BIOGRAPHY OF A DREAM: A *WIRKUNGSGESCHICHTLICH* STUDY OF THE FOURTH BEAST IN DANIEL 7

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Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the

Graduate School of Vanderbilt University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Religion

December 15, 2018

Nashville, Tennessee

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any project involving the amount of time needed for this work requires the support, participation and patience of a great many people. I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee at Vanderbilt University: Professor Choon-Leong Seow, Professor Herbert Marbury, Professor Annalisa Azzoni, Professor Douglas Knight, and Professor Fernando Segovia. Their willingness to contribute to and evaluate this work has been invaluable, but I have known for years that they support their students in many ways. I would also like to thank Professor Jack Sasson who also mentored me through coursework at Vanderbilt. Deserving of particular recognition is my committee chair and advisor, Professor Choon-Leong Seow, who read through many versions of this study using his considerable skill and mentorship.

I also recognize the support of three teachers who have encouraged me to pursue an academic career in biblical studies: Mark Roncace at Wingate University and Neal Walls and Fred Horton at Wake Forest University. I have also been inspired by the encouragement of my friends and family, particularly my parents, Dan and Anita Redding, and brothers, Daniel and Thomas Redding, and long-time friend, Evan Schaller. These people never wavered in their support for my chosen field, nor have they ever discouraged me from exercising my imagination, and I hope that this has helped to contribute to the present work. And, finally, I thank my loving partner Erin Palmer, whom I met during the course of my doctoral program; without her love and encouragement none of this would have been possible.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Ed. James B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969.
BA	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*
BDB	*The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Francis Brown. S.R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1906; repr., Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000.
BT Meil	Babylonian Talmud Meil
CAD	*The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1921-
CANE	*Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. 4 volumes. Edited by Jack M. Sasson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995.
DDD	*The Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. 2nd ed. Edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. Mit einem Beitrag von O. Rössler. Wiesbaden, I 1966, II 1968, III 1969.
TgJ Is	Targum Jonathan Isaiah
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*

INTRODUCTION

What is a Text?

One question guides this dissertation: what is a text? Answering this question pushes the boundaries of biblical studies, prompting more considerations: is a text limited to the words written on pages and inscribed in stone, or is it something more? Where (and when) does a text begin and end? How does the ongoing life of a text affect the communities creating, reading, and finally, interpreting it? Do texts even exist? Hans-George Gadamer engaged similar issues about literary hermeneutics in his magnum opus *Truth and Method*, in which he created the term *Wirkungsgeschichte*, otherwise known as "history of effect."[1] The dissertation uses Daniel 7 as a *Wirkungsgeschichte* case study that prioritizes horizons of historical influence alongside ongoing dynamic processes of biblical reception and production to reconsider Daniel 7 as an interpretation, a consequence, and literary product subject to change. Reading Daniel 7 in this manner shifts the discussion away from what strictly asking what a text "means" and toward understanding Daniel 7 as living and constantly shaped by preceding and proceeding history, a composition of original settings alongside histories of lived responses to external realities.

Investigations of this type require many choices, including which version of Daniel 7 to prioritize as primary against which others are compared. Mindful of the necessity of this type of decision, the dissertation focuses on Aramaic Daniel 7 as the reference point against which Greek, Syriac, Latin, and other witnesses stand. Regarding interpretations and receptions, preference goes to interpretations and readings that influence Christian ecclesial, cultural, and political communities until the Enlightenment period. Stopping at the Enlightenment reins in the

[1] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (German Orig. 1960; trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald Marshall; New York, NY: Continuum, 2006), 299.

prolific but unwieldy explosion of readings and receptions that came from the Enlightenment's intellectual and literary boom. Despite these chronological boundaries, seeds for further thought and connections to contemporary readings will appear throughout the analysis. Christian receptions in this dissertation are openly Protestant, Catholic, and Eurocentric because the ongoing influence from European Protestant and Catholic writers is palpable in current interpretations, making it clear modern commentators and communities remain profoundly affected by particularly narrow Christian readings.

Limiting the focus also illuminates the pressing need for expanded global perspectives on scripture with the hope that scholars might construct a more thorough and self-critical understanding of biblical studies. The dissertation compares interpretations that are direct responses to previous or concurrent commentators to show the dialogue between receptions and the effects of said dialogue on later readings of Daniel 7. In short, the dissertation's limited scope has two purposes: to harness said focus to produce a pointed examination and to emphasize the importance of historical horizons of expectation and interpretation within biblical hermeneutics using Daniel 7 as a case study.

This undertaking is not merely a historical-critical reception analysis. Rather, it engages history to understand Daniel 7 while also considering what Daniel 7 becomes within the confrontation of horizons of expectation between Daniel 7's history of interpretation, its influence, and readers themselves. Neither the interpretations, influences, and readers of Daniel 7 meet in an abstract, objective space that allows ahistorical examination; in fact, the opposite is true. Ulrich Luz describes this type of interpretation as "like people who have to examine the water of as stream while they are sitting in a boat that is carried along by that very stream."[2] This

[2] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1-7* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007), 63.

type of *Wirkungsgeschichte* methodology highlights the power Daniel 7 has to be read anew and kept alive in all situations while simultaneously showing what Daniel 7 can become as a result of reception and reproduction.

Dissertation Chapter Outline

The study begins with a focused examination of *Wirkungsgeschichte* as a method grounded in the work of Gadamer.[3] Chapter I reads into the roots of philosophers and literary scholars preceding and informing Gadamer's work, including Immanuel Kant, G.W.F Hegel, and Martin Heidegger. It then engages Gadamer's *Truth and Method* as a response, and, quite appropriately, a reception and reproduction overtly built upon preceding philosophical and literary works. The chapter concludes by placing Gadamer's work in conversation with Erich Auerbach and H.R. Jauss, two literary scholars that consider questions of textuality, reception, and meaning like Gadamer, including the interactions of history, community, and the production and reception of literature.

Chapter II is a thorough investigation of Daniel 7 that includes an annotated translation and reading of Daniel 7 with an eye for themes, motifs, images, and literary structures that bind the chapter together into a literary unit. Further, chapter II reads Daniel 7 as an *ex eventu* narrative written to present the Daniel character's words as occurring before the events in question, knowing that Daniel 7 was written after the events it claims to predict. Key to the reading is the focus of Daniel 7 as an interpretation of itself, with vv. 1-14 laying the narrative foundation upon which verses 15-28 interpret Daniel's apocalyptic dream-vision.

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[3] The spirit of this investigation owes a great debt to both Dr. C.L. Seow and Herbert Marbury of Vanderbilt University. Their individual attention to my work with method and theory for this dissertation was rigorous but inviting. The strengths of this work are in their debt.

Chapter II does not define Daniel 7 as an *urtext*[4] of sorts for comparative elements extant in literature outside Daniel 7. Instead, it situates Daniel 7 around the theme of the eternal reign of God and the Fourth Beast. The reign of God is the driving theme of this chapter and, read in light of Daniel 7, the entire book of Daniel. Further, identifying the Fourth Kingdom becomes paramount to later Christian receptions of Daniel 7, as changing historical tides reshape interpretations and, in turn, affect the ways in which readers approach Daniel 7 and how Daniel 7 is brought to readers. Therefore, engaging Daniel 7 with a thorough analysis sets the stage for reading the reign of God in Daniel and considering how Christian readers have interpreted historically conditioned adversarial figures back into Daniel 7.

Chapter III rereads Daniel 2 through the Daniel 7 criteria established in the previous chapter to argue that Daniel 7 is itself a consequence of Daniel 2, focusing on points of similarity and difference between the two chapters. Like Daniel 7, Daniel 2 is an *ex-eventu* text in two distinct sections. Vv.1-23 are a narrative foundation upon which the dream-vision and interpretation of vv. 24-49 occur. This surface comparison between the two-section structure of Daniel 7 and 2 moves in a two-pronged comparative approach with shared explicit and implicit references and/or allusions between Daniel 7, Daniel 2, and the representation of the Fourth Kingdom in the respective chapters.

Chapter IV steps beyond the bible and focuses on ancient Near Eastern literature that features themes, motifs, images, and literary structures found in Daniel 7 with an analysis of cultural horizons of expectation that illuminate possible allusions and echoes. The chapter is

[4] *Urtext* is nomenclature used in biblical textual critical studies to denote an original text or texts upon which all others are based. Emanuel Tov defines an *urtext* as "the completed literary composition which had already passed through several written stages and which stood at the beginning of the process of textual transmission." See Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001), 18. The terminology originates in classical music studies as a denotation of a work either discovered or printed to reflect a composer's original intentions; all others with variants are considered facsimile, interpretive, or some combination of both.

structured according to themes, beginning with the Motif of Four, the transcendent God and fighting deity, and dreams and prophecies. This chapter compares the select ancient texts with Daniel 7 from a *Wirkungsgeschichte* perspective that is mindful of the biblical Fourth Kingdom and the Fourth Beast as cultural products built upon extant literary horizons of expectation. The chapter does not seek one-to-one lineages or connections between Daniel and the ancient Near East; rather, it merely seeks to illuminate possible echoes and allusions between Daniel 7 and these ancient writings.

Chapter V moves the dissertation's timeframe forward and analyzes the Christian apocalyptic book Revelation through the lens of Daniel 7 to argue for considering Revelation as a consequence and articulation of ideas and tensions like those present in Daniel 7. Scholars have already done much of the identification of images and allusions between Revelation and Daniel,[5] especially with reference to comparative work between the Fourth Kingdom of Daniel and the apocalyptic beasts of Revelation.[6] However, this comparative exercise is unique in that it provides a foundation upon which Christian commentators and interpreters read both Daniel 7, the Fourth Beast, and the Fourth Kingdom through a Christocentric apocalyptic hermeneutic.

Chapter VI engages selected Christian receptions of Daniel 7 to show the wedding of interpreting Daniel 7 through the book of Revelation among pre-Enlightenment Christian communities.[7] The goal here is to offer in each case a brief survey of the influence of Revelation on Christian readings of Daniel 7 in chronological order. This exercise is done with an awareness

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[5] For a thorough analysis of Revelation that makes connections to Daniel and the rest of the Bible, see David Aune, *Revelation* vol. 52a-52c (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2014). Also: Thomas Hieke, "The Reception of Daniel 7 in the Revelation of John," in *Revelation and the Politics of Apocalyptic Interpretation* (eds. Richard Hays and Stefan Alkier; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), 47-67; Gregory Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John*.

[6] Gregory Beale, "The Danielic Background for Revelation 13:18 and 17:9," *Tyndale Bulletin* 31 (1980): 163-170.

[7] For the sake of this dissertation, the designated timeline begins with the earliest Christian receptions of Revelation and concludes at the year 1700 CE.

of the vast scope of Christian interpretations and is therefore limited typologically to show the basic threads and possibilities of Christian interpretations of Daniel 7 through the lens of Revelation. Further, limiting the comparative analysis between Early Christian communities up to the Enlightenment is intentional for similar reasons, as a narrower scope allows for greater critical engagement with receptions and interpretations while also illuminating the ongoing historical, social, and political significance of Revelation and, in turn, Daniel 7 among pre-Enlightenment understandings of apocalyptic literature. Despite the timeframe boundaries, the chapter opens with further detail regarding prioritization of receptions and interpretations

Chapter VII brings the work of the dissertation together and presents an extended example of what the consequences model can do for Daniel 7 and biblical texts in general. It engages how Daniel 7 is a reworking of Daniel 2 that uses familiar image without simply copying-and-pasting Nebuchadnezzar's visions to create a unique but affected composition. It then moves beyond Daniel 7 and reads Daniel 8-12 in light of Daniel 7 as a consequence to present the seventh chapter as the hinge upon which Daniel 1-6 and 8-12 connect. The final chapter concludes the work by assessing potential contributions to the field and directions for future research.

Examples of Reception

Before moving into a translation and analysis, using Daniel 7 as a case-study of what a text is and how the ongoing reception and interpretation of said "text" changes both content and reception requires noteworthy examples that embody the dynamic processes of reception and interpretation. The following three examples show the interesting, and perhaps bizarre, paths communities and their readers can take biblical writings like Daniel. Further, these example

cases illuminate as much about the cultural horizons of the interpreters as they do nuanced readings of Daniel 7.

Example 1 A Post-Holocaust Jewish Reception from Elias Bickerman

In 1967, Elias Bickerman penned *Four Strange Books of the Bible*, in which he discusses Jonah, Daniel, Koheleth, and Esther and several ways of approaching and understanding these books alongside the historical and cultural circumstances that produced said readings. Bickerman describes the interpretative work around Daniel 2 and 7 as "harmonizing of political prophecies with new contingencies."[8] His work is comparative in historical and textual analysis applied to the various interpretations and receptions throughout Jewish exegetical practices. In short, he acknowledges that the original identities of the Fourth Kingdom of Daniel 2 and Fourth Beast of Daniel 7 become inconsequential to the backdrop of history; the idea behind what the Fourth Kingdom/Beast means for its current audience is what gives it lasting relevance.

Bickerman compares exegetical practices around Daniel 2 alongside a pro-Germanic prophetic poem written by Robert Hamerling from 1889 that gained traction and a new audience with the rise of Austrian nationalism in 1915.[9] Foretelling a coming "Germanic century," readers wielding German nationalistic ideals read the poem as foreshadowing the invasion and annexation of England, Poland, and Czechoslovakia by German forces in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. Hamerling's piece then becomes a form of German propaganda during Nazi German's

[8] Elias Bickerman, *Four Strange Books of the Bible* (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1967), 70.
[9] It is likely the poem Bickerman cites is "An das deutsche Volk," a poem that repeatedly reiterates Germany's unwavering strength and superiority. No other Hamerling poem cites specifics like Poland and England, but given the nature of literary interpretive harmonization the text does not have to cite those things directly: the readers themselves supply what they need the work to say.

rise, thereby providing a haunting but powerful example of the lasting effects of intersecting horizons of expectation.[10]

This seemingly unrelated anecdote about Bickerman's understanding of Hamerling in early 20th-century CE German strikes a relevant cord as Bickerman describes Daniel's Four Beasts vision as "the earliest propaganda tract."[11] Bickerman reads Daniel 7 as a revision of Nebuchadnezzar's vision in Daniel 2, redone with specific changes in mind.[12] For example, Bickerman argues the vision of Daniel 2 is anonymous, in contrast to the dream of Daniel 7 being "written down by Daniel himself."[13] Ownership laid onto the text by making Daniel the author pales in comparison to the chapter's expansions of Daniel 2: simple becomes "fanciful" and straightforward becomes frightful and "different from all kingdoms."[14]

Bickerman believes the chaotic changes in Daniel 7 account for the unpredictable cultural and political tides of the situations in which Daniel 7 was produced: as Daniel 2 reflects a simpler messianic expectation and prophetic fulfillment, Daniel 7 embodies the frustrations and anguish felt as the years continued but relief seemed to pull further away from Israelite readers. Likewise, Bickerman's reading clearly reflects the anguish and grief of Jewish readers following WWII: where pre-Holocaust readers see expectant hope, Bickerman sees propaganda; where other Jewish interpreters read specific identities and divine intervention, Bickerman reads the not-so-subtle machinations of exploitive authors hoping to achieve certain ends. This reception sees the text becoming the very thing it sought to describe: an agent of history.

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[10] Bickerman, *Four Strange Books of the Bible*, 71.
[11] Bickerman, *Four Strange Books of the Bible*, 102.
[12] Bickerman, *Four Strange Books of the Bible*, 102.
[13] Bickerman, *Four Strange Books of the Bible*, 102.
[14] Bickerman, *Four Strange Books of the Bible*, 103.

Example 2 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints

Church of Latter-Day Saints (LDS) receptions receive special attention because mainstream LDS hermeneutics must overtly engage the works of their first major prophet, Joseph Smith, working the nineteenth century. An examination of major LDS leaders and publications show the importance of working around and with LDS doctrine when creating interpretations.

The first LDS, or Mormon, reception of the Fourth Beast originates with LDS prophet and founder Smith. Smith writes:

> "You there see that the beasts are spoken of to represent the kingdoms of the world, the inhabitants whereof were beastly and abominable characters; they were murderers, corrupt, carnivorous, and brutal in their dispositions. The lion, the bear, the leopard, and the ten-horned beast represented the kingdoms of the world, says Daniel. …"
>
> "… The prophets do not declare that they saw a beast or beasts, but that they saw the image or figure of a beast. Daniel did not see an actual bear or a lion, but the images or figures of those beasts. The translation should have been rendered 'image' instead of 'beast,' in every instance where beasts are mentioned by the prophets. … When the prophets speak of seeing beasts in their visions, they mean that they saw the images, they being types to represent certain things. At the same time, they received the interpretation as to what those images or types were designed to represent."[15]

Smith reads with certainty, as he understands the beasts as worldly kingdoms and differentiates Daniel's beasts from forthcoming beasts of John's Revelation.[16] Smith's exegetical work continued with the composition of the Book of Mormon, thereby creating a second unwavering LDS pillar upon which biblical exegetical work stands.

Mormon exegesis after Joseph Smith presents an intriguing reception case for two reasons. First, the LDS Church accepts both the 1611 King James Version (KJV) of the Bible and the Book of Mormon as sacred scripture. Second, the LDS recognizes the 1611 KJV as the

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[15] Joseph Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (ed. Joseph Fielding Smith; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1938), 289, 291.

[16] Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 289.

only acceptable English translation of the Bible.[17] Balance between a particular text like the Book of Mormon and a text seen by many as authoritative (1611 KJV) makes LDS exegetical boundaries complex and nuanced. The 1611 KJV is an enduring biblical translation, with roots stretching back thousands of years. The Book of Mormon is recent text whose origins remain contested among scholars, thereby making harmonizing the Fourth Beast through a Book of Mormon lens a precarious venture.

Attempting to further streamline LDS biblical exegesis, in 1979 church officials authorized and ordered the production of an LDS-specific KJV publication with book and chapter headings, in addition to other study/reading "helps."[18] Each chapter of Daniel in the LDS KJV begins with an LDS-leadership approved summary, with Daniel 7 being described as follows:

> Daniel sees four beasts representing the kingdoms of men—He sees the ancient of days (Adam) to whom the Son of Man (Christ) will come—The kingdom will be given to the Saints forever.[19]

Here the Fourth Beast is merely one of four representing the "kingdoms of men." Mormon scholars grant Daniel and his visions great influence on LDS church history, with special

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[17] Taken from the August 1992 LDS First Presidency Statement on the King James Version of the Bible: "Since the days of the Prophet Joseph Smith, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has used the King James Version of the Bible for English-speaking members. The Bible, as it has been transmitted over the centuries, has suffered the loss of many plain and precious parts. 'We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.' (Articles of Faith 1:8.) Many versions of the Bible are available today. Unfortunately, no original manuscripts of any portion of the Bible are available for comparison to determine the most accurate version. However, the Lord has revealed clearly the doctrines of the gospel in these latter-days. The most reliable way to measure the accuracy of any biblical passage is not by comparing different texts, but by comparison with the Book of Mormon and modern-day revelations. While other Bible versions may be easier to read than the King James Version, in doctrinal matters latter-day revelation supports the King James Version in preference to other English translations. All of the Presidents of the Church, beginning with the Prophet Joseph Smith, have supported the King James Version by encouraging its continued use in the Church. In light of all the above, it is the English language Bible used by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

[18] Lavina Fielding Anderson, "Church Publishes First LDS Edition of the Bible" in *Ensign* (October 1979).

[19] King James Bible, LDS Edition (Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1979), 1111.

emphasis paid to the divinely established kingdom "that shall never be destroyed" (Dan 2:44).[20] Tied with the scholarly acceptance of Daniel 7 as a reception of Daniel 2, LDS leadership's move to read the Son of Man from chapter 7:13 as the stone from chapter 2:34 is judicious.[21] Reading chapter 7 without chapter 2, discussion of the Fourth Beast is limited to its relationship to the Ancient of Days. It receives no particular notice or favor and becomes another cog in LDS millennialism. Further, more recent Mormon hermeneutics prioritize reading their prophet Joseph Smith as the foretold restoration of the church, making it clear that mainline LDS thought receives the vision of Daniel's Fourth Beast through Smith's interpretive lens.

Example 3 Hal Lindsey and Revived American Christian Premillennialism

A popular example that revived American Christian premillennialism is the work of Hal Lindsey with book *The Late Great Planet Earth.* Lindsey heavily relies on receptions and interpretation of many biblical books, including Daniel, but like writers preceding and succeeding him, Lindsey equates interpretation with textual content. Further, Lindsey believes the Fourth Beast indeed is Rome, and that Rome never truly disappeared; it continued under the guise of different names and powers.[22]

Lindsey's popular work spawned, or at least brought attention to, similar and competing views. A cursory internet search for "The Fourth Beast in Daniel 7" yields over one million Google hits, including links to sites with titles containing some form (or combination) of "The End Times," "Unlocking the Code," and "Rapture Ready." [23] Including these receptions in this

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[20] David J. Whittaker, "The Book of Daniel in Early Mormon Thought" in *By Study and Also by Faith* (ed. J. Lundquist and S. Ricks; Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Co., 1990), 155-201.
[21] Donald Juel, "The Risen Christ and the Son of Man: Christian Use of Daniel 7," *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 151-170.
[22] Hal Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970), 94
[23] Statistic based on a basic search using the engine from www.Google.com on August 24, 2017, 2:27 PM. The search terms were limited to as stated above: "The Fourth Beast in Daniel 7."

dissertation is not meant to mock or deride; just the opposite: greater access to writing and composition tools keeps the wheel of biblical reading and reception spinning ever faster. Further, each site, opinion, reflection, and/or exegesis carries a thoroughly Protestant Christian bent. Online discussion about discovering the Fourth Beast's identity is crucial to last twentieth-century and on-going Protestant Millennialism.

The ongoing spread and generation of Christian interpretative receptions is inherently Protestant for a simple reason: the belief in the right of individual autonomy to read and interpret scripture.[24] Past, present, and future receptions within new interpretations display the importance of the Fourth Beast in Christian writings and theology. If nothing else, it also surely dispels any notion of neglecting Daniel 7 and the Fourth Beast because the author's imagination "dried up";[25] the text clearly lives and is still being used.

Summation

The above three examples show what modern readers and groups have done with Daniel 7. Each example presents their reception as a unique and unqualified way of reading but, as the following chapters will show, no reading exists in a vacuum. All texts are consequences of other texts and ideas, creating a flow of meaning that continues without end or clear beginning. Here this project turns to its first chapter, which is an examination of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* as a philosophical concept. It addresses questions upon whose work the approach is grounded, as well as whether one can consider it a method of interpretation in the traditional sense. This methodological foundation is a guide to the broad nature of a *Wirkungsgeschichte* analysis that also acknowledges the constant state of flux and change of the approach and the theory behind it.

[24] Bernard Ramm, *Protestant Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1970), 1-22.
[25] Andre Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel* (trans. David Pellauer; Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1979), 139-142.

CHAPTER I: *WIRKUNGSGESCHICHTE* AS A METHOD

1.1 Establishing the Problematic

Written texts carry many ideological biases into the discourse of interpretation, which, when paired with an interpreter's experiences and histories, becomes an act of creation. Further, the work of textual reception requires a reconsideration of history itself to avoid getting mired in circular self-supporting arguments. Friedrich Nietzsche presents the paradoxical situation well: "antiquity has in fact always been understood by means of the present; should the present now be understood by means of antiquity?"[26]

Scholars in the realm of biblical studies have a mixed relationship with what has come to be known as "ideological criticism," with critiques including claims of "eisegesis," abandoning history in and behind texts, bending interpretations to fit a reader's liking, and overall misrepresentation of the interpretational and hermeneutical exercise.[27] Using language of "traditional biblical scholarship," scholars oppose reading one's self into or onto a text at the expense of disavowing any true or intended meaning. However, some scholars are pushing the ideological movement toward broader acceptance through a reconsideration of traditional reception history. Brennan Breed articulates this position by saying, "a biblical text is reception history all the way down," thereby causing any biblical text and its subsequent interpretations to lack a discernible starting point.[28]

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[26] Friedrich Nietzsche, "We Philologists" (ed. Oscar Levy; trans. J. M. Kennedy; Edinburgh: T.N. Foulis, 1911), 7.
[27] For a thorough examination of issues and criticisms laid upon readings labeled "postmodern," see John Collins, *The Bible after Babel: Historical Criticism in a Postmodern Age* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005).
[28] Brennan Breed, "Nomadology of the Bible," in *Biblical Reception* (eds. Cheryl Exum and David Clines; England: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012), 304.

Despite potential criticisms and apprehensions, scholars working in literary reception theory use an approach that blends elements of historical-critical scholarship with what Hans Robert Jauss calls "horizons of expectation."[29] These scholars trace the development of the text in question alongside various ways in which readers receive said text. Engaging the philosophical and theoretical principles behind Jauss's language requires, and benefits from, an extensive analysis of writers and ideas that preceded him. Said analysis shows that Jauss and his method, like the material they engage, are the product of historical development.

1.2 History of the Method

It is fitting that discussing methods of reception history must begin with an analysis of origins. Further, as this analysis shows, what appear to be "origins" actually build upon preceding ideas and concepts, like the idea of rhizomes by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari.[30] The section begins with the work of Immanuel Kant and continues through twenty-first century scholars to present a focused examination and history of the dissertation's method. Tools of reception and interpretation, like texts themselves, are changed by history, personality, culture, and other ideological influences.

Additional motives lie behind this overview, specifically a reconsideration of what Breed calls a "processional approach."[31] This dissertation benefits from Breed in general approach and methodology, but it is necessary to articulate where, why, and how the dissertation differs from Breed. His critique of reception theory based on Gadamer and Jauss expresses an incongruity between biblical studies and methods employing Gadamer and Jauss:

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[29] Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (trans. Timothy Bahti; Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 22.
[30] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Mille Plateaux* (France: Les Editions de Minuit, 1980).
[31] Breed, "Nomadology of the Bible," 299.

> Gadamer, Jauss, and those who follow in their footsteps think of their multiplicity of viewpoints as complementary viewpoints on a stable object, a finished text. Gadamer's and Jauss's theory seems more appropriate to literature officially published in one form, by unique authors, in the era of machinic reproduction than it does to traditional texts.[32]

Breed's stance of the text as a stable object for Gadamer and Jauss is puzzling. Breed appears to see the "finished text" notion as crucial Gadamer and Jauss's respective philosophies. Examining the roots, cause, and development of both Gadamer and Jauss's thought illuminates different, unfixed, but focused literary theoretical foundations upon which they base their principle arguments. It is clear the philosophers are attempting to reconsider the place of what Kant called "aesthetic judgment" amongst rational scientific methods of measurement. Further, finding a source to their thought shows Gadamer and Jauss to be open conversation partners in the deconstruction of Kantian aesthetic dichotomies.

1.2.1 Immanuel Kant, G.W.F. Hegel, and Martin Heidegger

German philosopher Martin Heidegger is a seminal voice in twentieth-century phenomenology and existentialism, with work grounded in the philosophies of Kant and Hegel. Heidegger's work intersects with reception theory through his engagement of Kant, art, and aesthetics interpretation, which are ideas crucial to this dissertation given that academic discussions of reception theory often engage Heidegger and his work.

Engaging Heidegger and aesthetics are, according to Heidegger, "oxymoronic, a contradiction in terms like the idea of a 'square circle,' 'wooden iron,' or a 'Christian philosopher.'"[33] Contradiction is an ongoing tension for Heidegger's engagement of what he understands as the modern concept of aestheticism. Much of Heidegger's apprehension stems

[32] Breed, "Nomadology of the Bible," 319.
[33] Iain Thomson, *Heidegger, Art, and Postmodernity* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 41.

from the philosophical writings of Kant and Hegel. Heidegger's concept of aesthetics is one part responding to Kant's aesthetic philosophy and another part bearing connection to Hegel's expansion and elaboration of Kantian notions of aesthetic judgment.

Kant's *Critique of Pure Judgment* presents a thorough discussion on aesthetic issues such as perception, taste, and beauty. Kant argues the concept of beauty is the product of imagination, not cognitive thought, and therefore cannot be measured by standards of logic and objective judgment.[34] For Kant, the level of "pleasure" an aesthetic piece impresses upon the receiver determines the amount of "beauty" within said piece.[35] Pleasure here does not mean mere gratification according one's liking; that is too arbitrary for Kant. Kantian pleasure may best be understood as the ways in which something elicits an individual to recall the original sign to which the aesthetic piece points. For example, a painting of a chair yields pleasure and beauty according to the accuracy with which it represents the chair it depicts.

The ability to discern Kantian beauty does not occur naturally; it must be taught, learned, and honed. Time, experience, and practice distancing one's self from subjective ideas of pleasure allow one to form what Kant describes as "a quite separate faculty of discriminating and judging."[36] Kant thereby makes the ability to truly appreciate art, and, in turn, the value of any given aesthetic piece, a scientific commodity.

Kant's "aesthetic judgement" has a four-fold premise. First, aesthetic judgements are "disinterested."[37] Kant deems something "interesting" if it produces interest itself; anything upon which interest is placed he classifies as disinterested. Second, these judgments are "universal."[38]

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[34] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment* (trans. James Meredith; ed. Nicholas Walker; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007), 35.
[35] Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, 35.
[36] Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, 36.
[37] Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, 37.
[38] Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, 42.

Something is universal when its beauty stands independent of an individual's or group's ideals and passions; its beauty can be determined by anyone given proper education and refinement. Third, their "purposiveness" is general.[39] Opaque language of "purposiveness" is a continuation of Kant's idea of universal, in that an object exists not because one passion or a singular want willed it to be; rather, in Kant's words, "we do not locate the causes of this form in a will, but yet are able to render the explanation of its possibility intelligible to ourselves only be deriving it from a will."[40] Fourth, an object may fall under the purview of aesthetic judgement if one can perceive the possibility of a purpose without finding or being able to discern said purpose. These four pieces lead Kant to accept the subjectivity of aesthetics, while arguing communal representations of beauty create the concept of "taste."

Despite these four premises, Kant appears to struggle in his attempt to balance his understanding of objective rationality alongside the perceived realities of subjective aesthetic judgment. He must answer to one's ability to feel or experience something when interacting with an artistic piece, but Kant's ties to Enlightenment ideals of rational and scientific inquiry prevent him from allowing subjectivity within said rationality. The pull toward systemic categorization limits Kant's aesthetic purview to a strict either/or dichotomy, against which later philosophers like Hegel and Heidegger aggressively stand.

In simplest terms, Hegel's basic understanding of aesthetic judgement is akin to Kant's: Hegel sees what he defines as "art" as affecting the individual observing or participating in its presence. The receiver can only respond to art, and, accordingly, art is only capable of eliciting responses; the relationship is rigidly one-way in its information transfer. Hegel discusses beauty and art further in terms of the "Ideal": the thing or concept a creator intends a piece to portray is

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[39] Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, 51.
[40] Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, 52.

this ideal, and the accuracy with which the piece depicts the representation's veracity.[41] Similar to Kant's four-fold premise, Hegel has a three-pronged categorical approach to the dynamic between art and beauty. Hegel argues: "[i]n relation to the beauty of art we have three chief aspects to consider: First, the Ideal as such; secondly, the work of art as the determinateness of the Ideal; thirdly, the creative subjectivity of the artist."[42] The Ideal exists insofar as it is capable of being represented; when an artist creates, the artist works to articulate Platonic form-like notions of this Ideal.

Despite similarities to Kant's system of categorization, Hegel's approach creates a comparative gradation of sorts. The key difference is Hegel's separation between "classical" and "symbolic" art. Classical art is the preferred representation of beauty because it has an inward beauty, or "beauty of deep feeling."[43] Conversely, non-classical art, which Hegel labels as "symbolic," does not represent the same level of beauty as its classical counterpart due to heightened influence from the artist's subjective creativity. Hegel describes this symbolic art as *Vorkunst*, "Prior Art."[44] He uses his concept of *Vorkunst* to describe Hindu and Egyptian representations of the divine, which he considers to be deficient on the basis of the artists allowing excessive cultural influence. Hegel is clearly working through a heavily theological lens, but in so doing he delineates his understanding of certain representations of anything, including divine figures, to be superior when compared to others through a Christian perspective.[45]

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[41] G.W.F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, vol. 1 (trans. T.M. Knox; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 153.
[42] Hegel, *Aesthetics* vol. 1, 153.
[43] Hegel, *Aesthetics* vol. 1, 531. This "beauty of deep feeling" a representation based on a style contemporary critics would label as realism; the closer a painting or representation looks to what is now known as photo-realistic, the more powerful it is in terms of presenting beauty.
[44] G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophie der Kunst oder Ästhetik. Nach Hegel. Im Sommer 1826. Mitschrift Friedrich Carl Hermann Victor von Kehler* (eds. A. Gethmann-Siefert and B. Collenberg-Plotnikov; Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2004), 73.
[45] Hegel, *Philosophie der Kunst oder Ästhetik*, 80-86.

Hegel attributes differences in representations of beauty and subsequent deficiencies or superiorities according to the subjectivity of the artist. In short, human progression and development, in a thoroughly modern sense, is an unwavering facet of Hegel's evolutionary understanding of art and what it can be judged as representing. Yet in reading Hegel's work, one sees his approach as more reactionary than proactive: much to Hegel's dismay, humans are moving past art as expressions of truth toward a focus and an affirmation of the abstract.[46] Art, as Hegel understands it, is shifting from a proud and noble medium of expression into a diluted and shallow form of expressing personal vanity. It is from this frustration and perceived lack of refinement that Hegel builds his aesthetic worldview.

Working from a foundation grounded in the work of Kant and Hegel, Heidegger views their ontological limitations of art as inherently problematic and rejects aesthetic paradigms constructed according the philosophers' respective positions. According to Heidegger, Kant uses a four-fold approach to aesthetic judgment to support his perception of God. Iain Thomson summarizes and articulates Heidegger's apprehensions well, noting that the problem with ontological arguments for both aesthetics and the divine is "that it reflects and reinforces a phenomenologically misguided and historically disastrous approach to thinking about humanity's relation to 'the divine.'"[47] Heidegger argues this desired theological end affects Kant's thought and motivation, causing Kant to backtrack into a starting position designed to elevate particular theological notions. Heidegger sees Kant as disinterested in the production and reception of aesthetic expression based on aesthetic expression being less important than work devoted toward illuminating absolute truth through scientific objectivity. For Heidegger, the

[46] Hegel, *Aesthetics* vol. 1, 153. Hegel goes as far as to lament his current state of art, saying that despite once being, "considered in its highest vocation, is and remains for us a thing of the past."
[47] Thomson, *Heidegger, Art, and Postmodernity*, 35.

bounds of scientific objectivity should be broken and replaced with a more acute appreciation for both aesthetic representations and the world producing them.

Heidegger indeed works to replace Kant's limitations with his opposition to Kantian aesthetic disinterest; he writes:

> …innumerable aesthetic considerations of any investigations into art and the beautiful have achieved nothing, they have not helped anyone gain access to art, and they have contributed virtually nothing to artistic creativity or to a sound appreciation of art.[48]

The source of Heidegger's disdain lies in the object/subject, either/or dichotomy that defines Kant, modernity, and a subsequently polarized philosophical worldview. Heidegger's central claim is that art and artistic expression cannot be judged per rules and precepts of morality, law, and scientific analysis; instead, art is an object that requires a subject.[49] The subject determines the meaning of said object and, according to Heidegger, the subject brings previous life experiences into the interaction between the object and subject.

Interaction between object and subject brings to bare Heidegger's opposition to Hegel. As stated above, Hegel uses a Kantian-style paradigm to judge art and determine its value according to the ways in which it represents what Hegel calls "truth." Heidegger's opposition to Hegel resembles his aversion to Kant: Hegel operates with Platonic-form ideals oriented toward buttressing his theological convictions. Thus, Heidegger sees both Kant's and Hegel's ontologies as flawed; Hegel's end goal of elevating the divine skews his method of aesthetic engagement.

Heidegger uses his criticisms of Kant and Hegel to create his own aesthetic approach with a straightforward but compelling tenet:

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[48] Martin Heidegger, *Gesamtausgabe: Nietzsche: Der Wille zue Macht als Kunst* (ed. B. Heimbüchel; Frankfurt, Germany: V. Klostermann, 1985), 92.
[49] Thomson, *Heidegger, Art, and Postmodernity*, 49.

> [I]n the basic aesthetic approach to art, art objects are implicitly understood as meaningful expressions of artists' lives that are capable of eliciting particularly intense or meaningful experience in viewing subjects.[50]

Here Heidegger returns to his differentiation between object and subject, arguing that while art is indeed an object that may be viewed or perceived, it is also a subject properly understood because it is an artist's expression and interpretation of their surroundings or a particular event. This is not to say that truth does not lie somewhere in the artistic piece or in the artist's efforts; rather, for Heidegger, "Da Wahrheit ein Wesencharakter der Erkenntnis ist" (truth is the knowledge of being).[51] In short, to "be" is to be true; the lived experiences people bring to what Kant's aesthetic judgement are representations of what this to "be" means, and therefore represent truth according to Heidegger's parameters.

Heideggerian notions of truth are not measured through modernity's scientific methods. Truth lies in what the artist presents and in what those perceiving the artist's work bring to their perception and reception. Heidegger does not reject subject/object relations altogether; rather, he presents an existence in which the self and the world are unified and inseparable.[52] From this perspective, a person does not merely observe an artistic representation, nor does art exist solely for observation. Only through accepting each element's full participation in reality can an individual perceive intersections of subject and object.

Most important to this dissertation is Heidegger's use of *Horizontes*, translated as "horizon."[53] Heidegger constructs his horizon concept from the Greek ὁρίζειν, meaning "fix" or

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[50] Thomson, *Heidegger, Art, and Postmodernity*, 50-51.
[51] Martin Heidegger, *Gesamtausgabe: Holzwege* (ed. F.W. von Herrmann; Frankfurt, Germany: V. Klostermann, 1977), 69.
[52] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* (trans. J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson; New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1962), 245-250.
[53] Heidegger is not the first to use "horizon" in a phenomenological sense. Edmund Husserl, Heidegger's teacher and mentor, discusses the concept in detail throughout his work; it is from Husserl's foundational notion of what a horizon is and/or could be that Heidegger constructs his *horizontes*. For an overview of Husserl's notion of horizon,

"determine" in spatial relationships.[54] Further, he is careful to avoid potentially pejorative language, like horizons as limitations or restrictions as he uses boundary and border without negativity. Heideggerian horizons communicate an idea of what a person knows, has experienced, or has learned. Acceptance and acknowledgment of one's horizons is an active experience, or as Heidegger describes it, a "coming-to-oneself" (*Jemeinigkeit*)[55]

The exchange of information between horizons is not linear, nor is it determined by what Heidegger calls, "a momentary present."[56] Information flows between both sides in an exchange that varies according to particulars like time, place, and personal history. This exchange of information is Heidegger's call for a reconsideration of temporality, saying no experience becomes an event in the past; rather, "what-has-been" becomes a continual "having-been" or "is-being."[57] So-called passed or past events are never complete; the future, or "coming-towards," "stretches out immediately, constantly, and primarily into the having been."[58]

Heidegger's work thereby creates space for subjectivity for both artist and receiver. Heideggerian aesthetics acknowledge the role and influence of ideological factors on the artist, the representation, the interpreter, and any subsequent interpretation. Heidegger renders aesthetics as incompatible with strict rational Kantian or Hegelian judgements; instead, their truth is liberated as it materializes in the exchange of information that allows for interpretation and reception. Other scholars following Heidegger build upon this foundational reconsideration

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see pages 227-265 in David Smith and Ronald McIntyre, *Husserl and Intentionality* (Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1982).

[54] See the *BDAG* entry for ὁρίζω, the root word from which ὁρίζειν is derived. Heidegger refers to the relationship between his *horizontes* and the Greek original in *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Logik im Ausgang von Leibniz* (ed. K. Held; Germany: Vittorio Klostermann, 1978), 269.

[55] Martin Heidegger, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Logic* (trans. Michael Heim; Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1978), 206.

[56] Heidegger, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Logic*, 206.

[57] Heidegger, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Logic*, 206.

[58] Heidegger, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Logic*, 207.

of aesthetic truth to engage truth in general, offering further clarity about the scholars upon which Gadamer and Jauss build.

1.2.2 Hans-Georg Gadamer

Gadamer's most important and thorough treatment of what he hesitates to call "aesthetics" is *Truth and Method*. Building upon his teacher's theoretical framework, Gadamer engages tensions laid bare by Kant's distinction between aesthetics and rational judgment. Rejecting Kant's differentiation between objective and subjective reality, Gadamer sees the entirety of existence as bearing artistic qualities, and the way to understand said qualities is through what he calls a "fusion of horizons" (*Horizonverschmeltzung*)."[59]

Gadamer parlays terminology from preceding concepts of "horizon" by supplementing extant concepts as he attempts to "fuse" extant horizons together. Fusing horizons is, according to Gadamer, the proper way to recognize art's potential to challenge beliefs and rework human perspective. Herein art gains a particular level of ethical significance as it is able to reveal limitations of cultural expectancy and change what viewers perceive as deviant or different into normal or acceptable. To fully understand this fusion of horizons principle, one must consider the particulars of Gadamer's definition of truth alongside his progression toward fusing horizons, its definition, and its consequences for perception and reality.

A problematic, and possibly curbed, element of *Truth and Method* is Gadamer's definition of truth. Gadamer makes the concept of truth essential to his argument, but a facile reading seems to show that he fails to provide a satisfying, definite, and workable definition. Yet the brilliance of Gadamer's work shines through as he defines truth throughout *Truth and*

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[59] H.R. Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald Marshall; London: The Continuum Publishing Group, 2004), 304.

Method with subtle indirection, acting as a reflection of Gadamer's notions with the very idea of "truth" as a philosophical concept. As is discussed below, Gadamer is critical of Kant's dissection of objective and subjective truth. Gadamer reads Kant as diluting the value of art through the construction and implementation of subjective tools and measurements.

Gadamer opposes this dilution through an ontological reassessment of art, that, in turn, reconsiders the Kantian definition of art. Gadamer reads Kant as arguing that the determining factor of art's worth is the accuracy with which art represents the object it depicts.[60] Flipping this Kantian ideal on itself, Gadamer argues art is its own standpoint and therefore "establishes its own autonomous claim to supremacy."[61] However, art does not diverge from the non-dichotomized reality that spurred it into creation; it is highly dependent just as it is profoundly unique. Gadamer sees all parts of this artistic existence as truth, thereby making any representation of existence is truth.

Believing all existence is truth changes interpreting and understanding aesthetic representations: uncovering the truth becomes analyzing contextual and situational interpretations. Thus, hermeneutics to Gadamer resemble impressions more than "discoveries." A piece's interpretive history itself affects and is an effect of history.[62] A myopic approach to Gadamer's argument may only weaken the crux of his presentation because when read in light of the above comparison between Kant, Hegel, and Heidegger, it seems Gadamer's work is merely a consolidation of extant arguments. However, close examination reveals that Gadamer's *Wirkungsgeschichte* is an attempt at a consummate articulation of that which precedes him.[63]

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[60] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 71.
[61] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 71.
[62] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 298.
[63] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 299. There is not the space here, nor is it the purpose of this dissertation, to dissect Gadamer's position in detail. However, it is the purpose of this dissertation to present a particular character from a specific biblical text as the product and continual reproduction of something through what Gadamer calls

Gadamer moves his investigation from the matter of truth by encountering then critiquing more of Kant's central tenets. He takes issue with the dichotomy between representations of reality and what Kant says that art represents, as Gadamer reads Kant's distinction as opaque and one that becomes more problematic in implementation. Gadamer also resists Kant's labeling art as a subjective pleasure, calling it a "particularly dangerous doctrine for the understanding of art" on the basis of Kant's doctrine depending on the oblique concept of "dependent beauty."[64] Beauty, therefore, depends on what one is taught beauty is; according to Kant, the feeling art creates is only pertinent to the depiction of reality if said work of art aligns with prescribed parameters determining beauty, worth, and accuracy of representation.

Though Gadamer withholds accusative judgment, he continually calls into question the assumed neutrality Kant brings to involvement with art. For Gadamer, the foundation of interacting with aesthetic pieces presupposes an intimate consciousness of experience, entrenching artistic subject matter within anything but disinterested detachment. Art necessitates the use of one's whole person, the totality of experiences, which Gadamer refers to as *Bildung*. Gadamer defines *Bildung* as the "concept of self-formation, education, or cultivation," which he uses in reference to formation of knowledge through lived understanding.[65] *Bildung* is neither fully active nor passive; one may choose what to focus on in terms recalling experiences during aesthetic assessment, but the ongoing *Bildung* construction orients and grounds artistic judgement. *Bildung* contributes to the creation of understanding without differentiating between that which is "found" in a painting and something created or placed upon a given artistic work.[66]

Wirkungsgeschichte. It is also a secondary hope that one can see the irony in indicating Gadamer's concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte* is, itself, a *Wirkungsgeschichte.*

[64] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 38.

[65] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 8.

[66] Gadamer also goes into great detail as his criticizes Kant and others like him for downgrading *Bildung*, taste, *sensus communis*, and judgment to subjective, and therefore lesser, assessment tools.

Gadamer's critics decry his principle combination of *Bildung* with *Wirkungsgeschichte*, arguing the move favors whatever the viewer chooses and dismisses the *Urbild*, or "original image," as the proper metric against which representations are measured. They believe Gadamer's approach allows constructed interpretations to jeopardize the very thing the author or painter sought to represent. Yet Gadamer argues that "it is only through the picture (*Bild*) that the original (*Urbild*) becomes the original; it is only by being pictured that a landscape becomes picturesque."[67] For in the act of representation the author places their modified and constructed *Bildung* of the *Urbild* in form, as "the original acquires an image only by being imaged" meaning "the image is nothing but the appearance of the original."[68] In short, creating a representation is itself an interpretation; thus, to interact with art or written work is to interpret an extant interpretation.

Gadamer uses the interplay between creation and representation to offer a theological example:

> For it is really true that the divine becomes picturable only through the word and image…[t]hus the religious picture has an exemplary significance. In it we can see without any doubt that a picture is not a copy of a copied being but is in ontological communion with what is copied.[69]

Nuancing this example transitions into a core issue that accompanies interpreting written texts: how might one consider or assess an object that lacks an original, or with the case of biblical texts, in which the concept of an original is itself a construction? For just as representations of the divine come from the creating artist's mind, so too does the subject of written word originate in transient ephemeral thought. Complexity increases as one considers the actualization of

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[67] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 136.
[68] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 137.
[69] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 137.

written thought, because according to Gadamer, something written can only come into being through the act of reception: "language is what makes the contents meaningful."[70]

Language creates more complexity, as it depends on interpretation for actualization.[71] Complexities accompanying language and written representation prompt Gadamer to engage an additional ontological issue integral to hermeneutical understanding: the difference between mimetic and non-mimetic representation. Gadamer understands mimetic representation as representation through imitation: an artistic depiction is, in some capacity, a copy, however interpretive, of a precursor. Writing deviates from strictly mimetic representation because writing, like the performing arts, "brings into existence" what the representation itself requires.[72] Thus, writing is non-mimetic in that it creates rather than replicates; it presents reality rather than merely representing it.

These presentations of reality create streams of thought, establishing free transfer of information between the interpreter and that which is interpreted. This exchange adds layers of meaning to the interpretative act as it simultaneously engages synchronic and diachronic receptions. Here Gadamer addresses both diachronic and synchronic interpretations without prioritizing one over the other, making the two work in parallel articulation. He thinks of diachrony as an uninterrupted continuum extending from composition into reception, situated within continually expanding horizons of both the interpreted piece and interpreter. Synchrony

[70] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 156.
[71] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 156. Understanding writing requires a set of skills that themselves are meant for interpretative implementation. For example, knowing how to define the term "metaphor" and knowing how to find a metaphor does not mean said metaphor is understood or interpreted. Further, an author's use of a figure of speech does not guarantee the author's message will be properly conveyed; quite the opposite is true. Figures of speech like similes and metaphors create spaces for layers of interpretation of a specific element, much less the composition in its entirety.
[72] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 116.

thereby becomes an articulation at a specific point during the interpretation occurring within the respective diachronic movements of all parties involved.

Gadamer concludes that a radical holistic reconsideration of hermeneutics is necessary. Dividing the hermeneutic exercise into fractured parts separates pieces from the whole, rendering what Gadamer sees as unity becoming discord.[73] Further, Gadamer argues, "distinction between cognitive, normative, and reproductive interpretation has no fundamental validity, but all three constitute one unitary phenomenon."[74] This unitary phenomenon results in "the miracle of understanding," allowing interpreters "the ability to open ourselves to the superior claim the text makes and to respond to what it has to tell us."[75]

This ability leads to ethical and theological imperatives as the ongoing miracle of understanding prompts moral reflection, thereby giving this set of hermeneutical principles what Gadamer describes as "a moral relevance."[76] Yet here the true shortcomings of Gadamer's propositions come to light: he reserves attribution of moral and ethical implications to theological and legal texts, treating them as absolute representations of unwavering truths. His theological and legalistic beliefs limit and seem to contradict his thorough ontological argument for writing as presentation rather than representation. He shifts from arguing that art does not require an identifiable *Urbild* to arguing that the proper reading of theological and legal compositions necessitates an awareness of an unknown, and arguably unknowable, original is peculiar. Despite this criticism, it is clear that interpreters, biblical scholars and theologians in

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[73] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 306. He argues, "Hermeneutics was subdivided as follows: there was a distinction between *subtilitas intelligendi* (understanding) and *subtilitas explicandi* (interpretation); and pietism added a third element, *subtilitas applicandi* (application)."
[74] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 309.
[75] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 309 and 310.
[76] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 311.

particular, can use Gadamer's idealistic *Urbild* principle for sacred writings to buttress distinct hermeneutical orientations.

Evangelical Christian scholars embrace Gadamer's method as a means to wrest biblical interpretive authority away from Enlightenment hermetical concepts of objective investigative reasoning. Some evangelical scholars openly praise Gadamer, saying the identification of personal prejudice alongside the importance of history Gadamer places upon hermeneutics allows the reader, "to open himself up to the text and submit to its authority, lest the Bible be reduced to a relic of the past that cannot speak to its interpreters."[77]

This evangelical articulation exemplifies an unshakeable problematic to Gadamer's work: the concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte* creates space to acknowledge that a written composition is itself a product of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, meaning that to "submit to the superior knowledge of the text" assumes a certain neutrality from both the writing and the interpreter. Based solely upon Gadamer's ontological justification for artistic judgement, this notion of citing one's prejudices and experiences in order to avoid outside influence on what a text "means" becomes more suspect. Despite Gadamer's apparent inconsistencies, his principle approach to unified hermeneutics warrants consideration, and one may consult other literary critics to expand and supplement certain pieces of Gadamer's thought.

1.2.3 Erich Auerbach

Though it seems a rather facile observation, the subtitle of Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis* illuminates the book's focus: *The Representation of Reality in Western Literature.* Auerbach's argument is simple but profound in its implications: eighteenth and nineteenth century Western

[77] Russell Meek, "Hans-Georg Gadamer: His Philosophical Hermeneutics and Its Importance for Evangelical Biblical Hermeneutics," *Eleutheria* 1.2 (2011): 99.

notions of interpretation and meaning define the paradigms through which Auerbach's contemporaries interpret texts and construct meaning. Like Heidegger's critiques of Kant, Auerbach describes this Westernized interpretive schema as a highly limiting "modern realism."[78] Modern realism is, for Auerbach, the conscious penchant to read texts in a uniform manner according to one model. For example, Auerbach addresses a hermeneutical bent he observes between the Old Testament and Homeric writings, saying interpreters sought "to represent Biblical events as ordinary phenomena of contemporary life" through interpretative methods formed with such an end goal in mind.[79] These same modern rationalists depreciate Homeric writings as shallow tales and stories, devoid of discernible human truth and utilization. Said depreciation of Homeric writing reads the Old Testament as describing true reality, while the works of Homer become products of a particular literary world with little connection to lived human experience.

By addressing the rationalistic hierarchy binding Homer's writings beneath the Old Testament, Auerbach unveils a stark differentiation between understanding the realities in these written texts. Auerbach argues western scholars read Homer as presenting a narrated and non-binding reality; through a constructed rationalist lens, Homer's works seek to court, flatter, please, and enchant readers.[80] Conversely, a similar scholarly contingent interprets the Old Testament as espousing doctrinal regulations meant to placate readers, making the Hebrew

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[78] See pages 559-574 in the fiftieth-anniversary edition of Auerbach's *Mimesis* for an epilogue Auerbach penned six years after the publication's initial release. Though Auerbach uses the phrase "modern realism" and considers ideas pursuant to terminology throughout *Mimesis*, the epilogue presents Auerbach's genuine and honest interactions and reflection on his method and overall approach to literature as presented in *Mimesis*.
[79] Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (trans. Willard Trask; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 15.
[80] Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 14-15.

Scriptures carry two meanings: one presented on the page, and another, concealed and mysterious, demanding "subtle investigation and interpretation."[81]

Auerbach's bold assertion of constructed scriptural authority expands as he describes the Old Testament's history being interpreted as "universal," requiring the interpreter to investigate "beyond the original Jewish-Israelite realm of reality" into the histories of Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and Rome.[82] Further, Auerbach notes the widespread acceptance of the canonical arrangement of Old Testament books as authoritative and definite, presenting the literary order as the chronological history that, "begins with the beginning of time, continues with the creation of the world, and will end with the Last days, the fulfilling of the Covenant, with which the world will come to an end."[83] Through this lens, the Old Testament becomes a timeless representation of reality meant to reflect the unvarying axioms of proper moral living, but Homer's writings are determined in their applicability within a certain place and time.

Differences Auerbach discerns between Homer and the Old Testament prompt him to employ a particular nomenclature when discussing said dissimilarities, saying biblical texts are "fraught with background."[84] Auerbach uses this phrasing to describe the relationship between assumed content of biblical texts and, in turn, subsequent interpretations. The opening chapter of *Mimesis*, "Odysseus' Scar," is a detailed comparative examination of Homer's *Odyssey* alongside excerpts from Genesis, which Auerbach undertakes to define "fraught with background" through an example study. The argument hinges upon what he reads as Homer's detailed writing and the Old Testament's sparse style. In short, Homer seeks to make meaning clear, so he constructs a narrative "clearly circumscribed and delicately differentiated in

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[81] Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 15.
[82] Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 16.
[83] Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 16.
[84] Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 11-12.

meaning."[85] According to Auerbach, in contrast to Homer, the Hebrew Bible is sparse and filled with narrative gaps. Auerbach argues these gaps have histories that the reader can (and likely would) complete based on the reader's knowledge of the context surrounding and producing the biblical text. The writer assumes the reader has this knowledge and thus withholds certain details as a matter of literary expediency, to move the account along to reach its conclusion.

Robert Alter understands Auerbach's method and fraught with background approach as overly simplistic, saying Auerbach's principle "is the result of penetrating critical institution unsupported by any real method for dealing with the specific characteristics of biblical literary forms."[86] Alter's reservations are compelling, but Auerbach addresses this issue of what one may call "shallow reading" directly, saying the divine and human figures "in the Biblical stories have greater depths of time, fate, and consciousness than do the human beings in Homer."[87]

Reading literary gaps as holes waiting to be filled adds to the discussion of reception and affect history in a simple but profound manner: the texts themselves carry as much history in their reproductions as do the interpretations. Many scholars embrace Auerbach's personal disorientation with enthusiasm, hungry to resolve welcomed tensions accompanying a sociological re-centering that destabilizes the essentialist nature of Westernized historical-critical methodologies. Though Auerbach supports reading against singular meanings, he argues that possible atomization of texts without attempting to reconstruct possible meanings leaves literature meaningless and bare.

Auerbach allows writing to become the product of many worlds, something produced alongside history rather than beyond it. What Auerbach calls "suggestive influence of the

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[85] Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 6.
[86] Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2011), 22.
[87] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 12.

unexpressed" creates potential for multiple meanings and compels "the need for interpretation" on the grounds of expressing universal-historical claims.[88] Further, Auerbach's direct engagement of "fraught with background" implications idea provides groundwork for comprehending ties between Heidegger, biblical studies, and the works of Gadamer and Jauss.

1.2.4 H.R. Jauss

The writings of H.R. Jauss are dense and complicated. Jauss, like those preceding him, is similar in thought and objective to both his and Auerbach's teacher: Gadamer. Like Auerbach, Jauss questions surrounding the ways in which individuals interact with, and subsequently interpret, aesthetic concepts. His primary concern is writing, and specifically how writing is simultaneously the product of producers and receivers.

Jauss proposes seven theses upon which to ground his revised methodological approach to literary history. He first upholds Gadamer's rejection of historical objectivism, saying "the history of literature rests not on an organization of 'literary facts' that is established *post festum*, but rather on the preceding experience of the literary work by its readers."[89] Thesis two is the repudiation of psychological interference with interpretation through extant expectations accompanying the work itself and its genre according to themes and forms of similar compositions.[90] Jauss's third thesis changes Gadamer's fixed horizon of expectation into a continually developing and never complete collection of many horizons and multiple expectations.[91]

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[88] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 23.
[89] Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 20.
[90] Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 22.
[91] Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 25-28.

Thesis four seeks to reconstruct questions that any given text and its reception are answers to; it spurs persons toward considering differences between preceding and current understandings and interpretations.[92] Thesis five takes the exercise from thesis four to recognize the existence of a "literary series," perhaps best understood as a stream of reception.[93] This fifth thesis is Jauss's acknowledgment that both a text and its respective interpretations are products of ongoing historically affected processes. Exercising a particular awareness, Jauss uses thesis six to develop an approach to recognizing that importance of "epoch-making moments" within processes extant in theses four and five.[94]

Jauss's seventh and final thesis steps beyond the neutral language of the previous six, arguing the task of a focused literary history is complete when it is a special history "in its own unique relationship" to the broader and unrestricted scope of general history.[95] These seven-parts merge diachronic reception with synchronic interpretation by removing the two labels as the definitive delineation boundaries for literary criticism. Doing so negates feigned neutrality that readers attach to texts during the act of interpretation; space remains for examining the social and ethical impact a reading may have, thereby allowing a work to exist in and beyond history as it "enters into the horizon of historical influence."[96]

Connections between manufactured morality, literary reception, and social influence mark what may be Jauss's most significant contribution to studying literary history: he differenciates between constructed history and unbiased recapping of events as they unfold.[97] Studying histories that produce literature and art is no longer a secondary venture overshadowed

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[92] Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 28-32.
[93] Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 32-36.
[94] Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 36.
[95] Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 39.
[96] Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 42.
[97] Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, 42-45.

by the judgment of an aesthetic work based on Enlightenment ideals of scientific investigative neutrality. Histories are now paramount to understanding the reception of an extant piece and in viewing the piece itself as the product of reception.

Historical expectations behind the composition, within the receiver, from the producer, and among their respective contexts fuse at the horizons of reception. Jauss argues for this historical consideration while also intimating that the tools a reader brings to the interpretive act are socially and culturally conditioned.[98] The object being studied is not neutral nor is the environment producing it, and neither is the context bringing the interpreter to the work. The relationship between the author, work, and readers "is no passive part, no chain of mere reactions but even history-making energy."[99]

1.3 Beyond Jauss: Sociology of Literature

Post-Enlightenment relations of literature, interpretation, and history continue after Jauss. However, outside of criticism and critique, few theorists and scholars accord the necessary attribution to the progression and development of principles that become labeled "postmodern" criticism. Nonetheless, contemporary reception practices build upon the foundation of

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[98] Jauss makes his stance far more aggressive on this matter in *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*. He uses himself as the example criticizes, saying, "The studies in the field of aesthetic experience presented in this book have their unavoidable limitations in the competence of the literary scholar. Even when they include testimonials from the history of the other arts and make use of findings in the history of philosophy and of ideas, they do not disavow the fact that the author acquired his experience principally in studies of medieval and modern French and German literature and formed his hermeneutic reflection in the praxis of literary interpretation. But the conjunction of "aesthetic experience" and "literary hermeneutics" in the title also means to signal his conviction that experience in the commerce with art is no privilege of a specialized discipline and that reflection on the conditions of such experience is not the esoteric concern of philosophical or theological hermeneutics, which may perhaps make dispensable the customary apology for dilettantism where unavoidable incursions into other fields occurred." For the entirety of Jauss' discussion, see *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics* (trans. Michael Shaw; Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), xviv.

[99] H.R. Jauss and Elizabeth Benzinger, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," *New Literary History* 2.1 (1970): 8.

Heidegger, Gadamer, Auerbach, and Jauss as they investigate the role of each piece working to create the moment of intersection between reader and that which is read.

Peter Uwe Hohendahl offers as assessment of reception aesthetics in the late 1970s and denounces what he labels as "historicism" in its failure to respond to reconsiderations of aesthetic principles. Framing his criticisms through the lenses of Gadamer and Jauss, Hohendahl regards the reversion back to separating objective and subjective representations as a retrenchment of Kantian aesthetic bifurcation. Honhendahl is especially critical of viewing the literary object as unchanging, thereby separating it from "the variety of concretizations related to these objects," such as articles, essays, discussion, and attempts at interpretation.[100]

Conflict also arises when engaging the related concepts of authorial intent and the intended reader. Jean-Paul Sartre and similarly, the later efforts of Robert Escarpit¸ side-steps fully rejecting authorial intent and the intended reader to say that just as authorial intent may be impossible to recover, so too may the intended reader not represent the larger public of their time.[101] For example, historical reconstructions made possible through extant evidence can and often only represent highly generalized and/or specified segments of a much larger population.

The weakness of considering scripture through an Escarpit-type lens is one intrinsic to any anonymous text: we cannot contemplate the author's impact on literature alongside an actualized text and its hypothetical audiences because scriptural authors are unknown. Scholars asserting knowledge of authorial identity base their claims on "authors" constructed from a given extent text, thereby limiting the understanding of the history around and within a composition.

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[100] Peter Uwe Hohendahl, "Introduction to Aesthetics," *New German Critique* 10 (Winter 1977): 34-35.
[101] See Robert Escarpit, *Das Buch und der Leser: Entwurf einer Literatursoziologie* (Köln & Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1962) and Jean Paul Sartre, *What is Literature?* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 1965).

Further, the development of contemporary fiction spurred reconsidering the reader's role in interpretation:

> When the author removes the formerly guaranteed message from the novel and compels the reader first and foremost to construct the meaning of the content, then the author-reader relationship and the relationship between the narrator's role and the reader's role in the text become problematic.[102]

Scholars divided over indeterminacy of gaps in written texts must now grapple with disparity and difference in a given reader's horizon of expectation. Reception is no longer a one-dimensional process based solely on feedback; it is an entirely different and unique creative process.

Wolfgang Iser posits a similar position, arguing that the creation and superimposition of new meaning requires displacing and redirecting accustomed expectations of meaning. Iser describes the interactions as "partial negations" designed to "bring to the fore problematical aspects" of previous understandings while pointing "the way to the reassessment of the norms."[103] A potential short-coming or criticism of Iser's argument spins this displacement notion in the direction of trimming one's perceptions into an idealized Platonic understanding of finding or discerning what a text "means." Iser wisely addresses the potential of misconstruing his argument as a reconfiguration of nineteenth-century Kantian-style Platonic aesthetics early in *The Act of Reading*, saying a "Platonic mirror image of text and reader will not suffice to explain the effects caused and the responses elicited by literary works."[104] Reading and interpreting yields more than a reader finding part of themselves or the author in the response and interpretation does not uncover something to be found; rather, it creates something to be

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[102] Hohendahl, "Introduction to Aesthetics," 37. Though this is a direct quote from Hohendahl, he withholds claiming this observation as his own. The full statement is in this section because Hohendahl articulates the issue so well that it is of the opinion of this author that the idea and the point it seeks to achieve requires no additional nuancing.
[103] Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 139.
[104] Iser, *The Act of Reading*, 30.

understood as the reader resolves tensions arising from the intersection of expectations between the writer, the text, and the critic.

Mediation between written text, reader, and interpretation is the defining intersection at the crisis of literary history as the nature of history itself changes. The task of writing history is now an exercise in resolving tensions between past and present, creating a unity not unlike Jauss' balanced "history-making energy."[105] Gustave Lanson takes interaction between literature and history further, saying that art, no matter the form, can intervene "actively in the social structure" to elicit "reactions which can change the social system."[106] Here a relationship is illuminated, one working in two directions: cultural and social systems are capable of producing and affecting literature, granting it the capacity to produce and affect cultural and social systems. Thus, literature moves from a relationship based simply on text-reader and vice-versa into a dynamic process between history, author, reader, and text, working simultaneously.

As with most acts or events labelled as liberating, critics of literary history, and history itself, denounce the relational ongoing dynamic process to argue that this resolution furthers anxiety through baseless and endless subjectivity. Israel Scheffler is highly critical and labels dynamic process thought as anti-foundationalism, saying without determinate facts and independent rationality:

> controls are no more, communication has failed, the common universe of things is a delusion…in place of a community of rational men following objective procedures in the pursuit of truth, we have a set of isolated methods, within each of which belief forms without systematic constraints.[107]

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[105] Jauss, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," 8.
[106] Gustave Lanson, "L'histoire litteraire et la sociologie," *Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale*, 12 (1904), 621-642.
[107] Israel Scheffler, *Science and Subjectivity* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), 19.

Stanley Fish attends to Scheffler's concerns but argues Scheffler and other foundationalists misread "anti-foundationalism at one of its most crucial points, the insistence of situatedness."[108] What Fisher calls "situatedness" is his resolution to hermeneutical anxiety through contextualizing meaning within interpretative communities. Thus, texts and interpretations indeed have foundations, but instead of one arbitrarily assigned according to Kantian aesthetic ideals, Fish and others achieve understanding through the fusion of historical, authorial, and personal expectations.

The work of Edward Said aligns with, while also contrasting against, Fish's empathizing.[109] Said is highly critical of traditional, status quo interactions with literature and art, calling it ironic that in the name of "historical research and traditional humanism" many "literature departments in the university today are constructed almost entirely out of monuments, canonized into rigid dynastic formation, serviced and reserviced monotonously by a shrinking guild of humble servitors."[110] Accepting the progression from Platonic aesthetic ideals to hermeneutics as an on-going and dynamic process is only one element vital to resolving the crisis of literary history. According to Said, "the cult of expertise and professionalism" remains unchanged and unassailed, thereby perpetuating the very ontological structures and interpretive barriers the work of Gadamer and Jauss sought to dismantle.[111] Preservation of academic authority alienates persons deemed as outsiders, thereby entrenching the work of hermeneutics into particular apolitical traditions.[112]

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[108] Stanley Fish, *Doing What Comes Natural: Change, Rhetoric, and the Practice of Theory in Literary and Legal Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989), 345.
[109] It should be noted Fish only agrees in part with Said, saying he shares Said's "distress" in response to the marginal status of humanities as an academic discipline. Fish balks at Said's solution of breaking or moving from the confines of institutional study. The resolution, Fish argues, is spurring professional literary study to follow the path anti-foundationalist present as a means to keep the discipline viable and acute in its acumen.
[110] Edward Said, "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies, and Community¸" *Critical Inquiry* (September 1982), 17.
[111] Said, "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies, and Community¸" 2.
[112] Fish, *Doing What Comes Natural*, 210.

This type of reception history is, in short, an ongoing and quite contentious process. Despite variations in how readers consider the work of hermeneutical understanding, one can perceive a sense of widespread methodological and principle reconsideration. Though some scholars openly oppose the processes and conclusions Gadamer and Jauss allow, many see the function of relating specific cultural contexts, phenomenological horizons, and structures of disciplinary knowledge alongside extant disciplinary knowledge. Any work of interpretation presented as existing in a vacuum is vulnerable to immediate scorn and reproach; grounding said work in the histories surrounding and creating it grants much needed ontological validity.

1.4 Sociology of Literature Theory and Scripture: A Method That is Not

Despite the connections one can make between reception theory and the crisis of literary history scripture, working with ancient texts offers its own set of unique, and verily problematic, circumstances. At the onset of working with scripture, two issues confront the aware biblical scholar: first, the problems tied with investigating and critically considering a text we were never meant to see; second, in the manner which we should consider audiences and the assumption of proliferation. To articulate this tension well, one must move beyond scripture and sacred writings to consider existential questions pertinent to this study: by reading something far beyond its inception, are we accessing something never intended for us? Further, are readers engaging something we should not on the basis of limited of historical horizons?

Answering questions about the place of scripture in current academic study requires significant consideration, but from a cultural perspective the answer is forced by virtue of ongoing biblical receptions. Biblical texts are, for better or worse, read and discussed with great proliferation. Scholars acknowledge these texts as having significant distance, of both time and

material location, from current temporal and physical restrictions; scripture, however, nonetheless maintains persistent cultural relevance. Support for this claim lies in the expanding array of ecclesial options touting "correct" and "proper" biblical interpretation as an impetus for existence, or among bookstores with wide varieties of bibles, biblical interpretation tools, and heavily fictionalized receptions presented as "based" on biblical foundations. In short, people remain vigilant in reorienting the bible, including but not limited to Daniel, to accommodate contemporary issues, places, and persons.

Thus, scholarship around biblical reception is not merely an examination of bygone eras or vestiges of long-dead practices. Instead, it is an active, on-going investigation of dynamic process of expectations intersecting, comingling, or falling out of favor. In light of reception as continuing action, the preceding analysis reaches a potentially dissatisfying conclusion: the research fails to yield a particularly remarkable methodology. Engaging discussion in the way, or "method," through which this dissertation operates contradicts itself.

