14. He begins by identifying the "rock cut out without hands" with the SM. The SM is interpreted as a locution indicating the incarnation of the Son of God. Then appended to vs. 14 is this challenge to Porphyry:

Let Porphyry answer the query of whom out of all mankind this language might apply to, or who this person might be who was so powerful as to break and smash to pieces the little horn, whom he interprets to be Antiochus? If he replies that the princes of Antiochus were defeated by Judas Maccabeaus, then he must explain how Judas could be said to come with the clouds of heaven like unto the Son of man, and to be brought unto the Ancient of days, and how it could be said that authority and royal power was bestowed upon him, and that all

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<sup>1</sup>Archer, p. 142 (PL 25:574).

<sup>2</sup>PL 25:504 (Archer, p. 32).

<sup>3</sup>Archer, p. 32 (PL 25:504).

<sup>4</sup>Actually, rabbinic exegesis was divided, some referred "rock" to the Messiah, others to the messianic kingdom. See James A. Montgomery, (The Book of Daniel ICC [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927], pp. 191-192) and Edward F. Siegman ("Stone Hewn From the Mountain," CBQ 18 [1956]:364-379, particularly p. 370 n. 20).

peoples and tribes and language-groups served him, and that his power is eternal and not terminated by any conclusion.<sup>1</sup>

The polemic continues under vs. 18, which text promises the kingdom to the saints eternally. Jerome remonstrates that if this were a reference to the Maccabees, how could it be said that the Maccabean kingdom were of an eternal nature?<sup>2</sup> This is the only place where Jerome opens the possibility that Porphyry may have understood the SM as a reference to Judas Maccabeus.<sup>3</sup> In the absence of any clearer documentary evidence we should not press the point.<sup>4</sup>

Recently, it was argued that Porphyry did not originate his exposition of Daniel but rather inherited his exegetical tradition from the eastern Christian Church, particularly the Syrian, to which it had been transmitted by Syrian Jewish communities.<sup>5</sup> According to

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<sup>1</sup>Archer, pp. 80-81 (PL 25:533).

<sup>2</sup>PL 25:533 (Archer, p. 81).

<sup>3</sup>This interpretation clearly suggested itself to Montgomery (p. 321) and Edward J. Young (The Messianic Prophecies of Daniel [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954], p. 46). Both claim that Porphyry believed Judas Maccabeus was the SM. However, one wonders whether these scholars had taken Jerome's comments on Dan 11:45, 46 seriously. According to Casey, several scholars opted for an individual interpretation of the SM by Porphyry because they relied on Adolf von Harnack's collection of fragments from Porphyry which omitted Jerome's comments on Dan 7:13 made in his commentary at Dan 11:44-45 (p. 20). Cf. Also Harold Sahlén, "Antiochus IV. Epiphanes and Judas," ST 23 (1969):49.

<sup>4</sup>Casey regards Jerome's comments as "very straightforward evidence that Porphyry held the corporate interpretation of the man-like figure, as he did for the stone in ch. ii." (p. 21). Such confidence is not justified by the evidence. A measure of ambiguity is equally noticeable among some later writers to be discussed below.

<sup>5</sup>Casey, pp. 15-33. Nevertheless, for some details in his exegesis of Daniel, Porphyry is said to have inherited a by-form created by western influence (Casey, p. 29).

Casey "this is the path travelled by the authentic interpretation of the book of Daniel."<sup>1</sup> However, this suggestion stands assailed on at least three counts.<sup>2</sup> First, there is no documentary evidence for this type of exegetical tradition on Daniel before Porphyry, as Casey himself admits. Second, it must be questioned how methodologically appropriate it is to judge Porphyry and his predecessors by his successors. Yet, even after a questioning of Porphyry's successors, we still need to demonstrate that later theological positions reflect accurately earlier stances. Third, we consider Casey's argument considerably undermined by the significant disagreement that exists on the exegesis of Daniel between Porphyry and later eastern writers, as well as differences among the later writers themselves. Consequently, can we actually speak of such an exegetical tradition?

#### Christian collective interpretations

The few Christian commentators who projected the collective understanding of the SM during the first millennium all appear to have advanced this within the setting of a dual interpretation of Dan 7:13. They were mainly Syriac writers belonging to the Antiochene or Nestorian school of biblical exegesis.<sup>3</sup> Antiochene biblical exegesis and its product, namely, Nestorian biblical exposition,<sup>4</sup> was largely logical and historical, as opposed to the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>2</sup>See the Appendix for a more detailed discussion of this subject.

<sup>3</sup>B. Spuler, "Syrien, Syrische Kirche," Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 3:1262.

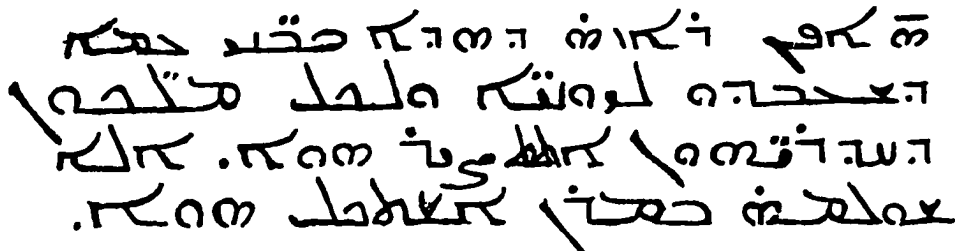
<sup>4</sup>G. T. Stokes "Nestorianism," DCB, 4:28.



more intuitive and allegorical mode of Alexandria. The former was also more critical and held some parts of Scripture to be of greater value than others.<sup>1</sup>

In his commentary on Dan 7:13, the Syrian biblical exegete and ecclesiastical writer Ephraem Syrus (c. A.D. 306-373) utilized the twofold methodology he had announced in his exegesis of Isa 25:7. For Ephraem there is first the literal and historical interpretation and second a spiritual and mystical exposition, which generally, but not always, refers to the church.<sup>2</sup>

Hence he writes:<sup>3</sup>



ܡܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܝܟܘܢܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ  
 ܕܡܘܬܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ  
 ܕܡܘܬܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ  
 ܕܡܘܬܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܝܢ

Accordingly, Dan 7:13 signified (ܕܝܟܘܢܝܢ "sign," "symbol") events in the days of the Maccabees but found its consummation in the Lord. A similar twofold application is made by the seventh century Nestorian Theodore bar Kōnī:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>ODCC, 1974 ed., s.v. "Antiochene Theology," pp. 65-66.

<sup>2</sup>R. Travers Smith, "Ephraim the Syrian," DCB, 2:142.

<sup>3</sup>Ephraem Syrus Opera omnia, 5:215. ET: "Although the significance (or "secret") of this was represented among the sons of the people, who enslaved (or "subdued") the Greeks and all the surrounding kingdoms, nevertheless its fulfillment was consummated in our Lord."

<sup>4</sup>Scher, Theodorus Bar Kōnī, p. 344. ET: "Son of men: They [i.e., these words reflect] those things which also by their times are being taken up by (or "interpreted of") the Maccabees, however, their genuineness [is fulfilled] in our Lord."

ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ  
 ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ  
 ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ

A parallel to the above two examples is provided by Nestorian  
 Isho<sup>c</sup>dad of Merv, bishop of Hedetta, whose works often quote from  
 Ephraem Syrus:<sup>1</sup>

ܘܢܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ  
 ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ  
 ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ ܕܥܡܪܘܢ

In the thirteenth century, the Jacobite Syrian bishop and  
 philosopher Bar Hebraeus again offered a dual exegesis (one sensus  
literalis or historialis and the other sensus spiritualis or  
mysticus), but in both cases it was read individually.<sup>2</sup>

The collective interpretation was again invoked in the  
 writings of Grotius and Johannes Cocceius. In his Annotationes in  
Vetus Testamentum, Grotius depicts the SM as the kingless Roman  
 people.<sup>3</sup> Cocceius discussed the nature of the SM at some length  
 and decided that it was a symbol of the church, and that the coming

<sup>1</sup>Ceslas van den Eynde, Commentaire d'Isho<sup>c</sup>dad, p. 113. ET:  
 "This [these words]: 'Like a son of man came and progressed unto'  
 [arc] clearly [said of] the Maccabees, but in truth of Christ."  
 Van den Eynde notes in his preface that both Dan 2:34ff. (the pro-  
 phesy of the "stone cut out without hands") and the Danielic SM  
 "sont des prophéties à double visée." (p. ix).

<sup>2</sup>Freimann, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup>Vogel, Hugonis Grotii Annotationes, 2:366. However,  
 Grotius does not appear to be consistent for he applies the SM to  
 Christ in the Truth of the Christian Religion (trans. John Clarke  
 [Cambridge: J. Hall, 1860], pp. 49-50, 162-163).

of the SM to the Ancient of Days described in the conversion of the world.<sup>1</sup>

### Jewish collective interpretations

Among Jewish writers the earliest collective exegesis of the Danielic SM appears to come from the pen of Abraham ibn Ezra (c. A.D. 1092-1167).<sup>2</sup> According to Silver, Ibn Ezra partially shared an exegetical tradition which may be traced back to Rabbi Nathan of the second century A.D.<sup>3</sup> As is evident from b. Sanh. 97b, Nathan insisted that the Bible contained no messianic references touching this last exile; rather all such allusions have to do with past events. Silver adds: "in the Middle Ages we shall see his position strongly championed by Moses ibn Gikatilla, Hayyim Galipapa, certain Karaite leaders, and, at times, by ibn Ezra and Joseph Albo, but his position was never popular."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Johannes Cocceius, Opera omnia, theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica, philologica, 7 vols. (Frankfurt: Wusti, 1689), 3:355-256.

<sup>2</sup>This is true unless the homiletical Midr. Ps 2:7 is understood as an endorsement of the collective view. In the second half of this Midrash, R. Yudan and R. Huna are quoted as giving messianic interpretations.

<sup>3</sup>Silver, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid. The eleventh century Spaniard ibn Gikatilla "was the most thoroughgoing and consistent representative in the Middle Ages of that critical-historical school of thought whose spokesman in Talmudic times was R. Nathan. All the prophecies of the Bible, he maintained, refer to contemporaneous events." (Silver, p. 209). Only a few insignificant fragments remain of ibn Gikatilla's commentary on Daniel, but Silver supposed that "he undoubtedly pursued his critical and scientific method in the interpretation of this book too. This brilliant exegete of Spain proved to be the model and inspiration of the opponents of Messianic computation in the following centuries." (p. 210).

Ibn Ezra was a noted Spanish exegete, distinguished for his wanderlust, restlessness, and adventurous nature, which manifested itself physically and mentally.<sup>1</sup> Sarachek observes that he "is more famous for his Bible commentary which outshines the others of his age for its rationalism, than for his poetry."<sup>2</sup> While Ibn Ezra acknowledged that the book of Daniel contained messianic prophecies, he insisted that not even Daniel knew their true interpretation.<sup>3</sup> He preferred to give historical and common-sense explanations, and thus referred many passages understood messianically by other interpreters to events in the days of David, Hezekiah, and others.<sup>4</sup> The SM of Dan 7:13 he believed to be the people of Israel, but only after he had paid at least lip service to the messianic interpretation advanced by R. Yeshua. He writes: ויאמר רבי ישועה כי זה  
 כבר אנש הוא המשיח ונכרך דבר רק הוא עם הקדש שהם ישראל.<sup>5</sup>

Moses ibn Gikatilla and Abraham ibn Daud (A.D. 1110-1180), who also assigned the Danielic materials to events preceding the destruction of the second temple,<sup>6</sup> were followed by the Spanish

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<sup>1</sup>Sarachek, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>3</sup>Silver, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup>Sarachek, p. 113. At times it is difficult to grasp the rationale behind bn Ezra's demarcation between messianic and historical passages (ibid.). Thus Gen 49:10 and Mic 4:1 are viewed messianically but Num 24:17 and Isa 7:14 are not. The eternal kingdom which will take the place of the empires represented by the metals of Dan 2 is the מלכות המשיח (as also Rashi).

<sup>5</sup>Miqraoth geduloth 12:69a.

<sup>6</sup>Silver, p. 215.

Rabbi Ḥayyim Galipapa (c. A.D. 1310-c. 1380). Galipapa belonged to a school of "rationalist" critics who related biblical passages, earlier applied to the Messiah or the messianic era, to Hasmonean times or the days of the Second Temple. He believed Dan 7 had reference to Antiochus Epiphanes and the Hasmoneans.<sup>1</sup> The Ancient of Days signified Mattathias, and Dan 7:18 depicted the Hasmonean leaders who received the kingdom forever.<sup>2</sup>

From this it becomes apparent that Jewish commentators who cherished no, or only a modified, hope for the coming Messiah generally also regarded all, or a large segment of, the alleged messianic prophecies as fulfilled in the past. In the absence of any documentary evidence, we have to assume much of their exegesis on the Danielic SM. We have seen that Ibn Ezra applied this locution to the people of Israel without denying completely a reference to the Messiah. In this respect his view is somewhat similar to the dual applications of Ephraem Syrus, Theodore bar Kōnī, and Isho<sup>c</sup>dad of Merv. It can only be inferred that R. Nathan, the Amora Hillel,<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 216. For the text, see Joseph Albo, Sefer Ha<sup>c</sup>Ikkarim (Book of Principles), ed. Isaac Husik, Schiff Library of Jewish Classics, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1929-1930) 4:418-420.

<sup>2</sup>Sarachek, pp. 218-219. Unfortunately we only know Galipapa's views through Joseph Albo and are, therefore, limited in our information. While Joseph Albo (A.D. 1380-1440) never accepted the messianic hope as central to the Jewish faith, he nevertheless believed a man should believe in the Messiah (Albo, p. 414). For this reason he refused to refer all statements in Daniel to Israel's past (Albo, pp. 418-430, esp. pp. 429-430).

<sup>3</sup>B. Sanh. 99a. Silver believes Hillel "was probably driven to take this radical position by the intense Christian polemics of his day" (p. 197).

Moses ibn Gikatilla, and Ḥayyim Galipapa shared similar notions because of their "rationalist" and radically historical exegesis. Albo, who does not appear to commit himself, may have taken a mediating position similar to that of Ibn Ezra.

Interpretations of the Son of Man  
in the Modern Period

With the exception of Carpzov's study of Dan 7:13, 14, discussion of the identity and nature of the Danielic SM had been incidental and peripheral prior to the modern period. This part of our chapter will investigate the developments in SM studies since the beginning of the nineteenth century. We will take note of both, the progression and variety of views suggested by modern scholars, and the impact religio-historical research has made upon the study of Dan 7:9-10, 13-14.

Progression and Variety of Interpretations

Due to the growing christological interests of the nineteenth century, which sought to wrestle with and elucidate Jesus' self-understanding, primarily NT and dogmatic scholarship focussed on the scriptural SM terminology.<sup>1</sup> Much of the debate was principally philological, seeking to clarify the meaning of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.<sup>2</sup> Descendants of such philological and christological

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<sup>1</sup>For a brief survey, see Hans Lietzmann, Der Menschensohn (Freiburg i.B.: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1896).

<sup>2</sup>In 1905 Hugo Gressmann complained that "Bei der heutigen wissenschaftlichen Behandlung des Themas 'Menschensohn' hat man sein Augenmerk in einseitiger Weise fast nur auf das Sprachliche gerichtet" (Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1905], pp. 336-337). Gressmann believes this research led to the false assumption that Dan 7 is the beginning

research have continued to our day.<sup>1</sup> In such deliberations the SM conception of Dan 7 was generally relegated to a prolegomenon, consequently, a monograph dealing solely with the apocalyptic SM of Dan 7 is still lacking.

Whereas during the first half of the nineteenth century the individual understanding was advanced by both rationalist and conservative theologians, it was not long before individual and collective interpretations vied for pride of place. With the exceptions of Ferdinand Hitzig (1850), Johannes Meinhold (1889), Anthony A. Bevan (1892), Frederic W. Farrar (1895), John D. Prince (1899), and Paul Riessler (1899), all the major commentaries on Daniel between 1800 and 1899 argued for a messianic or christological use of the apocalyptic SM in Dan 7.<sup>2</sup>

The symbolic or collective view, rarely canvassed prior to

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point for the messianic idea of the SM. Here Gressmann introduces his view that behind the apocalyptic stands a larger body of tradition.

<sup>1</sup>E.g., Gustav Dalman, Die Worte Jesu (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1898); Paul Fiebig, Der Menschensohn: Jesu Selbstbezeichnung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des aramäischen Sprachgebrauches für 'Mensch' (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1901); Hooker, pp. 3-198; Geza Vermes, "The Use of מְשִׁיחַ/מָשִׁיחַ in Jewish Aramaic," in Appendix E. An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, ed. Matthew Black (London: Oxford, 1967); Charles F. D. Moule, The Origin of Christology (Cambridge: University Press, 1977).

<sup>2</sup>See Leonhard Bertholt (1808); Ernst W. Hengstenberg's work on the genuineness of Daniel (1831); Heinrich A. C. Hävernich (1832); Caesar von Lengerke (1835); Frank Maurer (1838); Moses Stuart (1850); Albert Barnes (1853); Karl A. Auberlen (1854); Theodor Kliefoth (1868); Heinrich Ewald (1868); Carl F. Keil (1869); Otto Zückler (1870); Eduard Pusey (1885); Fabre D'Envieu (1889-91); J. Knabenbauer (1891); Georg Behrmann (1894). For the literature, see Nathaniel Schmidt, "The Son of Man in the Book of Daniel," JBI, 19 (1900); 23; id., "Son of Man," EB, 4:4709; Samuel R. Driver, Daniel (Cambridge: University Press, 1900), p. 108; Rowley, Darius, p. 62 n. 2.

the nineteenth century, was first advocated by the leading German rationalist Heinrich E. G. Paulus (1761-1851).<sup>1</sup> Paulus, an orientalist, theologian, and spiritual heir of Johann S. Semler and Johann D. Michaelis, maintained Immanuel Kant's philosophically closed continuum. Apart from source-criticism, he precipitated much of the later life-of-Jesus research by his futile attempt to reconcile belief in the substantial accuracy of the gospels with disbelief in miracles and the supernatural.<sup>2</sup>

A short while after Paulus, Johann Jahn committed himself to the opinion that the SM on the clouds was a picture of the Maccabees.<sup>3</sup> The symbolic view was further endorsed by Julius A. Wegscheider,<sup>4</sup> Ludwig F. O. Baumgarten-Crusius,<sup>5</sup> Johann C. K.

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<sup>1</sup>Heinrich E. G. Paulus, Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar Über das Neue Testament, 3 vols. (Lübeck: J. T. Bohn, 1802), 3:55. Cf. Johann M. Schmidt, Die jüdische Apokalyptik (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), p. 50. Scholars customarily use the words "collective" and "symbolic" synonymously, e.g., Ziony Zevit, "The Structure and Individual Elements of Daniel 7," ZAW 80 (1968):394.

<sup>2</sup>H. Hohlwein, "Paulus, H. E. G.," Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 3d ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1957), 5:192.

<sup>3</sup>Johann Jahn, Einleitung in die göttlichen Bücher des Alten Bundes, 2d rev. ed. 4 vols. (Wien: C. F. Wappler, 1802-1803), 2:616.

<sup>4</sup>Julius A. Wegscheider, Institutiones Theologiae Christianae Dogmaticae, 5th rev. ed. (Halle: Gebauer, 1826), pp. 381, 383-384.

<sup>5</sup>Ludwig F. O. Baumgarten-Crusius, Grundzüge der biblischen Theologie (Jena: F. Fromman, 1828), p. 380. Heinrich A. C. Hävernick (Commentar Über das Buch Daniel [Hamburg: F. Perthes, 1832], pp. 244-245). Ernst W. Hengstenberg (Christology, 3:79), and Moses Stuart (Commentary on the Book of Daniel [Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1850], p. 216) name Paulus, Jahn, Wegscheider, and Baumgarten-Crusius as proponents of the symbolic view.



Hofmann,<sup>1</sup> and the commentary of Hitzig.<sup>2</sup>

From the mid-nineteenth century on, the collective view became increasingly attractive to biblical and dogmatic scholarship,<sup>3</sup> though it was still bitterly opposed by the majority of Daniel commentators in the second half of the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century the symbolic view has established itself, with a few notable exceptions,<sup>4</sup> as the "traditional" exegesis of the

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<sup>1</sup>Johann C. K. Hofmann, Weissagung und Erfüllung im Alten und im Neuen Testamente, 2 vols. (Nördlingen: C. H. Beck, 1841-1844); 1:290-291. Hofmann and Baumgarten-Crusius appeal to Paulus for this interpretation.

<sup>2</sup>Ferdinand Hitzig, Das Buch Daniel Erklärt, Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1850), pp. 113-117.

<sup>3</sup>For the literature see Driver, p. 108; Montgomery, p. 319; Rowley, Darius, p. 62 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup>These include the following conservative Daniel commentators who argue for a strictly christological interpretation: Charles H. H. Wright (1906); Robert D. Wilson (1917 and 1938); Charles Boutflower (1923); Gerhard C. Aalders (1928); Edward J. Young (1949); Herbert C. Leupold (1949); Leon J. Wood (1973). Most recently Joyce C. Baldwin, Daniel, TOTC (Madison: IVP, 1978); Frederick M. Wilson, "The Son of Man in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," StudBT 8 (1978): 28-52. Other scholars who reject the symbolic and collective interpretation include André Feuillet, who considers the SM to be "comme une sorte d'incarnation de la gloire divine" ("Le fils de l'homme de Daniel et la tradition biblique," RB 60 [1953]:170-202, 321-346); Leonhart Rost believes the SM is "ein die Menschengestalt tragender Gott" ("Zur Deutung der Menschensohnes in Daniel 7," in Gott und die Götter: Festgabe für Erich Fascher, ed. G. Delling [Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1958], p. 43); John A. Emerton suggests that behind the SM Figure lies Yahweh and ultimately Baal ("The Origin of the SM Imagery," JTS 9 [1958]:225-242); Heinz Kruse identifies the SM with the chief of God's angels, distinct and subordinate to Yahweh ("Compositio Libri Danielis et idea Filii Hominis," VD 37 [1959]: 147-161, 193-211); James Muilenburg, while not entirely denying the collective aspect, claims the SM is also a king and Messiah and must be considered in the light of the biblical Wisdom literature ("The Son of Man in Daniel and the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Enoch," JBL 79 [1960]:197-209); Julian Morgenstern believes the SM and the Ancient of Days are patterned after the composite Tyrian national solar deity Ba'al Shamem-Melkarth in both reciprocal phases of his divine being

apocalyptic figure of Dan 7.<sup>1</sup> Hence Alexander A. Di Lella argues that there is "sufficient consensus" that the SM "is nothing more or less than a symbol of 'the holy ones of the Most High'."<sup>2</sup>

Aside from the individual, and collective interpretations, a third direction taken by SM research sides with both the above-mentioned views. This propensity is particularly apparent among scholars who stress the notion of fluidity between king and people in which the kingdom cannot be imagined apart from its leader.<sup>3</sup>

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("'The Son of Man' of Daniel 7.13f. A New Interpretation," JBL 80 [1961]:65-77); Klaus Koch writes "Eine individuelle Gestalt ist also gemeint, 'der Mensch' im ausgezeichneten Sinne" ("Spätisraelitisches Geschichtsdenken am Beispiel des Buches Daniel," HZ 193 [1961]:24); Juan B. Cortés and Florence M. Gatti argue the SM is Adam ("The Son of Man or the Son of Adam," Bib 49 [1968]:457-502); Herbert Schmid contends that Daniel is the SM ("Daniel der Menschensohn," Judaica 27 [1971]:192-220). Several studies identifying the SM as an angel deserve to be cited here, most recently, Karlheinz Müller, "Der Menschensohn im Danielzyklus," in Jesus und der Menschensohn, ed. Rudolf Pesch & Rudolf Schnackenburg (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1975), pp. 37-80. From a NT perspective J. Massingberd Ford surmises that the SM is a euphemism for "Son of God" ("'The Son of Man' --A Euphemism?" JBL 87 [1968]:257-266); George W. Buchanan proposes Judas the Maccabee as the Danielic SM (Hebrews, AB, 36 [Garden City: Doubleday, 1972], p. 45).

<sup>1</sup>A variant to this judgment is the notion that the locution SM stands for the "kingdom" or "rule" of the saints rather than the saints themselves, e.g., Rowley, Darius, p. 63; similarly Hubert Junker, Untersuchungen über literarische und exegetische Probleme des Buches Daniel (Bonn: Hanstein, 1932), p. 61. However, this alternative was rejected by Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Daniel-forschung," p. 215. Recently, Alfons Deissler, "'Der Menschensohn' und 'das Volk der Heiligen der Höchsten in Dan 7'," in Jesus und der Menschensohn, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup>Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, The Book of Daniel AB, 23 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1978), pp. 85, 97.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Denis Buzy, "Les symboles de Daniel," RB 15 [1918]:423; Nils A. Dahl, Das Volk Gottes, 2d ed. (Reprint of 1941 ed.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962), p. 90; Junker, p. 61. More recent writers are Matthias Delcor, Le Livre de Daniel (Paris: Gabalda, 1971), p. 157; André Lacocque, Le Livre de Daniel Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament, 15b (Neuchâtel: Delachaux and

Here, at times, recourse is taken to the concept of corporate personality. This tendency is principally noticeable in religio-historical studies, which stress a mythological Vorlage for the Danielic SM put to use by the author(s) of Dan 7.<sup>1</sup>

Religionsgeschichte and the Danielic Son of Man

At the turn of the century, when SM study was largely fettered by philological discussion, the burgeoning discipline of Religionsgeschichte suggested a new dimension.<sup>2</sup> Scholars were led to investigate possible relationships between Babylonian, Egyptian, Iranian, Hellenistic, Gnostic, Canaanite, Jewish, and Christian religions. Junker even wrote: "Die ganze Frage der Deutung der Menschensohn-gestalt ist abhängig von der Frage nach ihrer Herkunft."<sup>3</sup>

The religio-historical approach to the SM made itself felt in a number of ways. First, on the basis of alleged disparities between vision and interpretation in Dan 7, it postulated that behind the SM conception in Daniel, Enoch, 4 Ezra and the NT stands a common, but

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Niestlé, 1976), p. 111. This fluidity has been extended to studies which propose that an angel(s) is (are) represented by the SM, e.g., John J. Collins, "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel," JBL 93 (1974):50-66.

<sup>1</sup>E.g., Alfred Bertholet, "Der Schutzengel Persiens," in Oriental Studies, ed. Jal D. C. Pavry (London: Oxford University, 1933), p. 38; Paul Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1952), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>See the convenient survey (also dealing with the SM) by Carsten Colpe, Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961). The early religio-historical studies were complemented by predominantly linguistic works concerning the SM, e.g., Dalman, pp. 1-365; Julius Wellhausen, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten 6 (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1899), pp. 187-215; Fiebig, pp. 1-127.

<sup>3</sup>Junker, p. 58.

much richer and more comprehensive, primitive mythological tradition which is partly borrowed by the writer of this Danielic chapter.<sup>1</sup>

Second, it sought to establish the identity of possible antecedents to the Danielic figure and related images in Dan 7. Thus, while Hermann Gunkel believed Dan 7 goes back to Babylonian Tiamat mythology, astral constellations, and deities,<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm Bousset, and shortly later, Hugo Gressmann advanced the idea that the writer absorbed a fragment from some ubiquitous non-Jewish tradition of a "heavenly" or "primal man."<sup>3</sup> Whereas Gressmann preferred

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<sup>1</sup>This view is held by Hermann Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895), pp. 328-331; id., "Aus Wellhausen's neuesten apokalyptischen Forschungen" ZWT 42 (1899):588-589; Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 339; Richard Reitzenstein, Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium (Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Weber, 1921), pp. 119-122; Volz, pp. 189, 280-281. Note the comprehensive review by Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Daniel-forschung," pp. 214-222, esp. p. 222. Sigmund Mowinckel, He That Cometh, trans. G. W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon, 1954), p. 351; Wilhelm Bousset and Hugo Gressmann, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, HNT, 21, 3d rev. ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1966), p. 354. A more recent author is Müller, Menschensohn, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, p. 328; Emil G. H. Kraeling, "Some Babylonian and Iranian Mythology in the Seventh Chapter of Daniel," in Oriental Studies, pp. 228-231; Eberhard Schrader links the SM motif with a certain constellation representing a man or a deity in human form, possibly Orion or the Charioteer near Marduk's Bull (Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, rev. by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler [Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903], p. 392); Bentzen, Daniel, p. 64; Eric Heaton postulates that one of the influences exerted upon the writer of Dan 7 was the Babylonian creation mythology (The Book of Daniel, TB [London: SCM, 1956], p. 183); Kraeling also notes that Babylonian cosmology underlies Dan 7, and Marduk almost completely approximates the Danielic SM (Anthropos and Son of Man [Reprint of 1927 ed.; New York: AMS Press, 1966], p. 144).

<sup>3</sup>Bousset and Gressmann, pp. 267, 352; John M. Creed, "The Heavenly Man," JTS 26 (1925):113-136; Volz, pp. 189-190; Bentzen, Daniel, p. 63. Mowinckel, p. 351; Kraeling links the ideas according to which the SM represents both the conqueror Marduk of the Tiamat mythology and the Iranian Anthrōpos. On the basis of his examination of Gnostic evidence for the Anthrōpos, Kraeling sur-

not to maintain any definite origin theory, Bousset suggested that the Persian primal man Gayomart may have been the mythical prototype to the Danielic figure.<sup>1</sup>

Bousset and Richard Reitzenstein cast their net wide as they explored the primal man in Iranian, Gnostic, Mandaean, and Manichean sources.<sup>2</sup> August Freiherr von Gall, following Bousset and Reitzenstein,<sup>3</sup> speculated with considerable confidence:

Der "Menschensohn," von dem die Evangelien und eine Anzahl noch näher zu bezeichnender Schriften reden, ist nichts anderes als der Urmensch. Diese Gestalt stammt aus dem parsischen eschatologischen Ideenkreis, wo er gelegentlich mit dem Astvatereta, dem sieghaften Saosyant . . . gleichgesetzt wurde, ist mit den parsischen religiösen Ideen auch nach Palästina gekommen und hat dort auf die eschatologischen Vorstellungen bestimmter jüdischer Kreise gewirkt.<sup>4</sup>

Von Gall suspected that the Jewish circles which had accepted this conception stood on the periphery of Judaism, and while entertaining

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mises that as the Iranian figure passed through Mesopotamia, it was identified with Marduk and thus ceased to be merely a prototypic man. It now became the "Great Man" who prepared the victory of the heavenly powers over those below. While Daniel may not have adopted the conquering Anthrōpos of the Gnostic sources, he put to use some very similar elements (Anthropos, pp. 146-147); William Manson, Jesus the Messiah (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1946), p. 239.

<sup>1</sup>Wilhelm Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, FRLANT, 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), p. 219. However, Gressmann observes that to the best of our knowledge Gayomart never played an eschatological role (Ursprung, p. 363). Earlier, D. Völter had identified the SM with the Persian genius Amesha Spenta, incorporating the kingdom of God ("Der Menschensohn in Dan 7.13," ZNW 3 [1902]:173-174); this had been criticized by Schmidt, "Son of Man," col. 4710.

<sup>2</sup>For details see Bousset and Gressmann, pp. 354-355.

<sup>3</sup>August Freiherr von Gall, Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1926), p. 409.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 409-410.

transcendental hopes, had rejected the notions of a Jewish Messiah.<sup>1</sup> He conjectured that Dan 7 was the first instance, in which the eschatological idea of the primal man made an impact on the Jewish end-time expectations. Thus "die rhythmisch geschriebenen Verse 9. 10. 13. 14 scheinen ein aus einer vielleicht parsischen Vorlage Übernommenes Lied zu sein, das vom Kommen des himmlischen Urmenschen zum Endgericht erzählte, und das vielleicht schon in jüdischen Kreisen um das Jahr 200 umlief."<sup>2</sup>

It has been assumed more recently that the roots for the Danielic SM are to be found in Canaan.<sup>3</sup> Colpe rejects all but the Canaanite origin hypothesis, which he regards as moderately possible.<sup>4</sup>

Several authors favor an Israelite genealogy for the idea of the SM. Morna Hooker supports the older view that the apocalypticist "still stands very close to the prophetic movement out of which apocalyptic grew, and his book forms a bridge between the two, so that his thought must be considered in relation to both."<sup>5</sup> She contends that while the traditional Hebrew material used by Daniel may at an earlier stage have been influenced by Babylonian sources, this had

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 412.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>E.g., Emerton, pp. 223-242; Rost, pp. 41-43; Carsten Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου," TDNT, 8:415-419; Collins, "Son of Man," p. 53 n. 20. A variant is J. Morgenstern's hypothesis (Morgenstern, pp. 65-77).

<sup>4</sup>But see Joseph Coppens' denial of the Ugaritic hypothesis ("Les origines du symbole du fils d'homme en Dan. VII," ETL 44 [1968]: 497-502).

<sup>5</sup>Hooker, p. 17. Cf. Peter von der Osten-Sacken, Die Apokalypstik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit (München: Kaiser, 1969).

changed by the time of Daniel who reinterprets ideas "found in the psalmists and in the later prophets, especially Deutero-Isaiah, depicting Yahweh's victory over Israel's enemies and the nation's restoration in terms of creation mythology."<sup>1</sup> Even more pungent is Ziony Zevit's judgment:

Perhaps the source of the images in Dan 7 should be sought within those books upon which we are fairly certain that the author's faith was nurtured. He was a religious Jew writing for religious Jews in a language and in an idiom with which they must have been familiar.<sup>2</sup>

In this vein André Feuillet notes a close relationship between the SM and the first chapter of Ezekiel and finds the origin of the SM in the Jewish hypostasis of wisdom.<sup>3</sup> Several studies (to be cited below) which identify the SM with an angel, either named ("Michael" or "Gabriel") or unnamed, also share the opinion that the author of Dan 7 appropriated his imagery from Israelite tradition.<sup>4</sup> While acknowledging that the apocalypticist found some of his images and vocabulary in the biblical sources, Di Lella believes that "his true genius lay in combining traditional elements with his own ideas into a careful and imaginative drama of compelling interest."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Zevit, "Structure," p. 391.

<sup>3</sup>Feuillet, pp. 170-202, 321-346. Similarly Muilenburg, pp. 197-209, and Horst R. Balz, Methodische Probleme der neutestamentlichen Christologie, WMANT, 25 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967), pp. 79-95.

<sup>4</sup>Zevit, "Structure," p. 395. A convenient chart detailing Israelite and non-Israelite origin hypothesis may be seen in Johannes Theisohn, Der auserwählte Richter (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), p. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Hartman and Di Lella, p. 87. This judgment is shared by Montgomery, pp. 323-324.

Third, though there was difference of opinion as to the most appropriate religio-historical background, there was considerable agreement that various literary and textual layers were incorporated into Dan 7.<sup>1</sup> Such considerations, aligned with literary-critical arguments, assailed the unity of the text.<sup>2</sup>

Fourth, in seeking to do full justice to the imagery of Dan 7:13, 14 (already Gunkel had commented on the inappropriateness of the cloud imagery for eschatological Israel), a number of Religionsgeschichtler proposed both individual, frequently messianic, and collective interpretations.<sup>3</sup> Thus the SM designated a messianic

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, pp. 333-335; Kraeling, Anthropos, p. 134; von Gall, pp. 412-416. For further literature, see Bentzen, Daniel, pp. 56-57; Mowinckel, pp. 350-351.

<sup>2</sup>Gressmann, Der Messias, p. 346. See also the following studies by Müller, "Menschensohn," pp. 39-40; Muilenburg, pp. 198-199; Gustav Hölischer, "Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel," TSK 92 (1919): 113-138; Max Haller, "Das Alter von Daniel 7" TSK 93 (1920):83-87; Martin Noth, "Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel," TSK 99 (1926):143-163; Harold L. Ginsberg, Studies in Daniel (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1948), pp. 21-23, 29; Colpe, TDNT, 8: 422; Luc Dequeker, "Daniel VII et les saints du Très-Haut," ETL 36 (1960):353-392; Joseph Coppens and Luc Dequeker, Le fils de l'homme et les saints du Très-Haut en Daniel, vii, dans les Apocryphes et dans le Nouveau Testament. ALBO 3/23 (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1961).

<sup>3</sup>Gunkel observed: "So sicher es ist dass 'des Menschen Sohn' nach der Deutung des Apokalyptikers selbst ein Bild Israel's sein soll, so ist es doch ein sehr merkwürdiges Bild für ein irdisches Volk: Menschensohn, kommend mit den Wolken des Himmels" (Schöpfung und Chaos, p. 328). Gressmann also considers the individual interpretation of the SM primary (Ursprung, p. 342). Similarly, Noth argues that v. 13 does not originally speak of a symbol for God's people "sondern unter einem apokalyptischen Namen von der realen Gestalt des Messias, der kommt, um das Endgericht zu halten." Noth supports this by arguing that the "Ancient of Days" is no symbol for God as the four beasts are symbols but a customary apocalyptic designation for the name of God. ("Komposition," p. 150).



figure at an earlier redactional stage and a collective symbol for the later glossator(s).

Finally, the mythological interpretation gave rise to the hypothesis that the SM is an angelic being. Thus Nathaniel Schmidt advocated that the SM is an angel, specifically Michael, because in the later chapters (Dan 8:15, 10:16) angels are depicted in human appearance.<sup>1</sup> Schmidt submitted that Michael's prototype was Marduk.<sup>2</sup> Representatives of this interpretation have continued to this day to make a case for the SM as an angelic being, though not always from a mythological perspective. Most recently this interpretation was defended by Zevit, John J. Collins, Karlheinz Müller, and André Lacocque,<sup>3</sup> who all challenged the current "traditional" exegesis. Collins goes a step further and contends that the SM depicts not only the leader of the angelic host (specifically Michael), but also

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<sup>1</sup>Nathaniel Schmidt, "The 'Son of man' in Daniel," pp. 26-28 id., "Son of Man," col. 4711. Volz challenged the identification with Michael (p. 12). In reply to Volz, Fridolin Stier defended the "angel" interpretation (Gott und sein Engel im Alten Testament ATA, 12/2 [Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934], p. 103 n. 20).

<sup>2</sup>Thomas K. Cheyne followed Schmidt in the identification of the SM as Michael and recognition of correspondences between Michael and Marduk (Bible Problems and the New Material for Their Solution [New York: Williams & Norgate, 1904], pp. 216-217). George H. Box also agreed with Schmidt as far as the equation of SM and Michael was concerned (Judaism in the Greek Period [London: Oxford University Press, 1932], p. 213).

<sup>3</sup>Zevit, "Structure," pp. 385-396; Collins, "Son of Man," pp. 50-66; Müller, "Menschensohn," pp. 37-80; Lacocque, p. 103. Müller contends that it refers to an angel who is authorized by the Ancient of Days to proclaim and mediate the eschatological judgment ("Menschensohn," pp. 50, 60).

represents the angels<sup>1</sup> and the "faithful Jews in so far as they are associated with the heavenly host in the eschatological era."<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the quest for an assumed prehistory of the apocalyptic SM has not been very productive, nor has it recommended itself to the majority of students of Dan 7. With the exception of the Ugaritic origin hypothesis, religio-historical studies of the SM have not been accorded a prominent place in the latest research.

Zevit is unable to accept the proposal that the author of this chapter appropriated his images from foreign sources, since "the suppositions outweigh the facts," and "because it is most doubtful that he [the author of Dan 7] would have used any imagery that smacked of paganism as a vehicle for the message so clearly set forth in this chapter. If any images were adopted from the non-Jewish world, they must have been neutral ones."<sup>3</sup> Di Lella adds:

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<sup>1</sup>Collins, "Son of Man" pp. 61, 63. Joseph Coppens, possibly the most prolific writer on the SM these days, defends the notion that the SM is a collective symbol for the angels who are identified with the "saints of the Most High" ("Le fils d'homme Danielique, vizir céleste?" ETL 40 [1964]:79). For his identification of the saints with angels, Coppens enjoys the support of Noth ("The Holy Ones of the Most High," in The Laws in the Pentateuch and other Essays, trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas [Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1966], pp. 215-228); cf. Dequeker, "Daniel vii," pp. 353-392.

<sup>2</sup>Collins, "Son of Man," p. 66. Among those who oppose such an interpretation are Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung," p. 218, and most recently Di Lella, who wrote that the SM does not in itself point to an angel or to a mysterious figure of the past or present or to a figure to appear in the distant eschatological future" (Hartman and Di Lella, p. 97).