On the one hand, the work unfolding throughout this dissertation has interpretative goals in mind. On the other, the means of reading employed here resists being called a method, for to read with a method of interpretation counters the project's very nature. Robert Evans articulates this antithetical situation well, saying, "*Wirkungsgeschichte* in Gadamer is not a history, nor a method, nor a type of reception, but a principle."[113] Simple as it may sound, Gadamer wants readers to approach interpretation aware of their being affected by history. This awareness grounds a reading as the continuation of preceding receptions, thereby making the reader open to what they may bring to a text alongside alerting the reader to what the text itself carries.

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[113] Robert Evans, *Reception History, Tradition, and Biblical Interpretation: Gadamer and Jauss in Current Practice* (Great Britain: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), 8.

Thus, the principle of this dissertation must engage an unwieldly but worthwhile procedure: a considerable reconsideration of the relationships between literature, history, and reader(s). According to literary theorist Gustave Lanson, investigating literature without historical consideration ignores half of the whole. Yet the very nature of history is problematic; as discussed above, history is also a creation. Thus, *Wirkungsgeschichte* analysis considers the fusing horizons of expectation behind history, a written text, its reader, and the culmination of the entire process resulting in a reception. These receptions build upon one another and help shape history, which, in turn, molds the succeeding readings and comprehensions.

Despite the paradoxical nature of investigating history while at the same time questioning it, a textual study of this nature must, in the words of Charles Martindale, "…respect not only the presentness of the past but also its pastness, and not only the pastness of the past but also its presentness."[114] A biblical text is never simply a text; it is always one piece of a dynamic process of reception, interpretation, production, and reproduction. In *The Political Unconscious,* Fredric Jameson's central argument supports this claim, saying reception,

> accordingly turns on the dynamics of the act of interpretation and presupposes, as its organizational fiction, that we never really confront a text immediately, in all its freshness as a thing-in-itself. Rather, texts come before as the always-already-read; we apprehend them through sedimented layers of previous interpretations or—if the text is brand new—through the sedimented reading habits and categories developed by those inherited interpretive traditions.[115]

It is through, within, and outside these sedimented layers that this dissertation abides. Each step is an attempt to bring critical reflection while asking crucial questions of power and politics at

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[114] Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (England: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 7.
[115] Fredrich Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Great Britain: Cornell University Press, 1981), I-IX.

work in the discourses of interpretation and reception to offer a viable and practical example of employing a method that is not, while standing by the principles of *Wirkungsgeschichte*.

CHAPTER II: DANIEL 7 AS A *WIRKUNGSGESCHICHTE* CASE STUDY

2.1 Why This Investigation?

Daniel 7 holds a significant place in reception historical studies for both the biblical book of Daniel and the Bible in general. Within the Book of Daniel, Daniel 7 is important because it may be understood as the literary, chronological, and theological hinge upon which the book of Daniel turns. W. Sibley Towner argues Daniel 7 "is the single most important chapter of the Book of Daniel,"[116] while others describe chapter 7 as "the core of the Book of Daniel"[117] and "pivotal"[118] to understanding the Book of Daniel. Daniel 7 also echoes stories, images, and themes from the Hebrew Bible and other literature of the ancient Near East, making Daniel 7 a keystone of sorts for deciphering the relationship Daniel 1-6 and 8-12, other biblical texts, and the echoes and allusions therein. Daniel 7's complexity and depth spurs readers into digging through its mysteries and uncovering its beauty, making it a prime candidate for a *Wirkungsgeschichte* case study. This investigation opens with an annotated original translation of Daniel 7 based on the Aramaic, then moves into a thorough reading of Daniel 7 that is mindful of how Daniel 7 operates independently with groundbreaking and thought-provoking ideas while simultaneously baring the fingerprints of Near Eastern horizons of expectation.

2.2 Daniel 7 Translation

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[116] W. Sibley Towner, *Daniel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1984), 91.
[117] Louis Hartman and Alexander DiLella, *Daniel* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, INC., 1977), 208.
[118] John Collins, *Daniel* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), 277.

1. In the first-year[119] of Belshazzar, King of Babylon,[120] Daniel saw a dream and visions of his head[121] while upon his bed; then he wrote down the dream.[122] The beginning of the account:

2. Daniel answered and said, “I was watching in my vision in the night, and Lo! Four winds of heaven were stirring up the great sea.

3. And four great beasts, coming from the sea, each one different from the other.

4. The first is like a lion with wings of an eagle. As I watched, its wings were plucked off and it was lifted from the ground and was made to stand[123] upon its feet like a human and the mind of a man was given to it.

5. And behold! Another beast, a second one, that is like a bear, raised on one side with three ribs in its mouth between its teeth and thus was said to it: ‘Arise! Consume much flesh!’

6. After this, behold! I saw another,[124] like a leopard and the beast had four bird wings upon its back and had four heads, and dominion[125] was given to it.

7. “After this, I saw in the visions of the night, and behold! A fourth beast, fearsome and frightening and exceedingly strong, and it had great iron teeth,[126] devouring and crushing, and trampling the remnants under its feet and it was different than all the other beasts before it, with ten horns on its head.

8. “While I was considering[127] the horns, behold! Another smaller horn emerged[128] between them and three of the former horns were eradicated before it. And behold! This horn had eyes like the eyes of a man along with a mouth, speaking great things.

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[119] בִּשְׁנַת חֲדָה “In the first year.” Witnesses read, “in the first year,” except for θ, which has, ἔτει τρίτῳ, “third year.” The latter is probably secondary, for it anticipates 8:1 and harmonizes with it.
[120] בָּבֶל מֶלֶךְ “King of Babylon.” θ reads, βασιλέως Χαλδαίων, “King of the Chaldeans, and OG reads “reign over the country of Babylonia.” The Vg and Peshitta corroborate the Hebrew/Aramaic, but θ echoes τῶν Χαλδαίων in 5:30 with χαλδαιων.
[121] חֵלֶם חֲזָה וְחֶזְוֵי רֵאשֵׁהּ “this dream and visions of his head.” The OG lacks “dream” meaning the OG has the Daniel character only experiencing a ὅραμα (vision). θ concurs with the Aramaic, as Daniel has a “dream and visions of his head” (ἐνύπνιον εἶδεν καὶ αἱ ὁράσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ). Vg follows the OG with only the singular dream without a vision. Peshitta reads: “Daniel dreamed a dream; there were visions in his head…” Goldingay notes this “double description of the dream vision is characteristic of Daniel style.” See John Goldingay, *Daniel* (Dallas, TX: World Books, 1989), 143-144.
[122] Th follows the Hebrew and Aramaic, saying “And he wrote down the dream,” while OG says he “wrote down the vision that he saw” (τότε Δανιηλ τὸ ὅραμα ὃ εἶδεν, ἔγραψεν).
[123] הֳקִימַ֫ת is a peculiar form as it is the only Hophal form in Daniel.
[124] OG, θ, and Peshitta are expansive with the inclusion of “beast.”
[125] The Aramaic has שׁלטן, which is reflected in all the Vrss, except the OG, which has γλῶσσα, “tongue/language,’ as if reading לשׁן. The latter is probably an error for שׁלטן (so Collins, *Daniel*, 274).
[126] One witness to θ and Hippolytus include “and its claws were of bronze,” which Collins attributes to intentional or accidental scribal commingling of 7:7 with 7:19 (See Collins, *Daniel*, 274).
[127]The Vrss corroborate the Aramaic, except for the OG, which offers an interesting variant: καὶ βουλαὶ πολλαὶ ἐν τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτοῦ, lit. “and there were many counsels in its horns.”
[128] The form סִלְקַת is anomalous—as if combining סִלְקַת (peal perfect 3 fs) and סָלְקָה (Peal participle, fs), The perfect 3 fs form (so a few MSS), attested in 7:20, is probably be correct, though the Masoretes may have been influenced by

9. “I was looking until when
    thrones were set down
        and the Ancient of Days was seated;
    his garment was white as snow
        and the hair of his head was like pure wool.
    His seat was flames of fire.
        And its wheels were burning fire

10. “A river of fire was proceeding
        And going forth from before him,
    A thousand of thousands served him
        And ten thousand times ten thousand attended to him.
    The court was seated
        And documents were opened.

11. “I watched at that time because of the sound of the great words which the horn was speaking; I was watching until the beast was put to death and its body perished and it was given to the burning fire.

12. “As for the rest of the beasts,[129] he made their dominion to pass away, and a prolonging in life was given to them until a season and time.

13. “While I was watching in the visions of the night
    and behold, coming with clouds of the heavens,
        I saw one like a human being.
    And he came to the Ancient of Days
        and was presented before him.

14. “And dominion was given to him, along with
    glory and kingship,
        that all the peoples, nations, and languages
    should serve him.
        His dominion is an eternal dominion
    that will not pass away,
        and his kingship
    will never be destroyed.

15. “As for me, Daniel, my spirit was distressed within me and the visions of my head alarmed me.

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the participle (though plural) form in 7:3 (so Goldingay, *Daniel*). The OG and θ appear to corroborate the perfect 3 fs.

[129] OG appears to have a shorter reading: καὶ τοὺς κύκλῳ, “And as for the rest,” which is the lectio brevior that is possibly original see Gustav Jahn, *Das Buch Daniel nach der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kritisch erklärt* (1904), 70.1.

16. "I approached one of the attendants and asked him the truth concerning of all this.[130] And he said that he would disclose to me the interpretation of the matter:[131]

17. 'As for these four beasts, four kings shall arise from the earth.

18. 'And the holy ones the Most High shall receive the kingdom and they shall possess the kingdom forever and ever.

19. "Then I desired to know about the fourth beast which was different from all others, exceedingly terrifying with iron teeth and bronze nails,[132] eating, crushing, and trampling the remnants under its feet.[133]

20. "And about the ten horns on its head and concerning the one that came up and to make room for which three fell, this horn with eyes and a mouth that spoke arrogantly for this one seemed greater than the others.

21. "As I looked, this horn made war against the righteous ones and was prevailing against them.

22. "until the Ancient of Days came and gave[134] judgment on behalf of the righteous ones of the Most High. And the time came and the righteous ones gained possession of the kingdom.

23. "He said thusly: 'As for the fourth beast,
There shall be a fourth kingdom on the earth.
That will be different[135] from all other kingdoms;[136]
it will devour all the earth
and will trample it and crush it to pieces.

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[130] The Aramaic has the singular, but the OG, θ, and Vg. have plural neuter, perhaps in anticipation of the plural form מִלַּיָּא.
[131] θ attempts to make the attendant's response parallel to the narrator's inquiry, reading: εἶπέν μοι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν (and he told me the truth); the Peshitta reads as θ: "and he spoke truthfully to me."
[132] Vg. describes both the teeth and nails as iron (comedebat), perhaps to harmonize with 7:7 and its lack of reference to bronze.
[133] OG expands what the beast devours, reading κατεσθίοντες πάντας κυκλόθεν. θ is closer to the Aramaic with the participle ἐσθῖον.
[134] The form and pointing of this verb is problematic. Aramaic points the verb passively but neglects the *yod* between the second and third root consonants. OG, θ, Peshitta, and Vg. each offer active verbal forms, perhaps using the Aramaic root without its pointing. LaCocque, based on the work of H. Ewald, suggests the pointing and root discrepancy can be attributed to a haplography error. See Andre LaCocque, *The Book of Daniel* (Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2015). This translation renders it as an action done by the Ancient of Days based on the preceding manuscript evidence and it possibly being a stative verb.
[135] Some versions attempt to make the creature more grandiose, as θ has "surpass" (ὑπερέξει) and Vg. "will be greater than" (quod majus erit omnibus regnis). The Peshitta's rendering is similar to the Vg. with "will be preeminent over."
[136] OG has "earth" (γῆν), which may be a dittography error from blurring the proceeding line with the one in question. Or, read in conjunction with latter portion of the verse, OG may have switched "earth" with "it" as OG reads: ἀναστατώσει αὐτὴν. Use of ἀναστατώσει, "agitate," here further differentiates the OG from Aramaic.

24. ‘As for the ten horns,[137]
From this kingdom which ten kings will arise
and another will arise after them,
This one will be different[138] from the former ones
and will put down three kings.

25. ‘And he will speak words against the Most High
and he will wear out the righteous ones of the Most High,
and he will attempt to change the sacred time and law;
And they shall be given into his hand[139]
For a time, two times,[140] and a half a time.

26. ‘Then the court will be seated,
and his dominion shall be taken away,
it shall be consumed and completely destroyed.

27. ‘The kingship and dominion
and greatness of kingdoms under the heavens
shall be given to righteous people[141] of the Most High;
their reign shall be an eternal reign
and all dominions will serve and obey them.’

28. “Here is where this account ends. I, Daniel, my thoughts greatly alarmed me and my countenance changed within me and I kept this matter in my heart.”

2.3 Daniel 7 Investigation

2.3.1 Structure and Form

Daniel 7’s structure is dual-pronged, in that it is a singular unit comprised of two distinct sections that act independently and collaboratively. Section I is vv. 1-14 and contains the

[137] OG reads τὰ δέκα κέρατα τῆς βασιλείας (“the ten horns of the kingdom), θ: καὶ τα δέκα κέρατα αὐτοῦ (and his ten horns), and Vg.: decem ipsius regni (“ten horns of that kingdom”).
[138] OG (καὶ αὐτὸς διοίσει κακοῖς ὑπὲρ) and θ (ὃς ὑπεροίσει κακοῖς παντας τους ἔμπροσθεν) have variations on “will surpass in evil,” likely a move to remain consistent with OG and θ 7:23. Vg. has “greater” (potentior), as does the Peshitta.
[139] OG reads καὶ παραδοθήσεται πάντα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτο (“and all shall be given into his hands). θ retains the singular, as does Vg. (et tradentur in manu ejus). This translation retains “hand” to echo the many instances in which references to power and control, both human and divine, are referred to as being in someone/something’s “hand.”
[140] 4QDan[a] and the Peshitta lack the conjunction, but many witnesses attest it. However, this translation eliminates it from the translation for stylistic purposes and its minimal impact on translation.
[141] θ omits “people of,” likely a continuation of issues from 7:18 and קַדִּישֵׁי. The Aramaic places a disjunctive accent under לְעַם, which suggests the Masoretes understand it as an appositive, making the entire phrase read: “to the people, the righteous ones of the Most High.” This translation glosses the grammar while retaining the meaning.

contents of the dream-vision. Section II is 15-28 and contains the interpretation of section I. In short, Daniel 7 interprets itself and placing the sections side-by-side makes it clear that he two sections mirror each other and use the Fourth Beast as a shared apex:

Section I 1-14	Section II 15-28
1 Narrative Introduction, Protagonist Orientation, Dream-vision introduction	15 Daniel's Response 16 Introduction of interpretation
2-6 Four Beasts appearance, description	17-18 Identification of Four Beasts as Four Kingdoms, introduction of righteous of Most High
7-8 Description of Fourth Beast, final horn (section apex)	19-25 Inquiry and fate of Fourth Beast (section apex)
9-10 Throne scene	26 Heavenly judgement
11-12 Fate of Four Beasts	23-25 Fate of Fourth Beast
13-14 Appearance of one like a human being; section concludes	26-27 Heavenly judgment, Kingdom return to righteous of Most High
	28 Daniel's alarmed response, account concludes

Each opens with an overt introduction, as 7:1 includes a time stamp alongside the orientation of Daniel as the primary character and the notation of Daniel beginning his written composition. Dan 7:16 employs movement to signify the transition away from the dream itself and into the interpretation. V. 16 also introduces another character and shifts the narrative voice from Daniel to the interpreter Daniel approaches. The Four Beasts appear early in the respective sections, with section I attributing their origins to the chaotic sea and section II citing their rise from the earth. This comparison establishes an interesting parallel, as Daniel's dream embellishes the beasts' origins, perhaps to ensure clarity about their ontology. However, Dan

7:17 expands the boundaries of chaotic origin as the same Four Beasts come from the earth, establishing an equivalency between the primordial sea and extant earth.

Section I labels and describes each beast before dedicating more space to detailing the Fourth, a move section II repeats and expands further with Daniel's inquiry at vv. 19-25. The clear dedication behind expanded discussion the Fourth Beast makes it each section's most important entity, making its appearance and described fate the respective sections' apex. Each section escalates to the Fourth Beast, resulting in a gradual narrative de-escalation that begins with the appearance of heavenly figures. Their arrival at Dan 7:9-10 and Dan 7:26 signifies a turn in the struggle within the dream and tension outside the dream. Chaotic appearances and grandiose words cease as earthly power becomes insignificant compared to divine sovereignty. God removes any power the beasts may have wielded with remarkable swiftness at 7:13-14 and 7:26-27, resulting in the affirmation of God's control and the return of the reign of God to its rightful possessors.

2.3.2 Content

The opening words of Dan 7:1 mark a dynamic shift in the narrative, as Belshazzar is the same king Belshazzar killed at Dan 5:30. John Collins argues that citing Belshazzar as king breaks chronological flow from the first six chapters, thereby grouping this seventh chapter with the proceeding apocalyptic tales.[142] Daniel's first six chapters are loosely connected court tales, each with a clear beginning, middle, and conclusion.[143] Protagonists vary in Daniel 1-6, ranging from Daniel himself, Daniel's friends, and King Nebuchadnezzar. Further, the scenario in the

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[142] Collins, *Daniel*, 294. He also knows the possibility of the author trying to argue for the use of Belshazzar also shows "that the author thought Belshazzar was an absolute monarch, not simply vice-regent for his father."
[143] Goldingay, *Daniel*, 324.

opening six chapters is never the same, with characters and settings being the connection between each story. Placing Belshazzar upon the throne indeed breaks Daniel's literary chronological sequence and is the first of many instances in which Daniel 7 subverts expectations established by the court tale genre of chapters 1-6 to create an entirely new and altogether unique genre palette for apocalyptic tropes.

Making Belshazzar king also cements his place as a primarily adversarial figure and comparing him to the book of Daniel's portrayals of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius shows that Belshazzar is indeed a theological *persona non grata*. According to Dan 1:2, Nebuchadnezzar becomes king because God allows it. Much of Daniel's first four chapters is dedicated to Nebuchadnezzar's missteps and arrogance (Dan 3:1-23; 4:31-34) alongside his eventual recognition of Daniel and Daniel's God (Dan 2:47; 3:28-30). Daniel 6 ends with Darius declaring his loyalty and allegiance to Daniel's God. Belshazzar never receives such divine favor, nor does he give praise or recognition to Daniel's God. Unlike Darius and Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar does not match praise toward Daniel with analogous admiration for Daniel's God, resulting in the king's swift death (Dan 5:30). Belshazzar's lack of divine admiration aligns with his sacrilegious treatment of the temple vessels at vv. 2-4. Negative imagery of Belshazzar continues at Dan 5:22-23 when Daniel chastises the king for not humbling his heart or exalting himself before God. Comparing Daniel 5, Belshazzar, and the mistreatment of temple wares alongside Daniel 7 foreshadows the arrogance of Antiochus Epiphanes with his "abomination that desolates" at Dan 9:27, 11:31, and 12:11 as well as the prediction at Dan 11:36. In short, Belshazzar stands in stark contrast to Darius and Nebuchadnezzar in chapters 1-6, a differentiation that is only amplified by his inclusion at Dan 7:1.

Equally important to how Daniel 7 reaches back into chapters 1-6 are the ways in which it reaches forward into chapters 8-12. Dan 7:1 introduces Daniel, the chapter's protagonist, which connects chapter 7 with chapters 1-6 and 8-12 as Daniel, the character made familiar by the book's first half, is crucial for chapters 8-12. Further, making the Daniel character the protagonist connects the court tales of Daniel 1-6 with the apocalyptic visions of Daniel 8-12.

According to this opening verse, Daniel experiences "a dream" (חֵלֶם) and "visions of his head" (חֶזְוֵי רֵאשֵׁהּ). The root חלם pairs with חזה in three passages of Daniel's Aramaic portion: Dan 2:28, 4:5 and here at 7:1. Daniel 7's use of this pairing in the chapter's first verse is a clear echo to chapters 2 and 4. Dan 2:28 puts the words in Daniel's mouth as he prepares to describe Nebuchadnezzar's dream and its interpretation, saying "Your dream and the visions of your head" (יוֹמַיָּא חֶלְמָךְ וְחֶזְוֵי רֵאשָׁךְ). Dan 4:2 associates the pairing with Nebuchadnezzar again, this time putting the words in the king's mouth.[144] Dan 7:1 puts the "visions of his head" (חֶזְוֵי רֵאשֵׁהּ) in Daniel's head, shifting the perspective from the preceding chapters into Daniel's consciousness. This opening echo establishes elements from chapters 2 and 4 in Daniel 7, thereby grounding the chapter in preceding and familiar images while also remaking the dream-vision narrative anew.

Conversely, Dan 8:1 opens by describing Daniel as experiencing a חָזוֹן, or "vision," a Hebrew word with the root חזה.[145] Both Biblical Aramaic and Hebrew use this חזה root in connection to visions and given the marked absence of dreams in chapters 8-12,[146] the abundance of חזה visions in Daniel's four final chapters makes Daniel 7 into a bridge that links the dreams

[144] "I saw a dream that frightened me; my fantasies in my bed and the visions of my head terrified me" (חֵלֶם חֲזֵית וִידַחֲלִנַּנִי וְהַרְהֹרִין עַל־מִשְׁכְּבִי וְחֶזְוֵי רֵאשִׁי יְבַהֲלֻנַּנִי).
[145] From the Aramaic root חזה, meaning "to see, to behold"; also, it can be used as a noun to describe a person as a "seer." See *BDB* 302.
[146] That is, "dreams" derived from the חלם root.

of chapters 1-6 with the visions of Daniel 8-12. Perhaps even more noteworthy is that Daniel 7 notifies the reader of the connecting bridge between chapters 1-6 and 8-12 with its first verse, as the Daniel character indeed “saw a dream and visions of his head” (חֵ֣לֶם חֲזָ֔ה וְחֶזְוֵ֥י רֵאשֵׁ֖הּ).

Dan 7:2 opens with Daniel’s description, “I was watching,” (חָזֵ֥ה הֲוֵ֛ית). Including this second verse, this Aramaic phrase occurs eight times in chapter 7. Use of the participial form of הוה suggests an ongoing action, one in which Daniel finds himself. Paired with וַאֲר֗וּ, “and Lo,” the stage is set for Daniel to explain the extraordinary event unfolding before him. Daniel is seeing a “vision of the night,” another reminder to the reader of Daniel’s current location: his bed.

Four heavenly winds stir up “the great sea” (לְיַמָּ֥א רַבָּֽא) a common reference to the Mediterranean Sea (Hb. הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל; Ezek 47:10, 15, 19, 20; 48:28). The “four winds of heaven” also appear at Dan 8:8 and 11:4 and in the Bible outside Daniel (Jer 49:36; Ezek 37:9; Zech 2:6; 6:5; Matt 24:31; Mark 13:27). Jer 49:36 says that they come from the “four quarters of the heavens” (קְצ֣וֹת הַשָּׁמַ֔יִם). Ezek 42:20 uses אַרְבַּ֤ע רוּחוֹת as an expression of physical measurement and 1 Chr 9:24 expands the nuance further, incorporating the image to describe gatekeepers standing around the sacred temple. Dan 7:2 uses this four winds image as foundation, a stage of sorts, upon which the dream-vision is to unfold.

Stepping outside the Bible, this image of the “four winds” echoes *Enuma Elish* and the cardinal directions implied therein. *Enuma Elish* Tablet IV lines 42-43 read:

ir-bit-ti ša-a-ri[12] *uš-te-iṣ-bi-ta ana la a- ṣi-e mim-mi-ša*[13]	He stationed the four winds so that no part of her might escape
šūtu iltānu šadū aḫarrū	The South wind and the North Wind and the East wind and the West wind[147]

[147] Translation is the author’s.

It is in these lines that the “four winds” takes on the connotation of the cardinal directions of North, South, East, and West, an echo that resonates in biblical uses of the trope and connects with image of the stirred-up sea of Daniel 7.

As noted earlier, the sea here in Dan 7:2 likely refers to the Mediterranean Sea, as it does elsewhere in the Bible. At the same time, however, it may be an allusion to the primordial ocean, known elsewhere as "the great deep" (Gen 7:11; Isa 51:10; Amos 7:4.), or the chaotic waters, an image in ancient Near Eastern literature that have been stilled by the will of the divine warrior. The stirring of "the great sea" (לְיַמָּ֥א רַבָּֽא) suggests, therefore, a return to primeval chaos, the state of the cosmos before order was established in creation.[148]

Verse three reveals what the stirred, chaotic sea holds for Daniel: four great beasts, different and unique from each other. Each beast appears simultaneously, perhaps side-by-side or in linear succession. The Aramaic says these beings emerging from the sea are חֵיוָן֙, literally, “living (things).” Thus, these beasts are not distressing to Daniel because they are living things; rather, as is described in Dan 7:4-7, their physical composition makes them peculiar. Use of חַיה has immediate and widespread biblical resonance, as Gen 1:24-30 uses חַיה to describe the beings God calls forth into creation. This possible allusion paired with the stirring chaotic sea calls back to biblical creation narratives and ties Daniel’s seventh chapter with historiographic Israelite lore.

Language in this chapter emphasizes their appearance as “different” (שָׁנְיָ֖ן) and “great” (רַבְרְבָ֗ן), that, when read alongside traditions present in the text, establish frightening connotations. These great beasts emerge from “the great sea” (לְיַמָּ֥א רַבָּֽא) because “four winds” (אַרְבַּע֙ רוּחֵ֣י) are “stirring up” (מְגִיחָ֖ן) its waters. This language here in Dan 7:1-3 implies that these

[148] Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel*, 211.

beasts are four primordial chaos monsters coming from the four corners of the earth, making it clear that ancient chaos myth lies in the background of these verses. Further, the great sea echoes Tiamat from *Enuma Elish* and its Hebrew cognate תְּהוֹם from Genesis 1, an echo that illuminates the rich history of ancient Western Asian myth and its presence in biblical texts from the beginning at creation.

Dan 7:4 describes the first beast as "like a lion and with wings of an eagle," cluing the reader into what makes these four animals distressing: they are composites of disparate animals. Here "eagle" (נְשַׁר) is the word used to describe Nebuchadnezzar at Dan 4:30, as he becomes a beast with hair "as long as eagles' feathers'" (עַד דִּי שַׂעְרֵהּ כְּנִשְׁרִין רְבָה). These two instances at 7:4 and 4:30 are only two occurrences of נְשַׁר in Daniel. Daniel 7's vision indeed echoes Nebuchadnezzar at Daniel 4, though in Daniel's vision the eagle feathers are plucked and the eagle is made to stand on two feet. Dan 7:4 is a clear reversal of 4:30, for just as a powerful human is humiliated by being made into an animal at 4:30, now an animal is made to resemble a human at 7:4. This verse also contrasts Daniel 4 as the first beast is "lifted up from the ground" (נְטִילַת מִן־אַרְעָא) while Nebuchadnezzar is brought low by being made to "eat grass like oxen" (וְעִשְׂבָּא כְתוֹרִין יֵאכֻל) in submission.

Dan 7:4 echoes chapter 4 yet again as Daniel continues his description of the first beast at 7:4, saying: "and a human mind was given to it" (וּלְבַב אֱנָשׁ יְהִיב לַהּ). Dan 4:13 features another dream and an interpreter that presents King Nebuchadnezzar with a dream foretelling the king's downfall: "Let his mind be changed from a human's and may an animal's mind be given to him" (לִבְבֵהּ מִן־אֱנוֹשָׁא יְשַׁנּוֹן וּלְבַב חֵיוָה יִתְיְהִב לֵהּ). Dan 4:13 uses a form of לבב, making it parallel Dan 7:4. This allusion between chapters 4 and 7 has significant implications for interpretation, as chapter

4 also describes its monarchical figure becoming an amalgamated animal composed of disparate pieces, a possible reflection of the four beasts in chapter 7's dream.

Dan 7:5 describes a second beast "that is like a bear" (דָּמְיָה לְדֹב). Like lions, bears present are significant physical threats to humans. David uses his ability to kill both lions and bears in 1 Sam 17:34-37 as an example his strength and ability, a description that ties the two animals together and is echoed in Dan 7:4-5 presentation of a lion followed by a bear. See also Amos 5:19 and Prov 28:15 for additional pairings with the lion preceding a bear. For a bear coming before a lion, see Lam 3:10, 2 Sam 17:8, and Hos 13:8. These biblical examples show that bears and lions are frequently mentioned together, perhaps as emphasis of their strength and potential for violence.

Abnormality continues as the second beast is raised on its side with three ribs in its mouth between its teeth. Being raised on its side suggests it is ready to attack,[149] while its mouth contains misplaced ribs. This image echoes abnormalities found in Babylonian omen texts, including the twenty-four *Šumma izbu* tablets and their extensive list of physical abnormalities. For example, the bear at Dan 7:5 has ribs where teeth should be, which echoes *Šumma izbu* 11:22: it is cause for concern "if the right ear of a malformed fetus is near its jaw."[150] Similarly, *Šumma izbu* 17:16 describes lungs out of place in a mouth. Ribs in the bear's mouth thereby connect to a larger tradition of proper bodily order and structure; violation of said order and structure as the bear does symbolizes requisite disorder. The command to the beast to "Arise! Consume much flesh!" (קוּמִי אֲכֻלִי בְּשַׂר שַׂגִּיא) is an abnormality of the theological variety, as it alludes to God rousing the Medes to destroy Babylon in Jer 51:11. Unlike Jer 51:11, the

149 James Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1927), 288.
150 Nicla De Zorzi, "The Omen Series *Šumma izbu*: Internal Structure and Hermeneutic Strategies," *Kaskal: rivista di storia, ambiente e culture del vicino oriente antico* 8 (2011), 47.

disembodied voice of Dan 7:5 directs the fearsome creature to indiscriminately devour flesh, meaning the entire world, including Israelites, are potentially open for death and consumption.

The leopard-like third beast at Dan 7:6 recalls the coupling of lions and leopards in the Bible (Isa 11:6; Jer 5:6; Hos 13:7; Song 4:8). Like the lion, it has wings on its back, making the two animals from the *Panthera* genus winged predators. Wings are not inherently negative (Ps 91:4), but their presence on animals that do not have wings makes this winged animal imagery distressing. Unlike the lion, the leopard has four wings and four heads, which are additional allusions to omen texts about the presence of excessive body parts (*Šumma izbu* 14:27-28). However, not all omens about excessive body parts are negative, as some *Šumma izbu* suggest the number represents totality: "if an ewe gives birth to a lion and it has four horns on the right and the left, the king will rule the (four) quarters" (5:29; see also 10:78-79).[151] Similarly, Ezek 1:5-6 uses four to represent totality and the ability of the four living creatures to see and move in many directions.

The appearance of the fourth and final beast completes Daniel's description of a significant image in chapter seven, which is the Four Beasts as a literary unit. Engaging these beasts in a deeper, more comparative level will illuminate their importance to Daniel 7, the book of Daniel, and the dynamic processes of reception as they relate to Israelite history and literature. Daniel 7 features these four distinct animals to create a metaphoric narrative of monarchical succession.

This lion, leopard, bear, and fourth unknown animal echo many biblical passages and images, but possibly none so clearly as Hos 13:7-8. These verses read:

> And I will be to them like a lion,
> a leopard I will lurk along their way,
> I will strike them like a bear robbed of her cubs

[151] Zorzi, "The Omen Series *Šumma izbu*, 65.

And I will tear open the chests of their hearts
Then I will eat them like a lion,
Like a wild animal would rip them apart.

The parallels between the animals in Daniel 7 and these Hosea verses are striking. Both speak of four types of animals in the same order: A lion, a leopard, a bear, and a fourth, unspecified creature. According to Hosea, YHWH responds to Israel's covenant disloyalty with severity using these animals as agents of divine wrath. Hos 13:7-8 attributes these animal threats to YHWH directed at Israel, which is different from Daniel 7 as the threat there is clearly not from YHWH, nor is directed specifically at Israel. Daniel 7 paints them as adversarial and dangerous figures that must be defeated and control to ensure universal stability. Reference to "a wild animal" (חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה) at vv. 8 potentially shows just who much influence Daniel 7 owes to Hosea 13, because the fourth animal in both lists are otherwise unspecified.

Jer 5:6 is another remarkable comparative piece that echoes different animals and the deity's angered sentiment:

Thus, a lion from the forest will kill them,
a wolf from the desert will devastate them.
A leopard is watching over their cities;
all going out from them will be ripped apart.
For many are their transgressions,
great are their apostasies.

Metaphoric use of animals to convey ongoing and variegated destruction is clearly an image familiar to biblical writers, one that the prophets use to express YHWH's anger against Israel (Jer 48:30; 49:19-37, 50:44-46). Metaphoric animal imagery appears in Ezekiel as well. For example, language of eagles describes God's planting of Israel (Ezek 17:3, 7) a loving lioness mother betrayed by her cubs (Ezek 19) and Egypt as a subdued dragon (Ezek 29:3, 32:2) Ezekiel's amalgamated animalistic figures at chapter 1 bridges an imagery gap between other metaphor biblical animals and Daniel 7 as the four creatures guarding the throne are composite,

with each side of their faces resembling a human, lion, ox, and an eagle. Ezekiel 1 links more with Daniel 7 as these strange creatures all having wings, a descriptor echoing Aramaic Daniel 7 with the lion and leopard having wings.

Similar animal metaphoric images appear throughout biblical Wisdom literature in both positive and negative ways. For example, Ps 22:13-14 presents estrangement from God like animals attacking and like bulls surrounding them, mouths open and ready to attack “like a ravening and roaring lion” (אַרְיֵה טֹרֵף וְשֹׁאֵג). Ps 80:13 makes wild animals represent adversarial figures, as Israel is a vine under God’s care while “the boar from the forest ravages it and each moving thing of the field feeds on it” (יְכַרְסְמֶנָּה חֲזִיר מִיָּעַר וְזִיז שָׂדַי יִרְעֶנָּה). God protects Israel like a shepherd and its sheep at Ps 78:52, creating a sense of protection and humility in the face of God’s eternal presence. Animals frequently stand in for Israel’s allies, enemies, and themselves, all of which are “inextricably linked in the purposes of God,” an image that resonates throughout Daniel 7 and its four beasts.[152]

Unlike the preceding three beasts, the fourth at Dan 7:7 stands out as it is characterized as “fearsome and frightening and exceedingly strong” (דְּחִילָה וְאֵימְתָנִי וְתַקִּיפָא יַתִּירָא). Pairing “fearsome and frightening” is redundant but heightens the terror Daniel experiences. Further, it is the only beast of the four described as such. The third descriptor of “exceedingly strong” (תַקִּיפָא יַתִּירָא) recalls the fourth reign in Dan 2:40-42, though that reign is only “partly strong” (תַקִּיפָה) and “partly brittle (תְבִירָה).” Daniel 7’s fourth beast is doubly bad and fearsome, meaning the fourth kingdom is still described with two terms but strength is no longer weakened by brittleness as it was in Daniel 2. The beast has “great iron teeth” (שִׁנַּיִן דִּי־פַרְזֶל) and uses its feet to destroy what remains, an image that recalls the iron and clay feet of Dan 2:42 and the crushing destruction of

[152] Katharine Dell, “The Use of Animal Imagery in the Psalms and Wisdom Literature of Ancient Israel” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 53.3 (August 2000), 291.

Dan 2:44. The fourth kingdom in Daniel 2 is divided by its strength and weakness, ultimately falling under the weight of preceding kingdoms and from the stone cut not by hands. Conversely, the fourth kingdom in Daniel 7 is a culmination of power and brings destruction, fear, and terror. Partial weakness is Daniel 2 is full strength in Daniel 7 as the fourth beast roams the earth.

Dan 7:8 narrows its focus on the Fourth Beast to the horns on its head. The primary meaning of the root קרן is "horn" but comparing the biblical use of its biblical Hebrew cognate, קרן, expands the range of possible interpretations and receptions. Further, this widening of translation possibility creates space for interpretative differentiation in Daniel 7. Reading קרן only as "horn" restricts it to a singular entity, translating words coming from the root as "might" or "strength" dispenses with labeling the final small horn as one person. Further, horns may also be a metaphor for power and authority, as Othmar Keel describes "horn" (קרן) in the Bible as such an obvious metaphor for power that "Every OT scholar undoubtedly understands 'horn of the wicked' (Ps 75:4, 10) as an ideogram for 'power of the wicked.'"[153]

Similar allusions to horns equaling power also apply to YHWH's power and might, as Deut 33:17 describes YHWH's strength as "horns of a wild ox" (קַרְנֵי רְאֵם קַרְנָיו) capable of driving Israel's enemies "to the ends of the earth" (אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ). 2 Sam 22:3 follows a similar trajectory and describes God as "the horn of my salvation" (קֶרֶן יִשְׁעִי), making a horn become a symbol for salvific divine power. Ps. 18:2 uses the same phrase as 2 Sam 22:3, "horn of my salvation" (קֶרֶן יִשְׁעִי) that, when read in conjunction with positive and negative associations, shows that the power a horn symbolizes depends on who or what wields it. If it stands in for YHWH protecting Israel, it is positive; if a horn is a placeholder for something evil or wicked, it is negative.

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[153] Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (trans. Timothy Hallett; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 9.

A horn as a symbol of power has ancient Near Eastern roots that the Bible echoes in the above examples. Ancient Gods are depicted with horns on their heads and the more horns a deity has, the greater their power and status. Akkadian ruler Narâm-Sin (ca. 2254-2218 BCE) is an early example of horn iconography as a symbol for superiority as ruler.[154] Priests and kings of Sumer and Akkad are commonly depicted with horned crowns as a political and cultic moved designed to associate themselves with ancient deities, for the image of horns paired upon one's head signified divinity.[155] The more horns atop a head, the more powerful the leader or deity is presented as being.

In light of the biblical and ancient Near Eastern appearances of horns and their connection to power, their use in Daniel 7 becomes particularly noteworthy. Dan 7:7 says the fourth beast, the most terrifying, dreadful, and exceedingly strong, has ten horns. Mindful of the ANE connection between more horns and greater power, reading that the beast has ten horns, or five pairs, makes it more terrifying because it implies that this beast is indeed "exceedingly strong" (תַקִּיפָא יַתִּירָא) and creates a sense of disorienting redundancy. One can also not help but see an echo between these horns and Dan 2:41-42: just as the beast has ten horns, the statue has two feet and therefore ten toes.[156]

The rise of another "little" (זְעֵירָה) horn at Dan 7:8 may be an inversion of the horn YHWH sprouts for Israel against Egypt at Ezek 29:21. Both the horn of Dan 7:8 and Ezek 29:21 are raised passively, suggesting God's action.[157] Both horns are connected to kings, with Ezekiel 29 saying that YHWH will give Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar and the horns of Daniel 7 representing

[154] *ANEP* 309.
[155] For an overview of horns and ANE iconography, see pages 125-260 in Margit Linnéa Süring, "Horn-Motifs in the Hebrew Bible and Related Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Iconography" (Th.D. diss., Andrews University, 1980).
[156] Daniel 2 does not describe the statue's feet as being abnormal, so it is safe to assume each foot had five toes and the statue had two feet, for a total of ten toes.
[157] Goldingay, *Daniel*, 164.

ten kingdoms with the small horn symbolizing a king that will arise and destroy three others (Dan 7:24). This little horn also echoes Ps 132:17: "There I will cause a horn to sprout up for David; I have prepared a lamb for my anointed one" (שָׁ֤ם אַצְמִ֣יחַ קֶ֣רֶן לְדָוִ֑ד עָרַ֥כְתִּי נֵ֝֗ר לִמְשִׁיחִֽי). The Psalm continues, saying that YHWH will use this horn as a marker in Zion to show it is YHWH's "resting place forever" (זֹאת־מְנוּחָתִ֥י עֲדֵי־עַ֑ד), which is a sign of comfort and certainty. Like Dan 7:8 and Ezek 29:21, the horn at Ps 132:17 is caused to rise, though here it is explicitly from YHWH. Images that instill hope among Israel in Ezekiel 29 and Psalm 132 now present a sense of dread in Daniel 7, as this horn that is caused to rise up sits upon a fearsome and dreadful beast.

Dan 7:9 expands the focus further as a throne scene ensues. Here the Daniel character witnesses the arrangement of many thrones, followed by the extraordinary image of the flames that engulf and allow the ancient of days' throne to move. This image of an enthroned deity commonplace in the Bible, with the presentations at 1 Kings 22, Ezekiel 1, and Isaiah 6. 1 Kgs 22:19 holds a throne vision couched within a divine council meeting as YHWH sits on his throne "with all the host of heaven standing beside him to the right and to the left" (וְכָל־צְבָ֤א הַשָּׁמַ֙יִם֙ עֹמֵ֣ד עָלָ֔יו מִימִינ֖וֹ וּמִשְּׂמֹאלֽוֹ). This vision occurs within the literary context of political machinations between Jehoshaphat of Judah and Aram of Israel where the prophet Micaiah receives an unfavorable prophecy that eventually leads to Ahab's death. Micaiah's prophecy is true and from YHWH, though it is not what Ahab wants to hear; it establishes precedence for YHWH's dominion standing in opposition to the preconceptions and wants of human leadership, a trope replete throughout the book of Daniel.

Ezek 1:4-25 builds an elaborate description of everything surrounding and supporting the throne, saying a great, fiery cloud surrounds it and is guarded by four extraordinary winged

creatures. Wheels overlay wheels at Ezek 1:15-21, enabling the throne to move unencumbered and the description reaches an apex at Ezek 1:26:

> And above the dome that was over their heads, with the appearance of sapphire was something like a throne and above the likeness of the throne was something with an appearance like a human upon it.

Like the narrator describing the Four Beasts in Daniel 7, Ezekiel's speaker seems hesitant to offer absolutes about what he sees, defaulting to saying his eyes are viewing something like a throne with a likeness of a human upon the throne.

Ezekiel's hesitation continues in vv. 27-28 as the phenomenal vision unfolds: the speaker describes fire surrounding the being sitting on the throne as gleaming like brilliant amber and radiating otherworldly splendor. V. 28 reaches the chapter's apogee as Ezekiel finally shares that YHWH is at the center of the extraordinary scene, making the deity the powerful ruler encased in fire whose throne moves with protection from the winged-creatures. The narrator's description at Daniel 7 echoes Ezekiel's throne vision in a single verse, complete with a mysterious deity seated upon a throne shrouded in flames and moved by fire-wheels.

Ezekiel's throne vision resembles ancient Near Eastern enthronement iconography and literary traditions. For example, a sculpture from Carchemish dated to the first half of the first millennium BCE features a bearded deity on a platform supported by two lion-headed creatures and a lesser bird-headed deity.[158] A seal from the Persian period has two four-winged creatures holding a winged-deity aloft, and an image from eighteenth-century BCE Assyria depicts a four-face deity walking upright.[159]

The throne vision at Isaiah 6 lacks potential apprehension like that of Ezekiel and Daniel as the narrator states directly who is sitting upon the throne: Adonai (אֲדֹנָי). Israel's patron deity.

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[158] Leslie Allen, *Ezekiel 1-19* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1994), 27

[159] Allen, *Ezekiel 1-19*, 27.

Further, the location of Isaiah's dream differentiates it from Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7: Isaiah sees the throne sitting in the temple, whereas Daniel and Ezekiel mention no location. Like Daniel asking for an interpretation from an attendant, Isaiah also communicates with a member of the holy guard as a seraph touches his mouth with coal. Adonai tells Isaiah exactly what to say while also informing the prophet as to how his people, the Israelites, will respond with obstinance. Someone speaks to Ezekiel in Ezekiel 2, but the text is unclear; it is possible the voice is at Ezekiel 2:1 is YHWH but unlike Isaiah 6, textual ambiguity limits certainty.

Though Daniel 7's throne reception has many similarities to 1 Kings 22, Isaiah 6, and Ezekiel 1, it also has minor differences. First, Dan 7:9 is explicit about having a servant of the Ancient One, and not the Ancient One himself, address Daniel. Further, unlike its prophetic counterparts, Daniel's throne vision fails to provide sufficient clarity for its narrator as the vision ends with Daniel alarmed and uneasy.[160] However, it resembles these inner-biblical visions and similar visions from the ancient Near East in striking ways. First, the plural "thrones" (כָּרְסָוָן) indicates a multiplicity of beings present, which echoes the hosts present with YHWH in 1 Kgs 22:19. Second, what unfolds before Daniel unsettles him, recalling the similarly unsettling prophecy of 1 Kgs 22:19, the bizarre imagery of Ezekiel 1, and foundation shaking images of Isa 6:4.

Stepping beyond the Bible offers a plethora of ancient Near Eastern throne and divine council scenes, each of which finds echoes in Daniel 7, but perhaps the most important is the allusions between Daniel's "Ancient of Days" and the deity El from the ancient Near Eastern

[160] The image of YHWH/Adonai's throne appears is many other places, including Jer 49:38 and Ps 50, among others. These presentations are minor compared to Isaiah and Jeremiah as their focus is less about the throne and more about the appearance and splendor surrounding the deity. However, the Hebrew Bible's collection of throne mentions and references cement the reception in Daniel 7 as the contamination of a persistent and important image within the life Daniel's compliers and audience.

divine pantheon. Dan 7:9 describes the Ancient One on his throne: "his clothing was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was fiery flames, and its wheels were burning fire" (לְבוּשֵׁהּ כִּתְלַג חִוָּר וּשְׂעַר רֵאשֵׁהּ כַּעֲמַר נְקֵא כָּרְסְיֵהּ שְׁבִיבִין דִּי־נוּר גַּלְגִּלּוֹהִי נוּר דָּלִק). CAT 1.3 v:2 and 25, 1.4 v: 4; 1.18 i:12 describe El as having a beard of "gray hair" (*šbt dqn*). CAT 1.3 iii:24, 1.4 iv: 24, 1.6 i:36, and 1.17 vi: 49 describe El as *'ab šnm*, which is "father of years." Daniel 7's allusion to *'ab šnm* remythologizes the Father of Years image by describing Israel's deity as the Ancient of Days and as the court scene unfolds, vv.10 affirms the remythologizing of an ancient court scene. According to Dan 7:10, "A thousand of thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand attended to" (אֶלֶף אַלְפִים יְשַׁמְּשׁוּנֵּהּ) serve the Ancient of Days as "the court was seated and documents were opened" (וְרִבּוֹ רִבְוָן קֳדָמוֹהִי יְקוּמוּן), which recalls Ugaritic 'El as the judge before a council of "sons of the holy one" (*bn qdš*; CAT 1.2 i:21). This Ugaritic court scene evidence paired with the gray bearded Father of Years epithet make El a parallel to the Ancient of Days in Daniel 7, thereby producing a particular echo between Ugaritic myth and Biblical narrative.

Dan 7:11-12 reveal the fate of the beasts. The Ancient of Days makes "their dominion pass away" (הֶעְדִּיו שָׁלְטָנְהוֹן) without killing them. However, the Fourth Beast is "put to death and its body perished and it was given to the burning fire" (קְטִילַת חֵיוְתָא וְהוּבַד גִּשְׁמַהּ וִיהִיבַת לִיקֵדַת אֶשָּׁא). Mot, the Ugaritic personification of death, meets a similar fate in CAT 1.6 ii:30-35: goddess Anat splits him, killing the god, and burns his body, an even he recounts to Baal at CAT 1.6 v:11-16. This image aligns with the fourth and final monster being burned in Daniel 7, adding further depth to this dream-vision and suggest profound intercultural intertextualities.

Analogous literary iconography continues with the arrival of "one like a human being" (כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ) at Dan 7:13. This human-like being comes "with the clouds of heaven," which is yet

another biblical image with an Ugaritic counterpart: Baal is commonly called the "rider of clouds" (*lrkb 'rpt*; CAT 1.2 iv:8, 29; 1.10 ii:33, and many others) or associated with clouds (*wt qh/'rptk;* 1.5 v:6-11).[161] Scholars rightly make much of this shared imagery,[162] as both Daniel and the Ugaritic *Baal Cycle* present their respective cloud-figures as narrative catalysts: Baal is the central figure in the fight and defeat of Mot, leading to a restoration of order; Daniel's one like a human being receives "dominion and glory and kingship" (שָׁלְטָן֙ וִיקָ֣ר וּמַלְכ֔וּ) from the Ancient of Days.

It is also noteworthy that Daniel 7's "one like a human being" (כְּבַ֥ר אֱנָ֖שׁ) receives divine dominion, glory, and kingship, as it is an echo of divine kingship in Daniel 1-6. As discussed above, Belshazzar being king is puzzling: he was a bad king that never received favor from God, nor did he recognize Daniel's God or the reign of said God as Daniel 5 ends with his death. Perhaps this one like a human being provides further resolution to the Belshazzar quandary. The place of Belshazzar in Daniel 7 reminds the reader of the nefarious king, calling mind his position apart from Daniel's God. Here in Dan 7:13-14 an unnamed human-like being rides in on clouds and receives all the things Belshazzar never got. He stands in the Ancient One's favor, while Belshazzar is a non-factor. Since his dominion comes from God, it is eternal and his kingship will not pass way (Dan 7:14); Belshazzar's end is swift and direct. Their differences could not be more pronounced.

Cloud-rider images also appear throughout the Bible outside of Daniel. Deut 33:26-27 calls God the one "who rides through heavens to your help" (יְשֻׁר֑וּן רֹכֵ֤ב שָׁמַ֙יִם֙ בְּעֶזְרֶ֔ךָ) and "subdues

[161] Mark Smith suggests "perhaps KTU 1.2 IV celebrates both the ancient victory of Baal as well as its present experience of the Cloudrider's power over the Sea," which, though speculation, offers a potentially deeper connection between the one like a human being's arrival in Daniel and its association with beasts from the chaotic sea. Mark Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 348 n.223.
[162] The *DDD* entry for "Rider Upon the Clouds" offers a snapshot of scholarly work about or related to this figure, each with different foci and possibly conclusions.

the ancient gods, shatters the forces of old" (מְעֹנָה֙ אֱלֹ֣הֵי קֶ֔דֶם וּמִתַּ֖חַת זְרֹעֹ֣ת עוֹלָ֑ם), which, when read alongside Daniel 7 and the Ugaritic *Baal Cycle*, bears strong resemblance to the biblical and nonbiblical traditions alike. In similar fashion, Isa 19:1 says YHWH will make "the idols of Egypt tremble as his presence" (נָע֞וּ אֱלִילֵ֤י מִצְרַ֙יִם֙ מִפָּנָ֔יו) when he arrives "riding on a swift cloud" (רֹכֵ֤ב עַל־עָב֙ קַ֔ל). Ps. 104:3 presents a similar image, praising YHWH as he makes "the clouds your chariot" (הַשָּׂם־עָבִ֥ים רְכוּב֑וֹ) and rides "on the wings of the wind" (הַֽ֝מְהַלֵּ֗ךְ עַל־כַּנְפֵי־רֽוּחַ). Ps 68:5 and 34 describe YHWH, calling the reader to "lift up a song to him who rides upon the clouds" (סֹ֡לּוּ לָֽרֹכֵ֣ב בָּ֭עֲרָבוֹת) and praising him as "the rider of the heavens, the ancient heavens" (לָ֭רֹכֵב בִּשְׁמֵ֣י שְׁמֵי־קֶ֑דֶם). YHWH-as-the-cloud-rider in Ps 68 presents tones of ancient tradition, as the reference to the "ancient heavens" (שְׁמֵי־קֶ֑דֶם) calls back to YHWH's pre-existence and dominion over time and creation itself. These biblical examples bear witness to the rich tradition that manifests itself in Daniel 7 and its cloud-rider; he is not a random figure, nor is it merely a creative choice in Daniel. It carries each of these influences, both biblical and non-biblical, and in so doing emphasizes the distinctness of this one like a human being.

Non-biblical Aramaic sources use כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ as a marker or designation of personhood. For example, in *TgJ Is* 51:12 YHWH comforts Israel and instructing them not to fear "a human being who is worth but grass" (אֱנָשָׁא דכעִסבָא חְשִׁיב). *BT Meil* 20b (13) uses the phrase in discuss what a human is and is not, stating that "the one who eats them is not a human being" (ואוכליהון לא בר אינש). "Them" in this phrase is קריבין, meaning "entrails," which is making a claim that what one consumes determines one's humanity. It seems the Aramaic "human being" label varies slightly according to context, but the humanness of said being is not in question.

Ugaritic and Phoenician use a similar phrase with similar meaning to the biblical Aramaic and Hebrew. Ugaritic use of the phrase is limited to an Ugaritic incantation from Ras

Ibn Hani that enjoins "the robe of Ilu" (*lbš il*) to "(make) the strange one a son of man" (*zrm lbn adm*).[163] Mark Smith reads the phrase as a parallelism to *adm* in an earlier line of the incantation, arguing that "son of man" is properly defined "as a human being."[164] He then supports his claim by noting a similar parallelism in Job 25:56:

> How much less a man (*'ĕnôš*), a maggot,
> the son of man (*ben-'ādām*), a warm!

Indeed, Ugaritic *bn adm* functions as an epithet for man or human, making it possibly more a stylistic choice to add variety to literature and less of a particular label.

Compared to Ugaritic, Phoenician uses *bn ʻdm* more often, though its definition remains consistent with Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Hebrew. *KAI* 165.3/4 uses the phrase as a simple description of humans: "He treated every person honestly" (*kl bn ʻdm kn nḥr*).[165] The phrase appears in *KAI* 48 in a parallelism similar to the Ugaritic Ras Ibn Hani incantation. The speaker is praying to Isis and Astarte, seeking "favor and long life in the eyes of gods and humans" (*ḥn wḥym l'n ʻlnm wbn ʻdm*).[166] Here *bn ʻdm* (humans) juxtaposes with *ʻlnm* (gods) and makes clear that Phoenician use of "son of man" is, like Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Hebrew, a noun describing commonplace humans.

The biblical Hebrew cognate of this Aramaic phrase is בֶּן־אָדָם, when may be rendered as "son of man," "Son of Man," "human," "mortal," and other possible variants.[167] The singular form, בְּנֵי אָדָם, and plural, בְּנֵי אָדָם, appear one-hundred and fifty-two combined times in the Hebrew Bible, making it a common expression. Comparing the Hebrew and Aramaic forms of this expression are significant because scholars often associate the כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ at Dan 7:13 with a

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[163] J.C. de Moor, "An Incantation Against Evil Spirits (Rab Ibn Hani 78/20)," *UF* 12 (1980), 430.
[164] Mark Smith, "The 'Son of Man' in Ugaritic," *CBQ* 45.1, 60.
[165] Charles Krahmalkov, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (Belgium: Peeters, 2000), 105.
[166] Krahmalkov, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*, 105.
[167] Paul G. Mosca, "Ugarit and Daniel 7: A Missing Link?" *Bib* 67.4 (1986): 496-517

messianic figure, similar to Jesus in the Christian New Testament Gospels, or with the Christian Jesus figure directly, creating a composite, almost indiscernible, figure. However, comparing the use of בֶּן־אָדָם throughout the Hebrew Bible illuminates an un-messianic and profoundly human figure.

Biblical Hebrew also uses בֶּן־אֱנוֹשׁ, meaning "mortal" or "human," and though the only use of this phrase in the Hebrew Bible is at Ps 144:3, this construction has relevance to understanding בֶּן־אָדָם, as אֱנוֹשׁ comes from the root, אנש, meaning "to be weak." Giving these phrases parallel meaning emphasizes the inherent weakness of mortals: to be human is to be weak. Isa 51:12, 56:2, Ps. 8:5, and Job 25:6 use אֱנוֹשׁ without a בן to parallel בֶּן־אָדָם and, in so doing, further associate בֶּן־אָדָם with weakness. Isa 51:12 describes אֱנוֹשׁ as someone "who must die, a human being who fades like grass" (יָמוּת וּמִבֶּן־אָדָם חָצִיר יִנָּתֵן). Job 25:6 goes further and is harsher, saying "how much less a mortal, who is a maggot, and a human being, who is a worm" (אַף כִּי־אֱנוֹשׁ רִמָּה וּבֶן־אָדָם תּוֹלֵעָה). Ps 8:5 softens its criticism of humans by simply saying both אֱנוֹשׁ and בֶן־אָדָם are unworthy of YHWH's care and attention. Though the opinion of humans in these examples differs in harshness, these parallel uses illuminate the connections between בֶן־אָדָם, אֱנוֹשׁ, and human frailty.

בֶּן־אָדָם in Num 23:1 parallels אִישׁ, the Hebrew word typically translated as "man." The verse describes God's otherness, saying the deity is not an אִישׁ or a בֶּן־אָדָם, then associates the human language with lying and capricious behavior. Thus, this first iteration makes a בֶּן־אָדָם something unholy, thoroughly human, the opposite of divine, and in opposition to God. Similarly, Jeremiah speaks of בֶּן־אָדָם as merely human and mortal, subject to divine will and suffering for covetousness and misdeeds.

Ezekiel use בֶּן־אָדָ֫ם over ninety times with a remarkable consistenancy that is established in the book's early chapters. Ezekiel 2 continues the vision begun in chapter 1, as a disembodied voice addresses the narrator Ezek 2:1: "And he said to me: 'Mortal, stand on your feet and I will speak to you'" (בֶּן־אָדָ֫ם עֲמֹ֣ד עַל־רַגְלֶ֔יךָ וַאֲדַבֵּ֖ר אֹתָֽךְ). The address continues and the speaker calls the narrator a בֶּן־אָדָ֫ם many times throughout Ezekiel, making it clear that בֶּן־אָדָ֫ם is more than an informal adjectival noun but less than a formal title. The book of Ezekiel's strict dichotomy between human and divine associated with בֶּן־אָדָ֫ם is continually cemented, as Ezekiel cannot stand alone, lacks any will of his own, and is too weak to operate without God. Any and all strength he receives comes from God and God alone, making Ezekiel's בֶּן־אָדָ֫ם an emphatic statement on human inferiority compared to divine superiority.

Use of כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ in Dan 7:13 echoes the Hebrew בֶּן־אָדָ֫ם as the Ancient One gives the כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ eternal dominion and kingship, meaning a human being approved by this deity will rule at the culmination of the vision's events. Daniel 7's "one like a human being" does not gain dominion and power through any action of his own, nor does his humanity make him special. What makes him worthy of God's bestowing of kingship is God's choice and nothing else; God props him up and elevates his status beyond a mere mortal. Without God, this "one like a human being" is nothing. Per Dan 7:14, with God, he is the one who receives an eternal dominion "that will not pass away" (דִּֽי־לָ֣א יֶעְדֵּ֔ה). Further, this familiar imagery in Daniel 7 may convey a theo-political reality: a blessed human ruler will replace the wicked kings and their followers.

Verse 14 is also significant because it is both the end and climax of Daniel's dream-vision. This verse describes the kingship (מַלְכ֔וּ) given to Daniel's cloud-rider by God, saying it is over "all peoples, nations, and languages" (כֹּ֣ל עַֽמְמַיָּ֔א אֻמַיָּ֥א וְלִשָּׁנַיָּ֖א) and that it "shall never be destroyed" (לָ֥א תִתְחַבַּֽל). The word תִתְחַבַּֽל here, from the root חבל, echoes a persistent theme that

stretches across the book of Daniel: the unbreakable reign of God. Outside of Daniel, חבל may be interpreted as a verb, “to destroy” (Isa 10:47; 13:5; 32:7; 54:16; Mic 2:10; Job 17:1) and as a noun, “pain, sorrow, destruction” (Isa 13:8; 26:17; 66:17; Jer 13:21; 22:23; 49:24; Hos 13:13; Mic 2:10; Job 21:17; Prov 13:13; Eccl 5:6).[168]

The book of Daniel uses חבל seven times as both a verb and noun meaning destruction (Dan 2:44; 3:25; 4:20; 6:23, 24, 27). Dan 2:44 describes a time when “the God of heaven will establish a kingdom that shall never be destroyed” (יְקִים֩ אֱלָ֨הּ שְׁמַיָּ֜א מַלְכוּ֙ דִּ֤י לְעָלְמִין֙ לָ֣א תִתְחַבַּ֔ל). Dan 7:14 clearly echoes Dan 2:44, as both refer to human reigns given by God (Dan 2:44 יְקִים֩ אֱלָ֨הּ שְׁמַיָּ֜א מַלְכוּ֙, Dan 7:14 וְלֵ֨הּ יְהִ֤יב שָׁלְטָן֙); both are eternal (Dan 2:44 הִ֖יא תְּק֥וּם לְעָלְמַיָּֽא, Dan 7:14 שָׁלְטָנֵ֞הּ שָׁלְטָ֤ן עָלַם֙); and both “will not be destroyed” (לָ֣א תִתְחַבַּ֔ל). Dan 2:44 and 7:14 may also be illuminated by Dan 6:27, where King Darius praises Daniel’s God and declares that God’s “kingdom will not be destroyed” (מַלְכוּתֵהּ֙ דִּֽי־לָ֣א תִתְחַבַּ֔ל). Further, looking at chapters 3 and 6 shows that this theme of God’s unbreakable reign extends to individuals as Daniel’s friends survive the fiery furnace at Dan 3:25 “unharmed” (חֲבָ֖ל לָא־אִיתַ֣י) and Daniel himself comes out of the lion’s den at 6:23-24 as “no kind of harm was found on him” (כָל־חֲבָל֙ לָא־הִשְׁתְּכַ֣ח בֵּ֔הּ). Thus, the book of Daniel emphasizes the unbreakable eternal natural of God’s kingship in order to express the finality of God’s reign. In these stories, no one and no thing experiences חבל while under God’s approval. Similarly, both Daniel 2 and 7 describe precious metals and elaborate animals, paralleling their respective existences with earthly kingdoms only to cut down and destroy said kingdoms to make way for God’s eternal rule.

Dan 7:15 begins section II, as Daniel is left with anxiety and alarm at what he just witnessed, a move that paints a different picture of the protagonist than that of the confident and

[168] For the fuller range of the root’s meaning, see *BDB* 286-287 and *TDOT* vol. IV 172-184.

assured Daniel from chapters 1-6. Kings are usually the character experiencing fear in Daniel, as at Dan 2:1 Nebuchadnezzar's "spirit was troubled" (תִּתְפָּעֶם רוּחוֹ) and is "frightened" (יְדַחֲלִנַּנִי) by a dream and terrifying visions (וְחֶזְוֵי רֵאשִׁי יְבַהֲלֻנַּנִי) at Dan 4:5. Belshazzar's "face turned pale and his thoughts terrified him" at 5:6 (זִיוֹהִי שְׁנוֹהִי וְרַעְיֹנֹהִי יְבַהֲלוּנֵּהּ). In Dan 6:19, Darius is uneasy and anxious as sleep "fled from him" (שִׁנְתֵּהּ נַדַּת עֲלוֹהִי). Dan 7:15 subverts the book of Daniel up to this point as Daniel, not a king, is struck with fear: "my spirit was troubled within me, and the visions of my head alarmed me" (אֶתְכְּרִיַּת רוּחִי אֲנָה דָנִיֵּאל בְּגוֹא נִדְנֶה וְחֶזְוֵי רֵאשִׁי יְבַהֲלֻנַּנִי).

Daniel's struggle here is internal and existential, troubling him to his core. Gone is the confident agent acting on God's behalf, interpreting dreams and establishing his God and himself amidst foreign occupation. According to description at Dan 7:15, Daniel has taken on the role of powerless mortal. Further, use of the Peal and the בהל root with "visions of my head" (חֶזְוֵי רֵאשִׁי) as the subject of 7:15 makes Daniel a passive actor, a dynamic shift from Daniel's previous place in earlier vision narratives throughout chapters 1-6. "Alarmed me" (יְבַהֲלֻנַּנִי) is similar to יְבַהֲלֻנַּנִי found at Dan 7:28, a repetition that makes for interesting interpretive and hermeneutical possibilities, especially considering the confidence and skill Daniel displayed in matters of dreams and visions up to this point.

Section II continues at 7:16 as Daniel's revised protagonist role expands as he is no longer the person offering clarity and understanding for a dream. Daniel must now turn to someone else, and, in keeping with apocalyptic genre paradigms, one would expect discourse to flow between the receiver and an otherworldly mediator.[169] Dan 7:16 introduces a similar figure: "I approached one of the attendants" (קִרְבֵת עַל־חַד מִן־קָאֲמַיָּא), a reference to the attendants serving and associated with the Ancient One from Dan 7:10. This relationship between attendant and the

[169] John Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses" *Semeia* 14 (1979), 28

Ancient One echoes aforementioned court scenes. For example, this scene echoes 1 Kgs 22:19 with YHWH enthroned and "all the host of heaven beside him to the right and left of him" (כָל־צְבָ֤א הַשָּׁמַ֙יִם֙ עֹמֵ֣ד עָלָ֔יו מִימִינ֖וֹ וּמִשְּׂמֹאלֽוֹ) and Isa 6:2 has Seraphs "standing" (עֹמְדִים) with God. Thus, the figure at Dan 7:16 is indeed a divine attendant and yet another element germane to the apocalyptic genre, thereby supporting Daniel 7's position as a pivot away from the court tails of Daniel 1-6 and into the apocalyptic Daniel 8-12.

These examples are sound translations that are true to Daniel 7 as reading vv. 15-28 in the context of 1-14 makes the interpreter's identity clear. Yet one engages issues of reception and reproduction when translating this phrase, as a circle of self-reinforced logic manifests as using staples of the genre to buttress the presence of said staple. Here Daniel 7 is part of an apocalyptic vision, and apocalyptic visions have otherworldly mediators, therefore the individual at Dan 7:16 is an otherworld mediator. For other biblical examples of similar mediators, one can recall the spirit to Ahab at 1 Kgs 22:21 and the seraph the carries burning coals in Isa 6:6.

Daniel asks the individual for "certainty" (יַצִּיבָא) about his vision, to which the individual agrees to offer the "interpretation" (פְּשַׁר) at v.16. Concluding with a question and answer about the dream-vision's interpretation adds another literary signpost that acts as a hinge and swings the chapter in direction differing from vv. 1-14. The text skillfully guides the reader and makes known that despite the similarities and expansions of the contents in vv. 15-28 compared to vv. 1-14, this second half is more than a mere retelling; it is a reception and interpretation of what precedes. The word for interpretation, פְּשַׁר, has thirty-four appearances throughout the book of Daniel: 2:4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 16, 24, 25, 26, 30, 36, 45; 4:3, 4, 6, 15, 16, 21; 5:7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 17, 26; 7:16. The only appearance of פְּשַׁר in chapter seven is at Dan 7:16, a stark contrast compared to its many appearances in Daniel 1-6. Perhaps this singular iteration in Daniel 7 lays groundwork

for dedicating more space in chapters 7-12 for unpacking the dream-visions, as opposed to using a fraction of the interpretation to progress the story as with the court tales of chapters 1-6.

The interpreter begins at Dan 7:17 and narrows the focus by identifying the Four Beasts as four kings “that will arise out of the earth” (יְקוּמ֥וּן מִן־אַרְעָֽא). Presenting the kings as earthly is a change from the Four Beasts emerging from the “great sea” (יַמָּ֥א רַבָּֽא) at v. 3. Remembering possible echoes between Daniel’s sea and the chaotic sea of creation and ancient Near Easter literature, this paralleling of sea with the earth paints a vivid picture of chaos coming to rule over earth. No longer limited to the watery depths, chaos lives and reigns over creation as “these four great beasts” (אִלֵּין֙ חֵיוָתָ֣א רַבְרְבָתָ֔א) of the sea become four kings that “will arise from the earth” (יְקוּמ֥וּן מִן־אַרְעָֽא).

Three additional facets of Dan 7:17 also stand out: the continued use of the “four” motif, the interpreter’s focus on the beasts, and their earthly origin. First, the speaker says the Four Beasts symbolize Four Kings, providing further emphasis on the number four in Daniel 7.[170] Second, and perhaps most important, the speaker changes details of the vision by starting with the beasts and giving no mention of the sea, its name, or anything else in the vision beyond the creatures. Third, the speaker’s descriptor of the beasts coming “from the earth” (מִן־אַרְעָֽא) make a profound ontological statement about the dream-vision’s message: this destructive and all-consuming evil is now terrestrial. Earthly origin for these kings creates an interesting analogy: as the chaotic, primordial sea produced disturbing and monstrous creatures that are at God’s mercy, so the earth produces tyrannical kings subject to divine judgment.

Dan 7:17 also echoes the kingdoms represented by the statue of Daniel 2. Daniel 2 is lacking in detail about what the metal-types symbolize but one could argue Daniel 1-6 provides

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[170] Four winds at 7:2, four beasts at 7:3, four wings on the third beast at 7:6, and the Fourth Beast being the most terrifying at 7:7.

possible clarity for both Daniel 2 and 7's four kingdoms. Following Nebuchadnezzar's rule (Dan 2:37, 5:18), Belshazzar takes over as an inferior king (Dan 5:28), then leadership moves to Darius the Mede (Dan 6:1, 29), and the court tales conclude with Cyrus as king (6:29). According to the paradigm present in Daniel's first six chapters, Cyrus is the fourth king, though it is unclear as to whether this order persists as the four beasts of Daniel 7.

V.18 is complex and layered with meaning despite its straightforward eschatological message: God decides who will receive the final and eternal kingdom. Yet the verse's seemingly clear message contains symbolic imagery laden with interpretative possibilities and ambiguities. The identity of the "holy ones of the Most High" (קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין) is contested, with some scholars arguing that they are heavenly angelic beings[171] while others read them as sanctified and/or "clean" humans worthy of being in the deity's presence.[172] Daniel speaks to Nebuchadnezzar at Dan 4:14 and lays out the interpretation of the king's dream, saying the king's fate "by order of the holy ones, so that all who live will know that the Most High is sovereign over the kingdom of mortals" (מֵאמַר קַדִּישִׁין שְׁאֵלְתָא עַד־דִּבְרַת דִּי יִנְדְּעוּן חַיַּיָּא דִּי־שַׁלִּיט עִלָּיָא בְּמַלְכוּת אֱנוֹשָׁא). The marker of holy ones in Daniel is clearly a reference to mediators between humans and God, a trend that continues beyond Daniel throughout the Bible.