<sup>3</sup>Zevit, "Structure," pp. 390-391. As early as 1927 Montgomery wrote after a consideration of the religio-historical study of the SM: "The first principle of interpretation, unless the composition is a crazy patchwork--and that may be said of some later apocalyptic productions, in contrast to the poetic simplicity of this chap.--is to allow the document to speak for itself as the product of the writer's mind" (p. 323).

the results [of the religio-historical search] have never been convincing for the simple and disconcerting reason that there has hardly been any significant consensus as to where precisely to look for a satisfying solution. E. W. Heaton has appositely remarked that "Daniel has suffered the misfortune of being classed with his second-rate imitators." It seems almost as if the author should be denied any creative talent in composing this apocalypse as something uniquely his own.<sup>1</sup>

### Conclusions and Task

From the foregoing we may adduce the following observations:

1. With rare exceptions, the majority of Jewish and Christian exegetes before the nineteenth century interpreted the SM of Dan 7:13 messianically or christologically. Among Christians, applications to Christ varied--some seeing here a picture of his incarnation and human nature, others referring it to his resurrection or even his ascension. The majority of commentators, considered Dan 7:13 to be a prophecy of Christ's second advent. From the persistent, Jewish messianic application of the SM, it becomes apparent that the individual understanding of the SM, which among Christians was often inspired by Jesus' use of this locution, could be maintained apart from the Talmud or the NT on the basis of the Hebrew Scriptures alone. Such an interpretation naturally collapsed where there was a denial of the messianic doctrine.

2. The few symbolic applications evidenced among Christians of the first millennium (with one possible exception we have no documentary evidence for any Jewish collective interpretation before ibn Ezra) were really dual in nature. They provided for a sensus historialis (the Maccabees) and a sensus spiritualis (the consumma-

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<sup>1</sup>Hartman and Di Lella, p. 87.

tion is found in Christ). A dual exposition was also given by ibn Ezra. Ancient and modern advocates of the collective view discovered their motivation in a deep sense of loyalty to a "historical" method of exegesis.

3. Collective and individual interpreters are not divided by their acceptance or rejection of the Maccabean Sitz im Leben for Dan 7. While this particular historical background facilitates the symbolic conception, several of its proponents have advanced a christological interpretation most vehemently.<sup>1</sup>

4. Apart from the seventeenth-century study of Carpzov, no major study was dedicated to this topic prior to the nineteenth century. Even then the investigations of the past century were prompted principally by the desire to elucidate dogmatic and NT questions of Jesus' own self-understanding. A full-fledged study investigating the apocalyptic SM in Dan 7 is still missing.

5. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Religionsgeschichte provided a new direction to our topic as it sought to clarify the nature and identity of the SM by studies of possible origins behind this figure in Dan 7. Yet, religio-historical studies have suffered considerable setbacks because they were too synthetic and unsupported by evidence. With the exception of the Ugaritic origin hypothesis, most such extra-biblical constructs have been considered wanting. For this reason the Ugaritic theory still needs to be examined. However, lest we lose ourselves in the wilder-

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Adolf Hilgenfeld, Die jüdische Apokalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung (Reprint of the 1857 ed.; Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1966), p. 46.

ness of "parallelomania," we would do well to use Claus Westermann's chart and Nahum Sarna's compass.<sup>1</sup> These scholars suggest that single motifs may not be torn out of their living contexts, and any religio-historical parallel must be considered against the totality of the phenomenological conception of the work in which such a correspondence occurs.

6. The challenge to the theory that Hebrew apocalyptic is organically related to Hebrew prophecy may have contributed to the fact that the Israelite origin hypothesis for the SM has been largely bypassed. Recent literature manifests sufficient interest in this thesis, as it does in the identification of the SM with an angel or angels. This calls for re-examination.

7. The collective signification of the SM gained prominence at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It gradually replaced the individual messianic and christological interpretation, until today it has become established as the "traditional" exposition. Nevertheless, it, like many other issues related to the SM noted above, is still openended. Already, Gunkel recognized a Bruch between what appears to be an individual in Dan 7:13 and what is perceived as a collective unit in the remainder of Dan 7. The repeated return to an individual interpretation of the Danielic figure by ancient and modern exegetes, Jewish or Christian, regardless of their exegetical affiliations, is symptomatic of the fact that the current "traditional" exegesis does not seem to do justice to the

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<sup>1</sup>Claus Westermann, "Sinn and Grenze religionsgeschichtlicher Parallelen," TLZ 90 (1966):490-491; Nahum Sarna, Understanding Genesis (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1966), p. xxvii.

context of this apocalyptic figure.

It will therefore be necessary to investigate, first of all, the suggested extra-biblical and biblical religio-historical origins and parallels for the SM, so as to ascertain the extent, if any, to which these illuminate the Danielic figure. Lest we lose ourselves among the many attractive hypotheses put forward by Religionsgeschichte, we will have to find a methodology which will adequately test these claims.

Next, we should turn our attention to the biblical text itself. Nevertheless, before we can probe Dan 7:9-10, 13-14 (the only biblical passage focussing on the apocalyptic SM) in its context, we will have to decide on the unity and structure of Dan 7. While many modern expositors have demonstrated a penchant for recognizing the similarities between the SM and the "saints of the Most High," the question as to possible differences must not be avoided. Finally, should differences between the SM and the "saints" become apparent, an attempt should be made to account for both the similarities and the differences. It is to this task that we seek to address our present study.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SON OF MAN OF DANIEL 7 AND HIS ALLEGED ORIGINS AND PARALLELS

This chapter will examine a variety of theories which seek to elucidate the nature and identity of the SM through a study of origins for or affinities with the Danielic figure. It is hoped that this inquiry will bring us closer to an understanding of the SM of Dan 7:13. Our purpose is not to discuss the origins of apocalyptic, nor even the possible pressures of a wide variety of patterns of religious thought on apocalyptic, or the book of Daniel as a whole (though undoubtedly our conclusions will in some way speak to such research), rather we will confine ourselves to the more limited task of possible influences on Dan 7 and the SM passage in particular.

Sources of and parallels to the SM of Daniel have been proposed from either extra-biblical or biblical sources, though at times the two complexes have been fused to yield a composite hypothetical alternative. With the rise of Religionsgeschichte at the beginning of the present century, SM research, occasionally somewhat fettered by philological inquiries, addressed its questions to this burgeoning discipline.<sup>1</sup> Thus possible relationships between Babylonian, Egyptian, Iranian, Hellenistic, Gnostic, and Canaanite

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<sup>1</sup>See Colpe, Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, and pp. 28-36 for the general impact of Religionsgeschichte upon SM study.

figures or complexes and the SM of Dan 7 (as well as 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra and the NT) were investigated. Israelite genealogies were largely abandoned in favor of extra-biblical roots and parallels. It was postulated that behind the SM conception in Daniel, 1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, and the NT stood a primitive, but rich and more comprehensive mythological tradition, which the ancient writers referring to the "son of man" reflected.<sup>1</sup> It was hoped that once (a) genealogical antecedent(s) or parallel(s) for the SM could be established, the meaning of the Danielic figure would be better understood if not even established. While more recently research on the SM has relied less on Religionsgeschichte and produced a number of articles dealing with Israelite origins and parallels, much of the scholarly debate proceeded from the maxim that "die ganze Frage der Deutung der Menschensohngestalt ist abhängig von der Frage nach ihrer Herkunft."<sup>2</sup>

The present chapter will first suggest a methodology which seems to provide an appropriate control for both extra-biblical and

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<sup>1</sup>Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, pp. 328-331; Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 339; Reitzenstein, pp. 119-122; Volz, pp. 189, 280-281; Bousset and Gressmann, p. 354; Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung," pp. 214-222, esp. p. 222; Mowinkel, p. 351; Müller, Menschensohn, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>Junker, p. 58; later endorsed by Feuillet, p. 171. Jürgen C. H. Lebram notes with regret: "Soweit man das an den Publikationen ablesen kann, zeigt sich im Laufe der letzten Jahre eine stärkere Abwertung der mythologischen Deutung der Menschensohngestalt in Dan. 7. Man erklärt die Figur mehr aus dem exegetischen Zusammenhang. Hierfür ist weniger Neigung zum Konservatismus verantwortlich zu machen, als die Schwierigkeiten in der ausserisraelitischen Literatur eine befriedigende Parallele zu finden" ("Perspektiven der gegenwärtigen Danielforschung," JSJ 5 [1974]:27). This restraint is evident in the Daniel commentaries of Norman Porteous, Das Danielbuch, ATD, 23 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), pp. 79-83; Otto Plüger, Das Buch Daniel, KAT, 18 (Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1965), pp. 110, 114; Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 87-89.



biblical origins and parallels and then proceed to examine the suggested roots of and affinities with the SM of Dan 7.

### Methodological Considerations

In 1962 Samuel Sandmel delivered a significant Presidential Address before the Society of Biblical Literature entitled "Parallelomania." While not denying literary parallels or influences, nor disparaging their study, he spoke "words of caution about exaggerations about the parallels and about source and derivation."<sup>1</sup> Sandmel defined parallelomania "as that extravagance among scholars which first overdoes the supposed similarity in passages and then proceeds to describe source and derivation as if implying literary connection flowing in an inevitable or predetermined direction."<sup>2</sup>

As a remedy Sandmel suggested:

. . . detailed study is the criterion, and the detailed study ought to respect the context and not be limited to juxtaposing mere excerpts. Two passages may sound the same in splendid isolation from their context, but when seen in context reflect difference rather than similarity.<sup>3</sup>

In Germany, Westermann went a step further:

Ein dem Verstehen biblischer Texte dienendes Vergleichen muss von phänomenologisch fassbaren Ganzheiten herkommen und auf sie zielen. . . . Ein punktueller Vergleich führt niemals zu Parallelen: die sind nur möglich, wo auf beiden Seiten Linien gezeigt werden können, die einander parallel sind. . . . Indem vom Einzelphänomen nach der zugehörigen Ganzheit gefragt wird, und zwar nach beiden Seiten hin, wird erst die Parallele im Sinn des parallelen Verlaufs (und dessen Grenzen!) ernst genommen, an Stelle einer oberflächlichen entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Herleitung des einen aus dem anderen.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Parallelomania," JBL 81 (1962):1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Westermann, cols. 490-491.

Hence to avoid distortion:

. . . one has to be sure that one is not dealing with mere superficial resemblances or with the independent development of analogical cultural features. Even having established the incontestability of the parallels the problem of evaluation still exists. . . . We may have torn a motif right out of its cultural and living context and so have distorted the total picture. In other words, to ignore subtle differences is to present an unbalanced and untrue perspective and to pervert the scientific method.<sup>1</sup>

Our investigation then should seek to respect the context and phenomenological totality of the texts under consideration and probe for longitudinal rather than punctiliar parallels.<sup>2</sup> We will have to bear in mind that similar passages need not be described in terms of derivations or parallels, nor conclude that the literary connection flows in an inevitable or predeterminate direction. Thus it is hoped we will avoid the Scylla of "parallelomania" and the Charybdis which negates all external influences to which Israel opened herself.

#### Extra-Biblical Origin and Parallel Hypotheses

Since religio-historical origins and parallels between the Danielic SM and alleged mythological figures and complexes in Babylonian, Egyptian, Iranian, Hellenistic, and Gnostic sources have failed to attract the consensus of scholarship,<sup>3</sup> we will pass over these theories fairly rapidly, reexamining them particularly in the

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<sup>1</sup>Sarna, p. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup>Such a methodology seems to be a more certain instrument to establish relations and obviates arguments of a more subjective and speculative nature adduced to defend alleged affinities (e.g., the conjectures as to what the author of Dan 7 should or could have written in Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 341).

<sup>3</sup>Most recently the extended critique of Colpe (TDNT, 8:406-420). While our treatment is at times indebted to his account it also supplements or takes issue with the author's conclusions.

light of the above-mentioned methodology, before focussing on the currently more popular Canaanite origin hypothesis.

### Babylon

Several Babylonian origin hypotheses for the SM have been suggested. These include (1) the assumption that Adapa and Marduk were antecedents for the Danielic figure;<sup>1</sup> (2) the hypothesis that the author of Dan 7 borrowed his vision from the Babylonian chaos myth,<sup>2</sup> and (3) the proposal that in Dan 7:9-14 we find the survival of the Babylonian cosmology and new year festival.<sup>3</sup>

The evidence adduced for the parallel between Adapa and the SM is found in the Adapa myth, in which Adapa is designated the zi-ir a-mi-lu-ti ("the seed [shoot] of mankind" or "human offspring").<sup>4</sup> While this locution appears to be linguistically akin to כר אנוש, the contexts and functions of both differ significantly. Adapa, who has been summoned before Anu for breaking the wing of the south wind refuses to imbibe the offered bread of life and water of life and

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<sup>1</sup>For literature see Eduard Hertlein, Die Menschensohnfrage im letzten Stadium (Berlin: W. Kohlhammer, 1911), pp. 88-90; Colpe, TDNT, 8:409.

<sup>2</sup>E.g., Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, pp. 323-325. On the assumption that Dan 7 had borrowed the four beasts from Babylonian cosmology, Gunkel surmised that the SM had also been borrowed from this same tradition. This idea was further corroborated, so it seemed, by the apparent mismatches of visionary and interpretative details.

<sup>3</sup>E.g., Bentzen, Daniel, p. 62; id., Messiah, Moses redivivus, Menschensohn, ATANT, 17 (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1948), p. 73; Heaton, p. 183.

<sup>4</sup>Stephen Langdon, Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man, University of Pennsylvania: The University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section 10, 1 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1915), p. 47, cf. ANET, pp. 101-103.

consequently squanders his opportunity for gaining immortality. The Babylonian hero features in neither the judicial context nor the eschatological function in which the SM is depicted.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence for Marduk as the Urbild for at least the Christian SM is even more tenuous. According to Hertlein, Winckler reasoned that since Ea, Marduk's father was called "the man," Marduk must be "the son of man." Unfortunately there is no independent evidence for this claim.<sup>2</sup>

Gunkel's proposal that Dan 7 is derived from Babylon, while still maintained in part today, has met with serious challenges. His thesis, that since the four beasts in Daniel were borrowed the SM must likewise be derived, was highly speculative and lacked objective verification. The absence of four beasts in Babylon led Gunkel to assume that the Babylonian chaos monster experienced a fourfold division in order to match the four beasts in Dan 7.<sup>3</sup> However,

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Colpe, TDNT, 8:409. The link of Adapa with the Urmensch is even more questionable and rejected by Volz (p. 190) and Bousset and Gressmann (p. 355 n. 3). Colpe also dismisses the idea that the primal sage found in Adapa may be represented by Ea/Oannes (the parallels have to be established on the basis of 1 Enoch and 4 Ezra) because Ea/Oannes cannot be a pattern for eschatological judgment (TDNT, 8:409).

<sup>2</sup>Marduk also features in studies which regard the SM context an enthronement (e.g., Kraeling, Anthropos, pp. 145-151). Earlier, Schmidt had projected Marduk as a prototype of the angel Michael, whom he identified with the SM ("Son of Man in Daniel," pp. 22-28). However, already Gressmann contended that the reasons for the identification of Marduk and the SM were so slender that they required no further rebuttal (Der Messias, p. 405).

<sup>3</sup>Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, pp. 323-335. Gunkel's theory led him to regard the author of Dan 7 as an inferior writer (*ibid.*, 335). This type of argument provoked Montgomery to respond that one should not think of the author of Dan 7 as some second-hand littérateur (Montgomery, p. 324).

Porteous actually contests the very idea that the sacred writer borrowed the beast imagery and concludes "perhaps we may allow a measure of originality to the author of Daniel. . . . We can still, even with our limited knowledge, detect a certain appropriateness in his symbolism."<sup>1</sup> Gressmann added: "Die Wendung des Stoffes ins Eschatologische ist auf babylonischem Boden bisher nicht sicher zu beweisen. Und wo bleiben die Parallelen zu so charakteristischen Gestalten wie dem 'Alten der Tage' oder dem 'Menschensohn'?"<sup>2</sup> Hence, it comes as no surprise to read Junker's evaluation in 1932: "Der Versuch Gunkels den Menschensohn als eine dem babylonischen Chaosmythus entlehnte Gestalt zu verstehen, hat wenig Anklang gefunden."<sup>3</sup>

Aspects of the Babylonian origin hypothesis have survived in works on the SM which blend features from the Babylonian creation mythology and new year festival with traditional biblical motifs.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Norman Porteous, Daniel, p. 103; Plöger, p. 110. Cf. Matthias Delcor who believes the fourth beast was the apocalypticist's own construct ("Les sources du chapitre VII de Daniel," VT 18 (1968): 290-312.

<sup>2</sup>Gressmann, Der Messias, p. 368.

<sup>3</sup>Junker, p. 58. So Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Daniel-forschung." pp. 23-24; Feuillet, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup>Elements of Gunkel's theories may be found in Bentzen's and Heaton's exegesis of Dan 7. Bentzen offers a most complex biblical reconstruction and surmises that behind Dan 7 is an eschatological representation of an ancient enthronement festival with its mythology and ritual practices (also imitating Canaanite enthronement forms). Bentzen concludes: "Alles in allem: c. 7 ist als eine eschatologierte, unter Einfluss der Periodenlehre geformte, Darstellung vom Jahweh's Thronbesteigungsfest zu verstehen, die in der Übertragung der Weltherrschaft an das durch den 'Menschensohn' repräsentierte jüdische Volk ihren Höhepunkt hat" (Daniel, pp. 62-64). Heaton, who follows Bentzen, argues that the seer draws heavily upon the Babylonian creation myth (occasionally alluded to in the OT) and the biblical creation (cf. also Hooker, p. 18) which was recited during the new

While such amalgamations appear extremely attractive, they presuppose analogies to other ancient Near Eastern religions which are open to question and utilize themes for which objective verification is lacking.<sup>1</sup> As long as scholarly debate is divided over their basic assumptions it may be best to hold such theories in abeyance. While it is not impossible that the apocalypstist made use of Babylonian traditions, he has so transformed these in his own unique way that the Babylonian antecedents are hardly recognizable and consequently of little value for a reconstruction of the origin of the SM. The value of these hypotheses is further diminished by the fact that apart from some punctiliar parallels (which could prove anything), their total phenomenological context differs significantly from that of the SM of Dan 7.

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year's festival when the king was enthroned. Dan 7, therefore, reflects an enthronement scene when in a new creation God's kingdom is set up and the beasts are destroyed (p. 183). Kraeling also stressed that Babylonian cosmology underlies Dan 7, which depicts an enthronement not unlike that of Marduk (Anthropos, pp. 141-151). Mowinckel, like Gunkel, reasoned that since the interpretation of Dan 7 does not explain all the visionary elements, the seer must have borrowed already familiar older materials, though he is not certain whether the beast symbolism and the SM already belonged to a longer connected narrative or myth. Nevertheless, he decides that by about 200 B.C. or earlier there was in Judaism a conception of a heavenly being "one like a man" who at the turn of the age would come to receive authority over all peoples (Mowinckel, p. 352). But Hooker notes correctly that Mowinckel's theory rests on evidence too slight to justify his assumptions (Hooker, p. 12).

<sup>1</sup>Arnold B. Rhodes, "The Kingdoms of Men and the Kingdom of God," Int 15 (1961):428; Feuillet rejects Bentzen's reconstruction because it is based upon pure hypothesis (pp. 178-180). Roland de Vaux declines the idea of a feast of Yahweh's enthronement (Ancient Israel, trans. John McHugh [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961], pp. 504-506); cf. John Bright, A History of Israel 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972), pp. 221-223; Delcor, Daniel, p. 166. Also note the perspicacious observation of Porteous that history rather than creation mythology is the main concern of Dan 7 (p. 100). The same remark applies equally to Hooker's comments (p. 17).

## Egypt

In 1929 Gressmann suggested that the vision of the Ancient of Days and the SM should be derived from Egyptian sun mythology.<sup>1</sup> He noted: "Der tägliche Sonnenlauf wird wie der Lebenslauf eines Menschen gedacht. Dem Alten entspricht daher das Kind oder der Jüngling" (italics his).<sup>2</sup> Gressmann added that the sun deity was known by different names; thus it could be Re at noon, but Atum in the evening at sunset. He further proposed that Atum abdicated in favor of the younger deity to whom he then committed both throne and dominion.

Gressmann concluded:

Die Gestalt des Hochbetagten [of Dan 7] geht zurück auf den Greis, den als Weltkönig aufgefassten Sonnengott der Ägypter, mag man ihn Re, Atum oder sonstwie heissen . . . . Nachdem nun aber die Gestalt des Hochbetagten auf die des Ägyptischen Sonnengreises zurückgeführt worden ist, hindert nichts mehr, im Gegenteil, liegt es nahe, in dem Menschensohn also dem Thronerben den Sonnenjüngling zu erkennen. (Italics his)<sup>3</sup>

This hypothesis is untenable for at least two reasons. First, "in Egypt syncretistic equations of sungods and transfers of predicates vacillate too much" to provide a firm basis for comparisons between Dan 7 and Egyptian sun mythology.<sup>4</sup> The names given to the sun deity varied from period to period and were at times equated with each other, thus, for instance, Re became Atum and Atum Amun-Re-

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<sup>1</sup>Der Messias, p. 407.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 404.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 405-417.

<sup>4</sup>Colpe, TDNT, 8:409.

Harachte-Atum.<sup>1</sup> Second, and more important, is the fact that there is a difference between the Egyptian sun myth and Dan 7 "in that on the Egypt. theory one has to postulate a unity of essence (however modified) between the Son of Man and the Ancient of Days, since the 'pattern' sets before us different stages of the Egypt. sun-god. . . . Such a concept is remote from Da. 7"<sup>2</sup> Dan 7 presents an entirely different phenomenological totality from that of Egypt.

#### Iran and Primal or Heavenly Man Speculations

This section briefly examines Iranian, Hellenistic, and Gnostic sources and their projections of a primal or heavenly man (or Urmensch). Whereas these texts are generally late and of greater value to NT SM research, a compressed evaluation of their relations to the Danielic SM must be given.

The link between the כִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים and primal or heavenly man conceptions is generally based on (1) the word "man" common to both complexes<sup>3</sup> and (2) the conviction that the Danielic SM is one of the

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<sup>1</sup>See László Kákosy, "Atum," Lexikon der Ägyptologie, 1:550-552; Adolf Erman, A Handbook of Egyptian Religion, trans. A. S. Griffith (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1907), pp. 10-12, 59-60.

<sup>2</sup>Colpe, TDNT, 8:409. Gressman's theory has close affinities to Morgenstern's Canaanite origin hypothesis in which the Ancient of Days and SM are patterned after the composite Tyrian national solar deity Ba'al Shamem-Melkarth in both reciprocal phases of his divine being (Morgenstern, pp. 65-77). Both origin theories postulate a unity of essence and are therefore untenable for the same reason.

<sup>3</sup>Balz, p. 79; Colpe, Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, pp. 149 n. 7, 150 n. 1. Mowinckel, p. 427. Nevertheless, the primal man figure is predicated by other names also.



various phases of an ubiquitous Iranian and Hellenistic Anthrōpos or primeval man figure.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, Bousset, assuming Iranian in-

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Bousset, Hauptprobleme, pp. 160-209; Reitzenstein sought to reconstruct the Hellenistic myth of Anthrōpos on the basis of the Naassene sermon (derived from Hippolytus [A.D. 170-236]), the early fourth century A.D. book  $\Omega$ , the witness of the neo-platonist Jamblichus (d. ca. A.D. 330), and Poimandres (Poimandres [Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1904]); id., Erlösungsmysterium, pp. 117-123, 130-133; Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin challenges Reitzenstein's Erlösungsmysterium as baseless on the grounds that "der erlöste Erlöser" is limited to Manicheanism, and Reitzenstein's assumption that everything in Manicheanism is Iranian in origin comes close to begging the question (The Western Response to Zoroaster [Reprint of 1958 ed.; Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973], pp. 90, 97); Eduard Meyer, Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1921), 2:345-346; Gressmann, Ursprung, pp. 363-364; Bousset and Gressmann, pp. 479-482; Creed, pp. 113-136; von Gall considers not only Daniel 7:9-10, 13-14 a hymn taken from an Iranian Vorlage, the SM identical with Astvatereta (pp. 409-412), and the Ancient of Days corresponding to Ahura Mazda, but believes the four Danielic beasts to be Persian demons in Babylonian garb (pp. 267-268, also note pp. 108-110, 409-417 for Urmensch speculations joined to Persia. Kraeling studies both Marduk mythology and Iranian and Gnostic Anthrōpos motifs, concluding that as the Iranian figure passed through Mesopotamia it was identified with Marduk and ceased to be merely a prototypical man. The figure now became the "Great Man" who prepared the victory of the heavenly powers over those of the lower world. Daniel, according to Kraeling, may not have adopted the conquering Anthrōpos of the Gnostic sources but he did put to use some very similar elements (Anthropos, pp. 74-165, esp. pp. 146-147). Similar connections between Babylon and Iran were advanced by Bentzen (Daniel, pp. 63-64). Also see Volz, p. 190; Manson, Jesus, pp. 185, 239; Rudolf Otto, Reich Gottes und Menschensohn (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934); Erik Sjöberg, Der Menschensohn im Äthiopischen Henochbuch (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1946), pp. 190-192; Mowinckel, pp. 422-437, for further literature see p. 422 nn. 1-2; Frederick H. Borsch, The Son of Man in Myth and History (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), pp. 84-88. But note: "Bei seinen Untersuchungen hat Bousset [and Reitzenstein] zwei verschiedene religiöse Vorstellungen verwechselt und vermischt, den Typus des Urmenschen und den Typus des Allgottes, aus dessen Leibe die Welt entsteht. Erst im Manichäismus liegt die Verbindung der beiden Typen vor" (Müller, Messias, p. 31). For our purpose we need not discuss this distinction further. Müller adds concerning the SM of Dan 7: "Aber auch dieser Urmensch . . . gibt nicht die Folie des Menschengleichen in Dan 7 ab (auch nicht, was 1 Hen anbetrifft)" (ibid).

fluence on post-exilic Jewish religion, proposed that the Urmensch of the Persian sources, slain by the prince of darkness Ahriman and through his death inaugurating the new world, paralleled by the Gnostic primal man (Hellenistic and Christian), descending into the lower world of matter and thus ushering in the events of the subsequent age, corresponds to the Jewish SM ideas.<sup>1</sup> To what degree can this contention be corroborated by the evidence?

While it could be argued that the Urmensch conceptions are considerably older than the sources which incorporate them, we can only judge them in their present form.<sup>2</sup> In the sources available to us the primal man is a protological and not eschatological figure just as the Danielic SM is an eschatological and not a protological form.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, Duchesne-Guillemin, who also challenges the one-sided Jewish dependence upon Iranian influences,<sup>4</sup> concludes:

Can the Son of Man be compared to Gayōmart? The former, as he appears in Daniel and Enoch, seems a purely eschatological figure . . . it is on the Iranian side that the comparison is wanting, for Gayōmart, an essentially cosmogonical figure, is not attested in an eschatological role prior to the Pahlavī books.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hauptprobleme, pp. 208-209; In a footnote Bousset also recognizes the idea of a heavenly primal man who remains in heaven and never falls (p. 209 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup>Mowinckel records: "Apparently there is a historical connexion between the varying figures of this type, which seem all to be derived directly or indirectly, from Iranian or Indo-Iranian myths" (p. 422).

<sup>3</sup>The eschatological role of the Middle Persian Gayōmart, counterpart of the Avesta Gayamar tan, is to pioneer a resurrection and not to exercise dominion over all people. Cf. Colpe, Religions-geschichtliche Schule, pp. 150-170; id., TDNT, 8:408.

<sup>4</sup>Duchesne-Guillemin, pp. 86-87.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 89; Gressmann denied an eschatological role to Gayōmart (Ursprung, p. 363); Müller rejects the notion that the Urmensch is even depicted in 1 Enoch (Messias, pp. 31-32).

The same judgment must be passed on other Persian primal man figures like Zoroaster and Yima. Zoroaster, the time of whose appearance in the various prophetologies is still subject to scholarly debate, and his three unborn and mystical apocalyptic sons (the third of which the Pahlavī literature only ever calls Saōšyant [or savior])<sup>1</sup> are far from being a longitudinal parallel to the SM. Neither do the sources corroborate the alleged continuation of the functions of the Avesta king of paradise Yima (known as Yama in the Rigveda) with Gayōmart so as to create a correspondence to the SM.<sup>2</sup> Again, the fact that the Avesta puts Gayōmart in a series with Zoroaster and Saōšyant "does not at all imply that the three were considered as one and the same being, or even as forming a lineage."<sup>3</sup> The series does not imply either a soteriological successio prophetica nor a correspondence to the SM of Dan 7.<sup>4</sup>

The descent into the lower regions and subsequent conquest or death of the primal figure, by which the historical process is precipitated in both Iranian and Hellenistic or Gnostic sources, is completely foreign to Dan 7. It is only right, then, that Colpe should contest the analogy between the SM, Gayōmart, and the Urmensch:

Die Analogie zwischen Gayōmart and Urmensch passt in anderer

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<sup>1</sup>Henrik S. Nyberg, Die Religionen des Alten Iran, trans. H. H. Schaeder, MVAG, 43 (Reprint of 1938 ed.; Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1966), pp. 29-31.

<sup>2</sup>Colpe, Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, pp. 150-152; id. TDNT, 8:408.

<sup>3</sup>Duchesne-Guillemin, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup>Colpe, Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, p. 150. Similarly, any appeal to the Fravaši fails on the grounds that the total imagery differs from Daniel (cf. id., TDNT, 8:408).

Hinsicht nicht: die Gnosis passt nicht in das dabei vorausgesetzte Zeit- und Geschichtsschema. . . . Die Tätigkeit ihres Erlösers gehört in einen anderen Rahmen; sie bewirkt weder die Wiedereinführung des mythischen Urzustandes der Welt wie in Iran noch die Heraufführung eines neuen Mons o. M. am Ende der Tage wie im Judentum, sondern die Auflösung der Welt und der Menschen zu einem der Präexistenz entsprechenden, aber eine neue Kosmogonie unmöglich machenden Zustand. . . . Weder direkt noch auf dem Umweg über den Menschensohn sind für den gnostischen Urmenschen Aufschlüsse aus dem awestischen Gayōmart zu erwarten.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, the Urmensch hypotheses for the SM break down on a number of counts. First, they neglect the comparative particle (as do most mythological origin theories) before "son of man" in Dan 7:13 (which is more descriptive than nominative) and consequently treat Daniel's manlike figure as if it were called purely "man" or "a son of man." Second, we have noticed repeatedly that the phenomenological totality of our sources is not of one cloth with that of Dan 7 (e.g., while the former stresses protology, the latter is an eschatological form). Third, "too little is known . . . about the date and extent of the Urmensch speculations for us to place any confidence in theories which suggest that the author of Daniel 7 deliberately borrowed traits from a well-known figure of this nature."<sup>2</sup> Fourth, even if the writer contemplated such a figure "the ideas which he borrowed have been so radically changed in his use of them that it is doubtful whether they could have been of any great significance to him, and even more doubtful whether they would have con-

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<sup>1</sup>Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, pp. 153, cf. pp. 175-186. Similarly: "Menschensohn (und Übrigens auch gnostischer Anthropos) können nicht als Endpunkte einer Geschichte begriffen werden, die der indoiranische Mythos aus sich entlassen hat, dazu fehlen die Zwischenglieder" (ibid., p. 152), Cf. also Feuillet, pp. 177-178; Nyberg, pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup>Hooker, p. 12.

veyed any particular significance to his readers."<sup>1</sup>

### Ugarit

We now proceed to test the alleged Canaanite pre-history for the Danielic human-like figure. Since this hypothesis, based on the mythological tablets from Ras Shamra, currently enjoys a measure of popularity, it will be in order to subject it to a more detailed scrutiny in an attempt to ascertain descriptive, functional, and contextual similarities to and differences from the SM.

As early as 1932 Otto Eissfeldt<sup>2</sup> drew attention to parallels between the fourth beast of Dan 7 and Leviathan of Ugarit. In 1958 Emerton<sup>3</sup> and Rost<sup>4</sup> studied the links between the apocalypticist and the Ras Shamra materials. Both authors focused particularly on the SM and the Ancient of Days and their Canaanite correspondences.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 13; cf. Matthew Black, "Unsolved New Testament Problems. The 'Son of Man' in the Old Biblical Literature." ExpTim 60 (1948):11-12. Feuillet rejects this hypothesis because the idea of a "saved savior" is so contrary to the biblical spirit (pp. 176-177). Other writers who renounce this hypothesis include: E. A. Graham, "The Heavenly Man, a Survey of the Documentary Evidence," CQR 226 (1932):224-239; Olaf Moe, "Der Menschensohn und der Urmensch," ST 14 (1960):119-129; Balz, pp. 79-80; Joseph Coppens, "La vision Daniélique du fils d'homme," VT 19 (1969):175-178; Ivan Engnell, A Rigid Scrutiny, trans. John T. Willis (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969), p. 241. Müller concluded: "Wir werden unsererseits den einzig sinnvollen Schluss daraus ziehen und den Urmenschen ganz von Dan 7 fernhalten (Messias, p. 32). We need not be detained by the suggestion that the Urmensch myth is behind Job 15:7 and Ezek 28. These passages are extremely remote from Dan 7:13, the theory is far from accepted and dubious in the light of our present discussion (cf. Hertlein, Menschensohnfrage, pp. 83-85; Delcor, Daniel, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup>Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer (Halle [Saale]: Niemeyer, 1932), pp. 25-30.

<sup>3</sup>Emerton, pp. 225-242.

<sup>4</sup>Rost, pp. 41-43.

Morgenstern,<sup>1</sup> in 1961, advanced the theory that the SM and the Ancient of Days are patterned after the composite Tyrian solar deity Baal Shamem-Melkarth in both reciprocal phases of his divine being. Eight years later, Colpe,<sup>2</sup> in a detailed and well-documented discussion of the proposed hypothetical, non-Israelite backgrounds of the SM, rejected Morgenstern's thesis outrightly<sup>3</sup> and noted that Emerton's theory of an adapted Jebusite rite cannot be proved.<sup>4</sup> Colpe, while admitting to difficulties with the Canaanite hypothesis decided:

Yet either way, and on all the possible variations, the transfer of dominion from the Ancient of Days to the Son of Man would seem to go back to the wresting of power from an old god by a young one as this was handed down in Canaanite mythology, the rivalry between Baal and El in the the Ras Shamra texts being thus far the closest par[allel]."<sup>5</sup>

In Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, Frank M. Cross briefly touched on the text of Dan 7. For Cross "the manlike Being ('like a son of man') who comes to receive kingship is evidently young Ba<sup>c</sup>l reinterpreted and democratized by the apocalypticist as the Jewish nation."<sup>6</sup> Most recently the Canaanite hypothesis found its most vigorous defense in a Harvard Semitic monograph. While denying that Daniel is simply Ugaritic mythology and acknowledging utilization of traditional materials, Collins concluded: "In any case, the Ugaritic

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<sup>1</sup>Morgenstern, pp. 65-77.

<sup>2</sup>Colpe, TDNT, 8:400-477.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 416 n. 121.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 419 n. 152.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 419.

<sup>6</sup>(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 17.

material furnishes the only clear background against which the clustering of motifs which we find in Daniel 7 is intelligible."<sup>1</sup>

The complexity of the Canaanite texts

Whereas the value of the Ugaritic texts for Old Testament study ought not be underestimated, one must be constantly aware of the tremendous complexity of the Canaanite materials. This should warn the researcher against establishing religio-historical parallels too hastily. John Gray's perspicacious remark is valid, for "the tendency still unfortunately persists to use the Ras Shamra texts as a kind of literary lucky-bag out of which all sorts of odd and ends may be drawn."<sup>2</sup>

Kenneth Vine concluded his examination of the Baal cycle with the sobering remark that "it is to be seriously questioned whether all the texts belonging to the cycle are preserved, indeed if such a cycle existed."<sup>3</sup> The same author drew attention to the widely diversified opinions on the order of the tablets constituting the Baal and Anath cycle, which should caution the student against basing ideas upon one translation only.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel, HSM, 16 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), p. 104; cf. Also William J. Dumbrell, "Daniel 7 and the Function of Old Testament Apocalyptic," RTR 34 (1975):18. Apart from the scholars just listed the Ugaritic origin hypothesis is far from being universally accepted. This is evident again in the latest English commentary on Daniel in which, however, Di Lella deprecates all religio-historical search for a background to the SM (Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 87-89).

<sup>2</sup>The Legacy of Canaan, VTSup 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1957), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>"The Establishment of Baal at Ugarit" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1965), p. 251.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 246.

The reason only tentative positions can be assigned to small as well as large fragments is that "so many letters, words, lines, columns, and probably some whole tablets are missing."<sup>1</sup> Many tablets are in a poor state of preservation with defective or mutilated lines. Since titles and catchlines are frequently lost and the meaning of words uncertain, rearrangement and translation is at times highly subjective and conjectural.<sup>2</sup>

An analysis of parallels between Ugarit and the Old Testament is further aggravated by the fact that mythology is far from logical and religious ideas varied throughout the Canaanite world. Frank C. Fensham cautioned, in the light of the common occurrences of winged deities in the ancient Near East but not in Ugaritic, that "we must bear in mind that religious conceptions were not identical all over the Canaanite world."<sup>3</sup> It appears that some tablets are characterized by verbal repetitions, overlappings, or possible inconsistencies.<sup>4</sup>

It should come as no surprise that scholars have reached no unanimity as to the actual meaning of the mythological tablets. In some cases the question still remains as to which texts should be included under the rubric of mythology and thus either be admitted

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<sup>1</sup>ANET, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1949), p. 9; Godfrey R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 1956), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>"Winged Gods and Goddesses in the Ugaritic Tablets," OrAnt 3 (1966):158.

<sup>4</sup>Cyrus H. Gordon, "The Poetic Literature of Ugarit," Or 12 (1943):51. This is especially true of the Baal-Anath cycles.



to or excluded from the total epic.<sup>1</sup> The poems have been explained as annual seasonal myths, sabbatical cycles, reflections of historical conditions, or as combinations of elements of all of these.

Theodore H. Gaster contended most emphatically that the poem of Baal "is a nature myth and its theme is the alternation of the seasons."<sup>2</sup> Arvid Kapelrud was equally confident in claiming that:

Cultically seen it is all part of a great cycle. . . . It starts nowhere and it ends nowhere. It just goes on. . . . There can thus be little doubt that its cycle is the year cycle. . . . Any attempt to dismiss this background and to find other backgrounds (as e.g., a seven years period) is doomed to failure.<sup>3</sup>

Gray rejected the unity of the texts and preferred to see two themes within the documents. First, he saw a cosmic motif in which order or cosmos triumphs over chaos and in which Baal secures his kingship. This cosmic mythology, reflected in the combat of Baal and Yam, is to be linked to an annual autumnal festival of the agricultural new year. Gray claimed that this was analogous to the later Hebrew psalms dealing with the kingship of Yahweh. Second, the myth of Baal's conflict with Mot. The latter theme had a different origin and mirrored the progress and recession of

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., William F. Albright ("Specimens of Late Ugaritic Prose," *BASOR* 150 [1958]:36 n. 5) considered texts like Gordon's nos. 1001-1003 to be liturgical fragments, yet Charles Virolleaud and Claude F. A. Schaeffer classified them under the heading mythology (*PRU* 2, 1-3). Thus, final judgment upon the nature of the difficult text no. 1001 will either enrich or deprive the epic of this motif of Baal's victory over Tanin. The latter is also mentioned in no. 1003.

<sup>2</sup>*Theispis* (Reprint of 1950 ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 124.

<sup>3</sup>*Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1952), pp. 143.

growth in the Syrian peasant's year. Hence, the struggle of Baal and Mot was related to a seasonal agricultural ritual delineating the tension between fertility and sterility and climaxing in the triumph of providence.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to escape the impression that Gray tends to import the seasonal significance into the meaning of the texts. In the Anath cycle, for example, he speculates that the blood-bath generated by Anath relates to a rite proper to the seasonal transition between the sterility of the late Syrian summer and the new fertile season. Since blood represents life, Gray discerns a liberal outpouring of fresh vitality in the new season.<sup>2</sup> However, it is equally as reasonable to interpret this column historically, as representing the victory of one army over another. The beginning of col. 3, which is vitiated by lacunae and translation problems, is considered by Gray to be a reference to the hieros gamos.<sup>3</sup> He also sees the sacred marriage as represented by the house-building motif.<sup>4</sup>

Peter van Zijl approached the texts via structural analysis and suggested that the inhabitants of Ugarit moved from observance of natural phenomena to a construction of mythology. In his judgment the Baal-Yam, housebuilding, and the Baal-Mot motifs are three different,

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<sup>1</sup>Gray, pp. 9-10, 18, 71.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-37. For the text see CTA 1:3. 2. 5-33, ET in ANET, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup>CTA 3. 3. 2-17; ANET p. 140. Differences in translation are evident in Gray, p. 37, and Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugarit and Minoan Crete (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), p. 52.

<sup>4</sup>Gray, p. 43. Cf. CTA 4:6-7; ANET, pp. 134-135.

contemporaneous cultic traditions expressive of the fertility conception.<sup>1</sup> Van Zijl challenges Kapelrud's rather confident but speculative reconstruction and remarks that "the idea of a New Year celebration seems to be imported, in disregard of the fact that the Ugaritic texts offer no corroborating evidence. Various theories of Mowinckel about a similar feast in old Israel invite this same sort of criticism."<sup>2</sup>

The seasonal interpretation was rejected by Umberto Cassuto and Driver. Cassuto focused on the Baal-Mot war and recognized in it the awesome clash between the forces of life and existence and the forces of death and dissolution with the ultimate victory of life.<sup>3</sup> Driver adds, "the texts nowhere speak of his [Baal's] death and resurrection as annual . . . ."<sup>4</sup> For Driver, the Baal poem simply depicts the youthful Baal, as god of fertility, rising to supremacy over the other gods under El's suzerainty. A number of arguments raised by these scholars still await answers. Gordon asseverates that in these tablets we are not dealing with annual but with sabbatical cyclicality, precisely because of certain arguments also raised by Cassuto and Driver.<sup>5</sup>

Other scholars yet consider the battle between Baal and Yam a

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<sup>1</sup>Baal, AOAT, 10 (Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), pp. 323-334.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 326.

<sup>3</sup>"Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts," IEJ 12 (1962):77-86.

<sup>4</sup>Canaanite Myths, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup>Ugarit, p. 22n. 13.

reflex of some historic event. Julian Obermann believed the myth was designed to explain etiologically how the Ugaritians expelled a hostile invasion of inhabitants of a sea region. This same author reversed Gray's interpretation when he suggested that the enmity between Baal and Mot is "best understood as one of cosmological character."<sup>1</sup>

In the light of the complexities just noted, it becomes apparent that religio-historical parallels must not be established too readily. It is a methodological necessity to examine single parallel terms and motifs in the total context in which they occur. To study parallels in isolation is to open oneself to the danger of misreading elements of one culture in terms of another and of suppression of adverse evidence in the interests of a theory. Van Zijl, having drawn attention to the marked differences of opinion among scholars about the translation and interpretation of the texts, added perceptively: "The student is therefore obliged to return to the texts again and again and to examine them thoroughly for himself."<sup>2</sup>

#### Lotan, Baal, Anath, and Daniel 7

Several studies mentioned above suggest that the apocalypticist utilized for his eschatological vision the Canaanite mythological

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<sup>1</sup>"How Baal Destroyed a Rival," JAOS 67 (1947):205. Similarly, Vine believes that the kingship section of the Baal and Anath cycles reflects a struggle between Ugaritic indigenes and Amorite invaders resulting in an Amorite victory, introduction of the Amorite deity Baal, and the building of a new temple for Baal in the twenty-first century B.C.

<sup>2</sup>Van Zijl, p. 1.

themes of El sitting in judgment (for the Ancient of Days) and Baal receiving kingship (reinterpreted as the SM). Another mythological ingredient with which Collins says the vision of Dan 7 abounds is the fourth beast (or beasts) and/or the sea.<sup>1</sup> Colpe remarked, "the fourth beast seems to be the chaos-dragon ltn who was defeated by Anat or Baal, or the sea monster Iam vanquished by Baal."<sup>2</sup>

Lotan is mentioned only once by name in all the available Ugaritic texts.<sup>3</sup> The reference is in the first line of a tablet belonging to a text of which an equal amount is still missing. Ginsberg conjectured that lines 1-8 are the conclusion of a message delivered by Mot to Gapn and Ugar, Baal's messengers, which they were to carry to Baal. The first column is so obscure that Ginsberg decided to skip most of it. The same translator added that even the gist of lines 14-27 still eludes savants while thirty other lines are missing at the end of the column.<sup>4</sup> The passage itself reads:<sup>5</sup>

k <sub>t</sub> mḥṣ . ltn . b <sub>t</sub> n . brḥ
tkly . b <sub>t</sub> n . ᶜqltn
ᶜslty . d . ᶜsb <sup>e</sup> t . r <sup>3</sup> ašm

The translation of k<sub>t</sub>mḥṣ in line 1 is tentative. The verb

<sup>1</sup>Daniel, pp. 96-99.

<sup>2</sup>TDNT, 8:416.

<sup>3</sup>According to R. E. Whitaker, A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1972), p. 404. CTA 5. 1. 28 reconstructs ltn on the basis of parallelism, but ltn is missing in the actual text.

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

<sup>5</sup>CTA 5. 1. 1-3; ANET, p. 138.

could be introduced by "if," "when," or "because" depending on the meaning of the next lines. Since an actual conflict between Baal and Lotan is nowhere described in the available Canaanite texts, it is only assumed from the context that Baal is inferred in this passage.

In Dan 7 Lotan or Leviathan is mentioned nowhere. Furthermore, none of the features of the Danielic fourth beast coincide with those of Lotan. Lotan is a seven-headed crooked serpent. The fourth creature of Daniel is a non-descript, strong, iron-toothed, all destructive beast with ten horns upon its head among which a most significant little horn arises. None of these characteristics are associated with Lotan. Moreover, the fourth beast of Dan 7 meets its demise not in a combat with the SM (no such struggle is recorded anywhere) but at the judgment scene when the Ancient of Days appears (vss. 19-22).

Whereas Baal's struggle with Lotan can only be inferred from the three lines quoted above, a conflict of Anath with a seven-headed and crooked serpent is found in CTA 3. 3. 35-39.<sup>1</sup> In this variant or contradictory version<sup>2</sup> in Canaanite mythology, Anath asserts that she crushed the serpent along with other enemies of Baal. While the name Lotan is not mentioned scholars generally believe that Lotan is

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<sup>1</sup>ANET, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup>Note the unlikely translation of J. Aistleitner (Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Shamra, 2d ed. (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1964, pp. 27-28) in which he ascribes part of the victories to Baal. Also see Johannes C. de Moor's review of The Violent Goddess, by Arvid S. Kapelrud, UF 1 (1969):225.

depicted here.<sup>1</sup> A broken enigmatic line in Gordon's text 9:17 reads š. ʿnt ltn, but the meaning and certainty of this reading is debated.<sup>2</sup>

In the context of this column Anath had just received Baal's divine messengers Gapn and Ugar and mistaken their visit as an omen that evil had befallen Baal. In panic she recalled her destruction of various of Baal's foes. Aside from the crooked serpent, Baal's sister mentions Yam, Flood Rabbim, the Tanin (from the somewhat uncertain reading Tnn),<sup>3</sup> El's bullock Atak, etc. Anath's war with the serpent and the other creatures, regardless of how these exploits are interpreted in the Canaanite literature, is absent from Daniel.

The observation that the sea and the beasts of Dan 7 are variants of the chaos symbols Leviathan and Rahab is an unsubstantiated generalization.<sup>4</sup> The sea and the beasts are interpreted as the earth and four kings or kingdoms and not as chaos symbols (vss. 17, 23). Even the depictions differ significantly. The third Danielic beast has three heads and Lotan of Ugarit seven, but this same third creature is pictured as a winged leopard (v. 6) whereas Lotan is a crooked

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<sup>1</sup>ANET, p. 137 n. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Ugaritic Manual, AnOr 35 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955), p. 132. However, CTA 36. 17 reads [l. š] . ʿnt špn."

<sup>3</sup>Tanin does not seem to be in synonymous parallelism with btn.

<sup>4</sup>Collins, Daniel, p. 99.

serpent. It is of interest that the extremely fragmentary Text 1001 records Baal striking Tanin. Albright deduces from this text that the Tanin had two tails and a double, i.e. forked tongue; thus the Ugaritic Tanin comports with none of the Danielic creatures.<sup>1</sup> While we would not want to press the descriptive details, the pronounced dissimilarities between the Danielic and Ugaritic creatures cannot be ignored and must be explained adequately.

Repeatedly, defenders of the Canaanite hypothesis fail to draw attention to or account for the significant differences in description, function, and, especially, contextual relations between Ugarit and the apocalypticist. The non-divine sea and beasts lack the mythological features Yam and the other enemies of Baal and Anath possess. The sea of the vision is inanimate.<sup>2</sup> The beasts are sketched as a lion with eagle's wings, a bear with three ribs in its mouth, and a winged leopard; yet winged deities are almost nonexistent in Ugarit. To reduce the beasts and the sea to embodiments of the same primordial force of chaos is a case of special pleading.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, the function of the various Danielic elements is not purely to depict a combat between chaos and order. The historical perspective given to the apocalyptic beasts (vss. 17, 23) is missing in Canaan. Besides, Baal not only triumphs over Yam and Mot he also dies at the hands (or better, mouth) of Mot. Baal's death finds

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<sup>1</sup>Albright, p. 36 n. 5. For the text see PRU 2. 1. 5, 7.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Gerhard F. Hasel ("The Polemic Nature of the Genesis Cosmology," EvQ 46 [1974]:81-102) who views the "deep" of Gen 1:2 similarly.

<sup>3</sup>Collins, Daniel, p. 97.



absolutely no parallel in a demise of the SM. The importance of this far outweighs any descriptive details alluded to above.

The contextual use of the Danielic beasts and particularly the attention paid to the little horn, which is not simply symbolism subordinated to the confrontation between the beasts, the sea, and the heavenly figures,<sup>1</sup> distinguishes this vision from the Canaanite myths.

#### The Ancient of Days, the Son of Man, and Ugarit

Collins wrote that "the clustering of images which we find in Dan 7:9-14 can only be understood directly against a background of Canaanite myth. . . . It derives from a Canaanite enthronement scene in which Baal, rider of the clouds, approaches El, the white-haired father of years who confers kingship on him."<sup>2</sup> Can such a bold claim be substantiated by the evidence?

In answer we propose to investigate whether (1) the Canaanite materials justify the view that El is "father of years" and, specifically, "judge"; (2) El's attitude to Baal and his alleged weakness argue for a parallel between this Ugaritic pair on one hand and the Ancient of Days and the SM on the other; (3) kingship is conferred upon Baal either as a result of Ashtar's impotence, or Baal's successes over Yam and Mot or the house-building motif.

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<sup>1</sup> Pace Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 99-101. Also Colpe (TDNT, 8:416) who writes: "The Son of Man has been identified as the storm-god Baal, who overcomes Ashtar, Iam, Iln or Mot and comes on the clouds, and the Ancient of Days is equated with the gray-haired 'father of years', the king and creator El, who after the victory over the dragon institutes Baal as world-ruler or is driven out by him." Similarly, Emerton, p. 232; Rost, p. 42.

(1) Whereas the epithet "Rider of the Clouds"<sup>1</sup> is frequently attributed to Baal (bearing some similarity to the SM coming "on" or "upon" the clouds of heaven), El is called ʾab šnm four times.<sup>2</sup> It is generally argued that ʾab šnm means "father of years" and, therefore, closely parallels the Ancient of Days in Daniel. This has been challenged recently by Gordon who contends for the translation "Father of (the god) šnm."<sup>3</sup>

"Striking parallels" to the judge and the judgment scene of Dan 7 are discerned in the association of El with a divine assembly (gathered for a feast)<sup>4</sup> and the fact that El is once said to sit as judge. The latter scene is taken from the enigmatic Rephaim cycle in which the old king sits "in state with his young mistress and with the shepherd Haddu singing and playing in court as David sang to old Saul."<sup>5</sup>

The text itself reads:

il . ytb . b. ʿttr  
 il tpt . b hd r<sup>c</sup>y . dyšr w ydmr<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>CTA 3. 2. 40; 3. 3. 35; 4. 3. 11; 4. 5. 122 etc.

<sup>2</sup>CTA 1. 3. 24; 4. 4. 24; 6. 1. 36; 17. 6. 49(?).

<sup>3</sup>"El, Father of šnm," JNES 35 (1976):261-262. Note also the significant questions raised by Colpe, TDNT, 417, also n. 141. The term šnm is construed as the plural of šnt, "year," but there is evidence that this rare form may designate a son of El instead. Cf. Delcor, Daniel, p. 149 and Lacocque, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup>Collins, Daniel, 100-101. The feast, (judgment[?]) is recorded in CTA 2. 1. 19-21; ANET, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup>Cross, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup>RS 24. 252 in Jean Nougayrol et al., Ugaritica V, Mission Ras Shamra, 10 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1968), p. 551. Generally, it is River (Nahar) that is called judge. ET in Cross p. 21.

Van Zijl takes il generically and emends Cross's translation to read, "the god (=Rp<sup>u</sup>) [tpt] the Judge."<sup>1</sup> Since scholarly opinion is divided on the most appropriate translation of il tpt such lone testimony for El as judge should not be pressed. This evidence and El's association with the assembly of the gods in a feast at which Yam's messengers demand Baal are hardly parallels to the judgment scene of the apocalyptist.

(2) In the Canaanite texts El is not always favorably disposed to Baal. Rather, it is Yam and Mot who are clearly designated El's "Beloved." No ready permission met Anath's request for a house for Baal. El had to be cajoled by both Anath and Asherah and even then the granting of their request was somewhat unwilling.<sup>2</sup> While El is generally relatively neutral or even antagonistic in his attitude to Baal, he was at least stricken with grief at the news of Baal's death. On that occasion the father of the gods descended from his throne and engaged in mourning rites in deep sorrow.<sup>3</sup> Although Driver conjectured that the much debated Kephaim cycle portrayed El's celebration of Baal's coronation,<sup>4</sup> it would be well for us to wait until greater consensus can be reached about the meaning of these highly fragmented texts.

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<sup>1</sup>Van Zijl, p. 357. But see also *Ugaritica V*, p. 522; Simon B. Parker ("The Feast of Rāpi<sup>u</sup>," *UF* 1 [1970]:243) treats "il" as the proper name El and dissents from Johannes C. de Moor's ("Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra 1," *UF* 1 [1969]:175) translation "the god who is judging with Haddu . . . ."

<sup>2</sup>*CTA* 4; *ANET*, pp. 131-133.

<sup>3</sup>*CTA* 5. 6; *ANET*, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup>Driver, pp. 9-10.

It used to be customary to sketch the El of Ugarit as a benign, at times somewhat senile, deus otiosus whose cult was being undermined by Baal.<sup>1</sup> In 1968, Text RS 24.258 was published which records a feast El prepared for the gods. Toward the end of the feast El is so drunk that he falls down in his feces.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, in CTA 23, 31-53 El demonstrates his sexual prowess as "a vigorous and prodigiously lusty old man."<sup>3</sup> While significant differences between Sakkunyaton, as noted by Philo of Byblos, and Ugarit remain, the sixth century B.C. writer sketched El as a vigorous god.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, Van Zijl seems to be right when, rejecting any implications that the Ugaritian El lost his place to Baal, he maintains "it cannot be proved that Baal's conflict and victory should be regarded as the securing of the young god's place in the pantheon."<sup>5</sup>

(3) It is by no means certain that the conferral of kingship upon the younger god Baal by the older deity, from which the scene of Dan 7:9-14 is supposedly derived, must be inferred from (a) the demonstration of Ashtar's impotence, (b) Baal's successes over Yam and Mot, and (c) the house-building motif.

(a) In CTA 6. 1. 45-65<sup>6</sup> Lady Asherah proposes that Ashtar be

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Kapelrud, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup>Ugaritica V, pp. 545-551. For translation and notes see B. Margulis "A New Ugaritic Farce," UF 2 (1970):131-138. Also de Moor, "Alphabetic Texts," pp. 167-175.

<sup>3</sup>Cross, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.; note also the essays by James Barr ("Philo of Byblos and His Phoenician History," BJRL 57 [1974-75]:17-68) and Patrick W. Miller ("El the Warrior," HTR 60 [1967]:411-431).

<sup>5</sup>Van Zijl, p. 324.

<sup>6</sup>ANET, p. 140.

made king in place of the dead Baal. Unfortunately Ashtar is too small. His feet do not reach down to the footstool and his head does not extend to the top of Baal's throne. Hence Ashtar resigns and leaves the throne, confining his reign to El's earth. All this column relates is that Ashtar was inadequate for Baal's throne, not a bestowal of kingship on Baal.

(b) Yam is one of Baal's enemies. El is even prepared to hand Baal over to Yam's messengers when they approach the divine assembly with the request for the Son of Dagon.<sup>1</sup> Yet, in CTA 2. 4<sup>2</sup> Baal armed with a club[s(?)] defeats Yam. While Ginsberg argues on the basis of this passage that Yam "does not die, but is only confined to his proper sphere, the seas," Gordon and most other interpreters believe Yam has been slain and Baal achieved the victory and established his supremacy.<sup>3</sup>

Another foe of Baal, the god of thunder and rain, is Mot, the deity linked to drought and death. In CTA 5<sup>4</sup> Mot gleefully receives Baal after the latter has copulated with a heifer. The tablet ends with Baal's defeat and death and an expression of El's and Anath's grief over the slain god. Nevertheless, both Baal and Mot feature again in CTA 6.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately many lines are missing at the beginning and end of a number of columns, while others are defective

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<sup>1</sup>CTA 2. 1; ANET, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup>ANET, pp. 130-131.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.; Gordon, Ugarit, pp. 46-48.

<sup>4</sup>ANET, pp. 138-139.

<sup>5</sup>ANET, pp. 139-141.

and/or obscure. In the tablet Anath, Baal's sister (though Baal is a son of Dagon), challenges Mot and dismembers him for his murder of Baal. Cols. 3-4 record how El had a vision in which he saw the return of the ground's fertility--a sure sign of Baal's regeneration. It is in col. 5 that Baal, after a battle with Asherah's sons, becomes involved in a serious combat with Mot in which they gore and bite each other like animals.

The last column of the tablet explains that the ferocious encounter ends when the sun deity intervenes and reminds Mot that should his father El hear of the duel, Mot would lose his kingship. Mot, terror-stricken, desists from further fighting and Baal is mentioned again in connection with kingship. Unfortunately, at this point in the narrative the lines are too defective to enable any clear reconstruction. While the majority of students believe that the text establishes Baal's sole kingship, it is quite possible that Baal and Mot continue their kingships in uneasy truce. In any case, neither Baal's relations with Yam nor his dealings with Mot establish unquestionably the ultimate conferral of kingship upon Baal. (Furthermore, the very idea of Baal's death and resurrection finds no parallel in the vicissitudes of the SM.)

(c) The significance of the house-building motif, referred to particularly in CTA 4<sup>1</sup> and CTA 3,<sup>2</sup> has been interpreted variously. Gray regards the motif as part of the fertility cycle linked with the hieros gamos.<sup>3</sup> For van Zijl "the entire building episodes

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 131-135.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 135-138.

<sup>3</sup>Gray, p. 43.

amounts [sic] to a self-disclosure which is associated with rain, thunder, clouds, fire and lightning."<sup>1</sup> Kapelrud regards the motif a reference to the building of a temple to Baal, the founder of a cult.<sup>2</sup>

Researchers who assume that the house-building episode establishes Baal's kingship fail to explain adequately the significance of the installation of the window for Baal's kingship. In addition, CTA 4. 1. 10-19<sup>3</sup> states that all the gods except Baal have a house. While this may be true for El, Asherah, and her children, it applies neither to Prince Sea<sup>4</sup> nor to Ashtar.<sup>5</sup> Both Anath and Asherah have to implore El to give Baal a house. El appears to grant his permission for the erection of Baal's house only indirectly and unwillingly. Yet, Kapelrud believes the textually corrupt CTA 1 contains a ready command of El to the divine master-builder to erect an abode for Yam.<sup>6</sup> Gordon, who places CTA 2. 3(?)<sup>7</sup> at the beginning of his mythological corpus, suggests that the gist of this text actually sketches the erection of Yam's house.

On the assumption that the building motif establishes kingship, both Yam and Baal would have attained to kingship since they possess houses. Obviously this was only one mode of gaining this privilege

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<sup>1</sup>Van Zijl, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup>Kapelrud, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup>ANET, p. 131. Cf. Also CTA 4. 4. 50-58. ANET, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup>CTA 2. 3(?). 1-10; ANET, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Kapelrud, p. 113. ET in Gordon, Ugarit, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup>ANET, p. 129.

For in CTA 6<sup>1</sup> Ashtar was elevated to Baal's throne purely by nomination. Moreover, thrones are associated with Yam and Mot as well as Baal.<sup>2</sup>

Just as Dan 7 omits a battle between the SM and the beast(s) or sea, so it knows no trace of a prominent Ugaritian house-building motif for the establishment of kingship of the SM. The idea that the Ancient of Days may at one time have been more favorably disposed to the beast(s) or sea (as El was to Yam) than to the SM finds not the slightest reflection in the apocalypticist. At any rate, our sketch of the materials has demonstrated, and Collins acknowledges, that "we do not have a description of the enthronement of Baal, which might provide a direct parallel to Dan 7."<sup>3</sup>

### Conclusion

While the apocalyptic SM and the Ancient of Days may share some remote resemblances with Baal and El (e.g., "Rider of the Clouds," "Father of years[?]") and the visionary scene of judgment succeeds that of the beasts, these incidental correspondences are outweighed by significant differences.

The individual complexes of Dan 7--the sea, the four (presumably successive) beasts, the little horn, the judgment, the SM, the Ancient of Days, and the saints of the Most High--find themselves in an entirely different context from those of Yam, Mot, the Serpent,

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<sup>1</sup>ANET, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup>Notice the statistical information concerning kingship by Werner H. Schmidt, Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel (BZAW: Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1966), p. 22 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Daniel, p. 101.



Baal, Anath, and El. The Canaanite texts do not substantiate the claim that El abdicates his throne or transfers his kingship to Baal. There is no record of an enthronement of Baal which would correspond to the SM receiving kingship. The quiet solemnity and dignity with which the Ancient of Days, the SM, and the judgment are clothed differs strikingly from the raucus feasts at which the divine Ugaritic councils gather, allegedly providing a parallel to Dan 7:9-10.

In the OT Yahweh possesses attributes of both El and Baal. Like the former he is creator and king; like the latter he rides on the clouds (Isa 19:1) and battles the chaos dragon (Ps 74:14). As the Ancient of Days in Daniel he destroys the fourth beast and bestows power graciously and without being dethroned."<sup>1</sup>

The kingdom and world-wide eternal dominion are bestowed without combat between the SM and the beast(s) and/or sea, or house-building motifs. The apocalyptist knows no death of the SM followed by joy over his resuscitation. How is it that some of the erstwhile deified personages lost their supernatural character in Dan 7? How precisely did the author of Daniel come by his material from Ugarit? More substantial evidence needs to be advanced.

On the assumption that the Ugaritic mythology is to be interpreted seasonally it must be explained why it has lost this dimension in Dan 7. In the context the apocalyptist focuses on other features like the little horn, the saints of the Most High, and the judgment which can neither be generalized nor subsumed as incidentals to an alleged struggle between the Ancient of Days, the SM, and chaos.

Intermediate stages have been speculated allowing for theological adjustments, but no objective verification has been ad-

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<sup>1</sup>Frederick M. Wilson, "The Son of Man in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," StudBT 8 (1978):36.

vanced which compels belief. Even granting the proposed creative freedom claimed for the writer of Dan 7, it is pointedly apparent that the author has changed the scene of Canaan beyond recognition. One would not want to press for parallels of all details for no scholar affirms this. Yet, so many modifications have to be assumed that there would be no difference between proposing an extremely fertile creativity of the apocalyptist and a discontinuity between Ugarit and Dan 7. Once the single parallel terms are studied in their total context a discontinuity between Ugarit and Dan 7 suggests itself.

Our analysis so far has shown that there is hardly a significant scholarly consensus as to the precise extra-biblical prototype for the SM. In addition, our examination of religio-historical origins of and parallels to the SM in Babylonian, Egyptian, Iranian, Hellenistic, Gnostic, and Ugaritic literature has given evidence of only a few verbal and punctiliar correspondences. The phenomenological totalities of the various texts differ markedly from that evoked by Dan 7:9-13. It seems that in the interests of certain hypotheses of derivation and predetermined literary connections, single parallel terms and motifs have been wrenched out of their contextual moorings. While we must guard against the extreme which conceives of Israel's religion as radically and wholly discontinuous with its environment (as Cross has cautioned), we must be equally wary of the other extreme which neglects differences, evidenced by the data, in the interests of a theory.<sup>1</sup> It is possible, of course,

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<sup>1</sup>Cross, p. viii.

to accuse us of a lack of sensitivity and to contend that our author was not indebted to any particular source but appropriated various alien images which he then assimilated into his own Yahwistic faith. But even such an argument or premonition needs to be based on some concrete evidence, for we have seen the danger to which we subject ourselves if we reason purely from parallels. Is it not more than coincidence that every attempt to track down the data suggested for a prototype to the SM ends in an impasse or failure? Would it not then be just as reasonable (if not even more so) to suppose (particularly in the light of the above discussion) a complete discontinuity between the Danielic manlike being and the alleged extra-biblical roots. This is not to deny the need to search for possible extra-biblical origins of or parallels to biblical motifs, but it is a caveat suggested by our evaluation of alien prototypes to the SM.

Possibly Zevit's notion that:

Perhaps the source of the images in Dan 7 should be sought within those books upon which we are fairly certain that the author's faith was nurtured. . . . It is most doubtful that he would have used any imagery that smacked of paganism as a vehicle for the message so clearly set forth in this chapter. If any images were adopted from the non-Jewish world, they must have been neutral ones.<sup>1</sup>

is not as primitive and naive as Lebram is inclined to believe.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed the complete lack of longitudinal parallels between the SM and extra-biblical figures and texts invites us to investigate both origins and correspondences which find an answer to the nature and

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<sup>1</sup>Zevit, "Structure," p. 391; cf. Ernst Sellin, Die israelitisch-jüdische Heilandserwartung (Berlin: E. Runge, 1901), p. 72; Robert H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941), p. 768.

<sup>2</sup>Lebram, p. 27.

identity of the SM within the biblical traditions. The want of linear correspondences may also support the opinion that the writer of Dan 7 should not "be denied any creative talent in composing this apocalypse as something uniquely his own."<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of substantial proof that the author of Dan 7:9-13 appropriated his imagery from foreign sources,<sup>2</sup> we need not be detained by the objections raised against biblical SM origins or parallels based upon a lack of precise conformity between visionary and interpretive details in Dan 7.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hartman and Di Lella, p. 87; cf. Montgomery, pp. 323-324; Plöger, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup>Among scholars who either moderately rely upon or reject religio-historical SM origin hypotheses may be listed Sellin, p. 72; Hertlein, Menschensohnfrage, pp. 53-98 (however, his motive is to prove a Roman date for Daniel); Montgomery, p. 323; Feuillet, p. 180; Kruse, pp. 147-161, 193-211; Coppens and Dequeker, p. 68 nn. 43-44; Plöger, pp. 109, 113, 114; and J. C. Hindley who spoke of the "widely accepted collapse of the more elaborate constructions of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule in this area" ("Towards a Date for the Similitudes of Enoch," NTS 14 [1968]:552). Also Müller, Messias, pp. 26-30; Matthew Black, "Die Apotheose Israels: eine neue Interpretation des danielischen 'Menschensohns'," in Jesus und der Menschensohn, p. 95; Vern S. Poythress "The Holy Ones of the Most High in Daniel VII," VT 26 (1976):210-213; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup>E.g., Gressmann, Ursprung, pp. 340-341; Kraeling, Anthropos, pp. 132-134; Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung," p. 222; Colpe, TDNT, 8:406. Nevertheless, we will return to this phenomenon in our next chapter.

It might be objected that our presentation failed to examine any possible SM derivations from the Similitudes of Enoch (1 Enoch 37-71). This could have been expected in the light of recent claims by Francis T. Glasson ("The Son of Man Imagery: Enoch XIV and Daniel VII," NTS 23 [1976]:82-90) and Matthew Black ("The 'Parables' of Enoch [1 En 37-71] and the 'Son of Man'," ExpTim 88 [1976]:5-8) that Dan 7 shows a literary dependence on 1 Enoch.

In response we should like to add that the problem of dating the Similitudes remains a notorious difficulty and the great majority of recent scholarly works rejects the suggested dependence of Dan 7

Biblical Origin and Parallel Hypotheses

Among the images alleged to provide biblical prototypes or parallels to the Daniel SM are (1) the Messiah; (2) the "son of man" (אָדָם בֶּן אָדָם or אֲנֹכִי) in Job 15:14-16; 25:4-6; Pss 8:4 (H--vs. 5) and 80:17 (H--vs. 18); (3) the "likeness as it were of a human form" (דְמוּת כְּמֵרֵאָה אָדָם) in Ezek 1:26-28 and the hypostatized form of wisdom; and (4) a heavenly or angel figure, particularly Gabriel or Michael.

The Messiah and the Son of Man

In the previous chapter we observed that the dominant Jewish and Christian interpretation of the Danielic SM during the first nineteen centuries of our era identified the SM with the Messiah.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the subject of the "Messiah" is as complex as that of the SM and a full discussion would take us well beyond the scope of this work. The relationship between the two figures depends largely upon (1) the definition given to terms like "Messiah," "messianic," "messianism" and (2) the selection of authentic messianic biblical

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(e.g., Balz, pp. 72-76, 86; J. C. Hindley, pp. 551-565; Józef T. Milik, "Problèmes de la littérature Hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân," HTR 64 (1971):377-378; Müller, Messias, pp. 33, 36 n. 1; Theisohn, p. 24; Nickelsburg, p. 76 n. 114; Eduard Schweizer, "Menschensohn und eschatologischer Mensch im Frühjudentum," in Jesus und der Menschensohn, p. 101; John Bowker, "The Son of Man," JTS 28 (1977):26; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 88 n. 206). The latest appraisal was given by Michael E. Stone who thinks 1 Enoch 37-71 "probably come from the last century B.C.E." ("The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E." CBQ 40 [1978]:492). Stone also claims that Glasson "argues unconvincingly for the literary dependence of Dan 7 on 1 Enoch 14" (*ibid.*), p. 484. Until the issue of dates is settled more satisfactorily it seems unwise to argue for prototypes from 1 Enoch 37-71.

<sup>1</sup>See pp. 4-12.

passages.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, while the SM was certainly associated with the Messiah (if not at times actually identified with him) in the Pseudepigrapha and NT,<sup>2</sup> we must resist the temptation to read these later concepts back into Dan 7 (as was done repeatedly by Christian commentators who interpreted the Danielic human-like figure in the light of the NT use of the SM), unless the context of Dan 7 justifies such an understanding.

If by Messiah is understood the "Anointed" descendent of David, whose future was given a radically new meaning by later biblical passages in which the monarch was depicted as the ideal Davidide, perfect and righteous, the very embodiment of the dynastic ideal, reigning

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<sup>1</sup>A definition is complicated by the wide range of meanings scholars assign to these terms ("Müller registers the same frustration ["Menschensohn," p. 78 n. 92]). Thus, for example, Mowinckel is as certain that "Messiah" denotes only an eschatological figure (and not an actual reigning king [pp. 3, 451-452]) as is Ivan Engnell that "messianism" means primarily "elaborate king ideology" and not "eschatological messianism" (Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East 2d ed. [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967], p. 43 n. 3). Since מָשִׁיחַ in the OT is used most often for the empirical king of Israel or Judah (besides designating the high priest), Mowinckel's definition seems hardly appropriate; surely the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes. Thus "Messiah" designates a descendent of David who figures in the end-time. For an extensive bibliography see Ernst Jenni, "Messiah, Jewish," IDB, 3:365. The problem is further vexed by the degree to which one assumes the appropriation of foreign ideas by Jewish messianic thought (cf. de Vaux, pp. 111-113; Bright, pp. 220-223). Even more problematic is a systematic theory of the "Messiah" for the late Jewish period when a confusing abundance of views on an ultimate ruler prevailed.

<sup>2</sup>Jenni, pp. 363-364; Bright, p. 460. But note Charles H. Dodd who comments on the idea that the Similitudes of Enoch "are in any case an isolated and probably eccentric authority for the association of the title 'Son of Man' with an 'apocalyptic Messiah', and cannot be used with any confidence to elucidate the New Testament" (According to the Scriptures [London: Nisbet, 1965], pp. 116-117).

over Israel in an idyllic future,<sup>1</sup> then we may register a number of impressive parallels between the Messiah and the Danielic SM.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, we note the following messianic traits: (1) the SM receives dominion, glory, and the kingdom (Dan 7:14a); (2) all peoples, nations, and languages will serve him (vs. 14a); (3) his kingdom is everlasting and indestructible (vs. 14b); and (4) from

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<sup>1</sup>Ellis Rivkin summarized the optimal solution envisaged by the prophets as "a perfect king, a perfect society, perfect peace among the nations, and perfect harmony throughout God's creation. Swords would be beaten into plowshares, the lion would lie down with the lamb, war would be unthinkable, and justice, righteousness, mercy, and the knowledge of the Lord would be the norm. Over such a perfect society, a shoot from the stock of Jesse would reign as the wonderful counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. The throne of David would be synonymous with justice and righteousness (Isa. 2:1-4; 9:2-7; 11:1-9; Amos 9:11; Jer. 33:14-22; Ezek. 37:24-28)" ("Messiah, Jewish," IDBSup, p. 588).

<sup>2</sup>In response to the Presidential Address by Richard Kugelman ("Son of Man Theology: Some Questions," CBQ 35 [1973]:494-495), Walter Wifall argued that the expression "son of man," which originally characterized a certain social class but later was democratized, had been associated with second millennium B.C. royal traditions in Palestine. It was then applied to David and his family but became also the title for a heavenly figure and the expression of a shared humanity. Though the term followed a long trajectory from the middle Bronze Age down to NT times, it consistently reflected its messianic origin in both OT and late Jewish apocalyptic. Wifall bases his conclusions on studies made by Brueggemann, Wolff, and Clements, and the assumption that the "David Story" in Samuel-Kings served not only as a prototype for the account of Israel's primeval history (in which David is actually the "man" of the Urzeit) and patriarchal stories (in which the promissory covenant between God and Abraham is based on that of David) but also as a pattern for descriptions of her future. The "son of man" of Jewish apocalyptic and the NT has its roots--along with such other concepts as "Messiah" and "Servant"--in the pre-exilic traditions of the Davidic monarchy. With the fall of the monarchy and the exile the SM concept "disintegrated" only to be "reintegrated" in a modified apocalyptic form in late Judaism and the NT ("Son of Man--A Pre-Davidic Social Class." CBQ 37 [1975]:331-340 and id., "David: Prototype of Israel's Future?" BTB 4 [1974]:94-107).

vss. 18 and 27 it may be inferred that the SM shares his rule with the saints.<sup>1</sup> If vss. 13-14 depict a royal investiture the affinities between the SM and the Messiah just noted would be strengthened.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, a most powerful objection prevents us from identifying the Danielic SM and the Messiah. Even with all the divine prerogatives attributed to the Messiah<sup>3</sup> the latter still falls far short of the heavenly, transcendent, eschatological, Danielic figure (with messianic characteristics) which is ushered into the presence of the Ancient of Days with (or "upon") the clouds. Even the מְשִׁיחַ of Dan 9:25 (if it be accepted as a title of the expected king and

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<sup>1</sup>Wilson observes correctly, "It is possible that each [SM and saints] receives the kingdom independently from the Ancient of Days. It is equally conceivable that this manlike figure would be expected to bring the kingdom to the saints on earth. We must confess, however, that from the text alone the issue can hardly be decided" ("Son of Man," p. 38).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Montgomery, p. 304; Delcor, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup>Balz reviews the sharp distinctions which authors have drawn between national Messiah and apocalyptic SM in the context of demarcations between national eschatology and apocalyptic. His own thesis, which proposes that both Danielic SM and Messiah are closely related conceptions in which Daniel reinterprets and transcendentalizes the Messiah, is based on the variegated and mixed conceptions of the Messiah in late Jewish documents other than Daniel. While his argument that the national Messiah, the Son of David, was idealized and characterized by transcendent traits is acceptable (e.g., Pss. Sol. 17:22-31) even such descriptions still fall short of the heavenly, eschatological, "messianic" SM (pp. 48-71). Müller rejects Balz's thesis (Messias, pp. 35-36); cf. also Junker, p. 62. Engnell anchors the SM in the earliest religio-historical stratum, the complex of ideas centering around the person of the sacral king. With the passing of time, Engnell claims, the SM was set free from the cultic mooring and transferred to an eschatological, apocalyptic, and transcendent heavenly savior-figure whose coming ushers in the messianic age. Consequently, Engnell reasons, the NT SM concept is not derived from Dan 7 but from a more ancient Israelite idea represented in Daniel (Scrutiny, pp. 238-241). Unfortunately Engnell provides virtually no substantial proof for his hypothesis.



deliverer of Israel) differs from the SM.<sup>1</sup> Unless we are compelled to assume that the author of Dan 7 has laid aside all human characteristics attached to the Messiah, the force of Feuillet's criticism stands:

Car si le Fils de l'homme reçoit à la fin des temps l'empire universel, ce qui est de toute évidence une fonction messianique, l'écrivain sacré ne dit pas un mot de son rattachement à la dynastie davidique. En outre, tandis que le Messie est toujours donné en premier lieu comme un homme, même dans les oracles où on souligne les plus fortement ses prérogatives surnaturelles, ici on est en présence d'un être céleste qui apparaît sous forme humaine.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, though the several points of contact between the Messiah and the SM could have given rise to their identification as well as the transcendentalizing of the Messiah in Pseudepigrapha and NT, their identity does not as yet appear in Dan 7. It is also possible that the messianic characteristics noted above provided the impetus for the persistent messianic exegesis of Dan 7:13 by Jewish exegetes throughout most of the Christian era.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. the commentaries, e.g., Hartman and Di Lella, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup>Feuillet, p. 193 (the author then goes on to suggest how such a transformation could have occurred). Cf. also Otto Procksch, "Der Menschensohn als Gottessohn," *CHuW* 3 (1927):432; Wilson, "Son of Man," p. 38. Borsch asks, then answers: "Is he the Messiah? The best answer is both yes and no. He is the messianic king in the sense that he is the royal figure . . . who will do all that was expected of the Messiah. There would be no room both for a Messiah and for one such as Daniel describes. Yet he is not the Messiah in so far as others would be thinking of an earthly hero who would establish his glorious reign on earth. Seen in this way, the two conceptions are mutually exclusive even though they spring from the same soil" (p. 143).

Similarly Dumbrell notes: "The question may be further raised whether the Son of Man is a messianic figure. Inasmuch as dominion is involved in both roles there is, of course, overlap. The dominion of the Son of Man, however, appears to be prospective. Dominion is certainly given to him in heaven that all peoples, nations and languages

## The "Son of Man" (or "man") in Job and Psalms

More or less direct antecedents to the SM have been traced to Job 15:14-16; 25:4-6; Pss 8:4 (H--vs. 5) and 80:17 (H--vs. 18).<sup>1</sup> Of these passages the first three display linguistic correspondences to Dan 7:13. Thus the locution בן אדם (the Hebrew equivalent of the Aramaic בר אנש) recurs in synonymous parallelism, with אנש in Job 25:6 and Ps 8:4 (H--vs. 5). The two passages read:

How much less man (אנש) who is a maggot  
and the son of man (בן אדם), who is a worm (Job 25:6).  
What is man (אנש) that thou art mindful of him,  
and the son of man (בן אדם) that thou dost care for him?  
(Ps. 8:4 [H--vs. 5]).

If in addition Job 25:6 parallels 25:4:

How then can man (אנש) be righteous before God?  
How can he who is born of woman (ילוד אשה) be clean?

then אנש, which in the above passages was complemented by בן אדם is also paralleled by ילוד אשה in vs. 4. A similar parallelismus membrorum may be found in the correspondence of אנש and ילוד אשה in Job 15:14:

What is man (אנש), that he can be clean?  
Or he that is born of a woman (ילוד אשה), that he can be  
righteous?

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might serve him, but the realisation of all this still awaits manifestation, and this much is clear from the subsequent course of the chapter. In this ultimate sense the Son of Man figure is not messianic, for we have no warranty in the Old Testament for going beyond a concept of messiahship which does not refer to kingship exercised" (pp. 20-21).

<sup>1</sup>More recently, Black, "Apotheose," pp. 92-94; Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 98-100; cf. Hooker, pp. 19-20.