Comparative, inner-biblical work yields support for the claim that these "holy ones of the Most High" (קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין) are indeed celestial beings. Moses at Deut 33:2 tells of the "myriads of holy ones" (מֵרִבְבֹת קֹדֶשׁ) coming with YHWH from Sinai and Deut 33:3 has Moses describing

[171] Otto Proksch, "Der Menschensohn als Gottessohn," *Christentum und Wissenschaft* 3 (1927) 425-43, 473-81; *idem*, "Christus im Alten Testament," *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 44 (1933) 57-83. Martin Noth, "Die Heiligen des Höchsten," in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (TB 6; München: Kaiser, 1957; orig. published in *NTT* 56 (1955), 146-61.

[172] Luc Dequeker, "Daniel 7 et les Saints du Très Haut," *ETL* 36 (1960) 353-392; *idem*, "The Saints of the Most High in Qumran and Daniel," *OTS* 18 (1973) 108-87; *idem*, "Les Qedošim du Ps. 89 à la lumière des croyances sémitiques," *ETL* 39 (1963) 469-483; G. F. Hasel, "The Identity of `the Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," *Bib* 56 (1975).

how YHWH's "holy ones" (קְדֹשָׁיו) marched according to the people of Israel's direction. Deuteronomy 33 presents them as YHWH's divine emissaries made to do his bidding, which here is to follow the wishes of the Israelite nation. Job 5:1 and 15:15 reinforce this celestial hierarchy: God speaks of "the holy ones" (Job 5:1 מִקְּדֹשִׁים) as someone from whom Job could potentially seek an answer and Job 15:15 puts "his holy ones" (בִּקְדֹשָׁו) parallel to "the heavens" (שָׁמַיִם), deeming both unworthy of God's trust and approval. Ps 89:6 and 8 pair "holy ones" (קְדֹשִׁים) with "assembly" (קְהַל) and "council" (סוֹד), respectively. These biblical examples make it clear that the "holy ones" in Daniel 7 are God's servants, there to do and be as he asks.

Dan 7:18 incorporates a title for God used elsewhere in Daniel but here in chapter 7 for the first time: God is עֶלְיוֹנִין, the Most High. [173] This title only appears in the Aramaic portion of Daniel, at chapter seven and the chapters preceding it: Dan 3:26, 32; 4:14, 21, 22, 29, 31; 5:18, 21. However, what makes this title's appearance at Dan 7:18 peculiar is that עֶלְיוֹנִין is Hebrew and not Aramaic, and is plural, a move Collins and Montgomery attribute to being a play on the Hebrew אלהים.[174] Complicating this matter further is reference to the Ancient One at Dan 7:22, an issue that will be considered later in this chapter. Yet despite the mixed simplicity of verse 18, it contains perhaps the most overtly theological and anthropological sentiment of Daniel 7, and possibly the entire book of Daniel: according to v. 18 dominion and rule will be given to groups which had previously been victims of alien political systems as these holy ones "will receive the kingdom and possess the kingdom forever" (יַחְסְנוּן מַלְכוּתָא עַד־עָלְמָא).

The Daniel character pulls the focus of both the interpretation and this dissertation to the Fourth Beast at 7:19, a move that when couched in the context of Daniel 7 is expected. Further,

[173] The Aramaic lacks a definite article but is likely a title and thus definite (So Hasel, "The Identity of 'the Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," 173.
[174] Collins, *Daniel*, 312 and Montgomery, *Daniel*, 308.

Daniel keys on the horns upon the Fourth Beast's head at verses 7 and 8, then offers extended attention to the Fourth Beast's fate at Dan 7:11. Daniel's description of the beast at 7:19 varies slightly from 7:7 as v. 19 includes the addition of bronze nails with the iron teeth of Dan 7:7, an inclusion the Vulgate attempts to reconcile by describing both the teeth and nails as being made of iron.[175] Further, a particularly intriguing though purely speculative possibility regarding the inclusion of bronze at 7:19 lies in considering Daniel 7 as a reception of Daniel 2, thereby necessitating the place of bronze to align the beasts from chapter 7 with the various metals on the statue in Daniel 2.

Dan 7:19 is also remarkable because the dialogue returns to Daniel and not the interpreter; it seems Daniel wants more information about one aspect of the dream-vision beyond the vagueness of Dan 7:17-18. Newsom notes that Daniel's behavior reflects clear dissatisfaction "with the generality of the angel's interpretation,"[176] a move that blurs the boundary between Daniel as the human receiver and the interpreting intermediary. Vv. 20-22 correspond with vv. 7-8, which concern the Fourth Beast. Amid the quest for understanding, Daniel appears to receive a supplementary vision (v. 21), which sets the initial vision in vv. 7-8 in the context of war that "the little horn" successfully waged against the "holy ones." This stark war imagery speaks to Daniel's fear and anxiety from the dream-vision while also foreshadowing the coming conflict and militaristic symbolism in chapters 10-12. Set within the Book of Daniel's post-exilic Hellenistic background, the Daniel character's understanding of war presented by his questions to the interpreter creates another possibility: the dynamic between the divine and earthly political powers has shifted.

[175] Vg. comedebat; both OG and θ read "bronze" (χαλκοῖ) to describe the beast's nails.
[176] Newsom, *Daniel*, 238.

Language of Cyrus[177] as YHWH's hand in Deutero-Isaiah, in particular Isa 41:2-4 and 45:1-3, is a sharp contrast to earthly kingship and divine reign in Daniel 7. Isa 41:2-4 implies that YHWH is the reason Cyrus has taken over the kingdoms of Media and Persia, with YHWH asking the rhetorical question at Isa 41:4: "Who has performed and done this, calling out the generations from the beginning? I, YHWH, am first, and I am with the last." Like Daniel 7, Isa 41:4 is an assertion of divine sovereignty. However, the means and method of divine success at Isa 45:1-3 differ explicitly from ideologies like those behind Daniel 7:

> Thus says YHWH to his anointed: "To Cyrus whose right have I have strengthened
> To subdue nations before him and from kings I ungird their loins
> To open doors before him and gates that will not be closed."[178]

Clearly Deutero-Isaiah perceives God's sovereignty through the works of non-Israelite rulers, a sentiment Daniel 7 rejects with resounding unconditionality. Another interesting point of comparison arises from the metal imagery of Dan 7:19 alongside YHWH's words in Isa 45:2, which read:

> I will go before you and level mountains
> I will break into pieces doors of bronze and cut bars of iron.

The use of metal imagery at Isa 45:2 is striking compared to Dan 7:19. Like Daniel 7, the deity of Isa 45 brings judgment against adversaries through destruction of metallic barriers. Unlike Dan 7, Isa 45 presents God using a foreign power to execute God's sovereignty. Thus, Daniel 7's God is overt in changing the relationship between the divine and human realms, as the text takes great attention in separating the politics of humanity with the workings of God.

Dan 7:22 is the end of Daniel's press for additional information with Daniel inquiring about the resolution of the conflicts created by the Fourth Beast and the horn in Dan 7:19-21.

[177] This comparison is fitting because Cyrus is cited directly at Dan 1:21 and 6:29 while also being the fourth and final earthly king mentioned in Daniel's first six chapters.
[178] Translation is author's unless otherwise noted.

The second mention of “Ancient of Days” (עַתִּיק יוֹמַיָּא) at Dan 7:22 is another iteration of a Daniel 7 motif: the vision’s mysterious suppression of proper names, as one would expect the deity to be called YHWH or Elohim.[179] Further, the inclusion of this Ancient of Days makes v. 22 appear to describe two separate entities, one being the Most High first mentioned at 7:18 and this new character. The language indeed begs the question: are the Ancient of Days and Most High separate entities or are they the same character? Dan 7:22 reads: “until the Ancient of Days came and gave judgment on behalf of the holy ones of the Most High. And the time came and the holy ones gain possession of the kingdom” (עַד דִּי־אֲתָה עַתִּיק יוֹמַיָּא וְדִינָא יְהִב לְקַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין וְזִמְנָא מְטָה וּמַלְכוּתָא הֶחֱסִנוּ קַדִּישִׁין). This is interesting because earlier in Dan 7:9, the Ancient One sits and the “one like a human being” comes; here the deity is the one associated with arrival. It seems the celestial interpreter is offering clarity about the vision’s chronology as he sticks to the order: the beasts arrive and usher in a reign of terror; the Ancient One arrives and is enthrone at Dan 7:9, culminating in the one like a human arriving to receive God’s eternal kingdom in Dan 7:13-14.

Perhaps a solution to the tension of two potential deities in Dan 7:22 lies in understanding עֶלְיוֹנִין as a more formal title while reading עַתִּיק יוֹמַיָּא as a description, suggesting Daniel’s ongoing uncertainty prompts him to describe what he sees, the content of which the attendant clarifies throughout the interpretation by identifying the deity as “the Most High.” This theoretical resolution is buttressed by Daniel being the only character to use עַתִּיק יוֹמַיָּא language in the dream-vision and its interpretation, as the interpreter only refers to the deity as עֶלְיוֹנִין.

The conclusion of 7:22 reveals that the Daniel character sees everything in 7:19-22 as connected to the Fourth Beast’s appearance. Further, reading Daniel’s words at 7:19-22 as a retelling of a prior retelling make them more peculiar. The narrator in Dan 7:1 describes what is

[179] John Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 106.

to follow as Daniel's written recollection of a dream-vision upon his bed; then, here at 7:19-22, Daniel rehashes content he has already covered. This spotlight cast on the Fourth Beast in vv. 19-22 and the lengthy poetic discussion in vv. 23-27 paint a clear picture: the primary concern of section II is Fourth Beast.

The intermediary's response to Daniel in vv. 23-27 mirrors vv. 9-14. However, the similar poetic form is not indicative of similar content as vv. 9-10 and 13-14 describe a throne scene and the arrival of an outside human figure while vv. 23-27 restate characteristics of the Fourth Beast mentioned at vv. 7 and 19 alongside a more detailed account of the horns atop the beast's head. As will be highlighted in chapter VI in this dissertation, Christian receptions neglect the absence of the one like a human being and make the once-mentioned character into Daniel 7's central focus. Given the multiple and detailed mentions of the Fourth Beast, it is clear the creature plays an important role to the orientation, task, and purpose of Daniel 7.

In an echo that rings throughout the book of Daniel, v 25 declares that the small, arrogant horn will received sacred law and time "for a time, two times, and a half a time." Time and chronologies are important elements in the book of Daniel. References to time appear in eight of Daniel's twelve chapters[180] and processes that unfold according to chronological events are crucial to both the court tales of chapters 1-6 and the apocalyptic visions of chapters 7-12. Yet this phrase, "for a time, two times, and a half a time" at 7:25 is enigmatic. Some scholars take great effort to align a three-and-a-half-year period Antiochus IV Epiphanes' reign to Daniel 7's symbolism,[181] while others construct arguments based on the phrase symbolizing a change from

[180] Chapters 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12.
[181] Collins, *Daniel*, 322; Dieter Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 163; Jürgen-Christian Lebram, *Das Buch Daniel* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1984), 91.

a 364-day solar calendar to a 360-day lunar calendar.[182] Yet within the context of Daniel 7 resolving the tension of this phrase may be much simpler: it is an expression of the limitations of human corruption and power in respect to the unlimited sovereignty of God. Newsom describes the events of 7:25 as revolving around "the issue of the right time for the transition of sovereignty,"[183] a point previously raised at 7:22, and given the repetitive nature of the chapter, it is another emphasis on divine control over human affairs. Dan 7:25 also doubles-down on the vision's military conflict, a recurrent theme throughout Daniel 7, which marks another acknowledgement of God's control over the human realm. One could argue that when paired with the Daniel character's apparent anxieties and the focus on time in later Daniel chapters, the question behind the Daniel 7 text rings with cries from the Psalms: how long?[184] The interpreter in Daniel 7 stresses that the dream-vision lays bare the limits of earthly rule, thereby providing an answer that the Psalmists and, in turn, the people of Israel desperately need: how long? Not long, because Daniel 7 makes clear that God's reign is eternal and his justice is imminent.

Reading Dan 7:26 with 7:27 makes God's giving of kingdom, dominion, and greatness of all the kingdoms under heaven democratic: God shares God's reign to restore order amidst the chaotic rule of human-installed kingdoms. Dan 7:27 reiterates the message of Dan 7:18 and is an emphatic statement on the outcome following the chaos and carnage: dominion and rule will be given to groups which had previously been victims of human political systems. Further, the permanence of God's reign is again emphasized and, in keeping with the comparative juxtaposition of limited humanity with limitless divinity, the kingship of the righteous ones of

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[182] James VanderKam, "2 Maccabees 6, 7A and Calendrical Change in Jerusalem," in *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* (1981) 12:55-60; Anathea Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2011), 193-201.
[183] Newsom, *Daniel*, 241.
[184] M.A. Beek, "Zeit, Zeiten, und eine halbe Zeit," in *Studia biblica et semitica* (ed. W.C. van Unnik and A.S. van der Woude; Wageningen: Veenman, 1966), 19-24.

the Most High will be eternal without end. The noun עָלַ֔ם is used at v 27 to describe the coming divine kingdom; it is used adjectivally but, when read literally, it conveys a powerful message: the kingdom will a “kingdom of forever.” This final kingdom is associated with no creature or person, making its origin and purpose exactly the opposite of the kingdoms symbolized by the four beasts.

Dan 7:28, the final verse of the chapter, has a dual purpose: it closes both the second section and the entire book of Daniel 7. Daniel’s unsettling dream-vision prompted him to consult an intermediary to offer clarity and assurance, neither of which can be found in the interpretation in Dan 7:16-27. According to Dan 7:15, Daniel has a troubled spirit (אֶתְכְּרִיַּ֥ת רוּחִ֛י) and feels terror spread through his body. Dan 7:28 cements Daniel’s shaken status as it illuminates more of his response and emphasizes this lack of resolution as he describes himself as “greatly alarmed” (שַׂגִּ֣יא רַעְיוֹנַ֣י) while his “countenance changed” (זִיוַ֖י יִשְׁתַּנּ֣וֹן), prompting him to keep “this matter in my heart” (מִלְּתָ֖א בְּלִבִּ֥י נִטְרֵֽת).[185] Daniel 7 subverts expectations throughout and through its conclusion, as Daniel’s response to the interpretation contrasts positivity found throughout the court tales of chapters 1-6: he is alarmed, shaken, and otherwise unsoothed with the interpretation he receives. This reversion of hopeful expectation to anxious confusion also changes the interpreter’s role from the bringer of optimism to a harbinger of doom as Daniel’s vision promises to bring upheaval and destruction.[186]

There is much to unpack in this final verse, but one aspect is prominent: Daniel’s reaction is profoundly human and thus more relatable. War, violence, and death appear throughout

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[185] “Countenance” here is the Aramaic זיו. Biblical Hebrew lacks a direct cognate to Aramaic זיו, but some English translations render forms of פנה as countenance, an interpretive move that conveys the importance of outward physical expression as reflecting changes to the inward mental state.[185] In short, Daniel is shaken to his core so deeply that his outward appearance reflects his frightened internal state.

[186] Matthew Rindge limits his comparison to Daniel 2 and Genesis 41. He argues each “potential dream interpreter functions in the narrative as a signal of hope that the ruler’s dream may be interpreted.” See Matthew Rindge, Jewish Identity under Foreign Rule: Daniel 2 as a Reconfiguration of Genesis 41,” *JBL* 129.1 (Spring 2010) 89.

Hebrew scriptures, causing trauma and existential dread in the hearts of the texts' characters and communities. Thus, it is unsurprising that Daniel, a human character in a chapter that constantly cements the separation between human and divine, would experience distress following his dream-vision and the subsequent interpretation. Daniel's anxiety at v.28 likely reflects the fears and uncertainties of Israel, and other conquered peoples, during the rise and prime of the Hellenistic era. Militarism was a staple of the Hellenistic ideology, flowing throughout the governing class.[187] This ideology surrounded the populous through imperial iconography, architecture, folklore, and government propaganda.[188] Thus, it seems this theme of ambiguity and anxiety, combined with the bizarre images and striking destruction, tie together at Dan 7:28 to present another reality: fear and unease are natural and to be expected as God's sovereignty unfolds.

2.4 Daniel 7 Summation

Mystery and the unknown are key motivating factors behind and within Daniel 7. Breaking the chapter into two paralleling sections sets up the reader's expectations twice, only to leave said expectations unfulfilled. Based on chapters 1-6, greeting readers with a dream-vision described by Daniel promises clarity and understanding. However, as the only thing made clear by the chapter's end is the profound lack of clarity and understand. Seow articulates this tension well:

> Indeed, when all is said and done, much remains mysterious and confusing. Even so, that is where Daniel ends up and, perhaps, that is where the reader is supposed to be at this point in the book. Daniel, however, kept the matter in his heart. Because the vision is written down and made public, the point surely cannot be that he has kept it to himself.

[187] Susan Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to a Seleucid Empire* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 129.
[188] Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 114.

> Rather, the point is probably that he did not lost sight of it; he kept pondering it—mysterious and enigmatic as it is. Perhaps the reader is expected to keep on pondering the vision as well.[189]

Daniel 7 indeed sets a ponderous a tone of mystery and uncertainty alongside its themes of divine sovereignty, human frailty, bound time, limitless eternity, and cyclical patterns of history.

Though the Daniel character's uncertainties may be read as pejorative and divisive, they can also be uniting and motivating. Daniel, a man presented as a role model and the preeminent Israelite in the court of a foreign king in chapters 1-6, experiences fear, isolation, uncertainty, and alarm. Thus, as readers may have been encouraged to follow Daniel's tenacity and courage in the book of Daniel's opening chapters, so too may they see Daniel's humanness in chapter 7 and find a communal bond. United by doubt, drawn together by communal and individual misgivings, agonizing about the future, here now the Israelites have their role model as they await the fulfillment of God's promised eternal reign. God speaks to and through Daniel and even in those moments, much is left to consider and ponder. History will unfold, wars will rage, kingdoms will rise and fall, but in staying true to the apocalyptic genre, Daniel 7 remains resolute in emphasizing the sovereignty of God and the connection between the deity and the deity's people.

Daniel 7 is not isolated in its own book, as re-reading Daniel 2 will show. Fears and anxieties laced throughout Daniel 7 also manifest in Daniel 2 and 8, making Daniel 7 a fulcrum between the two chapters and uniting the court tales of Daniel 1-6 with the apocalyptic images of Daniel 8-12. Yet Daniel 2, when read through Daniel 7, presents similar tensions and similar questions, the likes of which Daniel 7 answers through retelling Nebuchadnezzar's dream narrative. Further, the hopes and promises in Daniel 7 also present themselves in Daniel 2 and 8,

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[189] Seow, *Daniel*, 114.

making the enduring sovereignty of God a staple of the book of Daniel's hermeneutical ideology. Herein lies the essence of textual reception and horizons of expectation: the changing tides of history affect what is produced and received, while particular ideas have ongoing resonance as they are made anew for communities, periods, and places.

CHAPTER III: READING DANIEL 2

3.1 Why Daniel 2?

To continue considering this dissertation's guiding question, "what is a text," we must look into the book of Daniel's first six chapters for a text that features an elaborate dream with four symbolic presentations of kingdoms, a frightened dreamer, a wise but enigmatic interpreter, all bound together by themes of anxiety over the future, human frailty, and divine sovereignty. Daniel 2 features all of these things as its presents the story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, a narrative that weighs heavily upon and within Daniel 7. In short, to better understand Daniel 7, we must first grasp Daniel 2 with consideration for how it may have affected Daniel 7 and, in turn, other apocalyptic writings.

As this chapter shows, both Daniel 7 and Daniel 2 feature fantastical visions involving the fate of creation, include intermediaries sharing interpretations with unnerved dream receivers, and depict four historical kingships through elaborate symbolism to convey as message. Thorough comparative analysis notes the broad themes mentioned above alongside smaller, less obvious similarities. Comparing the chapters also uncovers content differences that mark shifts in interpretation and appropriation of the Four Kingdom schema. Further, narrative emphasis in Daniel 2 comes with simplistic imagery, contrasting the story expediency paired with multilayered symbolism in Daniel 7. This move from simple to complex establishes a pattern that defines Daniel 7's receptive interpretation of Daniel 2, pivoting the book of Daniel from straightforward court tales toward apocalyptic ambiguities. First, this chapter focuses on the relationship between the two biblical chapters as they appear in the Hebrew. This chapter then

shifts to comparative work between the Aramaic and non-Aramaic witnesses to present a fuller picture of extant biblical versions of Daniel 7.

3.2 Daniel 2 Translation[190]

1. In the second[191] year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams, such that his spirit disturbed him and his sleep came upon him.[192]
2. And the king said to summon the enchanters, sorcerers, and the Chaldeans to tell the king his dreams, and they came and they stood before the king.
3. And the king said to them, "I dreamed a dream and it troubled my spirit to understand this dream."
4. And the Chaldeans spoke to the king in Aramaic[193]: "O King, live forever! Tell the dream to your servants and we will declare the interpretation."
5. The king answered the Chaldeans, saying, "This is a public decree: if you do not make known the dream and its interpretation, your limbs will be torn and your houses be made into a dunghill."
6. "But if you declare the dream and its interpretation you will receive gifts, a portion, and great honor from me—only[194] tell me the dream and its interpretation."
7. They answered a second time, saying, "let the king tell his servants the dream and we can make its interpretation known."
8. And the king answered, saying, "I know with certainty that you are stalling for time because you see that I have a public decree:

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[190] The translations in this dissertation owe a great debt to Dr. Annalisa Azzoni of Vanderbilt University. Her instruction and individual attention, in particular with the study of Daniel 2-7, sparked my interest for this topic. Her fingerprints are palpable throughout this dissertation.

[191] Papyrus 967 reads "twelfth," a reading that various commentators aver to be original. Yet others (Collins, Newsom, Goldingay) contend that "second" is the *lectio difficilor*.

[192] Aramaic has וּשְׁנָתוֹ נִהְיְתָה עָלָיו, where the Niphal of היה may mean, "befell, occurred, happened," or the like (cf 12:1; so Th,, ms. 88, and SyrH). Yet, given the fact that his spirit is disturbed, the loss of sleep would seem more to the point. So some interpreters have understood the expression to mean that sleep befell him again (so Montgomery, Goldingay: "but sleep came back"). Some critics (so BHS, Collins) have proposed emending to read נָדְדָה, "fled," citing the Vg. (*fugit*), though if this were indeed a genuine variant, it is one that anticipates 6:19b (שִׁנְתֵּהּ נַדַּת עֲלוֹהִי). One may, however, take verb to mean "has happened," and hence, "has gone," as in Dan 8:27.

[193] 1QDan[a] lacks this word, leading Goldingay to cite it as a "gloss" (*Daniel*, 32) Baumgartner notes it as a probable addition and suggests reading, **וַיֹּאמְרוּ** "and they said." OG and θ both read, Συριστί "Syrian," the Greek term used for Aramaic (Richard Steiner briefly addresses this; see Richard Steiner: "Why the Aramaic Script Was Called "Assyrian" in Hebrew, Greek, and Demotic" *Orientalia* 62.2 (1993), 80-82.). Both Greek and Hebrew lack a preposition before the word, resulting in the given reading. Lack of a preposition prompts Newsom and Hartman and Di Lella to read "(Aramaic)." Here the reading reflects the adverbial accusative: "in Aramaic.'

[194] Papyrus 967 and the Vulgate render "therefore" but linguistic support for a reading that weakens the adversative tone seems distended (Montgomery, *Daniel*, 150; Koch, *Die Reiche der Welt und der kommende Menschensohn: Studien zum Danielbuch*, 90; *HALOT* 1907). It is clear the King wants to bring the listeners back to the reality of what must be accomplished, as they cannot reap the rewards until the task is complete.

9. “that if you do not tell me the dream, there is one verdict for you. You have conspired amongst yourselves to speak lying and corrupt words before me until the time changes. Only[195] tell me the dream and I will know you can declare its interpretation.”
10. The Chaldeans answered before the king, saying: “There is no man on the earth who can make known what the king demands![196] For[197] no great king or ruler has asked such a thing from any magician or sorcerer or Chaldean.”
11. “The thing that the kind asks is difficult and there is no man who can make it known to the king except the gods, whose dwelling is not among flesh.”
12. Because of this the king became exceedingly angry and very furious, and commanded that all the wise men of Babylon be destroyed.
13. And the decree was put out and all the wise men were to be killed; they sought Daniel and his friends, to execute them.
14. Then Daniel replied with prudence and discretion to Arioch, the king’s chief of the executioners,[198] who had gone out to execute the wise men of Babylon.
15. And he asked, saying to Arioch, the king’s chief official, “Why is the decree from before the king so urgent?” Arioch then made the matter known to Daniel.
16. So Daniel went in and requested[199] from the king that he give him time and that he tell the interpretation to the king.
17. Then Daniel went to his house and made known his matter with his friends, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah.
18. And he asked them to seek mercy from God of the heavens concerning this mystery, in order that Daniel and his friends might not perish with the rest of the wise men of Babylon.
19. Then the mystery was revealed to Daniel with a vision of the night, and Daniel blessed the God of the heavens.
20. Daniel responded and said

“May the name of God be blessed, forever and ever,
for wisdom and power are his.

21. “For he changes the times and the seasons, removes kings and raises up kings,
gives wisdom to wise men and knowledge to those knowing understanding.

22. “He reveals deep and hidden things, knows what is in the darkness,
and the light dwells with him.

23. “To you, God of my ancestors, I give thanks and praise

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[195] See notes on “only” at 2:6 above.
[196] Literally “demand of the king.” Newsom, Goldingay, and DiLella and Hartmann each supports a form of this gloss, while Collins reads “the word of the king.” Despite the gloss, meaning remains the same and the air of urgency remains.
[197] Rendered “because” (*BDB* 1100) but glossed to continue the adversative urgency of both the interpreters’ collective anxieties and the King’s obstinance. The variant construction קבל כל מן appears in *Targum Neofiti*, meaning “opposite,” as does **כָּל־קֳבֵל** in Ezra 7:17 and Dan 3:8, but the meaning shifts according to context from directional with opposite into “on account of” akin to “concerning.” This is a common gloss, with which Goldingay, Newsom, and Collins concur in their translations found in their respective Daniel commentaries.
[198] טַבָּחַיָּא Is a particularly brutal word choice as the root טבח is used in K’thuboth 4 and Bestah 25 in reference to preparing meat for cooking and consumption. Goldingay renders “chief of police” because, according to him, “elsewhere the word simply means ‘guard/police’.” (*Daniel*, 33). OG and θ read “the chief cook,” a move that further solidifies the connection between this type of death and food preparation.
[199] Montgomery follows θ and the Peshitta by omitting עַל ו (Montgomery, *Daniel*, 154), a manuscript difference that others note without leaving the phrase out of their translation (Collins, *Daniel*, 149; Newsom, *Daniel*, 59; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 31).

for you have given me wisdom and power.
and have now made known to me what we asked of you, making known the matter of the king."

24. Therefore Daniel went to Arioch, whom the king had appointed to destroy the wise men of Babylon. And he spoke to him thusly: "Do not destroy the wise men of Babylon! Bring me in before the king and I will tell the king the interpretation."
25. Then Arioch brought Daniel before the king with haste and spoke to him thusly: "I have found one from the sons of the exiles of Judah who can make known the king's interpretation."
26. The king answered and spoke to Daniel, who name was Belteshazzar: "Are you able to tell me the dream that I have seen, and its interpretation?"
27. Daniel answered before the King and said: "the mystery of which the king asks, no wise men, conjurers, magicians, or diviners is able to make it known to the king."
28. "But there is a God in heaven who reveals mysteries, and he has made known to Nebuchadnezzar what will occur in the latter days. This is your dream and visions of your head upon your bed:
29. "To you, O King, your thoughts that came up as you were upon your bed concern what will be hereafter, and the revealer of mysteries made known to you what is to be.
30. "And as for me, this mystery was not revealed to me because of wisdom that I have compared to other living beings, but in order that the interpretation be made known to the king and so that you may know the thoughts of your heart.
31. "You, O King, were looking, and Lo![200] there was a great statue! This statue was mighty and it countenance was extraordinary. It was standing before you and its appearance was frightening.
32. "The statue's head was of fine gold, its chest[201] and arms of silver, its belly and thighs of bronze,
33. "its legs of iron, its feet partially of iron and partially of clay.
34. "As you looked a stone was cut, one not with hands, and it struck the statue upon its feet of iron and clay and it crushed them.
35. "Then the iron, the clay, the bronze, the silver, and the gold were crushed and became as the chaff of the summer threshing, and the wind carried them away so that no trace[202] of them could be found. And the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and it filled all the earth.
36. "This was the dream; now we will tell the king its interpretation.
37. "You O King, the king of kings, to whom God of the heavens gave the kingdom, the power, and the strength, and the glory
38. "into your hand he gave all humans, wherever they dwell,[203] the beasts of the field, and the birds of the heavens, whom he made ruler over them all, you are the head of gold.
39. "And after you shall rise another kingdom, inferior to yours, then a third bronze kingdom, which shall rule all the earth.
40. "And there shall be a fourth kingdom, strong like iron; just as iron crushes and shatters everything, this iron will crush and shatter[204] all these.

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[200] Also "Behold!" and "behold"[200] but rendered "Lo!" to convey the fantastical nature of what is seen.
[201] Dual construct noun; Muraoka notes 1Q20 XX, 4 uses a similar form: "how pretty her chest is!" (כמא יאא לה חדיה).
[202] Literally "and no place could be found for them." אֲתַר rendered to reflect verbal form with meaning "to indicate a place or a thing" (*CAL*; see also *TAD* A2.1). See also noun form at *Nerab Stele* 1.10.
[203] Literally "wherever they might live, he has given into your hand humans" (Muraoka, 44).
[204] Note a similar formation at 2:23; haphel participle of דקק and peal participle of חשל.

41. “And as you saw the feet and toes made partially from the potter’s clay and partially from iron, it shall be a divided kingdom, but some of the iron’s strength will be in it, just as you saw the iron mixed with the soft clay.
42. “And the toes of the feet, which were partially of clay and partially of iron, so shall the kingdom be partially strong and partially brittle.
43. “And as you saw the iron mixed with the soft clay, so shall they mix with one another in marriage, but this will not hold together with that, just as iron does not mix with clay.
44. “And in the days of those kings the God of the heavens will establish a kingdom that will never be destroyed, and it shall not be left to another people; it will crush and bring to an end all these kingdoms and it will stand eternally.
45. “Just as you saw the stone cut from the mountain not by hands, and that it crushed the iron, the bronze, the clay, the silver, and the gold, the great God has made known to the king what will be hereafter. For the dream is certain and its interpretation is trustworthy.”
46. Then king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face and worshipped Daniel and commanded an offering and soothing incense be poured out for him.
47. The king responded to Daniel and said: “Truly your god is God of Gods and ruler of kings and revealer of mysteries, for you have been able to reveal this mystery!”
48. Then the king promoted Daniel and gave him many gifts and made him ruler over the entire province of Babylon and chief prefect over all Babylon’s wise men.
49. And Daniel made a request of the king, and he appointed Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego over the work of the province of Babylon, but Daniel remained in the court of the king.

3.3 Daniel 2 Investigation

3.3.1 Structure and Form

1. Introduction and The Dream
    - 2-3. Royal Summons
        - 4. First Reply of the Interpreters
            - 5-6. Nebuchadnezzar’s First Answer
        - 7. Second Reply of the Interpreters
            - 8-9. King’s Second Answer
        - 10-11. Third Reply of the Interpreters
            - 12-13. Nebuchadnezzar’s Final Response: An Angered Decree

14-16. Daniel Begins His Work with Arioch
- 17-18. Daniel Expands his Circle
    - 19. Daniel Gets his Answer
        - 20-23. Daniel’s Doxology
            - 24-25. Daniel Ends his Work with Arioch

26. Nebuchadnezzar Challenges Daniel
    - 27-28. Daniel Responds to the Challenge
        - 29-30. Daniel Frames His Response

31. The Vision Description Begins
    - 32-35. Metals and their Fates

36. End of the Dream, Beginning of the Interpretation

37-38. Daniel's Praise of Nebuchadnezzar
39. The Second and Third Kingdoms (Making Neb's the head of gold)
41-43. The Fourth Kingdom
44-45. The Final Divine Kingdom
46-47. Nebuchadnezzar Reacts with Worship of Daniel
48-49. Daniel and Friends Promoted

A pressing issue about the structure of Daniel revolves around the chapter's unity.[205] Collins is direct, arguing "there are indications" that chapter 2 was composed without Daniel 1 in mind.[206] Seow takes a similar stance in saying the chapter has a "prehistory" as "clues of redaction are apparent throughout."[207] One could also argue the doxology at Dan 2:20-23 is an addition of some sort as it interrupts the narrative flow; this, however, is not unusual for a character or characters to pause the story for praise before returning to the account.[208] One could also argue that this doxology holds great theological and narrative importance to both the chapter and the entire book of Daniel. Daniel's prayer here provides the theological foundation upon which the account and interpretation depend: per Dan 2:20-22, God's name is blessed "forever and ever" (מִן־עָלְמָא וְעַד־עָלְמָא), he has the power to change time and seasons, sets up and brings down kings, and is the source of all wisdom, knowledge, and hidden things. Daniel speaks here and attributes power, wisdom, and strength to God, making God the source of Daniel's abilities and, in turn, the proceeding interpretation. Further, Daniel makes it clear that God controls history as he "removes" (מְהַעְדֵּה) and "raises up" (מְהָקֵים) kings. Emphasis on God's eternal power

[205] Hartman and DiLella argue certain passages, particularly sections in vv. 13-23, are derived from a second, independent version of the story in chapter 2 (Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel*, 139 and 145). Lebram follows a similar argument but focuses more on 2:13-24 as a self-contained and likely separate unit (Lebram, *Das Buch Daniel*, 48).
[206] Collins, *Daniel*, 152.
[207] Seow, *Daniel*, 26. Seow cites numerous examples, including the king's intolerance to grant additional time at 2:8 compared to granting Daniel a quick extension at 2:16; Daniel's introduction to the king by Arioch at 2:25 seems counter to Daniel's appearance before Nebuchadnezzar at 2:16; the peculiar position (and names) of Daniel's friends at 2:17 and 2:49.
[208] See Exodus 15:1-21 and the songs of Moses and Miriam standing between the destruction of Pharaoh's army at Exodus 14 and the bitter water made sweet at Exodus 15:22-27. Also, Samson's song at Judges 15:16, Moses' praise at Numbers 21:17-18, and the song of Moses and Joshua (Deuteronomy 31:19-22, 30, 32:1-43, among others.

and control is a crucial theme, one that the book of Daniel revisits in both its court tales and apocalyptic narratives.

A most obvious structural element of Daniel 2 is the shift from biblical Hebrew to Aramaic at v. 4. In terms of content, this language shift does not affect the chapter, a significant factor that shall receive additional consideration in this chapter's content section below. Daniel 2 is indeed a complex text, containing many characters and points of focus. Yet the brilliance of the content connects with the subtlety of the structure to create a remarkable text that does not stray far from the court tales of Daniel 1 and 3-6. The introduction starts the first of many narrative crescendos, each with their own micro-conclusion that ultimately leads to the chapter's final resolution at vv. 46-47. The hidden dream of v. 1 folds into the royal summons of vv. 2-3, leading to a tense back-and-forth between Nebuchadnezzar and his royal interpreters that culminates with the king's angered declaration of death to his failed commentators.

The story swings away from broad tensions of Dan 2:1-13 into the specific focus of Daniel and the impact of the king's anger at Dan 2:14. Ever resourceful, Daniel responds with cunning promptness in negotiating with Arioch at vv. 14-16. Daniel recruits help from his compatriots and ends this second crescendo with brief resolution as Daniel praises God for what Daniel has received before returning to Arioch. A third crescendo begins as Nebuchadnezzar starts another dialogue with Daniel but, unlike the back-and-forth of Dan 2:4-13, Daniel gains control of the situation at Dan 2:27-28. This shift in control from Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel builds tension through pairing the dream revelation with its interpretation, a move yielding a dual resolution of both this third portion and the entire chapter as Nebuchadnezzar's anxieties from the chapter's opening become rejoicing and benevolence toward Daniel and his friends.

3.3.2 Content

The second chapter of the book of Daniel is a complex and well-structured narrative that uses dialogue to build tension that peaks at the threat of widespread death at v. 12. Daniel and his friends must confront the angered Nebuchadnezzar, but unlike Daniel 1, the outcome of Daniel's decisions stands to affect more people than just the Israelite foursome. Daniel 2:1 begins with some simple introductory facts: in line with Daniel 1, Nebuchadnezzar remains king. Further, it is the second year of his reign, meaning at least a year has passed since the events of Daniel 1.[209] These opening words set the stage for the immediate action: "Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams" (חָלַם נְבֻכַדְנֶצַּר חֲלֹמוֹת) that caused him great distress and prevent him from sleep. Plural "dreams," raises clues of intertextuality because Daniel 2 only discusses one dream. This plurality echoes Gen 41:8 and the two dreams that Pharaoh had, as "his spirit was troubled" (תִּפָּעֶם רוּחוֹ). Similarly, Nebuchadnezzar has one dream but twice mentions "his spirit was troubled" (תִּתְפָּעֶם רוּחוֹ) at Dan 2:1 and 3. Interestingly, even though only one dream is at issue with Nebuchadnezzar (see vv. 3, 4, 5, 38), the Hebrew in v. 1 refers to the king's dreams, thus echoing Pharaoh's two dreams in the Joseph story. Another echo occurs as Pharaoh's dreams came during the second year of Joseph's sojourn in Egypt (Gen 41:1) and Nebuchadnezzar's dream came during Daniel's second year in exile (Dan 2:1). These initial parallels alert the reader to a much larger interpretive element of Daniel 2: it echoes Genesis 41. Further

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[209] Collins sites problems with the dating at Dan 2:1 (Collins, *Daniel*, 154), but Seow weaves the timeline into the chapter's narrative theological backbone: "That Daniel had not yet completed the program that the Babylonians had designed is true, but that fact makes his successful interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream all the more remarkable. His success cannot be attributed to Babylonian education and cannot be explained in terms of his education at all. The chronological notice highlights a comic irony in the narrative: a mere trainee in the Babylonian academy will outperform all the full-fledged experts; a lowly exile will enlighten his mighty captor. Yet, the point is not merely that the novice has made a fool of the experts, which admittedly is a common motif in stories of this sort. More importantly, the point is a theological one: Daniel's success is owing neither to his personal gifts nor to his Chaldean education, but to the wisdom and the power of God alone." (Seow, *Daniel*, 37).

comparative work shows just how deep this reverberation of the Joseph story goes, making Daniel 2 itself a consequence of another biblical text.

Instead of deciphering the dream himself, Nebuchadnezzar consults others who skills in interpretation exceed his. Dan 2:2 shows the king's response, as he calls "enchanters, sorcerers, and the Chaldeans" (חַרְטֻמִּים וְלָאַשָּׁפִים וְלַמְכַשְּׁפִים). Similar to Nebuchadnezzar, Pharaoh summons his "magicians" (חַרְטֻמֵּי) and wise men to court and, also like Nebuchadnezzar, Pharaoh's experts cannot interpret his dreams (Gen 41:8). Both Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar consult "magicians," as the Biblical Hebrew חַרְטֻמִּים echoes the Egyptian *ḥry-tp*, "chief, lector priest."[210] Use of חַרְטֻמִּים illuminates a connection with Joseph story that, by virtue of חַרְטֻמִּים and possible Egyptian etymology, extends to "deeds of wonders" in the Westcar Papyrus' chief lector priests.[211] Nebuchadnezzar's response to his dream is more extreme compared to Pharaohs, as Nebuchadnezzar summons consultants in the various professional guilds of diviners from Egypt to Mesopotamia. Further, not only is his conference of experts more comprehensive than Pharaoh's, his assignment for these experts is far more challenging than what Pharaoh had given his consultants. Pharaoh only asks for the interpretation of his dreams, but Nebuchadnezzar demands more: he wants to know both the contents of the dream and its interpretation. Here the king's response seems to double-down on the eventual interpreter will have to provide, as Daniel is able to do what Joseph does (interpret the dream) and tell the contents of the dream without Nebuchadnezzar uttering a word of it.

Nebuchadnezzar's assemblage responds to the king's sensible request with fawning reason at Dan 2:4: "O King, live forever! Tell the dream to your servants and we will declare the

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[210] Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2007 reprint), 582.
[211] Fourteen uses of *ḥry-tp* in the Westcar Papyrus: 1.16, 1.22, 3.19, 3.24, 4.3, 4.12, 4.16, 4.20, 4.23, 5.25, 6.8, 6.14, 6.17, 6.21. Taken from A.M. Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians* (California: J.V. Books, 1988), which is based on Berlin Papyrus 3033.

interpretation." This response is reasonable as answering the king's request requires greater detail beyond the monarch's mere inquiry. The formulaic nature of the response "O King, live forever!" parallels 1 Kgs 1:31[212] and Neh 2:3a.[213] It also resembles an Akkadian phrase: "May Nebo and Marduk give long days and everlasting years to X my lord"[214] as well as an excerpt from the Syriac version of Ahiqar: "Then I fell on my face on the ground and worshipped the king, and I said, 'My lord the king, live forever.'"[215] Comparing this seemingly straightforward sycophantic behavior by the king's servants to other greetings like it connects Daniel 2 to the rich and variegate histories, as well the complexities, tied with monarchial discourse and dialogue. The response in Dan 2:4 is also a foil to the permanence of God's reign and the impermanence of human kingships. As Daniel 2 will show, the dream concerns the eventual fall of human rule and the installation of God's reign, making this call for Nebuchadnezzar to "live forever" an ironic foreshadowing of human frailty.

The address in Dan 2:4 also features an abrupt language shift from Hebrew to Aramaic, a move that prompts significant scholarly discussion. Realities of linguist differences during the period in which Daniel was composed are distinct. Aramaic existed as the lingua franca of the ancient Near East during the eighth century BCE as Akkadian became less of a spoken, economic language and more of a ritual and academic tongue.[216] Many see the change as facile

[212] "Then Bathsheba bowed down with her face to the ground, and worshipped toward the king, and said, 'May my lord, the King, David live forever!"
[213] "I said to the king, 'May the king live forever!"
[214] *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* I, 239.
[215] *The Story of Ahikar: from the Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Old Turkish, Greek and Slavonic Versions* (trans. F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and Agnes Smith Lewish; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), 112.
[216] According to Brinkman, the Arameans' "…principle impact on Babylonia seems to have been in the realm of language, where in this period Aramaic was fast replacing Babylonian as the vernacular; by the late eighth century, the use of Aramaic in Babylonia may have become so widespread that officials had to be dissuaded from using it in government correspondence." See J.A. Brinkman, *Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747-626 B.C.* (Philadelphia, PA: University Museum, 1984), 13-14.

stylistic difference,[217] while others devote considerable thought on the how and why of the inclusion אֲרָמִית of mid-verse.[218] Despite varying particulars between scholarly arguments, the likelihood of the language shift being stylistic is an amiable resolution to the chapter's most obvious tension. It is possible that despite the complexities of the language change and the contested inclusion of אֲרָמִית, this Hebrew-Aramaic shift is a stroke of literary genius. Language has a direct effect on providing characterization, generates narrative tension, and changes the orientation of a significant portion of the book of Daniel.

Suppose that Dan 2:4 were to lack the Aramaic shift; the passage would continue with its vision and interpretation, culminating with Daniel's expected success and glorification in line with Daniel 1 and 3-6. Chapter 3 would then begin in Aramaic, marking a sharp distinction between chapters 1 and 2, thereby creating a disunity in terms of language among the court tales as well as making the return to Hebrew in Daniel 8-12 more convention in terms of breaking Daniel into hypothetical literary units. Instead, the writer keys readers into the artful blending of genres that happen between chapters 6 and 7 with a combination of Hebrew and Aramaic. This profound stylistic choice informs aspects of what the book of Daniel holds by generating alertness and focus, prompting the reader to aim attention at language in such a way that it reignites concentration on content.

Nebuchadnezzar responds to the Chaldeans' request with frustration and threats of death and dismemberment at Dan 2:5. The verse features a *dis legomenon*, אַזְדָּא,[219] which is rendered

[217] Goldingay says the change to Aramaic is a natural transition, akin to a similar shift at Ezra 4:8 (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 44). Newsom takes a similar approach to Goldingay, saying it is an "apparent scribal notation" (Newsom, *Daniel*, 68).
[218] Collins presents an exceptionally thorough yet notably concise discussion of arguments about אֲרָמִית being a gloss or merely part of a traditional literary formula. See Collins, *Daniel*, 156. Daniel Snell also offers a sound overview of perspectives; see "Why is There Aramaic in the Bible?" *JSOT* 18 (1980), 32-51.
[219] It also appears in Dan 2:8.

here as "public." It is an Old Persian loanword[220] for which Hebrew-Aramaic lexicons disagree on the exact meaning, leaving translators with many options, including "sure, assured"[221], "announced,"[222] "decreed," and "public, promulgated."[223] Gesenius cites Hebrew interpreters that compare the Hebrew אזד with the Talmud phrase "to go to one's opinion," saying the form appearing in Daniel is the feminine of אזד.[224] The context of the verse within the chapter suggests that Nebuchadnezzar is issuing a decree that persons far and wide are to heed; he is not hiding his thoughts or intentions.

Nebuchadnezzar draws a line in the sand at Dan 2:5: they must tell him the interpretation and the dream itself; anything else is complete failure. This demand, paired with the public decree, continues Nebuchadnezzar's excessiveness compared to Pharaoh. Pharaoh does not lash out at his servants, nor does he threaten to publicly destroy them and their homes. Nebuchadnezzar's response thereby becomes all the rasher, making him appear unstable, while Pharaoh appears reasonably restrained and patient.

It could be a mere show of power, or it could be a narrative means-to-an-end that brings Daniel and his friends into the story's fold. Comparing Nebuchadnezzar's response with exorcism practices in the ancient Near East reveals another possibility: transference. Mesopotamians dreaded dreams as nightmares and other unpleasant dreams were brought on by "angry deities, demons, and sorcery."[225] Combating said dreams was preventative through

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[220] Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 138; Collins, *Daniel*, 148; Newsom, *Daniel*, 62; E. Lipiński, "Review: Le Livre de Daniel" *Vetus Testamentum* 28.2 (April, 1978), 238.
[221] *BDB*
[222] *CAL*; Walther Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenuberlieferungen* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975).
[223] *HALOT*
[224] H.W.F. Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew-Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament* (trans. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Company, 1979), 25.
[225] S.A.L. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals* (Münster, Germany: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 120. Butler cites three examples to support his general theme of dreams and dream: Gilgamesh's response to his dreams ('[if] a god did not pass by, why is my flesh numbed?"), an excerpt from *Underworld Vision of an Assyiran Crown Prince* ("I woke up, and like a young man who has shed blood and wanders alone in a march,

worship, sacrifice, and offerings,[226] but specific rituals were in place in the event of a negative dream.[227] One such method was a ritualistic transference from the dreamer onto a figurine that was subsequently burned, given offerings to, or sent away in a ceremonial manner.[228] Though there is a significant different between transferring a dream from a person onto a symbolic figurine, the parallels between this practice and Nebuchadnezzar's request are stark. One could argue that if the Chaldeans, sorcerers, and magicians can interpret the dream without having to be told, they will in effect "take" the dream from the king, a move that would thereby remove all the dream's potential negative connotations from the monarch.

The word rendered in Dan 2:5 as "dunghill" (נְוָלִ֖י) appears three times in the Hebrew Bible: Dan 2:5, Dan 3:29, and Ezra 6:11.[229] Little is known about the word as its etymology is unclear,[230] making its meaning/translation unclear.[231] Goldingay argues "dunghill" may be a guess but maintains "something fairly extreme is required to match being torn limb from limb."[232] Indeed, the result of the King's punishment must, at the very least, equal the horror of physical dismemberment, thereby making one's home into a pile of excrement or dunghill appropriate.[233]

Nebuchadnezzar juxtaposes his threats of violence at Dan 2:5 with promises of glory at Dan 2:6, as he throws the Chaldeans language back to them and upon the reader. The king

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whom a runner has trapped, so that his heart pounds"), and lines 41-42 from *ADRC* col. III (Following the dream which I saw during the night, I am afraid, and I am worried, and I am constantly terrified). See Butler, 67.

[226] Butler, *Dreams and Dream Rituals*, 121.

[227] Butler, *Dreams and Dream Rituals*, 200.

[228] Butler, *Dreams and Dream Rituals*, 201.

[229] *Targum Esther* II 8:15 cites an excerpt from Dan 2:5, נְוָלֵי וּבַיְתֵיהּ יִתְעֲבֵד הַדְמִין, but it does not aid in illuminating the word's meaning or etymology.

[230] Collins, *Daniel*, 148

[231] Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 138 and Collins, *Daniel*, 62.

[232] Goldingay, *Daniel*, 33.

[233] The entry in *BDB* proposes the possibility of it being an Akkadian loan word, *namâlu* or *nawâlu*, but Assyriologists do not support the claim. See Koch, *Die Reiche der Welt und der kommende Menschensohn: Studien zum Danielbuch*, 40.

emphasizes his decree as he twice asks for “the dream and its interpretation,”[234] a clear play on the Chaldeans request for the dream before the interpretation. This mixture of threat with promise echoes ancient Near Eastern law, especially as it pertains to words from the king upon servants and followers.[235] Nebuchadnezzar eliminates possible gray area for the fate of the king’s supernatural cadre in Dan 2:5-6 as his response presents a morbid either/or scenario: either they do as the king wishes and live or fail and be brutally killed.

The second interaction between the king and his summoned servants at Dan 2:7-9 begins with a repetition of content as the Chaldeans, likely distraught by the king’s ultimatum, again ask for the dream to make the interpretation known. Angered and anxious, Nebuchadnezzar’s counter is bitingly caustic as he states a fact that narrative makes clear: his trusted supernatural advisors are stalling. This statement of frustration pairs with an act of monarchical aggression as the king reiterates his previous ultimatum with an expansion of accusation, claiming that they have conspired against him to lie and mislead until “the time changes” (עַ֛ד דִּ֥י עִדָּנָ֖א יִשְׁתַּנֵּ֑א). The text is unclear as to what “time” Nebuchadnezzar speaks of but the connotation is clear: his advisors are hoping the king will give in to their questioning and provide an answer, forget and move on, or fall into another more precipitous situation. Passage of time is also an important motif in Daniel 7, in particular Dan 7:12, where the beasts’ lifespans are extended “for a season and a time” (עַד־זְמַ֥ן וְעִדָּֽן). Nebuchadnezzar’s reprimand of his servants sheds new light on Dan 7:12, suggesting that despite the fact God allows the beasts to live, it is only delaying their inevitable demise with the inception of God’s permanent rule.

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[234] וּפִשְׁרֵ֖הּ חֶלְמָ֥א

[235] One particular example stands out with decrees from Darius the King in DB V: obeying the law results in person and familiar flourishing, while disobeying years destruction and smiting from Ahuramazda. See Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon,* 132.

The Chaldeans acknowledge the king's refusal at Dan 2:10-11 as anxiety replaces the seemingly calm demeanor presented in their requests for the dream at vv. 4 and 7. Their response is elevated and sets the stage for Daniel to swoop in and succeed despite great adversity, as they declare: "There is no man on earth who can make know what the king demands!" The Chaldean's words echo the Joseph novella in the book of Genesis as the two prisoners declare "no one" can interpret their dreams, Pharaoh comes up empty with his magicians and wise men, and Pharaoh himself tells Joseph that "no one" can interpret his dream.

Nebuchadrezzar also asks three times (vv. 3, 5-6, 8-9) for dream's content and interpretation, which is consistent with his reaction and threatened punishment at Dan 2:5. Not even Pharaoh asks something so demanding, which makes Nebuchadnezzar's command and Daniel's eventual success more remarkable. Daniel 2 appears to streamline the scenario while amplifying the inabilities of Nebuchadnezzar's courtiers and raising the stakes with a universal decree of death, perhaps as a means to underline the importance of Daniel's pending accomplishment. Further, it grounds this court story in the familiar Joseph tradition, a move that, when reading Daniel 2 alongside Daniel 7, creates a literary echo between Genesis 40-41, Daniel 2, and Daniel 7.

The word "flesh" (בִּשְׂרָא) in Dan 2:11 is rendered here as singular to reflect the Aramaic form. Goldingay glosses the word to read "mortals," a move he makes to emphasize "humanity in its creaturely weakness."[236] The word can, in general, mean flesh as in that which covers the human body,[237] but literary context here makes the rendering metaphorical, turning flesh into a euphemism for mortal/human.[238] The use of בִּשְׂרָא here is significant, as it presents a striking

[236] Goldingay, *Daniel*, 32.
[237] Targum Genesis 2:21 and Targum Leviticus 13:2.
[238] Targum Y'rushalmi Genesis 40:23 and Targum Jeremiah 17:5.

juxtaposition between the human and divine realms, breaking humanity down to its most basic physical component: flesh, This grammatical move sets divine capacity above and against human's limited ontology as Nebuchadnezzar grows obstinate over said human limitations while setting the stage for Daniel to display God's sovereign control.

Nebuchadnezzar's third and final response to the group breaks the preceding dialogue's pattern as the king does not speak to them directly. Dan 2:12 uses Aramaic verbal hendiadys in to describe his quick turn to anger as he issues a command to destroy Babylon's wise men.[239] Daniel 2 lacks specifics about the decree, including the attributes of a "wise man," how they will be killed, and who will do the killing. Nebuchadnezzar's behavior is overtly exaggerated and selfish and thus far his representation in Daniel 2 has been anything but flattering.

Dan 2:13 bridges the gap between the opening twelve verses and the next section, as it repeats of the decree to destroy all wise men issued in Dan 2:12. Some scholars argue this repetition is the result of textual revision, while others see it as merely part of the narrative.[240] Perhaps another viable reading is understanding the repeat as a literary sign-post, one that transitions from a Nebuchadnezzar-centric narrative into a dream interpretation sequence that also focuses on the Daniel character. The decree is a fulcrum, opening the door for Daniel to insert himself into the story and provide resolution to the tension created by the king's obstinance and his courtiers' failings.

Daniel's reply in vv. 14-15 shows skill and shrewdness as he greets his potential executioners with "prudence and discretion" (עֵטָא וּטְעֵם). Arioch, the "king's chief official" (רַב־

[239] The verbs בְּנַס and קְצַף are Peal perfect in this Aramaic hendiadys; they function as adjectives describing the king's reaction to his interpreters' collective hesitation and anxiety. שַׂגִּיא is a modifying adjective that distributes to both verbs as a means of emphasizing the king's anger.

[240] Scholars that suggest the repetition is a revision yield: Collins, *Daniel*, 158; Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel*, 139; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 85; Lawrence Will, *Jew in the Court of a Foreign King* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990), 82-83. Scholars who take a different perspective: Goldingay, *Daniel*, "seeks to interpret that chapter as it stands" (44); Klaus Koch, *Die Reiche der Welt und der kommende Menschensohn: Studien zum Danielbuch*, 159.

טַבָּחַיָּא דִּי מַלְכָּא) delivers the king's message to Daniel. Arioch's designation of "chief official" parallels Potiphar, "Pharaoh's official, captain of the guards" (סְרִיס פַּרְעֹה שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים) in Gen 39:1. Daniel does not attempt to deceive the king, nor is he indirect with his wishes; he is direct in asking for additional time. Daniel's directness pays dividends as we get no mention of the king's ire, anger, or frustration at 2:16. Daniel simply returns to his friends and tells them what unfolded. This is a remarkable turn of events as the focus and function of Dan 2:1-12 falls on Nebuchadnezzar, but here Nebuchadnezzar is silent and receives no mention again until v. 24.

Dan 2:17 is a key bridge between Daniel 1 and 3, as mentioning the three friends by their Israelite names keys the reader into their ongoing presence, a move the sets up the payoff of Daniel 3 and the story of the flaming furnace, a narrative from which Daniel is strangely absent. Using the Daniel and friends' Israelite names is also a clever act of subversion: though the king assigned them Babylonian names, they remain true to their heritage behind closed doors. The foursome uses the king's rules and regulations against him in many cases throughout chapters 1-6, but here they use them to their collective advantage: the Israelites' faithfulness means the king will get his interpretation and the kingdom will be spared from bloodshed. Faithful action replaces petulant stalling as God rewards Daniel's faith quickly and effectively through the revealed dream, a move the prompts Daniel's immediate praise and adulation to the deity.

The author's skillful use of language continues in Dan 2:19 as Daniel experiences his own nighttime revelation with the "vision" that allows him to know Nebuchadnezzar's dream and expound its interpretation. "Vision" comes from the root חזה, one of the words used to describe Daniel's dream-vision in chapter 7. This connection between Daniel 2 and 7 is crucial as it establishes Daniel's connection to the divine and his ability to be the vehicle for said dreams and visions. Montgomery argues this "vision" is a lower form of communication between

humans and the divine,[241] but “dreams” and “visions” are used interchangeably at Dan 4:2, 7, and 7:1 and, per Collins’ suggestion, it seems visions of the night replace daytime visions following the exile.[242] Thus, Dan 2:19 situations the Daniel character in a long line of biblical dream interpreters and cements distinct separation between merely receiving a dream or vision and being granted the capacity to interpret said dream or vision.

Daniel’s praise in vv. 20-23 reflects a shift in structure and tone, as poetic joy and humility replace the strict dialogue and response anxieties of the preceding verses. Dan 2:20 echoes the formulaic fawning of the king’s courtiers toward Nebuchadnezzar at Dan 2:4 but, unlike the sycophants of v. 4, Daniel extends praise for what God has given him instead of cajoling in hopes of gaining more or changing the king’s mind. Yet from a structural and content perspective the most striking element of these verses is their closer resemblance to biblical Psalms than court tales or Daniel’s later apocalyptic visions. For example, the verb הֱוֵא is a third-person jussive verb that Daniel employs to bless “the name of God,” a form used at Ps 113:2 to bless God’s name. Further, the book of Psalms, including Pss 41:13, 66:8, 10, 19, 35, 72:18, 106:48 and many others, employs poetic structure and content similar to Daniel’s words at chapter 2. The language and syntax in Dan 2:20-23 is remarkable for its beauty and skill but these verses are superfluous in terms of contributions to the Daniel 2 narrative. The point, it seems, of Daniel’s Psalm-like praise is to expand on Daniel’s reaction in Dan 2:19. Daniel 2 is designed to make clear that Daniel thrives because of supernatural, gifted insight as opposed to empirical, rational, and/or experienced knowledge.

These four verses of blessing are also a theological treatise of sorts, as Daniel asserts God’s sovereign control over time, the changing seasons, and ever-changing tides of human

[241] Montgomery, *Daniel*, 156.
[242] Collins, *Daniel*, 160.

politics. The source of power and wisdom in the book of Daniel is very apparent: God. Nebuchadnezzar summons experts from around the known world expecting resolution (Dan 2:2), but his hope soon becomes anger as the story makes clear that wisdom does not belong to the king or his subordinates; it belongs to God and God will give it to whomever God pleases. As the chapter unfolds, Daniel, like the forgotten Joseph in jail (Gen 41:9-13), is out of Nebuchadnezzar's mind despite the events of Daniel 1.

Unlike the sages accused of stalling for time and facing Nebuchadnezzar's wrath (vv. 8-9), Daniel must ask for time (v. 16) despite being called upon by Nebuchadnezzar. Here now the hymn makes clear that God controls and changes time (v. 16); the time, it seems, was never Nebuchadnezzar's to give. Dan 2:4 has the king's motley assortment flattering the king with calls to "live forever" (עָלְמִין חֱיִי), but at 2:20 Daniel blesses the name of God "forever and ever" (מִן־עָלְמָא וְעַד־עָלְמָא). This doxology goes a step further, saying that God controls time and human political machinations as he "removes kings and raises up kings" (Dan 2:21b). Nebuchadnezzar asks the impossible of his human interpreters and neglects God, a move that Daniel quickly corrects, yielding immediate results in v. 23 as Daniel exclaims "you have given me wisdom and power" (דִּי חָכְמְתָא וּגְבוּרְתָא יְהַבְתְּ לִי) to assuage the king.

Dan 2:23 may also be bittersweet for Daniel as his words both reflect God's eternal reign and echo the cries of Israel in exile with "God of my ancestors" (אֱלָהּ אֲבָהָתִי). Here Daniel's experience reflects that of his people, as the God of heaven (v. 19) is the living God of Daniel and his ancestors (v. 23), unbound by time a place. Israel had to grapple with losing the temple only to find God's transcendent presence in exile, reflecting that despite what humans build and destroy, Israel remains God's particular people intervening here with Daniel in history to protect them. Thus, the doxology starts with praise to Daniel's God (v. 19), attributing all power to God,

but ends with said power and wisdom being given to Daniel (v. 23). Here this doxology asserts Daniel's humility within God's eternal reign and foreshadows the coming display of God in the interpretation.

Reference to God's ability to remove and raise up king foreshadows what the dream and its interpretation hold. Daniel's blessing is also pragmatic: references to times, seasons, and changing human empires shows that Daniel indeed knows what the dream holds as his reaction in 20-23 is consistent with the sovereignty God displays in the interpretation at 2:37-45. Daniel does not simply guess and succeed in the chapter's second half; he follows the path given to him in the divine revelation in v. 19.

Arioch, the king's chief official, returns at Dan 2:24, making him a crucial piece in the unfolding narrative. He is the middle-man for Daniel at Dan 2:15 and 2:24, as Daniel would be unlikely to gain audience with Nebuchadnezzar without a connection to the king's inner circle. Arioch serves that purpose and executes the role with a bit of irony: the person likely sent to kill Daniel is the one through which those doomed to die are saved. One can only wonder what compelled Arioch to listen to Daniel in both instances, much less take steps to get Daniel before the agitated dictator. The relationship between Arioch and Daniel echoes Daniel 1 and the collaboration between Daniel and the palace master Ashpenaz, but unlike Daniel 1, Arioch and the Daniel character strike do not bargain or parlay; Arioch simply takes Daniel at Daniel's word.

Three characters dialogue with each other at Dan 2:25-28 for the first time in chapter 2. Spurred by Daniel's previous conversations with Arioch, the trio form a triangle of discourse as Arioch speaks to the king, the king speaks to Daniel, and Daniel offers Nebuchadnezzar the response he has longed to hear. Nebuchadnezzar does not address Daniel by name, though v. 26

reminds readers that Daniel's Babylonian name is Belteshazzar. Perhaps including the name supports Collins' theory of Daniel 2 being an expansion of another story in which Nebuchadnezzar was unaware of Daniel. Indeed, it is peculiar that Nebuchadnezzar would need to be reintroduced to someone who astounded him as Daniel and his friends did in chapter 1.

Dan 2:27 and 28 are an obvious gibe at the Chaldeans' pathetic plea at 2:11, as Daniel affirms that no one can do what the king asks. However, Daniel's faith in the God "who reveals mysteries" has equipped him with the necessary access for both knowing and interpreting Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Here Daniel shares with the king what readers already know thanks to 2:19-23: Daniel is merely a vessel for God's work and revelation. Further, Daniel clarifies that Nebuchadnezzar's dream was not accidental or happenstance; it is the direct result of divine action.

Daniel shares in v. 28 that God has shown what the future holds in "the latter days" (בְּאַחֲרִית יוֹמַיָּא). An acceptable rendering of this phrase is "the end of days," but Christian reception lays eschatological meaning upon the chronology marker,[243] an interpretive move that may undermine the bound timeline present established in the dream. Similar phrasing appears at Num 24:14, Gen 49:1, and Deut 4:30 and 31:29, in which it is clear the language refers to a limited and finite end. Other passages, such as Isa 2:2, Mic 4:1, Hos 3:5, and Ezek 38:16 blur the boundaries between historical culmination and eschatological fulfillment, a move that prompts Collins to consider the possibility of בְּאַחֲרִית יוֹמַיָּא having theological flexibility beyond the immediate future.[244]

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[243] Goldingay arguments that "the phrase itself is not of eschatological meaning; it only acquires this association through being used in such contexts." *Daniel*, 49.

[244] Collins, *Daniel*, 161. Collins continues and supports the claim that its use in Daniel 2 and 10:14 is reference "to a definitive change in the future but not an end to history."

Daniel continues his address to Nebuchadnezzar at Dan 2:29-30 but repeats the information from vv. 27-28. Collins describes the duplication as "awkward"[245] and Hartman and DiLella consider vv. 29-30 as a portion of the addition based around Dan 2:13-23.[246] Indeed, the repetition is peculiar and undermines the chapter's unity. However, read in context of the chapter's theological orientation, it is reasonable to consider Daniel as simply reaffirming divine sovereignty over and against Nebuchadnezzar. Further, the duplication could be another gibe at Nebuchadnezzar's kingship and the limitations of humanity as Daniel is quick to show that God gave Nebuchadnezzar the dream not as a sign of the king's power, privilege, or ability. Instead, the writers double-down on God using Nebuchadnezzar as a mere vessel for the divine's unfolding plan for history. In short, this repetition is a rhetorical move designed to elevate God and depreciate Nebuchadnezzar.

Finally, after thirty verses of dialogue, discourse, and anxiety, the description of the dream begins. Dan 2:31 describes what the king sees as "a great statue" (צַלְמָ֥א דִּכֵּ֖ן רַ֑ב). Readers are quick to interpret the statue as resembling a human-being, but the language does not make that the only possibility. The word for "statue" in v. 31 appears in biblical Aramaic only in Daniel 2 and 3, and each appearance lacks direct reference to what the statue may resemble.[247] Goldingay raises the possibility of the statue representing someone or something other than a human when discussion Daniel 3, saying "the text's failure to clarify what the statue represented may reflect the fact that it [the text] is more concerned with the challenge it issued to the three Jews."[248] It is possible that this statue in Daniel 2 anticipates the one in Daniel 3, a move that creates deeper inter-biblical interpretative ties for the book of Daniel. Further, read considering

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[245] Collins, *Daniel*, 162.
[246] Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel*, 140.
[247] Dan 2:31, 32, 34, 35; 3:1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15. 18. 19.
[248] Goldingay, *Daniel*, 70.

Daniel 7, perhaps the point of the statue is not its form or shape; rather, it purpose lies in the response it generates from the dream viewer and subsequent interpretation.

Dan 2:31 continues with the statue, saying it "was mighty and its countenance was extraordinary" and "its appearance was frightening. This description supports reading the statue as designed to elicit a reaction and response from the dream. "Countenance" comes from the Aramaic זיו. Biblical Hebrew lacks a direct cognate to זיו, but some English translations render forms of פנה as countenance, an interpretive move that conveys the importance of outward physical expression as reflecting changes to the inward mental state.[249] Dan 2:31 uses זיו to emphasize the statue's outward appearance while being mindful of this outward appearance reflecting inward confidence and certainty.[250]

The word appears again at Dan 4:33 in Nebuchadnezzar's mouth as he considers his return to human form following the actualization of Daniel's interpretation in chapter 4. One could argue use of זיו at Dan 4:33 only accounts for the king's outward appearance, but the preceding phrase illuminates the word's existential possibilities: "At that time my reason returned to me, and the honor and majesty of my kingdom and my countenance came back over me." "Reason" pairs with the restored countenance at Dan 4:34 and 36 as the outward change reflects an inward restoration. Thus, one can argue this root carries both an aesthetic and inward connotation, meaning that the statue's beaming outward appearance at Daniel 2 reflects confidence, an attribute that shakes Nebuchadnezzar to his core. It initially seems peculiar that confidence strikes fear in the human king, but, reading Nebuchadnezzar's reaction in light of the

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[249] Genesis 4 and Cain's response God's rejection of his offering is a preeminent example as Cain is more than sad or forlorn; his inward being has changed.

[250] This deeper rendering of זיו extends beyond the biblical book of Daniel: *Koheleth Rabbah* uses it as a description of full and complete bodily health (see *Koh. R.* 3:11), as does *Canticum Rabbah* at 2:5.

statue’s fate as presented by the remaining verses could imply that the king now questions his great and powerful kingdom.

Per Dan 2:34, the weapon that undoes the great statue is oddly primitive: a stone “cut not with human hands” (הִתְגְּזֶ֣רֶת אֶ֗בֶן דִּי־לָ֣א בִידַ֔יִן). Daniel 2 says the projectile is a אֶ֗בֶן, an otherwise common rock, yet the text makes clear that despite the stone’s ordinary composition, the source of its launch is what makes it uncommon. OG and θ resemble the Aramaic, reading χειρῶν without a “human” qualifier or descriptor, which supports placing the emphasis on the rock’s supernatural untouched origins. Similar imagery occurs at Dan 8:25 with an unnamed king “broken, and not by human hands” (וּבְאֶ֥פֶס יָ֖ד יִשָּׁבֵֽר). Job 34:20 also has paralleling language when describing the fate of the mighty at death “are taken away by no human hand” (יָסִ֥ירוּ אַ֝בִּ֗יר לֹ֣א בְיָֽד). Thus, here Daniel is again asserting the power of God’s reign through a simple but profound image: humans cannot undo the wickedness humans produced; only God’s intervention can correct what has been made wrong.

Dan 2:35-36 inserts a playful slight toward Nebuchadnezzar into the narrative with Daniel’s detailed description of the dream’s outcome at 2:35 dovetailed into the interpretation at 2:36. This is a shrewd rhetorical move as Daniel’s words at 2:35 make clear that the dream is a portend of destruction, an outcome that should not require the type of interpretation for which Nebuchadnezzar begs throughout the chapter. Yet Nebuchadnezzar’s own fears and anxieties prevent his understanding of the dream and its meaning. The dream lacks subtlety as it depicts humanity’s symbolic strength as only a passing fantasy, undone swiftly and decisively by an ordinary rock hurled upon materialistic goals with extreme prejudice. Thus, Nebuchadnezzar’s inability to grasp the dream’s heavy-handed message means he is in denial, incapable, or unwilling to accept what he is shown.

As the statue is destroyed (v.35), all its components, including and especially the metals, (v. 35) are broken into pieces (דָּקוּ) so finely shattered that they are blown away like chaff by the wind without a trace. The imagery is reminiscent of the prophecy in Isa 41:15-16 of the foreign nations that humiliate Israel eventually being reduced to chaff and blown away by the will of YHWH. Daniel uses the verb "to pulverize" (דקק) throughout the chapter: vv. 34, 35, 40, 44, and 45. Emphasis on this verb and the stone underlines the finality of God's reign alongside the destruction of human kingships.

The stone and its destructive destiny is yet another echo of Isaiah, one that speaks to the hopes of exiled Israelites. Isa 26:4 makes a direct analogy between YHWH and a rock (צוּר), saying "for in YHWH God, you have an everlasting rock." God is quite literally Israel's rock upon which it may depend. Isa 51:1 entreats that Israel pursue the righteousness of YHWH and compares the exiled nation to a stone hewn from a larger rock (צוּר), which the prophet elaborates on in v.2 be asking Israel to "Look to Abraham" just as they were to "Look to" the aforementioned rock. Israel is the seed of Abraham, hewn from the rock that YHWH blessed generations ago.

Stone imagery here seems to represent divine sovereignty and human lineage, a comparison that echoes Deut 32:18, which says "You neglected the rock that bore you, and you forgot the God who birthed you" (צוּר יְלָדְךָ תֶּשִׁי וַתִּשְׁכַּח אֵל מְחֹלְלֶךָ). God and the rock are both paired with birthing imagery here in Deuteronomy, which is a comparative parallel that tracks through both Isaiah and Daniel 2 to illuminate the rich use of metaphor designed to display Israel's lasting connection to their God and their people.

The Isaiah writer also employed imagery of crushing Israel's enemies, using a form of the דקק verb at Isa 41:15: "you shall thresh the mountains and crush them, and you shall make

the hills like chaff" (תָּדוּשׁ הָרִים֙ וְתָדֹ֔ק וּגְבָע֖וֹת כַּמֹּ֥ץ תָּשִֽׂים). Also, like Dan 2:35, the fate of Israel's enemies at Isa 41:16 will make them scattered by the wind. Isa 40:24 reiterates this image of Israel's enemies being carried off by the wind as chaff, or in this case, "like stubble" (כַּקַּשׁ). Through images of wind, great rocks, and destruction, Isaiah, Daniel, and Deuteronomy all convey the strength and eternity of God's reign; that which humans give power will be ground to dust, while that which God blesses and imbues with wisdom and strength shall grow from a hewn rock into a great mountain.

The stone that is cut not by human hands then becomes a great mountain that fills the whole earth, an imagery that echoes prophetic visions of Jerusalem glorified as the symbol of the LORD's abiding reign. This a great mountain of God recalls Isa 2:2-3 and the mountain of YHWH's abode, made higher above all mountains and hills. Isa 2:3 and 11:9 also describe God's mountain as the focal point of human civilization, filling the earth with knowledge of YHWH "as the waters cover the sea" (כַּמַּ֖יִם לַיָּ֥ם מְכַסִּֽים). Micah also describes this great "mountain of YHWH" at Mic 4:2-3, as the speaker describes all nations going up the mountain "to the house of Jacob's God" (אֶל־בֵּית֙ אֱלֹהֵ֣י יַעֲקֹ֔ב) to learn from and walk in YHWH's eternal knowledge. These parallel examples show that this stone Daniel describes is the not the end of all living things; rather, it is the beginning of God's reign in place of the fleeting kingdoms of humanity.

Dan 2:37 resembles the Chaldeans' praise at Dan 2:4 with another collection of fawning praise to Nebuchadnezzar, only this time Dan 2:38 places the king metaphorically as the statue's golden head. The king's dread is palpable as both the readers and Nebuchadnezzar know that despite its height and prestige, the gold head will eventually be mixed among the rubble of the other empires and made into indistinguishable dust. Here the text juxtaposes Nebuchadnezzar's paradoxical position: he is both "king of kings" and the one "to who God of the heavens gave the

kingdom, the power, and the strength and the glory," while also being the top of a monarchical structure doomed to fail.

Perhaps what is most important about vv. 37-38 is that Daniel reminds Nebuchadnezzar that, despite his status of "O king, the king of kings," God is the one who holds true power and wisdom. Daniel expertly pairs the "king of kings" title next to a reminder that Nebuchadnezzar owes his kingdom, power, might, and glory to God (v. 37b). Daniel wants Nebuchadnezzar to know that the king's greatness relies on God's blessing and bestowing, as forgetting or neglecting his place in God's hierarchy will ultimately lead to Nebuchadnezzar's doom.

Dan 2:39-43 offers further details regarding the relationship between the statue, the human empires it symbolizes, and the impending doom of said empires. Further, these verses relay information that focused inference could draw out from the dream recitation itself, but, as said above, Nebuchadnezzar is thus far dissatisfied with recounting what is obvious about the dream. Yet it is what these verses do not state that intrigues and perplexes both ancient and modern interpreters. The interpretive issue lies at Dan 2:40 and the mention of "a fourth kingdom" (מַלְכוּ֫ רְבִיעָאָה). This verse is the heart of Daniel's interpretation in chapter 2 and, in turn, the core of Daniel 7's reception of Daniel 2. Seow notes the hermeneutical pull of Dan 2:40, describing the fourth kingdom as "the greatest controversy among interpreters has always revolved around the identity of the fourth regime, represented by the fourth part of the statue."[251]

Seow is not alone in his assessment, as other scholars use the interpretation of the statue as opportunity to engage the Four Kingdom schema that defines Daniel 7.[252] However, within chapter 2's boundaries this fourth kingdom is not the statue's weakest layer; the opposite seems

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[251] Seow, *Daniel*, 34.
[252] Newsom, *Daniel*, 80-83; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 49-51; Collins, *Daniel*, 166-170; Towner, *Daniel*, 34-40; Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel*, 146-150.

to be true. According to 2:40, the iron kingdom comes to "crush and shatter all these," meaning that it will tear down and destroy that which precedes it. According to the interpretation, transition of power among the first three kingdoms is tame compared to the fourth, as Daniel the interpreter offers no comment beyond the second kingdom being "inferior" to Nebuchadnezzar's at Dan 2:39.

This transition of power appears seamless until the fourth kingdom, until its symbolic iron mixes with clay as a metaphor for the fourth kingdom's gradual dilution. Perhaps knowing that the layered symbolizing is growing quite complex, the writer offers elaboration on the clay-iron mixture at 2:43, describing the relationship stemming from mixing "with one another in marriage." Some scholars read the combined clay-iron as a fifth kingdom,[253] yet it is clear that the iron-kingdom, which here is the fourth, bleeds over into the clay, a move marking the expansion of the current kingdom and not the birth of another.

Daniel 2's interpretation builds with a rapid and steady crescendo, reaching its climax at 2:44-45 with the declaration of God's coming kingdom. Here the interpretation skillfully weaves in a prophetic declaration that echoes the *ex eventu* prophecy of the Babylonian *Uruk Prophecy*,[254] a rhetorical move that blends the symbolic but measure timeline of the statue with an unknown but promised divine culmination. The dream of Daniel 2 and its interpretation are indeed at odd. Daniel labels Nebuchadnezzar as the first kingdom, thereby grounding the statue's chronology in the real world, but withholds addition information about the other kingdoms meaning that they can only be identified on external, non-textual grounds. Thus, Daniel 2 sets a

[253] A. Jepsen, "Bemerkungen zum Danielbuch," *Vetus Testamentum* 11.4 (Oct. 1961): 386-391; J. Schreiner. "... wird der Gott des Himmels ein Reich errichten, das in Ewigkeit nicht untergeht' (Dan 2,44). Gestalt und Botschaft apokalyptischen Redens von Gott—am Beispel von Daniel 2." In *"Ich will euer Gott werden": Beispiele biblische Redens von Gott* (ed. H. Merklein and E. Zenger) SBS 100 (1981), 123-149.

[254] H. Hunger and S.A. Kaufmann, "A New Akkadian Prophecy, and Apocalypse in the Light of New Akkadian Text," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95 (1975): 371-375.

tone that Daniel 7 picks up and amplifies to apocalyptic portions: the certainty of some aspects of the divine instill hope, while the unknown prompts further continual consideration. Just as Daniel 2 grounds the vision in his timeline, its conclusion pulls it into a divinely sovereign future unbound by time.

One would expect v.45 to be the conclusion of the story and chapter: Daniel finishes retelling the dream and its interpretation, stands by his work as "certain" (יַצִּיב) and "trustworthy" (מְהֵימַן), and again attributes his success to God. Yet vv.46-49 present Nebuchadnezzar's response to the dream and its interpretation. Further, one would expect the king's response to an interpretation foretelling the complete and total destruction of human kingship to be negative, but Nebuchadnezzar does the opposite. Nebuchadnezzar fawns over Daniel, falling on his face before the interpreter at 2:46. The biblical Hebrew cognate of the Aramaic verb נְפַל appears throughout the Aramaic, rendered in certain English translations as "fell" or "prostrated." One could render נְפַל as "prostrate," but such an interpretation diverts from the most common rendering of "to fall." Thus, if Nebuchadnezzar falls on his face before Daniel, as opposed to merely bowing, a shift in the power dynamic occurs. No longer the worshipped, Nebuchadnezzar becomes the worshipper. Nebuchadnezzar's reaction makes it clear Daniel gains the upper hand as after the fall the king bestows the celebrated dream interlocutor with a meal and other נִיחֹחִין offerings.

At Dan 2:46, מִנְחָה is an offering, one especially connected to religious rituals[255]. נִיחֹחִין is like a pleasing flavor to a sacrifice,[256] so using נִיחֹחִין to describe part of the king's response is a damning statement of Nebuchadnezzar's religious turnabout that simultaneously elevates Daniel's courtly and theological stature. The biblical Hebrew cognate of נִיחֹחִין is נִיחוֹחַ, a word

[255] Jastrow, 799. See also Ezra 7:17

[256] Kohelth Rabbah 9:7.

that first appears in Gen 8:21 referencing Noah's sacrifice to YHWH after the flood recedes. It appears in many places throughout the Hebrew Bible, including Ex 29:18, Num 28:2, Lev 26:31, and Ezek 20:28, which each reference grounding נִיחֹ֫חַ within the context of sacrifices and/or offerings to YHWH. Thus, when Nebuchadnezzar commands נִיחֹ֫חַ be brought to Daniel, it echoes previous instances in which the word is tied to divine YHWH worship. Nebuchadnezzar indeed worships Daniel like others worship YHWH, and even as the text shifts praise to Daniel's God to ensure proper theological attribution, Daniel remains the recipient of the offerings in chapter 2. The text makes it clear that Daniel's work is possible only through divine intervention. Like Joseph before him receiving power and blessing from Pharaoh in Gen 41:37-44, Daniel receives a place in the king's court and uses his fortuitous situation to have Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego appointed to administrative positions, a move that ensures Daniel and his friends' protection and prosperity as the chapter closes.

Daniel's rise to prosperity amplifies another element pertinent to God's reign and Israel in exile: restoration. Rhetorical parallels between Joseph and Daniel emphasize Daniel's Israelite status first told at Dan 1:3, thereby making Daniel and his compatriots the seed of Abraham. Daniel's success and Nebuchadnezzar's prostration echoes the writer of Isaiah 40-55 and the prediction of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sabeans with their wealth and might shall bow down to Israel (Isa 45:14) or 49:7 and 23 as YHWH's strength will make kings and princes "prostrate themselves" (יִֽשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ) before God's chosen people of Israel. The dream itself puts God's reign on display through the stone cut not by human hands and what happens after the interpretation in Daniel's promotion manifests God's reign through extraordinary circumstances as a lowly Israelite exile becomes ruler and chief prefect of Babylon. Though Daniel is only one Israelite, it would seem that his work parallels the stone not cut by human hands that will become a great

mountain, as Daniel does not succeed because of his power, ability or wisdom. His success comes from God's hand, as Daniel and his friends are carved out of the turmoil of exile and placed upon the court and nation of Nebuchadnezzar, set to grow and prosper in the light of God's promises.

3.4 Daniel 2 Summation

The content of Daniel 2 breaks the book into two sections, the first of which creates a foundation that the character of Daniel use in the second to exhibit the power and sovereignty of his god. Despite some repetitive moments, the narrative is straightforward as the authors use symbolism to strip the mighty king Nebuchadnezzar of his power, conviction, and heir of superiority. The chapter also presents a stark dichotomy between human limitation and divine boundlessness. The king receives a dream that perplexes him to the point of fear and, despite it being his dream, seek outside assistance in interpreting its meaning. Then the king puts his best wise men and magicians into a seemingly impossible bind with a bizarre request, a move that undercuts the king's competency to lead while grounding his humanity in personal hubris and fear. Human limitation leads to human failure as Nebuchadnezzar responds to the surrounding inadequacy with a declaration of death, ordering all wise men be killed. This decree is the peak of Nebuchadnezzar's deficiencies; it represents the culmination of his fear and inability to handle the situation placed upon him.

Nebuchadnezzar's responses to adversity are his undoing, a trope that the Daniel character immediately inverts as his first response is not panic or anger; rather, it is a call to his friends for prayer and meditation seeking mercy from the divine realm (2:18). Daniel's undisguised dependence on his god at vv. 19-23 and 27-30 creates a theological anthropology

that stands in opposition to Nebuchadnezzar's iconoclastic and selfish approach. Further, this would explain the continual praise and attribution Daniel offers to God, a rhetorical tactic that ultimately pays off at Dan 2:46-47 when Nebuchadnezzar praises Daniel's god for the revelation.

The theme of divine sovereignty also weighs heavily upon the chapter. Nebuchadnezzar's failures, Daniel's successes, and the boundary between the human and divine realms are just a few of the theme's manifestations. A most remarkable iteration of the divine sovereignty theme lies in the dream and its interpretation. Dan 2:34-35 describes the statue's destruction through the stone cut not by human hands, an obvious allusion to the divine. The stone wreaks havoc with no interference and makes quick work of the statue's seemingly precious and strong metals, reducing them to the dust of the ground. This event represents the in-breaking of God's rule upon the world and the destruction of human kingdoms. Further, the stone grows into a great mountain and becomes an eternal symbol stretching to the ends of the earth. This mountain is also a clear echo of Isaiah 2:2 and Micah 4:1 with their "mountain of the YHWH's house…established as the highest of the mountains…raised above the hills." The book of Daniel is clearly playing on this "highest of mountain" image to bring in the divine with indirect reference, a rhetorical move that pushes the reader to consider Daniel's second chapter within a larger Israelite hermeneutical context.

Dan 2:44-45 confirm this reading of Dan 2:34-35. The interpretation at Dan 2:44 of the stone from vv. 34-35 explicitly states that "God of heaven will establish a kingdom" (יְקִים֩ אֱלָ֨הּ שְׁמַיָּ֜א מַלְכ֗וּ) that "will crush and bring to an end all these kingdoms" (תַּדִּ֤ק וְתָסֵיף֙ כָּל־אִלֵּ֣ין מַלְכְוָתָ֔א). Further, Daniel makes direct reference at 2:45 to vv. 34-35, saying "Just as you saw the stone cut from the mountain not by hands, and that it crushed the iron, the bronze, the clay, the silver, and the gold, the great God has made known to the king what will be hereafter." In short, Daniel 2's

presentation of divine sovereignty is unapologetic and resounding. God's coming presence will be swift and all-encompassing, rendering all previous human efforts for naught.

The spread of divine sovereignty throughout Daniel 2 finds only one equal in terms of textual focus, interpretive impact, and hermeneutical considerations: the fourth and final human kingdom. This fourth kingdom holds the limelight at Dan 2:40-44; the interpreter's elegant words grab the reader, pulling them in as these verses weave the dream into its explanation. Dan 2:40 describes the fourth kingdom as "strong like iron" (תַקִּיפָה כְּפַרְזְלָא), elaborating further, saying: "just as iron crushes and shatters everything, this iron will crush and shatter all these" (דִּי פַרְזְלָא מְהַדֵּק וְחָשֵׁל כֹּלָּא וּכְפַרְזְלָא דִּי־מְרָעַע כָּל־אִלֵּין תַּדִּק וְתֵרֹעַ) In another stroke of rhetorical skill, Daniel's interpretation removes metaphorical boundaries and makes iron and the fourth kingdom a one-to-one comparison, stating that the kingdom is "this iron" that will "crush and shatter" everyone that precedes it.

Dan 2:40-41 takes great care to explain how something so powerful in 2:40 can quickly be destroyed. The strong iron, capable of mass destruction, is diluted through the incursion of clay. Daniel's words at Dan 2:43 make it clear that this final human kingdom is responsible for its own undoing. And yet, despite the overwhelming displays of divine sovereignty, this description of the mixed and brittle kingdom makes one pause: maybe the statue would survive the stone had it remained pure and not allowed the clay to intermingle. Perhaps a contributing factor to the statue's destruction are the missteps and human errors that contributed to the gradual weakening of the metals. This raises another distinct nuance to the interaction between divine sovereignty and human shortcomings, which is the ongoing impact humans have on their lives, their kingdoms, and their world.

In the scenario mentioned above, it seems that God's kingdom comes out of necessity, for the statue may eventually buckle under its own weight given the choices later kings make. The incursion of God's kingdom then becomes a salvific act, one fitting the spread across the earth as described in 2:35. This theological wrinkle incorporates the positive and redemptive attitude extended to Nebuchadnezzar throughout Daniel, especially considering the about-face the king makes at 2:46-47. Indeed, Daniel 2 straddles a precarious line between imperial placation and anarchic rebellion, a move reflected by the actions and words of its protagonist. The writers of Daniel 2 may thereby be in a similar position, or perhaps they write in this way to reflect the horizons of subjugated Israelites.

Themes of divine sovereignty and human inability define Daniel 2's theological orientation, but the chapter's historical scope garners just as much (or perhaps more) interpretive consideration. Description of the statue's golden head as Nebuchadnezzar sparks discussion about what empire and/or which king the proceeding metals represent. Readers and scholars, both ancient and modern, contend over the statue's symbolism and yield intriguing receptions that reflect a given interpreter's context as they do the contents of Daniel 2.[257] Goldingay articulates this hermeneutical practice well:

> For the recipients of the book what mattered was that they lived during the fourth regime, and when successive generations have reapplied the scheme of empires to the history of their day, in principle they have responded to the vision in the way it sought. If for them the fourth empire is Britain or America or Israel or some other, then the vision applies to it.[258]

In short, the reason for the wide variety of interpretations is simple: readers project themselves and their communities onto Daniel 2, the dream, and its interpretation.

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[257] For a sample of the rich, variegated, and numerous readings, see "Excursus 1: Origin and Development of the Four-Kingdom Schema" in Newsom¸ *Daniel*, 80-81 and "Excursus: The Four Kingdoms" in Collins, *Daniel*, 166-170.
[258] Goldingay, *Daniel*, 58.

Based on the interpretation's structure and content, it is clear than Daniel wants to present Nebuchadnezzar and, in turn, the book's readers, with a fuller historical picture that emphasizes the importance of all four kingdoms the statue represents. The distribution of empires across the statue goes beyond Israel's history into world history, focusing on a theology of secular history not limited to an Israelite-centric salvation history.[259] The word "Israel" is absent from chapter 2, and the only mention of Daniel's ethnic background comes at 2:25 when Arioch describes Daniel as "one from the sons of the exiles of Judah." Further, the kingdom God establishes Dan 2:35 will fill the entire earth, making the outcome of God's intercession felt throughout creation. Therefore, limiting the hermeneutical focus to one kingdom among the chapter's grander worldview warrants further consideration. It seems other interpretive forces lie behind this four-kingdom horizon, and when read against the backdrop of Daniel 7, the motivations and horizons of expectation appear to gain greater clarity.

A closer analysis of how Daniel 2 is read illuminates another layer of hermeneutical reception regarding about the chapter: when Daniel 7 and its unknown and menacing Fourth Beast are read into Daniel 2 at vv. 40-45, the reader's attention is drawn toward merely one aspect of Nebuchadnezzar's dream and Daniel's interpretation. For example, the very idea that Daniel 2 presents four kingdoms with the statue analogy is an interpretive choice. From a textual perspective, the vision speaks of five kingdoms with the fifth and final being the giant mountain representing God's dominion; the preceding four are mere precursors to the fifth. Further, one

[259] Klaus Koch, "Spätisraelitisches Geschichtsdenken am Beispiel des Buches Daniel," *Historische Zeitschrift* 193 (1961), 3-4.

could read the interpretation at Dan 2:40-43 not as an extended discussion of the iron kingdom but rather as a description of another weaker kingdom.[260]

It is also clear that within a literary framework a succession of numbered kingdoms does not necessitate said kingdoms being limited to four. For example, a fragment of Aemilius Sura, preserved in Velleius Paterculus and thereby dated sometime in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, presents Rome as a sixth kingdom:

> The Assyrians were the first of all races to hold power, then the Medes, after them the Persians, and then the Macedonians. Then when the two kings, Philip and Antiochus, of Macedonian origin, had been completely conquered, soon after the overthrow of Carthage, the supreme command passed to the Roman people.[261]

Other examples include a three-kingdom schema or Assyria, Media, and Persia,[262] or a possible five-kingdom design with Rome as the fifth and final empire.[263] This sampling of examples show that reading a list of imperial succession like Daniel 2 requires many interpretive moves, the first of which is choosing to read said list through a selected numerical lens. Therefore, it is certainly within reason to consider the impact of reception horizons of expectation, in particular those laid onto Daniel 2 by readings of Daniel 7. This dissertation's chapter on pre-Enlightenment Christian receptions of the Fourth Beast in Daniel 7 solidify the connection that interpreters make between the book of Daniel's second chapter, the statue, and the symbolism portrayed in Daniel 7's Aramaic apocalyptic vision. For it is in illuminating the interpretive connections

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[260] Muraoka's rendering and annotations for 2:41 lend support to this theory. He translates as פְּלִיגָה "disparate," a word that amplifies the suggestion that the statue may symbolize more than four kingdoms. See Muraoka, *A Biblical Aramaic Reader*, 45.
[261] Taken from Joseph Ward Swain, "The Theory of the Four Monarchies: Opposition History Under the Roman Empire," *Classical Philology* 35 (1940), 2.
[262] Reinhard Katz, *Translatio Imperii: Untersuchungen zu den aramäischen Danielerzählungen und inhrem theologiegeschichtlichen Umfeld* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 198-212.
[263] Appian of Alexandria, *The Punic Wars* (trans. Horace White; New York. The MacMillan Company, 1899), 132.

readers make that one sees the blurring of reception and text, making the text itself an incomplete and constantly changing entity.

CHAPTER IV: CULTURAL HORIZONS OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

4.1 Introductory Remarks

Since the end of the 19th century, scholars have recognized the Western Asian mythological traditions underlying Daniel 7. Known also as literature of the ancient Near East or Levant, scholars like T.K. Cheyne in 1877 and by G.A. Bartin in 1893 began noticing palpable relationships between these ancient literary traditions and Dan 7:2-3. Above all, it was Hermann Gunkel and his 1895 work *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* that made the strongest case for considering parallels between the biblical and ancient writings. Gunkel's views became widely accepted and reinforced with the 1929 discovery of the ancient city of Ugarit and the writings held within its long-buried storehouses. Some images and character in particular buttress the comparative work Gunkel makes between these ancient writings and the Bible, especially the book of Daniel: the primordial sea dragon, the transcendent elder deity, and the battle between order and chaos. Analyzing these themes and images show the significance of Daniel 7 as a consequence of these traditions and building upon Gunkel's work illuminates others support examples as well. The number four is a persistent motif of both Western Asian writings, as is the use of dreams to delivery prophetic messages and foreshadow the future. These Western Asian mythologies represent the cultural and religious milieus of many time periods and civilizations, including but not limited to Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, and Ugaritic.

Considering possible relationships between Daniel 2 and 7 and writings from literary traditions is common and certainly not unique to this dissertation. Being aware of current ANE-biblical intercultural intertextual studies, this chapter reconsiders the relationship between said texts from a *Wirkungsgeschichte* perspective mindful of the Fourth Kingdom and the Fourth Beast as an idea and concept. The following does not draw direct connections between eras

separated by time and space through one-to-one comparative analyses between disparate traditions and their respective writings. It is not the goal to trace explicit connections between selected writings from ancient cultures to Daniel 7. The goal is to note how images, themes, and motifs in Daniel 7 recall and appear to be in accord with these writings. Further, it is a look at the appearance of shared symbols as representations of general ANE and biblical *Weltvorstellung* that by random chance, historical significance, or an unknown combination of both allow shared motifs and images.[264]

This chapter also does not support reading ANE texts and traditions as slightly modified *urtexts* for biblical writings. W.G. Lambert speaks to this necessary tension. He writes:

> Two more substantial matters where the form of Daniel is not derived from Hebrew prophecy merit serious consideration: first, the concept of world history as consisting of four succeeding empires, and secondly the technique of presenting history in a concise annalistic form with names omitted and with verbs in the future tense.[265]

Instead, it attempts to straddle a precarious line between gross-oversimplification of intercultural intertextual relationships without rejecting or ignoring parallels, similarities, and differences in religious traditions connected through location proximity, potential historical overlap, and literary allusion.

Each period and civilization created different narratives and poetic tales to explain who they were, alleviate their anxieties, or describe relationships with their deities. Despite the diversity and variation in details yielded by the respective civilizations, sufficient extant commonalities may be regarded as a “classic core” of themes, images, and tropes. Breed,

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[264] Aage Bentzen uses the term *Weltvorstellung* to combat criticisms from peers about the relationship between Daniel 7, the Four Beasts, and Canaanite lore to place greater emphasis on the beast’s symbolic nature in both ANE and Daniel. See Aage Bentzen, *Daniel* (Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr: 1937) for further information and detail.
[265] W.G. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*. The Ethel M. Wood Lecture delivered before the University of London on 22 February 1977. London: The Athlone Press, 1978, 7.

building on Gilles Deleuze, describes similar attributes of biblical writing like this classic core as material that "follows the contours of a particular space, and attempts to allow only immanent criteria to propose contingent distinctions."[266] One can use said immanent criteria to create a hermeneutical trajectory that shows how interpretation reshapes, retells, and reimagines persistent content to continually remake the ancient composition into an ever-new and enduring new classic.

4.2 Monsters from the Chaotic Sea

Chaos represented by sea monsters, such as serpents or dragons appear across cultural and geographic boundaries. Daniel 7 features four monstrous beasts emerging from a chaotic sea, an image that can be read anew against the backdrop of ancient Near Eastern literature. Representations of similar chaotic beings lead to a battle between a figure that symbolized order, culminating in the triumph of order over chaos and the establishment of divine kingship. Further, Babylonian birth omens like *Shumma Izbu* shows that chaotic creatures have roots beyond ancient narratives and stories, creating deeper intercultural intertextual connection between these ancient literary trajectories and the book of Daniel.[267] Just as Daniel 7 describes the four beasts as the combination of disparate animal parts, leaving Daniel filled with fear and dread,[268] physical abnormalities are also cause for concern in *Shumma Izbu* VII which offers an extensive list of animal physical deviations and the respective consequences said abnormalities portend.

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[266] Brennan Breed, "Nomadology of the Bible: A Processual Approach to Biblical Reception History," *Biblical Reception* 1 (2012): 317.

[267] Paul Porter draws four parallels between Daniel 7 and the *Shumma Izbu* omens: common peculiar physical features, historical omens aligning with specific kings, physical anomalies portending time prediction, and the likening of beasts instead of specific identification. Paul A Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters: A Literary-Critical Study of Daniel 7 and 8* (Sweden: CWK Gleerup, 1983), 22-27.

[268] Dan 7:15.

Shumma Izbu VII lines 45’ through 114’ describe any animal born with particular physical deformities, such as two heads, two spines, six ribs, two tails, six feet, three eyes, or any combination of these anomalies is a harbinger of doom for a sitting king for his throne shall soon be taken from him. Previous and proceeding lines on tablet VII discuss positive outcomes or non-ruler specific predictions for physical animal traits, making lines 45’ through 114’ more pointed in their king usurping focus. The element most relevant to this dissertation here is the animal having something extra, like an additional head or foot, as a sign for the kingdom’s destruction.[269]

Sumerian literature presents a similar chaotic sea monster as *MUŠ. ŠAG̃*^{7} or “Seven-headed Serpent,” *MUŠ.MAḪ* as the “Exalted Serpent,” and *UŠUM.GAL* as “Great Dragon.” These Sumerian monsters connect with Akkadian counterpart, as the Akkadian *ušumgallatu* is a Sumerian loanword for *UŠUM.GAL*, as is *mušmaḫḫu* for *MUŠ.MAḪ*. Akkadian antagonists like Labbu, Bashmu, and Tiamat are dragon-serpent-like chaos characters that must be subdued for order to rule in form of a stable monarchical leader.

Enuma Elish tells the story of a battle between Marduk, a divine heroic figure, and Tiamat, a primordial water goddess. Scholars have long read Tiamat as a bastion crucial to discussing *Chaoskampf* motifs and themes. Further, Tiamat’s reputation in cultures beyond and

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[269] See also Erle Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu* (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1970), 67. Šumma Izbu, Tablet IV.12: “If a woman gives birth, and at birth (the child) is already as white as alabaster—end of the reign; omen of a despotic king.” Writings like Shumma Izbu show the drive to understand and interpret language in addition to physical omen portends. The shape and formation of written cuneiform itself becomes rife for interpretation, and both extispicy and physiognomy commentaries on such writings exist. Babylonian and Assyrian scholars knew their writing could do more than convey information; it was capable of layered nuance and filled with symbolism to unpack then interpret. Said scholars used what Eckart Frahm describes as “creative hermeneutics” to bring these texts to life, illuminating secret, divine message on how both ancient writings and the world itself were connected. Eckart Frahm, “Reading the Tablet, the Exta, and the Body: the Hermeneutics of Cuneiform Signs in Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries and Divinatory Texts,” in *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World* (ed. Amar Annus; Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2010), 132-133.

behind *Enuma Elish* affirmed her antagonistic role. For example, a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal presents her as an aggressive horned monster.[270] She first appears near the beginning as the primeval water mother-goddess that bore every created deity. The text presents her as a neutral figure, alongside her compatriot Apsu, working to make the world. Her creations soon become noisy and rambunctious in her vitals which prevents Apsu from sleeping, prompting his outcry to Tiamat; his efforts fall flat as Tiamat responds with firm support for her womb's inhabitants. Apsu then plots to kill his significant other, but Ea foils the plan by killing Apsu. Enraged, she battles Marduk, the warrior Tiamat's rebellious children have called up against her.

Additional allusive elements appear during Tiamat's preparation for her battle with Marduk: she extends her power by creating monsters to assist her. She imbues them with divine power, the same Marduk wields, to ensure victory. Tiamat's monsters are an extension of the chaos deity and echo the monsters of Daniel 7. Forces behind the events of Daniel 7 are not named, but read through *Enuma Elish* and Tiamat's monsters, each of the Four Beasts comes to represent an extension of chaotic forces. Tiamat, the chaotic sea in *Enuma Elish*, sends forth terrifying and powerful creatures to do her bidding. Likewise, the chaotic sea in Daniel 7 produces four terrifying and powerful creatures to wreak havoc on creation. Tablet I line 134 describes the beings as MUŠ-MAḪ-MEŠ, translated as "monstrous serpents." The text expands on the descriptors with lines 135-144:

[*zaq*-t]u-*ma šin-ni la-pa-du*-[*u*] *at-ta*-[*'i-i*]	Pointed teeth, ruthless fangs,
[*im*-t]u *ki-ma da-mu zu-mur*-[*šú-nu*] *uš-ma-al*-[*li*]	She filled the bodies, their blood with venom
GAL:UŠUM.[MEŠ] *na-ad-ru-ti pul-ḫa-ta ú-šal*-[*biš-ma*]	Fierce monsters she dressed with terror
me-lam-ma uš-taš-šá-a i-li-iš um-taš-[*šil*]	Making them bear terrifying crowns with glories
a-mé-er-šú-nu šar-ba-bi-iš il-iḫ-ḫar-[*mi-im*]	"Whoever see them will crumble from weakness,
zu-mur-šú-nu liš-taḫ-ḫi-ṭam-ma la-i-né-'u i [*rat-su-un*]	Wherever their bodies make war, they will not turn back!"

[270] BM 89589.

uš-zi-iz ba-aš-mu MUŠ-ḪUŠ *ú* ^{d}*la-ḫa-mu*	She sent out serpents, dragons, and heroic hairy men
UD.GAL.MEŠ UR.IDIM.MEŠ *ú* GÍR.TAB.LÚ.U$_{18}$.[LU]	Strong demons, fish men, bull men,
UD *-mé da-ab-ru-ti* KU$_{6}$.LÚ.U$_{18}$.LU ú *ku-sa-r*[*iq-qu*]	Carrying limitless weapons, fearing no battle[271]
na-ši kak-ku la pa-du-ú la a-di-ru ta-ḫa-zi	

These beasts that Tiamat creates, equips, then unleashes are almost hyperbolic in their depiction, with some blurring lines between human and animal, sacred and profane, or divinely holy and numinous wickedness. Further, releasing these monsters shows that the great chaos goddess will stop at nothing to win and impose her rule of disorder throughout creation.

Engaging primary sources also shows that intercultural intertextual imagery is not limited to the chaos goddess Tiamat; rather, language describing Marduk reveals the contextual nature of chaos versus order. The text describes Marduk with many terms, two of which are *puluḫtu* and *melammu*.[272] Translating *puluḫtu* with positive or negative connotations relies heavily on context, as the *CAD* definition includes fear, panic, and terror alongside reverence, respect, and awe.[273] The *CAD* entry for *melammu* shows the word's dual nature, as its intrinsic meaning applies to both kings and demonic figures.[274] A *melammu* is an awe-inspiring and terrifying garment or headpiece, worn by both Marduk and the creatures Tiamat creates to combat Marduk. One can understand the use of *melammu* here as fighting fire with fire, meaning what Marduk uses to wield power is the same thing that may usher in chaos. Primary sources support reading

[271] Translation is the author's.
[272] A.L. Oppenheim called attention to these descriptors, but most limit the implications of this reading to the purview of expanding how scholars understand ANE *Chaoskampf* motifs; see A.L. Oppenheim, "Akkadian *pul(u)ḫ(t)u* and *melammu*" *JAOS* 63.1 (1943) 31-34.
[273] *CAD* volume 12, 505.
[274] *CAD* volume 10 part II, 9-12.

Marduk with this fearsome description, as Tiamat changes her terrifying creatures into monstrous deities by granting them *puluḫtu* and *melammu*.

Tablet I line 86 says Marduk is endowed with *pulḫāta* and lines 103 and 104 describe the warrior deity giving off *mélammé* and *pulḫātu*. In the context of describing Marduk, the text's protagonist, these terms take positive meaning. Conversely, Tablet I lines 137 and 138 say Tiamat gives birth to "monster serpents" with venom-filled teeth, fangs, and merciless incisors clad with *pulḫati* and *melamma*. Thus, the words themselves have flexible and contextually reliant meaning; they are presented as wondrous and strong associated with Marduk but fearsome and threatening with Tiamat.

Like Tiamat, Marduk equips himself with mystical weapons and use monstrous divine beings to assist him in battle. Tablet IV lines 40-43 say that the storm deity protagonist prepares the boundaries of the South, North, East, and West winds to trap Tiamat and eliminates any possible escape. According to lines 51-54, Marduk commands a war-chariot pulled by four creatures:

iṣ-mid-sim-ma er-bet na-aṣ-ma-di i-du-uš-šá i-lul	He hitched it to the four-steed team, he tied them at his side:
ša-gi-šu la pa-du-ú ra-ḫi-ṣu mu-up-par-šá	Slaughterer, Merciless, Overwhelmer, Soaring
pa-tu-ni šap-ti šin-na-šu-nu na-šá-a im-ta	Their lips curled back, their teeth bear venom
a-na-ḫa la i-du-ú sa-pa-na lam-du	They know not fatigue, they are trained to trample down.

These four creatures are, by name, fearsome and terrifying, meant for destruction. Many scholars working with *Chaoskampf* literary themes rarely, if ever, make connections between Marduk's four creatures and the forces of chaos despite being quick to dissect and analyze Tiamat and the tools she employs for battle negatively. Stepping back from traditional readings of *Enuma Elish*¸

it is clear both Marduk and Tiamat employ elements that become standards of apocalyptic chaos battle traditions, especially when compared to the Four Beasts of Daniel 7. Daniel 7 describes each beast with alarming and terrifying detail, making it clear they are fearsome creatures designed to bring destruction. When juxtaposed with the four creatures of Marduk's war chariot, a consequence in Daniel becomes illuminated: Marduk's instruments of battle are antagonistic figures from the chaotic sea in Daniel.

A similar entity, known as Illuyanka, appears in a Hittite story in which a ruling Storm deity must battle the titular combative serpent deity. The *Illuyanka* tale chronicles a battle between a ruling Storm God deity and a combative Serpent being. Here a Storm God hosts a feast interrupted by the Serpent, who leaves his hole to ruin the party and subvert the Storm God's rule. The second yields a story more allusive to Daniel 7 through the serpent adversary's origin: unlike the first, the second has the serpent arise from the sea to do battle.[275] Here the trope of the wild sea being home to chaotic forces is echoed in Dan 7:3 as the Four Beasts emerge from the waters, much to the horror of the narrator.[276]

Ugaritic *ltn* (Lītan) and *šlyt* (Shalyat) is a dragon-like creature with seven heads that appears in the *Ba'al Cycle*. Otto Eissfeldt discusses a possible allusion between the serpent *ltn* and Daniel 7, which he translates as *Litān*, as he labels it a chaos monster. [277] The passage he cites is a conversation between Môt and the titular Ba'al character at *CTA* 5.1.1-4, which reads:

ktmḫṣ.ltn.bṯn.brḥ./	When you killed *ltn*, the Fleeing Serpent,
tkly. bṯn.'qltn[]/	Annihilated the Twisty serpent,
šlyt.d.šb't.rašm/	The Tyrant Monster with Seven Heads,
tṯkḥ.ttrp.šmm.	The Heavens grew hot, they withered.[278]

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[275] "Illuyanka," in *Hittite Myths* (trans; Harry Hoffner; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1998), 13.
[276] Though fragmentary, the titular character of the "Song of Hedammu" is a sea serpent that threatens humanity, the gods, and all of creation with his insatiable appetite for a variety of creatures, an image Daniel 7 echoes with the Fourth Beast's great iron teeth devouring and destroying everything in its path. See "The Song of Hedammu," in *Hittite Myths* (trans; Harry Hoffner; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1998), 52.
[277] Otto Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer.* Halle: Niemeyer, 1932.
[278] Unless otherwise noted, Ugaritic translations are the author's.

Eissfeldt's comparison sparked much scholarly consideration, but one cannot downplay the importance of this section to the *Ba'al Cycle* beyond the observation of similarities between *ltn* and biblical chaos monsters. This *šlyt*, rendered here as "tyrant," is also an epithet for the monster *tnn*, which itself another name for *ltn*, thereby making Ba'al's battle for supremacy into a struggle against an encroaching chaos monster. [279] *CTA* 5.1.3 has clear allusions of the four heads of the Third Beast and horns on the Fourth Beast's head in Daniel 7, meaning both Daniel and *Ba'al* have terrifying, multiheaded destructive beasts that, when unchecked, bring destruction and mayhem to their respective realms. Further, the same Ugaritic wording and lettering of *CTA* 5.1.3 occurs again at *CTA* 5.1.30 with an additional reference to the "Tyrant with Seven Heads" at *CTA* 3.3.42. [280] Repeated citation of this Seven Headed being shows a cultural-literary awareness of the personification of chaotic forces into a capable and dangerous beast, the likes of which Daniel 7 echoes with its Four Beast roll call.

4.3 The Motif of Four

Exploring Daniel 7's Four Beasts takes on new possibilities when considering these creatures as a consequence of what be called the ANE "Motif of Four." Four is a significant number that manifests in the traditions of the four winds and four kingdoms and appears in pieces like *Enuma Elish,* the *Dynastic Prophecy, Marduk Prophecy* and *Šulgi Prophecy*. Reading

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[279] See the *šlyt* in *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (Boston, MA: Brill Publishing, 2003), 822. See also *tnn*, 873

[280] *CTA* 5.I.30 is highly reconstructed, but enough of the wording and letting used in *CTA* 5.1.1-4 justifies filling the gaps and reading *CTA* 5.I.27-31 as a repetition of *CTA* 5.1.1-4. Mark Smith's rendering concurs; see *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (ed. Simon Parker; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), 141-142.

these shows that each iteration of four is indeed a consequence, shaped by a particular tradition of symbolism for the ends of the earth and monarchical might.

As mentioned above, *Enuma Elish* describes Marduk's chariot being pulled by four monstrous beings, an example of the motif of four that Daniel 7 echoes with its four beasts. This motif makes another appearance in the Babylonian narrative, with the "four winds" at Tablet 4 lines 42-46 symbolizing the boundaries of creation. The lines read:

er-bet-ti šá-a-ri uš-te-eṣ-bi-ta la a-ṣe-e mim-mi-ša	The four winds he stationed so that no part of her could escape
IM.U$_{18}$.LU IM.SI.SÁ IM.KUR.RA. IM.MAR.TAU	The South Wind, North Wind, East Wind, West Wind
i-du-uš sa-pa-ra uš-taq-ri-ba qí-iš-ti AD-*šu* ^{d}*a-num*	He brought the net, a gift from Anu his father, close to him
ib-ni im-ḫul-la IM *lem-na me-ḫa-a a-šam-šu-tum*	He made an evil wind, a storm, a weather phenomenon[281]
IM.LÍMMU.BA IM.IMIN.BI IM.SÙḪ IM.SÁ.A.NU.SÁ.A.	The Four Winds, The Seven Winds, the whirlwind, the facing wind that cannot be faced

Continued use of this "four corners" or "four winds" motif suggests an ancient consciousness tied to understanding the mythical and earthly realms existing in four parts existing in a primordial, chaotic state. Further, the winds are tied narratively to the sea, as Marduk fashions them as boundaries for Tiamat, an image as noted by Gunkel echoed in biblical writings.

Here Gunkel's *Schofung und Chaos* again provides insight to possible influence of ancient Near Eastern literature like *Enuma Elish* and the Four Winds with Daniel 7.[282] Gunkel

[281] I render *ašamšutum* with the broad "weather phenomenon" to invoke a greater level of mystery and tension to Marduk's actions and their outcomes; the *CAD* cites this as a viable and often used rendering of the root *ašamšūtu*, which, when compared to the rest of the *ašamšūtu* entry, is consistent with the wide range of possible interpretations of this destructive force.

[282] Hermann Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*. *Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. 1 und Ap. Joh. 12.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprect, 1895), 323-335.

takes certain biblical passages as more than mere accidental echo or haphazard allusion; to him, they imply a larger narrative outside the Hebrew Bible. Thus, to build upon Gunkel's argument and parameter's, Daniel 7 is a consequence of Babylonian narratives like *Enuma Elish*. Further, this mythic backdrop takes on a political reality particular to Daniel 7's historical context. Additional evidence for the impact of ancient sea monsters exists throughout the bible, including YHWH's coming destruction of the sea dragon Leviathan at Isa 27:1 and Egyptian Rahab at 30:7, the great Pharaonic dragon of Ezek 29 and 32; Pss 68:31; 74:13; 87:4; Pss Sol. 2:2.[283] In short, the fingerprints of mythical sea creatures are seen throughout the Bible, with Daniel 7 acting as but one of many said examples.

Reading Daniel 7's beasts that emerge from the sea against this mythic sea background provides much greater clarity for an inconsistency: of the four kings symbolized in Daniel, only Greece is maritime. Against the backdrop of a mythic, chaotic sea, the image of beasts emerging from the sea becomes less about literal geographic location and more about the metaphoric implications of earthly kingships coming from primordial chaos. In short, the beasts' shared oceanic origin says more about their negative ontology than it does the literal interpretation of Daniel 7's symbolic imagery: what matters is they come from chaos and thus will bring chaos into creation.

The Babylonian *Dynastic Prophecy* also participates in the tradition of four with a Four Kingdom motif that immediately calls to mind Daniel 2 and 7. However, unlike Daniel 2 and 7, the people's fortunes are favorable under the fourth king as the land's people experience *dumqa* and *ṭâbu*, or "good fortune" and "happiness." It is interesting for this dissertation that consequences of Daniel's Four Kingdom imagery reinforce the negativity of the fourth and final

[283] Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 328-329.

kingdom, but the *Dynastic Prophecy* presents the fourth kingdom as a hopeful and expected ideal.

Tablet I column I, lines 1-25 are very broken with what remains barely resembling a connected narrative. Legible pieces begin at line 7, as line 8 foretells something or someone "will be overthrown." The Akkadian at column I:8 includes *issakip* as a descriptor of a king's fate, which comes from the root *sakāpu*, meaning to "overturn" or to set aside/depose a king.[284] Versions of *sakāpu* appear twice more in the *Prophecy*: columns I:14 and II:5. Thus, based solely on extant evidence and use of *sakāpu*, one may argue that the *Dynastic Prophecy* discusses monarchical deposition in some capacity. However, the use of *sakāpu* is unclear as to whether it concerns three separate changes in leadership, the same change of power three times, or some combination of the two. Thus, it requires further consideration as done below.

Except for the first five lines, column II is more complete and provides a fuller picture of what unfolds in the *Dynastic Prophecy*. Column II also features a shift in vocabulary as it describes changes in leadership beyond *sakāpu* in line 5. Lines 9-16 describe the patrilineal transition of power from father to son without conflict but continues to describe the son's reign as weak as he fails to gain nationwide respect.[285] Weakness leaves the nation vulnerable, and the text reveals in the unfolding lines that the land in question indeed is Akkad as a *rubû ḫammau*, or rebel prince, takes the throne.[286] This warring adversary does not overthrow the present king; rather, he "rises up" as the Akkadian uses *ellâ*, from the root *elû*. The verbal root *elû* is a noun or adjective that describes a mountain or high place, so here it presents a clear subversion of royal

[284] *CAD* volume 15: 70.
[285] A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts,* 32. Grayson's version, though no unreasonable, is highly reconstructed and based upon an erasure. Luckily for Grayson, proceeding lines are more complete and buttress his reading to the extent that, theoretically, a weak king could leave the kingdom open to capture.
[286] Tablet I, column ii line 16.

power. This trend continues in lines 17-19 with similar ideas but different syntax: an Elamite king replaces the rebellious prince through dual use of the roots *tebû* and *dekû* as he rises and removes the current king to take the throne. Political intrigue escalates in tablet II, column III as a member of the royal cabinet kills the Elamite king and creates a power vacuum.[287]

Finally, a fourth and final leadership change occurs, as an unidentified prince takes power and reigns with great political, social, and divine success from the blessings of Enlil, Shamash, and Marduk.[288] Though the number four is the focus of these changes in power, it becomes important read alongside the *Marduk Prophecy* and *Šulgi Prophecy*. Unlike the *Dynastic Prophecy*, *Šugli* and Marduk do not chronicle the rise and fall of individual kings; their focus lies in the narrative and metaphysical scope of history's unfolding.

Šugli and *Marduk* identify their respective narrators: ancient king Šugli and Babylonian deity Marduk. *Šugli* grants the ancient king an avenue to tell of the scope of his power, describing himself as connected directly to the gods Enlil, Ninlil, and Shamash. [289] Column II line 2 highlights the king's self-aggrandizement as he describes himself as "lord of the four world regions," a literary image echoing the "four corners" imagery from *Prophecy of Neferti*. Here the metaphor of "four world regions" symbolizes the king's expansive grasp; nothing is beyond his purview. It also shows the ongoing use of the number four as an all-encompassing symbol for limitless power.[290]

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[287] Grayson translates *ša rēši* as eunuch, which is a narrow and dated rendering; the *CAD* offers many possible readings, the broadest of which is someone connected in an official capacity to the king.
[288] Tablet II, column iii, lines 6-23.
[289] "Šugli Prophecy," column I line 1
[290] For another example, see "Marduk Prophecy," column I line 18 through column III line 9. Marduk has Babylon's patron deity chronicling his travels as the hands of foreign invasions and illegitimate kings, attributing the downfall and struggle of Babylon to his absence. The narrator identifies the primary adversary as Elam, prompting some scholars to read Marduk as a glorification piece for Nebuchadnezzar I, as the deity wills famine, pestilence, and violent chaos upon his enemies. The Marduk prophecy employs metaphoric literary imagery of brother turning against brother, mother against daughter, and the complete breakdown of societal norms. Further, it seems Marduk makes societal chaos the crux of its narrative as opposed to being one symbol among many as the coming savior

4.4 The Transcendent God and the Fighting Deity

4.4.1 – The Transcendent God

Dan 7:9 presents a divine Ancient of Days seated upon a throne, with “hair of his head like pure wool” (שְׂעַר רֵאשֵׁהּ כַּעֲמַר נְקֵא) that arrives among the tumult of the Four Beasts to provide stability and render judgment on behalf of “the righteous ones of the Most High” (Dan 7:18, 22, 25, 27). West Asian mythology, Canaanite in particular, features a similar chief god known as El. El is the transcendent deity, typically depicted in texts and iconography as an aged deity and described in literature as the “father of years” and “grey-headed” (*CAT* 1.3 V:2, 25; 1.4 V:4; 1.18 I:12). Seow describes El as “the chief god” and a “victorious warrior” sitting “enthroned as king over the universe,” making El “the divine king *par excellence* in Canaanite literature.”[291] Seow concurs with Frank Moore Cross by reading YHWH in the Hebrew Bible like El within the Canaanite pantheon. Shared attributes, descriptors, and behaviors between Canaanite El and biblical YHWH are more than compelling enough to Seow and Cross to make this logical claim.

Daniel continues this relationship between Israelite YHWH and Canaanite El by expansion and perpetuation, as the Daniel 7 describes its deity as both the “Ancient of Days” (עַתִּיק יוֹמִין) and “Most High” (עֶלְיוֹנִין). Seow suggests a possible connection between Canaanite El and the Daniel’s Aramaic Most High, saying “עלי/עליון may have even been used of El already at

causes a total reversal of Elam’s destruction. Dynastic, Uruk, Šugli, and Marduk each contains elements that represent an amorphous but perceivable literary Weltvorstellung that later biblical writers receive. These include: using the number four to symbolize the entire known world; the perception of Assyria, Elam, Persia/Media, and Greece as perineal imperial forces; citing regime changes and foreign influence as weakening communal religion; divine overt and/or covert working influence of history; temporary societal chaos that ends with the arrival of an unknown but divinely buttressed savior. A striking difference that separates these Babylonian receptions for future biblical writings is the conclusion’s tonal shift: the “savior” element in Daniel 2 and 7 represents a total undoing of history in favor of something new, whereas the Babylonian consequences present what happens at the end as a return to an idyllic beginning.

[291] C.L. Seow, *Myth, Drama, and the Politics of David’s Dance* (Atlanta, GA: Scholar’s Press, 1989), 13-17.

Shiloh."[292] Seow proceeds to note the use of עלי/עליון with YHWH as YHWH behaves and is depicted like Canaanite El throughout the Psalter.[293] This is a significant connection, as this label for the deity couches Daniel 7 in both the larger Hebrew Bible hermeneutical trajectories and the preceding literary milieus of the Western Asian literature.

El also is given the title of "king" (*mlk*) throughout the *Ba'al Cycle* and, as shown in making Ba'al king, can bestow the monarchical mantle on others. *CAT* 1.1 III:23-24 describes the god Kothar's journey to El mountain, an abode that is also described as "the tent of the king" (*qrš mlk*). This first mention of El's tent is reconstructed based on a similar description at *CAT* 1.2 III:5 where Kother again travels to visit El at his "tent of the king" (*qrš mlk*). The text describes El as *mlk* elsewhere, including *CAT* 1.3 V:8, 36; 1.4 I 5, IV:24, 38, 48; 1.5 VI:2; 1.6 I:36; 1.17 VI:49; 1.117:2-3.

El is also described as *qdš*, "holy" (*CAT* 1.16:11, 22), wise in judgment (*CAT* 1.3 V:30; 1.4 IV:41; V:3-4; 1.16 IV:1-2), and *lṭpn il dpid,* "compassionate and good natured" (*CAT* 1.3 IV:58; 1.6 III:4, 10, 14; 1.16 V:23). But perhaps the most important attribute assigned to him is the ability to determine who becomes king. In the episode of the *Ba'al Cycle* at *CTA* 6.1:43-65, in which Ba'al fights and loses to Mot, El makes Athtar the new king. El calls to the goddess Athirat at *CTA* 6.1:44-46:

šm'/lrbt aṯr[t]ym	Listen, Lady Athirat of the sea:
tn/aḥd b bnk am lkn	Choose one of your sons so I can make him king

[292] Seow, *Myth, Drama, and the Politics of David's Dance*, 50. Seow's postulation is the logical next step from Cross' position of Elyon being an early epithet of El. See Frank M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 51.
[293] Seow notes Psalm 97:9, 47:3, 83:19, 7:18; he also cites Psalm 89:28 as confirmation of עלי/עליון as an epithet and not a proper name. Thus, this leaves space for Daniel's deity and YHWH to be one and the same.

This section continues and describes the throne upon which Athtar will sit is “the throne of Ba’al the mighty one” (*CTA* 6.1:64). This process between El, Athirat, and Athtar illuminates a clear power dynamic: though the throne belongs to whoever sits on it, El is the one who decides who this being is; though the seated one may change, it remains in El’s possession.

4.4.2 The Fighting Deity

There is a second type of divine figure in ancient Near Eastern lore echoed in Daniel 7: the fighting god, known as, among other things, a Rider of Clouds, a storm deity, and a god amid uncertainty that will eventually triumph and be given kingship and dominion to reign over the multitudes of all the earth.[294] This tradition is engaged in Daniel 7 and though the one who comes with the clouds is not a divine being who comes with the clouds, but “one like a human being” that will be given kingship and dominion. Like Baal and Marduk, Daniel 7’s iteration is a champion who will be set over against the earthy manifestation of chaos powers that are like a lion, an eagle, a bear, and something that defies explanation (Dan 7:13-14).

Dan 7:13-14 introduce “the one like a human being” (כְּבַ֣ר אֱנָ֔שׁ), describing him as arriving “with the clouds of the heavens” (עִם־עֲנָנֵ֣י שְׁמַיָּ֔א) and the ancient of days gives this mysterious figure dominion, glory, and kingship over all peoples and nations. This parallels the Ugaritic storm deity Ba’al, who is also described as the Cloud Rider in many instances.[295] Since the translation of the writings from Ugarit, scholars have made connections between Ba’al and Daniel 7. Cross takes a direct stance on this “one like a human being,” saying, “The man-like being (“like a son of man”) who comes to receive kingship is evidently young Ba’al reinterpreted

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[294] *CAT* 1.4.VII:42ff.

[295] *CAT* 1.3 III:36-38: lê-rākibi ‘urpati; *CAT* 1.4 III:11 and 18: rākibu ‘urpati; *CAT* 1.4 V:60: la-rākibi ‘urpati.

and democratized by the apocalyptist as the Jewish nation."[296] Collins, Seow, and Mark Smith make similar notations, with Smith extending the potential connection beyond Daniel and into Deuteronomy, arguing that Deuteronomy 32:13 and the description of YHWH causing Israel to "ride upon the 'back of the earth'" works metaphorically in "the old traditional storm god theophany."[297] Smith's articulation of Cloud Rider as an epithet for YHWH shows the nuanced tradition engaged in Daniel 7 likely reflects a semi-divine character like Ba'al, as this "one like a human being" is not a deity. Despite his lesser than divine status, Daniel's cloud rider is set to inherit divinely endowed power and dominion. Indeed, both Ba'al and Marduk defeat water-chaos entities to become powerful rulers but reading their respective ascension narratives shows that what each heroic figure stands to gain from victory is essential to both of their stories, and Daniel as well: divinely ordained kingship.

Stakes of kindship and rule are presented at the inception of the Ba'al narrative at *CAT* 1.1 IV:23-24, as El proclaims:

gršnn.lk[si.mlkh.]	Drive him from [his royal]
[lnẖt.lkhṯ]drkth.	thr[one]
	[From the resting place, the
Whm.ap.l[tgršh.lksih]	throne]
	of his dominion
ymḫṣk.k[ ][298]	But if then [you] do not [drive
	him
	From his throne,]
	He will beat you like…

Astarte's word at *CAT* 1.3 IV:6-7 carry the same emphasis, as she broadcasts hope for Ba'al's demise:

[296] Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 17.
[297] Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* vol. II (The Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 677.
[298] Ba'al Transliterations taken from "The Baal Cycle" in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (trans. Mark Smith; ed. Simon Park; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), 105. I favor this transliteration over Smith's' in The Ugaritic Baal Cycle because, despite its sound academic foundation, the translation there is highly reconstructed.

wttn.gh	When she raises her voice:
ygr/tḥt.ksi.zbl.ym	"May he sink beneath the throne of Prince Yamm"

These lines show that the coming battle between Ba'al and Yamm is not arbitrary, nor is it unmotivated; the gods know that kingship and rule will go to the victor. Further, analyzing what Ba'al and Yamm represent within this pantheon shows that the battle for kingship is also one between order and chaos. Yamm represents both the chaotic sea and mighty rivers (*CAT* 1.2 III: 8-9). Yamm battles for a chance to rule, meaning that metaphorically chaos seeks political power. Conversely, Ba'al fights Yamm to uphold the present order, meaning Ba'al here represents stability and control. Like Daniel 7 and the beasts that emerge from the chaotic sea, defeated by one riding on cloud, so too does this Ugaritic cloud-rider face off against a monstrous personification of chaos and the sea.

Ba'al requires assistance from Kothar to defeat the fierce Yamm, making the victory a tandem effort among the deities. [299] However, Kothar does not help Ba'al out of magnanimity or compassion. According to *CAT* 1.2 IV:10, Kothar assists to ensure Ba'al's success and, in turn, Ba'al's rule: "May you take your eternal kingship, your everlasting dominion."[300] This assistance shows two things about this kingship. First, it shows that Ba'al has no guarantee that he will win. Second, Kothar's willingness to aid shows his preference for the future king. This creates a complex political dynamic between the gods and their potential rulers, further emphasizing the need for proper possession (and bestowal) of kingship.

Ba'al's compatriot Anat claims some level of responsibility when she boasts about defeating Yamm at *CAT* 1.3 III:32-IV:8 despite her violent acts offering no direct contribution to

[299] *CAT* 1.2, IV:11-15. Smith articulates this position well: "Just as El empowers Yamm with new names against his enemy, Baal, so Kothar empowers Baal against his adversary, Yamm, with incantations over weapons designated with names." Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* vol. I, 154.

[300] Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle vol. I* (The Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 322.

Ba'al's success.[301] The response to Ba'al's defeat of Yamm warrants consideration, as it prompts deities to proclaim his kingship (*CAT* 1.2, IV:31-39):

w[y/t'n]	And [s/he speaks]
ym.lmt.	"Yamm is dead
b'lm.yml[k]	Baal will be king[302]
ḥm.lšrr.w[ ]	and he rules!"
y'n.	he speaks:
ym.lmt[ ]	"Yamm is dead
[b'l.ymlk]/	Baal will be king
lšrr.	He rules!
wt['n]	And she speaks
b'lm.hmt.[ ]	May Baal [rule]
lšrr.	He rules!
št[ ]	[ ][303]
brišh.[ ]	…upon his head
ibh.mš[ ]	His enemy

Ba'al's defeat of Yamm does not give him kingship; rather, it is something he receives from other deities because of his victory. This transfer of power shows that the opportunity to rule must come from the gods and cannot be found or taken without divine blessing. Ba'al does not receive kingship because he defeats Yamm; rather, his defeat of Yamm is a justification for the gods and goddesses to bestow upon him the mantle of king.

Similarly, Marduk becomes king in *Enuma Elish* after the divine council's proclamation but prior to his defeat of Tiamat at 3.13-14, declaring "O Marduk, you are our champion! We give you kingship of all and everything."[304] They reiterate their support at 4.28-32:

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[301] Neal Walls argues her boasts could represent a variant tradition in which she engages with Baal in the battle, a hyperbolic self-exaltation, or simply an anxious response. Ultimately, he settles on the reason as "unknown." Neal Walls, *The Goddess Anat in Ugaritic Myth* (SBLDS: 1992), 175. It is also worth noting that Walls is the instructor that taught me Aramaic, Ugaritic, and the basics of studying literature of the ancient Near East. This project and I am greatly indebted to him.

[302] I render *yml[k]*, "will be king," as a 3rd-person masc. sing. Imperfect. Smith takes a similar reading, with: "it is Baal who will reign" (*The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* vol. I, 359).

[303] Smith's reconstruction in *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* wa-ta['nî (?)], which he translates "…and she ans[wers(?)].

[304] Translation is the author's unless otherwise noted.

iḫ-du-u ik-ru-bu ^{d}AMAR.UTU-*ma* LUGAL	They celebrated and worshipped; “Marduk is king”
u-uṣ-ṣi-pu-šu GIŠ.PA GIŠ.GU.ZA *ù* BAL-a	They gave him the scepter, the throne, and the ring
id-di-nu-šu ka-ak la maḫ-ra da-`i-i-pu za-a-a-ri	They gave him a powerful weapon that overwhelms the enemy
a-lik-ma ša ti-amat nap-šá-tuš pu-ru-u’-ma	Go! Cut the life of Tiamat!
ša-a-ru da-mi-šá a-na pu-uz-ra-tum li-bil-lu-ni[305]	May the wind take her blood into hidden places!

This pre-battle ceremony speaks to the confidence in Marduk’s ability to succeed, an act mirrored in Daniel 7 as the Most High gives the one like a human being power and authority before the decisive battle begins. But reaching back to Tiamat’s rise to power illuminates an interesting echo in Daniel 7, as Tiamat, the chaos goddess, gives her emissary Qingu “kingship of all the gods” at tablet 1.154 and 2.40. Just as the beasts in Daniel 7 emerge from the chaotic waters and receive earthly dominion at v.6, so too does Qingu receive kingship from Tiamat that he is destined to lose.

Marduk and Qingu are two sides of the same ancient Near Eastern kingship coin. Both Tiamat and the divine council believe they wield and bestow the power of kingship, and both give said power to envoys on their behalf. However, true kingship and power are not determined without a decisive battle. Thus, read through the lens of Daniel 2 and 7, parallels between true and false kingship arise. Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 2 and the beasts of Daniel 7 act as if power and rule are theirs to wield, just as Tiamat believes she is able to give Qingu control over all the gods. However, like Daniel in chapter 2 and the one like a human being in Daniel 7, Marduk holds the real authority from the gods, using said strength and might to take down Tiamat.

Marduk defeats Tiamat and uses her body to create the heavens and the earth, ushering in a new era of life under his rule. However, like Ba’al and Yamm, the symbolism of Marduk

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305 Transliteration supplemented by Philippe Talon, *The Standard Babylonian Creation Myth: Enūma Eliš* (Finland: Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy, 2005), 52.

fighting and felling Tiamat is significant. Like Yamm, Tiamat represents the chaotic sea (tablet 1.4-5). These same lines also indicate that Tiamat is ancient, existing alongside her partner the primordial Apsū in a term before creation or gods existed (tablet 1.6-9). Tiamat represents a chaotic, pre-creation force that is capable of creating life and bringing death. Marduk, like Ba'al, represents stability and order. Tiamat seeks to undo the world she helped create and return existence to a primordial-like state as she acts for her own interests. Marduk is the one who can preserve order and behave according to the interests of others, so his stability stands in stark contrast to Tiamat's variability.

When Marduk triumphs, it is a victory for order over chaos. Marduk receives a series of titles following his defeat of Tiamat, including

[^{ilu}*Lugal-dur-maḫ šar m*]*ar*-[*k*]*as ilāni be-el dur-ma-ḫi*	[Lugal-durmaḫ, the King] of the band of the gods, the Lord of rulers[306]

These two titles, "King of the band of gods" and "Lord of rulers" both repeats his status as king and underscores his position atop the monarchical hierarchy. Marduk is not simply "a" king but "the" king over everything. Further, his kingship symbolizes a right order to creation, whereas his defeat would allow Tiamat's rule and thus would personify chaotic disorder. Thereby within the bounds of *Enuma Elish* kingship becomes a symbol for order and lack thereof causes chaos.

Ba'al and Marduk both receive kingship in their respective divine pantheons, and in so doing become heroic figures. Though their power is given to them by other deities, said power comes after victorious combat over chaos. It seems that the gods give their heroes the tools necessary to win to ensure their continued stability; without these heroes, the higher gods would

[306] These lines are from the fragment K. 85,19 and its duplicate K. 13, 1337; given the complicated nature of these fragments, I rely on the translation from *The Seven Tablets of Creation.* Transliteration and transliteration are from *The Seven Tablets of Creation* (ed. L.W. King; London: Luzac and Co., 1902), 105.

lose their authority and abilities. Thus, the kingship Ba'al[307] and Marduk[308] receive relies on their success in battle. It seems with these two examples that kingship must be taken and won as much as it is given or bestowed. Without victory, there is no kingship; without success, there is only chaos for the respective realms of Ba'al and Marduk.

4.5 Dreams and Prophecies

Literature from the ancient Near East is rife with prophetic texts that foretell the rise and fall of kingdoms, looming destruction, spectacular heroic characters, and other extraordinary images that create a hermeneutical stage overflowing with interpretative potential.

4.5.1 Egyptian Dreams and Prophecies

Egyptian *Prophecy of Neferti* which is dated sometime in the Middle Kingdom, likely in the 12th-Dynasty. This timeframe, however, is problematic as the earliest extant version is dated in the Middle Kingdom during the 12th-Dynasty, a difference of potentially eight hundred years.[309] Despite consideration dating issues, scholars study *Neferti*, especially in terms of its capacity to shed light on preceding Egyptian prophecies and similarities to biblical texts.[310] *Neferti* offers much in terms of Egyptian literary history, early cultic texts, and ancient Egyptian experiences. Reading excerpts while being mindful of the Four Kingdoms and Fourth Beast traditions illuminates further possibilities.

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[307] Smith argues a similar position, saying "Baal's kingship requires not only his defeat of Yamm, but also a highly protracted process of acquiring his palace." Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* vol. I, 296.

[308] Shawn Flynn's argue support this reading, as he describes Marduk's defeat of Tiamat as a "unique" act of creation. Shawn Flynn, *YHWH is King: The Development of Divine Kingship in Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2014), 96-97

[309] *The Tale of Sinuhe* (trans. R.B. Parkinson; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 131-133.

[310] Stuart Weeks, "Predictive and Prophetic Literature: Can *Neferti* Help Us Read the Bible," in *Prophecy and Prophets in Ancient Israel* (ed. John Day; New York, NY: T&T Clark International, 2010), 25-46.

Hans Goedicke translates lines 61-71 of Papyrus Hermitage 1116B *Neferti* as follows:

Rejoice! O people of his time!
A freeborn man will be able to establish his name
    for eternity and everlastingness!
Fall to disaster!
O those contemplating treason even after they
    abandoned their plans for fear of him
The Asiatics will fall to his terror, and the Libyan
    will fall to his flame.

Although the traitors belong to his wrath
And the discontented belong to his might
The Uraeus, which is on his brow,
    is pacifying for him the discontented,
One will rebuild the Fortification of the Ruler,
Without allowing the Asiatics to descend to Egypt
They shall request water in the man of supplications
In order to let their herds drink.
And order will come back to its place and disorder
    will be cast away.
Rejoicing will be the one who observes and he
    who will be serving the king.[311]

Considering different tropes illuminates possible allusions between the Fourth Kingdom and Fourth Beast motif. First, despite having Old Kingdom Egyptian geography, its composition clearly reflects the Middle Kingdom.[312] Further, additional Egyptian texts use the "four corners" and "four winds" metaphoric language to describe the entire world with poetic elegance.[313] "White crown" and "red crown" imagery in *Neferti* employs a familiar and traditional Old Kingdom designation of Upper and Lower Egypt; these images appear in literature, economic writings, paintings, and statues depicting leaders of the respective Egyptian regions.[314]

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[311] Hans Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 182-183. For a more recent version, see also Stephen Quirke, *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC: Questions and Readings* (United Kingdom: Golden House Publications, 2004).
[312] John Foster, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: An Anthology* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2001), 76.
[313] This image is commonplace in many languages and literatures, including Akkadian.
[314] See Jane Roy, *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East: The Politics of Trade – Egypt and Lower Nubia in the 4th Millennium BC* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 215 and Jill Kamil, *The Ancient Egyptians: Life in the Old Kingdom* (Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo, 1984), 38.