However, apart from the use of  $\text{דָּמָה גַּב}$  (which here is identical with  $\text{שָׁנָה}$ ) in these poetic passages, no contextual justification can be adduced for the alleged parallel with the SM of Dan 7. In Job 15:14 and 25:4-6  $\text{דָּמָה גַּב}$ ,  $\text{שָׁנָה}$ , and  $\text{הָאֱשֶׁר יִלְלֶנּוּ}$  evoke the humble origin of generic man and his lack of moral righteousness in the face of God's exalted character and awe-inspiring purity. There is nothing in Dan 7 to suggest such a state for the manlike being unless we prejudge the SM to be a symbol of the Jews, who, though designated "holy," were subject to the limitations of humanity. For this reason Di Lella's conclusion: "The relationship between this text [Job 25:4-6] and Daniel 7 suggests that the 'one in human likeness', symbol of 'the holy ones', will be granted an eternal kingdom despite his lowly estate and past sins" seems somewhat tendentious.<sup>1</sup>

Ps 8:4 (H--vs. 5) is part of a hymn of praise, the date and Sitz im Leben of which are difficult to ascertain. The psalm recalls God's infinite majesty and power, humanity's relative frailty, and the dignity the Creator has bestowed upon man.  $\text{דָּמָה גַּב}$  in Ps 8:4 appears to characterize the smallness of generic man in this theatrum gloriae Dei (Calvin).<sup>2</sup> Consequently, while the writer of Dan 7:13 may have been conscious of the locution  $\text{דָּמָה גַּב}$  in Ps 8 and Job 25, affinities between the passages seem to be limited to linguistics.

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<sup>1</sup>Hartman and Di Lella, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup>However, James Barr is reluctant to give any specific emphasis to man (The Semantics of Biblical Language [Oxford: University Press, 1961], pp. 144-146). Hans-Joachim Kraus correctly dismisses Bentzen's insinuation that this psalm speaks of the primal king and primal man in the sense of sacral ideology (Psalmen, BKAT, 15, 2 vols. [Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961], 1:70-71).

Ps 8:5 (H--vs. 6) adds to the previous synonymous bicolon an assurance of man's dignity when it underscores the fact that man was made a little less than the angels and crowned with glory and honor.<sup>1</sup> For this reason it appears a little strained to deduce from this psalm the idea that man is contrasted with angels in order to sustain the view that the SM in Dan 7 is not an angel.<sup>2</sup>

While it is apparent that Ps 80 is a hymn of national lament, the particular historical circumstances which gave rise to this lament cannot be defined.<sup>3</sup> Dates for this psalm have ranged from the eighth to the second century B.C.; however, currently the pre-exilic period is preferred.<sup>4</sup> Vs. 2 (H--vs. 3) indicates that Ps 80 deals with a considerable threat to the central Palestinian tribes Ephraim,

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<sup>1</sup>The translation of  $\text{D}^{\prime}\eta\text{L}^{\prime}\text{M}$  by "God" (followed by Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion) does not seem to be as appropriate as "angels" (so in LXX, Targum, Syriac, Vulgate), since the preceding verses have just stressed man's insignificance before the incomparable greatness of God (cf. Arnold A. Anderson, The Book of Psalms, NCB, 2 vols. [London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1972], 1:103).

<sup>2</sup>Implied by Di Lella (Hartman and Di Lella, p. 98). He adds later: "If the author of Daniel 7 had in mind Job 15:14-16, as well as Job 25:4-6, then more support is given to our exegesis that the 'one in human likeness' symbolizes the faithful Jews, and not an angel . . . who then symbolizes the rest of the angels who in turn symbolize the nation of Israel. For in Job 15:15, 'his holy ones' . . . who in this context certainly are angels, are placed in sharp contrast with man who is prone to sin and evil" (ibid., pp. 99-100). Di Lella presumably attacks views such as advanced by Collins, "Son of Man," pp. 55-66.

<sup>3</sup>Hans Schmidt, Die Psalmen, HAT, 15 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1934), pp. 153-154; Kraus, pp. 555-556; Artur Weiser, The Psalms, trans. Herbert Hartwell, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), p. 547; Mitchell Dahood, Psalms, AB, 16-18, 3 vols. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965-1970), 2:255; Anderson, p. 581; Derek Kidner, Psalms, TOTC, 2 vols. (London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1973-1975), 2:288-289.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Kraus, 1:556-557, and all the commentaries cited in the previous note.

Manasseh, and Benjamin, apparently after the dissolution of the united monarchy (vss. 10-11 [H--vss. 11-12]). While more precision is speculative it has been suggested that the tragedy envisaged may be tied either to the period between 732-722 B.C., when the northern kingdom chafed under the Assyrian rod, or to the days of Josiah, whom Kraus would cautiously consider to be the  $\text{D}\text{T}\text{N} \text{ } \gamma\text{ } \beth$  of vs. 17 (H--vs. 18).<sup>1</sup>

The subject of the psalm is a petition for the restitution of Israel's erstwhile glory which has vanished because of God's wrath. Israel, compared to a vine and a vineyard (vss. 8 and 12 [H--vs. 9 and 13]), has been left without protection and the alien, like a bear or beast of the forest ravages her country (vs. 13 [H--vs. 14]). The congregation (it is not certain whether the words were sung in the Jerusalem temple)<sup>2</sup> pleads for victory over her enemies and restoration of the vine God had once planted.<sup>3</sup> Then vs. 17 (H--vs. 18) reads:

But let thy hand be upon the man ( $\text{W}\text{ } \text{A}$ ) of thy right hand  
the son of man ( $\text{D}\text{T}\text{N} \text{ } \gamma\text{ } \beth$ ) whom thou hast made strong for thyself!

While Schmidt, Kraus, Dahood, and Anderson<sup>4</sup> may be cited

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<sup>1</sup>The LXX prefaces the psalm: "a psalm concerning the Assyrians" cf. Weiser, p. 547; Dahood, 2:255. But see Kraus, 1:557.

<sup>2</sup>Schmidt, Psalmen, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup>Commentators are not agreed on the retention or rejection of vs. 15b (H--vs. 16b). Thus RSV and Anderson eliminate the colon (Anderson, Psalms, 2:586) but Dahood retains the reading and applies it to the king (Dahood, 2:260); also Black, "Apotheose," p. 93.

<sup>4</sup>Schmidt, Psalmen, p. 154; Kraus, 1:559; Dahood supports his interpretation of  $\text{ } \gamma\text{ } \beth$  as king by the use of the verb  $\text{ } \gamma\text{D}\text{N}$  ("to make strong") in Ps 89:21 (H--vs. 22). He also alludes to Ps 110:1 to corroborate the royal interpretation (Dahood, 2:260). The Targumic



advent of the Ancient of Days and the commencement of the judgment scene at which the SM is introduced).

The linguistic correspondence of  $\text{דָּם בֶּן}$  in Job 25:6, Ps 8:4, and Ps 80:17 with  $\text{בֶּן אֱנוֹשׁ}$ <sup>1</sup> (though the significant comparative particle  $\text{כִּי}$  preceding SM in Dan 7:13 is absent) and thematic affinities of motifs (e.g., Israel's hardship, and beasts to depict ruling kingdoms in Ps 80) may indeed argue for the fact that the author of Dan 7 was aware of this traditional material and perhaps even utilized some of its poetic imagery.<sup>2</sup> Yet, we doubt that the available data provides sufficient evidence for a direct derivation of the SM, let alone a defense of either collective or individual interpretations of the manlike figure of Dan 7.

#### Derivations from Ezekiel and Hypostatized Wisdom

Roots for the Danielic SM have also been detected in Ezekiel and the Sapiential literature. Half a century ago Otto Procksch wrote:

Fragen wir nun nach der Wurzel der apokalyptischen Vorstellung vom Menschensohn, die uns zuerst bei Daniel entgegentritt, so müssen wir als Hauptkennzeichen dieser Figur festhalten, dass sie nicht irdischen, sondern himmlischen Ursprungs ist, so dass wir gut tun, sie von der Messiasvorstellung grundsätzlich zu unterscheiden. Da scheint sich mir nun die Wurzel bei Hesekiel, dem Vater der Apokalyptik, zu bieten. . . . Wie bei Hesekiel, so haben wir aber bei Daniel eine menschliche Gestalt (Dn. 7,13), die in Wirklichkeit keine irdische, sondern eine himmlische Gestalt ist, deren Machtumfang dem Machtumfang Gottes gleicht. Demnach muss die Gestalt des Menschensohnes in der Apokalyptik aus der theologischen Hypostasierung des Gottesbildes erklärt werden, da sie uns den Schlüssel zu einem vollständigen Verständnis

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<sup>1</sup>George W. Anderson's comment on "son of man" in Ps 80:17 is illuminating: "It is unlikely that the expression is used in the special sense (Dan 7:13ff)." ("The Psalms," PCB, p. 430).

<sup>2</sup>Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 98-99.

reicht. Hesekiel's εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ scheint mir daher bei Daniel hypostasiert zu sein, sodass sie aus dem Rahmen des Spiegels gewissermassen heraus getreten und lebendig geworden ist.<sup>1</sup>

Three decades later Feuillet composed "Le fils de l'homme de Daniel et la tradition biblique"<sup>2</sup> in which he continued and extended the root Procksch proposed for the SM. In his significant but somewhat neglected essay, Feuillet contended that there is both a literary and theological connection between the SM of Dan 7 and Ezek 1.<sup>3</sup> Among features common to both compositions he listed the "cloud motif," the imagery of the living beings, the four beasts, various details dealing with the throne-vision, and particularly the occurrence of "one having the appearance of a man" (כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם) in Dan 8:15. According to Feuillet these and other features establish Danielic dependence upon Ezekiel. In summary he remarks:

En tenant compte de toutes ces données, on peut donc avancer que le Fils de l'homme de Daniel appartient nettement à la catégorie du divin et est comme une sorte d'incarnation de la gloire divine, au même titre que la silhouette humaine contemplée par Ézéchiél (1,26).<sup>4</sup>

Feuillet then extends his discussion of the SM's origin to the Wisdom literature (including Prov 1-9, Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, 1 Bar 3:9-4:4), which he believes is no stranger to messianic hopes.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Der Menschensohn," pp. 432-433; id., "Christus im Alten Testament," NKZ 44 (1933):81; id., Theologie des Alten Testaments (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1950), pp. 416-417. Walther Eichrodt follows Procksch's conception of the SM (Theology of the Old Testament, trans. J. A. Baker, OTL, 2 vols. (London: S. C. M. Press, 1967), 2:34.

<sup>2</sup>Feuillet, pp. 170-202, 321-346.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 182. Earlier Bowman had observed some of the same associations Feuillet lists (p. 285).

<sup>4</sup>Feuillet, pp. 188-189.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 321-346.



Our author recognizes that Daniel, particularly the SM passage, is impregnated with sapiential terms and themes. Having studied the figure of hypostatized Wisdom he submits that the Wisdom literature served as an intermediary between the prophetic Messiah and the "divine," "preexistent," and "heavenly" Danielic figure.

More recently, Horst Balz stressed the importance of Ezekiel for an understanding of the SM. Thus, the manlike form is "als eine 'Absplitterung' der göttlichen Herrlichkeiterscheinung im Zusammenhang mit der ezechielischen Tradition aus dem Gedanken und der Anschauung von der Herrlichkeit und Mächtigkeit Gottes selbst hervorgegangen."<sup>1</sup> According to Balz, the SM developed in the context of hypostasis formations of late Judaism through a splitting off of formerly divine functions from the epiphany of God's glory (in Ezek 1:26) and the ascription to it of originally divine eschatological forensic powers. Our author argues that the idea of a second independent figure is already intimated in the angel commissioned to carry out certain judicial acts in Ezek 8-11, 43.<sup>2</sup> Balz concludes:

In Ez 8-11, 43 lag die Anschauung von einer bereits selbständigen menschlichen und messianisch priesterlichen Gestalt vor; der Verfasser von Dan 7:1-14 muss dann den entscheidenden Schritt getan haben, indem er aus der in menschlichen Zügen geschilderten Herrlichkeit Gottes und ihrem Mandatar, dem priesterlichen Stellvertreter, in visionärer Bildsprache zwei himmlische Herrlichkeitswesen gebildet hat, den Hochbetagten auf den göttlichen Thronen und den Menschenähnlichen mit den . . . Wolken.<sup>3</sup>

Doubtless, there are a number of terminological and ideational paral-

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<sup>1</sup>Balz, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

rels between Daniel and Ezekiel. For one, the locution  $\text{דַּמְרָא אֲדָם}$  is found in Ezekiel more often than in any other biblical book. Yet the approximately ninety uses always refer to the prophet Ezekiel (in the same way Dan 8:17 refers to Daniel).<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the meaning of  $\text{דַּמְרָא אֲדָם}$  in Ezekiel is rather remote from  $\text{כִּכְרֵי אֱנֹשׁ}$  in Dan 7:13.<sup>2</sup>

More specifically, the SM has been associated with Yahweh's appearance in Ezek 1:26 described by  $\text{דְּמוּת כְּמוֹת אֲדָם}$  (the name "Yahweh" can only be inferred from Ezek 1:28). Within Ezek 1, which has been specified the first part of the "throne-theophanic prophetic commission"<sup>3</sup> of Ezekiel, vss. 26-28 represent the *raison d'être* of the entire preceding vision of four living creatures sustaining the throne of Yahweh's glory. In the present text, the prophetic portrayal moves step by step through the vision, commencing with its lower sections and reaching its climax in the "appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord." Every major stage of the characterization is

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<sup>1</sup>Georg Fohrer emphasizes that  $\text{דַּמְרָא אֲדָם}$  in God's mouth stresses the prophet's lowliness and littleness vis-à-vis the one addressing him (Ezechiel, HAT, 13 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (P. Siebeck), 1935], p. 17). Similarly John W. Wevers, Ezekiel, NCB (London: Nelson, 1969), p. 51. The title itself has nothing to do with the "Messiah," "Wisdom," or "a heavenly mediator." On the contrary, it refers simply to the prophet, so Joseph Coppens, "Le messianisme sapientiel et les origines littéraires du fils de l'homme danielique," in Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East eds. Martin Noth and D. Winston Thomas, VTSup 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955), p. 40; cf. Balz, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup>Unless we accept the unlikely interpretation of Schmid, who believes the SM is Daniel the Prophet (pp. 192-220).

<sup>3</sup>The English name is Black's ("Apotheose," p. 95 n. 13). While there is no unanimity on the unity of Ezekiel the passages we will examine are generally recognized as being original. Fohrer argues for the unity of 1:1-3:15 (p. 6) whereas Wevers (pp. 40-42) and Zimmerli considerably reduce the authentically original material (Walther Zimmerli, Ezechiel, BKAT, 13, 2 vols. [Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969], 1:41).

punctuated by words of approximation like כְּמֵרָאָה (כ) and/or דְּמִוּת. These terms are concentrated at the beginning (vs. 5) and particularly at the consummation of the vision (vss. 26-28). The four living creatures are sketched essentially as human beings, and the prophetic details record primarily those features which differ from this basic comparison. Once the prophet reaches the portrayal of Yahweh, the prophet's restraint is marked by an intensification of locutions of resemblance. Any clear determination is avoided and only bold contours are provided by the words וְעַל דְּמוּת הַכְּסֵא דְּמִוּת כְּמֵרָאָה אָדָם and הִנֵּה מֵרָאָה דְּמִוּת כְּבִרְדֵי יְהוָה.

That which is common to both Ezekiel and Daniel is their visionary style in which the details of the vision can only be approximated to the empirical realm. Yet in Ezekiel, the one described as having "a likeness: as it were of human form" is Yahweh, while in Dan 7 the SM represents an eschatological and heavenly figure appearing alongside the Ancient of Days (who is presumably Yahweh). The SM is brought into the presence of the latter and receives dominion and glory from him, which means that he is cast in a functional role subordinate to the Ancient of Days. There is neither identity of the two figures in Dan 7 nor a distinction of the one in Ezek 1:26.<sup>1</sup>

While we would not deny the phenomenon of hypostatizations in late Judaism, the evidence before us does not appear to corroborate the suggestion that the SM belongs to this category. The proposed associations of terms and ideas between Ezekiel and Daniel must be tested for what may at first appear to be an attractive link may be

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Delcor, Daniel, p. 167.

only distantly related imagery. Thus, for example, the identity and purpose of the "living beings" in Ezek 1 (probably representing heavenly ministrants [cf. Ezek 10:1]) is considerably different from that of the four beasts (representative of kings and empires) in Dan 7. Stylistic, linguistic, and occasional remote conceptual relations must not be confused for derivations of ideas or linear developments between two documents.

Much the same applies to Feuillet's extension of the argument into the Wisdom literature.<sup>1</sup> Coppens criticisms are still valid as is also his conclusion:

Dans ces conditions nous ne croyons pas qu'un recours aux traditions littéraires sapientiales, en particulier à la figure de la Sagesse, puisse contribuer beaucoup à expliquer la genèse de la vision du Fils de l'homme. Aussi bien ceux qui y font appel, sont-ils obligés d'alléguer d'autres influences, notamment celle d'Ézéchiél qui nous représente la gloire divine sous l'apparence d'un homme. A mon avis, cette documentation supplémentaire ne rémédie guère aux lacunes entrevues. Dans la description relativement confuse du char sur lequel la gloire divine se manifeste, rien n'évoque la présence d'un être, intermédiaire entre Dieu et les hommes, qui ait pu favoriser l'élaboration du Fils de l'homme daniélique.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, Balz's theory stands undermined by the following observations of Müller:

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<sup>1</sup>Muilenburg also sought to understand the SM in the light of the Wisdom literature (pp. 197-209).

<sup>2</sup>"Le messianisme," pp. 39-40; Coppens examines three of Feuillet's premises and finds them inadequate to establish his thesis. We would not deny the fact that a number of functions attributed to Wisdom, especially in the canonical writings, resemble (sometimes somewhat distantly) those ascribed to the Messiah, thus linking the SM and Wisdom in a relatively sequestered fashion (e.g., compare Prov 8:23 with Ps 2:6-7, Prov 8:14 with Isa 11:2-4). Emerton regards Feuillet's theory improbable and his "attempt to show that the figure of wisdom was the bridge whereby royal traits passed to the Son of man . . . [is] not very convincing" (p. 232 n. 1). He notes, "the analogy of the personified figure of wisdom would lead us to expect the Son of man still to be called the glory of God" (ibid.).

Das Nebeneinander von Altem der Tage und Menschengleichem lässt sich von Ez 1 her nicht verstehen. . . . Die Gestalt des Engelschreibers in Ez 8-11 ist doch zu weit entfernt von der Erscheinung des Menschenähnlichen . . . als dass man in ihm eine Verbindung zum Menschengleichem sehen könnte; im Übrigen ist eine Hypostasierung als Absplitterung göttlicher Funktionen wirklich nicht angedeutet in der Figur des Engelbeauftragten aus Ez 8-11. . . . Diese Engelfigur eignet sich schwerlich als Brücke zur Erscheinung des Menschenähnlichen in Dan 7. Seine Kennzeichnung als der Mandatar . . . durch Balz trifft nicht den Sachverhalt, er ist einfach Engel neben anderen.<sup>1</sup>

In short, such affinities, as we observed above, may sustain the hypothesis that the author of Daniel was much more at home in his own biblical tradition and possibly even utilized some of its imagery; nevertheless, it seems that they are insufficient to corroborate the notion that the roots of the SM are found in Ezekiel and/or the sapiential literature (particularly via the rather attractive avenue of hypostatization).

#### The Son of Man: Angel(s) or Heavenly Being?

Studies which identify the SM with an angel (or angels) or a heavenly being are generally more interested in parallels than origins. Nevertheless, originally the correspondence of the SM with an angel was submitted in the context of the suggestion that the prototype of the Danielic figure was Marduk.<sup>2</sup> In A.D. 1900 Nathaniel Schmidt published "a new interpretation":<sup>3</sup>

The "one like unto a son of man," in Dan 7:13 is an angel, and more particularly Michael, the guardian angel of Israel. So uniformly is a phrase of this kind used to designate an angel in the book of Daniel that, unless there is strong reason for seeking a

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<sup>1</sup>Müller, Messias, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup>Schmidt, "Son of Man in Daniel," pp. 22-28.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

different explanation, this should be accepted. In 8:15 the angel Gabriel is introduced as "one having the appearance of a man," כמראה גבר; according to v. 16, he has the voice of a man, קול אדם. In 10:16 Gabriel is described as "one like the appearance of the sons of men," כדמות בני אדם, and in vs. 18 כמראה אדם. Often the angels are simply described as men. Thus of the four גבריך in 3:25, one is like "a son of the gods," בר אלהיך. In 9:21 the angel is referred to as "the man Gabriel," האיש גבריאל; in 10:5 he is a man clothed in linen, and so again in 12:6, 7. . . . The only one of these man-like beings who is so closely identified with Israel as to represent it in the celestial בית דין is Michael.<sup>1</sup>

Schmidt's argument, that on the analogy of the man or manlike figures in the book of Daniel, the SM must also be an angelic being has, with some variations, become programmatic for subsequent writers who identify the SM with an angel.<sup>2</sup> Currently, this view is possibly

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Among those who identify (or incline towards this identification) the SM with Michael (even though for some this presupposes literary developments in the text) are Julius Grill, Untersuchungen Über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1902), pp. 51-55; Cheyne, pp. 216-217; Emil Hirsch, "Son of Man," JewEnc, 11:462; Zevit here adds F. C. Porter, The Message of the Apocalyptic Writers, pp. 131-133 (p. 395); Alfred Bertholet, Daniel und die Griechische Gefahr (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1907), p. 51; Box, Judaism, p. 213; D. Bertholet, "Menschensohn im AT und Judentum," RGG, 4:296; Rudolf Kittel, The Religion of the People of Israel, trans. R. Caryl Micklem (New York: Macmillan, 1925), p. 212. More recently, Müller, Messias, p. 28(?); Collins, "Son of Man," p. 64. Müller, "Menschensohn," p. 76; Lacocque, p. 103. Scholars who favor an identification with Gabriel include Zevit, "Structure," pp. 395-396; id., "The Exegetical Implications of Daniel VIII I, IX 21," VT 28 (1978):488-491; Peter Weimar, "Daniel 7. Eine Textanalyse," in Jesus und der Menschensohn, p. 36. Among authors who regard the SM to be an unnamed but prominent angelic being are Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 347; W. Emery Barnes, "The Development of the Religion of Israel from the Return to the Death of Simon the Maccabee," in The People and the Book, ed. Arthur S. Peake (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), p. 315; Stier, p. 105; Kruse, pp. 147-161, 193-211; James Barr, "Daniel," PCB, pp. 597-598; Norman Habel, "Introducing the Apocalyptic Visions of Daniel 7," CMT 41 (1970):10-26; Coppens, possibly the most prolific writer championing the idea that the SM represents the angels collectively (e.g., "Fils," pp. 72-80). We will return to Coppens' view in the next chapter. Another alternative is the idea that the SM is the Messiah as an angelic being (e.g., Adolf Hilgenfeld, Die jüdische Apokalyp-

the most published opinion in Danielic SM research, as is evident from the significant contributions by Zevit (1968, 1978), Habel (1970), U. Müller (1972), J. J. Collins (1974), K. Müller (1975), Weimar (1975), and Lacocque (1976).

The aforementioned interpretation recommends itself to its defenders because (1) it seeks to penetrate the identity and nature of the SM on the basis of data provided by the same book which records the appearance of the manlike being, and (2) the notable parallels, which are perceived to exist between Dan 7-12, endorse the methodology which seeks to unlock or at least illuminate the imagery of one strand by its parallels.<sup>1</sup>

Scholarly debate has not been too severe on the identification of the SM with an angelic being. The most characteristic criticism is articulated by Volz who observes that Schmidt's identification

widerspricht dem Text und auch dem ganzen Charakter des Geheimnisvollen, den die Apokalyptik sonst hat. Michael ist eine bekannte, bereits aktive Figur; der visionale Mensch ist noch ein X, ein Ungenannter, Verborgener, Inaktiver; er tritt erst mit dem jüngsten Tag aus dem Geheimnis heraus.<sup>2</sup>

However, the facts are that Michael,<sup>3</sup> Gabriel, and the SM are

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rik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung [Reprint of 1857 ed.; Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1966], pp. 44-50).

<sup>1</sup>Appropriately stressed by Collins, "Son of Man, pp. 54-55; Dumbrell, pp. 20-23.

<sup>2</sup>Volz, p. 12; Kraeling, *Anthropos*, p. 133; Feuillet, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup>Ernst Sellin and Leonhard Rost remarked: "In 8-12 tauchen plötzlich die Engel Gabriel . . . Michael . . . usw. auf, von denen wir zuvor nie hören" (Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 8th ed. [Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1950], p. 175); likewise, Eduard Lohse,

mentioned for the first time in the apocalyptic book of Daniel.<sup>1</sup> The force of the objection is further dissipated when we remember that the function of Michael is certainly not limited to the past (Dan 10:13, 20-21) for like the SM, Michael becomes particularly active at the eschaton (12:1-3).

While most commentators, who favor the identification of the SM with an angel, interpret the manlike being as Michael, a few agree with Zevit:

It is obvious that the figure described in Dan 7:13 as כָּרַב שַׂמְיָאֵל, like a son of man, is an angel. More specifically, it appears from 9:21 that Daniel recognizes the figure as Gabriel: "While I was speaking in prayer, the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the first, came to me in swift flight at the time of the evening service." Daniel is able to recognize the figure and name him because in 8:16, a voice called to the angel by name: "Gabriel, make this man understand the vision." The only vision previous to this in which a man or man-like figure participated is that of 7:13.<sup>2</sup>

Zevit's conclusion rests largely on the force of the preposition ך in the word כָּרַב שַׂמְיָאֵל (9:21). Indeed ך may mean "in" (as "in the

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"Michael," RGG<sup>3</sup> 4:932. As a celestial being Michael is mentioned only three times in the OT (Dan 10:13, 20; 12:1) and only twice in the NT (Jude 9; Rev 12:7). Apart from these the name Michael designates various OT individuals (Num 13:13; 1 Chr 5:13, 14; 6:40; 7:3; 8:16; 12:20; 27:18; 2 Chr 21:2; Ezra 8:8). In the pseudepigraphal literature and later Jewish and Christian writings references to Michael are frequent, see Theodore H. Gaster, "Michael," IDB, 3:372-373. Also useful is the comprehensive but now dated monograph by Wilhelm Leuken, Michael (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898). For Michael in Jewish documents see S. A. Horodetzky, "Michael and Gabriel," MGWJ 72 (1928): 499-506; cf. also Bousset and Gressmann, pp. 325-331.

<sup>1</sup>Walter Brueggemann observes that Gabriel, who first appears as a celestial being in Dan 8:16; 9:21, receives a great deal more attention in pseudepigraphal sources (notably 1-2 Enoch) where both his title and position become more explicit ("Gabriel," IDB, 2:332-333; cf. Horodetzky, pp. 499-506).

<sup>2</sup>Zevit, "Structure," p. 396; cf. id., "Implications," pp. 488-491.



vision" in 8:2), but it can also convey the idea of "close connexion with something" or of "association with something."<sup>1</sup> The latter meaning seems to be the more natural in Dan 9:21 for both the name and mission of Gabriel are introduced into the book for the first time in Dan 8:15-16. Consequently, there is no compelling argument for the identification of the SM with Gabriel.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the description of Gabriel's functions in Dan 8:15-16 and 9:21-23, a number of commentators suggest that the unidentified celestial being sketched in 10:11-14, 16, 18-21 is a further reference to Gabriel. This identification is based on the fact that all the above accounts record the same affectionate form of address for Daniel (9:24; 10:11) and list basically the same angelic functions.<sup>3</sup> Gabriel is primarily the angelus interpres

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<sup>1</sup>GKC, # 119: h. n (italics theirs).

<sup>2</sup>Similarly, Zevit's more recent well-reasoned attempt to corroborate the notion that the SM is Gabriel ["Implications," pp. 488-492] still fails to demonstrate that "ב" must here mean "in [the vision]" rather than "in connection with [the vision.]" Hence, even if we grant Zevit's contention that Dan 7 rather than Dan 8 is in view, it seems more likely that the "one of those who stood by" and interpreted the vision for Daniel is referred to in Dan 9:21. The SM nowhere gives the interpretation of the vision as do Gabriel (Dan 8:15-17; 9:21-23) and the "one of those who stood by" (7:16-18, possibly also vss. 23-27).

<sup>3</sup>So Schmidt, p. 26; Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 343; Montgomery, p. 420; Bentzen, Daniel, p. 77; Porteous, pp. 152-155; Lacocque, p. 158. Whereas many authors agree that the same being recurs throughout Dan 10 (e.g., Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 343; Montgomery, p. 420; Bentzen, Daniel, p. 77), several consider the dramatis persona of 10:4-6 to be superior to Gabriel (or Michael) because it transcends (in language reminiscent of Ezek 1) the depiction of Gabriel given in chaps. 8 and 9 (e.g., Arthur Jeffery, "The Book of Daniel" IB, 6:502; Lacocque, p. 153). Others yet recommend that it is this transcendent being which figures throughout Dan 10 (e.g., Robert Charles, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929], p. 257; Jeffery, p. 502; Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 279-281). Early Christian exegetes believed the

(8:17; 9:22-23; 10:11, 14, 19). If Gabriel is also alluded to in Dan 10:11-14, 16, 18-21, then his duties intersect with those of Michael, with whose help Gabriel withstands and fights the "prince of the kingdom of Persia."<sup>1</sup>

In the three references in which Michael is named in Daniel (10:13, 21; 12:1) he is characterized as שר. Among the numerous uses of שר in the OT, the word designates a "notable official," a "cultic" or "military leader," or a "commander" of an earthly or angelic army.<sup>2</sup> Michael is no ordinary שר, for 10:13 calls him "one of the chief princes" and 12:1 "the great prince." The verb עמד with the preposition על may denote a "leader" (as in Num 7:2), or "protector," "defender" (as in Esth 8:11; 9:16).<sup>3</sup> In Dan 12:1 both connotations could apply to Michael, since, in the contexts in which he is mentioned, Michael appears in the role of both leader and patron.<sup>4</sup>

Dan 12:1-3 also characterizes Michael in a judicial context. This judicial role may be deduced from the reference to "the book"

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Son of God was in the mind of the author of 10:4-6 (Montgomery, p. 420).

<sup>1</sup>In pseudepigraphal literature (esp. 1-2 Enoch) Gabriel is no longer only the revealer but also the primary intercessor.

<sup>2</sup>KB, pp. 929-930.

<sup>3</sup>KB, p. 712. Charles (Critical and Exegetical, p. 325) and Montgomery (p. 472) prefer the latter translation. In Dan 8:25 עמד על carries the meaning "withstand" which certainly would conform to the second sense noted above.

<sup>4</sup>George W. E. Nickelsburg acknowledges that in Dan 10:13, 21 Michael's function "as commander is not emphasized. He is depicted rather as the defender of Israel, fighting in their behalf" (Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism, HTS, 26 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972], p. 11).

(vs. 1), the resurrection motif (vs. 2), and the fact that מִיָּדָי (without לְיָ) may occur in judicial settings in the OT (e.g., Deut 19:17; Josh 20:6; Isa 50:8; Ezek 44:24).<sup>1</sup> Hence Nickelsburg concludes that "Michael's defense of Israel is not only military, but also judicial. The war he wages has the character of judgment."<sup>2</sup>

Yet Michael is not just a powerful but detached leader. The biblical writer adds a note of intimacy. As Israel's patron he is designated "your prince" (10:21). The close personal relationship between Israel and Michael and his concern for the ultimate welfare of the people is elaborated in 12:1 where the "great prince" stands up for the sons of your people.

Whereas in Dan 10:13, 21 Michael contended against the "prince of the kingdom of Persia" (or "prince of Persia" as in vs. 20), 12:1-3 assures the reader that he will be active once again for his people in their last unprecedented "time of trouble."<sup>3</sup> Dan 12:1-3 is a profile of the "time of the end" which forms "the climax of a lengthy apocalypse (Dan 11:2-45) describing the events

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<sup>1</sup>Collins, "Son of Man" p. 57, cf. n. 36.

<sup>2</sup>Nickelsburg, p. 14. The great final battle is described as judgment in Ezek 38:22; 39:2; Joel 3:9-16.

<sup>3</sup>Commentators generally see in Dan 10:13-21 the notion of a heavenly conflict between Michael and the Persian and Greek angelic leaders (so recently Collins, "Son of Man," pp. 55-66; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 284). While this may indeed be the predominant notion, these verses do not preclude Michael's struggle with the actual monarchs of Persia and Greece. In either case we have a two-level, heaven-earth correspondence also evident in Dan 12:1-3, the former with the latter forming a thematic inclusio around ch. 11. As an extrapolation from this one could suggest that this last apocalypse climaxes and gives greater depth to the two-level, supernatural aspects within the earlier parallel visions (Dan 2, 7, and 8).

leading up to the eschaton."<sup>1</sup> At "this last times of all"<sup>2</sup> the sacred author believes God's definite and decisive intervention would occur.

The "time of trouble," which the powers of wickedness will unleash upon God's people in the end-time, is uniquely terrible in Israel history.<sup>3</sup> Nickelsburg would not be surprised to find the chief demon at work behind the insolent and persecuting tyrant.<sup>4</sup>

It is only due to Michael's intervention during this tumultuous period that Israel will be rescued and her enemies destroyed.<sup>5</sup> Aside from the motif of rescue is that of the community's restoration. Here may be discerned some finely limned features of messianic themes. The last part of Dan 12:1 goes beyond a pure

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<sup>1</sup>Nickelsburg, p. 11. The Sitz im Leben for this passage, Nickelsburg finds in the Hasidic-Hellenistic controversy; consequently, the judgment is neither cosmic nor the resurrection general (p. 27). Di Lella basically agrees but adds, "to be sure the sacred author most likely was of the opinion that the definitive intervention of God would take place when Antiochus had received his due recompense" (Hartman and Di Lella, p. 306).

<sup>2</sup>The phrase is borrowed from Charles (Critical and Exegetical, p. 325). Lacocque notes the numerous chronological expressions in Daniel which have eschatological import, but none of which are quite like the one in Dan 12:1. He adds the words of Dan 12:1 "sont un procédé prophétique pour 'rattacher sans intervalle les événements d'ordre eschatologique aux faits historiques qu'ils viennent de décrire'." (p. 177).

<sup>3</sup>The phrase the "time of the end" recurs only in Judg 10:14; Ps 37:39; Isa 33:2; Jer 14:8; 15:11; 30:7. Jer 30:7 parallels Dan 12:1 most closely.

<sup>4</sup>Nickelsburg makes the interesting observation that the insolent tyrant's language is "akin to that of the 'Lucifer' myth in Isaiah 14" (p. 15).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

vindication of Israel over its enemies for it even divides between the righteous and the wicked Israelites. Deliverance is only for those inscribed in the book.<sup>1</sup> For Daniel then "judgment is the prelude to the reconstitution of the nation. Verse 1 mentions the register of the citizens of new Israel. The resurrected righteous of verse 2 are not isolated individuals; they are raised to participate in this new nation."<sup>2</sup>

In summary, Michael is a celestial being who has defended and led Israel and will do so in a final judgment context. He thereby displays some messianic characteristics. He enjoys an intimate relationship with his people and takes a vital interest in their welfare, particularly during the eschaton when Israel's lot is more hazardous. Michael's intervention, whether military or judicial or both, results in the destruction of Israel's enemy and its rescue followed by a resurrection. In this way God's people are assured of vindication and restoration to a new community.

It appears to us that the context of the apocalypse we have just considered finds a close longitudinal parallel in Dan 7. This applies particularly to the roles played by both Michael and the SM.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>There is a remarkable parallel in wording and thought between Dan 12:1 e-f and 4 Q Dib. Ham: "Look on [our affliction] and trouble and distress, and deliver your people Isr[ael from all] the lands, near and far to w[hich you have banished them], everyone who is written in the book of life" (cited in Nickelsburg, p. 16); see Maurice Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, Grotte 4: 'Les paroles des luminaires'." RB 68 (1961):195-250. The later idea that Michael was a recording angel may have arisen out of Dan 12:1.

<sup>2</sup>Nickelsburg, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup>Lacocque recognized similarities between the SM and Michael but considered the former all-inclusive and the latter one of its aspects (p. 178). It goes to the credit of Collins, to have drawn

In Dan 7 the SM is as intimately linked with the welfare and interests of Israel as is Michael in the final apocalypse. In both accounts Israel suffers immense and unbearable hardships. The complexes of events depict the same insolent tyrant reaching the height of blasphemy and persecution. In both chapters the eschaton of Israel's experience is delineated. The judgment and the manifestation of the SM signal the oppressor's fall and Israel's rescue, as does Michael's intervention. While never described as judge, the SM in Dan 7:9-14 appears in a court scene in which "books" are opened, similarly "the book" which records the names of those ultimately delivered provides a setting of judgment. Hence Collins speaks of "the explicitly judicial character of the eschatological scene in Daniel 7."<sup>1</sup> As for the final apocalypse of Daniel, Nickelsburg observed, "although the description in 12:1-3 is terse, the pictorial character of the language justifies calling these verses a 'description of a judgment scene'."<sup>2</sup> In both cases a judgment precedes final rescue and the restoration of God's people to a new community which enjoys an everlasting kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Thus both the SM and Michael are linked with

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our attention to the fact that Dan 7 must not be treated in isolation but should be interpreted in the light of the parallel visions in Dan 8-12 which all revolve around the same complex of events ("Son of Man," p. 54). Unfortunately, neither took the next step to explore the contextual parallels in greater depth. Cf. also Dumbrell, pp. 20-21.

<sup>1</sup>Collins, "Son of Man," p. 57 n. 36.

<sup>2</sup>Nickelsburg, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup>Heaton notes that in 12:1-4 we would expect a description of the bliss of life in God's kingdom, as is so frequently evident in the prophets; instead, the consummation is depicted in language of extraordinary restraint. He adds: "It is clear, nevertheless, from v. 1,

Israel's destiny and ultimate vindication.

While we have noted several broad and substantial longitudinal correspondences between the SM and Michael, this is not to deny some differences between the two figures. Michael, for example, does not enter the court-scene setting to receive dominion, glory, the kingdom and service of all peoples; he acts as if already in possession of some of these features. While the SM is not cast in a military and judicial role in Dan 7:9-14, both he and Michael come into view as leaders of Israel. Again the resurrection mentioned in Dan 12 is not referred to in chap. 7. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether this motif should be excluded a priori, for the Israel which was to enjoy the everlasting kingdom presumably includes the fallen and resurrected saints.<sup>1</sup>

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which describes the tribulation preceding the final victory, that the writer is consciously drawing on the prophetic tradition and it is most important that these verses should be interpreted as presenting the establishment of God's Rule as in ch. 7. This section follows the historical survey of ch. 11 without a break and represents both the climax of Israel's history and the consummation of God's purpose" (pp. 241-242). Cf. Black, "Apotheose," p. 99.

Dumbrell's comment is worthy of note: "It may be very plausibly argued that Daniel 7-12:4 is a well knit theological unity, and Daniel 12:1-4 appears--note the notion of books opened, war in heaven, calamitous trouble--to reflect an end-time judgment scene not very dissimilar from Dan 7:13ff." (pp. 22-23).

<sup>1</sup>It seems to us that there is a schema in which the seer heightens the supernatural elements of the book as he progresses from the simple empire vision with the divine intervention expressed by a stone-kingdom (Dan 2) to the elaborate supra-historical intervention envisaged in the final apocalypse of the book (particularly in view of the vertical two-level dimension inclusio [see p. 100 n. 3] in chaps. 10-12). Thus later explicit motifs may be implied in earlier visions (they certainly do not appear to be contradicted by them). The resurrection of Dan 12:1-3 may be part of this schema.

We conclude, then, that the SM and Michael, and their respective contexts, parallel more closely than any other figures or complexes we have examined in this chapter, whether extra-biblical or biblical. While on the basis of the data provided in Daniel we would hesitate to identify the SM with Michael, the parallels noted above seem to argue in favor of viewing the SM as an individual, heavenly, eschatological being with messianic traits, distinct from the saints of the Most High. Though separate from the saints, the context of Dan 7 depicts the SM in such an intimate relationship with the saints and their destiny that this intimacy could and has led commentators to a blurring of distinctions between them.

#### Conclusions

1. The present inquiry into the various alleged origins of and parallels to the SM has revealed the lack of scholarly unanimity on the precise derivation of the Danielic manlike being.

2. While it is not a priori impossible that the author of Dan 7 was acquainted with the alleged extra-biblical sources and motifs, our study of the proposed religio-historical roots and correspondences to the SM in Babylonian, Egyptian, Iranian, Hellenistic, Gnostic, and Ugaritic literature, seeking out longitudinal parallels (and thus respecting contexts and phenomenological totalities), failed to establish any of the suggested hypotheses. To escape the charge of subjectivity, theories which suggest that the writer was not indebted to any particular source, but appropriated various alien images and then assimilated these into his Yahwistic faith, should rest on substantial evidence. Yet, the very absence of such



testimony leads one to surmise a discontinuity between the SM and the proposed religio-historical genealogies (which focus particularly on the vision of Dan 7 and largely favor the individual interpretation of the SM) and to suspect a link of the Danielic figure with biblical traditions. The fact that the SM and its surrounding imagery is cast in the language of traditional biblical motifs and figures corroborates the notion that an answer to the nature and identity of the SM should be sought within the OT. Our conclusions are supported by the increasing tendency of SM researchers who seek their answers in the biblical materials.

3. Among OT prototypes or parallels for the SM are the Messiah; the מִשְׁחָהּ אֱלֹהִים or מְשִׁיחַ in Job 15:14-16; 25:4-6; Pss 8:4 (H--vs. 5) and 80:17 (H--vs. 18); "the likeness as it were of a human form" in Ezek 1:26-28 and the hypostatized form of wisdom; and finally heavenly or angelic figures (particularly Gabriel and Michael). Of these, the relationship between the SM and the Messiah are complicated by questions of definition. While according to our definition the different natures of the SM and the Messiah preclude us from closing the gap between them, their common characteristics probably contributed considerably to their later identification in Jewish and Christian literature.

Roots and parallels derived from the above passages in Job, Psalms, Ezekiel, and Proverbs are in the main limited to linguistic and stylistic details, while Ezek 1 and Ps 80 give evidence for thematic parallels with Dan 7 as well.

4. The clear affinities of the contents of Dan 7 with the biblical materials make it probable that our writer utilized OT

traditional materials when he composed his picture of the SM. Yet, the absence of anterior extra-biblical or biblical sources seems also to underscore the fact that the author of Dan 7 was no second rate littérateur but a literary master whose account has continued to exercise a strong fascination upon generations of scholars determined to unravel his message.

5. The "angel" or "heavenly being" interpretation recommends itself; (1) for it seeks to understand the SM from within the book in which alone the SM is first mentioned and (2) because the parallels in the other visionary chapters of Daniel may be used to illuminate the SM imagery. However, the "angel" or "heavenly being" theories are somewhat aggravated by the relative lack of comparative and descriptive detail provided in Daniel.

6. Nevertheless, the closest longitudinal parallel to the SM appears to be Daniel's Michael. While Daniel does not identify these two figures their substantial affinities suggest that the SM is to be understood as an individual, heavenly being who, at the end of the age (no earlier appearance of the SM is recorded in Dan 7), displays certain messianic characteristics.

7. We may now narrow our perimeter of study and focus our attention upon the interpretation of Dan 7 in an effort to learn more about the nature and identity of the SM.

## CHAPTER III

### DANIEL 7 AND THE SON OF MAN

We are now ready to turn to an investigation of the SM in Dan 7. Since critical study has challenged particularly the unity of this chapter and thereby considerably influenced its interpretation, we will first investigate the unity and structure of Dan 7, then examine the passages and locutions which describe the SM, and finally summarize our findings relating to the nature and identity of the apocalyptic SM of Dan 7.

#### The Unity of Daniel 7

Commenting on Dan 7 Porteous observed, "The first difficulty that has to be faced in interpreting the chapter is that of making up one's mind on the question of its unity."<sup>1</sup> While most scholars regard the chapter's basic literary structure as clear and simple (a prologue [vss. 1-2a] and an epilogue [vs. 28] framing a vision [vss. 2bc-14] and its interpretation [vss. 15-27]),<sup>2</sup> no consensus has been reached on the issue of its unity.

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<sup>1</sup>Porteous, p. 96; cf. Delcor, "Les sources," p. 290; Weimar, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>E.g., Plüger, p. 106; Zevit, "Structure," pp. 388-391; Delcor, Daniel, pp. 142-143. However, Joseph Coppens divides the chapter into vss. 2a-18 and 19-27 ("Le chapitre VII de Daniel, lecture et commentaire," ETL 54 [1978]:301).

## The Problem of Unity

General questions

In fact, the problem of Dan 7 is mirrored in the rest of Daniel. Is the book essentially a literary unit,<sup>1</sup> or has it experienced a protracted historical development before reaching its present state?<sup>2</sup> Since a concise history of the debate since Benedict Spinoza<sup>3</sup> has been already provided, we need not duplicate the

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<sup>1</sup>Among twentieth century writers the following basically favor unity: Karl Marti, Das Buch Daniel, KHC, 18 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1901), pp. x-xi; Samuel R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, 13th ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), p. 514; Bentzen, Daniel, pp. 57; Robert H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), pp. 760-764; Harold H. Rowley, "The Unity of the Book of Daniel," in The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952), pp. 237-268; Otto Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: An Introduction, trans. Peter R. Ackroyd (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), pp. 526-527; Plüger, p. 28; Ferdinand Dexinger, Das Buch Daniel und seine Probleme, SBS, 36 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1969), pp. 26-29; Delcor, Daniel, pp. 141-143; Alfred Mertens, Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer, SBM, 12 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1971), pp. 14-19; Ad. Lenglet, "La structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7," Bib 53 (1972): 169-190; Deissler, pp. 81-96. Most recently Joyce G. Baldwin, Daniel, TOTC (Downers Grove: IVP, 1978), pp. 38-40.

<sup>2</sup>Among those who are against the unity: Ernst Sellin, Introduction to the Old Testament, trans. W. Montgomery (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923), pp. 233-235; Hölischer, pp. 113-138; Haller, pp. 83-87; Noth, "Komposition," pp. 143-163; Ginsberg, Daniel, pp. 1-23, 27-40; Coppens and Dequeker, pp. 17-65; Müller, Messias, p. 19; Müller, "Menschensohn," pp. 37-80; Weimar, pp. 11-36; Lacocque, pp. 19-20; Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 9-18. Note also a third position into which Hartman and Di Lella place themselves (*ibid.*), and the literature cited in Mertens, pp. 15-19. However, occasionally it is difficult to judge whether this third group is so different from the views espoused by those cited at the beginning of this note, or even from the theories suggested by some authors who favor unity of the book.

<sup>3</sup>Tractatus theologico-politicus in Benedict de Spinoza Chief Works, trans. by R. H. M. Elwes, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 1:150.

details.<sup>1</sup> The two most vigorous champions contending for opposite viewpoints regarding the unity of Daniel are H. Louis Ginsberg and Harold H. Rowley.<sup>2</sup>

There are at least three prima facie grounds for an inner division of the book, or a theory of at least two authors. These are (1) the two languages utilized in the book: Hebrew (Dan 1:1-2:4a, 8:1-12:13) and Aramaic (2:4b-7:28); (2) the division of contents into narratives (e.g., Dan 3-6) and visions (e.g., Dan 2, 7, 8); and (3) the ascription of the second half of the book (commencing with Dan 7) to Daniel while the first half does not name its author. Were these criteria to coincide, a strong case could be made against the unity of the book. Instead, the three strands pull in different and inconclusive directions as far as the unity of Daniel is concerned.

#### The unity of Daniel 7

Within this larger discussion Dan 7 assumes a focal point. Is this chapter to be regarded essentially as a unit, and from the pen of one writer,<sup>3</sup> or is its texture composite?<sup>4</sup> For Heaton, the

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<sup>1</sup>For a history see HÜlscher, p. 113; Rowley, "Unity," pp. 238-248.

<sup>2</sup>As reflected in Harold H. Rowley, Review of Studies in Daniel, by H. Louis Ginsberg, JBL 68 (1949):173-177; H. Louis Ginsberg, "Two Replies," JBL 68 (1949):402-407; Harold H. Rowley, "A Rejoinder," JBL 69 (1950):201-203; H. Louis Ginsberg, "The Composition of the Book of Daniel," VT 4 (1954):246-275.

<sup>3</sup>E.g., Rowley, "Unity," pp. 237-268; Porteous, pp. 96-97; Plüger, pp. 106-107.

<sup>4</sup>Should Dan 7 be torn apart and some verses be attached to one and some to the other as, e.g., HÜlscher (pp. 113-138), Noth

first option need not exclude the earlier existence of the author's material.<sup>1</sup> Again, is Dan 7 the end of the first half of Daniel<sup>2</sup> or the beginning of the second half of the book?<sup>3</sup> A number of scholars have recognized that this chapter is related to both halves for the language of the chapter is Aramaic, as are the bulk of the preceding chapters, yet its visionary content--especially the work and fate of the little horn and the saints--cannot be detached from the chapters which follow.<sup>4</sup> These are not simply questions of idle or merely academic curiosity, rather, as Heaton already recognized, they are matters which vitally affect the interpretation of the chapter's message.<sup>5</sup>

On the surface, it may appear that the problems might be solved once more authors are imported into the book. However, upon reflection such a proposal seems to only invite more problems. It will come as no surprise that in this chapter, which has experienced a rather checkered history in the seemingly inconclusive debate of its own relation to the rest of the book, the work of dissection

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("Komposition," pp. 143-163), Ginsberg ("Composition," pp. 271-273), Weimar (pp. 11-36)?

<sup>1</sup>Heaton, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup>E.g., *ibid.*, p. 17; Hölischer, pp. 113-138; Robert B. Y. Scott, "I Daniel, the Original Apocalypse," *AJSL* 47 (1931):289-296; Coppens and Dequeker, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>E.g., Pfeiffer, pp. 748-764; Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, pp. 513-529; Lacocque, pp. 20-29.

<sup>4</sup>E.g., Porteous, p. 95; Plüger, p. 105; Helge S. Kvanvig, "Struktur und Geschichte in Dan. 7, 1-14," *ST* 32 (1978):95.

<sup>5</sup>Heaton, p. 47.

has been pushed furthest.<sup>1</sup>

### The Theories of Noth and Ginsberg

Since most of the literary critical arguments advanced nowadays against the unity of Dan 7 either reflect or refine details proposed by Noth or Ginsberg, we will focus our attention primarily upon the contributions of these two scholars.<sup>2</sup> It must, however, be recognized that both Noth and Ginsberg acknowledged their own debt to views first propounded by Ernst Sellin, Gustav Hølscher, and Max Haller.<sup>3</sup>

Noth concluded that the original vision of Dan 7 consisted of a description of the four beasts and their destruction (vss. 2-7ab and vs. 11b).<sup>4</sup> He suggested that implicit in the destruction of the fourth beast is the final world judgment. Consequently, the depiction of the assize and the coming of the SM in vss. 9-10, 13

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<sup>1</sup>Feuillet, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup>Noth, "Komposition," pp. 143-163; id., "Holy Ones," pp. 215-228; Ginsberg, Daniel, pp. 9-23. Noth's literary-criticism of Dan 7 was utilized by Stier, p. 99; Müller, "Menschensohn," pp. 37-80; Müller, Messias, pp. 19-38; Colpe, TDNT, 8:420-421; H. Haag, "דָּמָדָם," TWAT, 1:687; Weimar, pp. 11-36. Ginsberg's suggestions have been incorporated in Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 209-210. It is significant that apart from Noth and Ginsberg one finds hardly any dialogue with the arguments advanced in support of the unity of Daniel (e.g., Weimar, pp. 11-12, and Hartman and Di Lella).

<sup>3</sup>See note on p. 109. Haller modified Hølscher's theory by suggesting that Dan 7, rather than being the last chapter in the first half of Daniel, was actually older than the legends themselves (pp. 83-87).

<sup>4</sup>Sellin regarded as secondary: vss. 8, 20-22, 24-25 (Introduction, p. 233-235); Hølscher: (possibly vs. 7c), vss. 8, 11a, 20-22, 24-25 (pp. 113-138); Haller: vss. 7c, 8, 11a, 20-22, 24-25 (pp. 83-87).

was probably borrowed from some apocalypse relating to judgment and placed in the margin of the original vision (vss. 2-7, 11b) for illustrative purposes. At a later time this marginal gloss (vss. 9-10, 13) was conjoined with the vision of the four beasts, and thus the SM, who was originally a judge, became a symbol of God's kingdom which was to succeed the empires represented by the beasts. The redactor not only incorporated vss. 9-10, 13 into the text but also linked them with the vision of Dan 7 through vss. 11a and 14.

Noth's theory is based on a schema, with two recurring formulas, which he believes underlies the four "visions" of Dan 7.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, every vision begins with the formula *חזוה הוֹרִית לְאֶרֶץ*. Noth lists the occurrence of this introduction to vss. 2, 6, 7 (but omits vs. 13) and explains that the formula depicts the visionary condition of the prophet followed (after *לְאֶרֶץ*) by an external description of a motionless figure ("bewegungslose Gestalt").<sup>2</sup> The second formula *חזוה הוֹרִית עַד דֵּי*, found in vss. 4, 9, 11b,<sup>3</sup> depicts a transition from the initial visionary state of the seer to the point where the figure, motionless up to this time, experiences a change which is about to be described. Noth remarks that the latter

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<sup>1</sup>"Komposition," p. 144. Svaningius had recognized that the formula *חזוה הוֹרִית* (vss. 2, 7, 9, 11, 13) noted the beginning of the various scenes (Bentzen, *Daniel*, p. 56). Baumgartner correctly objects to Noth's somewhat unhappy choice of the plural "visions." Instead it is one vision with various scenes (Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung," p. 77).

<sup>2</sup>It may seem somewhat artificial to consider the four winds striving upon the sea and the four beasts arising out of the sea as motionless figures or depictions.

<sup>3</sup>This same transition is also used to introduce vs. 21 and vs. 22.



formula is regularly followed by passive verbs and brings the visionary action to an end.<sup>1</sup> This schema, then, becomes normative for the vision of Dan 7 with sections, which fail either to correspond to this pattern or are inherently related to such nonconforming passages, being attributed to later hands.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, Noth eliminates the reference to the ten horns in vs. 7c and the delineation of the little horn in vs. 8.<sup>3</sup> Vs. 8 is excised because it (1) does not comport with his schema; (2) is introduced by a somewhat different introductory formula; and (3) utilizes, as Hölischer had noted, ׀לל rather than ׀לל, which is the interjection generally used in this chapter. Vss. 9-10 (and vs. 11a) are considered inappropriate in the vision since the transitory formula which recurs in vss. 9 and 11b should bring the visionary activities to an end. While an end follows this formula in vs. 11b (which also speaks of the fourth beast), but the transition introducing vs. 9 continues the action, Noth opts for vs. 11b as the end of vs. 7ab and declares vss. 9-10 (and vs. 11b) to be secondary. He believes his argument is strengthened by the fact that vss. 9-10 stand apart from the vision by their rhythmic form and their failure to continue the subject of the fourth beast.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Noth, "Komposition," p. 144. Since the formula does not occur in vs. 6 this reference should be omitted from Noth's list.

<sup>2</sup>E.g., *ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup>Noth provides only Hölischer's reasoning for the excision of vs. 7c (Hölischer, p. 121).

<sup>4</sup>Noth, "Komposition," p. 145.

Further, vs. 13, which is apposite to vss. 9-10, must suffer the same fate as the latter and be assigned to a later hand. This contention, for Noth, is corroborated by the fact that 1 Enoch only parallels these verses, but not the rest of Dan 7.<sup>1</sup> The literary scalpel then removes vs. 11a, because of incompatibility with vs. 11b, and vs. 12, because on one hand it does not accommodate to the schema outlined above and on the other vs. 7 (the description of the fourth beast) was, after all, not followed by a portrayal of the first three beasts.<sup>2</sup>

As for the interpretation, which Noth believes the original vision of Dan 7 must have had, only an extremely small amount, if any at all, may be discovered in the present text.<sup>3</sup>

Ginsberg also took as his point of departure the work of Sellin and Hölischer and considered chapter 7 as representing more than one stratum. He claimed that the primary stratum of Dan 7 was the product of the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-163 B.C.). To demonstrate his thesis he argued that (1) vss. 7c, 20a, and 24a with their ten horns belong to the primary stratum (contrary to Noth) and (2) Antiochus IV Epiphanes was the tenth horn. He agreed with Sellin and Hölischer that vs. 8 and all subsequent references to the little horn were parts of the secondary stratum. The reasons are:

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 145-146.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>3</sup>Vs. 17 may be the only vestigial remainder of the original interpretation, however, it seems too short to serve as an explanation (ibid., p. 153). Weimar disallows any original interpretation (p. 25).

(1) vs. 8 utilizes וְאֵן; (2) it has perfects after the interjection instead of participles; and (3) it uses "man" as a symbol of tyranny rather than a symbol of holiness. In addition, Ginsberg felt compelled to make a number of transpositions in vss. 4-5 to straighten out a text thrown into disarray by the editor who added the secondary materials about the little horn to the original apocalypse.<sup>1</sup>

Evaluation of Criteria Proposed by  
Noth and Ginsberg

The postulates of both Noth and Ginsberg have been accepted too uncritically and require reexamination.<sup>2</sup>

Criteria related to vss. 1-8

It seems to us that Noth was correct in detecting a schema or pattern underlying the vision of Dan 7. Only we would see it in a recurring pattern in which the constituent elements vary, rather than in the less defined formulas Noth chose. The pattern appears to consist of the following elements: (1) the state of the visionary, (2) an interjection, (3) the object of the vision and/or further description. The writer seems to have felt free to either utilize or omit any of the individual elements as he moved through the stages composing the vision, possibly so as not to weary the reader through an overly monotonous and stereotyped repetition of every

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<sup>1</sup>Ginsberg, Daniel, pp. 10-13. An alternate explanation for the "disarray" of the present text is offered by Hartman, who follows Ginsberg's analysis and claims that they are purely accidental errors of some early copyist (Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 209-210).

<sup>2</sup>In spite of his negative appraisal of Noth's literary criticism, Müller is, nevertheless, heavily indebted to it ("Menschensohn," p. 41).

element.

In his essay, Noth shows that he is cognizant of variables to the schema he deduced from Dan 7. Thus, the introductory formula is found only in vss. 2, 6, 7, 13 (prefacing the four winds and the appearance of the four beasts rising out of the sea, introducing the third and fourth beasts, and the SM), but it is completely missing before the first beast (vs. 4, possibly already being covered by the longer introduction in vs. 2) and absent in part before the second beast (in vs. 5).<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the formula *וְעַד דִּי הָרִיחַ הַזֶּה* occurs in Dan 7:2-14 only three times (vss. 4, 9, 11b). In all three cases it is followed by passive verbs. The same formula recurs in Dan 7:21-22, where it ties the two verses together.<sup>2</sup> One more instance of this introduction is recorded in Dan 2, the vision of which, Noth believes formally corresponds to that of Dan 7.<sup>3</sup> Only in Dan 7:4, 11b does the transition bring the action of the vision to an end. In Dan 7:9 and 2:34 (and 7:21-22) this same formula introduces further action. Surely, it is methodologically inappropriate to excise Dan 7:9 and 2:34 on the basis of reasons which the author is still in the process of establishing.<sup>4</sup> Even judging from the text of the vision--and it will be admitted that the text has a certain priority--it is improper

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<sup>1</sup>Another abbreviation for the formula is found in vs. 11a.

<sup>2</sup>Vss. 21-22 are frequently dismissed as secondary because they deal with the little horn and contain this formula, which is limited to the vision only.

<sup>3</sup>Noth, "Komposition," pp. 154-155.

<sup>4</sup>Noth does precisely that ("Komposition," pp. 145, 155).

to maintain the view that this transition ends the action of the vision on the basis of only two examples (against the testimony of Dan 7:9, 2:34, and 7:21-22) and thus establish an apocalyptic torso.<sup>1</sup>

While the reference to the ten horns in vs. 7c could on the surface, sound like an addition to the verse, there is no compelling reason for its rejection. In fact, there are several grounds which argue for the inclusion of vs. 7c. Stylistically, the phrase "and it had ten horns" is virtually the same as the accepted readings "and it had wings of an eagle" (vs. 4) or "and it had great teeth of iron" (vs. 7). The ten horns are one further characteristic illuminating the observation that the fourth beast was different "from all the beasts before it" (vs. 7). The latter phrase seems to go beyond being merely the second member of an envelope construction of which the first member reads "and four beasts coming up from the sea one different from the other" (vs. 3).<sup>2</sup> Here the text appears to heighten the effect of the drama being unravelled in the vision and depicts the fourth beast--already without analogy in the animal world--with unique features, one of which is the ten horns. Even more importantly, the reference to ten horns is the most natural bridge between the delineation of the four beasts (vss. 2-7) and the little

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<sup>1</sup>Baumgartner objects that departures from a schema (which he thinks the writer took over) do not prove redaction. Furthermore, "Dass auf den B-Satz [the transitional formula] nichts weiter zu erwarten sei (S. 144), kann somit weder gegen 2:35 noch gegen 7:9ff. geltend gemacht werden; in beiden Fällen wird der Stoff eine Durchbrechung des Schemas veranlasst haben" ("Vierteljahrhundert Daniel-forschung," pp. 77-78).

<sup>2</sup>Kvanvig, p. 101.

horn which now assumes the central place in vs. 8. Actually, the reference to the little horn presupposes the existence of the ten horns, which in turn must be linked to the preceding beasts.

Since no adequate reason has been marshalled why the original writer was incapable of including the words regarding the ten horns, but strong grounds argue for their inclusion, we will accept them, along with later references to the ten horns (in vss. 20 and 24), as original.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars who reject the unity of Dan 7 generally attribute vs. 8 and verses relating to the little horn (vss. 20-22, 24-25, or portions thereof) to a later hand. The following literary-critical criteria are offered in support: (1) the use of אלו in vs. 8 instead of אלו, which occurs in the rest of the chapter; (2) the utilization of perfects instead of participles after the interjection; (3) the deployment of the human analogy in vs. 8 in contrast to the rest of the chapter; and (4) the introductory הריא instead of the more common הריא. How valid are these arguments?

Etymologically speaking, the derivations of both אלו and אלו, and their precise relationships, are uncertain.<sup>2</sup> Presently, we have no evidence that either אלו or אלו appear in these forms

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Flügel, p. 109; Porteous, p. 106; Delcor, Daniel, p. 146. Luc Dequeker later rejected Noth's analysis and included vs. 7c ("The Saints," pp. 114-115). Ginsberg argues that without the reference to the ten horns the chapter is a torso, whereas it only gains in coherence when vs. 7c is included and all references to the eleventh horn are eliminated (Ginsberg, Daniel, p. 11; cf. Hartman and Di Lella, p. 210).

<sup>2</sup>BleA # 17 a-b; KB, pp. 1050, 1053. Both forms seem to be equivalents of the Hebrew הנה.

earlier than biblical Aramaic. It has been suggested that אָלָל (which occurs in Dan 2:31; 4:7, 10; 7:8) could be related to אָלָל due to the common exchange of אָ and אָ in Aramaic.<sup>1</sup> אָלָל is found with a similar, if not identical, meaning of אָלָל in old Aramaic and Egyptian Aramaic documents.<sup>2</sup> If אָלָל (only in 7:2, 5-7, 13) which, as far as we know, is limited to biblical Aramaic<sup>3</sup> is the ancestor of the אָלָל of the Mishnaic period,<sup>4</sup> then אָלָל occurs more frequently at a later period during which the apparently earlier form אָלָל/אָלָל was hardly, if ever, used.

In the light of the above lexical data, Rowley's comment carries considerable force:

An interpolator in a document which already employed a later form, therefore, might be himself expected to employ that later form. There is no reason to presume that a single author could not use both forms, however, side by side in a single chapter, if he lived at the time when the transition was taking place. In Jer. 10:11 we find אָרָא and אָרָא side by side, and the Elephantine papyri provide us with many examples of the same thing. No difference of hand within chap-

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<sup>1</sup>Walter Baumgartner, "Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel," ZAW 45 (1927):89. BleA # 71a; KB, p. 1050.

<sup>2</sup>BleA # 71a. From the seventh century B.C.: Mark Lidzbarski, Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur (Reprint of 1921 ed.; Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1970), p. 8, lines 9. 11. 13. Frequently in the fifth century, ostraca from Elephantine: Eduard Sachau, Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911), pp. 233-237, 239; Franz Böhler, Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe, Leipziger Semitische Studien 5/2 (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1968) # 34h. Also see Mark Lidzbarski, Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik, 3 vols. (Giessen: Tüpelmann, 1908), 2:230; Driver, Introduction, p. 515.

<sup>3</sup>BDB, p. 1082. If אָרָא which is found in 1.19 of the letter of Assur corresponds to אָרָא, then we have at least one early use of אָרָא (Lidzbarski, Urkunden, p. 8; cf. Israel Eitan, "Hebrew and Semitic Particles: Comparative Studies in Semitic Philology," AJSL 44 [1928]:181).

<sup>4</sup>Rowley, "Unity," p. 258.

ter 7 can be established on this ground, and still less can any difference of hand from the author of the earlier chapters be established.<sup>1</sup>

Functionally, there is no difference in the deployment of אלה and אלה in the book of Daniel, as a contextual examination of Dan 2:31; 4:7; 10; 7:2, 5, 7, 8, 13 illustrates.<sup>2</sup> In fact the movement observed in vss. 4-7 gathers momentum with the depiction of the little horn in vs. 8. It is this villain who, according to vss. 20-21, is said to have poured his ire upon the saints, who by his action now unleashes the following judgment. It could well be that it is this gathering momentum in thought which is responsible for the choice of the unique verb משהחל, the interjection אלה in vs. 8, and the rhythmic form of the next verses in which we have reached a climax.

According to Plüger's suggestion, משהחל, which in vs. 8 replaces the usual הנה, indicates a more intense observation within the scene which began in vs. 7.<sup>3</sup> Thus the seer has moved his glance from the fourth beast as a whole to the ten horns, and he now ponders specifically the little horn which has arisen among the ten.<sup>4</sup>

The argument, that vs. 8 should be attributed to a redactor because אלה is followed by participles and not perfects, is at

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<sup>1</sup>Rowley, "Unity," pp. 258-259, similarly Collins, "Son of Man," p. 53 n. 23. Earlier, but without providing objective evidence, Martinus A. Beek, Das Danielbuch: Sein historischer Hintergrund und seine literarische Entwicklung (Leiden: J. Ginsberg, 1935), pp. 27-28.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. BleA # 71 a-b; KB, pp. 1050, 1053.

<sup>3</sup>Plüger, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup>Delcor suggests that אלה may have been changed to אלה by dissimilation. Thus instead of אלה אלה, the writer seeking to avoid a second א, changed the reading to אלה אלה ("Les sources," p. 293). See also Plüger, p. 106.



variance with the facts. While the clauses following  $\text{וְאָרַךְ}$  in Dan 7:2, 7 (and  $\text{וְאָרַךְ}$  in Dan 2:31 and 4:10) incorporate participles, the sentences after  $\text{וְאָרַךְ}$  in Dan 7:5, 6 contain perfects. In Dan 7:13 both perfects and participles succeed  $\text{וְאָרַךְ}$ . It seems, then, that the use of two perfects after the first  $\text{וְאָרַךְ}$  in Dan 7:8 and a participle following the second  $\text{וְאָרַךְ}$  fail to disqualify vs. 8 from the primary stratum.<sup>1</sup> Instead the choice of perfects and participles is syntactically vital.<sup>2</sup>

The variety of uses of the "man" imagery in the book of Daniel seriously undermines Ginsberg's claim that vs. 8 should be excised from the primary stratum because here it is used as a symbol of arrogance, whereas in vss. 4 and 13 it is a symbol of holiness.<sup>3</sup> Ginsberg's postulate is further weakened when he has to resort to transpositions in vss. 4 and 5 to strengthen his case because no pious Jew in his right mind would have ascribed holiness to the Chaldean kingdom.<sup>4</sup> The argument is far too subtle and insecure to

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<sup>1</sup>Ginsberg, Daniel, p. 11, similarly Hartman and Di Lella, p. 210. Both works argue that the MT reading  $\text{וְאָרַךְ}$  in vs. 7 is a lectio mixta between a participle and a perfect. Ginsberg, Daniel, p. 3; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 203).

<sup>2</sup>Delcor sought to explain the perfects as "décrivant l'un et l'autre au fait unique au passé" (Daniel, p. 142). Similarly Bauer and Leander, analyzing the "erzählenden Tempora bei Daniel," conclude that the writer depicts "Länger andauernde Vorgänge oder Nebenumstände" in participles or imperfects but "Hauptmomente" in the perfect. A gradually unfolding process is expressed by participles but sudden actions by perfects (BleA # 83 b-d). Accordingly, the four beasts introduced in vs. 3 arose gradually while the little horn of vs. 8 came up suddenly.

<sup>3</sup>Ginsberg, Daniel, p. 11; cf. Hartman and Di Lella, p. 210. But cf. Delcor, Daniel, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup>Ginsberg, Daniel, p. 68 n. 24; The greatest problem with much of Ginsberg's suggestions is that his final text is not that of

invite any confidence.

The participle משחכל (a hapax legomenon from שכל) introducing vs. 8 is a synonym for the usual חזה. Together with הרייה, it most probably stresses the seers attention which now focusses upon the little horn and its actions.<sup>1</sup> The drama unfolding before the reader is thus heightened as he faces this nefarious tyrant. While utilizing synonyms (שכל for חזה and אלו for ארר) to indicate continuity with the aforementioned, the reader is sufficiently jolted by the new vocabulary to recognize the new stage of action unfolded before him.

We have noted so far that none of the literary-critical contentions marshalled against the inclusion of vs. 8 in the original material of Dan 7 has any substantive nature.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, our negative findings are positively corroborated by the fact that without the little horn the vision of Dan 7 becomes emasculated. The little horn

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Daniel (Zevit, "Structure," p. 387; Rowley, "Unity," p. 251).

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Plüger, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup>The subjective nature of Noth's arguments becomes particularly apparent in his excision of vs. 8 because the different introductory formula does not fit his schema. Noth's objection would carry considerable weight were the vision of Dan 7 subdivided by a regularly recurring stereotyped formula. In view of the variations--particularly the variations in the introductory formula--observed above, the use of שכל is not surprising, if not even deliberate ("Komposition," p. 145).

This verse, as well as others in Dan 7, have also been excised on the basis of proposed historical identifications. To do so, however, involves circular reasoning, since the critic moves away from the text to discover a historical identification, only to return to the text to excise material not in agreement with his historical interpretation. Rowley correctly condemned such a procedure to secure glosses: "But this is to base the case for the alleged glosses on a theory of the origin of the book and not on the evidence" (Rowley, "Unity," p. 249; see also pp. 254-255).

not only presupposes the preceding material, but it also gives rise to the following judgment and thus adds unprecedented significance to the drama unravelling before the reader in Dan 7. Porteous underscores this when he concludes:

That the author of the book, and of chapter 7 in particular is writing at all is due to a conviction, which takes the form of a prophecy, that a climax in world affairs requiring the direct and final intervention of God is swiftly approaching. This consideration, *viz.* that a vision without the urgent symbol of the little horn would lack its necessary background, and would indeed be trivial, seems to outweigh the arguments brought forward by Noth.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly Rowley argues:

As the chapter stands, it represents the succession of earthly kingdoms as reaching the climax of pride and iniquity in the moment when the divine intervention in history takes place. But the emasculated chapter leaves us with the fourth kingdom continuing for an indefinite period until the dénouement of history takes place apropos of nothing in particular. . . . It is not self-evident that it required an interpolator to improve the chapter, and that the original writer must have told a flat and jejune story.<sup>2</sup>

#### Criteria related to vss. 9-14

Scholars, who contend for the disunity of Dan 7, generally attribute vss. 9-10, 13-14, or parts thereof, to a redactor or a different source.<sup>3</sup> Noth postulated vss. 9-10, 13 were a secondary gloss,

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<sup>1</sup>Porteous, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup>Rowley, "Unity," p. 257.

<sup>3</sup>Among recent scholars may be listed Rost (pp. 41-43) and Morgenstern (pp. 65-77). Dequeker, contrary to most in this category, believes that vss. 9-10, 13-14 are taken from a literary source older than the chapter (Coppens and Dequeker, p. 23); Colpe speculates that these views may come from an independent little apocalypse (Colpe, *TDNT*, 8:420); Müller, *Messias*, pp. 19-23; Müller, "Menschensohn," pp. 54-55; Theisohn, pp. 7-14; Weimar, pp. 11-36 cf. Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung," p. 214.

which came from some other apocalypse and were originally placed in the margin of the four beast vision, but later became incorporated into the text.<sup>1</sup> The independence of these verses was claimed because (1) according to his schema the transition formula should have brought the action of the vision to an end, whereas in vs. 9 this formula introduces further activity; (2) it appeared to Noth that these verses did not relate to what preceded or followed; (3) the rhythmic expression of this section is distinct from the preceding prose account; and (4) the Similitudes seem to recall only vss. 9-10, 13 but not the rest of Dan 7.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Noth, "Komposition," pp. 151-152.

<sup>2</sup>Noth, "Komposition," pp. 145-149. While Müller generally accepted Noth's literary-critical thesis, he separated vss. 9-10 from vss. 13-14 as two independent units (Messias, pp. 22-23). Similarly, Morgenstern, pp. 65-77. However, Theisohn noted the inadequacy of this hypothesis. He listed the following reasons in support of the close relation of vss. 9-10 and vss. 13-14: (1) In both parts the unique name for God "Ancient of Days" is used (vss. 9, 13) (Indeed, the very fact that the Ancient of Days" in vs. 13 is emphatic, but absolute in vs. 9, could be considered another indication that vs. 13 presupposes vs. 9); (2) Both sections are distinct from the rest of the chapter by virtue of their rhythmic structure (an argument which holds even if the meter is somewhat uneven); (3) Both sections relate to each other as far as content and frame of reference is concerned (Theisohn, pp. 9-10). Noth had already perceived the close relationship between vss. 9-10 and vs. 13 but excluded vs. 14 (cf. Müller who initially separated vs. 14 but later added that the interpretative vss. 18, 21, 22, and vss. 25, 26, 27 "setzen im Blick auf dem Gegenstand ihrer Auslegung die Verklammerung des Verses 14 mit der Menschensohnvision der Danielvorlage unzweifelhaft voraus" ["Menschensohn," pp. 42-44, 52]).

Contrary to Noth, vs. 14 should be taken in toto with vs. 13. Vs. 14 is the most natural conclusion to vs. 13, without which the unit would have no meaningful end. The metrical structure of vs. 14b is closely related to Dan 3:33; 4:31b; 6:26b. Weimar, though considerably influenced by Noth, attaches at least vs. 14a to vss. 9-10, 13 because vs. 14a brings vs. 13 to a meaningful finale (Weimar, pp. 24-25, 31-32). Other scholars who support the notion that vs. 14 is equally part of this section include Rost, pp. 41-47; Colpe, TDNT, 8:420; Coppens, "Le chapitre VII de Daniel," pp. 301-302.

Here it becomes patently apparent that Noth's two-formula schema has become a Procrustean bed applied to the biblical material. Above we noted that this schema neglects the variations evident in the chapter and rests on insufficient grounds. There is no reason why Dan 7:9 cannot carry on the action as indeed the same formula does in Dan 2:34 (and 7:21-22).<sup>1</sup> Though Baumgartner acknowledged the appropriateness of the formulas he clearly disallowed the use to which Noth put them: "Aber die Ausscheidung von v. 9f. 12-14 ergibt sich daraus nicht ohne weiteres."<sup>2</sup> We would also agree with Baumgartner's evaluation of two further reasons Noth advanced against the inclusion of vss. 9-10 and vss. 13-14:

Auch der Wechsel zwischen Prosa and Poesie ist kein sicheres Indiz . . . und ebensowenig die Beziehung zu den "Bilderreden" des Henoch, die nach Noth 147ff. 7:9, 13 noch ausserhalb ihres jetzigen Zusammenhanges voraussetzen sollen, denn dafür ist sie nicht eindeutig genug. Auch in anderen Fällen ist das Verhältnis recht lose (Hen 52:2ff.:D2), und die "Myriaden Engel" kommen nicht nur 60:1 zusammen mit dem "Menschensohn" vor, sondern auch 40:1 in Zusammenhang mit dem "Auserwählten."<sup>3</sup>

Later, Baumgartner returns to the poetical structure of vss. 9-10, 13-14 and opts for the inclusion of these verses, particularly vs. 14, into the original form of Dan 7:

Den Vers [vs. 14] mit Noth zu streichen, widerspricht sein Inhalt. . . . Unter diesen Umständen, und da die Neigung, an Höhepunkten in gehobene Prosa oder eigentliche Verse überzugehen, auch sonst in--und ausserhalb des Buches besteht, ist die Herausnahme der vier Verse nicht gerechtfertigt. Dass sie auf den jetzigen Zusammenhang angelegt sind, beweist das "bis dass"

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<sup>1</sup>So also Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung," p. 78.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 78.

v. 9, das--gegen v. Gall--metrisch unentbehrlich ist.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed with vss. 9-10, 13-14 we have reached the climax of the vision. It is for this reason the writer chose language becoming of the climax and thus resorted to poetical rhythm. To attribute these verses to a later hand or alien source, (accidentally) fused into the vision, is to break off the top of the vision.<sup>2</sup> Most recently the primary nature of vss. 9-10, 13-14 were argued by Kvanvig, who otherwise supports a considerable number of the notions postulated by HÜlscher and Noth.

He concluded:

Wie verhält es sich mit den Versen 9-10; 13-14, von denen Noth behauptet, sie seien sekundär? Wir wenden uns erst v. 13-14 zu. Wir haben sowohl aus der Viererstruktur als auch aus der Visionsstruktur gesehen, dass die Verse einen sinnvollen Abschluss der Vision bilden. Ja, eigentlich noch mehr. Erst im Lichte dieser Verse sehen wir den eigentlichen Sinn dieses Visionsbildes. Die Aussagen über den Menschensohn haben eine wichtige hermeneutische Funktion für das Verstehen des Geschicks der Tiere. Nichts in dem Text--weder strukturell noch inhaltlich--spricht dagegen, dass diese Verse primär sind.

Was V. 9-10 betrifft, müssen wir Noth darin recht geben, dass die Verse eine andere Struktur als sonst in der Vision haben. . . . Selbst wenn die Formel in V. 9 einen neuen Visionsgegenstand einleitet . . . so hat die Formel in V. 9 eine Überleitende Funktion, wie wir früher gezeigt haben. Wenn Noth behauptet, dass die Verse ohne Verbindung mit der ursprünglichen Vision sind, ist das nicht richtig. . . . Sonst ist klar, dass wenn V. 13-14 primär sind, auch V. 9-10 primär sein müssen, da diese in V. 13-14 vorausgesetzt werden.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 214; cf. Eissfeldt, Introduction, p. 526. Even Müller was left unconvinced by some of the reasons Noth proposed for the exclusion of vss. 9-10, 13-14 (Messias, p. 22). Vss. 13 and 14 are closely tied to the vision not only through their relation to vss. 9-10, but also by virtue of the formula introducing vs. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Procksch, Theologie, p. 416 n. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Kvanvig, pp. 109-110. Cf. Eissfeldt, Introduction, p. 526.

It becomes clear then that the judgment scene (vss. 9-10, 13-14) is integral and central to the vision. Below, we will examine the interpretation to see whether it revolves around a similar focus. Various features in vss. 1-14 are placed in contrasts and comparisons. Thus, for example, the beasts and the Ancient of Days and the SM, as well as heaven and earth, are set in opposition. In all of this, however, the picture of the Ancient of Days and the SM seem to represent the peak, which enables the reader to scan and evaluate the vistas below.