Overt military images continue as *Neferti* describes the fall of the Asiatics and Libyans, but the poem's reference to an Egyptian leader overtaking peoples identified as Libyans and Asiatics is peculiar, as many Egyptian tombs with painted reliefs depict Egyptians standing harmoniously with Libyans, Asiatics, and others from neighboring countries.[315] However, the writer(s) may be revealing more about dating *Neferti* than realized, as the Old Kingdom is marked by peace and understood by many to be a "golden age" of Egyptian rule" but turmoil and constant threat of invasion defines the late Middle Kingdom.[316]

A prophecy embedded in an Egyptian tale from the *Papyrus Westcar* tells of an extraordinary birth of triplets to Ruddedet, a priest's wife. The story is set in the presence of King Khufu, as his sons are sharing stories to entertain and please their father. Focus shifts from the legendary past toward the future, as the Magician Djedi appears and Khufu begins asking Djedi questions. Khufu seeks an otherwise undefined secret knowledge about "chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth," to which Djedi responds with a prophecy about the third child of three in Ruddedet's womb.[317] The story moves again, this time to the birth of the triplets, each of which is described as "a child of one cubit, strong boned, his limbs overlaid with gold, his headdress of

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[315] See the scene from the tomb of Sety I (1290-1279 BCE) and the tomb of Huy at Thebes (dated to 1300s BCE).
[316] Jaromir Malek, "The Old Kingdom," in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (ed. Ian Shaw; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 84-85. "Asiatics" is likely a reference to a group often referred to as "the Hyksos," though this position remains contested. See Donald Redford, "The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition," Orientalia 39.1 (1970), 1-51. In terms of cultural and national impact, the Hyksos' rise to power reflects a more gradual increase in cultural influence and no a sudden, swift display of brute force. For fuller detail, see the superb work of Anna-Latifa Mourad, Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period (Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing, 2015). Further, the group called "Libyans" in Neferti likely refers to peoples from the ancient civilization known as Libya, thereby making the Neferti Libyans represent a long-time neighbor that doubled as an occasional adversarial figure. Anthony Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," Libyan Studies 16 (1985). This history concerning the relationship between Egypt, Libya, and the Asiatics shows the Neferti citing of two perineal contesting neighbors conveys a clear message: the future Pharaoh will permanently eliminate potential conflict that defined previous relationships between the countries. These two kingdoms come to symbolize that which resists and rejects Egyptian cultural norms, thereby becoming the target of atemporal militaristic expectations.
[317] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature vol. 1*, 219. Lichtheim notes that he translation is incomplete, but the evidence she presents is sufficient for the purposes of this comparative analysis.

true lapis lazuli."[318] It is clear the children are not ordinary, as gold and lapus lazlui symbolize more than precious metals or the children's possible metaphoric character traits. Egyptian literature commonly associates gold with the divine, as Re is "the mountain of gold" and Pharaoh "the Golden Horus."[319] Egyptians could only acquire lapis lazuli through trade with other nations and territories, thereby making the stone a precious and expensive commodity limited to persons with exceptional means.[320]

The history of Middle Kingdom Egypt also lends striking similarities to imperial and political realities conveyed through Daniel 2 and 7. Transition from kingdom to kingdom, empire to empire is never clean, especially in the separate contexts of ancient Egypt and the kingdoms drawing Israelite authors' ire. Scholars rely on paltry evidence to speculate when Old Kingdom Egypt "officially" became Middle Kingdom Egypt, just as it is unclear when and where Babylon became Persia, Persia become Greece-Rome, and the like.[321] This is to say Egyptian writers employed a certain fluidity to their metaphorical timestamping and imperial transitions, a tactic likely expected and appreciated by readers and potential audiences.

Three Demotic Egyptian pieces are particularly noteworthy given their content, availability of primary texts, and accepted scholarly date ranges for when their fullest versions began circulation: the *Demotic Chronicle*, *Oracle of the Potter*, and *Prophecy of the Lamb*. Each blend Egyptian, Hellenistic Greek, and Hellenistic Jewish thought and literary substance to within Egyptian perspectives in the 3rd-century BCE into 1st-century CE. Further, these three

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[318] Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature vol. 1*, 220.
[319] Toby Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1999), 171.
[320] Samuel Mark, *From Egypt to Mesopotamia: A Study of Predynastic Trade Routes* (London: Chatham Publishing, 1998).
[321] Regarding the difficulty in dating anything about Egyptian history and literature in any capacity, Ian Shaw writes such problems include: "…the potential confusion of links between astronomical observations and specific dates, the uncertainty as to which co-regencies (if any) actually occurred, and the assumption that the Egyptians of the pharaonic period and later continually dated events according to an artificial 'wandering' civil year of 365 days, which was rarely synchronized with the real solar year." See "Introduction" in *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 11.

writings are products of what Alan Lloyd describes as an era of "Egyptian nationalist propaganda," an imposed cultural ideology that sought to validate and define legitimate Pharaoh status over and against leaders installed by Ptolemaic outsiders.[322]

Of these three Demotic Egyptian texts, Demotic Chronicle is the most tenuous and least straightforward; complex language and extensive use of puns makes its meaning simultaneously ambiguous and multifarious.[323] Yet is in this difficult language that the skillful blend of pointed criticism with highly interpretative historical reference shines and makes *Chronicle* reflect remarkable- authorial precision.[324] The beginning is highly fragmentary as it starts at chapter six without clear demarcation as to what precedes; perhaps the first five chapters name or identify the narrator, but as is the narrator remains anonymous. [325] Further, it is also unclear whether the speaker is recounting past events or predicting the future, thereby making the chronicle's genre difficult to identify.

Egyptian history in *Chronicle* unfolds sequentially as one king gives way or is taken over by another. Deities respond with peace or war according to a given Pharaoh's piety or lack thereof, making the gods react history as opposed to controlling and wielding events to achieve their ends. The *Chronicle* writer speaks of leaders as being "first," "second," "third," and so on, without a clear starting point of reference. For example, Heinz Felber translates chapter eight II/19 to read "Die erste Phyle, sie hat sich dem Riegel genähert" (The first Phyle, she has

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[322] Alan Lloyd, "Nationalist Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Historia* 31 (1982): 33-55.
[323] Janet Johnson and Robert Ritner, "Multiple Meaning and Ambiguity in the 'Demotic Chronicle,'" in *Studies in Egyptology – Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* vol. 1 (ed. Sarah Israelit-Groll; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1990), 494-506.
[324] Johnson and Ritner, "Multiple Meanings," 506.
[325] The version consulted primarily comes from Heinz Felber "Die Demotische Chronik," in *Apokalyptik und Ägypten* (eds. Andreas Blasius and Bernd Schipper; Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2002), 65-111. Egyptian scholars consider Felber's work to be the most respected translation available, given the problematic and difficult nature of the existing fragments and manuscripts. Though one could be particular about relying on Felber's translation, potential insufficiencies fade as overarching connections, themes, and images pertinent to this dissertation are considered.

approached the latch), which he interprets as referring to an unknown Egyptian pharaoh that will usher in known future events.[326] Chapters six, seven, ten, eleven, and thirteen begin similarly but each employ different metaphors and symbolic images, suggesting a literary ring construction or altogether unknown repetitive structure. Scholars disagree about what the symbols and titles mean, but the overall message is clear: pharaohs will arise or be appointed, with varying results, until a more permanent and ideal ruler arrives to guide Egypt down the correct path.[327]

The *Prophecy of the Lamb*, also called the *Oracle of the Lamb*, presents an interesting iteration of Egyptian prophetic kingdom chronology, as it portends the fall of a current king followed by an extended period of foreign rule at the hands of Assyrian, Persian, and Greek imperial rulers. However, dating the *Lamb* prophecy is difficult and almost impossible, as the only extant versions exist through the writings of Egyptian historian Manetho.[328] Certain recensions of Greco-Egyptian *Potter's Prophecy*, discussed above as the *Oracle of the Potter*, also contain miscellaneous quotes from the *Prophecy of the Lamb* but they are insufficient for determining authorship, origin date, and existence of additional surviving sources.

Lamb begins with nameless narrator introducing a character named Pasaenhor who reads from a book to the narrator. This book foretells Egyptian destruction and lament as it claims Egypt will fall to an outside unnamed nation, turning the Nile into blood and causing Egyptians to raise swords against each other. *Lamb* fragment 1 is very broken, but extant writings predict the fall of this unnamed conquering nation in favor of another: the Medes.[329] Fragment 2 continues the narrative, albeit likely missing a portion of the oracle, and cites the coming Greeks

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[326] Felber, "Die Demotische Chronik," 78.
[327] See McCown, Felber; see also Edda Bresciani, "Oracles d'Égypte et prophéties bibliques," *Le Monde de la Bible* 45 (1986): 44-45; Edda Bresciani, "The Persian Occupation of Egypt," in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. II: 502-28.
[328] Robert K. Ritner, "The Prophecy of the Lamb," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (ed. William Kelly Simpson; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 445.
[329] Ritner, "The Prophecy of the Lamb," 446.

will overtake the Medes to rule Egypt. The *Oracle of the Lamb* predicts the fall of the narrator's world at the hands of outsiders, cites two of the four traditional identifications given to the Four Kingdoms in chapters 2 and 7, and an unknown force or individual will save the nation with an emphasis on restoring proper religious practice.

4.5.2 Babylonian Dreams, Visions, and Prophecies

Short dreams throughout the Gilgamesh epic, in both the Neo-Assyrian and Old Babylonian versions, are replete with symbolism relevant to this dissertation. At OBV II.i.7 and II.i.29, Gilgamesh describes strange objects he sees in a dream, the first being an obscure adversarial and cumbersome item call a *kiṣrum* and the second an axe. Gilgamesh is confused by the first image and its apparent coequal position with Gilgamesh as the leader; his mother confirms his anxieties by interpreting the *kiṣrum* as what readers know is the forthcoming Enkidu. The second image of an axe that Gilgamesh "loves like a woman" gets an interpretation in the Neo-Assyrian version, as the OBV is broken at this point in the story. His mother again confirms his uncertainties, saying the axe indeed represents a woman. Gilgamesh is apparently working in two directions, toward both its internal characters and the audience, as this *kiṣrum* and woman appear to foreshadow the female figure Gilgamesh sends to subdue Enkidu. Gilgamesh gains no love interest per se, but this image could reflect his dependence on female characters throughout the narrative. [330] Concerning biblical allusion, the *kiṣrum* and axe dream again employs a common trope: a leader has an unsettling dream with obscure images, the likes of which can only be interpreted by an outsider and said images bear weight on what comes next for the leader.

[330] Siduri, his mother, here as the interpreter, and the woman he sends to Enkidu.

Like his mother's interpretation to Gilgamesh's second dream, the Neo-Assyrian version has a fuller telling of Gilgamesh and Enkidu's conversation in tablet IV in which the pair discuss additional dreams. Gilgamesh again has two dreams, the first of which features a mysterious and powerful man that frees the Uruk king from being trapped beneath a mountain. Another mountain falls upon Gilgamesh in the second dream, prompting Gilgamesh to describe both he and Enkidu as being trapped beneath it like flies. Enkidu interprets the dreams and believes they represent the king's anxieties about their adversary Humbaba. This interpretation is peculiar and ironic as it conveys Enkidu's arrogant confidence, which ultimately becomes his downfall leading to death.

A third dream befalls Gilgamesh that lacks an interpretation due to broken extant tablet evidence, but highly negative, destructive, and death related imagery paired with Enkidu's eventual death make this dream a harbinger of doom. An additional dream occurs in the OB Nippur manuscript that lacks citation in other Gilgamesh sources and fragments. [331] The excerpt fails to name the speaker and listener, but it follows the pattern established by Gilgamesh's three dreams he experiences approaching the Cedar forest. Paired with the speaker saying this is the fourth of four successive dreams, A.R. George uses these similarities with the other dreams to label Gilgamesh as the speaker and Enkidu the listener, thereby placing a fourth and final dream within the narrative.[332] Gilgamesh says this dream surpasses the other three dreams as he describes a Anzû bird with an abnormal face flying above the pair. It speaks with fire and

[331] Record of this fourth dream is highly contested; most versions include little to notation of its possible existence, let alone a complete translation. Benjamin Foster includes the fullest version in his 2001 translation, in which Gilgamesh's fourth dream features the frightening lion-headed monster Anzû bird, swooping down and reigning terror upon the pair only to be defeated by an unknown but strong and capable man. Enkidu's description is again missing from extant source material, but what is available is a repetition of the Anzû bird's description first said by Gilgamesh in the dream's description.

[332] A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Cuneiform Texts*. Vol I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). 242.

breathes death, but a man of strange form appears and subdues the Anzû bird by its wings. This dream has clear echoes to the Son of Man image in Daniel 7, but more important here is that the fearsome and strange Anzû bird wields fire and brings death. It is an agent of chaos, striking terror into Gilgamesh's heart.

Thus far, dreams in Gilgamesh feature symbolic language, some positive and negative, that require interpretation. However, narrative focus narrows on the dream's negative portending nature in Enkidu's death dream at tablet VII.4.14-54. Troubled again by nightly images in his head, Enkidu describes a terrifying mixed creature with the body and head of a lion and wings of a bird that strips him naked and tortures him. Enkidu says the being is like a great winged bird with a foreboding disposition. [333] Thus, dreams in Gilgamesh follow patterns concerning content and literary prophetic purpose that are consistent with the ANE cultural worldview, an important literary regularity that appears in both Daniel 2 and 7.

Couched within the larger Babylonian Gilgamesh epic and existing as a standalone narrative, Atrahasis tells the story of a divine flood and the singular human chosen to survive the cataclysm. Ea spares a man named Atrahasis by showing Atrahasis the divinely ordained future, thereby ensuring humanity's survival. Atrahasis connects the divine and human realms as a direct means of a deity conveying a coming cataclysmic event to a human receiver. Further, one can consider the widespread popularity of the myth and its shared connections to the Gilgamesh epic corpus makes the interaction between Atrahasis and the deity a definitive and paradigmatic "dream vision" event.

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[333] Assyrian version tablet VII, column IV. It must be noted this section of the tablet is highly fragmented and many later translations that follow R.C. Thompson's 1930 publication of the cuneiform drawings and transliteration, including Oppenheim, Foster, and Dalley, rely on heavy reconstructions but present the text as whole or extant with little to no annotations saying otherwise. Though this dream is reconstructed and pieced together on speculation, extant pieces make it clear Enkidu is troubled by his vision of a hybrid animal creature that portends death.

Atrahasis describes the gods and goddesses' multiple attempts to quell the rambunctious human population they created. After disease, famine, and drought fail, the deities decide to end the humans permanently through a catastrophic flood. Passion to alleviate a problem blinds the gods and goddesses as they forget the codependent relationship they have with their creation as failed solutions ended due to nonexistent human worship and offerings, leaving the divine beings to starve.

Interaction between the god Enki and the human Atrahasis also resembles another tenet of Daniel 2 and 7: the fate of the human realm relies on information given in a dream mediated through a human with particular relationship with the divine realm. Tablet III of the OBV features an interaction between the human and divine protagonists, with a dream interpretation and instructions for constructing a boat for Atrahasis to survive the storm. [334] Unleashing of the flood in Tablet III column iii lines 7-12 is described with chaotic allusion:

[^{d}*zu-ú i-na ṣ*]	[The Anzû bird with] his talons [ripped] the heavens.
[….*m*]*a-ta-am*	[…] the earth
[*ki-ma ka-ar-pa-ti r*]*i-gi-im-ša iḫ-pi*	And destroyed its uproar [like a brittle bowl]
[…*it-ta-ṣa-a*] *a-bu-bu*	[…] the flood [came out]
[*ki-ma qá-ab-l*]*i e-li ni-ši i-ba-a' ka-šu-šu*[335]	The overpowering divine weapon came upon humanity [like an army]

Heaven itself gets ripped open, unleashing a flood weapon, known here as *kašušu*, that reigns chaos upon human creation. The deities realize unleashing kašušu has consequences reaching further than they imagined as they cower in fear and ask aloud at Tablet III column iii lines 37-38 what prompted their decision:

ki-i aq-[*bi*]	How did I
it-ti-šu-nu ga-me-er-ta-a[*m*]	with them, command complete destruction?

[334] W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns Publishing, 2000), 90-91

[335] Transliterations come from the cuneiform tablet drawings in Lambert and Millard (2000).

Fear drives Enlil to approach Atrahasis, prompts Atrahasis to construct the lifeboat, and forces the divine counsel to change their celebratory arrogance to mournful terror. Neither the divine or human realm can control the forces of chaos

In the version of the flood narrative present in the Gilgamesh epic, Ea, the stand in for Enki, reveals how he informs Utnapishtim, the stand in for Atrahasis, of the coming doom, saying in lines 196-197 of SBV tablet XI:

a-na-ku ul ap-ta-a pi-riš-ti ilī(dingir)^{meš} *rabûti*(gal) ^{meš}	I did not reveal the great divine secret
at-ra-ḫa-sis šu-na-ta ú-šab-ri-šum-ma pi-riš-ti ilī(dingir)^{meš} *iš-me*[336]	I caused Atrahasis to dream and he [] learned of the divine secret

Inclusion of this dream in the SBV is crucial to forming intercultural intertextual connections, as the dream in the OBV Atrahasis is fragmented or completely missing due to the tablet's poor condition. Here, like Daniel 2 and 7, the dream lacks explicit or apparent instructions; the divine message requires discernment or interpretation. Ea only presents the receiver, Utnapishtim, with information and instruction; he must assemble the pieces, create the correct meaning for the dream, and execute Ea's mission.

These ancient deluge stories offer insight into shared cultural *Weltvorstellung* of the ancient world while showing the ways in which later biblical writers incorporate similar broad themes of divine power, order against chaos, communication of the divine into the human realm, and the fate of creation. Disparate literary traditions presented in Atrahasis and Gilgamesh speak to the continual power of narrative as a means of expressing cultural and cultic anxieties while instilling a sense of hope based on the human-divine connection. Much like Daniel 2 and 7, these

[336] George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic,* 716.

stories struggle with humanity's place as created beings, as the gods and goddesses work to understand their place in the order they established. Perhaps the clearest change from the flood narratives to Daniel's apocalyptic dream visions is the divine vulnerability that defines the flood's conclusion in both Atrahasis and Gilgamesh. Biblical writers withhold any semblance of wavering or misgivings for the silent but inferably present divine character in Daniel 2 and 7, whereas voices in Atrahasis and Gilgamesh operate within wider theological boundaries.

Erich Ebeling first published the Akkadian text *A Vision of the Netherworld* in 1931, allowing increased scholarly opportunities for studying ANE writings and traditions and, in time, echoes of *Netherworld* in biblical Daniel. [337] Scholars published revisions and updates to Ebeling's original offering, granting it an ongoing place in the discipline. Building on Ebeling's work, Helge Kvanvig suggests reading *Netherworld* through Daniel.[338] Kvanvig is not the first to suggest possible shared imagery between *Netherworld* and Daniel 7, but Kvanvig's work with the subject is the most recognized and contested. Kvanvig does a simple text-by-text comparison between *Netherworld* and Daniel 7, saying, they share similar trappings: both feature nightmarish monsters that defy traditional explanation, a throne scene, a judgment sequence, the ideal ruler, and a human figure designated as an important "man." [339] Kvanvig also notes the Assyrian text and Daniel 7 are both "night-visions," complete with the visionary's name, different physical settings, the visionary's reaction, symbolic elements requiring interpretation, and said elements' interpretations. [340]

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[337] Erich Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin, Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1931).
[338] Helge Kvanvig, "An Akkadian Vision as background for Daniel 7?," *StTh* 35 (1981): 85-89.
[339] Kvanvig, "An Akkadian Vision as background for Daniel 7?," 85-89.
[340] Kvanvig, "An Akkadian Vision as background for Daniel 7?," 86.

Netherworld begins with the narrator describing a character named Kumma as he lays down and experiences a "night vision," then shifts from a third-person perspective to first as the remainder of the work takes place from Kumma's point of view. [341] The Akkadian discloses that Kumma has a *tabrīt*, from *tabrītu*, and a *šuttišú*, meaning what he experiences is both a nocturnal vision and a dream. This double definition of Kumma's experience serves a purpose: what unfolds is not a chance dream; rather, it is a vision usually associated with divine communication.

Creatures composed of different animal and human parts stand before Kumma, with the first, Namtartu, having a sphinxlike head and human hands and feet. Namtartu acts as the concubine to Namtar, vizier of the underworld, who has the head of a serpent-dragon with human hands and feet. These descriptions allude to Egyptian depictions of the divine with human bodies and animal heads. [342] The next retains human hands and feet but has a bird's head and wings, followed by a creature with an ox's head accompanying its four human hands and four human feet. Other bizarre animal-persons remain: one with a goat's head and another with a lion's head and a head that remains unidentified due to a break in the tablet. [343] Another stands before Kumma with three feet, two of which are a bird's and the third is that of an ox and a man wearing a red coat described as pitch-black with a like the bird god Zu stands beside human ruler wielding a royal mace. Finally, Kumma's gaze lands on Nergal, who is only described as having two maces and wearing a crown.

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[341] Scholars are uncertain as to specifics about Kumma's identity, with the consensus being Kumma is a pseudonym for another individual not mentioned in the text. See *ANET* 109.

[342] This could be an over allusion to the Egyptian gods Osiris as some depictions have the deity wearing a crown with a serpent engraved or painted on it.

[343] "Vision of the Netherworld, "*ANET* 109.

Though the list of what Kumma witnesses in *Netherworld* is not a king list or description of chronical kingdoms, it is a detailed description of macabre sights that disturb Kumma while orienting him to the accepted strangeness of his dreamlike state. Nergal chastises Kumma for slighting the underworld god's wife and warns Kumma of impending doom before instructing him to warn others of what Kumma has been told. Kumma awakes and his heart pounds from uncertainty and fear of what he just witnessed. It is clear both *Netherworld* and Daniel 2 and 7 participate in a particular cultural hermeneutical trajectory about divine messages and their purpose of conveying coming destruction and the descriptions of terrifying human-animal figures as portends of doom.

The Babylonian *Uruk Prophecy*, also known as the *Uruk Apocalypse* piece was likely composed sometime during the 6th-and 8th-centuries BCE, though scholars remain divided about making the date more specific. [344] Though not dreams, *Uruk Prophecy* mentions "signs" that "will be made" concerning future difficulty for the city *Uruk*. [345] The text continues and says that the son of the king, the assumed heir to the crown, will not take his father's throne as expected. Someone outside the family line will "seize" the throne, with the Akkadian *iṣabbat* connoting the seizure will occur by force. [346] Unlike other iterations of shifting kingship like the Babylonian *Dynastic Prophecy* or biblical Daniel, the *Uruk Prophecy* does not begin with desolation and despair, leading to an ultimate destructive conclusion; it starts with peace and prosperity, segues to a temporary decline, and ends like it began. Each monarchical transition is heavily dependent on the choices each king makes, with arguably little to no direct divine

[344] Jonathan Goldstein, "The Historical Setting of the Uruk Prophecy," *JNES* 47.1 (January 1988): 43-46; see also Hermann Hunger and Stephen A. Kaufman, "A New Akkadian Prophecy," *JAOS* 95 (1975), 371-375.
[345] "Signs" is a rendering of the logogram IZKIM.MEŠ, transliterated as *itātu*, a form of *ittu*. Based on the *CAD*, entry for *ittu*, this root is used often throughout many types of Akkadian literature, including but not limited to lists, receipts, narratives, prophecies, and court documents. "Will be made" is *innēpušu,* the future-tense rendering of the root *nēpešu.*
[346] *CAD*, "ṣabātu," volume 16, 5.

invention. The compilers work to connect between proper cultic practice and prosperity, but no deity speaks or expressed disdain for removing the sacred object; social and cultural order follows religious order, and vice versa.

Couching this prophecy in the context of Daniel 7's four beast imagery brings it into the comparative flow between biblical apocalypses and Akkadian literature. Paul-Alain Beaulieu supports this dovetailing thesis, arguing: "It is outside the Mesopotamian cultural area, however, that the most meaningful connections with another literary genre have been suggested," then cites noted similarities between Akkadian prophecies like *Uruk* and the book of Daniel.[347] Beaulieu takes this comparative relationship between *Uruk* and Daniel further, saying both recast "the historical narrative…in the form of pseudo-predictions" led "chronologically from the fictitious narrator (or prophet), set in the distant past, to the author, who writes just before the historical terminus (or the apocalyptic climax) which ends the composition."[348] Beaulieu exclaims both *Uruk Prophecy* and Jewish apocalyptic literature "relish anonymity, allusive and cryptic language, and prophesize *ex eventu* toward an apocalyptic climax." This recasting of history, or *ex eventu* prophecy, bridges the time gap between the stories and creates unique potential for reconsidering the relationship of biblical texts like Daniel to writings from the ancient Near East.

4.6 Summation

Chaotic sea monsters, ancient deities, dream, visions, cloud-riders, and numerical motifs permeate these ancient texts. Though the strokes this section paints with are broad, their function

[347] Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "The Historical Background of the Uruk Prophecy," in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (ed. M.E. Cohen, D.C. Snell and D.B. Weisburg; Besthesda: CDL, 1993), 42.
[348] Beaulieu, "The Historical Background of the Uruk Prophecy," 51.

is simple: to show that Daniel participates in hermeneutical trajectory of literary themes and images that permeate writings from the ancient Near East. The book of Daniel also engages in these images and themes as a consequence of their existence; though one cannot argue for the writers and compilers of Daniel reading or possessing these pre-biblical writings, their power lies in how the book of Daniel still calls these familiar patterns back into literature in such a way that transcends historical location or situation.

This sampling of comparative elements shapes the potential for further study with extant Egyptian, Babylonian, and Ugaritic works, thereby cementing Daniel's place within a composite of received ideas and cultural milieus. Clearly, Daniel 7 was not formed in a vacuum, nor were the pieces that could be read to have informed its formation. Reading these texts shows that the book of Daniel presents the struggle between Israelites in exile and their earthly oppressors as a re-enactment of the ancient struggle between chaos and order, the cloud-rider and the sea, the patron god and the forces that seek to undo the created work. This project now takes moves forward chronologically to offer a comparative analysis of Daniel 7 and the Christian book of Revelation, an exercise that also recalls literature of the ancient Near East as history continues to unfold and cause great pain, thereby requiring symbolic articulation and comfort like that presents in ancient narratives.

CHAPTER V: CONSEQUENCES OF DANIEL 7 IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

5.1 The Book of Revelation

Rev 13:1-2 in the NRSV begins the chapter with an echo of Daniel 7:

> And I saw a beast rising out of the sea having ten horns and seven heads; and on its horns were ten diadems, and on its heads were blasphemous names. And the beast that I saw was like a leopard, its feet were like a bear's, and its mouth was like a lion's mouth. And the dragon gave it his power and his throne and great authority.

Most scholars discern numerous echoes of Daniel 7 in this passage, though Daniel's vision begins with "four beasts rising out of the sea" (Dan 7:3, Greek: έσσαρα θηρία ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης), whereas in Revelation 13 the multiple beasts have merged into one monstrosity, "a beast rising out of the sea" (Rev 13:1, ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον). The beast rising from Revelation's sea initiates a series of literary echoes that underline parallels between Revelation 13 and Daniel 7. This analysis traces said echoes and allusions between images and themes in Revelation 13 and Daniel 7 to illuminate the consequences of said relationship on early Christian interpretations of Revelation.

This chapter shows that Revelation 13 takes what Daniel 7 calls the "fourth beast" and makes it simply, yet complexly, "the beast." The approach here is three-fold, starting with a content comparison between Revelation 13 and Daniel 7, the rest of Daniel, and the greater Hebrew Bible, followed by an examination that focuses on themes between Daniel 7, Revelation 13, and ending with a brief history of consequences around Revelation 13 to show how pre-Enlightenment Christian readers engage Revelation 13 in conjunction with Daniel 7.

5.2 Daniel 7, Revelation 13, and Innerbiblical Parallels

Before narrowing the focus to Revelation 13 and Daniel 7, comparing Daniel 1-6 and 8-12 beside Revelation yields considerable evidence for arguing that the book of Daniel has an overt presence throughout Revelation. Citing each connection lies beyond the purview of this dissertation, but a brief overview from various chapters in Revelation offers a viable representative subset of John's apocalypse.[349]

Revelation	**Daniel (excluding chapter 7)**
Seer's fearful response to what he sees (1:17)	Daniel's fearful response to what he sees (8:17-18; 10:8-9)
Comforting response to seer (1:17)	Comforting response to seer (8:17-18; 10:10-12)
Description of mysteries revealed via vision (1:19)	Mention of mysteries revealed via a vision (2:28-29, 47)
Voice calling seer to come see what will occur (4:1)	Daniel telling king that what he has seen will occur (2:45)[350]
Praise to God who lives forever (4:9)	Nebuchadnezzar praises the God who lives forever (4:24)
Description of a book sealed with seven seals (5:1, 9)	Daniel commanded to keep book sealed (12:4)
War against God's people (13:7)	Violence against the holy ones (8:24)
Defiling the sanctuary (13:6)	Defiling the sanctuary (8:11)
Those written in the book of life spared (12:15)	Salvation of those listed in the book (12:1)
Ram with two horns (13:11)	Lamb with two horns (8:3)
Those not worshipping the beast killed (13:15)	Worship the king's image or be killed (3:5)
Mystery revealed language (17:7)	Mystery revealed language (2:18)
Mind with understanding (17:9)	Daniel given mind with understanding (9:22); others given minds with understanding (11:33; 12:10)

[349] Beale offers a thorough comparative analysis of the vision of Revelation 1:12-20 and its connections to Daniel, working with Aramaic, OG, and θ witnesses. He also goes further and categories the connections in three ways: clear allusions, probably allusions, and possible allusions or echoes. See G.K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishing, 2010), 156-157.
[350] OG expands on this, adding "at the end of days" (ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν).

The above comparison shows the viable connections between Revelation and Daniel 1-6 and 8-12. Said connections support a more focused analysis between Revelation 13 and Daniel 7 that shows the images and themes of life, death, war, and salvation that permeate both books. Further, reading Revelation 13 and Daniel's Fourth Beast with concern for Revelation's background of apocalyptic struggle and hopeful expectations supports the intersections between Revelation's Christian authorship and audience and Daniel's Israelite and Jewish apocalyptic orientation.

The following comparison presents the striking connections between Revelation 13 and Daniel 7, suggesting that Revelation 13 employs certain pieces of Daniel 7 to accomplish literary and narrative goals:

Revelation 13	**Daniel 7**
First-person perspective of a vision (v. 1)	First person perspective of a vision (v. 2)
a beast arising from the sea (v. 1)	beasts rising from the sea (v. 3)
ten horns (v. 1)	ten horns (v. 7, 24)
animal hybridity (v.2)	animal hybridity (v. 4, 6)
leopard (v.2)	leopard (v. 6)
bear (v.2)	bear (v. 5)
lion (v.2)	lion (v. 4)
Authority given to the beast (v.4)	Dominion given to the third beast (v.6)
arrogant speech (v.5)	arrogant speech (v. 8, 11, 20)
speaking against God (v.6)	speaking against the Most High (v.25)
beast makes war against saints (v.7)	horn makes war against saints (v. 21, 25; OG v. 8)

Connections yielded in this comparison show how Revelation 13 mirrors Daniel 7. Revelation's authors may have used this interpretative move to create a unique image in Revelation 13 based

on familiar images and symbols to convey a point or message and the following analysis presents Revelation's beast as an early Christian consequence of Daniel 7's Four Beasts.

Rev 13:1 and Dan 7:2 open in the first-person point of view to situate the reader in the dream/vision alongside the narrator. Readers see what the respective chroniclers see as beasts arise from "the sea" (τῆς θαλάσσης Rev 13:1; τὴν θάλασσαν Dan 7:2) in both books. Reference to the sea is likely an authorial move that reflects the chaotic primordial sea or abyss and suggests that from chaos a monster of death and destruction comes to fulfill its ontological purpose: chaos, death, and destruction.[351] Comparing the OG and θ witnesses Dan 7:3 with Revelation 13:1 solidifies a connection between the two as both Greek witnesses share structural and linguistic similarities with the Greek of Revelation 13:1:

Revelation 13:1: Καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον

OG 7:3: καὶ τέσσαρα θηρία ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης

θ 7:3: καὶ τέσσαρα θηρία μεγάλα ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης

OG and θ 7:3 say the creatures are θηρία, the plural form of θηρίον used in Revelation 13:1. Further, OG 7:3, θ 7:3, and Revelation 13:1 use a form of the verb ὰναβαίνω to present their creatures rising "from the sea" (ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης).

Like the shared origin of the two monsters, their respective physical descriptions match as well. Rev 13:1 describes the beast as "having ten horns and seven heads" (ἔχον κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ), a description that echoes the "ten horns" (κέρατα δέκα) of the Fourth Beast at Dan 7:7 and 24. Within the bounds of the biblical canon this ten horns image appears only in Daniel 7 and the book of Revelation, meaning shared symbolism of ten horns in Rev 13:1 and Dan 7:7 and 24 may be coincidental but it is surely not accidental.

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[351] David Aune, *Revelation 6-16* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1998), 732.

Each beast's shared physical descriptions and narratives' respective built-in narrators show clear echoes, yet a shift occurs as the four beasts at Dan 7:3 (θηρία) become a single beast a Rev 13:1 (θηρίον). Aune argues the beast at Revelation 13 is "at least in part" alluding "to the Jewish tradition of Leviathan," echoing what he describes as the Jewish notion of an ancient chaos monster that represents oppressive foreign nations.[352] Aune hesitates in making more specific connections between Daniel 7 and Revelation 13 as he attributes the beast in Revelation 13 as coming from a broader cultural and literary history of symbolic chaos dragons and monsters beyond the boundaries of Daniel's apocalypse.[353] It is indeed likely, therefore, that Revelation utilizes the rich cultural and literary history around the singular chaos monster, blending said traditions around beastly hybridity to create a complex but familiar symbolic creature.[354] However, read in context of Revelation 13 with Daniel 7 and between the shared origins of the sea and the physical characteristics of ten horns, it is clear Revelation 13's beast is alluding to Daniel's Fourth Beast.

Revelation 13 and its beast emerging from the sea echo the chaos monster from the ancient Near East and Leviathan from the Hebrew Bible. Moving from plural beasts to singular beasts takes on great interpretive significance when noting the Greek's rendering of Leviathan as variants of singular δρακον (dragon). Hebrew uses לִוְיָתָן, a word reserved in the Hebrew Bible as a title for the mythical monster associated with the sea (Job 3:8, 41:1; Ps 74:4, 104:26, Isa 27:1). Conversely, the Greek Old Testament uses δρακον interchangeably as Leviathan (Ps 73:14, 103:26), "serpent" (Ex 7:9-10, 12; Ps 91:13), "monsters" (Ps 148:7) and "dragon" (Ps 74:13, Job

[352] Aune, Revelation 6-16, 732.
[353] Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 732-733. He does so quite well; his brief overview is accessible and thorough, offering an excellent summary of possible connections, echoes, and allusions throughout literature of the ancient world.
[354] K. D. Dyer. "Beastly Hybridity: Leviathan, Behemoth, and Revelation 13," *St Mark's Review* 239 (March 2017): 94-103.

40:25 [41:1 Hebrew]). Greek Job 3:8 uses this non-descript δρακον in place of Leviathan, as does Job 40:25 (41:1 Hebrew), Ps 73:14 (74:14 Hebrew), and Isa 27:1, making all the places Hebrew uses לִוְיָתָן be a variation of δρακον in the OG.

Noting this difference in descriptor between Hebrew and Greek witnesses creates an intriguing possibility: once texts use the label ὁ δράκων all biblical references to "the dragon," not just a δράκων, becomes part readers interpret ὁ δράκων in Revelation. Thus, all the passages where δράκων refers to a chaotic creature, possibly associated with the sea, become relevant. As noted above, Ps 74 (OG 73) is now linked with this multi-headed beast in Revelation and chaos monsters in ancient Near Easter literature, thus creating inescapable connections between Leviathan, chaos, and the dragon in Revelation 12-13.

But perhaps most important are the differences between Job 40:15-41:26 in Hebrew compared to the Greek witnesses. The creature Behemoth at Job 40:15 is בְּהֵמוֹת in Hebrew but becomes the plural θηρία, "beast," in Greek even though it is still describing one creature. Here the echo between Greek Daniel and Job is profound, as Dan 7:3 describes the creatures as four "θηρία," the exact same word used in OG Job 40:15 for Behemoth. Also, like the beasts working against God in Daniel 7, Job 40:19 says Behemoth is "mocked by angels" (πεποιημένον ἐγκαταπαίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ).

Job also describes Behemoth's relationship to Tartarus a prominent Greek deity representing a primordial deep and abyss-like underworld filled with torture, torment, and imprisoned Titans. Job 40:20 says Behemoth "brought joy to the quadrupeds of Tartarus" (ἐποίησεν χαρμονὴν τετράποσιν ἐν τῷ ταρτάρῳ) and later according to OG Job 41:24 has "dominion over the abyss of Tartarus" (τὸν δὲ τάρταρον τῆς ἀβύσσου ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτον). Per Rev 11:7, the beast arises "from the abyss" (ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου), further cementing the stark

allusions between Revelation's final beast and Behemoth in OG-Job, which, in turn, echoes Daniel 7 and the beasts the arise from the symbolic chaotic sea.

δρακον language in Greek Daniel allows for a smoother connection between the Christian Old Testament, beast of Revelation 13, and Christian readers that trace Satan across both testaments. The key lies in Rev 13:2: whereas the ultimate beast in Daniel 7 is not identified, this seven-headed monster is identified as ὁ δράκων, "the dragon" (Rev 13:2), who has already been introduced at length in the preceding chapter (Rev 12:3, 4, 7, 9, 13, 16, 17). This is significant for Daniel 7 and the Fourth Beast because the less specific descriptors become, the more room interpreters have to overlay specific historically determined persons or beings onto a text. Yet the parallels between Job, Daniel, and Revelation explain Christian interpretive shifts toward reading the beast as Satan because through these lenses the beast at Revelation 13 but the dragon as Satan/Devil and the Antichrist.

This ultimate beast is clearly in view in Revelation 13, where the beast also has "ten horns" (Dan 7:7, 24), though what is distinctive in this beast is not that it is unlike the other three but that is like all three and yet more: it also has "seven heads" (Rev 13:1). Furthermore, whereas the ultimate beast in Daniel 7 is not identified, this seven-headed monster is identified as ὁ δράκων, "the dragon" (Rev 13:2), who has already been introduced at length in the preceding chapter (Rev 12:3, 4, 7, 9, 13, 16, 17). This seven-headed monster in the Apocalypse (see also Rev 12:3; 17:3, 7), who is known as ὁ δράκων, "the dragon," alludes to the multi-headed δράκων in OG-Ps 73:13-14 (Hebrew 74:13-14), known in the Hebrew text as לִוְיָתָן, "Leviathan" (so Ps 74:14, but also Isa 27:1; Ps 104:14; Job 3:8; 26:13; 40:25)—the quintessential Beast, the chaos monster in the Hebrew Bible and elsewhere in the ancient Near East.[355] For the author of the

[355] See chapter IV of this dissertation for a fuller engagement of the chaos monster in the ancient Near East as it relates to the Hebrew Bible.

Apocalypse, then, the ultimate beast in Daniel 7 is none other than the quintessential beast, the chaos monster that endangers the entire cosmos.

Despite evidence pointing to Revelation 13's blending of Daniel's monsters, a facile reading accounts for only three of Daniel's four beasts manifest in the description of Revelation 13; the fourth beast seems missing. Yet a nuanced reading reveals that it hides in plain sight: Revelation 13's beast itself represents Daniel's Fourth Beast. Language describing Daniel 7's Fourth Beast shows that Daniel cannot articulate specifics about the creature beyond its fearsome and terrifying appearance, a sentiment relayed in Revelation 13 as the chapter describes the creature's ability to defy logic of life and death by surviving a head wound and spurring peoples from around the earth to worship it without question. Further, just like Daniel 7's Fourth Beast, the identity of Revelation 13's beast remains anonymous, leaving space for ahistorical interpretation. Thus, in addition to the physical and ontological similarities of Daniel 7's first three beasts, the creature at Revelation 13 retain the spirit of Daniel 7's final creature as it wreaks havoc, wields authority, and holds dominion without mercy, just as Dan 7:23-25 describes.

Echoing the four beasts of Daniel 7, animal hybridity is a hallmark of the beast at Revelation 13:2. Indeed, according to Rev 13:2, this one terrifying beast is composed of animal parts that recall distinctive beasts emerging from the sea that were "like a leopard" (Dan 7:6, πάρδαλις), "like a bear" (Dan 7:5, ἄρκῳ), and "like a lion" (Dan 7:4, λέαινα). Daniel's vision culminates in a fourth beast that cannot be describes because it is "different from all the beasts that preceded it" (διάφορον περισσῶς παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τὰ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ) and is simply "terrifying and frightening and very powerful" (Dan 7:7, φοβερὸν καὶ ἔκθαμβον καὶ ἰσχυρὸν περισσῶς). It is distinct from the other three beasts and "it had ten horns" (Dan 7:7).

Like the mouthy little horn at Dan 7:8, 11, and 20, Rev 13:5 describes the beast's "arrogant" speech. The Greek word translated as arrogant at 13:5 is μεγάλα ("great/mighty") a clever wordplay suggesting the beast's pompous words stem from baseless self-aggrandizement: they are metaphorically empty and littered with false promises.[356] Focusing on the mouth in Daniel 7 and Revelation 13 may also be taken as a subtle act of political subversion because the king is now an animal's appendage, subject to the comings and goings of the respective great beasts. Revelation 13:6 continues the description begun at 13:5, saying the beast's mouth speaks against God. Daniel 7's horn speaks against the Most High at v. 25, making Revelation 13's echo of Daniel 7 clearer and consistent: it is not enough for each beast to destroy and bring ruin; they must also brag while speaking directly against the deity of the dream receiver.

A final influence of Daniel 7 is perhaps the most significant in terms of narrative progression and purpose: both Revelation 13's beast and Daniel 7's horn make war against the saints and Holy Ones of God. Until this point at 13:7, the beast merely spoke threats and boasted. Now the creature actualizes threats as its actions place it in direct opposition to God. Similarly, the book of Daniel only describes the Fourth Beast as bringing nondescript destruction, a move the interpretation at 7:21 and 25 clarifies with the articulation of the beast directing violence toward the Holy Ones of the Most High.[357] Here the two creatures share another commonalty: their primary target is God and the people of God, a bond that strengthens Revelation's allusions to Daniel 7. To summarize, the above comparative analysis shows that the Fourth Beast of Daniel 7 clearly influences the beast at Revelation 13: their origins are identical; they each have ten horns upon their heads; disparate animal parts comprise their bodies, including mention of a

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[356] Blount suggests the "boasts are no doubt an extension of the claims to greatness implied in the rhetorical question of v. 4: 'Who is like the beast?'" See Blount, *Revelation*, 250.

[357] OG Daniel inserts a mention of the Holy Ones in the initial vision at Dan 7:8, a gloss perhaps intended to align the vision's contents with the interpretation.

leopard, bear, and lion in both chapters; mouths placed on their bodies speak arrogantly against the respective chapters' deities and each is designed to bring death, destruction, and war upon their deity's followers.

Widening the scope beyond Revelation 13 shows additional echoes of Daniel 7 in John's apocalypse and examining certain points of contact supports the general influence of Daniel's seventh chapter on the book of Revelation, which, in turn, buttresses Chapter 13's use of Daniel 7 and the Fourth Beast. Connections between Daniel 7 and Revelation are indeed numerous, so numerous that many scholars point out, discuss, and dissect them at considerable length.[358] Thus, a brief overview of obvious connections is sufficient for the purpose of presenting Revelation's overt use of content and imagery from Daniel 7.

Revelation (excluding chapter 13)	**Daniel 7**
Cloud Rider (1:7; 14:14)	Cloud Rider (7:13)
Seers fearful response (1:16)	Daniel's fearful response (7:15, 22)
Son of Man (1:13; 14:14)	One like a human being (7:13)
Hair white as wool (1:14)	Hair like pure wool (7:9)
Vision introduction language (4:2)	Vision introduction language (7:9)
Heavenly thrones established (4:2)	Setting of heavenly thrones (7:9)
Deity enthroned (4:2)	Deity enthroned (7:9)
Fire near the throne (4:5)	Throne of fire (7:9-10)
Authority to rule given to Messianic figure (5:5-7, 9, 12-13)	Divine figure gets authority to rule (7:13-14)

[358] G.K. Beale has three thorough but still accessible pieces that consider the ways in which Revelation uses Daniel. See *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John*; "A Reconsideration of the Text of Daniel in the Apocalypse," *Biblica* 67 (1986); "The Danielic Background for Revelation 13:18 and 17:9," *Tyndale Bulletin* 31 (1980): 163-170. See also Thomas Hieke, "The Reception of Daniel 7 in the Revelation of John," in *Revelation and the Politics of Apocalyptic Interpretation* (ed. Richard Hayes, Stefan Alkier; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), 47-67.

Kingdom of all peoples (5:9)	Kingdom for all peoples, nations, and tongues (7:14)
Myriads of myriads; ten thousand times ten thousand (5:11)	A thousand of thousands; ten thousand times ten thousand (7:10)
Four Winds (7:1)	Four Winds (7:2)
Kingdom of our Lord (11:15)	Eternal kingdom (7:14)
Great Read Dragon (12:3-4, 7, 9, 13, 16, 17, 18)	The Fourth Beast (7:7, 19, 23)
A time, times, time and a half (12:14)	For a time, two times, and half a time (7:25)
Destruction of beast in fire (19:20)	Destruction of Fourth Beast in fire (7:11)
Holy ones judged, are given kingdom (20:4)	Holy ones judged, are given kingdom (7:9, 22)
Celestial Throne (7:9)	Celestial Thrones (7:9)
Books opened, book of life opened (20:12)	Books opened (7:10)
Eternal reign of saints (22:5)	Eternal reign of saints (7:18, 27)

These similarities show the influence Daniel has on Revelation. Though one could argue these are mere coincidences, the profound connections between Revelation 13 and Daniel 7 form a symbiotic relationship with addition echoes as Revelation 13 acts as a bridge of sorts between the two texts that strengthens the relationship between these early apocalyptic writings.

One particular point of contact is the recurrence of δρακων (dragon) throughout Revelation. The dragon appears three times in Revelation 13 but Revelation 12:3-4 introduces the character. It stands out when discussing the beast because of the specificity using δρακων brings to the image. This word also illuminates the ambiguity of the beast at Revelation 13, leaving its θηρίον nondescript, an authorial move that creates ambiguity and, in turn, space for the reader's mind to fill the space with whatever they fear. According to Revelation 12, this dragon appears in heaven, a location that contrasts the chaotic sea that births the beast of chapter 13. Its seven heads and seven diadems, one per head, are a clear allusion to Dan 7:7, 20, 24 and

continue the motif of seven present throughout Revelation.[359] The dragon's description at 12:3-4 also matches the beast from Revelation 13, as it too has seven heads and ten horns. This matching physical description raises the possibility of Revelation 12 and 13 discussing the same creature, but the addition of ten diadems, one per horn, upon the creature at Revelation 13 differentiates it from the Revelation 12 counterpart. However, this minor differentiation does not eliminate the apparent strikingly resemblance between the two, and it seems the unknown beast arising from the sea is likely closer to a dragon in appearance than not.

Similar physical attributes of seven heads and ten horns between the dragon of Revelation 12 and beast of Revelation 13 may also provide clarity about this θηρίον to confirm its dragon-like aesthetic. Scanning the Hebrew and Greek Old Testaments for analogous features creates a composite picture and evokes various images of the δρακων. For example, the seven heads at Revelation 13 echo the "heads of Leviathan" at Ps 74:13-14 (רָאשֵׁי לִוְיָתָן) but OG-Ps 73:13-14 describes the creature not as Leviathan but as "the dragon" (τοῦ δράκοντος). Similarly, Ps 104:25-26 describes the sea with ships upon it and Leviathan (לִוְיָתָן) within it; like Psalm 74, Leviathan again is "dragon" (δράκων) in OG-Ps 103. Isa 27:1 celebrates the day of Israel's redemption with the narrator saying a sign of that day will be YHWH's punishment and destruction of Leviathan, "the dragon that is in the sea" (אֶת־הַתַּנִּין אֲשֶׁר בַּיָּם). Here OG-Isa continues the pattern established in OG-Pss as it swaps out Leviathan for δράκοντα, the accusative masculine singular form of δρακων. This move in the OG makes δράκων synonymous with the Hebrew Bible's Leviathan and opens the comparative analysis to other mentions of the

[359] Seven churches (1:4, 11, 20), seven spirits (1:4, 3:1, 4:5, 5:6), seven golden lampstands (1:12-13, 20, 2:1), seven stars (1:16, 20, 2:1, 3:1), seven seals (5:1, 5:5), seven horns (5:6), seven eyes (5:6) seven angels with seven trumpets (8:2-6), seven thunders (10:3-4), seven thousands (11:13), seven heads (12:3, 13:1, 17:3, 7, 9), seven crowns (12:3), seven angels (15:1, 6-8, 16:1, 17:1, 21:9), seven plagues (15:1, 6, 8, 21:9), seven bowls (15:7, 17:1, 21:9), seven mountains (17:9), seven kings (17:10-11).

mythical sea beast throughout the Hebrew Bible while also connecting the δράκων to Revelation 13.

Perhaps no better connection exists between Hebrew Bible imagery, the dragon, and the beast from Revelation 13 than Job 40-41 and YHWH's extended poetic discussion of Behemoth and Leviathan. These two chapters in Job present two separate and formidable adversarial figures, the likes of which Seow describes as "bizarre" and warranting YHWH's attention as "creatures that he, as the imaginary sovereign over the cosmos, must control."[360] Job's use of two monsters to convey God's power and control over creation, a theme present in the destruction of Revelation's dragon and beast, complements Revelation's parallel Daniel 7 as it makes four beasts into one fearsome creature. Revelation uses this combination of Hebrew Bible literary traditions to convey familiar imagery and forge a bond with Israelite lore to convey the ongoing struggle between good and evil, chaos and control, and morality and corruption.

Despite connections between Job, Daniel, and Revelation, one is pressed to account for Christian readings of the chaotic sea monster, manifest as the Fourth Beast in Daniel 7, as the Devil or Antichrist. Understanding how Daniel's creatures and Revelation's second beast came to symbolize Christianity's manifestation of evil requires analyzing the ways in which Christian readers received Revelation 13. In short, one must expand beyond Revelation and into the rest of the Bible to read the primordial sea monster's parallels with cosmological theological antagonists.

As stated earlier, Rev 13:1 says the beast emerges "from the sea" (ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης), which is a clever association with the dragon of Rev 12:18 as the verse describes the dragon standing by the seashore, leading directly into Rev 13:1 and allowing the dragon to view the

[360] Seow, *Job 1-21*, 103.

beast's emergence from the primordial ocean. The two entities work together as one. According to Rev 13:12, the beast is an extension of the dragon, causing the separate creatures to blur into an amorous vehicle of death and destruction.

Rev 12:9 makes the connection between the dragon and Satan explicit as it shows particular concern in listing various possible titles or euphemisms for the Antichrist figure: "and the great dragon was thrown down, the ancient serpent, the one who is called the Devil and Satan, the one deceiving the entire world" (ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην). Despite the titles bestowed upon the dragon in Revelation 12, the dragonesque attributes of the beast at Revelation 13 prompts readers to readers to frequently associate it with Satan. The following brief history of consequences provides a cursory investigation as to why and how pre-Enlightenment Christian readers project Satan and the Antichrist onto Revelation 13, a move that ultimately results in Christian receptions synthesizing their readings of Daniel and Revelation to read the Fourth Beast of Daniel 7 as Satan as well.

5.3 The Beast at Revelation 13: A Brief History of Consequences

In the case of the beast of Revelation 13, Christian readers and scholars place between it and Roman imperial forces to create a bridge between Daniel 7, the Fourth Beast, and Christian readings of said Fourth Beast as Satan. Examining a snapshot of Christian readings of Revelation 13 shows that the beast is read as a symbol of the Roman Empire, a move that eventually connects Revelation's dragon-like monster with the Antichrist and Satan. The following history of consequences engages early Christian readers starting in the 2nd century CE up to immediately

before the Enlightenment to present the text's inherent ability to become what readers and scholars shape it into through historically and culturally-dependent interpretations.

Irenaeus wrote *Adversus Haereses* in the shadow of the 2nd century Roman Empire as a pointed dispute of Christian Gnosticism and wove his disapproval of the Gnostic movement throughout the piece.[361] Irenaeus also includes an exegesis of John's Apocalypse in which he presents the beast in Revelation 13 in a subservient role, saying it is a false prophet acting as the Antichrist's "armor bearer" and "false prophet."[362] Note that Irenaeus withholds specifics about the second beast as he bases his reading in cosmological symbolism, a move that grounds his reception in a stark right and wrong, good and evil theological binary. This likely reflects his ardent opposition to Christian Gnosticism and the great threat to proper Christian piety he saw within the splinter group.[363] Irenaeus clearly reads the figure as adversarial and warns against interpreting the beast's actions and supposed successes as anything other than demonic magic.[364] Irenaeus' reading is a clever allegory for his current anxieties: Gnosticism may look like Christianity and sound like Christianity, but to Irenaeus it is an obvious corruption.

Victorinus of Pettau flourished in the 3rd century CE and Tyconius of Carthage wrote in the 4th century CE. Though it is unlikely the two physically met, Victorinus' and Tyconius' respective receptions mirror one another. Victorinus' speaks briefly about the second beast and reads it as a metaphor for a general Antichrist figure, comprised of an amalgamation of peoples from many nations.[365] Based on Victorinus' appraisal, people that the beast symbolizes are a

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361 It refers to Eleutherus, the bishop of Rome in the late 2nd century CE.
362 Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, 5.28.2: "Post deinde et de armigero ejus, quem et pseudoprophetam vocat" (Cantabrigiae: Typis Academicis, 1857). 401.
363 "Irenaeus" in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (ed. E.A. Livingstone; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 846-847.
364 Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, 5.28.2, 401.
365 Victorinus of Pettau, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 13.1-2. Unless otherwise noted, all citations and discussion of Victorinus comes from Victorinus of Petovium, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim Joannis* (Orig. 2nd century CE; ed.

kingdom subject to the Antichrist and are not the Antichrist themselves. He expands his metaphoric analysis by describing the role and purpose of the different body parts of the animal, with the feet of a bear being "unclean" and "understood as [the Antichrist's] leaders."[366] The lion's mouth represents the weaponized threats this kingdom brings to believers and the saints of Rev 8:4. Use of broad descriptors shows that unlike Irenaeus, Victorinus appears to have no particular adversarial figure in mind in Revelation 13. One must read forward into Revelation 17 to gain a fuller understanding of Victorinus' interpretive motives, as he identifies the dragon as a metaphor for Roman imperial and political forces. Here a shift occurs: unlike Irenaeus' personal affront to Gnosticism, Victorinus expands the reception parameters into the geo-political realm while still overlaying the veneer of his enemy upon the text.

Victorinus continues his reception by reading the wounded head atop the beast as Nero and refers to a legend of Nero's death in which the tyrant cut his own throat rather than being captured and killed.[367] Victorinus does not ascribe to rumors about Nero's possible survival;[368] he instead reads Nero as being revived to which God will respond be sending "a king worthy" of Jews and Christian persecutors along with an Antichrist to do Nero's bidding.[369] Here the Early Christian ecclesiastical writer quotes Dan 11:37, a crucial link to the tied reception historical trend of early Christian writers wedding the two apocalypses into a single unwieldy understanding of the Revelation's vision. Further, Victorinus' reading of Rev 17:11 provides more support for reading his reception as a combination of both Revelation and Daniel as he interprets Rev 17:11 as a direct reference to the seven heads and ten horns of Daniel 7. He

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Johannes Haussleiter; Leipzig: G. Freytag, 1916) and *Scolia in Apocalypsin Beait Joannis* in the *Patrologia Latina*, 317-344.

[366] Victorinus of Pettau, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 13.1-2.

[367] Victorinus of Pettau, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 13.3.

[368] Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 738. Per variants of the *Nero Redivivus Legend*, confusion surrounded Nero's death given the paucity of witnesses to his corpse and burial.

[369] Victorinus of Pettau, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 13.3.

continues his reading and argues that the horns and heads of Daniel 7 are the same heads and horns of Revelation 17, meaning that based on Victorinus' reception both Revelation and Daniel 7 discuss the Christian Antichrist.[370]

Like Victorinus, Tyconius reads the beast arising from the sea as a dual-pronged metaphor: the sea represents evil and corrupt people and the beast itself is a corrupt sum of the evil peoples' parts. Tyconius' reading offers further detail about the beast's relationship with the devil and, in a clever hermeneutical twist, argues that the beast is part of the devil's earthly manifestation. His reception engages a tension Victorinus' neglects as Tyconius reads the three beasts in this narrative sequence, beginning with the dragon in Revelation 12, continuing with this second beast, and concluding with second beast of Rev 13:11-18, as a progressive revelation of the devil's appearing on earth. He writes:

> For some the devil is the best, elsewhere the beast is body or one of the heads of the beast like the one that rises even though he seemed wounded unto death, which is a false imitation of the true faith. In other passages the beast might signify only the leaders. In this present passage the beast that rises from the sea refers to the body of the devil, which has ten horns and seven heads and diadems on its horns and a blasphemous name upon its heads.[371]

Tyconius addresses the wounded head of Rev 13:3 through his tangled understanding of succession between Satan, the devil, and the Antichrist, arguing that it refers to the antichrist while the remaining six heads symbolize the universal hostility toward the Lamb of Rev 5:1-7. Tyconius was a Donatist and his most famous work, *The Book of Rules*, reflects the movement's dogmatic rigidity.[372] Tyconius' notions of pure religion and idealized, pious believers were

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[370] Victorinus of Pettau, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 17.11.

[371] Tyconius of Carthage, *Exposition of the Apocalypse* 13.1; taken from *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation* (ed. Francesco Lo Bue; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press: 2009), 187.

[372] Donatist theology was rigorous and held that Church leaders must remain holy and pious. They also believed sacraments issued from emissaries, or *traditores*, were invalid. See "Dontatism" in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (ed. E.A. Livingstone; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997), 499-500.

widely known, so much that he influenced Augustine and other Christian theologians in the centuries to come.[373] Given the reach of his influence, it is not surprising to read similarities between his reception and the reading of John's apocalypse attributed to Caesarius of Arles.

Saint Augustine weaves a discussion of the Antichrist into his 5th century CE work *City of God*. He uses a variety of biblical scriptures to compose a reception of the beast unequivocally grounded in Revelation yet unique in its ties to Daniel 7. Augustine's reading focuses on the time in which Satan is freed from imprisonment according to Revelation 20 and does not offer a reception of the second beast of Revelation 13. However, reading his analysis of Satan and the Antichrist shows that he openly conflates the Four Beasts of Daniel 7 with the events of John's apocalypse. This interpretive move creates an early and striking reception that reads both Revelation and Daniel side-by-side, an act that works as precedence for preceding receptions following similar hermeneutical paths. In short, Augustine was and is a seminal Christian figure and his decision to read Daniel 7 as predicting the Antichrist also predicted in Revelation unites Christian apocalyptic horizons of expectation with Daniel's Israelite, and ultimately Jewish, orientation.

Working the 6th century CE,[374] Caesarius of Arles's reception resembles those of Victorinus and Tyconius as he continues the motif of the beast rising from the sea as a metaphor for "wicked people arising from a wicked people."[375] His reading sets itself apart through his

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[373] Jae-Eun Park, "Lacking Love or Conveying Love? The Fundamental Roots of the Donatists and Augustine's Nuanced Treatment of Them." *Reformed Theological Review* 72.2 (Aug. 2013): 103-121

[374] Like Caesarius, Apringius of Beja writes in the 6th century CE and relies on the influence of a prominent Christian scholar to construction his reading. Apringius uses Jerome's edition of Victorinus's commentary, planting himself within Revelation's ongoing stream of biblical reception. Fragments of his *Apringii Pacensis episcopi Tractatus in Apocalypsin* remain, making a thorough analysis difficult. See Apringius de Béja, *Apringii Pacensis episcopi Tractatus in Apocalypsin* (ed. A. C. Vega; Madrid: Typis Augustianis Monasterii Escurialensis, 1940).

[375] Tyconius of Carthage, *Exposition of the Apocalypse* 13.1, 187.

incorporation of common tensions associated imperial ideology, human disobedience to God, and the demonic. He writes:

> I saw a beast rising out of the sea," that is, out of an evil people. That he was "rising out" means that he was coming into existence, even as the blooming flower comes forth from the root of Jesse. In the beast coming forth from the sea he signifies all impious who are the body of the devil.[376]

Caesarius reads the sea here as a metaphor for sinful humanity, meaning that the beast is the product of human choice and corruption and not the result of cosmic machinations. His disdain for humanity's capacity for evil is clear and may be attributed to his penchant for incorporating Augustine of Hippo's thought, stances, and materials.[377] It widely known that Caesarius championed Augustine and his work,[378] and a facile analysis confirms connections between Augustine's understanding of Original Sin and Caesarius' reception.

Augustine grounds his views of Original Sin in his perception of humanity's biologically inherited sinful nature, meaning that despite their best efforts they would ultimately fall short of perfection.[379] Thus, Caesarius' identification of the beast as the now familiar composition of sinful humanity that arises from a cesspool of sin has clear points of connection to preceding receptions. His reading continues this thread and expands on it, arguing that when the beast "opens its mouth to blaspheme against God" at Rev 13:5-6 it references persons that left the Catholic church in response to persecution.[380] Indeed, connections to Augustine place Caesarius' reading well within the hermeneutical practice of his contemporaries, but it is also a next step of

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[376] Caesarius of Arles, *Exposition on the Apocalypse 13.1, Homily 10*.
[377] He thought so highly of Augustine's work that in some instances, after inserting facile introductions or conclusions, he reused Augustine's homilies. See Mary Mueller on Dom Germain Morin's edition of the Caesarian's homilies in Caesarius of Aries, *Sermons 1-238*, Fathers of the Church Series xxxi, xlvii, lxvi, pages 19 and 23-25.
[378] Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great*, 60.
[379] Look no further than Augustine's own recounting of his conversion to Christianity, which he cites Romans 13:13-14 as evidence for human frailty and the need for total dependence on Jesus. See Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions* (trans. Henry Chadwick; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), 152-153.
[380] Caesarius of Arles, *Exposition on the Apocalypse 13.1, Homily 10*. Taken from "Expositio in Apocalypsin," *Aurelii Augustini opera omnia*. (ed. J.-P. Migne; Paris: Migne, 1845), 2417-2452.

sorts in the reception of Revelation 13 as he places onus on humans for the ultimate end presented in John's vision.

Similar to Caesarius' connections to Augustinian thought, Andreas of Caesarea's 7th century reception refers to other interpreters, saying "[s]ome have interpreted this beast to be a certain power, a leader of the other demons second to Satan, and that after this beast the antichrist arises from the earth."[381] He then cites Methodius and Hippolytus readings of the beast as the antichrist, of which he disapproves on the grounds of connections between the ten horns, seven heads, and Satan himself.[382] Tracing Andreas' references yields a surprising insight: Hippolytus indeed interprets the dragon as the Roman Empire and the beast from the earth as the antichrist in *On the Antichrist*[383] but none of Methodius' extant writings reflect or include such an interpretation. Given that Andreas refers to both Methodius and Hippolytus as holy, it is unlikely he would misrepresent his referents. It is therefore possible that Andreas' reception offers a glimpse into an otherwise unknown perspective, making his reading richer and rooted in preceding receptions.

Andreas takes a position like Irenaeus' but nuances it by reading the beast of the earth as subservient to the dragon of Revelation 12 while simultaneously being a vessel through which Satan works. Andreas' position is also like Oecumenius' 10th century CE reading in that the beast is an apostate, separated from and created from the instability wrought upon the world by human frailty. However, unlike Oecumenius later three-fold hierarchy, Andreas understands Satan as operating in the second beast without relegating it to lesser status.

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[381] Andreas of Caesarea, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 13.1. Taken from Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Testes*, part 1 (Munich, Germany: K. Zink: 1955-1956).
[382] Andreas of Caesarea, *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 13.1.
[383] Hippolytus, *On the Antichrist*, 49. Taken from *Kleinere Exegetische und Homiletische Schriften*. (ed. Hans Achelis; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897), 1-47.

English monk Bede the Venerable completed his commentary on the apocalypse, known as both *Explanatio Apocalypsis* and *In apocalypsin sancti Iohannis libros III*, near the beginning of the 8th century CE.[384] His reading of Rev 13:1 continues the trend of the sea metaphorically representing ungodly people and also echoes Tyconius as Bede argues the beast is the devil's body.[385] Bede emphasizes the Antichrist's ultimate goal of replicating Christ and impersonating the true Messiah. He also adds a metaphysical element to the wounded horn of Rev 13:3, saying it is the representation of evil powers seeking to replication and, in turn, fool people into turning from the church and embracing this new wicked faith.

Beatus of Liébana worked during the 8th century in a Catholic monastery on the Iberian Peninsula amidst a time of strong anti-Muslim sentiment. Major Catholic writers of the time prayed for God to deliver them and other Christians from Muslim incursion,[386] an idea clearly present in apocalyptic illustrations placed alongside his commentary. Thus, it is logical Beatus' commentary retains an anti-Muslim sentiment. This, in turn, explains the continued anti-Muslim sentiment expressed in the illustrations associated with the commentary despite the centuries separating the commentary and the illustrations' respective composition. It is also noteworthy that Beatus continues the trend of reading the beast as a metaphor for wicked and evil people. He writes:

> Therefore he sees the people ascending out of the people — that is, coming from even as the "flower" rises up "out of the root."[387] Even as the poisonous plant, when it dies in winter, will come forth again out of its seed in springtime, so evil humans, when they should die in their

[384] M.L.W. Laistner and H.H. King, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1943); the Latin witness consulted for this chapter comes from *The Complete Works of Venerable Bede, in the Original Latin, Collated with the Manuscripts and Various Printed Editions, Accompanied by a New English Translation of the Historical Works, and a Life of the Author* (London: Whitaker and Co., 1843).
[385] *Explanatio Apocalypsis* 13.1.
[386] Kenneth B. Wolf, "Muhammad as Antichrist in Ninth-Century Cordoba," in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change* (eds. Mark Meyerson and Edward English; South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).
[387] Here Beatus quotes Isaiah 11:1.

time, also spring forth from other evil people, those who would imitate them.[388]

Beatus proceeds to offer a series of biblical examples of "evil people producing more evil people" to support his reading of Revelation 13, ranging from John the Baptist and his sermon at Matt 3:7 to "children of the devil" at 1 John 3:10.

Most helpful to this dissertation is Beatus' connection between Daniel 7 and Revelation 13 when he argues that that the beast of Revelation 13 "is the [beast]…described in Daniel."[389] Beatus continues, saying that the Roman Empire is the fourth beast of Daniel 7 and makes his hermeneutical connection between Daniel 7 and Revelation 13 through the "seven heads" and "ten horns" motif present in both chapters. Beatus does not hesitate to connect the Jewish apocalyptic text with this Christian one, nor does he offer an extended argument to justify his comparative syncretism. The shared connection is so obvious that Beatus reads the two as interchangeable, thereby creating what would become a paradigmatic reception for Christian interpreters.

Beatus' commentary took on a second life as readers and illustrators paired drawings of John's apocalyptic imagery in the same binding, making the work become known for its intricate, detailed, and magnificently colored[390] drawings that accompany and supplement his writing. Sixty-eight drawings illustrate John's Apocalypse, though Beatus himself did not create every image; rather, the work of others was used to bring his writing to life.[391] Illustrations

[388] Translated from the Latin of Beati Liebanensis, *Tractatus de Apocalipsin* 13:1, 1770.
[389] Beati Liebanensis, *Tractatus de Apocalipsin* 13:1, 1770.
[390] For an in-depth discussion about the importance of color in Beatus' work, see Elizabeth Bolman, "*De coloribus*: The Meanings of Color in Beatus Manuscripts," *Gesta* 38.1 (1999), 22-34.
[391] John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse,* vol. I (London: Brepols Publishers, 1994), 73. This five-volume collection is, without question, the definite version of the Beatus manuscripts. The illustrated Beatus commentaries in total range in date from the mid-ninth through the thirteenth century and are viewed by art historians to represent different traditions, artists, and author. See Jessica Sponsler, "Defining the Boundaries of Self and Other in the Girona Beatus of 975" (Ph.D. diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009), 17.

associated with Beatus' commentary take on a reception historical life of their own, as interpreters and artists continued to add pieces to the commentary through the 13th century CE.[392] Illustrations bound to and associated with Beatus' commentary are too numerous and discussion worthy for this dissertation's boundaries. That said, neglecting to include some illustrations of pre-Enlightenment artistic receptions this project would be a disservice to this project.[393]

This first image comes from the Girona Beatus manuscripts, some of the oldest pieces connected with Beatus' *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (see Fig. 1 below). [394]

Fig. 1 Girona Beatus, Cathedral Archives, MS 7 f. 176v

[392] It is also worth noting that the illustrations of Beatus' commentary take on a life of their own. For example, seven illustrations based on the commentary and not the apocalypse of John are included within the corpus. See John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus* vol. 1 (Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1994), 31.
[393] All images of facsimiles of images found in *The Illustrated Beatus* collection. They are used here not for personal or financial gain and will not be distributed, reproduced, or used in any manner outside this dissertation without
[394] *Illustrated Beatus* vol. II; from Num Inv. 7(11), available at Musea de la Catedral de Girona.