Vs. 11 has raised considerable discussion among commentators, regardless of their preferences for or against a unity of Dan 7. The reasons for this are to be found in the unusual Aramaic constructions and different text-critical readings. First, there is the unique position occupied by ׀׀׃ ( "then," "thereupon"). According to Charles, this conjunction or temporal demonstrative adverb and its cognate ׀׃ occur, taken together, fifty-one times elsewhere in Daniel,<sup>1</sup> but always at the beginning of the clause and never as here after the verb. However, both the LXX and Theodotion support the MT (as does also 1 Enoch 90:26). Charles observes that "the Vulg. omits 'at that time' and the Syr. the entire first clause but through hmt."<sup>2</sup> Second, ׀׃׃׃׃ in vs. 11b, which is dropped in the LXX and Theodotion, but included in the MT, Syriac, and Vulgate, is regarded by several commentators as secondary along with

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<sup>1</sup>Charles, Critical and Exegetical, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

other portions of vs. 11.<sup>1</sup>

While the position of  $\gamma\prime\delta\kappa\lambda$  is extremely unusual and ditto-graphy could have occurred, the excisions have not recommended themselves to other scholars who have sought to understand vs. 11a from the context. In vs. 11 the writer returns to a prosaic style and offers an extremely serious message. As Lacocque writes, "Il se peut qu'on doive supprimer la première partie du verset, mais tel quel, le verset a une tournure solennelle qui convient à son message."<sup>2</sup>

Porteous adds:

In v. 11 there is a reminder that this radiant vision had followed immediately upon the utterance of the arrogant words of the little horn. And then we are told of the fourth beast's being killed, how or by whom is not explicitly stated, and of its carcass's being burned up in the fire. That is the first thing that the author wishes to say urgently to his readers. The great tyrant is under the judgment<sub>3</sub> of God and will pass suddenly like a phantasm of the night.

In spite of its difficulties, it can be seen that the evidence against the retention of vs. 11 or its parts is not as powerful as might be expected. Indeed, in its context it is rather vital, for it retraces the steps which we have encountered in the movement to the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.; Bentzen, Daniel, p. 58. Plüger, pp. 104, 111; Eissfeldt, Introduction, p. 526. Noth struck out vs. 11a because he considered it incompatible with vs. 11b. The latter he believed links up with vs. 7ab ("Komposition," p. 145).

<sup>2</sup>Lacocque, p. 109. Note also Montgomery's retention of vs. 11 and his treatment of  $\gamma\delta\prime\kappa\lambda$  as the starting point of the seer's observation of the horn's big words. He translates "I was seeing from the time of the utterance of the big words which the horn was speaking" (p. 301). Whether we follow Montgomery's translation or the more common rendition of vs. 11, the notion that a judgment is in progress while the little horn is active surfaces here as it does in vss. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup>Lacocque, p. 109.



portrayal of the judgment scene. Yet there is one difference, for while the verses preceding vs. 9 depicted the various powers in ascendancy, vs. 10 describes them in recession. This pattern is actually hinted at in vs. 11 where the first  $\text{הַרְיִיחַ הַזֶּה}$  introduces a statement concerning the little horn's great words, just as the last words of vs. 8 spoke of the little horn's mouth speaking great words. Vs. 11b then continues the close link of the little horn and the fourth beast and delineates the fourth beast's demise.<sup>1</sup>

We need not be detained by the reasons Noth advanced for the excision of vs. 12. First, he argued, it did not fit his schema, and second, vs. 7 had not been followed by a description of the three beasts.<sup>2</sup>

#### Criteria related to vss. 15-27

Most of the alleged glosses in Dan 7:15-27 are tied to passages considered to be redactorial in the vision. As for vss. 17-18, Müller considered these a summary introduction to the rest of the interpretation.<sup>3</sup> Actually, as we will see below, Dan 7:17-18 ties both vision and interpretation closely together. The mention of the four beasts in vs. 17a picks up the reference to the four beasts in vs. 3, in which the vision is introduced, and the allusion to the saints in vs. 18 relates to vs. 27 which ends the interpretation.

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<sup>1</sup>Bentzen notes that the "Verbrennung des Tieres (11b) genügt, um auch die Vernichtung des von dem kleinen Horn regierten Reiches, mitsamt dem Horn, festzustellen" (Daniel, p. 59).

<sup>2</sup>"Komposition," p. 146. We will return to vs. 12 below. Porteous contended that vss. 13-14 require vss. 11-12 before them, for the latter express the author's meaning (p. 96).

<sup>3</sup>Müller, Messias, p. 22 n. 13; cf. Plüger, p. 114.

The majority of passages excised from the interpretation as secondary glosses deal with the little horn (e.g., vss. 20c 21-22, 24-25) and are based on the prior assumption that the little horn references in the vision are also later than the rest of the vision. Since the significant criteria advanced in favor of the secondary nature of these passages in the vision were discussed above and found to be largely subjective and frequently defective, we need not reexamine these arguments as they apply to the interpretation.

However, an objection often raised by some who contend for and many who argue against the unity of Dan 7, remains to be discussed. It concerns the inclusion in what is often considered the interpretation of features which, it seems, should have been mentioned in the vision itself.<sup>1</sup> These include particularly the allusions to (1) the "claws of bronze" in vs. 19; (2) the fact that the little horn "seemed greater than its fellows" (vs. 20c); and (3) the little horn making war on the saints and prevailing over them (vs. 21).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Hbilscher, p. 120; Bentzen, Daniel, p. 57; Plüger, p. 115. Porteous adds: "Certainly one might have expected that in the vision some action on the part of the little horn to follow up its arrogant words would have been included. The trouble is that the elaboration of the vision includes part of the interpretation, viz. the reference to the saints" (Porteous, p. 113); cf. Deissler, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>Another reason why vss. 21-22 have been held suspect is the use of the formula עַד דַּי הָרִיחַ הַזֶּה (Müller recognized that this form, occurring at the beginning of vss. 21 and 22, indicates that "beide Verse unzerbrüchlich zusammengehören" ["Menschensohn," p. 53]) in what is commonly appraised as interpretation, whereas the formula generally occurs only in the vision (e.g., Bentzen, Daniel, p. 57; Müller, "Menschensohn," p. 53). Furthermore, scholars who rely on Noth's two-formula schema disallow these verses because they continue the action after the formula (as in vs. 9) rather than bring the activity to a close as Noth had postulated (*ibid.*). Above, we have already noted the untenability of Noth's application of the two-formula schema and his endeavour to produce conformity in the text even by violent and arbitrary means.

It is striking, therefore, to observe that several scholars who champion various layers in Dan 7 and claim that vss. 21-22 are a later gloss contend that the words "claws of bronze" of vs. 19 should probably be restored to vs. 7.<sup>1</sup> Is there any reason then why, from a literary point of view, Dan 7:21-22 could not also be regarded a supplement to the vision? Several reasons actually tend to recommend this option. First, strictly speaking, Dan 7:19-22 describe the seer contemplating the vision and recalling aspects of what he had seen. This section is not so much an interpretation as a supplement to the earlier vision. Note that the angelus interpretes does not commence his interpretation until vs. 23 (though he has previously offered the explanation given in vss. 17-18). Secondly, in the setting of the seer's recollection, the formula  $\text{וְהָיָה הַקֶּלֶב$  in vs. 21 rather than being misplaced actually hints at the fact that the visionary is offering details which he had previously omitted as he hastened toward the climax of the vision. Third, the context justifies Plüger's suggestion that  $\text{וְהָיָה הַקֶּלֶב}$  has a certain "Nachholcharakter." Hence, he suggests that it should be translated by a pluperfect and rendered "I ha' seen--how this horn had made war with the saints and prevailed over them."<sup>2</sup> Thus vs. 21 enlarges upon and completes vs. 8. This supplement to the vision, while anticipating vs. 25,

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Haller, p. 84; Ginsberg, Daniel, p. 69 n. 27; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 202; BHK.

<sup>2</sup>Plüger, pp. 102-103, 115. This seems to have been the understanding also of the LXX which adds to vs. 8: "Καὶ ἐποίησε πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους."

müchte aber nachträglich als Bestandteil der Vision gewertet sein und die Aussage von V. 8 vervollständigen, deshalb die plusquamperf. Wiedergabe (deutlicher wäre noch in Fortführung von V. 20: 'und jenes Horn--wie ich gesehen hatte--machte Krieg . . .').<sup>1</sup>

If our analysis is correct, then vss. 8-10, 13-14 are not only integral to the text but also closely interwoven and supplementary to each other within the larger setting of Dan 7.

Vss. 21-22, 25, 27, or parts thereof, have also been assigned to (a) later editor(s) on the grounds that the "saints" (or "holy ones") and the "saints of the Most High" in these verses have been reinterpreted several times.

Before Procksch<sup>2</sup> and, especially, Noth<sup>3</sup> gave prominence to the view that the "saints" or "saints of the Most High" refer to

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<sup>1</sup>Pfäuger, p. 105. In this sense Dan 7:21-22 is no different from Dan 2:41-43, which also supplement the vision and, consequently are relegated to a secondary hand by several authors (e.g., Hölischer, p. 122; Noth, "Komposition," p. 155). Similarly, Dan 4:33 (A--vs. 30), which records the fulfillment of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, mentions "till his hair grew as long as eagles' feathers, and his nails were like birds' claws"--a feature absent in the vision. Yet there is no question of an interpolator here because (1) there is no reason why these words should be inserted into an earlier account, nor (2) do they refer to some historic situation (cf. Rowley, "Unity," p. 261).

<sup>2</sup>Procksch, "Der Menschensohn," pp. 429; id., "Christus," p. 80; id., Theologie, p. 537.

<sup>3</sup>Martin Noth, Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament, Theologische Bücherei, 6 (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1957), pp. 274-290. ET in id., "Holy One," pp. 215-228. Other writers who followed Noth's thesis include Kruse, pp. 193-211 (esp. p. 198); Dequeker, "Daniel VII," pp. 353-392. This was revised in id., "The Saints," pp. 108-187. More recently, Colpe, TDNT, 8:422-423 and Collins, "Son of Man," pp. 50-66. Dequeker had earlier argued with Coppens that vss. 20, (22a), 24, 24a belong to a first series of additions and vss. 21, 22b, 25b to a later set of additions (Coppens and Dequeker, pp. 27-33); but note Dequeker's modification and acknowledgment that his former argument was inconclusive ("The Saints," p. 114).

heavenly beings, or more precisely angels, it was the communis opinio of interpreters that "saints" were terrestrial beings of one type or another.<sup>1</sup> Though Noth's thesis commanded a considerable following, several weaknesses in his treatment have become apparent.

While it would take us beyond the limits of our present study to examine the meaning of "saints" or "saints of the Most High" in Dan 7 in detail, we need to pause briefly so as to make several observations.<sup>2</sup> First, the term "saints" (or "holy ones") cannot be limited to God and angels but designates also members of the earthly people of God.<sup>3</sup> Second, Noth was not justified in re-interpreting the hapax legomenon מַלְאָכִים in Dan 7:25 because the traditional meaning "to wear out" or "to wear down" ran counter to his interpretation of "saints" as angels. In fact, the available evidence does not support Noth, and the intensive form מַלְאָכִים in Dan 7:25 favors the interpretation that the "saints of the Most High" are human beings.<sup>4</sup> Third, Noth's translation of מַלְאָכִים by "host" has no support from Qumran and is never employed in the OT to designate

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<sup>1</sup>For literature, see Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," Bib 56 (1978):173 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup>For criticisms of Noth's article see C. H. W. Brekelmans, "The Saints of the Most High and their Kingdom," OTS 14 (1965):305-329; Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil, Studien zur Umwelt des NT, 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), p. 92; Robert Hanhart, "Die Heiligen des Höchsten," in Hebräische Wortforschung, VTSup 16 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 90-101; Müller, Messias, pp. 25-26; Hasel, "The Saints," p. 173-192; Deissler, p. 83; V. S. Poythress, pp. 208-213; Hartman and Di Lella, pp. 97 (see also p. 97 n. 234 for further bibliography).

<sup>3</sup>Hasel, "The Saints," p. 185.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 186; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 207.

angels or celestial beings.<sup>1</sup> Actually, the genetical phrase the "people [DY] of the saints of the Most High" in Dan 7:27 seems to be understood best as an explicative (epexegetical) genitive linked together in a compound construct chain.<sup>2</sup> In this sense Dan 7:27 expresses the thought that the "people," that is composed of the "saints of the Most High," is granted the kingdom, dominion, and its greatness.

Hasel concludes his study:

Point after point has indicated that "the saints of the Most High" in Dn 7 cannot refer to angelic beings, as a recent trend in scholarship supposes. The various lines of research in biblical and non-biblical materials lead to the conclusion that they are to be understood as human beings.<sup>3</sup>

We may now return to the literary-critical proposition that vss. 21-22, 25, 27 give evidence of secondary additions and should be rejected because they are difficult to reconcile with a particular interpretation of "saints." With Collins we would agree that "this is not legitimate, however, when we are precisely trying to establish the interpretation of that phrase."<sup>4</sup>

So far then, we have noted that the reasons offered against the unity of Dan 7 are unconvincing and have been accepted far too uncritically.<sup>5</sup> While the foregoing analysis was largely negative it

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<sup>1</sup>Hasel, "The Saints," pp. 186-187.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 187-188; Müller, Messias, p. 26. For compound construct chains in Aramaic see BleA # 89c.

<sup>3</sup>Hasel, "The Saints," pp. 190-192.

<sup>4</sup>Collins, "Son of Man," p. 54 n. 23. Cf. Deissler, p. 83.

<sup>5</sup>Most authors do not even deal with arguments to the contrary. Generally, we observe an indiscriminating adoption and refinement of criteria established by earlier writers against the unity of Dan 7

would be only appropriate to ask whether any data would corroborate our negative findings and thus act as a control. Such evidence appears to be provided by a structural and thematic analysis of the chapter.

#### A Structural and Thematic Analysis of Daniel 7

Dan 7 begins with a prologue (vss. 1-2a) and ends with an epilogue (vs. 28), both of which frame a vision (vss. 2b-14), personal reactions of the seer (vss. 15, 16, 19-22--verses which are generally subsumed under interpretation [vss. 15-27]), and interpretation provided by an unidentified angelus interpres (vss. 17-18, 25-27).

#### Analysis of vss. 1-14

Structurally the vision may be subdivided into the following elements:

- I. Preliminary view of the earthly kingdoms (vss. 2b-3).
- II. Details of vision (vss. 4-14).
  - A. First three beasts (vss. 4-6).
    - B. Fourth Beast (vs. 7).
      - C. Description of little horn including loquacity (vs. 8).
        - D. THE JUDGMENT (vss. 9-10; supplemented by its second half vss. 13-14).
          - C<sup>1</sup>. [Fate of] little horn and its loquacity (vs. 11a).
          - B<sup>1</sup>. Fate of the fourth beast (vs. 11b).

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(e.g., Müller, Messias, p. 19; Weimar, pp. 11-12). Surely Rowley's article on the unity of Daniel deserves more detailed attention ("Unity," pp. 233-273).

A<sup>1</sup>. Fate of the first three beasts (vs. 12).

D<sup>1</sup>. THE JUDGMENT and the SM: A GLORIOUS TRIUMPH  
(vss. 13-14).

The reader will note the chiasmic mold into which the vision is poured. That occidental syllogistic logic, which, for example, demands that the reference to the fourth beast in vs. 7 be continued in vs. 11b, thus eliminating the intervening material as secondary, or which challenges the integrity of vs. 12 because the fourth beast of vs. 7 had not been followed by reference to the former beasts, is based on presuppositions which are alien to this Semitic text.

The chiasmic structure of vss. 4-14, with the judgment at its center, first describes the measured rise of the earthly powers before it traces their fate in exact inverse order in the second half. We have already advanced our reasons for believing that vss. 13-14 are of the same mold as vss. 9-10. It may, nevertheless, be appropriate here to suggest at least two reasons for the postponement of vss. 13-14 to the end of the chiasm. First, it stresses the contrast of weal and woe. Second, the vision retains its climax, since vss. 13-14 sustain the triumph of God's cause beyond the fate of the earthly powers, and thus leaves the reader with divine success rather than the demise of the terrestrial forces. The triumph is celebrated with the hymnic affirmations of vs. 14b. This structure clearly argues for a unity of the vision which no excision could improve.

#### Analysis of vss. 15-27

The consternation of the visionary is reflected in the two verses following the vision (vss. 15-16) and leads him to request



an explanation. In response we read the words of the angelus interpretes (vss. 17-18). The reply touches on the four beasts and the "saints of the Most High"; but there is no record of the judgment. The brevity of this explanation has perplexed scholars. As we examine this chapter it becomes obvious that the only other reference which mentions the four beasts together is vs. 3 in which a preliminary view of the vision is given. Again, the only verse which records the fact that the saints will enjoy an everlasting kingdom is vs. 27, in which the conclusion to the interpretation is found. It seems that vss. 17-18 are an interpretive bracket which knit together both the vision and the interpretation by referring to their respective first and last elements. This would also explain the absence of the judgment in these verses.

While vss. 19-22 are customarily subsumed under the interpretation of the vision they nowhere purport to be such. Rather, the seer is clearly reflecting upon and supplementing his vision (vss. 2-14). In vss. 19-22, he recalls and fills out the earlier delineation, specifically that of the little horn. Vs. 7 had passed over the fact that the little horn seemed greater than its fellows (vs. 20c), had made war with the saints, and had prevailed over them. These items are now added to fill out vs. 8. Accordingly, the saints had already been featured implicitly in the vision and their suffering had been curtailed by the judgment (vss. 8, 22). These considerations also corroborate our observation above that וְהָיָה כִּי יִרְאוּ אֶת הַקָּדוֹשׁ (vs. 21) should be translated by a pluperfect<sup>1</sup> and that the verse be

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Plüger, p. 105. Cf. LXX on Dan 7:8.

considered a supplement to the vision. The recognition that vss. 19-22 are not interpretation but part of the vision, is extremely important for at least two reasons. First, it invalidates those arguments which consider the supplements in vss. 19-22 later glosses because they occur in a section mistakenly designated "interpretation." Second, it demonstrates that the suffering saints are featured in the vision prior to the appearance of the SM.

The tableau depicting oppression, judgment, and kingship in vss. 20-22 reiterates a similar sketch in the vision (where, however, the SM was given his kingship). Notwithstanding, this particular tableau, especially its portrait of the little horn, has received some additional color.

It is the judgment which puts an end to the evil one (vs. 22a). Yet, in vs. 22, the judgment takes on another perspective, for here it is primarily "concerning the saints of the Most High." The text of vs. 22 is very difficult, for the Aramaic is capable of two interpretations, both of which had been advanced by early Protestant commentators.<sup>1</sup> ודינה יהב לקדישי ("and judgment was given for/to the saints") could be interpreted as either (1) "judgment was given concerning the saints" (i.e., decision was rendered for them) or (2) "the [power of] judgment was given to the saints" (i.e., the saints themselves judge).

While the first alternative suggests that in the judgment scene a favorable verdict would end the misery of the saints, the

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Montgomery, pp. 309-310; Delcor, Daniel, pp. 159-160; Lacocque, p. 115.

latter proposes that God's people are actually associated with him in judging the nations. Though the second option has the support of Theodotion and later passages like Matt 19:28; 1 Cor 6:2; Rev 20:4, it seems that it was the "analogy of scripture" which induced a number of authors to accept the interpretation. The former alternative, followed by Ibn Ezra (who observes, "he gave them their revenge" i.e., "judgment rendered in their favor"), claims the support of most modern commentators. This opinion is also more in harmony with the OT idea that the Lord "executes justice for the orphan and the widow" (Deut 10:18) and "maintains the cause of the afflicted" (Ps 140:12 [H--vs. 13]). Hence, the first option seems to be more appropriate in the context of Dan 7, in which prominence is given to God as judge and his saving judgment.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this judgment, the saints who have maintained their covenantal relationship receive the kingship or kingdom, while the vile oppressor faces his doom.

The interpretation (vss. 23-27), presumably offered by "one of those who stood there" (vs. 16), once again conjoins the fourth beast, the ten horns, and the little horn (vss. 23-25). The portrayal of the little horn in the interpretation (vs. 24) combines elements mentioned in the vision ("three of the first horns were plucked up" vs. 8) and the seer's recollection (this horn "seemed greater than its fellows" vs. 20c). The angelus interpretes in no way

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<sup>1</sup>Several critics desire to emend vs. 22 to "the court sat and power was given" (cf. BHK and BHS) because they think the present text was caused by haplography. However, in the absence of more concrete evidence it is just as well to consider the present text as adequate (cf. Montgomery, p. 309).

distinguishes the vision from the supplementary recollection. In fact, the supplements are considered legitimate additions, assumed to have been part of the vision.

The angel then lists the outrageous acts which the nefarious horn will commit alternately against God and his people. The blasphemies against the Most High and the oppression of the saints again heighten the despicability of the little horn. The blasphemous tyrant has reached his peak. His repression of the saints, already alluded to in vs. 21, will be curtailed at the end of "a time, two times, and half a time," and the judgment will rob him of power and life (vss. 25, 26). Again, it is the judgment (vs. 25) which sets an end to suppression and prepares for the kingship motif or the final triumph of God's cause. What tremendous comfort the seer's contemporaries must have derived from this message at a time when they themselves experienced the opprobrious and vexatious yoke of foreign, blasphemous powers. Vss. 25-27, then, repeat the earlier tableau of oppression, judgment, and kingship, but the colors have become even more vivid.

The recurring structural pattern of oppression, judgment, and kingship may be likened to tableaus the colors and contours of which have become more pronounced as the writer moves from one structure or tableau to the next. These structures are not independent and separate for certain themes unite these tableaus. One theme develops the vicissitudes of the oppressing force and the motif of kingship, the other unfolds the importance of the judgment. On one hand, we see the deepening hues of the chief villain and his final doom, while on the other kingship, which may have seemed afar off at

first, becomes more and more of a reality. Second, we note the centrality assumed by the theme of judgment in Dan 7, which not only divides the parties but also gives shape to their final destinies. The center which the judgment forms (vs. 26) in the climax (vss. 25-27), becomes the apex of another pattern which finds its broadest base in the heart of the chiasmic structure of the vision.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the structures and thematic lines running through the chapter unite the materials in Dan 7, whether they be vision, prophetic reaction, or interpretation. There is a delicately balanced play and counterplay in the chapter and excisions would disturb this harmony. These observations, which may be illustrated as follows, tend to strengthen our negative evaluation of criteria advanced against the unity of Dan 7.

The structure of the chapter may be outlined:

- A. Prologue (vss. 1-2a)
- B. Vision (vss. 2b-14)
- C. Seer's reaction to the vision (vss. 15-16)
- D. Brief interpretation (center of chapter [vss. 17-18])
- C<sup>1</sup>. Seer's reaction to and elaboration of vision (vss. 19-22)
- B<sup>1</sup>. Lengthy interpretation (vss. 23-27)
- A<sup>1</sup>. Epilogue (vs. 28)

Within the chapter three tableaux stand out:

- |               |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| A. OPPRESSION | A. OPPRESSION | A. OPPRESSION |
| (vss. 7-8)    | (vs. 22a)     | (vss. 23-25)  |

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<sup>1</sup>Pfiffner considers the judgment scene to be the link with and continuation of the vision of Dan 2 (pp. 112-113).

B. JUDGMENT (court and execution; vss. 9-12)	B. JUDGMENT (vs. 22a)	B. JUDGMENT (vs. 26)
C. KINGSHIP (vss. 13-14)	C. KINGSHIP (vs. 22b)	C. KINGSHIP (vs. 27)

Thematic lines run across these three structures in which the first represents the vision, the second an elaboration of the vision, and the third the interpretation, not only joining but also expanding the themes of oppression, judgment, and kingship.

While the scholar may derive much benefit from responsible literary criticism, the critic must always be in empathy with the nature of the text. In the case of Dan 7, it seems that the criteria advanced in support of several textual layers tend to reflect an occidental syllogistic thinking, which has become a Procrustean bed upon which the biblical text has been imposed.<sup>1</sup> It could be argued that the structural and thematic unity which we have observed in Dan 7 was imposed by (a) later redactor(s). While we would not want to dispute this, a priori, the evidence for such a claim is still outstanding! Hence, our analysis of Dan 7 leads us to conclude that the chapter is to be accepted as a unity, and the absence of any text critical data to the contrary tends to confirm this judgment.

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<sup>1</sup>Deissler cautions: "Es ist nämlich ganz allgemein zu beachten, dass ein altorientalischer Text, ein apokalyptischer dazu, nicht ohne weiteres in das Prokrustesbett moderner okzidentaler Logik gepresst werden darf, wenn man ihm gerecht werden will. Auch das in unserem Fall beliebte Argument, die Verse über die zehn Hörner bzw. das elfte Horn (7[Schluss] 8, 11a, 20-22, 24f) könnten ebenso gut fehlen und erwiesen sich dadurch als sekundär, ist letztlich nicht stichhaltig, weil der dann übrigbleibende Primärtext zwar glatt, aber strukturell und inhaltlich ein "apokalyptischer Torso wird" (p. 82). Haag eliminates even the "Ancient of Days" from vss. 9-10 and the SM from vss. 13-14 because they are not mentioned in the further interpretation (p. 68).

Our literary study has also given us reason to doubt the adequacy of the customary division of Dan 7 into vision (vss. 2-14) and interpretation (vss. 15-27). The chapter is more complex, for it is composed of a vision (vss. 2-14), personal reactions to and elaborations of the vision (vss. 15-16, 19-22), and (presumably) angelic interpretations (vss. 17-18, 23-27).<sup>1</sup> The implication of this is that the portrayal of the saints and their fortunes in vss. 21-22 can no longer be regarded as some later intrusion into the interpretation; rather, vss. 21-22 are part and parcel of the vision, passed over at first as the writer hastened on to the climax, but now developed in detail. The locution  $\text{קִיָּם הַיּוֹם}$ , which usually occurs in the vision and, consequently, has been considered a secondary gloss alien to the interpretation, and the divine name Ancient of Days, which occurs only in the vision, may, instead, be a deliberate reminder of the fact that vss. 21-22 represent a supplement to the vision, particularly vs. 8.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the little horn with eyes like a man and a mouth speaking great things, which had plucked up three of the former horns, would now make war upon the saints and prevail over them until the judgment would set an end to

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<sup>1</sup>In this respect Dan 7 is not unlike the next chapter(s). In Dan 8, the vision is also followed by a narration of the seer's experience (vss. 15-17a, 18, 27) before the angelic interpretation commences (vss. 17b, 19-26). Due to Daniel's weakness (vs. 28) the interpretation of the vision has to be broken off and is left incomplete, especially as far as the meaning of vs. 14 is concerned. If Gabriel's return and mission in Dan 9:21-23 relates to Dan 8 (cf. Noth's "Komposition," pp. 160-161), then the interpretation interrupted years before is now resumed and completed.

<sup>2</sup>As noted in the LXX addition to vs. 8. Charles prefers to introduce the LXX addition, missing in Theodotion, into the text of Dan 7:8 (Critical and Exegetical, p. 180).

its tyranny. The saints, therefore, occur in the vision alongside and apart from the SM.<sup>1</sup>

We are now ready to turn to Dan 7:9-10, 13-14, the only biblical passage which describes the manlike being, in order to ascertain more about the nature and identity of the SM.

#### The Judgment and the Son of Man in Daniel 7

The seer's glance has shifted from the wind tossed sea and the din of earth's turmoil to the dignified calm and order of the celestial sphere where the Ancient of Days presides at the bar.<sup>2</sup> According to Heaton, Dan 7:9-14 represent the climax of both the vision and the whole book of Daniel:

We now come to the climax, alike of the vision and the whole book. All that goes before leads up to this passage and all that comes after flows from it. Set over against the destructive beasts is the power and purpose of God, who, as in the beginning, will in the end subdue all things to himself (cf. 1 Cor. 15. 28).<sup>3</sup>

Dan 7:9-10, 13-14, which are largely poetical in nature, are divided into two scenes, each of which is introduced by the locution

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<sup>1</sup>One might even argue on the basis of vs. 22 that the saints receive a kingdom as does the SM (vss. 13-14). However, while the text clearly assumes that God gives to the SM "dominion and glory and kingdom that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him" (vss. 13-14), we can only surmise about the mode in which the saints are granted the kingdom (vs. 22).

<sup>2</sup>While we believe this scene to be located in heaven, this becomes clearer in vs. 13 (cf. Montgomery, p. 296; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 217). Schmidt argues that "the thrones set for the court, the myriads of angels, the stream of fire, the clouds of heaven, show that the scene is laid, not on earth but in heaven" ("Son of Man in Daniel," p. 27). Below we will refer to authors who consider these verses to be a judgment on earth.

<sup>3</sup>Heaton, p. 178.



חזוה הריח.<sup>1</sup> We will begin by centering our attention upon the first scene in which the Ancient of Days presides at the judgment.

The Ancient of Days and the Judgment  
in Daniel 7:9-10

The scene, though retaining its own characteristics, has much in common with other OT delineations of judgment (e.g. 1 Kgs 22:19-22; Pss 50; 82; Joel 3).<sup>2</sup>

The introductory phrase of vs. 9 חזוה הריח עך די is significant; the first two words could be rendered by a simple perfect "I saw," or by a participle "I was seeing."<sup>3</sup> The participle, which may indicate continuous and habitual action, is more commonly expressed by a participle with the verb "to be." Since this is the case in

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<sup>1</sup>Theisoehn regards vss. 9-10, 13-14 as two successive acts of one event. The first act reports the gathering of the court of justice, chaired by the Ancient of Days. The court session commences when the books are opened. The second act narrates the institution of the SM as the end-time, universal, and eternal ruler. Since the second act follows the first, the SM appears as the recipient of the kingdom after the court has sat (pp. 10-11).

<sup>2</sup>Montgomery suggests that the judgment of Dan 7 "has become the classical model for all subsequent apocalyptic scenes of like order" (p. 296).

Black believes that Dan 7:9-13 stands in the same theophanic throne-vision tradition as 1 Kgs 22:19-22; Isa 6:1-8; Ezek 1:26-28. and envisions nothing less than the apotheosis of Israel--a deification of the purified and redeemed saints ("Apotheose," pp. 92-99). There is, however, one interesting difference between the throne-room visions of 1 Kgs 22; Ps 82; Job 1, and the one depicted here. Whereas God is already seen on the throne in the previous passages, the Ancient of Days only takes his seat in Dan 7.

<sup>3</sup>Among others, Hartman and Di Lella chose the first alternative (e.g., pp. 202-203), while Montgomery opted for the second (e.g., p. 296).

vs. 9 (cf. also vss. 2, 7, 11, 13, 21),<sup>1</sup> the full force of חִזָּה הַרִיחַ  
 יָדַי conveys at least a partial contemporaneousness of the little  
 horn's activity and the vision of the heavenly assize, before a ver-  
 dict pronounced by the latter brings to an end the transactions of  
 the former.<sup>2</sup>

The plural "thrones" (כְּרִסְרִי) has caused considerable specu-  
 lations amongst both Jewish and Christian exegetes. R. Akiba ex-  
 plained that one throne was for God, and one for David,<sup>3</sup> while R.  
 Jose the Galilean rebuked Akiba for his profanity and decided  
 "rather [it must mean], one [throne] for justice and one for grace."<sup>4</sup>  
 Rashi, on the other hand, considered the plural to be a designation  
 for two thrones--one for judgment and one for justice.<sup>5</sup>

Other scholars, who understood the plural in the sense of a

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<sup>1</sup>Alger F. Johns, A Short Grammar of Biblical Aramaic,  
 Andrews University Monographs, 1 (Berrien Springs, Mi.: Andrews  
 University Press, 1966), p. 25; Franz Rosenthal, A Grammar of  
 Biblical Aramaic, Porta Linguarum Orientalium, 5, 4th printing  
 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1974), p. 177.

<sup>2</sup>Jeffery observes: "The reason he [the seer] shifted his  
 gaze is told in vs. 11. It was because of the loud-mouthed utter-  
 ances of the little horn. The point seems to be, that as he  
 kept on contemplating the little horn, he realized that this could  
 only be the final depravity which immediately precedes the end; so  
 he looked up and saw that preparations for the grand assize were  
 already in hand" (p. 457).

<sup>3</sup>B. Sanh. 38b.

<sup>4</sup>B. Hag. 14a.

<sup>5</sup>Lacocque, p. 108 n. 6. Cf. Balz, p. 89-90.

dual, hypothesized an original judicial function for the SM.<sup>1</sup> They argued, that in an alleged pre-Danielic SM tradition, underlying the present Dan 7:9-10, 13-14, the manlike figure was a judge, who took his seat alongside God. Support for this theory was derived from the plural for thrones in Dan 7:9, the judicial functions of the SM in the Similitudes (e.g., 1 Enoch 62:2-3; 69:26-29), and occasional passages in the NT, which speak of the SM as judge (e.g., Matt 25: 31-46). It is further alleged that in the hands of the present writer of Dan 7:9-10, 13-14, the original judicial SM became an end-time ruler. However, the thesis presupposes that the functions of the SM in the Similitudes and the Gospels is relevant for Dan 7, a postulate which still awaits confirmation.<sup>2</sup>

There are several other reasons which put this theory in doubt. First, the SM plays a rather passive role in Dan 7 in that he is brought into the presence of the Ancient of Days from whom, most likely, he receives his kingship. Second, though vs. 13 reads like an investiture, there is not a single hint that the SM ascends a throne, which would be only appropriate for the judge (cf. vss. 9-10). Third, this particular thesis of the Danielvorlage hypothesis would require that vs. 13 be introduced before the last

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Mowinckel, pp. 352-353, 393-399; Stier, pp. 98-99; Bentzen, Daniel, p. 63; Balz, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>Though the following scholars hold to a pre-history of the SM tradition, they dismiss the notion that the SM in Dan 7 is a judge: Müller, Messias, p. 27 n. 29; Müller, "Menschensohn," pp. 46-47; Theisohn, pp. 11-12; Robert Maddox, "The Son of Man and Judgment" (Th.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1963), p. 23. Müller also dismisses the interpretations of Mowinckel and Balz because "thrones" is a plural and not a dual ("Menschensohn," p. 46).

sentence of vs. 10, therefore causing an abrupt transition in thought. For this reason it is unlikely that the SM functioned as judge in Dan 7 or for that matter even in the alleged "Danielvorlage."<sup>1</sup> Robert Maddox's suggestion that, though in Dan 7 God alone is judge, the place of the SM within the judgment tableau may have led to the association of the SM with eschatological judgment in later literature (e.g., Similitudes and the Gospels), seems the most reasonable assumption when we consider the evidence before us.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of commentators still believe the thrones are "for the angelic associate judges who constitute the celestial court . . . that sat in judgment (vss. 10, 26)."<sup>3</sup> Possibly, Porteous' cautious assessment seems to do the greatest justice to the passage in Dan 7:

If there were assessors there is no specific mention of them, though of course, God is provided elsewhere in Scripture with his entourage (. . . Job 1.6; 1 Kings 22.19; Ps. 82). Nor is there any definite suggestion in the text that the thrones were intended to be occupied later or by the one like a son of man or by representatives of the saints of the Most High, though the reader may have been expected to draw that inference for himself. It is true that in later thought about the judgment [e.g., Matt 19:28; Luke 22:30; 1 Cor 6:2; Rev 20:4] it was believed that

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<sup>1</sup>See further Theisohn, pp. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup>Robert Maddox, "The Function of the Son of Man According to the Synoptic Gospels," NTS 15 (1961):47.

<sup>3</sup>Hartman and Di Lella, p. 217. See Montgomery, who also offers the possibility of a plural majestatis (pp. 296-297); Charles, Critical and Exegetical, p. 181; Heaton, p. 178; Plüger, p. 104; Balz, p. 70; Delcor, p. 150. Lacocque thinks at least one throne is occupied by the SM and perhaps others are used by the angelic assessors or saints associated with the SM (p. 108). Montgomery adds that the assessors are possibly the recorders who inscribe the decisions into the opened books (p. 297). Ps 122:5 ("the thrones set for judgment") is of little help in determining the meaning of this passage.

the saints would have part in it, but that is not conclusive for the intention of the author of Daniel.<sup>1</sup>

With the preparations for the judgment ended,<sup>2</sup> the focus shifts to the most important person, namely, the Ancient of Days. The term עתיק יומין ("Ancient of Days"), literally, "one advanced in days," is a unique expression in the OT and clearly refers to God.<sup>3</sup> This particular name for God may be based on the concept of longevity and eternal existence (cf. Pss 9:8; 29:10; 90:2 and, particularly, Isa 9:6). The Ancient of Days is enthroned in the assembly of the angels, analogous to an ancient king who is surrounded by his retinue. In Dan 7:9-10 he is the presiding judge, a conception which is echoed in such OT passages as 1 Kgs 22:19; Pss 50; 72; 82:1; Joel 3:2-17. In theophanic language, the writer sketches the resplendent brilliance of God's appearance in all his unsullied innocence, majesty, and wealth of experience.<sup>4</sup> From his blazing wheeled throne

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<sup>1</sup>Porteous, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup>Montgomery suspects that עתיק יומין goes back to the Jewish commentators, who conceived the word in the sense of "were removed," "cast down," or "cast away"; the thrones being understood as those of the beasts (pp. 299-300).

<sup>3</sup>With the majority of scholars (e.g., Hartman and Di Lella, p. 217), against Jepheth ibn Ali and Ibn Ezra, who identified the Ancient of Days with an angel and Michael respectively (cf. Lacocque p. 104). Charles wants to emend this locution to "one like an Ancient of Days" (p. 298). In our previous chapter we discussed the religio-historical roots proposed for the Ancient of Days in the Ugaritic mlk ʿab šnm and noted the uncertain meaning of the Ugaritic phrase. The Hebrew equivalent to עתיק יומין would be בא בימים.

<sup>4</sup>For the literary genre of a theophany, see Jörg Jeremias, Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung, WMANT, 10, 2d rev. ed (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977). Michael Sokoloff, notes that עמר נקא is better translated as "lamb's wool" ("Critical Notes," JBL 95 [1976]:277-279).

--so reminiscent of Ezek 1 and 10--flows a surging stream of flames.<sup>1</sup>  
 The notion of fire surrounding the deity is deeply rooted in the OT, where fire often either precedes or surrounds God when he comes to judge his people (cf. Ps 50:3; 97:1-4; Isa 30:27-28; Mal 3:2).<sup>2</sup>

Next the seer beheld an innumerable throng of celestial beings, like courtiers surrounding an earthly potentate, or armies drawn up in divisions grouped according to the decimal system (cf. Deut 33:2; 1 Kgs 22:19; Ps 68:17; Zech 14:5; 1 Enoch 1:3-9; 90:20-27). The countless number of celestial attendants is expressed in terms of "a thousand thousands" and "a myriad myriads."<sup>3</sup>

The Ancient of Days, having been seated, the "judgment" (מִיָּדָיִם), or with the abstract passing into the concrete, the "court," follows suit, possibly occupying the thrones mentioned in the previous verse.<sup>4</sup> In this verse מִיָּדָיִם (as also in vs. 26) appears

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<sup>1</sup>Several authors attribute the fire imagery to Persian eschatology in which the mountains of metal melt at the end of the world and pour over the earth like a river. All men stepping into this river are either purified or destroyed. Carl H. Kraeling suggests that this may have been the source of Daniel's river of fire (John the Baptist [New York: Scribner's Sons, 1951], pp. 117, 225); cf. also Plüger, p. 111.

In place of the two verbs פָּדַן and גָּלַן, the LXX and Theodotion have only one verb (LXX: ἐξεπορεύετο; Theodotion εἰλκεν). This may argue for the fact that the verbs are to be understood as a hendiadys but it seems that the poetic structure of these cola argues for the retention of both.

<sup>2</sup>See Delcor, Daniel, p. 151; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup>Jeffery, p. 458. Jeffery's suggestion, that the myriads standing in the judge's presence are those who await judgment at the last judgment seems unlikely (see Porteous, p. 109). According to Rosenthal the "thousand thousands" equal 1,000,000 and the "myriad myriads" 100,000,000 (#63). מִיָּדָיִם is characteristically Hebrew.

<sup>4</sup>Hartman and Di Lella, p. 217; Montgomery, p. 299; Charles, Critical and Exegetical, p. 184; Plüger, p. 104.

to refer to those who judge or deliberate, whereas in vs. 22 the same word seems to signify "verdict."<sup>1</sup> This judgment, as we noted above, commences while the little horn is still active and thus precedes the end.

The judgment begins as "books are opened." The concept of heavenly books is ancient in Israel, and recurs in the literature of late Judaism and the NT, e.g., 1 Enoch 47:3; 104:1; Jub. 30:20-22; Phil 4:3; Rev 3:5; 20:12; 21:27. The OT refers to the "book of life" (e.g., Ps 69:28), the "book of remembrance" (e.g., Mal 3:16), and simply "book" [i.e., God's book] (e.g., Exod 32:32; Ps 56:8; Dan 12:1). God appears to be keeping a record of good (Neh 5:19; 13:14) and bad deeds (Isa 65:6; Ps 109:14). The books in the present context, though not identified, are clearly related to the verdict which divides both good and evil. Hartman adds that "the pagan nations are condemned on account of their wicked deeds, whereas Israel is rewarded because of its fidelity to Yahweh."<sup>2</sup>

These heavenly records are seen open before the celestial tribunal, when the seer, because of the speech of the little horn, reverts his gaze to events transpiring on earth. Vs. 11a then corroborates the suggestion adduced from the transition between vss. 8 and 9, that the actions of the little horn, though preceding the

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<sup>1</sup>Montgomery, p. 299; Plüger, p. 104. It is doubtful whether the Hebrew דָּבָר ("confidential talk," "group of intimates," "council") is forceful enough to be synonymous with the Aramaic דְּבַר (as suggested by Charles, Critical and Exegetical, p. 184, and Jeffery, p. 458).

<sup>2</sup>Hartman and Di Lella, p. 218.

heavenly judgment, for a time, at least, coincide with the sitting of the latter. The first thing the seer wants to convey, and that with considerable urgency, is the fact that the insolent despot is under judgment and will pass like a phantasm of the night (vss. 11-12).<sup>1</sup>

Execution implies a verdict, yet the latter is nowhere stated. Instead, the verdict is passed as a descriptive act.<sup>2</sup> The loquacity of the little horn has been judged by the mute language of the heavenly books. With prophetic insight the apocalyptist sees the tyrant's end and adds--almost as an appendix--that the rest of the beasts (vs. 12), whose destruction could have been inferred from vss. 2-6, had, though deprived of their dominion, been granted a reprieve. Since the author here supplements details, earlier passed over, it may be best to translate the verbs by pluperfects.<sup>3</sup>

Evil having been dealt with, the language of the vision reverts to the rhythmic form of the earlier judgment scene (vss. 9-10) and again focuses upon the Ancient of Days before whom the SM appears.

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<sup>1</sup>Porteous, p. 109. Charles, with other commentators, believed this to be the "final place of judgment" (p. 185); however, Montgomery thinks this is absurd (p. 301).

<sup>2</sup>Plüger, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup>So also Plüger, p. 104 (cf. Montgomery, p. 302). The text nowhere implies that the beasts of vs. 12 had been given an indefinite existence as inferred by Charles; hence his conclusion that the peoples represented by the beasts would serve the saints (vs. 27b) is an unwarranted assumption (p. 186; pace Heaton, p. 181). The writer of Dan 7 is here reflecting upon the fate of these powers which he mentions in inverse order from the first half of the thematic chiasm.



The Son of Man and the Ancient of Days  
in Daniel 7:13-14

The introductory formula, "I was seeing in the visions of the night and behold," which had previously punctuated the vision in vss. 2 and 7, binds the second scene (vss. 13-14) closely to the first scene (vss. 9-10), while also drawing attention to the importance of the subject matter which is about to follow.<sup>1</sup> However, before we peruse the contents of these verses any further, we would do well to investigate the meaning of the locution כִּבְרַ אֱנֹשׁ.

The meaning of כִּבְרַ אֱנֹשׁ

The sole occurrence of this locution in the Bible is in Dan 7:13. The phrase itself is a combination of the comparative particle כִּ and the construct chain אֱנֹשׁ בֶּר. Before turning to the meaning of אֱנֹשׁ בֶּר we will briefly examine the significance of the comparative particle כִּ.

The particle כִּ

A variety of interpretations have been suggested for כִּ. Thus, Theisohn considered the comparative particle no more than a redactional assimilation of the hypothetical Danielvorlage to the four-beast vision, in which the first three beasts were modified by כִּ.<sup>2</sup> Hence: "Das Verständnis der Vergleichspartikel כִּ ist gegenüber dieser grundsätzlichen Aussage erst von zweiträngiger

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<sup>1</sup>Pfister, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup>Theisohn, p. 13. While the comparative particle for the third beast is the synonymous הַדְּמִי, the fourth beast, it is argued, does not need the כִּ because it is in a comparative context.

Bedeutung"<sup>1</sup> which means that we can derive virtually no help from the particle for our exegesis.<sup>2</sup>

A second opinion which throws little if any light on the meaning of the phrase is the suggestion that the particle  $\text{D}$  is a purely apocalyptic device, or even the mark of an apocalyptic visionary style, which the writer adopted to describe what he saw, without making any attempt to offer any precise identification.<sup>3</sup> Gressmann maintained that the  $\text{D}$ , which characterizes apocalyptic style in both Ezekiel and Daniel, could be dispensed with without affecting the meaning of the text in the least.<sup>4</sup> However, there are at least two problems with this view. First, the comparative particle, while profuse in Ezek 1 and Dan 7, does not recur regularly in such symbolic visions as are recorded in Dan 2; 4; 8. Second, Gressmann's notion would cause serious misunderstandings, for, as far as the SM is concerned, it could leave itself open to misunderstand the Danielic figure purely as a human being.

More specifically, the question whether the particle indicates identity or similarity has received varying answers.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Theisohn, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>Significantly enough, Rost assumes against Theisohn, that the writer already found the particle in the document he utilized (p. 42). It is obvious that Theisohn's proposal is too subjective.

<sup>3</sup>Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 342; Volz, pp. 11-12; Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung," pp. 216-217; Coppens, "Le messianisme," p. 40 n. 1; Colpe, TDNT, 8:421; Müller, "Menschensohn," pp. 23, 29, 32; Dumbrell, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup>Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 342. Volz added that the particle conveyed particularly the notion of the mysterious (p. 12). However, Montgomery denied this very idea (p. 318).

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Montgomery, p. 318; Feuillet, p. 186; Mowinckel, p. 352 n. 2.

For Mowinckel the whole locution "implies not merely that he [the SM] had a certain likeness to a man, but that he was wholly in human form, by contrast with other supernatural beings, who might be wholly or partly in animal form."<sup>1</sup>

In support of the idea, that the Danielic figure should be linked with the Anthrōpos of Iranian belief, Kraeling argued somewhat along the lines of Mowinckel.<sup>2</sup> He reasoned that the comparative particle in Dan 7:13 could either indicate a member of the human race, possessing certain unusual features, or point to a member of some other group of beings with some human characteristics. He decided to find the key in the symbols preceding the reference to the SM, and resolved that the beasts could not be distinguished generically from the animals whose names they bore. Hence, the comparative had been used to allow for the "superadded peculiarities" of the beasts.<sup>3</sup> Kraeling concluded his investigation:

If the other symbols of Daniel c. 7 are then true members of the genus with which they are associated, we should by analogy expect that the "man-like one" is fundamentally a human being, but one who manifests certain peculiarities that set him apart from the rest of mankind.<sup>4</sup>

While Kraeling's interpretation appears attractive, we must agree with Hooker's criticism of Kraeling's proposal:

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<sup>1</sup>Mowinckel, p. 352 n. 2. Hence Mowinckel claims that about 200 B.C. or earlier there was in Judaism a conception of a heavenly being in human form (ibid.).

<sup>2</sup>Kraeling, Anthropos, pp. 142-144.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 143-144.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

This argument appears to be unnecessarily forced and over-subtle. It is stretching language and reason alike to say that a beast which is "like a leopard, with four wings of a bird on its back and . . . four heads" is merely a leopard with "super-added peculiarities"! The correct interpretation is surely the obvious one: Daniel sees in his visions various animals which, naturally enough, bear certain resemblances to ordinary animals; they are more like a lion, a bear, or a leopard than anything else he knows, but no zoologist would agree to classify them in these categories. Similarly the figure which he sees in v. 13 is "like a Son of man," but the phrase allows for fundamental differences as well as certain similarities.<sup>1</sup>

Tödt's emphasis resembles Hooker's. He contends that the visionary  $\text{D}$  prefacing the SM indicates not only similarity with man but even more the mysterious difference. It is not a man who appears but "one like a man."<sup>2</sup>

In summary, it might be said that  $\text{D}$  as a mere redactional assimilation is a debatable hypothesis which still awaits objective proof. It is true that  $\text{D}$  (or  $\text{D}^{\text{D}}$ ) is utilized in some visionary contexts (particularly, Ezek 1 and Dan 7) but its notable absence in other apocalyptic visions disqualifies it from being purely an apocalyptic device or mark of visionary apocalyptic style, without which the passage and its interpretation would not suffer. Kraeling's opinions while interesting appear to be forced and over-subtle. Since  $\text{D}$  (or  $\text{D}^{\text{D}}$ ) occur(s) with both the beasts and the SM in Dan 7, the particle cannot be explained as providing a contrast between the two entities.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hooker, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Tödt, p. 23. Cf. Hooker, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>Edward J. Young maintained, "the reason for employing the term like seems to be to distinguish the heavenly Figure from the beasts" (The Messianic Prophecies of Daniel [Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1954], p. 45).

It seems, then, that the primary significance of the comparative particle in Dan 7:13 is to draw attention to the similarity or imperfect resemblance between that which is seen in the vision and that to which it is likened in the real world. The measure of similarity or dissimilarity, however, must be determined by the context. Hence, the comparative particle is indispensable to the vision and its force must be neither attenuated nor loaded.<sup>1</sup>

The meaning of בר אנש

Since the Aramaic construct chain בר אנש occurs only once in Scripture, its meaning will have to be ascertained from its Hebrew equivalent בן אדם, the uses of בר and אנש in biblical Aramaic, extra-biblical uses of this Aramaic locution, and its immediate context in Dan 7:13-14.

The Hebrew בן אדם. בן אדם recurs 107 times in the OT.<sup>2</sup> The expression is a construct chain which means literally "(a) son of man(kind)." Of the 107 uses, בן אדם is found 93 times in Ezekiel and once in Daniel (Dan 8:17) as an address of the prophet. The remaining 13 instances are in solemn and poetic contexts (e.g., Num 23:19 [paralleled by איש]; Job 16:21 [paralleled by נבר]; 25:6 [paralleled by איש]; 35:8 [paralleled by איש]; Pss 8:5 [paralleled by אנרש]; 80:17 [H--vs. 18; paralleled by איש];

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Montgomery, p. 318; Feuillet, p. 186; Delcor, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup>בן אנרש occurs only once in the OT (Ps 144:3), where in poetic parallelism with אדם it probably designates man generically. In Dan 10:16 one Kenicott manuscript, Theodotion, and Vulgate prefer the singular בן אדם instead of the plural MT reading. The plural nomen regens with אדם denotes single men in the plural. It is often found in poetic expressions designating the human race ("mankind," e.g., Jer 32:19; Ezek 31:14; Dan 10:16 [Haag, cols. 683-684]).

146:3 [paralleled by נַדְיָב]; Isa 51:12 [paralleled by אַנְיָשׁ]; 56:2 [paralleled by אַנְרָשׁ], and Jer 49:18, 33; 50:40; 51:43 [a stereotype formula repeated in all four cases in which אָדָם בֶּן is always paralleled by אִישׁ]).

The uses of אָדָם in Daniel are limited to Dan 8:16, where it is associated with the nomen regens קוֹל, and 10:18, there associated with the nomen regens כַּמְרָאָה. In both cases the translation "human" for אָדָם would be appropriate. The occurrences of בֶּן (בְּנֵי) in Daniel, apart from 8:17 and 10:16, are found in expressions like "children of Israel" (1:3), "children of Judah" (1:6), "son of Ahasuerus" (9:1), "his sons" (11:10), and "children of violence" (11:14).<sup>1</sup>

It is evident from the above data that with the possible exception of the poetic passages in Job 25:6; Pss 8:5; 80:17 (H--vs. 18); 146:3 (and the four solemn exclamations in Jer 49:18, 33; 50:40; 51:43), אָדָם בֶּן in the Hebrew Bible means a single man or person within the species or race and may therefore be translated by "man" (rather than the literal rendering "son of man," or "son of mankind").<sup>2</sup>

Use of בֶּר and אַנְשָׁא in biblical Aramaic. Apart from Dan 7:13 בֶּר occurs six times in biblical Aramaic and indicates age in

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<sup>1</sup>Haag claims אָדָם בֶּן is used in Qumran literature as a collective term for mankind (e.g., 1QH 4:30 [Haag, col. 684]).

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Haag, col. 683.

Dan 6:1, "a son of someone" in Ezra 5:1, 2; 6:14; Dan 5:22 and stands in construct relation with the problematic אלהי (literally, "son of god[s]") in Dan 3:25. Since אַנְשׁ, by itself, may signify "a man," "men," or "mankind" (e.g., Dan 2:10; 7:4; Ezra 4:11), אַנְשׁ is not as necessary in Aramaic as in Hebrew to convey the idea of a single person.<sup>1</sup> There are also several instances in which אַנְשׁ has the pronominal meaning "whoever," "anyone who" (literally, "every man who," e.g., Dan 3:10; 5:7; 6:13; Ezra 6:11). None of these examples help us significantly in elucidating the meaning of the SM in Dan 7:13.

אַנְשׁ אַנְשׁ in extra-biblical Aramaic. In Aramaic this construct chain is general because the nomen rectum אַנְשׁ is indeterminate. Several extra-biblical inscriptions utilizing אַנְשׁ אַנְשׁ may be cited. The earliest, coming from the eighth century B.C., is stele III from Sefire, which consists of nine fragments, and lists stipulations imposed upon the king(s) of Arpad. Fitzmyer translates line 16b "in whatever way a man shall die" (מה זי ימרח בר אַנְשׁ).<sup>2</sup> Next, we have an example in the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen 21:13), which Fitzmyer dated to the end of the first century B.C. or first half of the first century A.D. The context in which this phrase occurs is translated, "I shall make your descendents as numerous as

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<sup>1</sup>The determinate construct אַנְשׁ אַנְשׁ occurs in biblical Aramaic only in Dan 2:38 and 5:21 in the sense of "men" or "human beings." The determinate אַנְשׁ אַנְשׁ conveys the generic meaning "human" or the collective connotation "men" or "man" in Dan 2:43; 4:13, 7:8.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph A. Fitzmyer, The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire, Biblica et Orientalia, 19 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), pp. 98-99.

the dust of the earth which no man (literally, כּוֹל בֶּר אִנּוֹשׁ, "no son of man") can number."<sup>1</sup>

From the much later, second century A.D., bilingual Aramaic-Greek inscription, discovered in Georgia, comes the reading בֶּר אִינַשׁ, which Bruce M. Metzger renders "someone" (literally, "son of man," "man").<sup>2</sup>

In these extra-biblical inscriptions אִנּוֹשׁ בֶּר means no more than an individual.

### Summary

The Hebrew equivalent כּוֹל אָדָם and the extra-biblical Aramaic uses of the locution under consideration seem to indicate that the אִנּוֹשׁ בֶּר of Dan 7:13 signifies a single person within the human race. This observation tends to be confirmed by the singular verbs and suffixes which modify this locution in Dan 7:13-14. However, since a single person could also be expressed by the nomen rectum אִנּוֹשׁ (e.g., Dan 7:4), the construct chain אִנּוֹשׁ בֶּר, occurring as it does in

<sup>1</sup>Joseph Fitzmyer, The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1, *Biblica et Orientalia*, 18A; 2d rev. ed. (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971), pp. 68-69. In 1QapGen 19:15, Fitzmyer reconstructs the plural אִנּוֹשׁ[בְּנֵי] and translates it as "some men" (*ibid.*, pp. 58-59). However, this reading must remain uncertain.

<sup>2</sup>Bruce M. Metzger, "A Greek and Aramaic Inscription Discovered at Armazi in Georgia," *JNES* 15 (1956):20-24. See lines 19-20. Geza Vermes' study of אִנּוֹשׁ בֶּר in later post-biblical Aramaic, and related primarily to the NT use of this locution concludes that this expression refers to "man" in general, serves as an indefinite pronoun, is employed as a circumlocution, but is neither a title nor a name (pp. 310-328).

כּוֹל אָדָם has also been found on the base of a Phoenician votive stele from the first century B.C. Memphis (Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften, 2d ed.; 3 vols: (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964-1968), 1:11 (text 48, line 4). There is also evidence (pace Haag, col. 685) for the expression in Ugarit (e.g., Gordon, Textbook, p. 373, but cf. Fisher, p. 46).



a poetic context, may, but need not, add a particular solemnity to the phrase.<sup>1</sup>

In short, combined with the comparative particle כּ, the locution שׁוֹנֵה אִנָּשׁ may best be rendered by "one like a man," "one like a human being," "one who resembles a human being," or "one in human likeness."<sup>2</sup> In Dan 7 this locution does not appear to be a title or a name.

#### The significance of the cloud imagery

The words, עִם עֲנַנֵי שָׁמַיָא ("with the clouds of heaven," vs. 13b) are a crux interpretum; nevertheless, they are vital to our understanding of the SM. Stier claimed that the question, whether the SM was a heavenly or an earthly being, depended largely on the meaning of this phrase.<sup>3</sup> Does the coming "with the clouds of heaven" imply descent<sup>4</sup> from above, or ascent to heaven?<sup>5</sup> Does the

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<sup>1</sup>Erik Sjöberg, "בן אדם and אִנָּשׁ im Hebräischen und Aramäischen," AcOr 21 (1951):105.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. BleA # 91d; Rosenthal, #84; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup>Stier, p. 100; Delcor, p. 154.

<sup>4</sup>E.g., Hitzig, p. 117; Dalman, p. 198; Stier, p. 102; Müller, "Menschensohn," p. 45.

<sup>5</sup>E.g., Hofmann, p. 291; Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 367; T. Francis Glasson, The Second Advent, 2d ed. (London: Epworth, 1947), pp. 14-18; Manson, "Son of Man," p. 174; Delcor, Daniel, p. 154. Gressmann bases the ascent from the sea on 4 Ezra 13:2-3, while Glasson, Manson, and Delcor interpret Dan 7:13a in the light of 1 Enoch 14:8.

scene of vss. 9-10, 13-14 take place on earth,<sup>1</sup> or in heaven?<sup>2</sup>

Scott, having called the association of the adverbial phrase "with the clouds of heaven" with the verb "was coming" into question, considered the phrase as no more than an introduction to the scene of vss. 13-14.<sup>3</sup> In his study, he demonstrated that the preposition  $\Delta\Upsilon$  of vs. 13b (translated by  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$  ["on," "upon"] in the LXX, but  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  ["with"] in Theodotion) was interchangeable with  $\beth$ , and could mean "on" or "in" as well as "with" in Dan 7:13. It was for this reason that Scott also rejected any need to emend  $\Delta\Upsilon$  to  $\beth\Upsilon$ , in order to conform with the LXX translation.<sup>4</sup> However, several problems emerge with his suggestion that

. . . the phrase 'with (in, on) the clouds of heaven' is meant to introduce the climactic scene in vv. 13-14, as 'the four winds of heaven' introduce the first element of the vision in v. 2, and therefore that it is not to be taken only with the opening words 'there came one like a son of man'.<sup>5</sup>

First, in Scott's proposal the preposition  $\Delta\Upsilon$  (vs. 13) is left simply hanging in the air. In vs. 2, where "the four winds of heaven striving upon the great sea" set the stage for the vision, no such problematic preposition is to be found. Second, if, as Scott argues, vss. 13-14 are clearly an extension of vss. 9-10, and the

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Dalman, p. 198; Stier, pp. 100-103; George R. Beasley-Murray, A Commentary on Mark Thirteen (London: Macmillan, 1957), pp. 90-92; Müller, "Menschensohn," p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>E.g., Montgomery, p. 296; Volz, p. 209; Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung," p. 219; Theisohn, pp. 9, 13.

<sup>3</sup>Robert Y. Scott, "Behold He Cometh with Clouds," NTS 5 (1959):127-132; Scott is followed uncritically by Colpe, TDNT, 8:420; Müller, Messias, p. 26; Deissler, p. 85; Weimar, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup>Scott, "Clouds," p. 128.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 129.

latter present a heavenly scene, then why postpone the introduction to the beginning of vs. 13 rather than have it appear in vs. 9? Third, an excision of "with the clouds of heaven" destroys the synthetic parallelism of the verse.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of any substantial reasons to the contrary, it appears to us that we must take seriously the syntactical link Dan 7:13b establishes between the cloud imagery and the SM.<sup>2</sup> The question which now remains concerns the degree to which the nuances contained in this phrase can and should be pressed.

Driver and Charles interpreted the coming of the SM "with the clouds of heaven" as suggesting "superhuman authority," "majesty," and "state."<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Volz declared the coming with clouds to be an indication of the supernatural origin and nature of the SM.<sup>4</sup> Hitzig and Charles interpreted Dan 7:13b in the light of Ps 104:3 ("who makest the clouds thy chariot;" also, Isa 19:1), so that the SM comes on the clouds like God himself.<sup>5</sup> Rowley stressed

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<sup>1</sup>Scott appears to grant that the clouds are a theophanic symbol but argues that they should be associated with both the SM and the Ancient of Days (p. 130). Even if this were granted, the clouds as a theophanic symbol would characterize the SM as a supernatural being. See also the objections to Scott's theory by Theisoohn (p. 14) and Müller ("Menschensohn," p. 45 n. 17).

<sup>2</sup>Contra Colpe, whose interpretation of Dan 7:13 is based unreservedly upon Scott's proposal and therefore stands or falls with the latter (TDNT, 8:420). Incidentally, the ET of the German entry in TDNT, 8:420, lines 25-29, suffers from a serious error in that the translator omitted the negation contained in the German and attributes the exact opposite to the views expressed by Colpe.

<sup>3</sup>Driver, Daniel, p. 88; Charles, Daniel, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup>Volz, p. 204; cf. Baumgartner, "Vierteljahrhundert Daniel-forschung," p. 219.

<sup>5</sup>Hitzig, p. 114; Charles, Critical and Exegetical, p. 186; cf. Deissler, p. 85 n. 11.

the contrast of the beasts, who are from below, and the SM, who is from above.<sup>1</sup> Leopold Sabourin concluded in a review of a recent dissertation that "in connection with Dn 7:13 it is observed that the coming with the clouds is an exclusively divine attribute (cf. Is 19:1; Ps 104:3)."<sup>2</sup>

Feuillet had observed that in the OT the cloud imagery was utilized approximately one hundred times, of which thirty uses applied to purely natural phenomena. The approximately seventy remaining cases associated clouds with the appearance or intervention of Yahweh.<sup>3</sup> For example, the "pillar of cloud" in the wilderness wanderings (e.g., Exod 13:21-22; 14:19-20, 24; 33:9; Ps 78:14; 99:7), the cloud in which Yahweh descended or hovered over the tabernacle (e.g., Exod 34:5; 40:34-38; Num 9:15-22; Deut 31:15), the cloud associated with the temple (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:10-11; Ezek 10:3), the cloud in Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 1:4, 28), and clouds which were associated with eschatological theophanies (e.g., Isa 4:5; Ezek 30:3; Joel 2:2; Nah 1:3; Zeph 1:15). On the basis of these uses of the cloud imagery, Feuillet decided that the Danielic figure clearly belongs to the category of deity and is like some kind of incarnation of the divine glory.<sup>4</sup> To what extent can the estimates of

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<sup>1</sup>Darius, p. 62 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup>"The Biblical Cloud," *BTB* 4 (1974):304. Sabourin, here offers some of the significant conclusions of the first extensive monographic study ever published on the theme of the biblical cloud (J. Luzarraga, Las tradiciones de la nube en la biblia y en el judaismo primitivo, *Analecta Biblica*, 54 [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973]).

<sup>3</sup>Feuillet, pp. 187-189.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 189.

Feuillet and the above named scholars regarding the nature of the SM be accepted?

Before we attend to this question, we would do well to examine the connotations conveyed by the participial construction "he was coming" (i.e., with the clouds of heaven)" and the force of the verb פלג in Dan 7.

The participial construction אָהָה הָיָה

Does the expression אָהָה הָיָה ("he was coming") (and the closely related verb הָיָה ["he came," i.e., to the Ancient of Days]) in Dan 7:13 disclose the SM's ascent to heaven or his descent to earth?

Dan 7 itself is silent on these matters. Indeed, we noted above, both these notions were introduced into Dan 7 from later sources or conceptions. Thus, the idea of ascent was largely derived from the use of the upward motion of the clouds in 1 Enoch 14:8 and 4 Ezra 13:2-3, as well as the translation of אָהָה אָנֹכִי by "son of man" (i.e., a purely human being), who therefore had to ascend into the heavenly presence of the Ancient of Days.

The notion of descent seems to have been inspired by the NT picture of Christ's parousia and the final judgment on earth. Since neither ascent to heaven nor descent to earth by the Danielic figure can be deduced from the Danielic text both notions should be set aside.<sup>1</sup>

Instead, the presence of the Ancient of Days, the throne which he occupies, and the myriads of attendants suggest a heavenly

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Grill, p. 51 n. 3; Heaton, p. 183; Porteous, p. 90.

location for this scene and the coming of the manlike being to the Ancient of Days delineates movement in the heavenly spheres.<sup>1</sup> Hence, the coming with the clouds and the sphere in which the approach takes place seem to point to the celestial nature of the SM.

### The force of ܡܠܫ

Feuillet found further support for the divine nature of the Danielic figure in the phrase "all peoples, nations, and languages will serve him" ( ܡܠܫܢܝܢ [vs. 14b]). The root of the verb ܡܠܫܢܝܢ, which the RSV here translates "serve" carries this meaning predominantly in post-biblical times.<sup>2</sup> Outside of Dan 7, every use of ܡܠܫ in biblical Aramaic designates "religious service," "worship," or "veneration" of either the God of Israel or pagan deities (Dan 3:12, 14, 17, 18, 28; 6:17, 21; Ezra 7:24).<sup>3</sup>

Within Dan 7, ܡܠܫ occurs only in vss. 14b and 27c. While the broader translation "to serve" (possibly in the royal service) could apply in both verses, several scholars prefer the meaning ad-duced for the verb in the rest of biblical Aramaic. Rost comments on vs. 14: "Diesem göttlichen Wesen wird ein ewiges Reich zuteil, das sich über alle Völker erstreckt. Diese erweisen ihm göttliche Ehren (pelach). Das kann nur besagen, dass ihm als Gott die Herrschaft über die Menschen übertragen wird."<sup>4</sup> Lacocque not only

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<sup>1</sup>Fiebig, p. 77; Feuillet, p. 195 n. 1; Wilson, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup>We are aware of only one instance of ܡܠܫ in the available Egyptian Aramaic materials meaning "to serve" (see Sachau, p. 151).

<sup>3</sup>KB, p. 1113; BDB, p. 1108; Lacocque, pp. 111-112. For extra-biblical instances of ܡܠܫ meaning religious service see Montgomery, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup>Rost, p. 43.

agrees with Rost on the meaning of  $\Pi\lambda\text{E}$  in vs. 14b, but also attributes the same significance to the word in vs. 27c. He does, however, allow for the fact that in vs. 27c the nations may venerate God as they serve the saints.<sup>1</sup>

The opinions of Rost and Lacocque appear to be substantiated by the fact that in vs. 14 the SM, who has already been marked as a supernatural being by virtue of the theophanic cloud symbolism, receives "dominion, glory, and kingdom," and in response "all peoples, nations, and languages" (i.e., tout le monde),  $\gamma\gamma\Pi\lambda\text{E}$  him. While this verb could be given the broad meaning "to serve," the context probably favors "venerate." The words which follow in vs. 14c are reminiscent of the recurring doxologies evidenced in Dan 4:3b (A--3:33b); 4:34b (A--vs. 31b); 6:26b (A--vs. 27b, cf. Dan 2:44), which ascribe praise and eternal kingship to the Most High God.<sup>2</sup> The cola, "his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed," could either be a reference to God's dominion which has been granted to the manlike being, or to the eternal kingship of the SM.<sup>3</sup> If vs. 14c applies to the SM, and there is no inherent reason why it could not, then an additional reason is provided why  $\Pi\lambda\text{E}$

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<sup>1</sup>Lacocque, pp. 111-112; similarly Feuillet, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup>The doxological nature of the cola in vs. 14c (and vs. 27c) does not make them any more secondary than the hymnic affirmations in the previous chapters.

<sup>3</sup>If vs. 14c is a doxology, then it could be written separately, as, e.g., in Bentzen (p. 50) and P18ger (p. 102). Note also the punctuation in the RSV. Cf. Müller, "Menschensohn," p. 41.

designates "religious service," for the sovereignty of the Danielic figure is praised in terms otherwise reserved for the Most High.<sup>1</sup>

The meaning of מלפ in vs. 27c is more problematic. The complete text reads:

And the kingdom and the dominion and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High; His kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom and all the dominions shall serve (יפלאו) and obey him.<sup>2</sup>

The meaning of מלפ obviously depends on the identity of the antecedent expressed in the suffixes. Montgomery was most adamant that the "people of the saints of the Most High" in vs. 27b represent the antecedent.<sup>3</sup> Should מלפ apply to the "people" (מלפ), then the meaning we have so far discovered for the verb in biblical Aramaic must be attenuated to ordinary service, possibly in the sense of Isa 60:4-7. However, several reasons challenge this identification of the antecedent to the suffix in vs. 27c. First, the link between מלפ and the third person masculine singular suffix is unusual. Second, the syntactical argument advanced by Montgomery, that "from the context the ref. to 'the Most High' as the nearest antecedent is fallacious" must be rejected as we will see below.<sup>4</sup> Third, several modern works print vs. 27c

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<sup>1</sup>Lacocque stresses the significance of the earlier doxologies for an understanding of the nature of the SM (p. 111).

<sup>2</sup>The RSV translation "their kingdom" and "shall serve them" is unjustified, for the suffixes in vs. 27c are singular. Cf. Pflüger, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup>Montgomery, p. 315.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.



separately, which could be recognition that these cola are a reflex to the hymnic affirmations about God at the end of chaps. 3, 4, 6.<sup>1</sup>

An alternate antecedent for the singular suffixes in vs. 27c could be the "Most High" to whom all kingship and dominion ultimately belong. Support for this reading may be derived from the fact that the nearest antecedent to the suffix "his" is עֲלִיּוֹנִי ("Most High"), which in this peculiar form is limited to Dan 7. Grammatically, this unusual Aramaic name for God has been explained as a double plural or as an imitation of the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים. Examples for a singular associated with the Hebrew plural אֱלֹהִים ("God") are common and frequently interpreted as pluralis excellentiae or majestatis. According to Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar the Aramaic עֲלִיּוֹנִי belongs to this same class and can therefore be construed with a singular suffix.<sup>2</sup>

God, or more specifically, the "Most High," as antecedent of the singular suffixes in Dan 7:27c seems to be further corroborated by the fact that the phrase "his kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom" is an echo of the hymnic affirmations which we have already noted in the earlier chapters.<sup>3</sup> Should God be the

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Bentzen, p. 52; Plüger, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup>GKC # 124 g-h; # 145 h-i. The singular reading "your God," instead of "your gods," in the Aramaic of Dan 6:17 with a singular retrospective suffix is disputed, and Montgomery argues that in 3:12 the plural אֱלֹהִי is singular in meaning (pp. 153, 205).

<sup>3</sup>Theodotion appears to relate the antecedent to God, whereas the LXX leaves it open as does the MT.

object of ןלפ then the meaning of the verb is most likely to "venerate." Accordingly, the Most High, whose people enjoy his everlasting kingdom, receives the adoration of all dominions.

A third possibility granted by Jeffery is to recognize the SM as antecedent of the suffixes and, therefore as object of the ןלפ in vs. 27c (as indeed he was in vs. 14).<sup>1</sup> If it is probable that the verb be translated "to revere," "worship" in vs. 14, it is likely that the same meaning is to be upheld in vs. 27c.

In summary, we think that of the three alternatives presented, the last two are the most probable, though the first cannot be excluded. While in all three choices the broader meaning of ןלפ ("to serve") could apply, it appears that the context and the use of ןלפ in biblical Aramaic generally favor the narrower connotation ("to revere"), especially in vs. 14 and probably in vs. 27.

Deductions Concerning the Son of Man  
Based on Daniel 7:9-10, 13-14

We may now return to Feuillet's contention that the "one resembling a human being" is a divine figure. The theophanic cloud symbolism certainly appears to be an exclusively divine attribute. The coming of the human-like being within the celestial sphere, and the hymnic affirmations, elsewhere spoken of in honor of the Most High (provided they apply to the SM), tend to sustain Feuillet's suggestion. In addition, the use of ןלפ probably corroborates

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<sup>1</sup>Jeffery, p. 467.

the notion that the SM represents a divine figure.<sup>1</sup> However, does this imply a ditheism?<sup>2</sup> Do we find the doctrine or belief in the existence of two supreme deities in Dan 7?

In a rejoinder to Feuillet, Coppens rejected the definition of the nature of the SM offered by the former because the SM and the Ancient of Days were distinct beings.<sup>3</sup> What are these distinctions and what is their significance?

Vss. 9-10, 13-14 depict the Ancient of Days as seated on the throne, his raiment white as snow, the hairs of his head like pure wool (or "lamb's wool"), with streams of fire issuing from his throne. Multitudes of celestial beings surround him as he presides at the judgment. It is at this occasion that the SM enters the scene and, having arrived, is presented before the Ancient of Days, who probably grants to the Danielic human-like figure dominion, royal dignity, and kingdom or kingship (the Aramaic could be trans-

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<sup>1</sup>Whereas Theodotion distinguished the SM from the Ancient of Days, the LXX as represented by Syh and codex 88 (which contain Orizen's recension of the LXX in Syriac and Greek respectively), virtually identifies these two figures (cf. Balz, p. 69).

Emerton referred to Procksch's link between Dan 7:13 and Ezek 1:26 and then added: "Much more important than Procksch's view is the point made by Feuillet that the act of coming with clouds suggests a theophany of Yahweh himself. If Dan. vii.13 does not refer to a divine being, then it is the only exception out of about seventy passages in the OT" (pp. 231-232). Theisoehn concluded that the superhuman nature of this figure is undoubtedly supported by the whole scene, the coming on the clouds, and the privileges which are bestowed upon it (p. 13); cf. Heinz Tödt, Der Menschensohn in der synoptischen Überlieferung, 2d ed. (Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1963), pp. 19-20; Nickelsburg, pp. 76-80; Dumbrell, pp. 19-21.

<sup>2</sup>The term ditheism is applied in the context of Dan 7:13-14 by Black (Apotheose, p. 98).

<sup>3</sup>"Le messianisme," p. 40.

lated either way). The text is strangely silent as to where the SM comes from and who it is that ushers him into the divine presence. However, the language employed in vss. 13-14 conveys the idea of a royal audience and investiture, in which messianic royal powers are bestowed upon the SM.<sup>1</sup> What are the implications of this data for the suggestion that the SM is a divine being?

It certainly does not appear to support a ditheism. Indeed, the SM, who enjoys certain divine attributes in this chapter, accepts a role which is definitely subordinate to that of the Ancient of Days. Dan 7 provides no hint that the manlike being participates in the judicial deliberations over which the Ancient of Days presides.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the chapter it is the latter who stands out as the towering figure in the whole scene. Not only is the SM brought into the presence of the Ancient of Days, but it is before him that he is given, presumably by the Ancient of Days, dominion, royal dignity, and kingship.

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<sup>1</sup>The identical words are used for a royal audience in a fifth century Aramaic papyrus: קרנחאיך קדם סנחאריב ("I presented you before Sennacherib" [Sachau, papyrus 50; Gen 47:2; Montgomery, p. 304; Delcor, p. 154]).

<sup>2</sup>Similarly, an argument *ex silentio* is the contention that the SM suffers. Ultimately, this proposal is based upon the inference that the SM and the saints of the Most High are identical (e.g., Dodd, p. 117 n. 2; William D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism 2d ed. [London: S. P. C. K., 1955], p. 280; Hooker, pp. 27-28; Lloyd Gaston No Stone on Another [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970], pp. 381, 393). However, since Dan 7 says nothing about the suffering of the SM and sketches the manlike figure as a being separate from the saints, the claim of a suffering SM in Daniel cannot be upheld (cf. Muilenberg, p. 206; Porteous, p. 111; David S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, OTL [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964], pp. 334-340; Nickelsburg, p. 76; Dumbrell, p. 20; Wilson, "Son of Man," p. 38).

In summary, Dan 7:9-10, 13-14 presents an individual celestial figure which resembles a human being.<sup>1</sup> While we would refrain from identifying the SM with an angel--he stands apart from the heavenly beings described in Dan 7:10 by virtue of his semblance, time of appearance, and mission--he is, nevertheless, a transcendent figure. Indeed, the manlike being is depicted with divine attributes, while at the same time accepting a subordinate role in the presence of the Ancient of Days. Though the ontological status of the SM is touched upon, his functional role is more prominent in these verses. Dan 7 shrouds the activity of the SM and its duration prior to his appearance in vs. 13 in mystery. In the sense that the Danielic figure appears on the scene of Dan 7 when history, as symbolized by the preceding visionary elements, has run most of its course, the SM may be described an eschatological being. To this eschatological SM, then, is granted in the celestial sphere a dominion, dignity, and kingship with the result that all "peoples, nations, and languages" (i.e., everybody) might offer him their service of reverence. In short, the SM of Dan 7:9-10, 13-14 is an individual, transcendent, eschatological being which exercises messianic royal powers.<sup>2</sup>

One issue which still remains to be examined, in order to further illuminate the nature and identity of the SM, is the connection between the Danielic figure and the saints.

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<sup>1</sup>For this reason we are unable to accept Coppens' repeated defense of the theory that the SM represents a collective angelic unit. Cf. Plüger, pp. 113-114.

<sup>2</sup>This would rule out the idea that the SM is Judas Maccabaeus (Sahlén, pp. 41-48), or Adam (Cortes and Gatti, pp. 457-502), or even Daniel the prophet (Schmid, pp. 192-220).

The Relationship between the Son of Man  
and the "Saints of the Most High"

If, as has been claimed, the SM and the "saints of the Most High in Dan 7 are one and the same,<sup>1</sup> then we should expect the characteristics provided by this chapter for the saints not only to cast additional light on the SM, but also to coincide with those offered for the manlike figure. Since we have already summarized our deductions concerning the SM, we will now address ourselves to those details which characterize the "saints of the Most High."

First, the saints, as the possessive genitive shows, belong to God and are therefore designated "saints of the Most High" (e.g., vs. 18). The word קדושי (vss. 21, 22) implies that they are a people distinguished by holiness (cf. קדושי in Dan 12:7). Consequently, the saints are God's special and holy people.

Second, as we have already noted above, the saints are to be understood not as angelic but as human beings who inhabit the earth and are involved in the affairs of the world. Arguments to the contrary, whether based on the alleged textual disunity of Dan 7 or a definition of קדושי which excludes terrestrial beings, are unjustified.

Third, the saints are a people who suffer intense persecution. The little horn "makes war" against the saints and "prevails over them" (vs. 21). According to the angelus interpretes the little horn would wear out (יכלה) the saints, who are given into his

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<sup>1</sup>E.g., Driver, Daniel, p. 104; Montgomery, p. 319; Manson, "Son of Man," pp. 174-175; Hartman and Di Lella, p. 87. For further literature see Driver, Daniel, p. 108; Montgomery, p. 319; Rowley, Darius, p. 62, n 2.

hand (i.e., his power [vs. 25]). This intimates that the saints would be decimated by the godless tyranny.

Fourth, the period during which the persecuting force would unleash its malice upon the saints, the interpreting angel predicts, would be limited to "a time, two times, and a half a time" (vs. 25). Presumably, their subjection ends at or subsequent to the judgment (vss. 21-22, 25-26), where, as the result of a judicial decision, the tyrant's life and dominion is removed.

Fifth, just as a verdict denuded the persecuting force of life and dominion, so, as the result of a judicial verdict concerning the saints (דִּינָא יְהוָה לְקַדְיָשִׁי), the latter will receive dominion and probably eternal life (the latter seems to be implied by the perpetual kingship granted to God's faithful). The saints enter into judgment which presumably declares them worthy to receive the ultimate covenantal blessings because they maintained their covenant loyalty in spite of extreme hardship.

Sixth, the saints receive the "kingdom, and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven" throughout perpetuity (vss. 18, 22, 27).

When these observations are compared with the details recorded concerning the SM, a number of differences and similarities become apparent. What are the differences?

First, the most striking difference is the fact that Dan 7 sketches the "saints of the Most High" as a collective unit of terrestrial beings, whereas the SM is described as a transcendent individual. While the saints are human beings, the Danielic figure resembles a human being.

Second, the theophanic setting of the coming of the man-like being into the presence of the Ancient of Days in heaven, and the language of royal audience and investiture are nowhere paralleled in the account of the saints whose lot is cast among earthly powers.<sup>1</sup>

Third, while the SM is given his "dominion, glory, and kingdom" in heaven, in the presence of (and probably from) the Ancient of Days (vss. 13-14), the saints receive their perpetual kingdom, dominion, and greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven on earth (vs. 27).

Fourth, Dan 7 presents the experiences of the saints before the judgment, in which their fortunes are draped only too often by persecution, until at long last they are vindicated and liberated. This is not paralleled in the characterization of the SM.