Illustrated by Ende and Emeterius during the 10th century in the Kingdom of León on the Iberian Peninsula, this Fig.1 (Girona Beatus, Cathedral Archives, MS 7 f. 176v) depicts the reign of the seven-headed beast from the sea alongside the beast from the earth. Note the beast comes from the sea and that the see is filled with false prophets and saints, a move consistent with Beatus' commentary and his reception of the Revelation 13 beast as a metaphor for the evils false Christians will wrought about the world. The creature from the sea is an amalgamation of a serpent and a leopard and when compared to the dragon standing on the shore from Revelation 12, an entity also depicted in the illustration, this reception becomes peculiar. The dragon on the shore is closer to the description of Revelation 13 than it is Revelation 12 in that it has seven heads, many horns, a leopard's quadruped body, bear's feet, and each mouth on the seven heads resembles a lion. The beast from the sea's serpentine body may be an attempt at reconciling the water point of origin, but as shown in the second image below future illustrators retain the serpent body and adjust scriptural associations.

Illustrated by Facundus, the second image comes the from the 1047 CE Facundus Beatus (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms Vit.14.2 f. 191v; see Fig. 2).[395]

[395] From MS Vitrina 14-2; currently housed at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

Fig. 2 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms Vit.14.2 f. 191v

Like Fig. 1, this image presents the metaphor actualization of evil creatures as the serpent dragon imbues the seven-headed horned beast with power and authority.[396] It retains the presence of false saints and prophets giving birth to and benefitting from the hostile entities, a move the keeps with Beatus' reading and the previous illustration's reception. Also note that the illustrator seems to strike a middle-path in resolving the image of the dragon and the beast by removing the sea and placing the pair side-by-side, thereby making the priority the transference of power and not the water origin. Further, removing the chaotic sea prioritizes the human origins in this reception without eliminating the cosmic significance. The comparison of these two images is significant: it seems the reception of Revelation 13 in the second image is affected by both the

[396] Rev 13:5-8.

text of Revelation and Ende and Emeterius' illustration. It offers a resolution the respects the content both writing and illustration to present a unique micro case study of artistic biblical reception horizons of expectation.

Though Arethas of Caesarea worked in the 10th century, the oldest extent version of his Greek commentary on the Apocalypse appears in 1535 as an appendix to the writings of Oecumenius. Arethas focuses on dissecting the seven heads and horns with ten diadems, stressing that the body of the second beast represents the Antichrist and the horns are human leaders conspiring with the evil cosmic entity.[397] He does not address the beast's origins but Arethas places some burden on humanity for their collaboration and cooperation against God. The revelation of the beast as a leopard leads Arethas to argue that this Antichrist has been among the Greeks from the beginning, starting after Constantine's death and continuing into the leadership of Arethas' time.[398] Arehtas' reading nuances the beast by emphasizing the persistence of its existence: its inception from the sea is merely the narrator's way of articulating the ongoing influence of the Antichrist into human affairs. Thus, Arethas' reading sees Revelation 13 as a metaphor for the widespread historical corruptions against God and God's people instead of a sudden incursion of evil.

Arethas wrote his commentary in consultation with Oecumenius and the *Oecumenii Commentarius in Apocalypsin*.[399] Oecumenius' Greek commentary builds upon the work of Andreas in the seventh century and identifies this second beast arising from the sea as the הַשָּׂטָן figure "introduced in the book of Job, conversing with God and seeking Job and bringing him

[397] From the Latin in the *Patrologia Graece* collection volume 106. Arethas of Caesarea, *In Joannis Dilecti Discipuli et Evangeliste Apocalypsin*, 670-671.
[398] Arethas of Caesarea, *In Joannis Dilecti Discipuli et Evangeliste Apocalypsin*, 671.
[399] *Oecumenius Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Orig. 7th century CE; trans. John Suggit; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 3. Suggit sites the synoptic parallel list of passages shared between Arethas, Andreas, and Oecumenius in *Oecumenii commentaries in Apocalypsin* (Leuven: Peeters, 1999).

upon many trials."[400] He continues by saying the beast is the devil and differentiates between Satan and the devil, making an interpretive move that also renders Job's הַשָּׂטָן as an emissary of sorts for Satan. Oecumenius establishes a three-tiered hierarchy: Satan, the devil, and the Antichrist. One can gather from Oecumenius' use of Job at the second beast is Satan, but he takes great care in labeling the dragon as "the author of evil, namely, Satan" and the third is the antichrist.[401] Oecumenius' reading relies on scripture for clarity and insight, seen in his citation of Job and the later mention of John's gospel when he quotes John 8:44. He also grounds his three-fold hierarchy of demonic figures on Jude 6, saying these references to emerging evil figures represents the consummation of Satan's imprisonment mentioned in Jude.[402]

In summary, persistent connections between the beast and Roman imperial power are constants throughout these selected receptions. Further, the certainty with which pre-Enlightenment Christian receptions read Rome onto the Revelation 13 beast shows the pressing issue for readers was not the beast's identity; instead, focus leaned toward how the beast came to power. It is also clear that receptions depended heavily on one another. For example, in the 2nd century CE Irenaeus reconciled the beast's relationship to the dragon through a subservient assistant role, making the satanic dragon a figure for whom the metaphorical beast works. Further, Victorinus and Tyconius of the 4th century CE both read the beast as a metaphoric manifestation of adversarial figures, representing evil people working to mislead others. Victorinus' inclusion of Daniel 7 in his reading of Revelation also sets precedence for Christian interpreters using Revelation to understand Daniel, thereby creating a reception horizon of experience that, according to the progression of Christian receptions, makes the two apocalypses

[400] H.C. Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1928), 148-150.
[401] Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*, 148-150.
[402] Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse,* 148-150.

interchangeable Thus, these 2nd and 4th century readings became the paradigms through which proceeding receptions work as evidenced by the appearance of similar readings in Caesarius of Arles, Andreas of Caesarea, Beatus of Liébana, and many others.

5.4 Summation

The content of Revelation 13 and the selected pre-Enlightenment Christian receptions provide a working paradigm through which one may assess the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Daniel 7 and the Fourth Beast. First, as evident in the text of John's apocalypse, similarities between Daniel 7 and Revelation 13 suggest at the very least an awareness of Daniel 7's themes and images on the part of the Revelation writer. Further correspondence between the larger books of Daniel and Revelation confirm Revelation's use of Daniel and ideas present in Daniel, suggesting an intimate link between the two books at the hands of the New Testament apocalyptic writer. This relationship between Daniel 7, the Fourth Beast, and Revelation 13 takes on new life when placed in the hands and minds of Christian interpreters, resulting in a reception historical continuance that is made even more pronounced when analyzing pre-Enlightenment Christian receptions of Daniel 7.

Social, political, and religious animosities directed at ancient Rome through receptions of Daniel 7 transcend religious boundaries as the abundance Christian receptions of Daniel 7 through the lens of Revelation illuminates the marked absence of Jewish receptions of John's apocalypse. In short, the next chapter presents a detailed analysis of pre-Enlightenment Christian receptions of Daniel 7 that solidifies the Christian penchant for using Revelation as the apocalyptic paradigm through which Daniel 7 is read, interpreted, and best understood.

CHAPTER VI: THE FOURTH BEAST IN CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS

6.1 Early Christianity Through Late Antiquity

The *Epistle of Barnabas*, by an anonymous author and of disputed date,[403] contains a reference to the Dan 7:7-8 and 7:24 (*Ep. Bar.* 4:5). The author reads Daniel in tandem other prophetic voices, including Enoch to foretell the end times: the ultimate manifestation of evil will be something similar to Daniel's beast, and will be "the final stumbling block…just as Enoch says" (*Ep. Bar.* 4:3). Portions of Enochic lore appear alongside Daniel to convey a sense of urgency to Christian audiences about Christ's return. However, despite the ease with which the epistle appears to weave together Danielic and Enochic lore, it is unclear as to what Enochic passage or collection the author uses. It remains unclear what the author sees as "the last stumbling block" but *Barnabas* speaks to readers' incorporation of Daniel 7 as a text that interprets proposed Christological cataclysmic and apocalyptic events. It also sets the precedence of interpreters converging disparate apocalyptic writings to create a singular cohesive apocalyptic tableau that represents both historical tensions and textual content.

Justin Martyr (*ca*. 100-ca. 165) engages Daniel 7 and the Fourth Beast in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, a composition in which Justin uses the character of Trypho as a fictional conversation partner. Justin introduces chapter thirty-two of the *Dialogue* by quoting Dan 7:9-28 from a version of Theodotion, followed by a discussion concerning the validity of Jesus Christ as the Messiah foretold by Hebrew prophets. The fictive Trypho's limitations, Justin avers, allow a

[403] A date between 70 C.E to 135 C.E seems most probable. See Bart Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers: Epistle of Barnabas, Papias and Quadratus, Epistle to Diognetus, and the Shepherd of Hermas* London, UK/Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 2003), 6-7.

false Messiah, "a man of sin," to "reign for a time, times and a half" (*Dial.* 31:2-7; 32.1-6).[404] This "time, times, and a half" is an indirect reference to the Fourth Beast via his quotation of Dan 7:9-28, which makes clear that Daniel's symbolical chronological language flourished and was common within Christian readers' cultural nomenclature. Justin associates the final cataclysmic figure with a false Messianic entity, thereby laying the groundwork for what would become the association between Daniel 7, the Fourth Beast, and the Antichrist. To be sure, Justin never cites the Fourth Beast as an antichrist figure, nor does he say Trypho's notion of the Messiah equates to a Fourth Beast-like destructive force. Rather, Justin's reference to the length of the Fourth Beast's reign articulates what Justin perceives as a weakness in Trypho's, and thereby his critics, rejection of Jesus as the Messiah.

Justin's use of Daniel in *Dialogue* shows that Dan 7 is no longer a singular, monolith text read independently within an ahistorical vacuum; instead, it has become a historically affected with allusions to Revelation and Justin's own environment. Though Justin does not offer an exegesis focusing on Daniel 7, examining the larger context of the *Dialogue* shows that Justin indeed refers to the text. For example, at *Dial. 31.1-2,* Justin accentuates the power of Jesus' messianic suffering and crucifixion by reciting Dan 7:9-28 after he writes: "For, as Daniel predicted, 'He shall come on the clouds as the Son of man, accompanied by his angels'." Here Daniel is no longer "Daniel," as Justin blends together this apocalypse with Matt 16:27 and Rev 1:13. These three biblical texts become one story in Justin's interpretation, an approach that subsequent Christian writers, including Martin Luther will follow.

[404] Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* (trans. Thomas Falls; Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 48-50. For the Greek text, see now *Dialogue avec Tryphon*: édition critique, traduction, commentaire (Fribourg, Academic Press, 2003) and Justin Martyr, *Iustini Martyris Dialogus cum Tryphone* (ed. Miroslav Marcovich, Patristische Texte und Studien 47; Berlin / New York: de Gruyter, 1997).

Justin also cites Daniel 2 and 7 at *Dial*. 76 as he again relates Son of Man from Dan 7:13 to Jesus but uses this instance to affirm Jesus' divine connection:

> The words, as a Son of Man, indicate that he would become and appear as such, but that he would not have been born of a human seed. Daniel states the same truth figuratively when he calls Christ a stone cut out without hands. For affirming that he was cut out without hands signifies that he was not a product of human activity, but of God's will, the Father of all, who brought him out.[405]

Daniel's visions of a statue and four beasts become a two-fold lens through which Justin illustrates Jesus' divinity and God's hand in the divine plan, or οἰκονομία, of which Justin frequently speaks.[406] Justin believes everything that happened to Christ is purposeful and part of God's will, hence why he takes considerable effort to find evidence for this plan in books like Daniel.

Justin is also indirect in his use of Daniel, mentioning the "blasphemous words" of the Fourth Beast of Daniel 7, writing:

> Thus, were the times being fulfilled, and whom Daniel foretold would reign for a time, times, and a half, is now at the doors, ready to utter bold and blasphemous words against the Most High.[407]

Like *Dial.* 31, Justin combines Daniel 7 and Revelation 13 in one interpretation. However, neither Daniel in Aramaic, OG, or θ uses a word rendered as "blasphemous" in Daniel 7 to describe the speech of the final horn atop the Fourth Beast. Rev 13:5, however, uses βλασφημίας, a word with the primary definition of "blasphemous,"[408] to describe the words of a horn upon the second beast's head. Thus, Justin's reading makes two texts into one and sets a precursor for future Christian readings of Daniel 7 and the Fourth Beast through the lens of John's Apocalypse.

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[405] Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 76.1.
[406] *Dial.* 30:3; 31.1; 45.4; 67.6; 87.5; 103.3; 107.3; 120.1; 134.2; 141.4.
[407] Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 32.3
[408] *BDAG* entry for βλασφημίας.

Irenaeus’ (*ca.* 130-202 CE) interpretations of Daniel and Revelation show the validity of the consequences approach, as he reads Daniel 7 through Revelation by way of Justin Martyr. Irenaeus quotes Justin in *Adversus Haereses* (*Haer.*) XXVI.2 and reading closely shows that Justin’s exegesis affected Irenaeus’ interpretation regarding the δράκων: his claim in XXI.2 that the Hebrew meaning of Satan is “apostate” relies on Justin’s etymology of Satan as an “apostate serpent” (*Dial*. 103.5-6).[409] Thus, what Irenaeus reads as the “text” of Dan 7 is not just Dan 7 in an untouched form; instead, he reads the OG Daniel and Revelation alongside the work of Justin Martyr.

Beyond his dependence on Justin Martyr, *Haer.* elaborates on worldly powers and dominion of kings to emphasize God’s control on human political maneuverings. For example, he writes at *Haer.* V: 24:2: “Earthly rule, therefore, has been appointed by God for the benefit of nations and not by the Devil.”[410] He continues this apocalyptic worldview when dealing with the Antichrist in *Haer.* V: 25:1 through 30:4, citing what he understands as crucial passages from Daniel 2, 7-9, Matthew 24, 2 Thessalonians 2, and Revelation 13 and 17. He weaves these books from the Hebrew Bible and New Testament together to create what he sees as a complete tableau of the Antichrist, with roots in Daniel spanning through Revelation.

Per his interpretation, Daniel and Revelation speak of the same future event, which is the Antichrist. Here Revelation is not a consequence or different version of Daniel; instead, to

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[409] Justin arrives at this interpretation due to the term δράκων, which connects Leviathan to נָחָשׁ בָּרִחַ in Job 26:13, which the OG reads as, δράκοντα ἀποστάτην, “apostate serpent.” He writes, “Or, it could be that by the lion that roared against him he meant the Devil himself, that is, the one whom Moses called the serpent, and Job and Zechariah called the Devil, and Jesus addressed as Satanas, indicating that he had a compound name made up of the actions which he performed; for the word *Sata* in the Jewish and Syrian tongue means ‘apostate,’ while *nas* is the word which means in translation ‘serpent’; thus, from both parts is formed the one word *Satanas* (*Dial*. 103.5-6).

[410] *Ante Nicene Fathers, Volume 1: Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus* (eds. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and Cleveland Coxe; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1988). Primary source text consulted: A. Rousseau and Louis Doutreleau, et al. (eds.), *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies. Livre IV. Édition critique d’après les versions arménienne et latine 1-2* (Sources chrétiennes 100; Paris: Cerf, 1965).

Irenaeus, both texts work as confirmations of one another. For example, he writes at *Haer*. XXVI. 1:

> In a still clearer light has John, in the Apocalypse, indicated to the Lord's disciples what shall happen in the last times, and concerning the ten kings who shall then arise, among whom the empire which now rules [the earth] shall be partitioned. He teaches us what the ten horns shall be which were seen by Daniel, telling us that thus it had been said to him: "And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet, but shall receive power as if kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind and give their strength and power to the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them, because He is the Lord of lords and the King of kings."[411]

Irenaeus again reads Daniel and Revelation together are *Haer*. XXVIII. 2, describing the Antichrist's arrival:

> …whose coming John has thus described in the Apocalypse: "And the beast which I had seen was like unto a leopard, and his feet as of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion; and the dragon conferred his own power upon him, and his throne, and great might. And one of his heads was as it were slain unto death; and his deadly wound was healed, and all the world wondered after the beast.[412]

Irenaeus' reading is the continuation of an approach begun by Justin Martyr, which reads Daniel and Revelation together as a clear theological hermeneutical approach to the Antichrist, with both books setting the stage for a future cosmic battle between good and evil that began at creation. Further, the aforementioned examples are merely Irenaeus' explicit mentions of Daniel and Revelation tied together, as he laces additional echoes and allusions throughout his work. For example, he incorporates a substantial portion of *Haer*. XXX using numbers from Daniel and Revelation in an attempt to identify the Antichrist, specifically tying off his complex numerology by stating, "…Lateinos has the number six hundred and sixty-six; and it is a very probable

[411] *Ante Nicene Fathers, Volume 1,* checked against *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies. Livre IV. Édition critique d'après les versions arménienne et latine 1-2.*
[412] *Ante Nicene Fathers, Volume 1,* checked against *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies. Livre IV. Édition critique d'après les versions arménienne et latine 1-2.*

solution, this being the name of the last kingdom of the four seen by Daniel."[413] Thus, it is clear that Irenaeus' reading of is affected by a particular Christian concern to tie Daniel to the New Testament's Revelation, thereby confirming a precedent that later Christian readers continue.

Hippolytus of Rome flourished in the late 2nd and early 3rd century CE. During this period, he produced two works on Daniel: a commentary and *scholia* of exegetical insights,[414] of which the commentary is the first of its kind as it focuses on a whole biblical book passed down from the Early Christian Church.[415] Both the commentary and *scholia* complement each other, as his Daniel commentary moves meticulously through Daniel 7 and the *scholia* offers a reading of Daniel 2. Analyzing both the commentary and *scholia* shows that Hippolytus interprets Daniel 7 and Daniel 2 co-dependently. Further, Hippolytus' use of Daniel to read Revelation illuminates a persistent theme in his writing: that Christians may understand scripture and find hope amidst persecution and suffering inflicted by the Roman government.[416] As noted by, Hippolytus' "allusion to Revelation seem to be along the lines of interpretation seen in Irenaeus; their very comparable eschatological outlooks parallel their common anti-heretical spirit and similar methods of exegesis throughout their works."[417] Hippolytus also stresses Christian martyrdom in his work, molding the ideology to fit Daniel's apocalyptic character.[418] For example, he reads the

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[413] *Ante Nicene Fathers, Volume 1*, checked against *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies. Livre IV. Édition critique d'après les versions arménienne et latine 1-2.*
[414] Hippolytus addresses this directly in his commentary: "But now the powerful beast is not one nation, but it is of many tongues and it gathers to itself from many races of men and prepares an army in a line of battle, and all are called Romans, though all are not from one country," 4.8.7. Quotations from the *Commentary on Daniel* are from the Greek version found in Hippolyt, *Kommentar zu Daniel,* trans. Georg Nathanael Bonwetsch (Berlin: Akadamie Verlag, 2000) and Hippolytus, *Commentaire sur Daniel,* vol. 14, Sources Chretiennes, trans. Maurice Lefevre, Introduction by Gustave Bardy (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1947).
[415] Sten Hidal, "Apocalypse, Persecution and Exegesis: Hippolytus and Theodoret of Cyrrhus on the Book of Daniel," in *In the Last Days: on Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (ed. Knud Jeppensen, Kirsten Nielsen, and Bent Rosendal; Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1994), 49.
[416] For a fuller examination of this theme, see
[417] W. Brian Shelton, *Martyrdom from Exegesis in Hippolytus: An Early Church Presbyter's Commentary on Daniel* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2008), 71.
[418] Hidal, "Apocalypse, Persecution and Exegesis," 51.

persecution Daniel receives from Darius at Dan 6:1 as "the call to martyrdom was his."[419] Further, Hippolytus reads the Ancient of Days' arrival at Dan 7:22 as follows:

> For, "the time approached," that is, all at once the time was fulfilled and the saints possessed the kingdom, when the Judge of judges and the King of kings in the future comes from heaven, who shall remove every chief and power which opposes him and shall consume all in an eternal fire, punishing the unrighteous, but he shall give to his slaves both prophets and martyrs and to all who fear him the eternal kingdom.[420]

Here Hippolytus equates martyrdom with the holy callings of servanthood and prophecy, with promises of eternal joy in the coming final divine kingdom.

Both the commentary and *scholia* present the Fourth Beast as a metaphoric representation of the Roman Empire, an interpretation consistent with *4 Ezra* via the fourth kingdom and a metaphoric, symbolic eagle. Hippolytus' Roman association is consistent with preceding Jewish associations between the fourth beast and Rome, but what makes his unique is the conflation between Daniel 7 and Daniel 2. Describing the fourth beast, he writes:

> And so, we already arrived at this point and said that it is clear that this is the fourth kingdom, from which no other greater kingdom or even such a kingdom like it has arisen on the earth, from which ten horns are about to spring forth. For it will be divided into ten kingdoms and in them another small horn shall arise, which is that of the Antichrist and he shall root out three who were before him, that is he shall destroy the three kings of Egypt and of the Libyans and of the Ethiopians, wishing to possess for himself every kingdom.[421]

Hippolytus focuses on the ten kingdoms and small horn atop the fourth beast before labeling the three horns of Dan 7:8 as Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia. His connection of the small horn as the Antichrist echoes Revelation, continuing the consequence of Christians reading Daniel coupled

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[419] Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel,* Book 3.26.1.
[420] Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel,* Book 4.14.3.
[421] Hippolytus of Rome, *Commentary on Daniel* (trans. T.C. Schmidt; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2010), 129-130.

with Revelation. Hippolytus continues this hermeneutical pairing of Daniel and Revelation with the annotations made in his *scholia on Daniel*.

The *scholia* offers a fuller comparative reading in which Hippolytus' interpretation echoes the work of Irenaeus. He writes:

> And it had ten horns. For as the prophet said already of the leopard, that the beast had four heads, and that was fulfilled, and Alexander's kingdom was divided into four principalities, so also now we ought to look for the ten horns which are to spring from it, when the time of the beast shall be fulfilled, and the little horn, which is Antichrist, shall appear suddenly in their midst, and righteousness shall be banished from the earth, and the whole world shall reach its consummation.[422]

Hippolytus creates a hermeneutical link between Daniel 7 and Revelation, much like Irenaeus at *Haer*. XXVIII. 2. According to the *Scholia on Daniel* 7.7*,* Rome is the beast with "iron teeth, because it subdues and reduces all by its strength, just as iron does."[423] He also connects Rome and Fourth Beast via the beast's iron teeth and the iron and clay mixture of Daniel 2, meaning that just as the fourth metal represents the fourth kingdom, Rome, so too does the Fourth Beast. He addresses this connection between the iron of the Fourth Beast and the mixed iron and clay in Daniel 2 directly, writing:

> For just as iron is not mixed with clay, in this way at that time men will not be able to agree with one another, but others from here and there shall carry disorder and divide the royal kingdom to themselves according to their nation.[424]

[422] Hippolytus, *Scholia on Daniel* 7.7. The version consulted for the Scholia is A. Mai, Script. Vet. Collectio Nova, I.iii, 29-56. Hippolytus' reading of, "the rest it did tread with its feet, for there is no other kingdom remaining after this one" shows that he uses the Theodotion version rather than OG-Daniel, which is significant to this project because it exemplifies hermeneutical complications that arise based on the version of Daniel a reader chooses to exegete.
[423] Hippolytus, *Scholia on Daniel,* 7.7.
[424] Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel*, 4.7.6.

In short, iron is the literary link between the two chapters and Rome, and, per Hippolytus' reading, the discord he perceives among Roman leadership and citizenry affirms both the dream of Daniel 2 and vision of Daniel 7.

Hippolytus does not see the Fourth Beast as something prophesied to come. Instead, according to his reading, it has arrived in the form of the Romans. He arrives at this conclusion through comparing the mixture of iron and clay from Daniel 2 with the inability of the reader to identify the Fourth Beast from Daniel 7:

> But now the powerful beast is not one nation, but it is of many tongues and it gathers to itself from many races of men and prepares an army in a line of battle, and all are called Romans, though all are not from one country.

Here Hippolytus interprets Roman imperial multiplicity as a sign of the Fourth Beast's identity, making it the core of his reading. Examining the world in which Hippolytus lived shows that he uses empirical evidence to understand and interpret both Daniel 7 and Daniel 2.

The historical context of Hippolytus' life reveals that he grounds his reading in personal torment and Roman persecution stemming from his Christian beliefs. Through the second and third centuries CE, the Roman empire spanned thousands of miles and included numerous nations with various languages, cultures, and religious practices. Though these nations were under the umbrella of Rome, they retained a level of cultural identity. In short, imperial Rome was a singular entity comprised of many disparate places and peoples. Thus, it makes sense that Hippolytus can compare the amalgamated Fourth Beast from Daniel 7 and comingled iron and clay from Daniel 2 to an empire with one name but many faces and cultures.

Evidence from the period also shows that the Roman state put considerable effort toward suppressing Christianity.[425] Read against this backdrop of Christian persecution, Hippolytus uses Daniel to justify a vision of humanity on the cataclysmic brink, saying "we ought not to anticipate the counsel of God but exercise patience and prayer that we do not fall on such times."[426] Hippolytus' reads the Fourth Beast not as a sign of the Antichrist to be fulfilled in the book of Revelation, but as the vessel through which the Antichrist will arrive, saying the small horn upon the beast "is the Antichrist."[427] Revelation and Daniel share a similar message according to Hippolytus' reading, and Daniel's message thereby becomes self-evident: destruction is coming to God's people, whether they be Christian, Jewish, or some mixture of the two.

Hippolytus' reading the Fourth Beast alongside his Roman historical backdrop shows that he believes human choices have consequences that affect the workings of both the divine and human realms: as humans conquer and rule, he sees the world turning closer to what the book of Daniel depicts. Hebrew Bible prophecies become Christocentric warnings, as writers like Hippolytus develop Christian focused approaches to apocalyptic texts.[428] Hippolytus applies his reading of prophecy and history to previous divinations, instructing his readers to seek what caused prophecies to come true as opposed to understanding why certain prophecies came true

[425] Ivo Lesbaupin, *Blessed Are the Persecuted: Christian Life in the Roman Empire, A.D. 64-313,* trans. Robert R. Barr (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987), 8.
[426] Hippolytus, *Scholia on Daniel,* 7.7.
[427] Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel*, 4.5.3.
[428] Sten Hidal, "Apocalypse, Persecution, and Exegesis," in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1994), 49-53. C.E. Hill notes the breadth of Hippolytus' interpretation of the Antichrist in Hebrew scripture, noting his citations of Isa 10:12-17, 14:4-21, and Ezekiel 28:2-10 in addition to Dan 2 and 7. For a fuller examination of possible connections between Hippolytus, Marcion, and the Antichrist, see C. E. Hill, "Antichrist from the Tribe of Dan," *JTS* 46 (1995), 104-117.

and others failed.[429] Further, one can argue that when read through his prophetic lens, Hippolytus' broad metaphors (i.e. the three horns at Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia) are examples from his social milieu tied to Daniel's imagery to create a prediction relevant for his current audience, designed to encourage and sustain despite difficult odds.[430]

Ephrem the Syrian (306-373 CE) was a prolific writer, theologian, and hymnographer. One of his many writings included discussion of the book of Daniel, in which he translates Daniel 2 and offers commentary on selected verses.[431] The verses Ephrem quotes make clear that the commentary's focus is upon the dream of Daniel 2 and the interpretation as a communication between Nebuchadnezzar and Daniel's deity.[432] The commentary's simplicity and cultural pliability matches its direct focus,[433] as he allows for the possibility of the mountain of Nebuchadnezzar's dream at Daniel 2 to symbolize both the lineage of Abraham[434] and Mary, the

[429] Taken from Hippolytus, *Scholia on Daniel,* 7.7: "For if the things that the prophets predicted in former times have not been realized, then we need not look for these things. But if those former things did happen in their proper seasons, as was foretold, these things also shall certainly be fulfilled."
[430] Katharina Bracht writes, "Die exemplarische Untersuchung von Hippolyts Auslegung von Dan 3 in seinem Danielkommentar hat gezeigt, dass Hippolyt damit – wie auch sonst in seinem Kommentar - das pragmatische Ziel verfolgt, seine Leserschaft in einer Situation soeben erlittener und möglicherweise drohender neuer Christenverfolgung zu ermahnen und zu ermutigen." See Katharina Bracht, "Logos parainetikos: Der Danielkommentar des Hippolyt" in *Studien zur Kommentierung des Daniel Buches in Literatur und Kunst* (ed. K. Bracht and D. S. de Toit; Germany: De Gruyter, 2007), 95.
[431] For a detailed list of the verses on which Ephrem comments, see Phil Botha, The Reception of Daniel Chapter 2 in the Commentary Ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian Church Father, *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 17, (2006), 127.
[432] Botha, "Reception of Daniel Chapter 2 in the Commentary Ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian Church Father," 127-128.
[433] E.G. Mathews notes that Ephrem's Genesis commentary is 'a close literal reading of the text'. See E.G. Mathews, 'Introduction and Translation of Ephrem's Commentary on Genesis', in *St. Ephrem the Syrian. Selected Prose Works. Commentary on Genesis, Commentary on Exodus, Homily on Our Lord, Letter to Publius* (ed. K. McVey; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994), 60. J.P Amar's reflects a similar sentiment, saying that Ephrem's concern in his Exodus commentary is 'a straightforward explanation of the significance of the events recorded in the Book of Exodus'. See also J.P. Amar, "Introduction and Translation of Ephrem's Commentary on Exodus," in *St. Ephrem the Syrian. Selected Prose Works. Commentary on Genesis, Commentary on Exodus, Homily on Our Lord, Letter to Publius* (ed. K. McVey; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994), 217.
[434] From *In Danielem Prophetam* supr.2:34-35, the Latin reads: "de ftirpe videlicet Abrahami natus" (206).

mother of Jesus.[435] Ephrem's approval of this dual reading is what Robert Murry describes as Ephrem's "faithfulness to the Jewish exegetical tradition" without "full Christian application."[436]

Concerning Daniel 7, Ephrem is direct and cites the Fourth Beast as "Alexander, king of the Greeks."[437] Ephrem consults the Syro-Hexapla and his work emphasizes the beast's iron teeth, symbolizing "Alexander's powerful armies, which nearly subdued all kings."[438] Thus, Ephrem's reading makes the beast symbolize both an individual and a collective, with the physical attributes bearing metaphorical connections to specific elements of Alexander's power. Ephrem's reading of the beast also incorporates Antiochus as the final horn atop the beast's head represents the Seleucid king and his war-hungry tendencies.[439]

Ephrem arrives at his Jewish-Christian inclusive reading through the realities of his chronological and geographic locations. His childhood home of Nisibis was "a small but politically significant town" given its proximity Roman Silk Route.[440] Being born, working, and dying in fourth-century CE Turkey caused Ephrem to interact with Judaism and its followers, though contemporary scholars now know his conception of active Jewish proselytism "that targeted and physically threatened" Christian groups of which Ephrem was a part are greatly exaggerated.[441] Ephrem's social and geographic context led to a palpable anti-Jewish attitude in his writing, though this sentiment is downplayed in his reading of Daniel.[442] His rampant anti-

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[435] Ibid. Latin: "Eademque montis figure pariter defignabatur fancta Virgo, ex qua decilus fuit mylticus ille lapis line manibus" (206).
[436] Robert Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* (England: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 207.
[437] *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia*, 214. Translated here from the Latin, which reads, "Hic eft Alexander Rex Graecorum."
[438] *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia*, 214.
[439] *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia*, 216.
[440] Christine Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism and Christian Orthodoxy: Ephrem's Hymns in Fourth Century Syria* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 9-10.
[441] Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism and Christian Orthodoxy: Ephrem's Hymns in Fourth Century Syria*, 35.
[442] This subdued sentiment starts in stark contrast to his hymns as it is a defining marker of his writings. See Miriam Taylor, *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 29.

Jewish sentiment contrasts his dual-pronged hermeneutical acceptance of the mountain in Daniel 2 being both Abraham's lineage and Mary, the mother of Jesus. Perhaps this reading nuances Ephrem's theological stance on Jewish persons, as full rejection would not allow for such respect of Abraham. Though Ephrem's reading does not undo his ecclesial and doctrinal position on total accept of Jewish culture and practice in the Christian faith of his era, it does reflect a downplayed but still palpable interpretative cooperation.

Cyril of Jerusalem (313-386 CE) refers to the Fourth Beast as a symbol of the Roman Empire to expound upon the Catholic catechetical clause, "And shall come in glory to judge the Quick and Dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end."[443] In his *Catechetical Lecture* 15,[444] he expands on the topic of the coming Christ by quoting Dan 7:13. Thus, Cyril makes an explicit connection between Daniel and Christian apocalyptic eschatology, using Dan 7:13 as a fulcrum to discuss Jesus' return. Connections between Cyril and Daniel run deep, as at *Cat.* 15.9 he alludes to "the abomination of desolation" spoken by Daniel the prophet in Dan 9:27, 11:31, and 12:11, and at *Cat.* 15.10 as Cyril echoes Dan 6:13 by describing Christ as "the Son of Man coming upon the clouds."

Specific connections to Daniel 7 appear at *Cat.* 5.12 with the reference to the prophecy of ten Roman kings followed by an eleventh, which Cyril labels as "the Antichrist." The ten kings and the subsequent eleventh and final king is a clear allusion to Dan 7:7-8, 20, and 24. Cyril continues his emphasis on Daniel 7 at *Cat.* 15.13 with an expounding analysis of Dan 7:1-7:

> Now these things we teach, not of our own invention, but having learned them out of the divine Scriptures used in the Church, and chiefly from the

[443] Cyril of Jerusalem*,* from the heading of "Catechetical Lecture 15." All citations from Cyril's Catechetical Lecture 15 are from Edwin Hamilton Gifford, *From Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* Second Series vol. 7 (eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace; Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1894.)

[444] Author's translation from W. K. Reischl and J. Rupp (Munich 1848/1860). Text with improvements based on *Cod. Monac. gr. 394.* Compared against Cyril, *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, Volume 2* (*The Fathers of the Church, Volume 64*; trans. Leo P. McCauley, S.J. and Anthony A. Stephenson; Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1970), 67.

> prophecy of Daniel just now read; as Gabriel also the Archangel interpreted it, speaking thus: The fourth beast shall be a fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall surpass all kingdoms. And that this kingdom is that of the Romans, has been the tradition of the Church's interpreters. For as the first kingdom which became renowned was that of the Assyrians, and the second, that of the Medes and Persians together, and after these, that of the Macedonians was the third, so the fourth kingdom now is that of the Romans.[445]

Here Cyril associates the arrival of the Christian Antichrist, the imagery of Daniel 7, and the Four Kingdom motif. Cyril's identification of the kingdom is unique as he appears to differentiate between Babylonian and Assyrian empires, labeling the first kingdom as the Assyrians followed by a combination of both the Median and Persian kingdoms in the second creature. Beast three becomes the Macedonians, which leaves the necessary hermeneutical space to read the Fourth Beast as Rome.

Cyril's work achieves a peak conflation at *Cat*. 5.15, as he describes the Antichrist as "Dreadful is that beast, a mighty dragon, unconquerable by man, ready to devour," a description with allusions Daniel 7, Job 40-42, and Revelation 12-13.[446] This "dreadful beast alludes" to both the creature of Daniel 7 and the beast from the sea in Revelation 13, and God's rhetorical dialogue with Job in chapters 40 and 41 that emphasize humanity's inability to restrain or defeat Leviathan. Further, there is no dragon in Daniel 7, meaning that he reads Revelation and Daniel as presenting the same apocalyptic event.

The imagery Cyril employs reflects an apparent desire to ease readers into apocalyptic language. His use of Daniel 7 continues at *Cat*. 15.16 but focuses less on images and identities and more with timelines and chronologies. Cyril reads Dan 7:25 and its reference to "a time, two times, and half time" as three and a half years, which, according to Cyril, is how long the

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[445] Cyril of Jerusalem, *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, Volume 2* (1970) Cat. 5.13.
[446] Cyril of Jerusalem, *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, Volume 2* (1970) Cat. 15.15.

Antichrist foretold in Revelation will reign. Further, Cyril uses Dan 12:7 to support his chronology, arguing that "the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" is analogous to the "time, two times, and half time."[447]

Cyril grounds his historical worldview alongside the Daniel 7 text at *Cat.* 15.6, saying directly "Is there then at this time war between Persians and Romans for Mesopotamia or not?" His reading follows an accepted method of tying disparate pieces together to create an interpretive whole as modern Westerners view it, but the ways in which he labels each beast he associates what the Antichrist speaks to his historical time period: Palestine in the fourth-century CE. In the early fourth-century CE, Christian emperor Constantine I defeated co-Roman emperor Licinius during the civil wars of the Tetrarchy.[448] Constantine claimed to be fighting for Christian interests; when compared to Licinius' policies that purged his government and army of Christian, Constantine's claim has weight.[449] However, the actuality of Constantine's impact is facile compared to idealized delusions of grandeur.[450] He reinstated leaders purged by Licinius, prompting some Christians to declare Constantine as a messianic savior, a move against which Cyril's reading clearly stands. Cyril interprets this as a warning against the deification of earthly leaders like Constantine, as history shows that the bishops and leaders the Roman emperor reinstated reshape history and the church in their own image.[451]

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[447] Cyril of Jerusalem, *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, Volume 2* (1970) Cat. 15.16.
[448] Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 39.
[449] Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society,* 36.
[450] Treadgold notes that despite the time and effort Constantine put into conquering his empire, he often left, taking his officials with him. See *A History of Byzantine State and Society.*
[451] Paula Fredriksen points out that imperial bishops banned "the texts of 'deviant' Christians" while also "burning their books, or simply ceasing to allow them to be copied." See Fredriksen, "Christians in the Roman Empire in the First Three Centuries CE," in *A Companion to the Roman Empire* (ed. David S. Potter; Maiden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2010), 588.

Cyril's relationship with empire was indeed precarious. Constantine favored Cyril as a bishop and bestowed gifts upon him for rites and rituals.[452] However, the economic systems Constantine brought left disenfranchised and impoverished persons unaddressed, prompting Cyril to sell the gifted church property in an effort to feed and care for his people.[453] Pairing Cyril's clear communal concerns with his reading of Daniel 7 through his elaboration of *Cat*. 15 illuminates a political-theological reality through overt reservations about the recently installed Roman leaders and the imperialization of Christianity. He reads the current conflict as the fulfillment of the Daniel 7 prophecy and Matthew 24 portent of the Son of Man. In short, Cyril saw imperial Christianity in his era for what it was: a particular means to Constantine's desired ends of power and prosperity. This historical situation prompted him to read the four-kingdom motif from Daniel and Antichrist writings of Revelation as a singular harbinger of the theological and eschatological tensions that accompanied Rome's rise.

Eusebius Hieronymus, more popularly known as Jerome (347-420 CE), like Hippolytus, directly addresses the Fourth Beast's identity: "Quartum quod nunc urbem tenet terrarum, imperium Romanorum est, de quo in statua dicitur" (the Fourth city, which is the empire of the Romans, which is the statue), meaning the fourth city, and thereby the Fourth Beast, is the Roman Empire.[454] He arrives at this conclusion through a thorough reading of the entire seventh chapter and building upon a chronologically linear reading of the preceding three beasts. Jerome begins his assessment by citing the lion-like first beast at 7:4 as the "kingdom of the Babylonians."[455] Despite this misreading, Jerome connects the Babylonians to the lion-like

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[452] J.W. Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 65.
[453] Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 65-66.
[454] Jerome. *S. Hieronymi Presbteri Opre. Pars I: Opera Exegetica, 6: Commentarii in Prophetas Minores* (ed. M. Adriaen; Typographi Brepols, Turnhout, 1969; Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 76. Latin Text).
[455] Unless otherwise noted, all Jerome translations come from *Commentariorum in Danielem* found in *Migne Patrologia Latina.*

creature through a metaphorical comparison, arguing that like a lioness, the Babylonian kingdom defined itself through what Jerome describes as "cruelty…self-indulgence…and the life of passions."[456] This first metaphoric connection sets precedence that Jerome follows throughout his reading of Daniel 7: comparing the metals of Daniel 2 with certain traits of each empire makes clear how each beast connects with both Daniel 2 and ancient kingdoms.

Jerome continues this method of interpretation through the bear-like second beast of Dan 7:5 and the Persian kingdom. He argues that since the iron metal chest and arms of the statue in Daniel 2 represent the Persian kingdom's "rigorous and frugal manner of life," so too does this bear: "In the former case the comparison was based on the hardness of the metal; in this case, on the ferocity of the bear."[457] Jerome buttresses his reading by interpreting the bear's laying on its side as indicating that the Persians never perpetuated "cruelty against Israel."[458]

The third beast, a four-headed leopard, is "that of the Macedonians," which Jerome reads in connection with "the belly and thighs of bronze" at Daniel 2.[459] He compares the Macedonian empire with this leopard-beast based on what Jerome perceives as the Macedonian military tendency of swift impetuousness along with the tendency to charge "headlong to shed blood and with a single bound rushes toward its death."[460] Jerome then offers his own interpretation of the military history leading to Alexander's rise to power, saying that the leopard's four wings emphasize the conqueror's quick and efficient victories, "not simply fighting battles but winning decisive victories."[461] Further, it is unsurprising that Jerome reads the heads as the divided territories of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Philip, and Antigonus before concluding his reading of Dan 7:6

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[456] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem,* 7.4.
[457] Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel,* 7.5.
[458] He uses the reclined bear image to connect Daniel 7 with Zechariah 1, arguing that the white horses of Zechariah's prophecy represent the Persians.
[459] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem,* 7.6.
[460] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem,* 7.6.
[461] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem,* 7.6.

with a theological claim: "'And power was given to it' shows that the empire did not result from Alexander's bravery but from the will of God."[462]

Jerome connects the fourth and final beast with a corresponding metal from the statue in Daniel 2, citing his translation of Dan 2:33, "Its lower legs were of iron and part of its feet were of iron, and part of clay."[463] Jerome discusses the Fourth Beast as simply being the fourth empire, which is striking because he is commenting on Dan 7:7 and not the explanation given at 7:19-26. The commentary is also noteworthy for its origin, for Jerome was in large part responding to Porphyry's third-century work *Against the Christians*. Porphyry's work was banned by the Roman Empire in 448 CE following the empire-wide legalization of Christianity; many copies were burned and only fragments survive, most of which may be found in Jerome's commentary simply because Jerome quotes Porphyry at length to neutralize the philosopher's arguments.[464] Jerome is critical of Porphyry's reading and the alleged implication "that in Porphyry's view the man-like figure symbolized the Jews triumphant and receiving the kingdom at some time in the past."[465]

Paired with his vehement opposition to Porphyry,[466] one could argue Jerome interprets the fourth creature through the lens of chapter 7 in its totality with a focus on reading Daniel's

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[462] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem,* 7.6.
[463] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem,* 7.7.
[464] *Porphyry's Against the Christians* (ed. and trans. R. Joseph Hoffman; Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994), 17.
[465] P.M. Casey, "Porphyry and the Origin of the Book of Daniel," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 27.1 (April 1976), 21. On p. 20-21, Casey emphasizes Jerome's opposition to Porphyry's reading: "The reference of both the stone of Dan. ii and the man-like figure of Dan. vii to Jesus is taken to be so obvious that Jerome, having said so ad loc., feels no need to repeat it here. He calls it 'obvious' again in the next sentence, in which he tells us the view of Porphyry."
[466] Others responded to Porphyry's interpretation in addition Jerome, including Aphrahat and Ephrem. See Maurice Casey, "Porphyry and Syrian Exegesis of the Book of Daniel," *Zeitschrift Für Die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft Und Die Kunde Der Älteren Kirche* 81.1-2 (1990): 139-142.

predictions as fulfilled through Jesus Christ.[467] Further, it seems his patience for metaphors is short as he struggles to resolve the Fourth Beast's ambiguity:

> I find it strange that although he had set forth a lioness, a bear and a leopard in the case of the three previous kingdoms, he did not compare the Roman realm to any sort of beast. Perhaps it was in order to render the beast fearsome indeed that he gave it no name, intending thereby that we should understand the Romans to partake of all the more ferocious characteristics we might think of in connection with beasts.[468]

Jerome incorporates OG and Vulgate citations of Psalms in an attempt to provide clarity about what kind of creature the beast is, pointing to group he labels "The Hebrews," saying it is devoured by a boar in Ps 79:14 (Hebrew 80:14), which he identifies as the Romans. Here Jerome cites an excerpt from *Lev Rabb* 13:5, and, based on the patristic writings, appears to be the only church father aware of *Lev Rabb* 13:5.[469]

Digging into Hebrew Ps 80:14 illuminates the expertise of Jerome's work with the Psalm and midrash, as מיער has a *litterae suspensae* in the Hebrew. This is likely a correction, though there is division about its purpose.[470] An interesting resolution to the *litterae suspensae* lies in the midrash, reading the addition as an interpretive addition. Per this resolution, the adversarial figure shifts from Egypt to Roman by changing מיאר, "river/Nile" to the extant מיער, "forest,"

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[467] A. J. Ferch, "Porphyry: An Heir to Christian Exegesis?" *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche* 91 (2000), 144.

[468] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem,* 7.7.

[469] Jerome's use of *Leviticus Rabbah* here points to his flexibility regarding an authoritative and authentic version of the biblical text. For an excellent and thorough examination of Jerome's textual choices, see "Jerome and the Search for the Authentic Biblical Text in Light of Origen's Scholarship" in Jay Braverman, *Jerome's* Commentary on Daniel*: A Study of Comparative Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Hebrew Bible* (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1978), 35-54. See also 93-94 for Braverman's in-depth analysis of Jerome's use of *Lev Rabb* and the lack thereof with Hippolytus, Ephrem, Aphrahat, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Polychronius.

[470] "This addition was apparently meant to correct an earlier reading which ascribed the erecting of the idol in Dan to one of the descendants of Moses (see b. B. Bat. 109b). The addition can therefore be understood as a deliberate change of content." From Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001), 57.

which would be a clear polemical allusion to the Romans.[471] Marvin Tate addresses the issue through C.A. Briggs, arguing that Briggs reads this suspended *ayin* as an interpretive reference shift from Egypt to Rome.[472] This *litterae suspensae* and Jerome's identification of the Romans as the figure in Hebrew Ps 80:14 is a noteworthy consequence, as the text of both a Psalm and Daniel are affected by this Christian reading of Rome onto these ancient texts.

Thus, for Jerome the Fourth Beast is thereby unrecognizable because it is a concentrated combination of all the evil comprising the preceding three beasts and has plagued God's people throughout the centuries in different destructive forms. Jerome then gives attention to labelling each horn arising upon the beast, making his lack of discussion on Dan 7:19-24 peculiar. Further, Jerome's reading of the Fourth Beast appears particularly affected by Rev 13:1-2, as his reading emphasizes the beast's horns and the small one that rises in Dan 7:20. It seems Jerome felt it unnecessary to dissect the scriptural explanation of the Fourth Beast in chapter Dan 7:19-24, given the work he did with Dan 7:7-8.[473]

Writing during the fifth century in the ancient city of Antioch, Theodoret of Cyrus (d. 458 CE) is open about his use of what he describes as "many pious writers"[474] as he interprets

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[471] C.A. and E.G. Briggs read Ps 80:14 as "The boar of (the Nile) tears her down," arguing boar of the Nile is "the most probably reading, referring then to Egypt, which by incursion so often laid waste the land; but the usual reading, 'of the wood,' the forest, give it a more general reference, possibly to the Syrian neighbours." C.A. Briggs and E.G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1906), 206.

[472] Marvin Tate, *Psalms 51-100* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990), 307. His assessment of the raise letter is one of location, arguing that it is the Psalter's midpoint. He goes further, saying the *ayin* "suggests the 'eye'—in the scribal tradition it would connote the 'eye' of God watching over Israel." Delitzsch reads the letter as the Psalter's mid-point, citing the elevate *vaw* of גָּחוֹן at Lev 11:42 as corroborating evidence as the midpoint of Torah. See F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms* vol. 2 (trans. F. Bolton. 2nd ed. 1867; repr. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1952). 386.

[473] "And as for the next statement, ". . .devouring and crushing, and pounding all the rest to pieces under his feet," this signifies that all nations have either been slain by the Romans or else have been subjected to tribute and servitude." Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel,* 7.7.

[474] Robert Hill, "The Commentary on Daniel by Theodoret of Cyrus," in *Die Geschichte der Daniel-Auslegung in Judentum, Christentum und Islam* (ed. Katharina Bracht and David Toit; Germany: De Gruyter, 2007), 152. Recent work by Jean-Nöel Guinot indirectly confirms Theodoret's use of other interpreters by suggesting that Theodoret relies on other authors use of receptions; his reception is itself already a reception-of-a-reception. See Jean-Nöel Guinot, *L'exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr* (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1995), 713-748.

the Fourth Beast as a metaphor for Rome. However, he differentiates his *Commentary on Daniel* from similar readings by providing a justification for why Daniel speaks metaphorically instead of simply calling the Fourth Beast the Roman Empire: "…[the biblical author of Daniel] does not give it a name because the Roman state was forged together from very many nations and so acquired mastery over the whole world."[475] Further differentiating his work with Daniel is the urgency with which he treats Daniel as a prophet on par with Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. He addresses what Robert Hill describes as an "anomaly"[476] directly, saying:

> Firstly, it is because our friends required of us commentary on this author, and we consider it a duty to give the petitioners the favor they request. But furthermore, it is the Jews' folly and shamelessness that causes us to pass over the others for the moment and expound this author's prophecies and make them clear, embarking as they did on such brazen behavior as to cordon off this author from the band of the prophets and strip him of the prophetic title itself.[477]

His urgent desire to make Daniel a prophet connects to his push to read Antiochus IV as the coming antichrist of 2 Thess 2, read into Dan 7:7-8 as "appearing between the ten horns"[478] of the Fourth Beast.

He writes this prophetic reading of Daniel's apocalypse against the "world-shattering event" of Rome's fall, Iran's rise in the east, and a continually flourishing Jewish community.[479] Theodoret also assigns an anonymous form of governance to the preceding beasts, saying, "First [the earth] was governed by kings, then by people, then by the aristocracy, and at last it returns to the first mode of government, monarchy."[480] Theodoret uses Daniel to trace history through a

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[475] Theodoret of Cyrus*, Commentary on Daniel, 7.7.*
[476] Theodoret of Cyrus, *Commentary on Daniel by Theodoret of Cyrus* (trans. Robert Hill; Leiden: Brill, 2006), xviii.
[477] Theodoret of Cyrus, *Patrologia Graeca* (PG) 81:1260.
[478] Translated from the Greek in Hill's translation, Theodoret, *Commentary on Daniel* (2006), 184.
[479] C.T. McCollough, "A Christianity for an Age of Crisis: Theodoret of Cyrus's Commentary on Daniel," Systemic 2 (1989): 158.
[480] Theodoret of Cyrus*, Commentary on Daniel, 7.7.*

linear progression, only to see it return to its starting point. This linear progression style of writing reflects Theodoret's attempts to "uncover the treasure" of meaning "hidden in the text by making connections evidence and demonstrating a consistent train of thought."[481] Thus, Theodoret used both his exposition of content and the format of his writing to convey a sense of stability amidst cultural and political change.

Minor nuances in Theodoret's work are overshadowed by a peculiar translational issue. The version Theodoret quotes to begin his Fourth Beast discussion describes the creature as having "huge teeth of iron" and "claws of bronze." Theodoret cites the bronze claws as metaphorical evidence for the tribute Rome took from many nations.[482] Imagery tied to the empire's crippling economic policies and procedures is crucial to the Theodoret's overt purposes: to present the Roman Empire as a great and terrible entity brought into the historical scope for destruction and signify the Ancient of Days' pending arrival. Theodoret comingles 7:7 with 7:19 without addressing his use of either the Theodotion, OG-Daniel, the Vulgate, the Aramaic, or Syriac witnesses.[483] This observable scriptural gloss may reflect Theodoret's concentrated efforts at showing unity between the statue's fourth portion in chapter 2, the beast in chapter 7:7, and its explanation in Dan 7:19.

Theodoret's efforts to relate Daniel 7 to Daniel 2 also reflect his attempt to create a cohesive narrative event that restores what Theodoret calls Daniel's place as "the greatest prophet."[484] His reading juxtaposes Daniel 7 with Daniel 2 by way of each chapter's respective

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[481] McCollough, "A Christianity for an Age of Crisis," 165.
[482] Theodoret of Cyrus*, Commentary on Daniel, 7.19.*
[483] This is not an error on the translator's part; the Greek of Theodoret's commentary uses χαλκοῖ, which is not found in this verse in any major version of Daniel 7 during the 4th and 5th centuries CE. For a complete Greek version of Theodoret's commentary, see Theodoret of Cyrus, *Commentary on Daniel* (trans. Robert Hill; Boston, MA: Brill Publishing, 2006).
[484] Hill, "The Commentary on Daniel by Theodoret of Cyrus," 152. Theodoret's interbiblical reading extends beyond Daniel: in Discourse 2, Theodoret describes the human "body of clay" and "mouth, which according to the vision of Daniel, utters great things against the Maker." Theodoret sees humans as permanently bound to the clay

narrator and location. For example, Theodoret argues that what Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 2 sees are “mere shapes” and not “realities” because there is “nothing lasting or stable about them, everything is fluid and failing and fading.”[485] Conversely, Daniel in Daniel 7 “is gazing at a sea, gaining a lesson in the waves of the present life.”[486] Thus, Theodoret understands Daniel 7 as a reinterpretation of Daniel 2 that grounds Daniel’s prophetic vision in current historical events.[487] Further, the difference between Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 2 and Daniel in Daniel 7 prompts Theodoret to read Daniel with the gift of prophecy and Nebuchadnezzar as the passive receiver of a vision, thereby separating him from apocalyptic seers and grounding him in the Israelite prophetic tradition.[488]

Theodoret’s understanding of Daniel’s role as a prophet accords with exegetes of the Antiochene school, whose historical and literal approaches to interpretation may have been a response to Alexandrian readers and their allegorical approach.[489] Indeed, Theodoret’s strict historical and literal approach reflects his Antiochene leanings, as the text becomes a roadmap for the historical future in his interpretive hands.

Unlike Theodoret, the work of John Chrysostom (ca. 349-407) is marked by its violent and coarse anti-Judaizing language.[490] He spreads his analysis of Daniel across three separate

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from which they were made, thereby connecting humanity to something he sees as tarnished by Adam and Eve’s missteps. According to Theodoret, humans and the Fourth Beast have a common origin: the created earth. Humans are therefore inextricably tied to the forces and materials that will produce the destructive Fourth Beast.

[485] καὶ ὅτι σχήματα μᾶλλόν εἰσιν ᾗ φησιν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, ἀλλ’ οὐ πράγματα˙ ουδέν γάρ αὐτῶν μόνιμον, οὐδὲ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ τάντα διαρρεῖ καὶ φθείρεται καὶ μαραίνεται˙. Taken from the critical edition available in *Theodoret of Cyrus: Commentary on Daniel* (trans. Robert Hill; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 174.

[486] Translated from the Greek in Hill’s edition.

[487] McCollough notes Theodoret’s alignment of elements from Daniel 2 with empires from Daniel 7 without explanation. Theodoret expands on his reading upon reaching the iron empire of Dan 2:33, a choice McCollough attributes to Theodoret emphasizing “that the co-mingling of the iron and earthen vessel does not signify the creation of another kingdom,” instead pointing to what Theodoret describes as “the fragile nature of that which will be as the weak vessel is joined to the strong.” See McCollough, "A Christianity for an Age of Crisis,” 167.

[488] Hill, “The Commentary on Daniel by Theodoret of Cyrus,” 159.

[489] Hill, “The Commentary on Daniel by Theodoret of Cyrus,” 227.

[490]Taylor, *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity*, 29. Readers like Lucian, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, John Chrysostom, and Theodoret of Cyrus of noted Antiochene adherents. For a cursory overview of

works: "De incomprehensibili XI"[491], "Homily 15" on the Gospel of John[492], and "*In Danielem*"[493]. His anti-Judaizing stance manifests in his reading of Daniel 7 through appreciation of the Roman empire as a divine instrument and less of an adversarial figure. Further, he concludes his reading of Daniel 7 by saying that "the Jews" are the cause of all the events the beasts will bring.[494] In short, his reading of Daniel 2 and 7 is staunchly anti-Jewish, designed to undercut Jewish persons as God's chosen people and fill the void with pure, un-Judaized Christians.

Chrysostom focuses first on the Ancient of Days and uses the Fourth Beast as a means to understanding the Ancient of Days' purpose and goals, which, according to Chrysostom, is the installation and establishment of a Christian empire. Chrysostom was Archbishop of Constantinople at the close of the fourth century, which creates an interesting possible horizon of expectation. Chrysostom's tenure as Archbishop began soon after the Roman Empire's declaration of Christianity as the official imperial religion, so it makes sense for Chrysostom's opinion of Rome to be positive. Chrysostom's reading of the Fourth Beast supports a positive reading of the Roman government as he describes the Fourth Beast as something that "would arrive in all sorts of different ways and nothing could be compared with it."[495] Further, Chrysostom argues that the interpreter does not identify the Fourth Beast at Dan 7:23 because "he wants them be to hidden," much in the same way that Jesus spoke cryptically through

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the Antiochene and Alexandrian schools of interpretation, see *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church* (trans. and ed. by Karlfried Froehlich; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1984), 15-19.

[491] John Chrysostom, *Sur l'egalite du pere et du fils* (Homilies VII-XII, trans. Anne-Marie Malingrey; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1994), 303-307 [Greek text]. For English, see John Chrysostom, *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God* (trans. Paul W. Harkins; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press), 270-285.

[492] *PG* 59:97-102.

[493] *PG* 56:231-233.

[494] Translated from Latin; see Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* 56:234.

[495] Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* 56:230.

parables.[496] Chrysostom is also nondescript in his discussion of the other kingdoms, saying the beast's destructive nature, shown through the metaphor of iron teeth, differentiates it from the other three beasts, which, according to Chrysostom, have attributes connected to expedient conquering.[497] According to Chrysostom, the coming beast will not merely conquer and claim ownership; it will destroy everything it touches to create a new and different world according to its liking.

Chrysostom's secondary focus is the identity of the Ancient of Days. His reading accentuates his anti-Jewish sentiment with Christian Trinitarian implications, as he argues that both the Ancient of Days and the One Like the Son of Man are two labels for the same entity.[498] He describes the actions of the Son of Man as reflective of the Ancient of Days, describing them as one-in-the-same like Jesus Christ simultaneously being God the Creator.[499] Further, he argues that the Ancient of Days presence is not physical; rather, it is a metaphorical accompaniment with the One Like the Son of Man's arrival.[500]

6.2 Medieval Christianity Through the Eleventh Century

The rise of Islam as an imperial force make the seventh century CE a significant time for general Christian history and the interpretations of Daniel 7, as rising anti-Islamic sentiment brought on the spread of the new religion shifted the focus away from Rome or Jewish persons

[496] Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* 56:234: "sed e contrario in verbis quidem ca per obscuritatem occultabat, in propheta autem conservavit in corde. Etenim sub finem ait: Ecce semones signati; et vult illos obscuros esse. Id facit etiam ipse (a) (Jesus Christus) per paraboles loquens."
[497]Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* 56:230.
[498] G. K. McKay, The Eastern Christian Exegetical Tradition of Daniel's Vision of the Ancient of Days," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* (1999), 157.
[499] *PG* 56:233.
[500] McKay says that Chrysostom emphasizes this point, as his reading "is the only one in which the two divine persons are seen face to face." See McKay, "The Eastern Christian Exegetical Tradition of Daniel's Vision of the Ancient of Days," 157.

as Christianity's primary adversary. [501] The impact of Islam's advent is immediate in seventh-century Christian writing. For example, the Christian sermon of Sophronius of Jerusalem in 634 CE, merely two years after Muhammad's death,[502] reflects anxieties over perceived Muslim occupation of Bethlehem. He writes:

> Because of countless sins and very serious faults, we have become unworthy of the sight of these things [Bethlehem] and prevented from entering Bethlehem by way of the roads. Unwillingly, indeed contrary to our wishes, we are required to stay at home, not bound closely by bodily bonds, but bound by fear of the Saracens, and we prevented from experiencing such heavenly joy, and are engulfed by grief suited to our wretchedness which is unworthy of blessings.[503]

Though Sophronius remained unaware of the connections between the invasions and the inception of Islam, he drew parallels between David's struggles with protecting Bethlehem from Gentile outsiders.[504]

This shift in the historical adversary from Rome to Islam also changed apocalyptic eschatological expectations as Muslim armies and leaders replaces the nameless figures symbolizing Roman imperialism in Christian readings of both Daniel and Revelation. The persistent presence of Muslim invaders prompted new strategies and methods of coping with life under Islamic rule. Explanation weaken as an attitude of "tacit acceptance" became the primary means of reconciling the Christian loss of their holy land.[505] Conversely, this also prompted a rise in apocalyptic thought, as the earthly world lost importance and the coming heavenly Kingdom of God became the focus of Christians under Muslim control.[506]

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[501] Sidney Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 153. See also Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "The Earliest Spanish Christian Views of Islam," *Church History* 55 (1986): 281–293.
[502] W. E. Kaegi, "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest," *Church History* 38.2 (1969), 139.
[503] Sophronius, "Weihiichtspredigt des Sophronos," ed. H. Usener, *Rheinisches Museum fur Philologie,* N.F. 41 (1886), 506-507.
[504] Kaegi, "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest," 140.
[505] John C. Lamoreaux, "Early Eastern Christian Responses to Islam" in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (ed. John Tolan; United Kingdom: Routledge, 2000), 19
[506] Lamoreaux, "Early Eastern Christian Responses to Islam," 19.

There are several extant *Apocalypses of Daniel,* at least twenty-four and many in different languages, including Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic. Some exist as complete works, while others are bits and pieces of what may likely be larger narratives.[507] The seventh-century CE Christian composition, *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, is a peculiar piece because of its own rich and self-contained history.[508] The piece exists in two forms: the Syriac *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* and the *First Greek Redaction of Pseudo-Methodius*. Further complicating matters is the use of *Pseudo-Methodius* in the *Slavonic Vision of Daniel* to such an extent that it prompts consideration about *Slavonic Visions* being a consequence of *Pseudo-Methodius*.[509] Despite apprehension toward speaking in absolute terms about authorship, date, and exact geographic origin, extant manuscripts present the Syriac *Pseudo-Methodius* as a possible response to Muslim incursion and conquest of Greece and Sicily.[510] The writer(s) grounds the text in a particular reality as *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* attempts to resolve theological and prophetic tensions stemming from Islamic occupation.[511]

Historical interplay between occupation and theological expectation makes *Pseudo-Methodius* complicated. It jumps from prophetic declarations to hypothetical questions, then shifts to citing scriptural and historical examples to justify unfolding events. *Pseudo-Methodius* does not cite the Fourth Beast directly, but it clearly is affected by Daniel's vision of the beasts and labels the preceding chronology of ruling kingdoms as Danielic predictions. The text says:

> Hear now how these Four Kingdoms were overcome by one another, that of the Kushites by that of the Macedonians and that of the

[507] For a superb and detailed examination of this complex yet rich literary corpus, see Lorenzo DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature* (Boston, MA Brill, 2005). This dissertation is selective in which *Apocalypses* it engages, as working through each would be another project entirely. The selections that follow are relevant to this dissertation in the themes and images they invoke and convey.
[508] Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1998), 70-73. See also Paul Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (London, England: University of California Press, 1985).
[509] Paul Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1985).
[510] Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 35-36.
[511] Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*, 34.

> Macedonians by that of the Greeks, and that of the Greeks by that of the Romans. And these are the heavenly four winds which Daniel saw pouring out from the Great Sea.[512]

This reading focus on historical predictions about which kingdoms will rise and fall, knowledge of which appears to be so prevailing to the text's compilers that citing specific scripture is unnecessary. Unlike most Christian apocalyptic texts, *Pseudo-Methodius* makes the Roman Empire a semi-protagonist in the fight against the final kingdom: Muslims, or to use *Pseudo-Methodius* nomenclature, "the sons of Ishmael."[513]

Conflict between Christians and Muslims threads its way throughout Syriac apocalypses, making it a binding antagonistic force in five Syriac apocalypses from the seventh century.[514] Muslim conquests of Christian Byzantium were extensive, systemic, and persistent; these incursions defined the area's cultural, literary, political, and military maneuverings throughout the seventh-century.[515] Antagonism between Christians and Muslims continued into the eight-century CE, making *Pseudo-Methodius* a logical method of expressing Christian anxieties alongside eschatological hope.

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[512] Translated from the Syriac version found in F.J. Martinez's unpublished dissertation: *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-Athanasius* (Catholic University of America, Washington DC, 1985), 58-121. This decision is based on the *Pseudo-Methodius* bibliography found in Andrew Palmer, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1993). Further, Also consulted, despite the translation's inconsistencies, is the English version in Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*. Greek and Latin versions are found in Benjamin Garstad's *Apocalypse Pseudo-Methodius: An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012). Priority in this study is given to the Syriac as major scholarly efforts, in particular the life's work of Alexander Michael Kmosko, prioritize the Syriac *Pseudo-Methodius* as the source of all non-Syriac versions. See Michael Kmosko, "Das Rätsel des Pseudo-Methodius." *Byzantion* 6 (1931): 273-296.

[513] The next step in the *Pseudo-Methodius'* literary evolution is the *First Greek Redaction of Pseudo-Methodius*. Though most content remains unchanged, differences are significant enough to warrant reading the *Redaction* as a separate composition while also illuminating possible circumstances and mentalities of translators. The text was produced before 800 CE, possibly by a cleric, and has three major points of diversion from Syriac: Greek texts replace biblical quotations from the Peshitta, deemphasized or omitted Syrian topography, and elimination of "unflattering references to clergy." See Alexander *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition,* 7 and 109.

[514] Martinez Fernandez, "The Apocalyptic Genre in Syriac: the World of Pseudo-Methodius," in *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984: Literary Genres in Syriac Literature*, Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium: 340.

[515] Walter Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Edinburgh: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 181-230.

As stated above, the Christian Slavonic *Vision of Daniel* connects with *Pseudo-Methodius* so directly and it may be understood as a consequence of *Pseudo-Methodius* as much as the book of Daniel. According to Paul Alexander, it is "clear that the author borrowed heavily from the *First Greek Redaction of Pseudo-Methodius*," making the two into semi-sibling compositions.[516] Composed between 821 CE and 829 CE and translated from a Greek original, this four-beast vision begins similarly to the Syriac and Greek *Pseudo-Methodius* renderings by entreating the seer and reader to "Behold" the creatures coming from the sea, and that the four beasts are the four winds. It also associates each beast with an empire "in the final days" and begins its exposition on the unfolding vision explaining the first beast. Yet here is where *Slavonic Daniel* diverts from its source material as it labels the first beast as the Isaurian Empire and proceeds to discuss a detailed vision that is combination of images, themes, and characters from Daniel 7-12 and *Pseudo-Methodius*. Horns appear and reign, only to undercut by emperors or raised scepters.[517] In short, *Slavonic Daniel* becomes an entirely new creation.

Slavonic Daniel, and the entirety of the *Pseudo-Methodius* corpus, work as a case study of early Christian biblical interpretation. Readers and compilers appear just as likely to create summarized or paraphrased versions of popular texts in circulation as they were to quote and/or recreate biblical texts in their entirety. These works represent what Lorenzo DiTommaso describes as "the planets of the Daniel apocrypha" revolving and coalescing around the Book of Daniel's literary "sun."[518] It is also worth noting that the boundaries of this Daniel universe

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[516] Alexander elaborates "Namely, most of (5) describing the effects of the Moslem invasions on the Christian churches and the geographic extent of these invasions; the picture of the Christian church after their future liberation by a Messianic king (9); the prophecy of the invasion of Unclean Peoples (10); and that of the Antichrist and of a Last Roman Emperor surrendering his empire unto God (11)." *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 63-64.
[517] See the Slavonic *Vision of Daniel* 1-2; the translation consulted for this project comes from Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, and is based off the Lavrov edition of the text.
[518] DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature*, 5.

extend beyond Christianity, as some apocryphal works appear in Muslim writings, written in Arabic and emphasizing the "secret knowledge" Daniel possessed as a dream interpreter.[519]

Continued military conflicts between Muslims, Christians, and Jews created an adversarial worldview from the middle of the seventh-century CE until the turn of the twelfth-century CE.[520] This is felt in the writings of eighth-century Spanish monk and theologian Beatus of Liébana (730-800 CE), especially in his interpretation of the Fourth Beast within an elaborate eschatological chronology that stretches back to Genesis and forward through Revelation. Beatus' work focuses primarily on the Book of Revelation. However, Beatus incorporates imagery from the book of Daniel to read Daniel's Fourth Beast through the lens of John's Apocalypse. His posits that the Fourth Beast is blasphemous and evil because it comes from an earth filled with blasphemy and evil. This interpretive move connects Beatus' reading of Daniel 7 with Christian interpretations of Revelation rooted in 3rd century CE Christians like Victorinus of Pettau and Tyconius of Carthage.

According to Beatus, the Fourth Beast is again Rome, but only after Beatus connects each of Daniel's four beasts with one of the four cardinal directions.[521] Beatus connects the beasts and cardinal directions to establish earthly origins of these metaphors for doom. Each direction represents encroaching forces, but he withholds assigning each beast a specific direction; his interpretation emphasizes the all-encompassing power of destructive world powers. Beatus also

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519 DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, 77. Some Muslim writings also associate Daniel with Adam, connecting the dream interpreter back to the roots of creation.

520 Much scholarly work exists concerning Byzantium during this time frame from a Muslim perspective and/or from Arabic sources, though, as noted by Walter Kaegi, there is much scholars can do to nuance and expand in this area. See Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-2.

521 Beatus of Liébana, *Beati Liebanensis Tractatus de Apocalipsi* (ed. Roger Grayson; Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2012), 190-191.

argues the name of the beast in Revelation 13 has its origins in what it tramples and destroys.[522] Using Dan 7:4-7 from the Vulgate as a reference, his reading creates a unique comparison: just as the Fourth Beast trampled over the remains of corrupted earthly kingdoms, so too does the beast in Revelation 13.

Beatus' work has its own history of consequences that continued after Beatus' death. Commentators contributed and updated illustrations paired with Beatus' commentary to provide insight into Christian perspectives of Muslim occupation.[523] Further, what makes Beatus' commentary more unique and appropriate for this dissertation is that illustrations added to the collection were also based on the commentary rather than the biblical texts.[524] For example, the Gerona Beatus, dated to 975s CE, includes an illumination of the Four Beasts from Daniel 7 and the statue from Daniel 2 (Ms of *Beatus in Apocalyosim*, Gerona, Cathedral Archives, Ms. 7, fol. 61r, see Fig. 3 below).[525]

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[522] Beatus reads, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόμα βλασφημίας, as a descriptor of the beast; the beast's forehead contains its name.
[523] While it is not known where the extant Beatus manuscripts were made or where they were used, John Williams analysis of the style and colophons offers convincing placements for these works. See John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus* (five volumes; London: Harvey Miller, 1994). The reliability of Williams' collection goes beyond the study of religion and history. For example, Emily Goetsch relies on the five-volume work throughout her Art History dissertation. See Emily B. Goetsch, "Extra-Apocalyptic Iconography in the Tenth-Century Beatus Commentaries on the Apocalypse as Indicators of Christian-Muslim Relations in Medieval Iberia" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Edinburgh, 2014). It is also worth noting that early Beatus collections included illustrations paired with Jerome's commentary, a move that shows the preference early Christian interpreters gave Jerome's work.
[524] Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse,* 61.
[525] *Illustrated Beatus* vol. II; from Num Inv. 7(11), available at Musea de la Catedral de Girona.

Fig. 3 Ms of Beatus in Apocalyosim, Gerona, Cathedral Archives, Ms. 7, fol. 61r

Comparing each illustration in Beatus with connections to Daniel 2, Daniel 7, and Christian readings of said chapters in commentaries on Revelation is too extensive for this dissertation. Thus, the following examples comes from two different centuries from their respective manuscript collections. First, two late tenth-century manuscripts, the Gerona Beatus (figure 3 above, 975 CE), and the Morgan Beatus (ca. 940-945 CE, New York, Morgan Library, M. 644). Next, the tenth-century manuscripts will be compared with two thirteenth-century manuscripts, the Las Huelgas Beatus (1220 CE, New York, Morgan Library, M. 429) and the San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus (Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ms. 77; first half of the thirteenth century CE). Each manuscript illuminates Daniel 2 and 7 through the lens of Revelation, but the

similarities and differences between the centuries suggest historical and ecclesial shifts in the early Christian communities producing these illustrations.

With Fig. 3 (Gerona, Cathedral Archives, Ms. 7, fol. 61r), the unknown illustrator depicts the statue mountain of Daniel 2 side-by-side with the four beasts of Daniel 7, showing an acceptance of reading the two chapters concurrently to create a complete picture of the events Daniel's book describes. Reading Daniel chapters 2 and 7 alongside Revelation continues throughout the additions to Beatus as many manuscripts include illustrations of Daniel in pages preceding an analysis of Revelation to make Daniel's apocalyptic images as a prologue to what unfolds in Revelation.

Gerona's motif of creating a fuller tableau of textual content continues with the illustration of Revelation 13 (Gerona Cathedral Archives, Ms. 7, fol. 176v; see Fig. 4) below.

Fig. 4 Gerona Cathedral Archives, Ms. 7, fol. 176v

Here the artist presents the beast from the sea addressing the beast of the earth. Note the sea beast's serpent-like body and seven heads, as well as the horn-crown configuration of the beast of the earth and its resemblance to the Fourth Beast's horns from Fig. 1. The sea-beast emerges from a watery abode, with kneeling and praying Christians, all of them nimbed. Further, this illustration matches Beatus' continued use of Revelation first presented by Tyconius, in which the sea metaphorically represents evil and corrupt persons, with the beast being a manifestation of said persons.

Fig. 4 compares the corrupt persons producing the beast as appearing like Christians, perhaps practicing a version of the faith with which the artist disagrees. This is a deviation from Beatus' reading, as his commentary retains an anti-Muslim sentiment. It surely reflects fallout from the ninth-century realization of what Sidney Griffith calls Iberian Christianity's "full cognizance of the religious challenge of Islam."[526] This recognition put Spanish Christians at a crossroads to assimilate to or reject the rising Islamic tides. Christians that began speaking Arabic and, in some instances converting to Islam, gave rise to what modern scholars call Mozarabs, or "assimilated Arab, pretend Arab, speaker of Arabic."[527]

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[526] Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque,* 153. Wolf, "The Earliest Spanish Christian Views of Islam," *Church History* 55 (1986): 281–293.

[527] Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*, 153. Heather Coffey considers this Muslim-Christian acculturation to be a primary motivation among Christian leaders, as Muslim elite showed little to no interest in reciprocating this cultural diffusion. Muslim leaders did not learn Latin or engage Iberian Christian culture in the way that Iberian Christians assimilated to their new Muslim neighbors. See Heather Coffee, "Contesting the Eschaton in Medieval Iberia: The Polemical Intersection of Beatus of Liebana's Commentary on the Apocalypse and the Prophet's *Mi'rajnama*" in *The Prophet's Ascension* (eds. Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby; Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), 97-137.

Illustrations in the Morgan Beatus expand on the Daniel imagery by dedicating space to separate Daniel 2 and Daniel 7. For example, the images below are from the same manuscript but appear on separate pages.[528]

Fig. 5 New York: Morgan Library, M.644 fol. 243v

Fig. 6 New York: Morgan Library, M.644 fol. 261v

Aside from separating the statue and Four Beasts, notice the illustration of Daniel 2 presents a literary chronological progression as the state is complete on the left with the stone from Dan 2:34 and the mountain the stone became above the broken statue pieces from Dan 2:35. The top of the illustration also includes Nebuchadnezzar sleeping in his bed, thereby creating a tableau of the dreamer and dream.[529]

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[528] New York. Morgan Library, M. 644, fol. 243v; see Fig. 3. M.644 fol. 261v; see Fig. 4.

[529] Another image from Morgan Beatus (New York: Morgan Library, M.644 fol. 40v) follows a similar procedure by placing the extant statue, the stone, and the eventual mountain beside each other.

This illustration of the Four Beasts focuses around the stream of fire coming from the throne of the Ancient of Days (Dan 7:9-10). Unlike the preceding illustrations, the leopard-like beast here has four heads and the Fourth Beast's horns are more pronounced. Further, the Fourth Beast still resembles the other three creatures, an illustrative move that downplays Daniel's reaction at Dan 7:7 of "it was different from the other animals." Fig. 6 (New York: Morgan Library, M.644 fol. 261v). lends focus to the throne and the servants surrounding it. This suggests the illustrator places greater theological importance upon the primacy of the Ancient of Days ultimate control over the beasts, as the creatures that Daniel presents bringing great destruction become subservient to the Ancient of Days.

An inscription associated the illustration retains the Fourth Beast's uncertainty by simply labeling the Fourth Beast as the Antichrist that will accompany Babylon, symbolized by the lioness, Media and Persia, symbolized by the bear, and Alexandria-Macedonia, symbolized by the winged leopard.[530] This inscription makes it clear that the author/artist indeed reads Daniel 7 through the lens of Revelation as the Fourth Beast sheds the trappings of any earthly kingdom and becomes the eschatological Antichrist.

Unlike the Gerona, the Morgan Beatus inverts the order of its illustrations of Revelation, placing them before Daniel's images and, in turn, making the Jewish apocalypse an appendix to its Christian counterpart. However, this order change does not negate both collections' respective use of Daniel as clarification and expansion of Revelation's apocalyptic imagery. The Morgan Beatus does not have an illustration dedicated to Revelation 13 and the beast from the sea. Neither does Morgan Beatus have any beast hailing from a sea of corrupted Christians, leaving a noticeable gap and creating the possibility of this artist's interpretive focus lying beyond the

[530] Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, 2:68.

purview of Gerona Beatus. Shown in Fig. 7 (New York: Morgan Library, MS M.644 fol. 156v), Morgan Beatus' sole illumination of the Revelation 13 beast is comingled with an illustration of Rev 11:19.

Fig. 7 New York: Morgan Library, MS M.644 fol. 156v

Retaining basic animalistic characteristics, the beast appears in peril at the foot of the temple and the ark. Its head is turned and it stands on its hind legs, perhaps in an attacking or defense position. The temple and ark stand in contrast to the beast, dwarfing its stature in size.

Though the creature does not resemble the Fourth Beast from Fig. 6, two aspects of this illustration stick out: first, the beast's subservience to the temple and ark; second, the echo of this illustration that will appear in later Beatus illuminations. Like Fig. 6 and the monsters beneath the Ancient of Days' throne, Fig. 7 puts this fearsome creature in a place of humility beneath a symbol of divine strength. Further, the anti-Muslim sentiment pervades these images, making it

possible that the ark in the temple symbolizes the primacy of the Christian deity over and against Islamic foes. Here the Christian God quite literally occupies a sacred space, an illustrative move that suggests Christian superiority.[531] This image is the first iteration of combining Revelation 11 and 13 that other artists consult and replicate, a trend that continues throughout the Beatus works.

Illustrators compiled the Las Huelgas Beatus two hundred years after the Gerona and Morgan versions. Like the Gerona Beatus, the presentation of the Las Huelgas Beatus Daniel 2 and 7 puts the Four Beasts and Statue on the same page (New York, Morgan Library, M. 429 f. 35v; see Fig.8).

Fig. 8 New York, Morgan Library, M. 429 f. 35v

[531] Coffey notes the extant anti-Muslim imagery throughout Morgan and Girona, with some allusions subtler than others. See Heather Coffey "Contesting the Eschaton in Medieval Iberia," in *The Prophet's Ascension* (eds. Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby; Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), 104-111.

Neither dream-vision has a dreamer and the statue is faceless. The stone at the statue's feet is made to resemble the mountain it becomes to remove possible ambiguity, while the artist clearly gave the beasts more time and energy as their detail greatly surpasses that of the statue, stone, and mountain. Set again a backdrop of stars to suggest their cosmic origins, each beast is fearsome and grotesque with exaggerated features.

The Las Huelgas illumination of the Beast from the Sea (New York, Morgan Library, M. 429, fol. 100v; see Fig. 9) continues the trend established in Morgan Beatus, as the beast is beneath the ark and the temple (M. 644, fol. 156v). This is clearly affected by the Morgan Beatus image at Fig. 7 and not solely the text, showing that illustrations of biblical texts and the texts themselves have now taken on their own separate histories.

Fig. 9 New York, Morgan Library, M. 429, fol. 100v

Like the Las Huelgas manuscripts, Arroyo Beatus follows the order of Girona and places images of Daniel 2 and 7 before its dissection of Revelation. Fig. 10 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, París, NAL 2290 f. 19r) is the image of the Daniel 2 statue and mountain and Fig. 11

(Bibliothèque nationale de France, París, NAL 2290 f. 18v) is the artistic rendering of Daniel 7's Four Beasts.

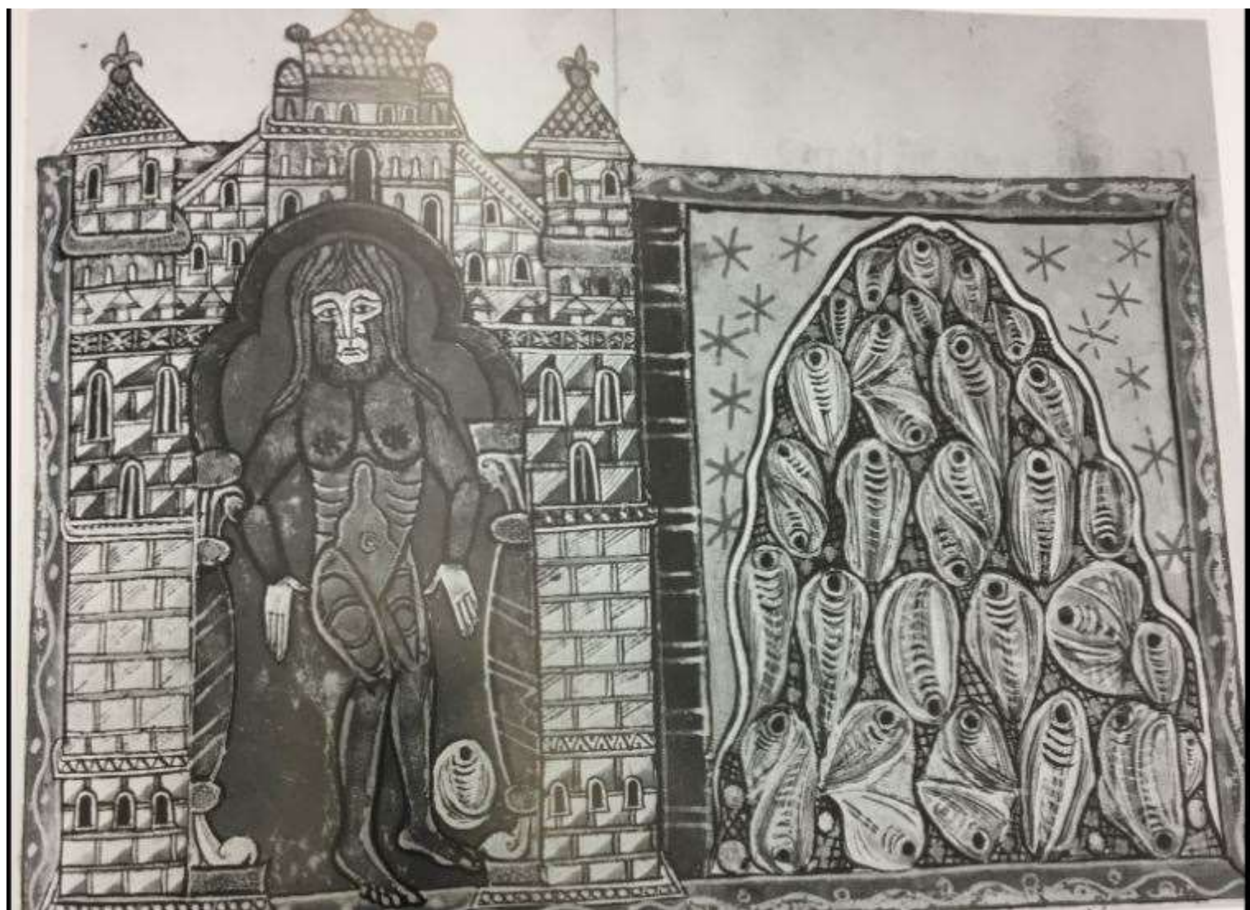

Fig. 10 Bibliothèque nationale de France, París, NAL 2290 fol. 19r

Fig. 11 Bibliothèque nationale de France, París, NAL 2290 fol. 18v

Compared to the Daniel 2 statue from Girona and Morgan Las Huelgas' statue has more detail and the mountain appears to be rocks stacked upon one another. Further, the rock used to destroy the statue resembles one of these rocks, showing that mountain beside the statue is indeed this mountain that grew from said stone.

Arroyo Beatus also includes an illustration of the Beast of the Sea combined with the ark and temple from Revelation 11 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, París, NAL 2290 f.109r; see Fig. 12).

Fig. 12 Bibliothèque nationale de France, París, NAL 2290 f.109r

Figure 10 has two-fold significance. First, it shows later illustrators likely had some kind of access to earlier Beatus collections. Second, it presents a clear example of these illustrations getting their own; interpretation of the biblical text was insufficient. Only after readers and compilers supplied illustrations were these ancient manuscripts truly illuminated. Further, despite the detail and differences in the drawings throughout the Beatus collections, there is a continued apprehension of labeling the Fourth Beast beyond it being Daniel's version of Revelation's Beast

of the Sea or Antichrist. This interpretive move permeates the illustrations and reflects the ahistorical nature Daniel and Revelation by giving them a profound historical flexibility.

Just as the continued reuse of the Beatus manuscripts points to the ongoing interpretation of Daniel's apocalypse, the ninth-century *Apocalypse of Daniel* is an example of Christian imaginative interpretation. Details of authorship, origin, and inception of the *Apocalypse of Daniel* remain unknown and scholars can only speculate beyond what extant manuscripts offer, but it is clear the form identified as the "standard" combines Christian apocalyptic thought with disparate pieces of Jewish apocalyptic worldviews. [532] This *Apocalypse* focuses on a final destructive figure its calls "the Antichrist," echoing primarily Revelation and other later apocalyptic writings. However, chapter nine describes this entity with "his lower teeth will be iron and his lower jaw diamond," and "his right arm will be iron and his left copper."[533] Partially iron teeth and a body made of various precious metals echoes Daniel 2 and 7, while the imagery of indestructible destructive teeth echoes the Fourth Beast. Thus, it seems the compilers use multiple familiar images in an attempt to juggle numerous streams of apocalyptic thought. While the *Apocalypse of Daniel* clearly prioritizes Christian-focused apocalyptic concepts, the text's incorporation of Danielic thought indeed shows the persistence of Fourth Beast lore.

6.3 Christian Consequences from the Twelfth-Century CE to the Doorstep of the Reformation

The close of the eleventh-century marked an era of great change in the relationship between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam in the medieval period. Pope Urban II's 1095 CE call to attack on Jerusalem (all while his safety in Rome was guaranteed) sent seismic shockwaves

[532] G.T. Zervos, "Apocalypse of Daniel," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* vol. 1 (ed. James Charlesworth; Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc.: 1983), 756.
[533] Zervos, "Apocalypse of Daniel," 767-768.

throughout the respective worlds of Abrahamic faith.[534] This declaration of war elevated the Pope beyond mere religious relevance, elevating him into the political realms of Europe's highest offices.[535] This time period also marked a shift in the relationship between Christian and Jews, as each created separate narratives and hermeneutical models to explain the violence and death that tore the region, it people, and their faith traditions asunder.[536]

The earlies forms of Christianity formed under what Robert Chazan calls a "Palestinian-Jewish" matrix, sharing "the widespread Jewish sense of a potent sin-punishment paradigm at work in history."[537] Yet as the groups grew independent, so too did their understanding of both how history unfolds and one another's place in the world. Early Christians believed God's favor shifted from the Israelite related-Jews to the Jesus connected Christians, prompting Christians to interpret Jewish suffering during the First Crusade at the end of the eleventh-century "as irrefutable evidence of divine rejection."[538] As shown by Christian readings of Daniel and Revelation in the twelfth-century and after, it also marked a shift away from eschatological readings toward the hopeful inception of God's kingdom in their time.

With Andrew of St. Victor (1110-1175 CE), the Christian interpretations of Daniel 7 reaches a new landmark. Andrew's work is noteworthy because he engages contemporary Jewish interpreters and eschews immaterial and eschatological readings to favor relating the text to his own time. According to Mark Zier, Andrew sought "to bring the bible 'down to earth," and "to

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[534] Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for the Apocalypse* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2011), 17.
[535] Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 13.
[536] Robert Chazan, *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First-Crusade Narratives* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 139.
[537] Chazan, *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First-Crusade Narratives,* 139.
[538] *Chazan, God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First-Crusade Narratives*, 144.

cast the biblical story into the terms of his own *liber experientiae*."[539] Andrew worked closely with Biblical Hebrew,[540] incorporating a method that shifts Christian biblical interpretation as he sought to move beyond merely replaying steps and readings of Jewish perspectives in favor of a more literal approach.[541] Frans van Liere articulates the importance of Andrew's approach well, saying:

> [Andrew's commentaries] are examples of creative reuse. His commentaries were not just running glosses on the Biblical text; Andrew saw his own commentaries as a critical reworking of and supplement to Jerome, whom he regarded as the greatest literal exegete ever.[542]

In short, Andrew developed an overt appreciation for a particular Christian scholar's work with his own additional academic, textually grounded insights.

His particular historical grounding makes Andrew's reading of the Fourth Beast as imperial Rome more descriptive than prescriptive or prophetic. According to Andrew's reading, the Fourth Beast is presently living and working in his time as Rome.[543] Andrew also makes Daniel 7 the literary fulfillment of the statue from Daniel 2, saying the beast's iron teeth aligns with the statue's iron feet.[544] Further, the appearance of the Ancient of Days after the Fourth

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[539] Emphasis is Zier's; Mark Allen Zier, "The *Expositio super Danielem* of Andrew of St. Victor: A Critical Edition Together with a Survey of the Medieval Latin Interpretation of Daniel" (Ph.D. diss., Toronto University, 1983), 57.
[540] William McKane, *Selected Christian Hebraists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 50.
[541] Frans van Liere, "Andrew of St. Victor, Jerome, and the Jews: Biblical Scholarship in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance" in *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religious Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (ed. Thomas Heffernan and Thomas Burman; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 61.
[542] van Liere, "Andrew of St. Victor, Jerome, and the Jews: Biblical Scholarship in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," 73. Van Liere cites Roger Bacon, *Compendium* (482-483), saying that "Andrew encouraged us to search for the meaning of the Biblical text 'at the roots,' which was a matter of our own critical acuity."
[543] He reads the descriptors of "Atque mirabilis" and "fortis nimis" as applicable to Rome, saying "any of which might fit" the empire. Unless otherwise noted, all citations of Andrew are from the version of his *Expositionem super Danielem* in vol. 53 of *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Medaevalis: Andreae de Sancto Victore Opera* (1986).
[544] "Quanto metallis omnibus ferrum quod ea domat comminuit et conterit durius et fortius tanto romanum ceteris omnibus regnis fortius et potentius fuit; hinc est quod populus ille populus terra marique potens dictus est; hinc est quod in statua quam uidit nabugodonosor per tybias et pedes ferreos significatur etiam in hoc quoque loco dentes ferreos hec bestia que romanum significat regnum habere dictirus quibus omnia comedit et comminuit." See *Expositionem super Danielem*, Daniel 7.

Beast is not eschatological. Rather, it is the continuity of history's unfolding: God enters into history to thwart the Fourth Beast's destructive plans while establishing an earthly kingdom through earthly means for persons God will deem holy.

Andrew's shift away from the anti-Islamic sentiment presented in Beatus manuscripts alongside a return to reading the Fourth Beast as Rome is, within the context of later Christian, unremarkable. Andrew borrows heavily from Jerome because he, like Jerome, sought to work with the primary languages of Hebrew and Aramaic in his interpretation. Andrew worked as best he could with Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts while also engaging French medieval Jewish commentators as interlocutors, including the great eleventh and twelfth-century CE Jewish interpreter Rashi.[545] However, Andrews work with Jewish readings is difficult to navigate because he lacked fastidiousness in citing and attributing his hermeneutical conversation partners. That said, this oversight does not undercut how Andrew, a thoroughly Christian reader, incorporates Jewish compatriots' work as he sought to construct a reading of Daniel that is both true to the text and relevant to his time.

As stated above, Andrew reads the Beast as Rome, as will Franciscan monk Nicholas of Lyra and other Christian interpreters that proceed Andrew. Andrew's religious and literary contexts illuminate his reading and possibly motivations behind the Roman label placed upon the Fourth Beast/Antichrist. Further, his push to read what he considered the Bible's "literal" meaning conflicts with the clear effect of Christian interpretation upon his work. As said above, he borrows heavily from Jewish readers and Jerome, thereby giving his content a range of familiarity with roots in Justin Martyr's second-century CE writings on the Fourth Beast as a false-messianic character. Thus, it is clear that Andrew's historical context has become so

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[545] Zier, "The *Expositio super Danielem* of Andrew of St. Victor: A Critical Edition Together with a Survey of the Medieval Latin Interpretation of Daniel," 68.

entrenched by preceding interpretations that Andrew, in thinking he reads the text literally, repackages earlier work and continues the Christian interpretive thread of reading Daniel's apocalyptic visions with Christ's return in the book of Revelation.

Catholic Saint Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179 CE) provides an interesting case study in biblical interpretation, as a book she wrote, titled *Scivias*, describes her visions of the apocalypse instead of a standard biblical commentary or interpretation. Relying on inherited imagery and symbolism,[546] St. Hildegard claims to have seen a vision accompanied by a disembodied voice from heaven explaining the vision. Like Beatus, St. Hildegard included illustrations with her writing. Fig. 13 is the image paired with her composition (1151/1152 CE; Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS 1, f. 214v)[547]

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[546] Richard Emmerson, "The Representation of Antichrist in Hildegard of Bingen's Scivias: Image, Word, Commentary, and Visionary Experience," *Gesta* 41.2 (2002), 97.
[547] Taken from *Scivias* in *CCCM* 43A.

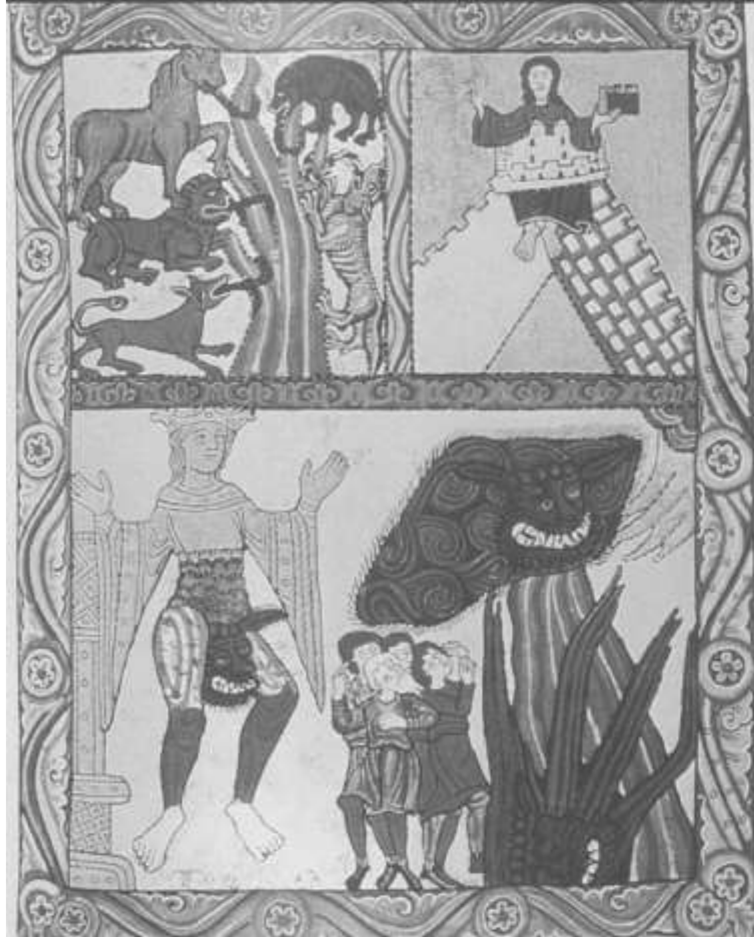

Fig. 13 Wiesbaden, Hessisches Landesbibliothek, MS 1, fol. 214v

According to *Scivias,* she witnesses five differently colored beasts, a fiery dog, yellow lion, pale horse, black pig, and gray wolf, bringing terror upon the earth. The vision continues with other fantastical imagery, including an image of a man that resembles the statue from Daniel 2 with its progression of coloration suggestion different components in its construction. The body represents the Church and, per Richard Emmerson, "[i]n envisioning Antichrist in the form of a demonic head integral to the body of the Church, Hildegard is at her most original and

radical."[548] Hildegard's reworking of the apocalypse and incorporation of elements from both Daniel and Revelation show that she does not simply interpret a text; it depicts as event that, in her illustration, takes on a life of its own.

This work from Hildegard has no need for scriptural grounding, though the imagery is clearly grounded in scriptural imagery. Further, themes of corruption and evil pervade the images, in particular how the church itself carries a great evil within it. The 12th century in which Hildegard wrote and worked is marked by the Second Crusade (1147-1150 CE) and the Church's anti-heretical stance that eventually gave way to the Medieval Inquisition.[549] Further, Hildegard saw the Church as caught in a spiral of dramatic decline and blamed clergy as both negligent and lazy.[550] Thus, understood in this context it is clear that Hildegard saw the Church's primary enemy as the Church itself, losing its way and leading its followers toward utter destruction.

Joachim of Fiore (1135-1202 CE) is a twelfth-century Christian writer and theologian that discusses the Fourth Beast in several places, including a commentary about an unknown prophecy titled *De prophetia ignota* (completed in 1184 CE),[551] *Praephatio Super Apocalypsim* (completed between 1188-1192 CE), and *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (1196-1199 CE). None of these works is a commentary on Daniel; rather, Joachim focuses on Revelation and incorporates Daniel as needed to supplement his interpretation. For example, Joachim cites Daniel and Revelation as prophesying about the same event, the coming of the Antichrist, in the second

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[548] Emmerson, "The Representation of Antichrist in Hildegard of Bingen's Scivias: Image, Word, Commentary, and Visionary Experience," 101.

[549] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades Volume II: The Kingdom of Jerusalem* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143-246.

[550] Jennifer Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011), 28. She once preached: "You ought to be the corners of the Church's strength, holding her up like the corners that sustain the boundaries of the earth. But you are laid low and do not hold up the Church, retreating instead to the cave of your own desire. And because of the tedium brought on by your riches, avarice, and other vain pursuits, you do not properly teach your subordinates…wake up!" See Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, Heresies of the High Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 129.

[551] McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 133.

exposition of his *De prophetia ignota.*[552] Further, he continues this in the *Praephatio Super Apocalypsim*, using Daniel 7 and the Four Beasts to provide hermeneutical background to his reading of Revelation 4:6. He argues that the four creatures are best understood as the four beasts from Daniel, acting as cohorts of the kings at work in John's Apocalypse.[553] Continued use of Daniel,[554] along with other scriptural texts including Ezekiel,[555] Job,[556] Ecclesiastes,[557] and Exodus,[558] shows that Joachim chooses to use scripture in interpreting Revelation to contextualize John's apocalypse within a broader biblical backdrop.

His combined reading of Daniel and Revelation presents the beast as some form of the ancient Babylonian Empire and the final horn as the Antichrist, but he withholds giving the Antichrist a specific historical label. He does, however, say that the Antichrist was presently alive and active in Rome during his lifetime.[559] Joachim addresses his lack of specificity about Babylon and the Antichrist by side-stepping the issue: "I think you understand that I know which Babylon this is…who the king of Babylon is; but I prefer in the meantime merely to mention them, rather than give an explanation."[560] An imminent return of Christ preceded by the rise of

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[552] Taken from, version in Matthias Kaup, *De prophetia ignota* (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998), 192: Sed ante hanc imminuationem Rome ea, que futura sunt, occasione facta dies Domini in proximo declarabit. Et quia necesse ets, ut Antichristus veniat, antequam apparet dies Domini magna, ideo necesse est ut tyrannides Antichristum precedant, testante hoc Daniele et Iohanne in Apocalipsi, quorum primus inter cetera angelo revelante audivit: Bestia quarta quartum regnum erit in mundo et destruet universam terram et comminuet eam. Porro decem cornua, que vidisti in bestia, decem reges ipsius.

[553] In Latin, "Iste sunt quatuor spirituales regis austri cohortes, contra quas rex aquilonis bestias nimis sevas direxit leonam scilicet, ursum et pardum et aliam cuius effigiem Daniel non expressit" (lines 373-375). Taken from the manuscript available in Kurt-Victor Selge, "Eine Einführung Joachims von Fiore in die Johannesapokalypse" in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 118.

[554] It seems Joachim is using a combination of θ and OG Daniel as his source, as his quotation of 7:23-25 contains elements of both Greek versions.

[555] Line 86.

[556] Line 278.

[557] Line 251.

[558] Line 259.

[559] Marjorie Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (United Kingdom: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 136-165.

[560] Joachim of Fiore, "Commentary on an Unknown Prophecy," in McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 133.

the final Antichrist[561] defined Joachim's hermeneutical and theological perspective as he grounded his work "in a new and arguably unassailable prophetic methodology," known as a "'total concordance' between the Old and New Testaments."[562]

Thus, for Joachim, reading Daniel alongside Revelation was built into the divine structure behind scripture and its function in Christian communities.[563] The cyclical nature of reading the two texts also reflects Joachim's understanding of his surrounding history, as he reads the beast rising again from the abyss in Rev 17:8 as symbolizing that Islam will be defeated only to rise again.[564] Joachim's focus on Islam was largely ignored by Franciscan exegetes through 1290 CE,[565] but anti-Muslim sentiment regains traction following the Mamluk state's success at the 1291 CE Siege of Acre in the Seventh Crusade of Louis IX of France.[566]

Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1349 CE) is widely recognized as the moist accomplished Christian Hebraist since Jerome, his mastery of the language unsurpassed by Christians until the 16th century.[567] He engages Jewish exegesis from ancient rabbis up through his contemporaries,

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561 Folklore and mythology preceding Joachim spoke of many "antichrists" but only one final "Antichrist" on the basis of 1 John 2:18. Joachim's work is unique in that he lobbies extensively for a timeline and acceptance of the final, capital "A" Antichrist. See Robert Lerner, "Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore," in *Speculum* 60.3 (July 1985): 553-570.

562 Lerner, "Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore," in *Speculum* 60.3 (July 1985): 555.

563 Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future*, 5. Reeves expands on this, saying that to Joachim, reading the Old Testament in conjunction with the New Testament was logical: "Just as, in the understanding of the individual mind, from meditation on the Letter of the Old and New Testaments there proceeded one Spiritual Intelligence which gathered all truth into one comprehension, so in the history of mankind, from the work of God the Father and God the, there must proceed the work of God the Holy Spirit."

564 David Burr, "Antichrist and Islam in Medieval Franciscan Exegesis" in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (ed. John Tolan; United Kingdom: Routledge, 2000), 134.

565 Burr, "Antichrist and Islam in Medieval Franciscan Exegesis," 134.

566 Reuven Amitai, "Mamluk Sultanate," pages 548-558 in *Conflict and Conquest in the Islamic World: A Historical Encyclopedia* (edited by Alexander Mikaberidze, ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2011). See also David Nicolle, *Acre 1291: Bloody Sunset of the Crusader States* (United Kingdom: Osprey Publishing, 2005).

567 Despite the widespread knowledge, both geographically and generationally, of Nicholas' prolific Hebrew linguistic skills, how he obtained such knowledge remains unknown. See Deeana Copeland Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 1-12.

including the great Rashi.[568] Like Rashi, Nicholas favored the *peshat* method, meaning he sought the plain or literal meaning of a text against the applied, homiletic, or interpretive *derash* sense.[569] Further, similar to Andrew of St. Victor, Nicholas employed a literal interpretive method, working closely with the text. Nicholas employs this literal approach while following the work and method of St. Thomas Aquinas, quoting him often.[570]

Nicholas' reading of the Fourth Beast's identity is swift and direct: "Bestia qaurta. Romanu Imperium," meaning "The Fourth Beast. The Roman Empire."[571] He reads this Fourth Beast as the current iteration of the Roman Empire and not any ancient imperial force, as his interpretation reflects the particular socio-historical and ecclesiastical context of the fourteenth-century. According to Philip Krey, Nicholas' time as a high official was the Franciscan Order's most traumatic era: "Nicholas' career as a Franciscan was intertwined with the lengthy controversy between the papacy and the Order over poverty and Franciscan Apocalyptic theology."[572] The Pope felt threatened by the Order's autonomy and responded with an attempt at greater papal oversight, spurring contentions and disputes between the Order and papacy that defined this period of the church's existence.[573]

Beyond the Church, the Roman Empire also faced challenges as the once great empire slowly dwindled into a shell of its former self.[574] Nicholas' interpretation of Daniel bears the tensions of both the Church and the Empire during the thirteen and fourteenth centuries. Both

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[568] Philip Krey, "Introduction" in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture* (eds. Philip Krey and Lesley Smith; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1.
[569] See Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers,* 150 n.65.
[570] Philip Krey, "The Law and the Jews in Nicholas of Lyra's Romans Commentary of 1329,'' pages 251-266 in Krey and Smith, *Nicholas of Lyra*.
[571] Nicholas of Lyra, "Daniel" in *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria,* vol. 4 (Venice, 1603), 1579. All translations attributed to Lyra's work with Daniel in the *Glossa* are the author's.
[572] Krey, "Introduction" in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, 2.
[573] Krey, "Introduction" in *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, 5.
[574] Justo Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity Volume I: The Early Church to the Dawn of the Reformation* (New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishers, 1984), 324-337.

scrambled for power in an attempt to recover lost glory, and both fought over proper leadership while suffering from the mistakes of previous leaders. His discussion of the preceding three beasts reflects this as it focuses on the division of Alexander's kingdom following Alexander's death. Nicholas assigns a kingdom to each beast: Egypt first, then Syria, followed by Asia, and finally Greece.[575] As the work continues, Nicholas cites the language of "most terrible" and "more terrifying," followed by a reversion to traditional readings of the Fourth Beast as the collective Roman Empire. Nicholas reiterates his reading with commentary on Dan 7:23, simply saying the Fourth Beast is, "the Roman Empire, as was explained above."[576]

Nicholas offers a unique turn on the traditional "Fourth Beast as the Roman Empire" interpretation because he ties the respective current turmoil and possible fates of the Roman Empire and Church together, creating a hermeneutical symbiotic relationship in which the sufferings and faults of one affects the other. This metaphoric but historically grounded perspective sets the stage for his reading of Revelation 13 in which he works with meticulous detail to present Islam as a persistent threat. Further, he reads the entire book of Revelation as foretelling the coming Antichrist. Nicholas labels Muhammad as "false prophet" and labors under metaphors and allegories to tie Muhammad into Revelation as the pre-eminent threat to Christianity,[577] one that will arise alongside the downfall of the Roman empire.[578]

Nicholas' presentation of each beast as one arm of the post-Alexander Roman dissemination unites each part into a well-rounded whole. Perhaps what is most remarkable

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[575] Nicholas of Lyra, "Daniel" in *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria,* vol. 4 (Venice, 1603), 1577-1579.
[576] Nicholas of Lyra, "Daniel" in *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria,* vol. 4 (Venice, 1603), 1585. Also worth noting that like his succinct reading of the Fourth Beast as the Roman Empire, he reads the final horn described by the interpreter to Daniel as the Antichrist (Et de cornu illo: Antichristo).
[577] Nicholas of Lyra, "Apocalypsis" in *Bibliorum Sacrorum cum Glossa Ordinaria,* vol. 6 (Venice, 1603), 1585-1598.
[578] Corrine Patton, "From Andrew of St. Victor of Nicholas of Lyra," *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture* (eds. Philip Krey and Lesley Smith; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 79.

about Lyra's work is the apparent lack of traction it has with later writers, scholars, and theologians. Mindful of this and despite Nicholas' pedigree and breadth of academic and ecclesial experience, the void between Nicholas' work and other Christian reader only becomes more pronounced when compared to additional interpreters. Mindful of his reading of Revelation, it seems Nicholas uses Daniel 7 as an explanation for the weakening and misguided leadership that leads to the coming Antichrist of John's Apocalypse: the Antichrist will rise and claim to be the Messiah as a direct result of tumult and a void of leadership.[579]

Friar St. Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419 CE) worked and wrote within the fallout from Catholic Western Schism of the fourteenth-century.[580] Relationships between religious and political practices came to light following the fourteenth century schism as Catholic Church split into three pieces, with each declaring itself to have the real and true Pope. War and violence escalated as the three divisions vied for control, leaving Christian leaders and laypersons confused and listless. Thus, it is reasonable for someone, especially a devoted friar like Vincent, to reconsider biblical texts calling for the arrival of a destructive figure bent on building a new order upon the ashes of the old.

Vincent compiled his most significant work in the fifteenth century against the backdrop of these continued power shifts in both the Catholic church and the Roman Empire.[581] Apocalypticism was the "bedrock" of his thinking, preaching, and writing for many decades,[582] and one of his earliest works, *Tractatus de moderno ecclesie scismate*, interweaves the apocalypse, Daniel, the Four Beasts, the Antichrist, and the Catholic Western Schism into a narrative harbinger. Vincent wrote the *Tractatus* in 1380 CE and in it he aligns the four beasts as

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[579] Patton, "From Andrew of St. Victor of Nicholas of Lyra," 79.
[580] McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 253-255.
[581] Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity Volume I,* 342-346.
[582] Philip Daileader, *Saint Vincent Ferrer, His World, and Life* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 2.

papal schisms, labeling the Fourth Beast the fourteenth century schism thereby making the ecclesial calamities of Vincent's time a final movement toward the Antichrist's arrival.

Written in 1412 CE to Pope Benedict XIII, Vincent's "The Report on the Antichrist," expands on his reading of Daniel 7 and uses Revelation as an entry for discussing Daniel. He equates Rev 20:1 with Daniel and "the ten horns of the fourth beast,"[583] but incorrectly marks Daniel 8 as the scripture citation. [584] Vincent identifies the Fourth Beast as the Roman empire, argues the ten horns are extensions of the empire, then assigns each horn with one of ten schisms leading him to predict the imminent coming of the Antichrist. He writes this "Report" under the blessing of and to "Papa Benedictio," or Pope Benedict XIII and makes the work of Benedict XIII the tenth schism, but he does not blame the papal figure.[585] Rather, since Vincent was Benedict XIII's confessor, he lauds the situation as an opportunity for God's eschatological intersection. His shift toward identifying the Fourth Beast's ten horns with schisms also comes with what Vincent deems to be the culprits responsible for said schism.[586] Vincent's ardent support of Benedict XIII as the one true Pope and leader of the Christian faith is clear as his labels and associations of the ten horns are grounded in generalized ethnic identities, making him a polarizing figure both then and now.[587]

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[583] Citations of Ferrer's "Report on the Antichrist" are translated from the text in P. Sigismund Brettle, *San Vicente Ferrer und sein literarischer Nachlass* (Germany: Druck von Aschendorff, 1924)

[584] Ferrer, "The Report on the Antichrist" in *San Vicente Ferrer*, 170: "Tertio: ... per revelationem factam Danieli Prophetae de decem cornibus quartae bestiae...octavo capite."

[585] Ferrer, "The Report on the Antichrist" in *San Vicente Ferrer*, 171.The timeframe in which Ferrer writers overlaps with the break between the cardinals of Avignon obedience with Pope Benedict XIII in 1398

[586] 1. Followers Prester John; 2. Orientals under some tyrant or other; 3. Africans under Muhammad (likely Muslims and their Christian sympathizers) 4. Greeks under the emperor of Constantinople; 5. Armenians under their king; 6. Georgians under a false prophet; 7. "Christians of the Belt" (eastern Christians) under a false prophet; 8. Italians under Bartholomeo of Bari (Bartholomeo Prignano, or Urban VI); 9. the French under Petros Philargis (Alexander V, elected as pope at the Council of Pisa in 1409); and 10. Spanish under Benedict XIII, "the true vicar of Christ." Taken from Ferrer, "The Report on the Antichrist" in *San Vicente Ferrer*, 170-172.

[587] Benedict XIII was grateful for Vincent's support, going as far as to burn records that could possibly indict or incriminate Vincent on theological and/or doctrinal grounds.

Vincent continues the trend set by Christian interpreters dating back to the fourth and fifth-centuries CE with Jerome, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Theodoret of Cyrus as he shifts toward imperial, modern-day Rome as the primary adversarial figure in place of Islamic military forces or an ancient, metaphoric Babylon. He also incorporates elements found in the works of Andrew of St. Victor, and Nicholas of Lyra in that Vincent's understanding of the coming apocalypse shows a distrust of secular imperial forces while articulating his anger about the Catholic Church's allowing Roman influence to create church-wide discord. Though his reading echoes other preceding Christian voices, Vincent's apocalyptic worldview is worth noting given his impassioned support of Catholicism and Pope Benedict XIII. His perspective is profoundly Catholic as he makes the inner workings and shape of Catholicism the hinge upon which the apocalypse occurs.

6.4 Christian Consequences of the Reformation

Biblical scholarship and hermeneutical worlds expanded beyond the limits of Catholic doctrine and philosophical inquiry, moving into the broader general public through pastors, deacons, and lay persons engaging the texts alongside traditional (for the time) scholars, writers, and linguists. Early protestant leaders like Martin Luther and John Calvin wrote pieces that have come to define the advent of Protestantism era following the turmoil weakened Catholic Church in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-centuries. However, as time passed and modernity took hold, other, less prominent exegetes took it upon themselves to interpret the entirety of scripture. Mindful of the proliferation of interpretations, it is difficult, if not impossible, to engage every reading of Daniel 7 during these centuries. Thus, this dissertation focuses on works scholars

continue to engage, respond to, and cite, both in the current era and the eras in which they were written.

Philip Melanchthon wrote *Der Prophet Daniel: Mit einer Vorrede an Kurfürsten zu Sachssen* (1543), a worthy addition to the Daniel Christian interpretation corpus. Unlike Nikolaus Selnecker[588], Melanchthon does not attempt to blend pre-advent of Christ readings with modern concerns; to him, Daniel only focuses on events preceding Christ to instill hope in generations past.[589] However, like Selnecker, Melanchthon attributes all earthly power to God and said earthly power must protect God's church from corruption.[590] Melanchthon empowers God's human followers and, in turn, creates a unique sense of divine-human relations. God remains in control but humanity suffers from its own choices; God does not bring evil or destruction, but God is capable of saving humanity as shown through Revelation's conclusion.

Martin Luther (1483-1546 CE) and his reformist colleagues were apprehensive of the apocalyptic visions in Daniel 7-12 and Apocalypse of John, but unfolding historical events prompted a reconsideration of eschatological theological concerns.[591] Further, Luther's interest in Daniel comes from Melanchthon and his relating passages in Daniel to the military advancement of Turkish armies (WA-DB 11/2: XXXI). Luther, in particular, believed prophetic fulfillments were occurring readily. The advance of Ottoman Turks toward Vienna in 1529 CE

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[588] Backus, "The Beast: Interpretations of Daniel 7.2-9 and Apocalypse 13.1-4 in Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinist Circles in the Late Sixteenth Century," 65.
[589] Cited vol. XIII of *Corpus Reformatorum*: *Opera Philippi Melanchthonis quae supersunt omnia* (ed. K.G. Bretschneider and E. Bindseil; Brunswick: C.A. Schwetschke, 1834-60). Hereafter: CR 13.: quod postremis temporibus futurum erat. Ideo enim haec visio exhibita est, ut significaretur tempus adventus Christi, ne propter moram et propter afflictiones pii desperarent de promissis." He continues: "monent etiam nos de futuris periculis, ut observemus, qualis sit Antichristus, ne incauti assentiamur belligerantibus cum vera Ecclesia, nec propter sandala deficiamus a fide."
[590] This is also underlined by his insistence on attributing Daniel as the receiver of a vision from God, making clear that God, and not Daniel, is the vision's source. See *Commentaire de Philippe Melanchton sur le livre des révélations du prophète Daniel*, 125: "pour certain que ceste doctrine dont Daniel a faict prosession…"
[591] Winfried Vogel, "The Eschatological Theology of Martin Luther – Part II: Luther's Exposition of Daniel and Revelation," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 25.2 (Summer 1987): 183-185.

under Suleiman the Magnificent prompted Luther to translate Daniel with hopes of gaining insight regarding the surrounding political upheaval, because he believed his generation was the toes of the statue in Daniel 2.[592]

Luther creates metaphoric layers with his reading of Daniel 7, saying each animal represents a kingdom along the traditional line: Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome, respectively (WA 11/2:6). Jerome's commentary influences Luther's understanding of the four beasts as these four kingdoms, following a traditional line of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome, but Luther adds interpretative nuance by reading the little horn atop the Fourth Beast as both the voracious Turkish Empire and the Pope (WA 11/2: 6-14). Luther uses Daniel 7 as a way to relate persons and things causing him ill, including the Pope, individual Turkish persons, and the Antichrist in the same conversation (WA 3: 645, 646, no. 3831.). The Fourth Beast becomes a means for Luther to justify grievances with oppositional forces, and, in turn, relate them to an age-old enemy: uncontrollable chaotic evil.

Luther's interpretation of the Antichrist is direct: the Pope is the Antichrist (WA 7:722 and 7:744).[593] He saw the Catholic leader as tyrannical and bent on changing that laws and rules that Jesus himself established, saying the Pope is the ruler from Dan 11:36-37 that will "exalt himself and magnify himself above every god."[594] This unambiguous identification prompts some scholars to make Luther's view of the Pope as the Antichrist the cornerstone of not just

[592] According to Vogel and other sources, Luther finished translating Daniel and increased his work with the book in 1529. See Vogel, "The Eschatological Theology of Martin Luther – Part II: Luther's Exposition of Daniel and Revelation," 184-185.
[593] Luther reads the description at Dan 8:23-25 and the little horn of Daniel 7 as pointing toward the Pope and the office of the papacy in general.
[594] *Luther's Works (LW)*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmutt T. Lehman (55 vols. St. Louis: Concordia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955-1986), 10:114; 18:120; 41:198; 35:106-107.

Luther's thinking but of Protestantism itself.[595] German ideals of victory and superiority saturate Luther's interpretation: he proffers the German people as the saints that the Fourth Beast, the Antichrist, futilely tries to deceive and capture (WA 11/2:12). Luther also believes that Daniel's scriptural succession of empires implies that Germany will survive and become God's protected and chosen society (WA-DB 11/2:12). He takes his reading of Daniel and Revelation further, saying that Daniel exists as a panacea designed to soothe and inspire Christians (WA-Br 5:242).

To Luther, Daniel has no positive connections to Judaism as it exists only as lens of clarification for the book of Revelation and the return of Christ. Luther reads Daniel through many New Testament writings, including the gospel of Matthew, specifically Matt 24:15, saying the pope is the "abomination of desolation" Daniel describes in Dan 9:27 and 12:11. He continues:

> The pope is a god on earth over everything heavenly, earthly, spiritual, and secular and all on his own. No one is permitted to say to him: "What are you doing?" This is the abomination and stench of which Christ speaks in Matthew 24.[596]

Here Luther carves out a unique path, one that would eventually fall under the label of Protestant Christian, as his reading is profoundly Christian with a staunchly anti-Papal orientation.

Luther also reads Daniel into 1 Peter, saying "St. Peter has Daniel especially in mind when he says, in 1 Peter 1:11, 'The prophets searched what time and what manner of time the Spirit of Christ signifies, etc.'[597] Luther goes further, describing Daniel as "above all other prophets" because "his work was not only to prophesy of Christ, like the others, but also to

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[595] *LW* 13:342; 28:119, 131; 35:314, 387; 39:191; 20:192. See also Dennis Pettibone, "Martin Luther's Views on the Antichrist," *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 18.1 (Spring 2007): 81-100. See also Philip Cary, *Luther: Gospel, Law, and Reformation* (2 vols. Chantilly: The Teaching Company, 2004), 1:155.
[596] *LW* 31:393.
[597] WA-DB 11.2.130.

count the times and years, determine them, and fix them with certainty."[598] Daniel becomes a window through which Luther sees history unfold toward Christ's culmination:

> Daniel prophesies boldly and determines plainly that the coming of Christ and the beginning of His kingdom (that is, His baptism and preaching) is to happen five hundred and ten years after King Cyrus (Daniel 9), and the empire of the Persians and Greeks is to be at an end, and the Roman Empire in force (Daniel 7,9), that Christ, therefore, must certainly come at the time of the Roman Empire, when it was in its best state, and that it was to destroy Jerusalem and the Temple, since after it no other empire was to come, but the end of the world was to follow, as Daniel clearly announces in Daniel 2 and 7.[599]

Tracing Christ through the book of Daniel that, when paired with his work on Revelation, shows an evolution in Luther's thought and interpretation of these Apocalyptic texts. One need only read Luther's two prefaces to Revelation, one written in 1522 CE and another in 1546 CE, to see this evolution.

First, the 1522 preface has significantly less content than the 1546 update. The 1522 version is only one page in the WA-DB collection, while the 1546 iteration is fourteen pages total.[600] It is likely the influx of Turk armies prompted Luther's return to Revelation, another example of history affecting interpretation. Second, he opens the 1522 preface by saying "I leave everyone free to hold his own opinions. I would not have anyone bound to my opinion or judgment."[601] Conversely, his 1546 preface is defined by his desire to find "an immutable interpretation" (WA-DB 7:408, line 30). Moving from a flexible and egalitarian hermeneutical approach to a rigid and certain method reflects what Vogel describes as Luther's two-pronged hermeneutical principle: first, Luther lets Scripture in interpret itself; then, he compares John's history with church and world history to find parallels.[602] For example, Luther reads and assigns

598 WA-DB 11.2.124-126.
599 WA-DB 11.2:126.
600 WA-DB 7:404; WA-DB 7:406-420.
601 WA-DB 7: 404.
602 Vogel, "The Eschatological Theology of Martin Luther – Part II: Luther's Exposition of Daniel and Revelation," 191.

current historical labels upon the seven trumpets of Rev 9 through 11,[603] a move that builds to the beast Rev 13.

Luther's interpretation of the two beasts of Rev 13 connects with his Daniel interpretation, as he reads papal influence over the secular world with the transition of Roman power to German control.[604] Now, per Luther, "the papacy has become a worldly kingdom, and with the fate of the name of Christ, the Pope has the entire Roman Empire."[605] Hans-Ulrich Hofmann astutely illuminates the connection between this reading and Luther's interpretation of the Fourth Beast from Dan 7, as it resolves potential confusion over the fourth kingdom's existing the end of the world.[606] The passage of Luther that Hofmann discusses is WA-DB 11.2, page 126 lines 25-28. Here Luther writes that Rome is the strongest kingdom because it is the last kingdom, and it will not cease to exist until "the world's end." Luther's hermeneutical expertise is remarkable as he is able to bridge the gap between Daniel and Revelation, saying that the power the Pope wields is indeed an ancient evil power, one that Daniel saw persisting and John will see come to an end.

When paired with his theological motives, Luther's focus on Germany creates a narrow and highly jingoist eschatology. Further, according to Luther's reading, German supremacy becomes the unavoidable culmination of history; kingdoms rose and fell to make way for what Luther considers to be destined German prosperity. Luther is clearly limited by his time and space, and his Germano-centric horizon of expectation overwhelms his hermeneutical outlook. However, by making the Fourth Beast his particular set of enemies, Luther continues the

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[603] WA-DB 7:410-412.
[604] WA-DB 7:414.
[605] WB-DB 7:414, lines 4-6.
[606] Hans-Ulrich Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse* (Tubingen, 1982),

historical and literary trend of self-amelioration by painting himself and his people as God's eventual victors.

Immediate consequences of Luther and his work are predictively polarizing: labeling the Pope—an individual whom many considered to be humanity's best connection to God—as the Antichrist warrants particular responses. For example, twelve years after Luther published his "95 Theses," German humanist Johannes Cochlaeus wrote a pamphlet against Luther in 1529 in Latin, entitled *Septiceps Lutherus : ubiq[ue] sibi, suis scriptis, co[n]trari[us], in visitatione[m] Saxonica[m]*[607] and translated into German as *Sieben Kopffe Martin Luthers, von acht hohen sachen des Christlichen glaubens*,[608] that is, "Seven Heads of Luther, Eight High Things of the Christian Faith." For this publication, Hans Brosamer made a woodcut depicting Luther as the seven-headed beast of Revelation 12-13, that is, the fourth beast of Daniel 7 (Fig. 14).[609]

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[607] Johannes Cochlaeus (Lypsiae: Impressit Valentinus Schuman[n], 1529).
[608] Johannes Cochlaeus (Dresden: Stöckel, 1529).
[609] Joseph Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 116.

Fig. 14 Woodcut from *Septiceps Lutherus : ubiq[ue] sibi, suis scriptis, co[n]trari[us], in visitatione[m] Saxonica[m]*

Brosamer makes Luther into the seven-beast of Revelation 13 and each head bears a different label: Doctor, Martinus, Luther, Clergyman, Enthusiast, Visitor, and Barabbas. Luther is thus presented a hydra-headed adversary that bears the trappings of a trusted leader destined to doom

the Christian church. Brosamer takes the practice of making the apocalyptic beast fit into history contexts and cements it by labeling one individual as the apocalyptic portent.

The response Brosamer's woodcut is a work titled "The Seven Headed Papal Beast" (Fig. 15).[610]

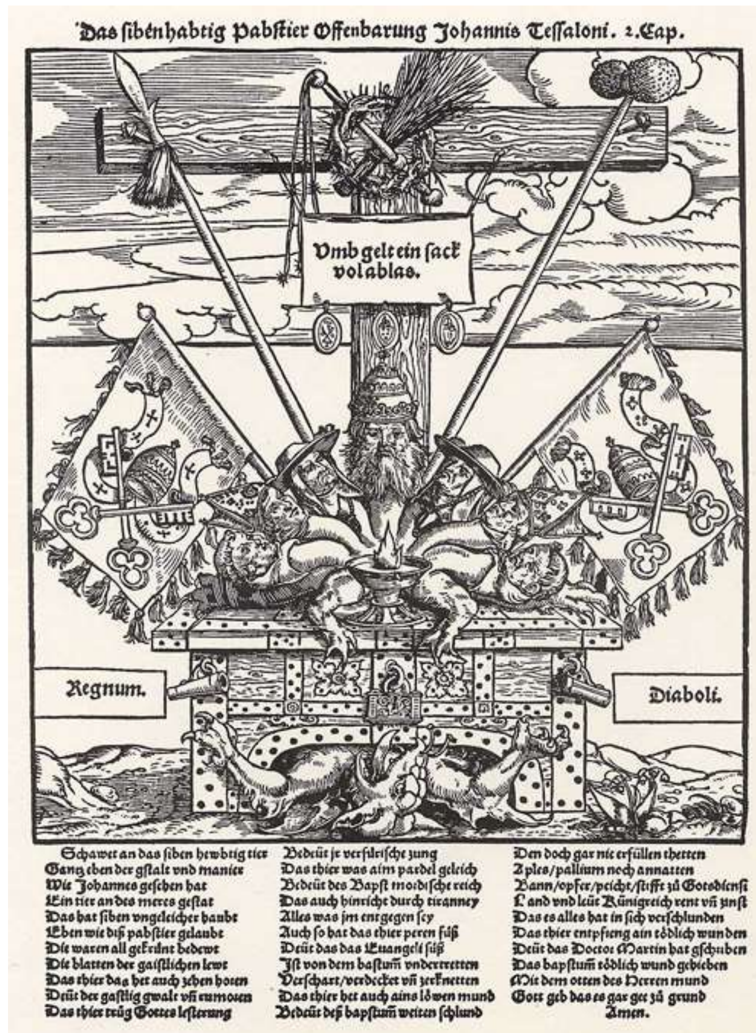

Fig. 15 Anonymous woodcut, "The Seven Headed Papal Beast"

This anonymous piece features the cross overladen with a sign that reads, "A sack full of Indulgences for cash," a direct jab at the contentious sixteenth century indulgences practice. Both

[610] Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 116.

the anonymous response and Brosamer's woodcut parody previously popular image of the Mass of St. Gregory published in 1476 CE, with the Protestant response mirroring the original so well that a casual viewer may confuse the satirical take for the 1476 CE original.[611] This interplay between the source, its anti-Luther recreation, and protestant pro-Luther response is but one example of interpretations and consequences that arose following the proliferation of printed media.[612] Interpretation of source material, which here is a woodcut unrelated to Revelation, Daniel, or the antichrist, is continually affected by history and interpretation.

John Calvin (1509-1564 CE) avoids writing a commentary on Revelation and focuses "considerable effort interpreting Daniel, particularly chapters two and seven."[613] He gave a series of lectures on the interpretation of Daniel in 1561, focusing on presenting Daniel as "both an exemplary man of faith and prophet revealing God's word and plan for the future."[614] Calvin dissects Daniel chapter-by-chapter, verse-by-verse, mindful of detail and with care in volumes XL and XLI of *Joannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia* (CO).

He receives the trend of reading Daniel's four beasts as four empires and engages Daniel 7 with confidence and clarity, until he reaches the Fourth Beast as he writes, "This Fourth Monarchy is more difficult" compared to the preceding three (CO XLI 7.7).[615] He briefly discusses selected explanations, including reading the Fourth Best as Rome, the Pope, and what he calls "the Turkish kingdom" (CO XLI 7.7). In his 1561 lectures, he reads Daniel as *ex eventu prophecy* and limits his interpretative historical paradigm to the first century CE until his era,

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[611] Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 116-117.
[612] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
[613] W. Stanford Reid, "The Four Monarchies of Daniel in Reformation Historiography," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 8.1 (Spring 1981): 115
[614] Barbara Pitkin. "Prophecy and History in Calvin's Lectures on Daniel," in Katharina Bracht, *Die Geschichte der Daniel-Auslegung in Judentum, Christentum und Islam* (Germany: De Gruyter, 2007), 324.
[615] Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

arguing that Daniel 2 and 7 "represent kingdoms and situations that are long past."[616] Calvin may be talking about Martin Luther with the reference to the Fourth Beast as the Pope and the Turkish kingdom, but his indirect approach absolves him from openly opposing Luther.[617]

Calvin resolves possible tensions with Luther using a precise argument surrounding the interpretation of the Fourth Beast that acknowledges "these things are spoken allegorically" so that God could create "a kind of living image" (CO XLI 7.7). Despite Calvin's initial criticisms of associating the Fourth Beast with only the Roman Empire, he states, "I do not doubt that the prophet is shown the figure of the Roman Empire" (CO XLI 7.7).[618] He incorporates greater interpretive flexibility with his assessment of the horns, saying "I do not doubt that *the little horn* can be understood as Julius Caesar and the others after him, namely, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and others" (CO XLI 7.8). The small horn indeed symbolizes Caesar, but any specific Caesar, just as the Fourth Beast symbolizes Rome without being restrained to a particular era.

Calvin's accompanying theological analysis pairs his flexible certainty about the Fourth Beast's identity with a dissenting perspective on the coming apocalypse: its advent is soon but it will not occur in his lifetime.[619] The Roman Empire is, to Calvin, cruel and destructive and it indeed did collapse because of its leaders and their behavior, symbolized in Daniel 2 by mixture of iron and clay. However, the difference here is that Calvin interprets Rome's decline as an appropriate conclusion to their misguided political machinations and not due to divine intervention. He then argues that God revealed this prophecy to Daniel to offer solace to both Daniel and the book's Christian audience: the persecution they endure comes from the clash of

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[616] Pitkin. "Prophecy and History in Calvin's Lectures on Daniel," 325.
[617] Reid, "The Four Monarchies of Daniel in Reformation Historiography,"117.
[618] Unless otherwise noted, translations are the author's.
[619] Reid, "The Four Monarchies of Daniel in Reformation Historiography," 118.

belief and ideology between Christ's kingdom and the world's kingdoms (CO XLI 7.23). In short, suffering is merely part of history's unfolding that will end with the arrival of God's kingdom.

Calvin's dissension is a bold shift away from the specific labeling of the Fourth Beast with a current Christian adversary like Beatus with Islam, Martin Luther with the Pope, and other Christian readings. Per his annotations in the Geneva Bible, Calvin argues that Rome's judgment began with their crucifixion of Christ and will continue until its final demise.[620] Herein lies the additional layer Calvin brings to the Reformation perspectives: his interpretation of the Daniel text itself resembles preceding Christian perspectives, like Hippolytus, Ephrem the Syrian, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Nicholas of Lyra. Further, he reads the Son of Man from Daniel 7 as direct reference to Christ.[621] Calvin accepts the allegorical relationship between the iron-and-clay feet of Daniel 2, the Fourth Beast of Daniel 7, and the Roman Empire, but his nuances come from his interpretation of the seemingly unshakable interpretations.

Calvin agrees the Fourth Beast is the Roman Empire but asks the question: what does it mean for it to symbolize the Roman Empire? He agrees that both Daniel 2 and 7 share images and themes to illuminate present realities but considers how these images echo Christian apocalyptic thought. His 1561 lectures supplement his reading of Daniel 2 and 7. Unlike Christian readers desperately seeking to place the Antichrist in Daniel, Calvin outright rejects reading the Antichrist into any part of Daniel as he reads Daniel 8 and 11. He emphasizes this point, reiterating that Daniel only discusses "things as if they had already been fulfilled" (Lec. 42.120). Barbara Pitkin's assessment of Calvin's reading of Dan 8:17 is an excellent summary of the reformers reading of Daniel and his fellow Christian exegetes, saying that Calvin "avoids

[620] Facsimile of *The Geneva Bible* (ed. L.E. Berry; Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 357 f., 361.
[621] Pitkin, "Prophecy and History in Calvin's Lectures on Daniel," 325.

elevating this historical crisis to the eschatological level by downplaying the apocalyptic overtones…"[622]

Swiss reformer, and successor of Ulrich Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575) had a passion for Daniel, writing a commentary on Daniel 7 and sixty-six sermons on the entire book of Daniel.[623] He also wrote a commentary titled *De Hebdomadis, quae apud Danielem sunt, opusculum* and dated to 1530 CE.[624] The cohesiveness of these works separate Bullinger from his compatriots and preceding interpreters, displaying what Backus calls "a perfect continuity" between Daniel and Revelation, grounded in an apolitical reading focused on "the historical and eschatological implications of the two books."[625] Bullinger read identity of the fourth beast as clearly the Roman empire, as both the beast and Rome are "terrible and horrible."[626] He argues the empire's reach is almost inescapable, claiming that nations that did not see Rome still experienced fallout from its cruelty and greed.

Bullinger's work with Daniel 7 reflects preceding Christian traditions, starting with the first Beast as Babylon and ending with the fourth as Rome. Unlike Christian readings that attempt flattery by finding redeeming qualities in the empire, Bullinger sees Rome as terrible in every facet.[627] His insistence on the Fourth Beast as Rome, despite the changing tides of history, creates a bridge between the areligious Empire of Alexander the Great and his predecessors and

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[622] Pitkin, "Prophecy and History in Calvin's Lectures on Daniel," 339.
[623] References to Bullinger's sermons come from *Daniel sapientissimus Dei propheta, qui a vetustis polyhistor, id est musltiscius est dictus, expositus homilus 66 quibus in ecclesia docentibus commonstratui* (Heinrycho Bullingero, Tigurinae ecclesiae ministro. Zurich C Froschauer, 1565) and *In Apocalysim Iesu Christi, reuelatam quidem per angelum Domini, uisam uerò uel Exceptam Atque Conscriptam* (London, 1557)
[624] Daniel Timmerman, "The World Always Perishes, the Church Will Last Forever: Church and Eschatology in Bullinger's Sermons on the Book of Daniel (1565)," *Zwingliana* 36 (2009), 85.
[625] Irena Backus, "The Beast: Interpretations of Daniel 7.2-9 and Apocalypse 13.1-4 in Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinist Circles in the Late Sixteenth Century," *RRR* 3 (2000), 74.
[626] "Vere autem nec unam ob caufam dicitur Romanum regnum formidabile and terrificum: vel ut aln verterut terribile and horrendum." See *Daniel sapientissimus Dei propheta*, 77.
[627] He discusses this in great detail in sermons and commentary, pointing in some cases to the empire's infight as emblematic of its deplorable state. See *Daniel*

the rise of the papal Roman Empire. To Bullinger, the constant of Rome allows for historical flexibility between Daniel and Revelation, binding the two together in a hermeneutical circle. He acknowledges Christian readings of the Fourth Beast as Islamic adversaries, but he points to the ongoing constant of Rome to undercut said readings. Rome preceded Islam and, according to Bullinger, it will continue should Islam cease to be a threat. This reading is remarkable because of Bullinger's choice to acknowledge then reject anti-Islamic readings, thereby stressing a broader historical worldview that stretches beyond the immediate to dwell on the long-term work of God in the world through Jesus Christ.

German theological and musician Nikolaus Selnecker/ Selneccer (1530-1592) wrote *Der Prophet Daniel, und die Offenbarung Johannis*, a commentary on three chapters in Daniel, the book of Revelation, and each book's hermeneutical relationship to the other. Selnecker's reading if affected by Luther's, as Daniel's vision of the Four Beasts is a prophecy focusing on the kingdom of Christ and each creature represents one of the monarchies presented in Daniel 2. Like Luther, the Fourth Beast is the Roman Empire and each horn represents a kingdom that split from imperial entity.[628] Unlike Luther, Selnecker's primary adversarial entity is not the Catholic Church or the papacy; it is Islam.[629] The horn here represents the greatest affront to God and to Selnecker, nothing is greater than denying Christ and replacing him with Muhammad. He connects this Daniel 7 reading with Revelation 13 by way of arguing the Revelation 13 is a revision of Daniel 7 for his current age. Further, the beast from Revelation 13 symbolizes the Catholic papacy, thereby depicting the Pope as an affront to God on par with the Islamic faith's

[628] Per Selnecker, the horns are Syria, Egypt, Asia, Greece, Africa, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, and England.
[629] The version consulted for this analysis is a facsimile of the 1566 version of Selnecker's *Der Prophet Daniel, und die Offenbarung Johannis*.

founder. He becomes overtly political as he interprets the second beast as a worldly ruler that will reinstate the papacy after God strikes it down.