Fifth, a verdict is rendered not only with regard to the persecuting force but also concerning the saints. The Danielic figure is never described as judge or one who is judged.

Since there is not a hint regarding the activity of the SM prior to his eschatological appearance before the Ancient of Days, it could be argued that our last two observations rest on arguments ex silentio. While this is true, the dissimilarity between the SM and the saints adduced in the previous remarks remains, even if the last two items were to be dispensed with. Actually, these differences should come as no surprise when we remember that the

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<sup>1</sup>Already Gunkel puzzled: "So ist es doch ein sehr merkwürdiges Bild für ein irdisches Volk; ein Menschensohn, kommend mit den Wolken des Himmels" (Schöpfung und Chaos, p. 328).



elaboration of the vision (vss. 20-22) had already placed both the saints and the SM into the vision as two separate entities.<sup>1</sup>

Though the dissimilarities between the SM and the people of God are too significant to ignore, we dare not turn a blind eye to some singular resemblances.

First, is the fact that both the SM and the saints are given an eternal kingdom or kingship and dominion.<sup>2</sup>

Second, this kingship is received at or subsequent to the judgment.<sup>3</sup>

Though the similarities are few, they are nonetheless as remarkable as are the differences. How may both of these be explained? It is clear that the dissimilarities prevent an identification of the SM with the saints, yet in what sense do both

<sup>1</sup>In 1894, Behrmann, focussing upon Dan 7:27, noted certain dissimilarities (p. 48). Unfortunately, Edward J. Young misunderstood the subtle reasoning of Behrmann and attributed to him the concept of corporate personality (The Messianic Prophecies of Daniel [Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1954], p. 87 n. 35).

<sup>2</sup>We mentioned above that if  $\Pi\lambda\text{D}$  is attenuated to mean "to serve" (possibly in the royal court), then both the SM and the saints receive not only kingship, but also the service and (in the case of the saints [vs. 27]) obedience of all dominions. However, we argued that  $\Pi\lambda\text{D}$  in Dan 7 most probably retains the meaning it has elsewhere in biblical Aramaic and, therefore, signifies "to worship," or "pay reverence." If this latter interpretation is correct, then the SM receives the worship of "all peoples, nations, and tongues" (which presumably includes the "people of the saints of the Most High [vs. 27]), while the saints are granted the enjoyment of God's perpetual kingship. The object of the worship and obedience of vs. 27, in the latter case, is either God (or the SM). An alternate suggestion revived by Lacocque is the idea that the dominions, in serving the saints, are really expressing their worship for Yahweh in the sense of Isa 60:7, 11; 61:6 (p. 112).

<sup>3</sup>These two parallels contributed considerably in the identification of the SM with the saints (e.g., the classic statement by Driver [Daniel, p. 104]).

possess the perpetual kingship? It seems to us that Dan 7:13, 14, 27 provides a number of hints to aid us in our inquiry.

The context of Dan 7:13-14 leads us to assume that the purpose of the coming of the SM to the Ancient of Days in heaven was to receive the kingship. This assumption seems to be confirmed by the language of a royal investiture in which God himself appears to give the kingdom to the SM. No such suggestions are offered in vs. 27 regarding the manner in which and from whom the saints receive the kingdom. In addition, it is significant that the nouns מלכותה and מלכותה of vs. 27 are determinate whose antecedents seem to be the indeterminate ומלכות . . . שלטון of vs. 14. In the light of these hints, it is possible to suggest that the kingdom or kingship and dominion which is given to the SM in heaven by God, the manlike being now shares with the saints who are on earth.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the SM in Dan 7, like Michael in the last Danielic apocalypse, takes an intimate interest in the saints, particularly at the endtime.

Our own interpretation of the relationship between the SM and the saints goes far beyond the conceptions of "corporate personality" and "fluidity" between ruler and ruled. Yet, the very uses of "king" and "kingdom" (vss. 17, 23) in connection with

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<sup>1</sup>This also rules out the idea that the SM symbolizes the abstract concept of "rule," "sovereignty," or "dominion" (e.g., Junker, p. 61; Jeffery, p. 461; Rowley, Darius, p. 62 n. 2). The SM represents more than God's eternal sovereignty, for even if the SM figure were bracketed out, reasons Plöger, the figure of the Ancient of Days would still be an adequate symbol of eternal sovereignty in contrast to the kingdoms represented by the beasts (Plöger, p. 112). Stier rejected this concept because: "'Ihm wurde Herrschaft, Ruhm und Reich verliehen . . .'" Demnach ist in v.13 der Träger der Herrschaft, nicht diese selbst gemeint" (p. 96 n. 1). Similarly, I. Howard Marshall ("The Son of Man in Contemporary Debate," EvQ 42 [1970]:84 n. 24); Deissler, p. 91.

earlier visionary elements of Dan 7 find their counterpart in the association of the Danielic figure and the "saints of the Most High."

Our study has further illuminated the figure of the SM, in that we may now see the celestial manlike being not only as distinct from the saints but also as enjoying a solidarity or community of interests and privileges with God's faithful, in the sense that he gives to and shares with them the eternal and indestructible kingdom.

### Conclusions

1. An understanding of the identity and nature of the SM within Dan 7 impinges largely upon our decision regarding the unity of the chapter. In view of the fact that recent literature evidences a tendency toward a rejection of the unity of Dan 7, and most of its champions basically reflect or refine the theories of (particularly) Noth and (to a lesser degree) Ginsberg (both of whom were indebted to earlier judgments by Sellin, Hölischer, and Haller), our study first focussed on the deliberations of these two scholars.

2. It became apparent that the individual criteria offered by Noth and Ginsberg for an analysis of Dan 7 were based on inadequate data and, therefore, led to largely unwarranted conclusions. Though Noth was right in detecting a formulaic pattern underlying Dan 7:1-14, he not only mistook the pattern and its variations but also demonstrated a certain insensitivity to the Semitic nature of the text and fashioned his criteria (particularly the two-formula theory) into a Procrustean bed, according to which, in occidental syllogistic fashion, he dismembered the chapter.

3. These negative conclusions were confirmed by the positive evidence of structures and themes in Dan 7 which argue for the unity of the chapter. Thus, at the basis of vss. 4-14 (the vision) is a chiastic structure, which has the judgment scene at its very center and the rise and fall of the visionary symbols on either side. More specifically, the judgment is flanked on one side by the persecuting force, personified in the fourth beast and the little horn, while on the other the theme of perpetual kingship brightens the scene. The threefold structure of persecution, judgment, and perpetual kingship recurs like tableaux in the present arrangement of the chapter in vss. 19-22 and vss. 23-27 (especially vs. 25). Nevertheless, the tableaux are not independent and unrelated units, for the themes of persecution, judgment, and perpetual kingship bind them together. In fact, vss. 25-27 may be seen as the climax of these structures and themes; this is especially evident in the depiction of the little horn which in vs. 25 becomes the ultimate impersonation of blasphemy against God and cruelty to the saints. These patterns would be severely damaged by the commonly assumed excisions.

A further hint as to the unity of Dan 7 may be provided by the brief angelic interpretation of vss. 17-18 which omits any explicit allusion to the judgment. It seems that by its summary reference to the four beasts and the perpetual kingship of the saints, the words of the angelus interpretes tie both the beginning of the vision and the end of the interpretation together, and thus become an interpretive bracket.

4. The customary division of Dan 7 into a vision (vss.

2-14) and an interpretation (vss. 15-27) is inadequate and misleading. The chapter is far more complex, for it consists of (A) a prologue (vss. 1-2a); (B) a vision (vss. 2b-14); (C) a visionary reaction to the vision (vss. 15-16); (D) a brief angelic interpretation (an interpretative bracket), which is structurally the very center of Dan 7 (vss. 17-18); (C<sup>1</sup>) a visionary reaction to and elaboration of the vision (vss. 19-22); (B<sup>1</sup>) a lengthy angelic interpretation (vss. 23-27); and (A<sup>1</sup>) an epilogue (vs. 28). These subdivisions make it evident that vss. 19-22 elaborate and supplement the vision (particularly vss. 8-10, 13-14). Incidentally, nowhere are these verses designated interpretation. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that only here are found the characteristic visionary formula  $\text{חִזָּה הִרְיִת עַן דַּי}$  (vss. 21-22) and the unique name for God, Ancient of Days (which elsewhere occurs only in the vision [Dan 7:9-10, 13-14]). No longer are we permitted to excise vss. 19-22 (or parts thereof) on the assumption that they are visionary intrusions in the interpretation of vss. 15-27 which record only interpretation. Furthermore, the notion that the SM (who occurs only in the vision) and the saints (who only feature in the interpretation) are counterparts, and that the latter naturally interprets the former, must be revised in the light of the fact that vss. 20-22 envisage the saints as being already in the vision persecuted by the little horn. Since they are the object of tyranny before the judgment, it would be incongruous that they be the SM who comes in the judgment.

5. The SM appears for the first time in the Hebrew Bible in Dan 7:13-14. The unique phrase  $\text{כְּבֹרֵ אֱנֹשׁ}$ , composed of the compara-

tive particle ܕ, which is more than merely a redactional assimilation to the four-beast vision, or purely a mark of visionary apocalyptic style, and the indeterminate construct chain ܫܢܢ ܕܗܘܐ, which, on the basis of its Hebrew counterpart ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ and uses in extra-biblical Aramaic generally designates a specific member of the human race, should be translated by "one like a man," "one like a human being," "one who resembles a human being," or "one in human likeness."

6. Vss. 9-10, 13-14 (two pericopes closely linked to each other by their subject matter) depict the Ancient of Days surrounded by an innumerable throng of celestial creatures and presiding over a judgment in heaven, which commences while the little horn is still active on the earth. The Danielic figure, characterized by divine attributes (the theophanic cloud symbolism and the appearance of the SM cannot be separated), comes to the Ancient of Days in heaven. There the SM is ushered into the presence of the former, where in the language of investiture, the manlike being receives "dominion, glory, and kingdom" with the result that "all peoples, nations, and languages" (i.e., tout le monde) offer him the service of reverence. Since the Danielic text gives us not a hint as to the activity of the SM prior to his coming to the Ancient of Days, we are without any textual support for the notion of the SM as judge or the conception of a suffering SM. These ideas are generally derived from later literature.

7. Though the SM is characterized by divine attributes, Dan 7 does not teach a ditheism. In vss. 13-14, the Danielic figure assumes a function subordinate to the Ancient of Days, into whose presence he is ushered and from whom he receives the

"dominion, glory, and kingdom."

6. Dan 7 delineates the SM as distinct from the saints of the Most High and yet enjoying a solidarity with them. While the SM is a heavenly being with divine attributes who is "one in human likeness," the saints, though God's special possession and characterized by holiness, are no more than terrestrial beings. The SM is granted his kingship in heaven (probably from the Ancient of Days); the saints receive the kingship on earth. Nevertheless, though different from the saints, the Danielic figure shares a solidarity or community of interests and privileges with God's faithful, in that it is probably the SM who, in the endtime, gives to and shares with the saints the kingdom and dominion in perpetuity.

9. On the assumption, then, that Dan 7 is a unity, and the chapter division outlined above reflects the intent of the chapter, the  $\text{כבר אנש}$  of Dan 7 is an individual, eschatological, and celestial figure with messianic characteristics. Though he is distinguished by divine attributes, he is distinct from the Ancient of Days, in that he assumes a subordinate role in the presence of the latter. The SM is also a celestial being, yet set apart from the heavenly beings of vs. 10. Finally, while he resembles a human being, he is not one of the terrestrial saints with whom he, nevertheless, shares a perpetual kingdom or kingship and dominion.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This investigation has sought to study the nature and identity of the apocalyptic SM in Dan 7. Since such an examination has been generally limited to articles or prolegomena, but yet is fundamental for an understanding of the "son of man" in later literature and, particularly, christological and dogmatic studies, the present inquiry attempted to meet the need of a full-fledged work on the manlike being of Dan 7.

In the first chapter we reviewed the opinions and interpretations offered by Jewish and Christian writers of our era concerning the Danielic figure and endeavored to set the stage from which our research could proceed. It became apparent that with rare exceptions the majority of Jewish and Christian authors prior to the nineteenth century understood the SM to be a reference to an individual Messiah or Jesus Christ. Even most of the rare instances of a collective or symbolic interpretation of Dan 7:13-14 before the modern period offer a dual application which included an individual understanding of the SM.

The first time that the collective view of the manlike being was advocated in earnest was in 1802 when the German rationalist Heinrich G. E. Paulus, in commenting on the first three gospels, permitted the saints of the interpretation (Dan 7:27) to explain the meaning of the SM of the vision (vss. 13-14). Throughout the



nineteenth century the individual and collective interpretations of the "one resembling a human being" vied for pride of place until, in the twentieth century, the latter established itself as the "traditional view." During the nineteenth century champions of either interpretation were not generally divided by their acceptance or rejection of the Maccabean Sitz im Leben for Dan 7, since some of the most vigorous christological exponents of the Danielic figure argued from the platform of a second century B.C. date for Daniel.

Apart from the seventeenth century study of the SM in Dan 7:13-14 by Carpzov, the views expressed on this passage before the modern period were no more than incidental comments. More serious questions regarding the SM were raised in the nineteenth century, but even then the inquiries were primarily in the interests of elucidating dogmatic and NT questions concerning Jesus' own self-understanding.

Beginning with the twentieth century, Religionsgeschichte provided SM research with a new direction in that it postulated possible links between the literature of Israel and her neighbors and suggested likely origins of, and parallels to, the beasts, the SM, and the judgment scene of Dan 7. It was conjectured that behind the SM conception in Daniel, Enoch, the NT, and 4 Ezra stood a common, but much richer and more comprehensive, primitive mythological tradition which the author of Daniel borrowed in part. On this assumption, the Danielic figure reflected a messianic human or heavenly individual who became (reinterpreted and) incorporated into Dan 7, in which context the manlike being was (once more) reinter-

preted by the final editor of Dan 7 to designate none other than the people of Israel (vss. 18, 22, 25, 27). Nevertheless, as early as Gunkel, the perplexing question as to how the manlike being coming with the clouds of heaven could represent the saints of the Most High puzzled scholars. It was also within this stream of religio-historical inquiry, specifically in search for parallels between Marduk and the SM, that Nathaniel Schmidt first suggested an angelic identification of the Danielic being (namely, Michael).

Shortly after Religionsgeschichte made its impact upon SM research, literary-critical study, which during much of the nineteenth century, had accepted the unity of Daniel and specifically the seventh chapter of the book, began to place its insights at the disposal of the students of Dan 7. Dan 7:9-10, 13 (14) was now regarded as a fragment coming from another apocalypse (in which the SM may have had mythological origins), which had intruded into the vision of the four beasts (Dan 7:2-7, 11b).

In both the religio-historical and literary-critical proposals, the SM was generally seen as an individual figure (whether "celestial" or "human"), which had experienced a more or less complex history of interpretation at the hands of various redactors. These editors had finally identified the manlike being with the saints. Some authors suggested extra emendations in order to allow for more extensive reinterpretations of the (possibly) celestial individual SM. Accordingly, the manlike being became identified with a collective unit of heavenly beings, before the latter were considered to be identical with the earthly saints or even to coexist along-

side God's people on earth. Other modern writers, who more or less eschewed the complex theories of religio-historical and literary-critical study, continued to maintain that the SM is a symbolic representation of the saints on the basis that the interpretation of Dan 7 explains the visionary SM. Alternate views considered the SM to be an angel (named or unnamed), an incarnation of divine glory, hypostatized wisdom, or some historical human individual.

This bewildering array of disparate and often contradictory theories concerning the origin, development, identity, and meaning of the SM in Dan 7 was the stage from which our research had to proceed. Had the quest for the origins of, and parallels to, the enigmatic figure, and the proposed literary analyses of Dan 7 furthered our exegesis of this chapter? Was the direction Religionsgeschichte and literary-critical study provided for SM research conducive to an advanced understanding of the nature and identity of the Danielic figure? Before we could focus on Dan 7:9-10, 13-14, the only passage in the Hebrew OT which describes the apocalyptic SM, we had to reevaluate these claims and gains.

The second chapter probed the various alleged origins of, and parallels to, the manlike being. In order to reduce the danger of subjectivity we chose to employ the methodology which avoids "punctiliar comparison" by considering the individual phenomena in their contextual totality before making any comparison with a similar phenomenon.

Though it is not a priori impossible that the author of Dan 7 was familiar with the alleged extra-biblical sources and

motifs, our methodology demonstrated a basic discontinuity between the SM of Dan 7 and the alleged roots of or correspondences to the Danielic figure within Babylonian, Egyptian, Iranian, Hellenistic, Gnostic, and Ugaritic literature. Even theories which propose that the writer of Dan 7 was not indebted to any particular extra-biblical source, but appropriated various alien images which he then assimilated into his Yahwistic faith, are without objective evidence. Thus we were led, not only to surmise a basic break between the Danielic being and the figures and motifs proposed in extra-biblical sources, but also to suspect a link between the SM and biblical traditions.

Among the biblical prototypes or parallels we evaluated the Messiah; the מְשִׁיחַ or מְשִׁיחָא in Job 15:14-16; 25:4-6; Pss 8:4 (H--vs. 5); 80:17 (H--vs. 18); the "likeness as it were of a human form" in Ezek 1; the hypostatized form of wisdom and various angelic figures (particularly Gabriel and Michael).

Though the SM and the Messiah hold a number of traits in common, there are significant differences between these two figures. This, and the problem of definition, tends to argue against an identification of the manlike being with the Messiah. The parallels of Dan 7 with the proposed figures in Job, Psalms, Ezekiel, and Proverbs are largely limited to linguistic and stylistic details, which suggests that OT traditional materials were utilized in the depiction of the SM.

On the basis of contextual correspondences between the last Danielic apocalypse and that recorded in Dan 7, the person of

Michael seems to offer the closest longitudinal parallel to the SM of any so far considered. However, we are not willing to identify the SM and Michael on the basis of the Danielic material alone.

In short, though the attempt to explain the nature and identity of the SM through alleged roots and parallels demonstrated (1) that the author of Daniel used traditional OT materials in his delineation of the SM, and (2) that the closest parallel to the SM is the figure of Michael, it generally led to a position which offers no hope of progress.

The third chapter concentrated upon Dan 7 itself and examined the unity and structure of the chapter before turning to the passages within Dan 7 which speak to the identity and nature of the manlike being. Since most scholars today who challenge the unity of Dan 7 either reflect or modify the theories of (particularly) Noth and (to a lesser degree) Ginsberg, we investigated especially the observations of these two scholars. Our inquiry made apparent that the individual criteria offered by Noth and Ginsberg for an analysis of Dan 7 were based on inadequate data, had proceeded on the basis of occidental syllogisms, and therefore led to largely unwarranted conclusions. This negative evaluation was corroborated by the evidence of structures and themes throughout the chapter, which argue not only for the unity of Dan 7, but also for a literary sensitivity on the part of the writer.

It became apparent that the customary division of the chapter into vision (vss. 2-14) and interpretation (vss. 15-27) did not reflect the intent of the chapter and needs revision. In reality,

the interpretation is limited to vss. 17-18 and vss. 23-27 while the remaining verses in the "interpretation" (vss. 15-27) describe the prophet's reaction to, reflection upon, and elaboration of the vision. The implications of this significantly influence our judgment of the relationship between the SM and the saints. Instead of considering the saints as limited to the "interpretation" and explanatory of the manlike figure of the vision, vss. 20-22 supplement the vision and envisage the saints as the object of the persecution by the little horn before the judgment. Assuming the literary unity of Dan 7, and the chapter division outlined, the little horn cannot be attributed to some later redactor, nor can the vision of the four beasts be separated from that of the manlike figure.

The SM appears first in the Hebrew Bible in Dan 7:13, 14 as **כְּכַר אִנְשׁ**. This unique phrase, composed of the comparative particle **כְּ** (which is not merely a mark of visionary apocalyptic style or a redactional assimilation to the four beast vision) and the indeterminate construct chain **אִנְשׁ כְּ** (which on the basis of its Hebrew counterpart **כְּאִדָּם** and uses in extra-biblical Aramaic designates an individual member of the human race) should be translated as "one like a man," "one like a human being," "one who resembles a human being," or "one in human likeness."

Within the setting of Dan 7:9-10, 13-14, the SM is an individual, eschatological, celestial being with messianic traits. Though characterized by divine attributes, Dan 7 does not teach a ditheism for the Danielic being assumes a role subordinate to the Ancient of Days. Whereas the manlike figure is a celestial being,

the SM is, nevertheless, set apart from the heavenly creatures referred to in Dan 7:10. While he resembles a human being he is distinct from the "saints of the Most High" who are human beings.

Within the larger context of the chapter, the "king" and "the kingdom," which had characterized earlier visionary symbols in Dan 7, find their counterparts in the distinction of SM and saints. However, though distinct, there are significant resemblances between the Danielic figure and God's holy people, for the SM also enjoys a solidarity with the saints in that he shares at the endtime and throughout perpetuity with the saints on earth the kingship he had received from the Ancient of Days. If the longitudinal parallel between the manlike being and Michael, suggested in our second chapter, corresponds to fact, then we may adduce further support for both the distinction and intimate relationship between the SM and the saints which goes beyond the concepts of "fluidity" (between "ruler" and "ruled") and corporate personality.

We would further suggest that this notion of the Danielic figure as an individual, eschatological, celestial being with messianic characteristics, distinct from the saints, yet maintaining an intimate relationship with them in the endtime, stands in a line of continuity with later conceptions of the SM and explains, perhaps more than most interpretations, the individual SM in the Similitudes, 4 Ezra, and the NT.

## APPENDIX

In the article "Porphyry and the Origin of the Book of Daniel," Casey advances the hypothesis that Porphyry's exegesis of Daniel was inherited from the eastern, particularly Syrian, Christian Church with some western by-forms.<sup>1</sup> He further hypothesizes that this "exegetical tradition" may have been transmitted to the church by Syrian Jewish communities. In the absence of any concrete evidence for such an alleged pre-Porphyrian tradition, the author seeks to support his contention by analytical deductions which endeavour to prove a common "exegetical tradition" held by a number of writers or documents, notably, Aphrahat, Ephraem Syrus, Polychronius, Cosmas Indicopleustes, the glosses to the Peshitta, Theodore bar Kōnī, Isho bar Nun, Isho<sup>c</sup>dad of Merv, Theodoret (though negatively), and R. Hayyim Galipapa. Casey advances the common tradition on the basis of an examination of the exegesis of (1) the little horn of Dan 7:8, (2) the man-like figure of Dan 7:13, and (3) Dan 12:2 in the above writers or documents.<sup>2</sup>

Several problems emerge upon close investigation. First, we are not able, so far, to point to such an exegetical tradition prior to Porphyry. Second, Porphyry's alleged chronological Christian predecessors have to be judged by his Christian successors. In the

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<sup>1</sup>Casey, pp. 15-33. Note also the endorsement by Alexander A. DiLella (Hartman and Di Lella, Daniel, p. 96 n. 229).

<sup>2</sup>Casey, p. 23. I was unable to locate any commentary on Daniel by Isho bar Nun.



light of the differences of opinion among Porphyry's chronological successors, this process is highly speculative. Third, the evidence seems to point to the utilization of some of Porphyry's insights by his critically minded successors, who are bent on discovering the literal and historical meaning of the text, rather than to Porphyry's absorbing an antecedent exegetical tradition.

The first of the Syriac Church fathers (also the first Syriac writer on Daniel) whose work has survived is Aphrahat. His Fifth Demonstration was composed in A.D. 337, over half a century after Porphyry's treatise "Against the Christians."<sup>1</sup> Aphrahat agrees with Porphyry that the second beast of Dan 7 represents Medo-Persia and the little horn Antiochus Epiphanes, but the two disagree over the identities of the last two beasts. Significantly, for Aphrahat, the fourth non-descript beast depicts Rome.<sup>2</sup> Again, while in Demonstration 5.20, Aphrahat uses the term "saints of the Most High" for the Jews persecuted by Antiochus Epiphanes, in Demonstration 5.21, he alludes to and blends the parables of the vineyard recorded in Isa 5 and Matt 21 and depicts Christ as the Son of man. In this context "the interpretation which Aphrahat rejects is that which regards the man-like figure as a symbol of the Jews" [i.e., the interpretation of Porphyry].<sup>3</sup> The Syrian father poses the question, "Have the children of Israel received the Kingdom of the Most High? God forbid. Or has

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Aphrahat Demonstration 5.19 (NPNF 2d ser. 13:358). Demonstration 5.22 (NPNF 2d ser. 13:360) identifies the "children of Esau" as the Romans. Cf. also Rowley, Darius, pp. 184-185, and Silver, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup>Casey, p. 26.

that people come upon the clouds of heaven?"<sup>1</sup> It is obvious then that there were significant expositional differences between Porphyry and the first of the Syriac fathers of the Church.

Ephraem Syrus from Nisibis, and later of Edessa, was in agreement with Porphyry and Aphrahat as to the identity of the little horn of Dan 7; it was none other than the persecutor Antiochus.<sup>2</sup> Partial agreement existed also over the SM, though Ephraem's dual application (shared by the later Theodore bar Kōnī and Isho<sup>c</sup>dad of Merv) in which Dan 7:13 signified events in the days of the Maccabees but found its consummation in Christ, went way beyond anything Porphyry, the opponent of Christianity, could have ever admitted. Again, Ephraem's exegesis of Dan 12:2 is completely at odds with Porphyry's interpretation of the resurrection as redemption from the tyrannical political yoke.

Polychronius, bishop of Apamea in Syria (c. A.D. 374-430), shared Porphyry's view that Dan 7:8 delineated Antiochus and Dan 12:2 is to be understood figuratively. As a witness, Polychronius calls upon the book of Maccabees. He upbraids Apollinarius (c. A.D. 310-c. 390) for attempting to apply the words of Dan 7:8 to the coming Antichrist. The author of the catena of Polychronian extracts on Daniel added to this " Ἄλλα εὐδόξιος τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ῥηθεῖσαν,

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<sup>1</sup>Demonstration 5.21 (NPNF 2d ser. 13:359). One is reminded of an almost identical challenge thrown out by Jerome to Porphyry when the former asked the latter to explain how Judas Maccabeus could be said to come with the clouds of heaven like unto the SM (PL 25:533 [Archer, p. 8]). Again, in Demonstration 5.23 Aphrahat, like Jerome (possibly later), raised the poignant question, Why were the Jews still in captivity if they were the inheritors of the kingdom described in Dan 7:23 (NPNF 2d ser. 13:361)?

<sup>2</sup>Ephraem Syrus Opera omnia, 5.215.

ἐρμηνείαν Πολυχρόνιου Πορφυρίου ἔφησεν εἶναι τοῦ ματαιόφρονος."<sup>1</sup> As for the SM, Polychronius had nothing to add except for a comment on Dan 7:28 in which he states that the interpreting angel was not willing to offer any further information for this Danielic figure.

According to Casey, the historical glosses in the Peshitta MS of Daniel (e.g., the little horn in Dan 7:8, 20 is marginally explained with the word "Antiochus") "cannot safely be dated earlier than the sixth or seventh century, when the earliest extant Peshitto manuscript of Daniel, Codex Ambrosianus, was written."<sup>2</sup>

In the sixth century Cosmas Indicopleustes ("Cosmas the Indian Navigator") wrote his Christian Topography. Commenting on Alexander's successors in a discussion of Daniel's prophecies, he quoted from the book of Maccabees ("καὶ ἐπλήθυσαν κατὰ τῆ γῆ καθὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μακκαβαϊκοῖς ἐγγέγραπται") and then identified the little horn of Dan 7 with Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, he differs from Porphyry in identifying the stone of Dan 2 and the SM of Dan 7 with Christ.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the witnesses just mentioned, whose views coincided--at least partially--with those of Porphyry, there is evidence of considerable implicit and explicit disagreement with this Neo-

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<sup>1</sup>Angelo Mai, Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio e vaticanis codicibus edita 10 vols. (Rome: Typis Vaticanus, 1825-1831), 1:235 [p. 11].

<sup>2</sup>Casey, p. 25. He also registers the disagreeing views of Rowley and A. G. Kallarakkal.

<sup>3</sup>1 Macc 1:9, 10.

<sup>4</sup>PG 88:109.

platonist opponent of Christianity. Jerome, who was an ordained priest in Antioch and spent half his life in the east, drew swords with Porphyry in his commentary on Daniel. In the prologue to this commentary, he also mentions Methodius (d. c. A.D. 311), Eusebius (c. A.D. 260-c. 340), and Apollinarius (c. A.D. 310-c. 390), as having openly attacked Porphyry's views. Unfortunately, most of the details are lost to us.

Methodius of Olympus appears to have rejected the pseudepigraphal nature of Daniel. Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, attacked the same notion in three volumes. Apollinarius, son of a Beirut grammarian and bishop of Laodicea, wrote thirty books against Porphyry, of which the twenty-sixth was designed to counterattack the latter's twelfth.<sup>1</sup>

John Chrysostom (c. A.D. 347-407), who, with the exception of the last decade, spent his life in Antioch, follows a different exegetical tradition from that of Porphyry. Chrysostom believed the fourth beast represented Rome, and while he does not specifically identify the Danielic manlike being, his comments preclude any collective interpretation.<sup>2</sup>

Theodoret (c. A.D. 393-c. 466), a native of Antioch and personal friend and admirer of Nestorius, wrote a number of exegetical works which are considered among the finest specimens of the Antiochene school.<sup>3</sup> His study of the fathers is reflected in

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<sup>1</sup>Hans Lietzmann, Apollinaris von Laodicea: Texte und Untersuchungen (Reprint ed. of 1904; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970), pp. 150, 265-267.

<sup>3</sup>PG 56:232-233.

<sup>3</sup>ODCC, 1974 ed., s.v. "Theodoret," p. 1360.

his commentary on Daniel.<sup>1</sup> In it the little horn was the Antichrist, also spoken of by the apostle Paul. The fourth beast of Dan 7 signified Rome, and the SM was understood strictly christologically.<sup>2</sup> When he comes to Dan 12:2, he relegates the symbolic view to oblivion.<sup>3</sup>

Further to the south, Cyril (c. A.D. 315-386), bishop of Jerusalem, informs us that the fourth Danielic kingdom represents Rome and adds that "this has been the tradition of the Church's interpreters."<sup>4</sup> Porphyry had applied this same symbol to Alexander's successors and thus stood in a different exegetical tradition from that claimed by Cyril of Jerusalem and Theodoret of Antioch.<sup>5</sup> The manlike figure of Dan 7 was applied by the bishop of Jerusalem to Christ's second coming and the eternal nature of his kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>PG 81:1255-1546; Edmund Venables, "Theodoretus," DCB, 4:919. The Antiochian exegetical tradition reflected by Theodoret differs from Porphyry in every point selected by Casey.

<sup>2</sup>PG 81:1420-1423.

<sup>3</sup>PG 81:1536.

<sup>4</sup>Cyril Catechetical Lecture 15.13 (NPNF 2d ser. 7:108). With Porphyry he holds to the view that the second beast signifies Medo-Persia.

<sup>5</sup>Rowley, Darius, pp. 184-185.

<sup>6</sup>Cyril Catechetical Lecture 15.10-12 (NPNF 2d ser. 7:107); 15.27-28 (NPNF 2d ser. 7:113). Further south again was Isidore (d. c. A.D. 450), an exegete and, for some fifty years, abbot of a monastery near Pelusium on the eastern estuary of the Nile. We know little of his exegesis but are certain that he identified the fourth beast of Dan 7 with the Roman empire, as did Cyril in the east and Irenaeus and Hippolytus in the west.

Furthermore, Casey's inclusion of the Spanish R. Ḥayyim Galipapa as inheritor of this eastern Christian exegetical tradition seems strange, to say the least. It is more likely that Silver is right when he links Galipapa and Gikatilla to R. Nathan (Silver, p. 210).

Our review of eastern Christian authors reveals that only a small number of them had specific points of contact with Porphyry. Even so, some striking expository differences, precisely on these passages singled out for examination by Casey--not to mention the violent opposition to Porphyry by other eastern writers--became apparent. While one must allow for the usual differences of opinion, the ebb and flow of argument we have noticed challenges the notion of an exegetical tradition on Daniel as narrow and selected as Casey would have it. One must be grateful to Casey for drawing our attention to the similarities between Porphyry and some Christian exegetes, as well as the attempt to account for this phenomenon, but to claim that both Porphyry and the Christian Syrian exegetes dipped their pens into the same inkpot, or, inherited the same exegetical tradition (with some western by-forms) is not supported by the evidence. While at the present time we cannot be certain as to the origin of Porphyry's views,<sup>1</sup> it may be permissible to reconstruct an alternate hypothesis which seems to us to account better for the available data.

Moffatt surmised--and it appears correctly so--that Porphyry was moved to issue his *Katà Xριστιανῶν* "by a sense that Christianity was now the most formidable opponent to Neoplatonism as a philosophy of true religion for the Empire."<sup>2</sup> Methodologically, Porphyry had correctly perceived the importance of the Bible for Christianity and set out to undermine its influence. According to Jerome, it was the Neoplatonist's aim to disparage OT predictions believed to have been fulfilled in Christ. This applied particularly

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<sup>1</sup>Moffatt, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

to the book of Daniel.<sup>1</sup> Once it could be demonstrated that prophetic forecasts were vaticinia ex eventu, most of Christian apologetic and polemic would be deprived of its force.

In an age when the book of Daniel was a popular quarry among Jews and Christians for many messianic and chiliastic hopes, anti-messianic reactions were not missing.<sup>2</sup> Among these anti-messianic responses, two may be noted. One "denied the coming of the Messiah altogether, and thereby arrived at demolishing completely the whole structure of Messianic speculation"; the other "tried to accomplish the same purpose by maintaining that the Bible contains no Messianic references touching this last exile, and that there is no oral tradition for it."<sup>3</sup> The second-century R. Nathan, who was one of the earliest representatives of the second response, considered all attempts to locate messianic allusions in the Bible as futile, since they referred to events which had already taken place.<sup>4</sup>

Neither anti-messianic responses had many disciples, but in the Middle Ages R. Nathan's position was "strongly championed by Moses ben Gikatilla, Hayyim Galipapa, certain Karaite leaders, and, at times, by ibn Ezra and Joseph Albo."<sup>5</sup> Could the early anti-messianic reactions have eluded Porphyry completely? Jerome charges both "the Jews and the impious Porphyry" with the applica-

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<sup>1</sup>PL 25:491 (Archer, p. 15).

<sup>2</sup>Silver, pp. 21, 31-32, 195-196.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 197.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

tion of the stone of Dan 2 to the people of Israel.<sup>1</sup> Could it be that more than an incidental juxtaposition is here implied?

The fortunes and popularity of the Maccabean books and their use of Danielic material are only partially known. Nevertheless, we recognize that authors like Josephus, Origen, and Jerome were acquainted with their portrayal of Maccabean history.<sup>2</sup> Polychronius, and later Cosmas Indicopleustes, referred to the book of Maccabees and noted exegetical parallels between events described in Daniel and those which occurred in the mid-second century B.C. While Porphyry had consulted non-Jewish historians for this period, it is not impossible that the Maccabean history (whether derived first or second hand) was seen as a tool to undermine current messianic interpretation and a quarry of support for vaticinia ex eventu.

It is not possible at this stage to establish a direct link with Celsus, the second-century pagan philosopher, who penned the oldest literary attack on Christianity of which details have survived (c. A.D. 178).<sup>3</sup> We know of his Ἀληθῆς Λόγος through

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<sup>1</sup>PL 25:504 (Archer, p. 32). We know that rabbinic interpretation of the rock of Dan 2 was divided, some suggested it was a reference to the Messiah, others that it depicted the Messianic kingdom. If Porphyry ever came into contact with these, the collective interpretation of the SM also could have suggested itself to him.

<sup>2</sup>On this question, see Jonathan A. Goldstein, 1 Maccabees AB, 41, (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), pp. 3-103. The relationship of Josephus to Maccabees is described on pp. 56-58, 560-561.

<sup>3</sup>Georg Loesche, "Haben die späteren Neuplatonischen Polemiker gegen das Christenthum das Werk des Celsus gebraucht?" ZWT 27 (1883):257-276; Moffatt, p. 74; Ekkehard Mühlberg, Apollinaris von Laodicea (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 122-124.



Origen's reply Contra Celsum (mid-third-century A.D.).<sup>1</sup> Some of the objections raised by both Celsus and Porphyry were probably common stock by this time. Both objected to the exclusive claims of the Christian Church and its use of scriptural foreknowledge,<sup>2</sup> but Celsus made only one passing, and somewhat abusive, reference to the book of Daniel.<sup>3</sup>

In another context Origen replies to an objection by Celsus to the figure of Antichrist and claims that the opponent "has read neither the passages about him [i.e., Antichrist] in Daniel, nor those in Paul, nor the Saviour's prophecies."<sup>4</sup> If Origen can be trusted, Celsus' knowledge of Daniel may have been minimal or even derived from hearsay, whereas Porphyry's was quite extensive.

Other common elements held by both Celsus and Porphyry (possibly traditional?) include (1) the accusation that the scriptures of Jews and Christians often contradicted themselves, (2) a mockery of the allegorical exegesis, and (3) the charge that christological exegesis of OT passages was frequently forced.<sup>5</sup> None of these points establish a genetic origin for Porphyry's ideas from Celsus, but they indicate the common bond of dislike for Christianity.

While we are unable to point to any one stream as the source

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<sup>1</sup>Origen Contra Celsum, trans. with an introduction and notes by Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: University Press, 1953; reprint ed. with corrections, 1965).

<sup>2</sup>Origen Contra Celsum 2.13-20; 6.8.7.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 7.53.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 6.45.

<sup>5</sup>Loesche, pp. 269-273, lists these and other points of contact between Celsus and Porphyry.

of Porphyry's exegetical method as applied to the book of Daniel, it is more likely that Porphyry did not inherit a Christian exegetical tradition. Rather, thrust forward by his one aim to overpower Christianity, he seems to have gathered and redirected every rivulet or stream favorable to the flood he was about to unleash upon his most formidable enemy.

If then Porphyry and the later Christian writers are not indebted to the same exegetical tradition, how may we account for the points of similarity and differences we have noticed above?

It is interesting to note that Ephraem Syrus, in his expository homily on Gen 1:27, wrote that wisdom is not acquired without labor and study, therefore he exhorted his hearers to read Greek writers, especially Porphyry, Plato, and Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> In addition we know that the school of Nisibis and its products studied particularly Aristotelean works and Porphyry's "Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle" (possibly even more of Porphyry[?]) for the enlightenment of its faith.<sup>2</sup> Given this bent of mind it is not difficult to see the school's proclivity for the sensus literalis. Such an exegetical methodology would see nothing particularly offensive or heretical in utilizing some of those "historico-critical" insights of Porphyry

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<sup>1</sup>Smith, "Ephraim," p. 142.

<sup>2</sup>El Khoury reminds us that the link between Syriac thought and Greek tradition began with the founding of the school of Antioch (A.D. 270) through teachers dedicated to Aristotelean philosophy. The school of Nisibis thus utilized the logic, psychology, and metaphysics of Aristotle, and for an introduction to logic, the school in Edessa employed Porphyry's Eisagoge. El Khoury remarks: "Die Syrer benutzten diese Werke vor allem zur Erhellung ihres Glaubens, als methodisches und formales Hilfsmittel sowie als dauerhaftes Fundament für ihre Theologie" (Nabil El-Khoury, Die Interpretation der Welt bei Ephraem dem Syrer, Tübingen Theologische Studien 6 [Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald, 1976], pp. 146-148).

with which it could agree.

As a Christian commentator, Ephraem occupied "a middle place between Theodore of Mopsuestia, who contended for the literal interpretation alone, and Origen, who cared only for the allegorical."<sup>1</sup> Hence Ephraem would be likely to give first the literal and then the mystical interpretation. The same trend is evident in Theodore bar Kōnī and Isho<sup>c</sup>dad of Merv, who habitually quoted Ephraem's interpretations in his OT and NT commentaries.

If our reconstruction, based on the above-presented evidence, bears any resemblance to fact, then Porphyry's works against the Christians and particularly his treatment of the book of Daniel were enriched by various antecedent and contemporaneous streams. Porphyry was not an heir to a Christian exegetical tradition for there is too much disagreement, precisely on the critical points of his exegesis (e.g., Dan 7:8, 13; 12:2), between the Neoplatonist critic and his chronological successors, as well as among the latter themselves. The similarities to and differences from Porphyry in the exposition of later Christian writers could have been due to their philosophical and exegetical presuppositions.

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<sup>1</sup>Smith, "Ephraim," p. 141.

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