Selnecker blends older readings, like associating Daniel 7's final adversarial figure with Islam, with new by way of underlining Luther's anti-papal sentiment. This combination of Islam and the Pope creates a composite adversarial figure, though Irena Backus argues this combination comes from Selnecker's conflicted view of history.[630] He indeed struggles with this mixture, so much that Backus believes Selnecker "would have changed this passage of his commentary on Daniel, had he decided to rework it" in order to make the small horn into the Pope.[631] Selnecker's conflict, made explicit by apparent shifts and mixtures of the adversary's identity, show that the permanence of written words forced him to reconcile his previous work with his current. This change from Islam to anti-papal without complete rejection show the effect of what Eisenstein calls "the New Book religion" on biblical interpretation.[632] Changes could no longer go unaddressed; authors had to discuss them or face social and communal reproach.

Johannes Oecolampadius (1482-1531) shares unique connections to Luther, Calvin, and Melanchthon. First, Calvin is critical of both Melanchthon and Oecolampadius in his comments on Dan 9:25, making disparaging remarks about Oecolampadius' chronology calling it "loose and inaccurate."[633] Second, Oecolampadius' theological positions about the Eucharist oppose Luther's, creating a unique triangle of nuanced disagreement between Calvin, Luther, and Oecolampadius. He connects to this dissertation through his *Commentariorum in Danielem Prophetam* (1553). Like Calvin, he applied scripture as God's revelation in contemporary social

[630] Backus, "The Beast: Interpretations of Daniel 7.2-9 and Apocalypse 13.1-4 in Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinist Circles in the Late Sixteenth Century," 74.
[631] Backus, "The Beast: Interpretations of Daniel 7.2-9 and Apocalypse 13.1-4 in Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinist Circles in the Late Sixteenth Century," 64.
[632] Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 422-452.
[633] CC 13, Lec. 50.

and political realities.[634] Also like Calvin, Oecolampadius' work held an overt anti-Jewish sentiment, manifest in reading both Testaments as directed toward Christian audiences.

Oecolampadius' opposition to Judaism takes on a particular irony as his exegetical approach relied on his dedication as a Hebrew student, though this polemic is common sixteenth-century Christian interpreters.[635] He reads Daniel unequivocally as a prophet, using the label to describe Daniel consistently and often.[636] His interpretation is consistent with preceding and proceeding Christian interpreters, as he identifies the little horn of Dan 7:8, 25 as the Antichrist[637] and his method offers expanded details of the echoes of Daniel in Revelation.[638] Oecolampadius is meticulous and takes considerable care to relate the horn's "blasphemous words" at Dan 7:11 to Revelation, the dragon, and "the devil himself."[639] This reading stands upon his interpretation of the Fourth Beast as Muhammad and its ten horns the leaders of Muslim armies moving west.[640] In short, Oecolampadius uses what he considers to be a literal method to place a particular anti-Islam on Daniel that creates a direct lineage from Daniel's visions to Islam, through Revelation, and arriving at the devil.

Jesuit exegete Benedict Pereira (1536-1610) wrote a commentary on the book of Daniel, *Commentariorum in Danielem prophetam libri sexdecim*, in 1587. His work is best understood as a response to the rising anti-Catholic sentiment in Reformer biblical criticism. Pereira acknowledges the hermeneutical connections between the Fourth Beast and Rome to differentiate the political empire from the Papacy. His work is an effort to repudiate what he and

[634] James Brashler, "From Erasmus to Calvin: Exploring the Roots of Reformed Hermeneutics," *Interpretation* 63.2 (April 2009), 166.
[635] Brashler, "From Erasmus to Calvin," 166.
[636] For example, in his exposition on Dan 7:3 he calls Daniel "Propheta" over ten times. See Oecolampadius, *Commentariorum in Danielem Prophetam* (Genève: Jean Crespin, 1553), 83-84.
[637] Oecolampadius, *Commentariorum in Danielem Prophetam,* 92.
[638] Oecolampadius, *Commentariorum in Danielem Prophetam*, 91.
[639] Oecolampadius, *Commentariorum in Danielem Prophetam*, 91.
[640] Oecolampadius, *Commentariorum in Danielem Prophetam*, 91.

other Catholic exegetes saw as a false equivocation between this apocalyptic metaphor and the Catholic church. The solution Pereira proposes is that Daniel's prophecy has an entirely different purpose related to John's apocalypse: like other Hebrew scriptures, it foretells the mysterious redemption of Christ.[641] Similar to Perieria, Portuguese Catholic theologian, professor, and writer Hector Pintus (1528-1584) wrote a commentary on Daniel. He continues the Catholic trend that separates imperial Rome from the Catholic church, citing previous readings and additional scriptural evidence in the margins to justify his position.[642]

6.5 Summation

This overview of pre-Enlightenment Christian readings show that Daniel 7 maintained relevance as readers and exegetes sought hermeneutical and theological reconciliation. The growth of Christianity, the persistence of Judaism, and the rise of Islam forced Christians to resolve the place of Hebrew scriptures alongside the New Testament. Further, Christian leaders adjusted the identity of Daniel 7's Fourth Beast according to their primary adversary, ranging from Judaizing proselytizers to Islam and oppressive imperial forces. These readers make Daniel a companion piece to the Revelation of John, forming a complete eschatological horizon. Connecting Daniel to Revelation made the hopes of future Christian redemption take root in the foundations of Israel's past.

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[641] He devotes much of the conclusion to his commentary on Daniel 7 to explaining his eschatological understanding of the text, citing excerpts from Psalms and *Ecclesiasticus* in order to assuage possible anxietis a reader may have about details he considers "unpleasant" ("iniucundam"). See Benedicti Pererii, *Valentini E Societate Iesu Commentariorum In Danielem Prophetam Libri Sexdecim* (1595), 245-247.

[642] For example, he cites the turmoil Christians faced in the time of Nero as connecting to description of the Fourth Beast, not to condemn the long dead leader but instead to further separate Daniel's symbolic imagery from the Roman Catholic church. For further detail, see the 1595 publication of Pintus' *Commentaria in Danielem, Nahum, & Threnos Ieremiae*, 168-170. It is also worth noting that writer and parish pastor Andrew Willet (1562-1621) incorporates insights and interpretations from previous authors, including Pereira, Pintus, Calvin, and Bullinger. Willet's work is more of a compilation of previous works and versions than it is a separate piece, but it remains a worthy addition to canon of Daniel commentaries.

Justin Martyr's *Dialogue* sets precedence other Christian interpreters would follow: the final cataclysmic figure is given a messianic mantle, laying the foundation for connecting Daniel's Son of Man with Revelation's Jesus. Irenaeus' reading resembles Justin's especially as he reads Daniel 7 and Revelation as one prophetic narrative. His reading expands on the Son of Man as the messiah as Irenaeus reads Daniel and Revelation as confirming each other and pointing toward the same historical event: the arrival and defeat of the Antichrist. Hippolytus continues the tradition of reading Daniel and Revelation together through his commentary and *scholia*. He cites the influence of Irenaeus directly which, in turn, highlights the influence of Justin Martyr on his work.[643] Rome becomes the central adversarial figure, making Hippolytus' identification of this evil force particular in his historical ground. Perhaps most important is that Hippolytus, Irenaeus, and Justin Martyr all believed their reading was true; none believed their work was fallacious or grounded outside of Daniel. Yet it also seems none would grant the requisite space to criticize the biblical text through their readings, as they are quick to default to the biblical text as it came to them over their thoughts. This movement of interpretation from Justin Martyr through Hippolytus presents a clear pattern that continues throughout Christian interpretations of Daniel 7: the chapter is, in some way, connected to Revelation and finding that connection is key to interpreting both.

Christian consequences and interpretations change according to a combination of historical circumstances and theological orientation. For example, Rome is a consistent adversarial figure in Christian readings. Rome and its government are unshakably the Fourth Beast per readers like Justin Martyr through Jerome, Theodoret, and Chrysostom. However, the rise of Islamic influence makes Christian readers change their perspective, as the variety of

[643] Shelton, *Martyrdom from Exegesis in Hippolytus: An Early Church Presbyter's Commentary on Daniel*, 71.

Danielic *Apocalypses* display a renewed vigor for employing images familiar to and used in Daniel and Revelation to explain contemporary historical currents.

This era also led to interpretations through illustrations, as the many Beatus illuminations show that despite how certain elements remain (the statue of Daniel 2, the four beasts of Daniel 7), the particulars of said elements become flexible. And yet the ongoing constant is the assumption of reading and drawing Daniel through Revelation, a practice the spans centuries separating the different Beatus illustrations. Awareness of Islam and the religious challenges stemming from its existence permeate the Beatus' images, laying bare anxieties and tensions of the now culturally, militarily, and economically competitive faith tradition.[644] Joachim of Fiore and Nicholas of Lyra also incorporate Islam into their work and continue to wrestle with the place of Judaism and Jewish interpretive methods.

This question of methods took hold in profound and noticeable ways during and after the eleventh century: should readers be literal or allegorical, seeking the plain meaning or an applied one?[645] History gave Christian readers in the fourteenth century another interpretive hedge to conquer as a gap between Christian sects widened following ongoing fallout from the Catholic Western schism. Reading Daniel became an act of juggling history, method, and historical trajectory, loading the text itself down with inseparable interpretive baggage. On the one hand, Daniel and Revelation were still read as offering insight into the divine's role in human history, a constant upon which Christians may rest. Conversely, history failed to reflect what Daniel and Revelation "said," meaning readers visited the text anew.

[644] Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque,* 153.
[645] Nicholas of Lyra and his struggle to define a method grounded in Christian tradition while still making it his own puts these problems on display quite well.

Reformation interpreters like Martin Luther and John Calvin were in active conversation through each other's work, adding another layer of consequences to reading and interpretation. Protestant reformers were quick and eager to identify Daniel's final protagonist with the papacy, a move that allowed them to connect the Pope to Revelation and the Antichrist. Most important is that no one had to tell Luther, Calvin, and others that Daniel is connected to Revelation in content and interpretation; the text as it came to them carried the two books together. Now the Pope has become the Antichrist as a consequence of reading Daniel with Revelation, which is an approach with roots stretching back to the work of Justin Martyr. This is not to say that Luther or Calvin read with the intent of replicating Martyr or other Christian readers separated by hundreds of years but one can see the path a text takes, passed through different hands and carrying pieces of said hands along the way to become something else entirely. In short, as history changed, so too did the interpreters and the text they were interpreting.

As time progressed, the advent and fallout of the Protestant Reformation radically changed the spread of individual, and therefore differentiated, readings of the Fourth Beast. Eschatological theories of divine kingship and religious revolution resonated with early protestant theologians. This trend continued into the age of European Enlightenment philosophies and Renaissance romance literature. As the Catholic Church and Protestant reformers began accepting one another's permanence, a new enemy would emerge that would change biblical criticism forever. Reason and logic, rather than the church or scripture, would become the adversarial figure against which church leaders fought for power.

CHAPTER VII: DANIEL 7 AS CONSEQUENCE

Chapter VII brings the work of this dissertation together to read Daniel 7 as a consequence that itself produces many consequences around the theme of God's eternal reign. Section I reframes Daniel 2-7 around the reign of God to read these chapters in pairs that emphasize the certainty of God's dominion. Section II highlights how these paired chapters parallel and united around the reign of God, while section III presents Daniel 7 as the culmination of said pairings and the climax of the reign of God that establishes the groundwork necessary for understanding the apocalyptic imagery in Daniel's final five chapters using Daniel 8 as a small case study. Section IV highlights the extended possibilities of comparing Daniel 2 and 7 between major Greek witnesses and how the Old Greek and Theodotion texts underscore a wealth of possible consequences for Daniel 2, Daniel 7, and the book of Daniel as a whole.

7.1 Framing Daniel 2-7 Around the Reign of God

Working through Daniel 7, Daniel 2, the texts it echoes and is echoed by, and Christian receptions, a next step logically comes to mind: narrowing the focus to interpret Daniel 7 as a consequence. Many possible points of focus are available, but one theme persists throughout Daniel 2, Daniel 7, Revelation 13, and the ancient Near Eastern writings echoed in these writings: divine kingship and the unbreakable reign of God. Reading Daniel through this lens, Daniel 7 becomes an end bracket with Daniel 2 to create a circular symmetry reflected throughout the rest of the Aramaic section. Thus, a new framing manifests: as chapter 2 parallels 7, so too does Daniel 3 parallel Daniel 6 and Daniel 4 parallel Daniel 5 around the central theme of God's reign, making Daniel 7 the climax of the reign of God.

Reading Daniel 2-7 in way is not unique. Ad. Lenglet suggests a similar "concentric symmetry," arguing Daniel 2 and 7 are dual recitations of "Les songes des quatre royaumes" (the dreams of the four kingdoms), chapters 3 and 6 are "Les 'actes des martyrs'" (the acts of the martyrs), and chapters 4 and 5 are "Le jugement sur les rois" (judgment on kings).[646] Rainer Albertz takes this mirrored-chapter paradigm and emphasizes its connection to the "Königsherreschaft Gottes" (kingdom of God).[647] Albertz connects each pairing with a sub-theme couched within the kingdom of God: Daniel 2 and 7 represent the "Aufrichtung der Königsherrschaft Gottes" (establishment of the kingdom of God), 3 and 6 the divine salvation or destruction through "Anerkennung/Nichtanerkennung der Königsherrschaft Gottes" (recognition/non-recognitions of the kingdom of God), and 4 and 5 the fate of human kings according to their relationship to "Anerkennung der Königsherrschaft Gottes" (recognition of the kingdom of God).[648] Likewise, Seow argues the acts and events of chapters 2 through 7 parallel each other enough to consider reading these chapters as "an architectonic structure."[649] The new frame suggested here resembles the work of Seow, Albertz, and Lenglet in that it is symmetrical; what makes it unique is being built around Daniel 7 as the apex of God's eternal reign.

The reign of God framework pairs chapters similarly to previous paradigms, with Daniel 2 paralleling 7, 3 paralleling 6, and 4 paralleling 5.

Daniel 2: Nebuchadnezzar Dreams of the Statue
    Daniel 3: God Saves Daniel's Friends in Spite of Nebuchadnezzar
        Daniel 4: Nebuchadnezzar is Humiliated for Disrespecting God
        Daniel 5: Belshazzar is Killed for Disrespecting God

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[646] A. Lenglet, "La structure littéraire de Daniel 2–7," *Bib* 53 (1971) 169–90.
[647] Rainer Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel: Untersuchungen zu Dan 4–6 in der Septuagintafassung sowie zu Komposition und Theologie des aramäischen Danielbuches* (SBS 131; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988) 182.
[648] Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel: Untersuchungen zu Dan 4–6 in der Septuagintafassung sowie zu Komposition und Theologie des aramäischen Danielbuches*, 182.
[649] C.L. Seow, "The Rule of God in the Book of Daniel" in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J.J.M. Roberts* (ed. Bernard F. Batto and Kathryn L. Roberts; Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 226.

Daniel 6: God Saves Daniel in Spite of Darius
Daniel 7: Belshazzar Dreams of Four Beasts

Read this way, one will also see how Daniel 7 is indeed a hinge chapter that pivots into Daniel 8-12 and away from the court tales of Daniel 2-6. Further, Dan 7:1-14 shows how Daniel 2-6 leads into the section's climax and Dan 7:15-28 introduces how one should read Daniel 8-12. Before digging into the pairing of Daniel 7 and 2, engaging first how the other paired chapters present the assertation of God's reign over and against human political power sets the stage for chapters 2 and 7 as section bookends.

7.2 Using This Frame to Show Parallels Between Paired Chapters

Daniel 3 and 6 with 4 and 5 put the dichotomy of God's reign on display, as those who believe in and acknowledge God's rule are saved in chapters 3 and 6, and kings who ignore or downplay God's reign are humiliated or killed in chapters 4 and 5.

7.2.1 Divine Sovereignty in Daniel 3 and 6

Daniel 3 and 6 have a core parallel: the servants of God are thrown into a furnace or pit as punishment and said servants are saved by divine intervention. Both Daniel and his friends are identified as "servants," with Daniel being "the servant of the living God (עֲבֵד֙ אֱלָהָ֣א חַיָּ֔א) at Dan 6:20 and his friends "servants of the Most High God" (עֲבֵד־נְג֤וֹ עַבְד֙וֹהִי֙ דִּֽי־אֱלָהָ֣א עִלָּיָ֔א) at Dan 3:26.[650] However, the echoes do not stop with punished but protected servants. Both open with lists of monarchical subordinates, with both chapters mentioning "satraps" (אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּ֔א; Dan 3:2 and 6:1), with Daniel becoming a סָרְכִ֣ין (official) at 6:1 that wields authority over said satraps. Kings in both chapters are easily manipulated by their subordinates. Dan 3:4 describes a proclamation that

[650] J. G. Gammie, "On the Intention and Sources of Daniel I–VI," *VT* 31 (1981), 289.

all “peoples, nations, and languages” (עַֽמְמַיָּ֣א אֻמַיָּ֔א וְלִשָּׁנַיָּ֑א) shall worship Nebuchadnezzar’s statue, a legal snare that the king’s leaders use to exploit Daniel’s friends. According to Dan 3:10, the Chaldeans say the king himself “made a decree” (שָׂ֣מְתָּ טְּעֵ֗ם), while Dan 3:4 marks clear that said decree comes from “the herald” (כָרוֹזָ֖א) with no indication of Nebuchadnezzar’s involvement. Darius’ subordinates follow a similar path at Dan 6:7-9 as they goad the king into making prayer to anyone or anything except the king illegal. In both of these instances the king is literally listening to and being swayed by human voices, neglecting any potential influence from God, the true source of power in these stories.

The king’s leaders use the Dan 3:4 proclamation to entrap Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, making their agenda clear at Dan 3:12 as they describe concern over “certain Jews whom you have appointed” (גֻּבְרִ֣ין יְהוּדָאִ֗ין דִּֽי־מַנִּ֣יתָ). Daniel’s marked absence in chapter 3 makes this “certain Jews” designation stand out, which buttresses the reign of God theme as it separates providential success and protection from Daniel alone: God protects God’s servants, regardless of name or title. Similarly, Daniel in chapter 6 and his friends in chapter 3 indeed are arrested for their unapologetic devout behavior. Dan 3:16-18 has Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego using their accusations as opportunity to present their faith and the protection they believe it provides, and at Dan 6:10-11 Daniel is caught praying, praising, and seeking mercy from God. It is possible that Daniel is praying for the mercy of God’s protection, as he seems to be aware of the edict and the subsequent punishment. Despite outstanding pressure in both chapters, neither the friends or Daniel abandon or question their allegiance to God.

Clashing threads of human attempts at power and divine rule culminate in similar situations in both chapters: the friends with the furnace and Daniel with the lions’ den. These punishments are also allegorical parallels in that the worst and most tortuous punishment humans

can devise are nothing in the face of God's power. Nebuchadnezzar angrily orders the furnace to be heated "seven times more than normal" (חַד־שִׁבְעָה עַל דִּי חֲזֵה לְמֵזְיֵהּ) at Dan 3:19. The text amplifies the narrative tension at v. 22 as the men throwing the three friends into the flames are incinerated without falling into the flames; the heat, like Nebuchadnezzar's anger, is extreme and instantly destructive. Similarly, Daniel's fate is sealed as a stone is set before the lion's den at Dan 6:17 to prevent his escape. By human standards death is inevitable in both scenarios.

God's response shatters human standards when neither the friends nor Daniel are harmed (Dan 3:25 and 6:23). Nebuchadnezzar expresses shock and awe at Dan 3:25 and quickly attributes their safety not to happenstance but to the presence of a fourth being who "resembles a divine being" (דָּמֵה לְבַר־אֱלָהִין). The king's description at Dan 3:25 also echoes Daniel 2, v. 44 in particular, as they are "not harmed" (חֲבָל לָא) relates to the unbreakable rule of God and the "kingdom that will never be destroyed" (מַלְכוּ דִּי לְעָלְמִין לָא תִתְחַבַּל).[651] Dan 6:23 also uses a form of חבל ("harm") as the lions did not harm Daniel (לָא חַבְּלוּנִי). As if to say the lions were indeed real and physically threatening, Daniel's adversaries are overpowered and their bones crushed at Dan 6:25. Here at 6:25, like the stone cut not with human hands (Dan 2:34), an instrument of God crushes enemies. Daniel's prediction at chapter 2 comes into being in Daniel 3 and 6 as forces associated with the earth are destroyed and those working with God are not harmed.

Daniel 3 and 6 each concludes with their respective kings extoling God before Daniel and the friends, as well as making know their praise to God known to people throughout the world. Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges that "no other god" (לָא אִיתַי אֱלָה אָחֳרָן) could have delivered the three friends in this manner and reverses his decree at Dan 3:29, saying "all people, nations or language" (כָּל־עַם אֻמָּה וְלִשָּׁן) that speaks words against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and

[651] Seow, "The Rule of God in the Book of Daniel," 227.

Abednego "will be torn limb from limb and their houses will be laid in ruin" (בַּיְתֵהּ נְוָלִי יִשְׁתַּוֵּה). Darius does not pair his praise with threats of violence at Dan 6:25-27 but the king does emphasize God's sovereignty as "he delivers and rescues, he works signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, for he has saved Daniel from the power of the lions" (מְשֵׁיזִב וּמַצִּל וְעָבֵד אָתִין וְתִמְהִין בִּשְׁמַיָּא וּבְאַרְעָא דִּי שֵׁיזִיב לְדָנִיֵּאל מִן־יַד אַרְיָוָתָא). In short, both kings that were apathetic in the least and negligent at worst in acknowledging God's reign now become unapologetic supplicants at each chapter's end.

7.2.2. Divine Sovereignty in Daniel 4 and 5

Daniel 4 and 5 connect with Daniel 3 and 6 by way of the introduction at Dan 4:1-3 and doxology at Dan 3:29. Nebuchadnezzar opens Dan 4:1 (Aramaic 3:31) with a wish for "abundant peace" (שְׁלָמְכוֹן יִשְׂגֵּא) to "all peoples, nations, and languages that live throughout the earth" (לְכָל־עַמְמַיָּא אֻמַיָּא וְלִשָּׁנַיָּא דִּי־דָאְרִין בְּכָל־אַרְעָא). Dan 3:29 also has Nebuchadnezzar making a decree to "any people, nation, or language" (דִּי כָל־עַם אֻמָּה וְלִשָּׁן). At Dan 4:3 Nebuchadnezzar praises God and his great signs, mighty wonders, "everlasting kingdom" (מַלְכוּת עָלַם), and multigenerational sovereignty, and at Dan 3:26 he calls Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego "servants of the Most High God" (עַבְדוֹהִי דִּי־אֱלָהָא עִלָּיָא) then blesses the same God in v. 28. Parallel decrees and professions of God's sovereignty in Daniel 3 and 4 affirm the theme of divine sovereignty over human kingship, a theme that continues in Daniel 5.

Despite his praise to God at Dan 4:2-3, Nebuchadnezzar has yet to learn his lesson, as he directs the praise of God back toward himself: "The signs and wonders that the Most High God has worked *for me*[652] as I am pleased to recount" (אָתַיָּא וְתִמְהַיָּא דִּי עֲבַד עִמִּי אֱלָהָא עִלָּיָא שְׁפַר קָדָמַי

[652] Emphasis is the author's.

לְהַחֲוָיָה). The king's description of signs and wonders in v. 3 echoes God power presented in liberating Israel from captivity (Exod. 7:3; Deut 6:22, 7:19; Ps. 135:9), though Nebuchadnezzar selfishly makes himself the focus and purpose of sand divine acts here at Dan 4:2-3. Nebuchadnezzar's misdirected praise creates immediate tension as a dream befalls him at Dan 4:5, making him "frightened" (ידַחֲלִנַּנִי) and "terrified" (יְבַהֲלֻנַּנִי). Dan 7:15 and 2:1 parallel this response to dreams, as Daniel is "troubled" (אֶתְכְּרִיַּת) and "terrified" (יְבַהֲלֻנַּנִי) in chapter 7 and Nebuchadnezzar's spirit is "troubled" (תִּתְפָּעֶם) in Daniel 2 by a dream. Thus, Daniel 7 has both troubled and terrified reactions to dreams, a description that parallels elements of Daniel 2 and 4.

Dan 5:6 shows the fallout of King Belshazzar's negligence toward God through the gold and silver religious vessels, as a hand appears and writes on the wall as "the king's face turned pale and his thoughts terrified him" (מַלְכָּא זִיוֹהִי שְׁנוֹהִי וְרַעְיֹנֹהִי יְבַהֲלוּנֵּהּ). Each king responds and calls for interpreters with Nebuchadnezzar at Dan 4:7 echoing himself at Dan 2:2 by asking for "magicians, the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the diviners" (חַרְטֻמַיָּא אָשְׁפַיָּא כַּשְׂדָּיֵא וְגָזְרַיָּא). Belshazzar's call lacks the magicians as at Dan 5:7 as he calls for "the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the diviners" (לְאָשְׁפַיָּא כַּשְׂדָּיֵא גָּזְרַיָּא). In each of these instances the kings fail to call Daniel, which is peculiar for Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4 given that he piled such lavish praise upon Daniel at the end of Daniel 2.

Unlike Daniel 2, Nebuchadnezzar tells his interpreters the dream's content but, like Daniel 2, they cannot provide an interpretation. The king expresses his relief at Dan 4:8, saying "At last Daniel came in before me" (עַד אָחֳרֵין עַל קֳדָמַי דָּנִיֵּאל) as he recognizes Daniel as "endowed with a spirit of the holy gods" (דִּי רוּחַ־אֱלָהִין קַדִּישִׁין בֵּהּ). Unlike Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar does not recognize Daniel's divine connection: according to Dan 5:11, it is the king's wife that describes him as being "endowed with the spirit of the holy gods" (דִּי רוּחַ אֱלָהִין קַדִּישִׁין בֵּהּ). The

queen's declaration shows a distance between God and the king, which may be interpreted as a symbolic move away from acknowledging God's sovereignty. If Belshazzar was close to God, he would see Daniel's divine significance.

Yet merely acknowledging Daniel's divine connection does not mean a king will heed and benefit from it, as Nebuchadnezzar reveals with continued self-aggrandizement at Dan 4:30: "Is this not mighty Babylon, which I have built as a royal capital by my might power and for my glorious majesty?" (הֲלָא דָא־הִיא בָּבֶל רַבְּתָא דִּי־אֲנָה בֱנַיְתַהּ לְבֵית מַלְכוּ בִּתְקַף חִסְנִי וְלִיקָר הַדְרִי). Dan 4:31-33 present abrupt punishments for Nebuchadnezzar's arrogance, doubling-down on the divine sanction's expediency, saying he learns what is to come "while the words were still in the king's mouth" (עוֹד מִלְּתָא בְּפֻם מַלְכָּא) and "immediately the sentence was fulfilled" (בַּהּ־שַׁעֲתָא מִלְּתָא סָפַת). What befalls Nebuchadnezzar immediately after these words parallels the immediacy of Belshazzar's fate in Dan 5:30 as he is killed "that very night" (בֵּהּ בְּלֵילְיָא קְטִיל).

Outcomes of each chapter's divine event (the dream of Daniel 4, the writing on the wall of Daniel 5) underline the importance of said acknowledgment of God's sovereignty, as Nebuchadnezzar is merely punished at Dan 4:31-33 but Belshazzar is killed at Dan 5:30. Each king's response is crucial to understanding why one is spared and one is killed. Following his punishment at Dan 4:31-33, Nebuchadnezzar worships God as his "reason returned" to him (מַנְדְּעִי עֲלַי יְתוּב). He blesses and praises God at Dan 4:34, "for his sovereignty is an everlasting sovereignty, and his kingdom endures from generation to generation" (דִּי שָׁלְטָנֵהּ שָׁלְטָן עָלַם וּמַלְכוּתֵהּ עִם־דָּר וְדָר). This response parallels Nebuchadnezzar's declaration at Dan 4:3, but the king's words at Dan 4:35 cites everyone on earth being "accounted as nothing" (כְּלָה חֲשִׁיבִין) and that God does as God wills with both heaven and earth.

Both chapters end with each king acknowledging Daniel's success, as Nebuchadnezzar recognizes his place below God and, in turn, returns to greatness over Babylon. Conversely, Belshazzar offers similar praise following his divine event, but unlike Nebuchadnezzar, he directs praise and glory to Daniel alone by giving him purple clothes, a gold chain, and making him third in command throughout the kingdom (Dan 5:29). Both kings in Daniel 4 and 5 witness God's power, both rely on Daniel to interpret and understand what their respective divine interventions means; the difference lies in how they respond. Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges his place below God, while Belshazzar does not; their respective fates present the requisite consequences.

7.3 Daniel 7 As the Climax of God's Reign

As Daniel 3 and 6 share stories that describe the servants of God and their successes over and against human imperial powers, and just as Daniel 4 and 5 illuminate what happens when a king fails to acknowledge his place in God's hierarchy, so too do Daniel 2 and 7 tell similar stories. Daniel 7 is, effectively, a re-working of Daniel 2: it takes a story of a dream and four kingdoms and becomes a story of a dream and four kings, all while continuing the emphasis on the unbreakable reign of God. Renewed emphasis on God's reign in Daniel 7 sets the stage for Daniel 8-12, as the book of Daniel's purview moves from human court tales to the celestial battle between Good and Evil. Daniel 7 now bridges two narrative genres while maintaining its own identity as an account of God's eternal reign.

Daniel 7 balances the echoes of Daniel 2 with the foreshadowing of what is to come in Daniel 8-12 alongside allusions to ancient Near Eastern literature and inner-biblical writings. This multi-layered chapters echoes Joseph while paralleling Ba'al and *Enuma Elish*, and

elements of biblical prophecy stands beside images of Ugaritic poetry. Yet what is most remarkable about Daniel's seventh chapter is that it indeed is a new text, one capable of standing alone and not feel like a copy or redo of something else.

Reading Daniel 7 as a hinge chapter between court tales and apocalyptic writings creates a paralleling complimentary structure. Dan 7:1-14 shows how to read Daniel 2-6 and Dan 7:15-28 introduces how to read Daniel 8-12. To summarize before digging into an in-depth analysis, vv.1-14 emphasizes Daniel's success as an articulation of God's reign, not Daniel's strength; this illuminates the true nature of Daniel and his friends' work in chapters 2 through 6. Dan 7:15-28 shows where the theme goes next as God in heaven fights in ways invisible to human eyes.

7.3.1 Daniel 7 as Daniel 2 Reworked

Unlike Dan 2:1 and Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel experiences a dream in chapter 7, as Dan 7:1 eliminates the monarchial intermediary and makes Daniel the receiver. Thus, the opening verse of chapter 7 establishes a narrower focus and limits the scope of unfolding events to one person's mind and thoughts,[653] whereas Daniel 2 focuses on the dream and political machinations surrounding its interpretation. Daniel 7 lacks narrative elements found in chapter two, including the Chaldeans' failure, the dream receiver's obstinance, and Daniel's interaction with his three friends. Mindful of this, it seems Daniel 7 reflects a less superfluous and more pragmatic approach to the dream-vision and interpretation exchange. Differences in who experiences the dream move the narrative crux away from Daniel asserting God's supremacy over the king in Daniel 2 toward the central importance of the dream message and God's dominion presented therein in Daniel 7.

[653] Making Daniel the receiver in 7:1 is consistent throughout different versions: the OG, Vulgate, Syriac, and Qumran variants offer the same picture with Daniel, not a king, receives the dream to open the chapter.

Analyzing the origins of the statue of Daniel 2 and beasts of Daniel 7 illuminates another difference between the chapters. The statue in Daniel 2 statue comes from nowhere; within the context of the dream, it simply appears. Conversely, Dan 7:2-3 has two references to יַמָּא ("the sea") as the narrator speaks and describes from where he sees the four winds of heaven and the four beasts emerge. As previous discussed, the chaotic sea is an ongoing literary motif, with roots stretching into ancient literature. Making יַמָּא the point of origin separates chapter seven from chapter two that sets precedence for what Daniel 7 holds: a balancing act between ancient traditions and current political events, done to create a profoundly unique but accessibly familiar apocalyptic metaphor.

The four winds of heaven stir up the sea at Dan 7:2, making the chaotic waters to bring forth four terrible and disparate beasts. An immediate difference between chapters 2 and 7 is the first description of their respective foreboding figures: Dan 7:3 describes the four beasts as רַבְרְבָן, ("great") while the statue's appearance in Dan 2:31 is דְּחִיל ("frightening"). Daniel 2 uses fear to describe the statue and interpretation, whereas Daniel 7 creates a suspenseful aura as it withholds judgment about the dream until after the description and interpretation.

Each vision unfolds chronologically but language used for the statue and the beasts illustrates unique differences in each reception. Daniel appears to scan the statue in chapter 2, starting from the top and working down. It is not a progressive revelation of hidden or withheld sections; rather, it seems Daniel has the statue before him and describes what he sees. Conversely, Daniel 7 progresses with less certainty as each beast moves from the sea onto land. Further, at Dan 7:4 Daniel sees something "like a lion" (כְאַרְיֵה), "like a bear" (דָּמְיָה לְדֹב) at v. 5, and "like a leopard" (כִּנְמַר) at v. 6. The narrator's use of "like" in Daniel 7 continues the vision's ambiguity and contrasts the certainty in Daniel 2: that which stands before the king in Daniel 2 is

clearly and unequivocally a statue, but the first three beasts are only respectively like a lion, a bear, and a leopard.

Detailed descriptions of the beasts in Dan 7:4-7 further illuminates the apparent simplicity of Daniel 2's statue as Dan 2:32-33 reads that the statue's head is made from "fine gold, its chest and arms of silver, its middle and thighs of bronze, its legs of iron, its feet partly of clay" (דְּהַב טָ֔ב חֲד֥וֹהִי וּדְרָע֖וֹהִי דִּ֣י כְסַ֑ף מְע֥וֹהִי וְיַרְכָתֵ֖הּ דִּ֥י נְחָֽשׁ שָׁק֖וֹהִי דִּ֣י פַרְזֶ֑ל רַגְל֕וֹהִי מִנְּה֖וֹן פַּרְזֶ֥ל וּמִנְּה֖וֹן דִּ֥י חֲסַֽף).

Conversely, in Dan 7:4-7 the four beasts are bizarre combinations of dissimilar animals: a lion with wings, a bear with tusks among its teeth, a four-headed and four-winged leopard, and a fourth with iron teeth, horns, and made from so many disparate pieces that the speaker finds it indescribable. Further, metals in Daniel 2 do not carry implicitly negative connotations as they symbolize possible empires. Conversely, the beasts of Daniel 7 look menacing and act with overt malice.

Daniel asserts God's sovereignty through the interpretation in Dan 2:31-45, which is the opposite of Daniel 7 because Daniel is no longer the interpreter. Instead, according to Dan 7:16, Daniel must consult "one of the attendants" (חַד֙ מִן־קָ֣אֲמַיָּ֔א) a reference to the "thousand of thousands" (אֶ֫לֶף אַלְפִים) serving the Ancient One in Dan 7:10. Chapter 7 also inverts the certainty of chapter 2 with an abrupt and ambiguous end. Daniel 2 concludes with hope and the expectation of change as the king's praises convey a sense of historical effect. Daniel 2 leaves its protagonist with gifts (Dan 2:48) and accolades requisite for services rendered (Dan 2:46), and Nebuchadnezzar praises and worships Daniel's deity (Dan 2:47). Before and during the dream, the king does not acknowledge God's sovereignty over his earthly kingdom. This changes after the dream as Daniel's skill shocks the king, creating the possibility of Nebuchadnezzar's theological reorientation as a renewed opportunity to save his kingdom.

Dan 2:40 and 44 refer to the stone crushing "all these" (כָּל־אִלֵּין), a reference to the fallen and destroyed kingdoms (מַלְכְוָתָא) represented by the statue. "All these" also expands the possible reading of four kingdoms making them into four reigns. Seow's takes this position and nuances מַלְכְוָתָא to argue that "all these kingdoms" (כָּל־אִלֵּין מַלְכְוָתָא) imply "that all the other regimes will still be in existence when it [the events of the dream] comes to be" in Daniel 2.[654] מַלְכְוָתָא is used throughout Daniel in reference to the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar (4:23, 28, 33), Belshazzar (5:18, 26, 28; 8:1), Darius (6:27, 29) Cyrus (6:29), and most importantly God (3:33; 4:31; 7:18, 27). Kings pass away or change throughout Daniel, but kingdoms endure. Tying מַלְכוּתָ with the reign of God in at Dan 7:18 and 27 underlines identifying the four beasts as four kingdoms and not kings, meaning Daniel 7 takes a wider celestial and historical approach as opposed to Daniel 2's limited reading of four particular kings.

God's reign is also particular in who benefits from it in Daniel 2 and 7. Per Dan 7:27b, God's מַלְכוּתָ "shall be given to the people of the holy ones of the Most High" (יְהִיבַ֗ת לְעַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין). This matches the promised reign at Dan 7:18 and its democratization through many beings, not a just a select few, receive God's kingdom. V. 18 says the "holy ones" (קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין) shall possess the eternal kingdom, a promise that Dan 7:27 fulfills and adds to with inclusion of "the people of" (לְעַם) God's kingdom thereby will be earthly and celestial. Further, v. 27 echoes Dan 7:14 and the authority granted to the cloud rider of v.13. The one like a human being rides in upon clouds in Dan 7:13 and receives from the Ancient One "dominion and glory and kingship" (שָׁלְטָן וִיקָר וּמַלְכוּ) along with "all people, nations, and languages" serving him (כֹּל עַמְמַיָּא אֻמַיָּא וְלִשָּׁנַיָּא). Reading vv.14 and 27 together shows that God's eternal reign simultaneously belongs to God, his people, and his chosen leader.

[654] Seow, "The Rule of God in the Book of Daniel," 22.

This dual terrestrial-celestial divine reign contrasts the kingdom of the earthen stone that becomes a mountain at Dan 2:44, which replaces the earthly kingdoms and "will not be left to another people" (לְעַם אָחֳרָן לָא תִשְׁתְּבִק), implying that the people to whom God gives it will keep it. This eternal earthly kingdom destroys the cycle of kingdoms replacing one another ad nauseum because this last kingdom made from earthen rock "will stand forever" (תְּקוּם לְעָלְמַיָּא). Daniel 7 indeed echoes the eternal reign of God while emphasizing both the divine and human nature of the final kingdom, while Daniel 2 presents a similar symbol of God's reign through the stone not cut by human hands.

The stone of Daniel 2 is decisive and final in its incursion, meant to provide a final end to corrupt human rule. However, it would seem reality does not reflect said finality as Daniel 7 reworks this image to include the persistence of human power and authority with Dan 7:12. The verse describes a shocking scenario in which the chaotic beasts lose their dominion "but their lives were prolonged for a season and a time" (וְאַרְכָה בְחַיִּין יְהִיבַת לְהוֹן עַד־זְמַן וְעִדָּן). This verse reflects social-theological anxiety of the Israelites in exile, one that Daniel and his friends routinely address in the court tales of Daniel 1-6 that seek to answer the question: how do Israelites be the people of God in the diaspora? Dan 7:12 also addresses questions of abandonment between God and his people, and the clash between a promised future and a tumultuous present. Though it appears with an initial shock and feels incomplete, v. 12 fits well within the unbreakable rule of God, as it is God and not the rulers themselves the ensures sustainability and control.

Dan 7:26 echoes Dan 2:44-45 to address the incompleteness of Dan 7:12 as it describes the fate of the final horn: "his dominion shall be taken away, to be consumed and totally destroyed" (וְשָׁלְטָנֵהּ יְהַעְדּוֹן לְהַשְׁמָדָה וּלְהוֹבָדָה עַד־סוֹפָא). Similarly, Dan 2:44-45 emphasizes the

complete destruction of the metals and kingdoms they symbolize. Giving them more time to rule at Dan 7:12 is all part of the blueprint for God's reign, shown first in Dan 2:44-45 and again in Dan 7:27. Dan 7:27 contrasts what God gives rulers at v. 12, extended human rule, with what the people of the Holy Ones of the Most High will receive from God: "the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven" (רְבוּתָ֗א דִּ֣י מַלְכְוָת֙ תְּח֣וֹת כָּל־שְׁמַיָּ֔א). Thus, the message of these verses is that God controls all and will ultimately fulfill the promise, articulated by the stone of Daniel 2 and one like a human being in Daniel 7, set forth to his people.

The ambiguous conclusion in Daniel 7 strips any positive afterglow from Daniel 2's sheen. Daniel 7 leaves its dreamer morose, his face sallow and mind cluttered. Dan 7:28 describes Daniel's face as זִיוַ֙י ("pale") and mind filled with "terrified" thoughts (הֲלֶ֣נִּֽבְהֲ֔לֻנַּנִי). Daniel 2's extended conclusion Daniel 7's illuminates perhaps the starkest difference: Daniel 2 makes Daniel a heroic protagonist but Daniel 7 makes Daniel passive and doubtful. Irresolution replaces confidence as Daniel must approach an unknown figure to interpret the very dream he is experiencing. Daniel, not the arrogant king, is at the universe's mercy. Perhaps Nebuchadnezzar's slavish response to Daniel in chapter 2 accounts for this radical shift in Daniel 7: just as Daniel 2 elevates Daniel and his friends, Daniel 7 reminds the reader of Daniel's humanity in light of God's sovereignty which prepares the reader for the continued internal and external struggles of faith that manifest in the prolific images of chapters 8-12.

7.3.2 Daniel 7 as Preparation for Daniel 8-12

Comparing chapters 2-6 with 8-12 yields two vastly different sections. Daniel 8-12 replaces court tales of salvation and plucky persistence in the face of human rule with layered apocalyptic images of war and celestial struggles. For example, Daniel 8 tells of a horn that

grows “as high as the host of heaven” (תִּגְדַּ֖ל עַד־צְבָ֣א הַשָּׁמָ֑יִם) before throwing down stars and stomping on them as if these celestial bodies were mere rubbish (Dan 8:10). This contrasts the overwhelming success of God, Daniel, and Daniel’s friends in chapters 2-7 as the heavenly realm of Daniel 8 is now susceptible to antagonistic forces. One could argue the human forces attempting to oppress Daniel and his friends in Daniel 2-6 symbolize said antagonistic forces, but chapter 8 eliminates such symbolism as it frames a direct assault on the heavens. Without Daniel 7 and the images woven throughout the chapter, Daniel 8 would be all the more shocking with its horn that leads a celestial attack. Reading Daniel 7 as a bridge to Daniel 8 and the remaining chapters illuminates this chapter’s structure as a link between chapters 2-6 and 8-12, as it employs familiar imagery from Daniel 2-6 alongside apocalyptic tenets to prepare the way for Daniel 8-12.

Daniel 7 employs “the four winds of heaven” that stir the sea as an image entrenched intercultural intertextual allusions. This description offers a striking mental image but does little for determining how the four winds function and what they may symbolize in this chapter. Daniel 2 does not employ the four winds in its narrative, making Dan 7:2 the only instance of the “four winds of heaven” in Daniel’s Aramaic portions. However, the image appears twice in Daniel 8-12: Dan 8:8 and 11:4. Thus, one can read the other instances of the four winds to assist in understanding why it appears in Daniel 7 and how it functions within the narrative. A chapter in this dissertation on ancient Near Eastern receptions of the Fourth Beast analyzes possible roots and allusions of “four winds” imagery outside biblical contexts, so here the focus is on the four winds within a biblical context.

Couched within another vision, Dan 8:8 describes a mighty and fearsome goat with horns growing toward “the four winds of heaven” (אַרְבַּ֣ע רוּח֔וֹת הַשָּׁמָ֑יִם). The speaker in Dan 11:4 uses the

four winds motif to describe the fate of a warrior king's kingdom, saying it will be broken and divided "to the four winds of heaven" (אַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם) outside his family lineage. Metaphoric use in chapters 8 and 11 makes the four winds a flexible symbol, capable of describing the heights of a feared enemy's rise or the dissection of a great empire.

Daniel 8 also echoes the monarchical symbolism of the four beasts interpreted through an other-worldly entity of Daniel 7 as a ram and goat do battle, with the goat symbolizing "the king of Greece" (מֶלֶךְ יָוָן) and ram with horns symbolizing "the kings of Media and Persia" (מַלְכֵי מָדַי וּפָרָס). Daniel 8 continues Daniel's inability to interpret dreams first established in Dan 7:15, as Daniel requires assistance from Gabriel at Dan 8:16. Overcome with fear, Daniel falls upon his face at Dan 8:17 as Gabriel calls out to Daniel, saying "Understand, O son of man, that the vision is for the time of the end" (הָבֵן בֶּן־אָדָם כִּי לְעֶת־קֵץ הֶחָזוֹן). Calling Daniel a בֶּן־אָדָם, "son of man," is an echo of the "one like a human being" (כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ) at Dan 7:13, as Daniel 8 makes clear that Daniel is the mortal to whom Gabriel speaks. Dan 8:17 can affect reading Dan 7:13, as the identity of the "one like a human being" is left anonymous but Dan 8:17 makes Daniel the being in question. Thus, just as Daniel 7 alludes to tensions present in Daniel 2, so too does Daniel 8 echo unresolved issues in Daniel 7.

Dan 8:22 describes a horn that is broken and, in its place, "four others arose" (תַּעֲמֹדְנָה אַרְבַּע תַּחְתֶּיהָ), symbolizing "four kingdoms that shall arise from his nation but not with his power" (אַרְבַּע מַלְכֻיוֹת מִגּוֹי יַעֲמֹדְנָה וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ). Here again the motif of four comes into play as the one horn upon the goat becomes four that, as made clear by Dan 8:23 will rule for undetermined amount of time: "At the end of their rule, when the transgressions have reached their full measure" (וּבְאַחֲרִית מַלְכוּתָם כְּהָתֵם הַפֹּשְׁעִים). The four motif pairs with imagery of earthly kings having time in power, echoing Dan 7:12 and "their lives were prolonged for a season and a time."

But perhaps the most significant echo of Daniel 7 in Daniel 8 lies in its conclusion. According to Dan 8:23, the end of the four horns' rule culminates with the rise of "a king of bold countenance" (מֶ֣לֶךְ עַז־פָּנִ֑ים). Like the final arrogant horn of Dan 7:20, this king is a force to reckon with as he is skilled, strong, duplicitous, and ultimately successful in gaining earthly power. In light of Daniel 7, one would expect Daniel 8 to end with the aforementioned king being destroyed through the ascension of God's reign. Though subtler that Daniel 2 and 7, the kingdom of God indeed intercedes: per Dan 8:25b, "he will be broken and not by human hands" (בְּאֶ֥פֶס יָ֖ד יִשָּׁבֵֽר). Here again Daniel refers to something that destroys human imperial rule that is "not by human hands," echoing the stone from Daniel 2 and the reign of God from Daniel 7. Without Daniel 7, Dan 8:25 would feel hollow and underwhelming; read against the backdrop of Daniel 7, this verse calls back to the great victory of Dan 7:26-27 and 2:44-45.

Unlike Daniel, God's reign remains unshaken at the end of Daniel 8. Dan 8:27 describes Daniel status: "So I, Daniel, was overcome and lay sick for some days; then I arose and went about the king's business. But I was dismayed by the vision and did not understand it" (וַאֲנִ֣י דָנִיֵּ֗אל נִהְיֵ֤יתִי וְנֶחֱלֵ֙יתִי֙ יָמִ֔ים וָֽאָק֕וּם וָאֶעֱשֶׂ֖ה אֶת־מְלֶ֣אכֶת הַמֶּ֑לֶךְ וָאֶשְׁתּוֹמֵ֥ם עַל־הַמַּרְאֶ֖ה וְאֵ֥ין מֵבִֽין). Daniel's sickened response here is akin to terrified and sallow reaction at Dan 7:28, an image that in both Daniel 7 and 8 underlines the gravity of what must occur before God's eternal reign begins. Daniel represents all of Israel as they anxiously await resolution from the torment of exile, a culmination of the great promise set for between their God and his people.

The above allusions between Daniel 2, 7 and 8 are also a microcosm of echoes between chapters 9-12 and Daniel 2 and 7. For example, in the prayer at Dan 9:16 Daniel entreats God to "let your anger and wrath, we pray, turn away from your city, Jerusalem, your holy mountain" (יָֽשָׁב־נָ֨א אַפְּךָ֤ וַחֲמָתְךָ֙ מֵעִֽירְךָ֣ יְרוּשָׁלַ֔ם הַר־קָדְשֶׁ֑ךָ). This mountain alludes to the stone that becomes a

mountain in Daniel 2, reaffirming God's sovereignty and expanding upon the image set forth in Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Daniel 9 affects Daniel 2 as one can read this mountain as the fulfillment of the interpretation's promises. Similarly, Dan 10:16 is yet another reference to a "son of man" or "one in human form" (בְּנֵ֣י אָדָ֔ם), echoing Dan 7:13 and the "one like a human being." The verse continues as the "one in human form" touches Daniel's "lips" (שְׂפָתָ֑י), granting him the ability speak and alluding to Isa 6:6-7 with the seraphim to touch's Isaiah's "lips" (שְׂפָתֶ֑יךָ), purifying him before God.

Daniel 11 speaks of kings rising and falling, culminating with a "warrior king" (מֶ֣לֶךְ גִּבּ֑וֹר) at v. 3 that resembles the final horn of Dan 7:20-21 because he "will rule with great dominion and take action as he pleases" (מָשַׁל֙ מִמְשָׁ֣ל רַ֔ב וְעָשָׂ֖ה כִּרְצוֹנֽוֹ). Also like the horn in Daniel 7, the fate of this fearsome king is sealed swiftly with Dan 11:4 predicting "his kingdom will be broken and divine toward the four winds of heaven" (תִּשָּׁבֵ֣ר מַלְכוּת֔וֹ וְתֵחָ֕ץ לְאַרְבַּ֖ע רוּח֣וֹת הַשָּׁמָ֑יִם). This one verse alludes to the sovereignty of God emphasized throughout the preceding ten chapters by simply stating that this kingdom will be broken while simultaneously calling back to Daniel 7 and the ancient Near Eastern images therein with this reference to the four winds of heaven. Daniel 12 is the culmination of the book and the reign of God theme laced throughout as it underlines the cosmic future foretold in Daniel 7 and expanded upon in chapters 8 through 11. The final chapter echoes the timeline of the final horn's reign at Dan 7:25, as Daniel asks when the events he has seen while occur with the speaker declaring at Dan 12:7 that "it would be for a time, two times, and half a time" (לְמוֹעֵ֤ד מֽוֹעֲדִים֙ וָחֵ֔צִי). Here Daniel 12 ends the book and apocalyptic section with an image threaded to Daniel 7, bringing the two chapters together while also speaking to the promises of God's eternal reign present in each vision.

7.4 Notable Differences Among the Greek and Aramaic Witnesses

An assortment of Daniel textual witness create space for further in-depth comparative analysis between Daniel 7 and 2, with each being its own unique consequence. Two major Greek streams, Old Greek (OG) and Theodotion Greek (θ) differ from Aramaic Daniel, thereby yielding unique interpretive possibilities. Difference in content between OG and θ Daniel 7 and the Aramaic may best be described as nuance. Each witness contains twenty-eight verses and both are similar in length; significant portions of one are not missing in the other and vice versa.

Starting with Dan 7:1, the OG eliminates Daniel's חֵ֫לֶם dream and חֱזוֹ vision, replacing the pairing with only an ὅραμα ("vision"). Greek ὅραμα appears throughout the OG and its primary meaning connotes an object seen with human eyes, usually containing an extraordinary message.[655] Further, ὅραμα appears frequently in conjunction with Israel's God, making a connection between the object seen and the deity as the source of the ὅραμα. For example, ὅραμα describes Abram's divine interaction in Gen 15:1, the vehicle through which God speaks with Jacob in Gen 46:2, and the primary means through which God himself makes God's will and words known to Aaron and Miriam in Num 12:6.[656]

Worth noting also is the language around Daniel's writing of the dream. OG Dan 7:1 says Daniel writes a κεφάλαια ("chapter" or "summary") of the dream, while θ Dan 7:1 says he "writes" (ἔγραψεν) the dream, which is like Aramaic Dan 7:1 with Daniel recorded (כְּתַ֫ב) the dream. Opening OG Dan 7:1 as "summary" (κεφάλαια) introduces the chapter as a summary of the dream, prompting one to consider what the narrator leaves out or eliminates from this retelling.

[655] BDAG, 718. See also Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Belgium, Peeters:2009), 502.
[656] This trend continues in Christian New Testament Greek, as God communicates through ὅραμα visions in Acts 18:9 and 10:3.

OG Dan 7:15 says Daniel responds to the visions of 7:1-14 with ἀκηδιάσας ("exhausted"), which differs from θ and Aramaic Daniel in both word choice and connotation. θ and Aramaic Daniel describe Daniel's reaction first by locating the response in his spirit with Greek τὸ πνεῦμά μου ("my spirit") and Aramaic רוּחִ֑י ("my spirit"). OG lacks mention of a spirit or metaphysical struggle and ἀκηδιάσας may be translated as "indifference, apathy, melancholy."[657] It seems OG Dan 7:15 may be read as rejecting possibilities of Daniel, being the recipient of the divine vision, would experience negative thoughts or feelings.

Aramaic Dan 7:15b reads וְחֶזְוֵ֥י רֵאשִׁ֖י יְבַהֲלֻנַּֽנִי ("visions of my head alarmed me") but OG softens the blow to Daniel's inner self, saying he was merely "disturbed" (καὶ ἀκηδιάσας ἐγὼ Δανιηλ ἐν τούτοις ἐν τῷ ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς). Unlike OG, θ includes the inner struggle present in the Aramaic: "my spirit shuddered within me" (ἔφριξεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου). OG Daniel 2 deviates from the Aramaic and lacks "spirit" or any reference to Nebuchadnezzar's inner being: ταραχθῆναι ἐν τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ αὐτοῦ ("he was troubled by the dream"). θ is closer to the Aramaic: ἐξέστη τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ("his spirit was disturbed").

Word choice in OG Dan 7:15 is also as much of a theological statement as it is an attestation of Daniel's abilities and competencies. A reaction of fear and anxiety creates a theological impasse: did God choose poorly or is Daniel an insufficient receiver? OG resolves these tensions by changing the language to eliminate the possibility of Daniel feeling anything except certainty about God's work in the world as foretold in the visions.

OG and θ Dan 7:17 begin as the interpreter details the four beasts as "Four Kingdoms" different purposes respective to each Greek version. Said variations in vocabulary and syntax warrant a side-by-side comparison:

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[657] See also OG Isaiah 61:3, Psalm 118:28, *Ecclesiasticus* 29:5, Baruch 3:1.

OG	θ
OG – Ταῦτα τὰ θηρία τὰ μεγάλα εἰσὶ τέσσαρες βασιλεῖαι, αἳ ἀπολοῦνται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς·	θ – Ταῦτα τὰ θηρία τὰ μεγάλα τὰ τέσσαρα, τέσσαρες βασιλεῖαι ἀναστήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, αἳ ἀρθήσονται·
OG – these beasts are four great kingdoms which will perish from the earth	θ – these four beasts are four great kingdoms, rising from the earth, which will be destroyed

θ offers a two-fold description of the beasts' symbolism, as they are four kingdoms with earthly (γῆς) origins, unlike OG which lacks the beasts' origin being from "the earth" (γῆς). Both Greek traditions include some form of "destroy" or "perish" in their discussion of the beasts, an insight the Aramaic lacks. The beasts' shared coming destruction in the two Greek witnesses ties nicely with the declaration of the holy ones' assured safety and prosperity in Dan 7:18.

Ten horns arise and one subverts the others at Dan 7:20-21. However, the horn in the OG is "preparing" (συνιστάμενον) for war, unlike the Aramaic and θ final horn that "makes" (ἐποίει) war. "Preparing war" (συνιστάμενον) suggests the OG horn is distant and removed from the action, while "making" (ἐποίει) war puts the horn on the frontlines and actually doing the action. This distance gives the Fourth Beast and its final horn the aura of a commanding officer: he wields power needed for war and ensures extensive destruction by controlling troops without having to physically fight.

Comparing Dan 7:23 in the two versions is an even more complex venture. OG Dan 7:23 presents the Fourth Beast as a Fourth Kingdom "different from all things on the earth" (διοίσει παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν) bent on destruction. The Fourth Beast in θ also devours and destroys, but it is only "surpassing" (ὑπερέξει). Compared to "different" in OG, the Fourth Beast θ is thoroughly terrestrial: it rises from the earth, tramples over what remains on the earth from preceding upheaval, is compared to earthly kingdoms, and makes it mark compared to destruction wrought by earthly forces. Conversely, the OG Fourth Beast has immaterial and otherworldly implications as its origins are unknown and it is different from everything on earth.

The most significant differences between OG and θ lie on Daniel the receiver than the Fourth Beast itself. The final verse continues this trend as 7:28 in each version reads as follows:

OG – ἕως καταστροφῆς τοῦ λόγου ἐγὼ Δανιηλ σφόδρα ἐκστάσει περιειχόμην, καὶ ἡ ἕξις μου διήνεγκεν ἐμοί, καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν καρδίᾳ μου ἐστήριξα.	θ – ἕως ὧδε τὸ πέρας τοῦ λόγου. ἐγὼ Δανιηλ, ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ διαλογισμοί μου συνετάρασσόν με, καὶ ἡ μορφή μου ἠλλοιώθη ἐπ' ἐμοί, καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου συνετήρησα.
OG – As for I, Daniel, the destruction in this word caused me to be seized by great amazement, and my outward appearance changed, and I established this word in my heart.	θ – Here this word concludes, as I, Daniel had many thoughts in my head, my continence was troubled, and I kept this matter close in my heart.

Most striking is the OG lacking a preface, which in Aramaic says, "Here this account ends" (עַד־כָּה סוֹפָא דִּי־מִלְּתָא) and "Here this word concludes" in θ (ἕως ὧδε τὸ πέρας τοῦ λόγου). OG language flows from vision interpretation into chapter conclusion while θ and the Aramaic stop the vision to reorient the reader to the narrator's perspective. OG also includes καταστροφῆς to clarify exactly what troubles Daniel, which removes the possibility of Daniel being troubled by the outcome, the divine's workings, or anything he witnessed making again be painted as a steadfast and unwavering recipient of the vision. The OG protagonist does not doubt God's sovereign reign. Like any empathetic human, the looming destruction and death upsets Daniel but the historical consummation that follows causes him no anxiety according to the OG.

7.5 Summation

This chapter is a proverbial tip of the iceberg in terms of Daniel 7 as a consequence. One can hear echoes of court tales from Daniel 2-6 underpinning Daniel's vision while also seeing the fingerprints of Daniel 7 throughout Daniel 8 and beyond. Further, engaging in a comparative analysis between Greek and Aramaic witnesses shows a wealth of possibility in terms of reception, interpretation, and the many streams of life one text can carry. Stepping beyond Greek

and into Latin, Syriac, and other textual witnesses creates space for even deeper consideration, making Daniel 7 a text that knows no bounds and has no end. All of these consequences work together to produce Daniel 7, underlining the rich life it has had so far while presenting the limitless possibilities of what it can become.

CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

8.1 Contributions to the Field

As stated in this dissertation's introduction, the question of "what is a text?" guides this project. Using Daniel 7 as a *Wirkungsgeschichte* case study, this dissertation investigates a range of texts, from the Christian New Testament, Hebrew Bible, writings from the ancient Near East, and a variety of Christian receptions spanning centuries. This dissertation has shown that texts are fluid and evolve according to the tides of history. Indeed, the Bible comes to us as an incomplete text that readers continually change and morph into what it is today.

Chapter I traced the flow of thought surrounding philosophical and theory-related attempts at reconciling the ideological biases both in a text's creation and reception. This showed that *Wirkungsgeschichte* is less of a method and more of an approach or attempt at dissecting the many layers within and around a biblical text to question the power and politics within and beyond interpretive discourse and reception. No two texts are the same, nor are any receptions of said texts, making the *Wirkungsgeschichte* approach appropriate for engaging a composition as enigmatic as scripture.

Moving into the biblical text, chapter II dug deep into Daniel 7 to illuminate the use of mystery and unknown in Daniel's bizarre dream. It split the chapter into two parallel sections, mirroring the tension in Daniel's seventh chapter between aforementioned uncertainty alongside divine sovereignty, human frailty, the bounds of time, and the book of Daniel's cyclical pattern of history. Through this, Daniel 7 cements its place as a fulcrum between the narratives of Daniel 1-6 and Apocalypse of chapters 8-12. Chapter II also shows that Daniel 7 is indeed a reception of

Daniel 2, a confirmation that creates greater hermeneutical complexity behind and within Daniel's vision of the Four Beasts.

Chapter III built upon the investigation of Daniel 7 to read Daniel 2 and argues that Daniel 7 is a reception of Daniel 2. Both chapters use the Daniel character as a dream interpreter; both incorporate a "Four Kingdom" motif to portend the downfall of human rule and the rise of God's reign; both use themes of divine sovereignty and human inability to present a theological panacea for potential audiences trapped in cycles of war. It also justifies the consideration of what Daniel 2 may be echoing and using in its depiction of the great metal statue, prompting further research into the cultures and literatures that precede Daniel and the Hebrew Bible.

Chapter IV offers a brief examination of select writings of the ancient Near East to show that Daniel 7 and Daniel 2 build upon themes, images, and tropes present in Egyptian, Babylonian, and Ugaritic texts to situate them within an Israelite worldview. Just as Daniel 7 is a reception of Daniel 2, both the dream of the statue and Fourth Beast, along with their early interpretations. are receptions of ideas and writings that precede them. This ancient literature overview underlines the importance for such comparative work, as it speaks to the evolution of genres, themes, and images shared between literature of the ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible.

Chapter V uses Revelation to show the interbiblical reception of Daniel 2 and 7, thereby connecting this Christian apocalyptic text with the tensions uncertainties of long gone ancient Israel, Egyptian rulers, and Babylonian empires. Further, it shows that Revelation builds upon familiar imagery to orient its audience to the issues pressing upon Christians in its era. A *Wirkungsgeschichte* approach also speaks to the obvious similarities between the writings while also prompting readers to reconsider familiar elements in each book as these two apocalyptic

writings use said imagery as important witnesses to strands of Judaism, Christianity, and early Apocalyptic horizons of expectation.

Chapter VI is, in many ways, the culmination of this effort as it examines the ways in which Christian readers interpret Daniel 7. Their interpretations use Daniel to understand current political and ecclesial struggles, making the Fourth Beast an ever-present yet historically flexible adversary. These receptions also display the Christian penchant for using Daniel to understand Revelation, often resulting in readings that make the line between the two apocalypses invisible. Receptions of this type fold back on themselves as pre-Enlightenment Christian readers address combining Daniel and Revelation into a hermeneutical passkey, with some arguing against the interpretive practices whiles others double-down on the move with new receptions following the same approach.

Chapter VII brings Daniel together as a unit built around chapter seven and the reign of God. Daniel 7 uniquely echoes images from the preceding chapters and reorients them to fit the apocalyptic schema that defines chapters 8-12. Further, Daniel 7 prepares for the transition to the shockingly different apocalyptic images in Daniel 8-12, made evident through the possible allusions between Daniel's seventh chapter and the final five apocalyptic visions. Daniel 7's life continues within the very book it is in, making it the hinge upon which Daniel and the images therein depend.

8.2 Directions for Future Research

This research is important to the many worlds of biblical scholarship in that it incorporates scholarly rigor into the lived realities of a text that millions of people throughout history have deemed to be sacred and thereby worthy of focused reading. Ever-shifting academic

landscapes move the tides of biblical scholarship, but the *Wirkungsgeschichte* offers a unique consistency. It incorporates working directly with texts in translation and interpretation, considers preceding sources and possible impact of older cultural milieus, and engages a wide historical swath with the goal asking of how and why a reception reflects a particular period instead of resting on how particulars readers interpret. It also creates opportunity for a synthesis and collaboration across disciplines that respects the portioning of history while encouraging a glimpse at the greater whole.

This dissertation limits itself to Christian receptions of Daniel 7 and the Fourth Beast, but cursory investigation shows that Islamic, Jewish, and other non-Christian religious groups incorporate similar imagery and themes associated with Daniel's Fourth Beast in their writings and traditions. Thus, a *Wirkungsgeschichte* approach like the one used here can open considerable interreligious interpretive opportunities, including but not limited to Islam's "Beast of the Earth" or Jewish readings from similar times and places of Christian receptions that yield diametrically oppositional receptions.

This project showed that Christians believed and used the Fourth Beast imagery as a utility, designed and reshaped according to the adversarial figures of respective time periods and locations. Expanding beyond Christian receptions show that Islamic receptions follow a similar pattern with the "Beast of the Earth" mentioned in the Qur'an and discussed at length in post-Qur'anic writings. This beast, when considered within the parameters of a *Wirkungsgeschichte* approach, may be an iteration of the Fourth Beast, is in Sura 27.82, which reads:

> And when the Word is
> fulfilled against them (the unjust)
> we shall produce from the earth
> a beast[658] to (face) them:
> he will speak to them,

[658] May also be translated as "creature."

for that mankind did not
believe with assurance
in our Signs.[659]

These echoes and similarities raise more questions than they answer, thereby sparking wider discussions of the relationship between Islamic and early Jewish writings.

Jewish receptions compared with concurrent Christian readings can also illuminate the respective horizons of expectations as the two ancient communities use of a similar image balances then exposes historical interpretive bias. Tracing the Fourth Beast through Second Temple Jewish literature and its appearance in non-canonical scriptures can possibly illuminate more about the larger Daniel corpus and account for its continued presence in the Rabbinic writings, Medieval Jewish literature, and beyond.

Further work is available within the artistic realm, including drawings, paintings, novels, and plays from around the world and throughout history that echo Daniel 7. The text's ripple-effect grows with each investigation, creating more space for research and interpretation as often as previous inquiries find resolution. Art can include music, theater, fictional literature, and the variety of media humans create to express themselves. Art also knows no religious boundaries, as the art different communities produce is often more unique and representative of their beliefs and passions than their writings. Cursory studies of artists biblical interpretations show that *Wirkungsgeschichte* with religious art is rife with potential and can create newfound interdisciplinary work.

Questions surrounding the identity of the Antichrist in Revelation and millennial expectations have defined the American religious landscape, with entire branches of Christianity, like Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists, breaking from the mainline and starting

[659] Taken from the translation of the Holy Qur'an in *The Meaning of the Qur'an* (trans. by 'Abdullah Yūsuf 'Alī. Maryland: Amana Publications, 2004), 956.

new variations of the faith based on interpretations of Daniel and Revelation. This approach yields opportunities for greater reception historical understandings of the Antichrist, Son of Man, and metaphoric beast imagery in Daniel and Revelation. These opportunities can thereby enlighten contemporary receptions and the previous interpretations upon which readers build, grounding the present use of religious scripture in roots created by past readers.

The comprehensiveness of a *Wirkungsgeschichte* approach can renew interest as the wide boundaries of history allow flexibility in narrowing what one researches with Daniel and why. The method allows for personal touches and individual emphasis to play a far greater role, thereby bringing Daniel into a continued of social, cultural, political, and religious relevance. A *Wirkungsgeschichte* analysis also lets scholars and laypersons consider text-critical questions of manuscripts or translations. For example, one could analyze the sources that major translators use and why, creating another level of reception that acknowledges translations as interpretations.

The method of *Wirkungsgeschichte* can also continually be refined and retuned according to its implementation. Chapter I of this dissertation describes *Wirkungsgeschichte* as "a method that is not" because of its broad flexibility: it is more than a simple reception history, but it also relies heavily on traditional comparative work. Continually redefining the approach will permit its continued relevance without trapping it in historical or cultural circumstances that can and likely will become antiquated. Continued work with primary writings of Heidegger, Gadamer, and Jauss alongside encouraging scholars from other fields, like theology and ethics, to implement the model can refine this approach as the subjects themselves change alongside it.

This project also shows the need to conduct similar and much fuller investigations into Daniel, Revelation, and the entire biblical canon. The Bible's two primarily apocalyptic texts,

however, offer a wealth of potential because their receptions had indeed become synonymous with the texts themselves. The mystery of Daniel's dream imagery prompted widespread speculation among early Christian readers, a trend that continues across the contemporary Christian theological spectrum. Revelation has become the de facto "end of the world" text as receptions change and adapt to match the moving historical landscape.

Returning to the three examples from the introduction, one can see the immediate hermeneutical dividends of this method and its application. The anguish of Bickerman's post-Holocaust reading is another manifestation of the anger and frustration present in early Christian readings that decry their current cultural and political situations as war raged around them. Further, his reception reflects the tensions inherent to Daniel 7 as it too represents the struggles of Israelites in exile and their hopes for a return to their former glory. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints reading builds upon its Christian forebearers as it reads the struggles and enemies of LDS peoples onto the beasts and antagonist forces spread through Daniel 7, completing the paradigmatic reading by placing themselves as the ultimate victors on the coming war between the beasts from the sea and the Ancient One. Finally, Lindsey's reading may now be understood as less fantastical and far-fetched, as his application of texts like Daniel and Revelation to his current situation are well in line with Christian readers like Luther, Calvin, and Jerome, prompting one to consider the place of such ancient powerhouse Christian readers: is it possible that some may have read scholars and laypersons now considered to be sacrosanct as alarmist and self-centered, much like critics say of Lindsey? Or does work like Lindsey's and others practicing similar methods fold back the very practice of reading and interpretation onto itself?

There is much more work ahead in the field of *Wirkungsgeschichte* analyses and Daniel 7 demonstrates the wealth of philosophical, theological, and historical angles awaiting further study. Using a *Wirkungsgeschichte* approach can bring together voices separated by time and geographic space in the shared continual use of Daniel and Revelation to describe their current, unidyllic situation, or project their hopeful (but no less destructive) futures. In short, this dissertation shows the vast possibilities of seeking to answer a pressingly relevant question: what is a text?

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